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(FROM PAGE 145)

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 4, para. 1, line 7,—for Mahendrapaladesa read Mahendrapaladesa.

Page 7, footnote 17, line 1,—for nistrisa read nistrisa.

Page 9, text-line 46,—for bhupallama read bhupallama.

Page 16, line 3 from bottom,—for Santaras read Santaras.

Page 17, line 9,—for Aluva read Aluva.

Page 48, line 2 from bottom,—for Chedi read Chedi.

Page 56, line 1,—for Thursday read Friday.

Page 58, para. 2, line 2,—for Godavari read Kistna.

Page 60, line 13 from the top,—for Jhalarapatan read Jhalarapatap.

Page 65, footnote 6, line 1,—for actna read actual.

Page 71, line 4 from the top,—[I think the word tambalya should mean "betel chewed with areca-nut and chunam" which the women spat out of grief. This is red and may be compared to rubies (padmaraga).—H. K. S.]

Page 72, last line,—for Javalipura read Javalipura.

Page 75, verse 12,—[There is no allusion to any legend here. The poet wants to say that Brahman out of arrogance (damhata) weighed the king's prowess (i.e. the sun) on one side and his fame (i.e. the moon) on the other and found the two balanced so well on the scale of which the rod was the (heavenly) Gangâ, that the pin (kanjaka) in the middle was dhruva (i.e. stable). The other meaning intended is the Pole star (Dhruva) which occupies the middle of the heavenly orbit and is almost fixed in space.—H. K. S.]

Page 99, last but one para., line 3,—for Polikesin read Polikesin.

Page 100, text-line 2,—for vam read vam.

Page 119, footnote 3, line 2,—for Sudra read Sudra.

Page 120, text-line 3,—for Maamodevarvasha read Maamodevarvasha.

Page 125, line 10,—for Kandika-bandha read Kandika-bandha.

Page 143, translation of B,—for Ratula read Râjula.

Page 156, footnote 5, last line,—for Kushamandini read Kushamandini.

Page 160, para. 3, line 5,—for Tirathgarh read Tirathgarh.

Page 165, footnote, line 6,—for Dattakamimana read Dattakamimana.

Page 166, para. 3, line 2,—for 1783 read 1779.

Page 168, line 9 from the top,—for Padi read Padi.

Page 169, line 2,—for Lakshumihara read Lakshumihara.

Page 170, text-line 6,—for prasuta sama[sat] read prasuta-sama[sat].

Page 170, text-line 8,—for ravidinah read ravidina.

Page 171, para. 5, last line,—for chchhrishta read chchhrishta.

Page 172, line 3,—insert a hyphen at the end of the line.

Page 172, footnote 7, line 2,—for Sambilaka read Sambilaka.

Page 175, line 4,—insert (Nagar) after Sankrit.

Page 176, line 16,—for Medipota read Medipota.

Page 178, line 13 from bottom,—for Malava read Malava.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 179, footnote 1, line 3,—for Sakkara-kōṭṭam read Šakkara-kōṭṭam.

180, footnote 5,—for Siyadoni read Sīyādōni.

181, para. 5, line 4,—[Mudhasālī perhaps stands for the Telugu mudusati which means 'old, ancient,' i.e. a headman respected on account of old age; compare ndētu-mudumait; above, p. 21, footnote 3.—H. K. S.]

185, text-line 4,—for सम् परमि read तपःपरिमि.

footnote 1, line 2,—for Devakūṭa read Dēvakūṭa.

205, para. 3, line 4, for Kārtikēya read Kārtikēya.

footnote 7,—for Conjeeveram read Conjeeveram.

223, No. 63, translation, line 2,—for Uttara-Phalgunī read Uttara-Phalgunī.

235, para. 3, line 2,—for Ayurūr read Ayurūr.

236, lines 15 and 17,—for Ayurūr read Ayurūr.

237, text-line 17 and translation, line 7,—for Ayurūr read Ayurūr.

238, lines 3 and 11 and footnote 10,—Ditto.

257, footnote 4,—[From the Palnaśa inscriptions we learn that the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati was ruling from his capital Orungallu, already in Śaka-Sarvat 1173 and that his daughter and successor Rudramahādevi was also ruling from the same city in Śaka 1191.—H. K. S.]

261, footnote 6, line 7 from bottom,—for Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. read Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I.

266, line 4,—for Kākati read Kākati.

282, para. 5, line 4,—for Khariar read Khariar.

283, line 7,—for Tūṅdrā read Tūṅdrā.

294, translation, line 1,—for Sarabhapura read Sarabhapura.

footnote 6, line 3,—for Jējabhukti read Jējabhukti.

300, line 9,—[Comparing the symbol for i in pīlupati with the i-symbol in pārīkṣāns (line 19) and in nāḍīgha (line 24) it appears as if the form Mahāpīlupati was also meant here as in the Sāṅkhēḍā plate of Śāntilla (Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 23).—H. K. S.]

307, table, 1st column,—for Gazni read Ghazni.

312, line 2,—for Halavur read Halavūr and for Banavāsi read Banavāsi.

316, para. 3, line 3,—for bhaṇḍāri read bhaṇḍāri.

line 8 from bottom,—for Brahmanjīva read Brahmanjīva.

321, last para., line 6,—for 493 read 793.

330, footnote 8,—for Amuktamālyada read Āmuktamālyada and for Vishnuchittiyam read Vishnuchittiyam.

331, para. 4, line 7,—for Kutukklā read Kutukkkal.

8,—for Pāṭalikulam read Pāṭalikulam.
No. 1.—TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttingen.

In February 1904 Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur, in Rájputána most kindly sent me photographs of two Sanskrit inscriptions on copper-plates, which had been some years before at Úná, a town in the southernmost part of the peninsula of Káthiávád, in the Junágádh State.¹ Both inscriptions are of the reign of the Mahárájádhirája Mahendrapála or, as he is called in one of them, Mahendrâyudha, of Kanauj, and record grants to a temple of the Sun by two feudatories of his, Balavarman and his son Avanivarman II. Yóga, who belonged to a Cháluksya family. One is dated in the [Gupta-] Valabhi year 574, corresponding roughly to A.D. 893; the other in the [Vikrama] year 956, corresponding to about A.D. 999.

In March 1904 I gave a short account of the contents of these inscriptions, in Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, and I have since tried to secure impressions of the originals. Not having succeeded in doing so, I now venture to publish the texts from Mr. Ojha’s photographs.

A.—Plates of Balavarman; Valabhi-sáhvat 574.

These are two plates, each of which is inscribed on one side only. They contain 36 lines of the whole well-preserved writing in Nágari characters.² The language is Sanskrit; it is generally easy to read, and line 17 contains a revenue term which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain. Lines 7-9 give two verses on the vanity of fortune, etc., and the necessity of works of piety, and lines 22-29 six of the ordinary imprecatory verses; the rest is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the Mahádámantá Balavarman, the son of Avanivarman [I.], of the Cháluksya lineage, a feudatory, who had obtained the five mahá-sábadas, of the Paramabhattáraka Mahárájádhirája Paramádikara Mahendrâyudhadéva who meditated on the feet of the P.M.P. Bhójadéva. From Nakhasipura, Balavarman informs the various officials and others that, after fasting on the sixth sákhi of the bright half of Mágha, he gave the village of Jayapura, belonging to the Nakhasipura group of eighty-four which

¹ See Indic Atlas, quarter sheet 13, S. E., Long. 71° 5', Lat. 21° 49'.
² Since no facsimiles can be published, it would be useless to give full particulars regarding the forms of individual letters: but I may mention here that the conjuncts ry and rth are denoted by (well-known) special signs which contain no superscript r.
bo had acquired by his own arm (śvabhujopārjita-Naksapura-chaturāśṭikā), to (a temple of) the Sun under the name Tarunādityadēva, which stood on the banks of the river Kaṇāvīrīkā. The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of Sīhavāhalaka, on the south the village of Bāḷa[jyastha]a, on the west the village of Pēḍhīlaka, and on the north the village of Amvullaka (Ambulāka). After the usual admonition to preserve this gift, and six imprecatory verses, lines 29-34 give the names of twelve witnesses—four Brāhmaṇas, four merchants, and four Mahātanras. They are followed by the name of the writer, which cannot be read with certainty, and this, again, is followed by the date śrī-Vaḷabhi-amra 574 Māgha-saṅkṛiti 6, the numerals of which are ordinary decimal figures. The inscription, in line 36, ends with the signature svā-hasta-[bra] śrī-Va(ba)lavarmmanāh || svā-hasta śrī-Dhikā, where (the second) svā-hasta is preceded by a mark which seems to represent the actual sign-manual of Dhikā. Who this Dhikā was, does not appear from the present inscription; but the grant B. makes it probable that he was a high official of the king Mahendrāyudha (Mahendrapāla), whose permission was necessary for the making of the grant.

B.—Plates of Avanivarman II. Yōga; [Vikrama-]amra 956.

These are three plates, the second of which is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third are inscribed on one side only. They contain 68 lines of well-preserved writing in Nāgārī characters. The engraving is done carelessly, so that the text contains numerous mistakes, the correction of some of which, especially in two passages where proper names are concerned, is very difficult. The language is Sanskrit. Lines 1-45 contain twenty-four verses which, after glorifying the Sun, treat of the genealogy of the donor and of his and his ancestors' exploits; and two imprecatory verses are cited in lines 65-67; the rest of the text is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the Mahāśāmanta Avanivarman [II.], surnamed Yōga, of the Chālukya race (verse 2). In this race there were two 'great kings' (mahā-mahīpati), the brothers Kallā and Mahālīa (v. 3), the former of whom is eulogized in conventional terms (vv. 5 and 6). Kallā had a son, whose name cannot be made out with confidence (v. 7); and this chief had a son whose name ended with dhacakala, and whose full name perhaps was Vāhukadavala (v. 9). This last named chief destroyed (or defeated) in battle a certain Dharma, conquered kings who were well-known rāja-dhārdja-paramēkavas, and defeated a Karṇāta army (vv. 10 and 11). His son was Avanivarman [I.] (v. 12), and his son, again, was Balavarman (the donor of the grant A., above). Balavarman defeated a certain Vīshadha (v. 16) from whom he took away a pair of big drums (urva-dhakā); and, by slaying Jajjapa and other kings, 'freed the earth from the Hūga race' (v. 17). His son was Avanivarman [II.], also called Yōga (v. 18), who routed the armies of a certain Yakshadāsa1 and other kings whose countries were invaded by him (vv. 19 and 20), and put to flight Dharanivaravha (v. 21).

In lines 45 ff. this Mahāśāmanta Yōga (i.e. Avanivarman II.), a feudatory of the Parama-

bhabhajdraka Mahārājādhīrīja Paramēkavrav Mahendrapālandaṃva who meditated on the feet of the P.M.P. Bhūjadāva, informs his officials and others, as well as future kings, that, with the approval of the illustrious Dhikā,2 he gave the village of Amvullaka (Ambulāka),3 which

1 Verse 19 records that, after destroying the army of Yakshadāsa, Avanivarman took away from him the musical instrument (tēgya) called Ṣēparakshābhāha.—In my previous account of this inscription I suggested that Yakshadāsa may have ruled the Mātra country; but this is wrong. As the engraver of the grant in several other places has engraved instead of y, the actual reading muddha-bhāmim in line 36 must undoubtedly be altered to yuddha-bhāmim, not to Muddha-bhāmim.
2 The inscription, the text of which is not quite certain here, seems to indicate that Dhikā was an anapēlā or 'frontier-guard' of Mahendrapāla's, and that Avanivarman II. was a subordinate of his (as his father Balavarman had been before him). See the end of the grant A.
3 This village (Ambulāka or Ambulukā) is mentioned also in the grant A.
belonged to the Nakshisapura eighty-four (Nakshisapura-chaturasiti) in the Saurashtra mandala, to (a temple of) Tarunādityadeva, located near the river Kannavirikā in the vicinity of the village of Jayapura. The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of Viyara, on the south the village of Jayapura, on the west the villages of Sānduvaka and Kārintabaka, and on the north the village of Vavulika. After the usual admonition to preserve this gift and two imprecatory verses, the inscription, in line 66, ends with the date saṃvat 956 Māgha-māsa 6, the numerals of which here also are ordinary decimal figures.

The Chālukya chiefs mentioned in the preceding are not known from other inscriptions. The large Bilhari inscription, in Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 266, mentions a Chaulukya Avanivarman whose daughter Nāhalā was married by the Kalachuri Chēdi king Yuvārāja I. Kēyūravarāha. That Avanivarman may have been a contemporary3 of Avanivarman II. Yōga of our grant B.; but—even assuming that the terms Chālukya and Chaulukya might be used synonymously3—he cannot be identical with him, because his father and grandfather were Sadhana and Śīnharavarman (not Balavarman and Avanivarman).

For Balavarman, a feudatory of Mahendrāyudha (Mahendrapāla), the grant A. furnishes a date in about A.D. 893. We therefore may assume that his grandfather Viṅgukadavāla (?) lived about the middle of the 9th century A.D., and was almost certainly a feudatory of Mahendrapāla's predecessor Bhoja-deva (Mihira) of Kanauj, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 843 to A.D. 881. Now in the inscription No. 77 of my Southern List this Mihira (Bhūjadēva) is stated to have been defeated by the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrākāta Dhruvarāja II. This at any rate would show that he was at war with the Rāṣṭrākātas; and I believe that such a war is actually referred to in the account of Viṅgukadavāla's (?) exploits related in the grant B. In my opinion, the Karṇāta army which is said to have been defeated by him can only have been an army of the Rāṣṭrākātas. As regards (the king) Dharma who is stated to have been destroyed (or defeated) by the same chief, I know of no king Dharma who could have been a contemporary of his, excepting the well-known Pāla king Dharapāla, and I see no reason why Dharma should not be identified with that Pāla king, who at one time or another undoubtedly was at war with the rulers of Kanauj.

Balavarman himself defeated a certain Viṣṇadhā, and by slaying Jajjapa and other kings 'freed the earth from the Hūṇa race.' Who Viṣṇadhā was, is impossible to say. Wars with Hūṇa kings are frequently mentioned in Indian inscriptions of the Middle Ages,4 and we know of a Hūṇa princess, Āvalladēvi, who was married by the Kalachuri Karna in the 11th century; but in recording the name of Jajjapa our grant B. for the first time discloses the name of an individual Hūṇa king, who must be placed in about the last quarter of the 9th century.

The kings or chiefs mentioned as opponents of Avanivarman II. Yōga, for whom we have a date in about A.D. 899, are Yakṣahadās and Dharaṇivarāha. The former is unknown to us. The latter I do not hesitate to identify with the Chāpā Mahāśimantottāhipati Dharapārava, known to us from his Haḍḍāla plates4 which were issued from Vardhamāna (or Wadhwān in

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1 This village was granted to the same temple of the Sun by the grant A.
2 A daughter of the Kalachuri Yuvarāja I. Kunda-kāvl, was married by the Rāṣṭrākāta Amoghavarsha III. Baladiga, for whom we now possess dates in A.D. 927 and 939
3 In Nos. 354 and 356 of my Northern List certain chiefs are described as both Chālukyas and Chaulukyas.
4 See my note on the grammarian's 'ajayajjerat Hūṇa in Nachrichten d.K.-Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1861, p. 305 ff. The Pāla Dēvapāla humbled the pride of the Hūṇas (Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 163, v. 13); according to the Kharoṭṭa plates of the Rāṣṭrākāta Kakārya II. Amoghavarsha of A.D. 972 this king fought battles with the lord (or lords) of the Hūṇas (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 205, l. 29); the Pāramāra Utpala (Muṣjaraja) took away the life of the Hūṇas (ibid. Vol. XVI. p. 33, l. 41); his younger brother Sindhurāja conquered the king of the Hūṇas (Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 236, v. 16); etc.
Kāṭhiāvād) in A.D. 914, and in which he is represented as a feudatory of a Rājādhīrāja Mahīpālādēva whose proper identification, as will be seen below, can no longer offer any difficulty.

The place Nākshisapura, the nine villages mentioned in connection with the two grants, and the river Kanaṇvīrīkā I have not, I regret to say, been able to identify. The main point of general interest connected with these localities is, that the Nākshisapura group of eight-four, which was held by the two donors, according to the inscription B. belonged to the Saurāśṭra māṇḍala. The name Saurāśṭra we know to denote the southern part of Kāṭhiāvād; and since the two chiefs Balavarman and Aṉavīrīman II. describe themselves as feudatories of the Mahāraṇjāhīrāja Mahāṇdrājyadhādeva or Mahāṇdrājapālādeva (of Kanaṇaj), it follows from these inscriptions that towards the end of the 9th century A.D. the kingdom of Kanaṇaj extended as far south as, and included, the province of Kāṭhiāvād. Moreover, it becomes quite certain now that the Rājādhīrāja Mahīpālādeva, who in the Haḍḍāla plates of A.D. 914 is mentioned as the overlord of the Chāpa Mahāśāṃdāḥāpitī Dharāṇvīraṇa, must be identified with the Mahāraṇjāhīrāja Mahāṇdrālādeva of Kanaṇaj (whose Aṇi inscription is dated in about A.D. 917), the successor of Mahāṇdrājapālādeva, and cannot have been one of the Chūḍāsāmās of Gīrṇār-Juṇāgadī.

In the grant A. the king, known to us from the grant B. and other inscriptions as Mahāṇdrāpāla, is called Mahāṇdrājyadhā. This name of course at once recalls the names Indrājyudha and Chakrājyudha, the former denoting a king who according to the Haricaḥṇā-Puṇḍaṇa was ruling the north in Śaka-sāvṇa 705 = A.D. 783-84, and the latter another king, to whom the sovereignty of Mahādaṇa (Kanaṇaj) was given, after the defeat of Indrarāja (i.e., in my opinion, Indrājyudha), by the Pāla Dharmaṇapāla, and who was defeated by Nāgabhata, the grandfather of Bhājādeva of Kanaṇaj. It may also be mentioned that in Rājasēkhara's Karpurumāṇāja a certain merchant is represented as having gone to 'Kanaṇaj, the capital of Vajrājyudha, the king of Pāṇḍhāla.' That story would seem to show that in the opinion of Rājasēkhara, who was Mahāṇdrāpāla's guru, a name with the somewhat unusual ending dveda, such as Vajrājyudha, was a suitable or characteristic name of a Kanaṇaj king. Most probably Mahāṇdrāpāla himself was known to Rājasēkhara also by the name Mahāṇdrājyadhā.

The date of the grant A., ṛt-Valabhī-sāvṇat 574 Māgha-saṃvāt 6, is by a long way the earliest date in which we find the technical expression Valabhī-sāvṇat. In the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings themselves the year of an ordinary date is ordinarily preceded by only sāvṇat, rarely by sāvṇat; and hitherto the earliest inscription containing the term Valabhī-sāvṇat was the Vēravaḷ inscription of the temple-priest Bhāva-Bṛhaṇapati of Valabhī-sāvṇat 850 (No. 503 of my Northern List). In the Mārābī plate of Jāṅka (i.śib. No. 502) of the year 585 of the same era the number 585 in line 19 is preceded by simply sāvṇat, while in line 17 the year is described as a Gaṇṭa (i.e. Gupta) year.—It is curious that in Kāṭhiāvād we should find the Gupta-Valabhi, Vikrama and Śaka era employed in dates of the same period and in almost the same localities.

A.—PLATES OF BALAVARMAṆ; VALABHI-SAMVAT 574.

TEXT.  
First Plate.

1 Oṁ[||]* Jayaś-ch-ābhuyadhāyaś-cha || Svasti [||]* Nakshisapurat-parama- bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja[||]*dhi-

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* Of Nāgabhata Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has discovered in the Jōhpur State a stone inscription dated in about A.D. 815 (samvatsara-ta[tt]f) 872.

* See Dr. Sten Konow's edition, pp. 74 and 166.

* From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

* Denoted by a symbol.
2 rāja-parāmēvara-Śrī-Bhōjadēva-pādī[\*] lūdhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhīrṣa-para-
3 mēvara-Śrī-Mahōndrayudhādēva-pāda-praskākha-bhinn-praśādhis-pañcchhamah ā v d a-
(bda)-mahānāmaṁtanā [Ch]ā-4
5 lukyānaya-prasūna-Śrī-Avanti varmam-anта-Śrī-Va[b)la]varmam āravān-eva rāja-
rumyāna-rājasthānāy-opyāk-āmā-5
6 chara-bhaṭa-haṣṭāyas-vātātāha[ha] ka-prabhūrtā i6
6 yuktakā-niyuktakātān svānā(a)nyām[ā-cha] yathāsāna[b]ā)dhyanānakān-
7 samanvō(bō)dhayaty-astu vaḥ samviditaṁ yathā padma-pattā6
8 stitir-jala[va] tarālā śrī drīṣṭa-śaṣṭha-śaḥ āvitaṇā[7] [Padmapatra-jalaviṇḍu-
chāntalaṁ āvitaṇyam-akṣiḥ-saḥ samādhaḥ] ||
9 ity-avātya jagatā sthit[īns] nīṣṭap kii dhanāḥ kuruta dharmam-anīṁdyaḥ9
|| Pallavāgāra-jalaviṇḍu-chāntalaḥ klēśā-
10 jāla-paridvēśitē bhavē i yō na chāntayati karmma-saṭpātīṁ taṣa janma
bhavat-iṣaḥ niḥphalantī[8] || evāṁ sarvam-adṛhruva-
10 ma-sālō[xya] dharmam maṇīth sthāyatāṁ || Īsamaya [svabujopārtita-
Nakshisapuracchaturāśītikā-pratīva(ba)dā ṇa ḍjoṣpurā-ā
pukṣhyā(ahpa)-dipa-sūnā-viḷépan-optēpāna[snāmā ṇ]14
12 rjana-khaṇḍapakṣṭīta-sudhā-kūrčchak-ādi-śūrṇ(ārū)ehā-kṛttē sva-māṭāpitrōr-āṭmanāsa-
13 bhīvīdhāvyē bhagavataḥ sarit-Kaṇavīrikā-ṣaṭ-ṣvāṣṭhiṣa-Sahasradhīhitēḥ śrīmatas-
Tarū[na]dityādevēvā[14] bhakti-bhā-
pūrvataḥ Sīnavahalaka-grāmā-
15 simā maryād[ā] [15] daksīṇatāḥ Rā[jyastha] na-grāma-simā maryādā | aparataḥ Pādhilaka-grāma-simā [ma*] yēdād | utta-
16 rataḥ Athvullaka[-grāma-simā maryādā | evāṁ chaturāhōtā(ṭa)m-ōpalkshhitā
sa-bhōgabhāgaḥ sa-haṇī[a]*] dhanaḥ
17 sa-dāpasādāparākṣaḥ sa-simāparantaḥ s-ōdra[zaḥ*] gaḥ sa-vrikshamālakulaḥ
sa-parikaraḥ chollakavānipi
18 gikakṣobhayēdā-sahitaḥ[10] aḥāṭahāṭapraṇvēa-varjjītō bhūmichchhiḍa-nyāyēna
dharmmadāyō niṛgri(ṣ)ṛaḥtaḥ ||
19 Asya bhunijatō bhōjāpyataḥ kriṣnatāḥ kāraṣṭapayaḥ vā asamaka-vaṃśajāir-anīyaṁ-
vā bhōkātiḥbhīḥ

1 Read, probably, -prasaddikīta-.
2 Read -īpa.-
3 Instead of this word which I do not remember to have met with elsewhere, I should have expected here, next to大豆āṭika, as in other grants, -cauudāṭharaṇīka-.
4 It is just possible that the two akharaḥ cādru were struck out in the original, and that the intended reading therefore is -cādru-dhāña-.
5 Read -praḥkritikāyuktaka-niyuktadūs.
6 Read -patra-thita-jalavatara vīlēvā ||
7 Metre of this verse and of the next: Rathbōddhatā.-Read Padmapatra-.
8 This of course cannot be right, but the actual reading does not suggest to me a suitable conjecture.
9 Read -niḥphalantī.
10 Read -nihphalantī.
11 Originally sodhā was engraved, but the sign for ṣ has been struck out.
12 Read -aṣṭhaṁtyām.
13 Read -samdhijīta-.
14 Read -ācchādmanām-.
15 Read -aṁ.-
16 Read, in accordance with the preceding, "ādvyōa.
17 Here and in other places below the rules of sandhi have not been observed.
18 Read -Amūlaka-. In line 56 of the grant B the name is spelt -Amūlaka-.
19 This term, the reading of which is quite clear in the photograph, I am unable to explain. The word kādiḥ occurs above, Vol. III. p. 207, l. 23; and Prof. Hultsch draws my attention to Vol. VI. p. 88, note 9.
20 One would have expected here aḥāṭahāṭapraṇvēa-varjjītō, and some other term ending with varjjītō (like, e.g., pārś noticed-dvebrahmadāya-varjjītō).
pratisāhā[dbhā] na karānyāḥ pālayitavyaḥ-cha || yataḥ same[ā*]nyam bhūmidānaphalam-avēty-āyam-asadm-dā-

Second Plate.

yō-numantavyō śmat-prety-ābhyarthanayā cha pālanīya iti || Tathā ch-vaktaṃ [bhā]gyāv-
tā vyāśō(sē)ja 1 Vyāśa || 2Yān-īha dattānī purā narēndrāś dānāni dharmam-ārtha-yaśā-
s-kāraṇī | nirmāyā-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar-ādadita ||
śaṣṭṭhir-śvarga-sahasrāśi svarggē tīshṭhati bhūmidaḥ || [ā]cchhē[ē]ttā ch-ānumantā cha [tāṇy=ē]-
va vanaśe vacet || Va[ba]hubbhir-vasudhā bhūtā rājanāī śaśagar-ādibhiḥ ||
yasya yasya yadā [bhū]-
mis-tasya tasya tada phalaṁ || 4śaṣṭṭhir-śvarga-sahasrāśi 4śaṣṭṭhir-śvarga-
śātani [cha] || [gavām kōṭi-pradānē]-
na bhūmi-hartā na śuddhaśi || Viśuddhi-āśvabhav-satōyāsū (su) śushka-kōṭi-ara-
vāsinaḥ || [krishṇaḥyō hi jā]-
yanto bhūmi-dāyam harattī(ṇti) yō || Sva-dattānī para-datt[ān*] śa ,ya[tn]ād-
raksha narādhipa | mahīṁ mahīḥ[ritāṁ śrēṣṭhā]
dānāḥ-chhūryō-nupālānāṁ || 6 || Ava[tra] sākṣhi vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Dehaṇa-suta-
Bhāvaḥ || tāṭhā vrā(brā)hmaṇa-[Kau . ?]-
nara-suta-Nāgāśvaraḥ || tathā vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Jajjaka-suta-Hariḥ ||
tathā vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Bhā[arka]suta-
Vāsudēvaḥ || tathā vaṇik 6 Nāgā-suta-Isupeḥ || tathā vaṇi 6 Nāgā-suta-
Pā[ha]llāḥ || ta-
thā vaṇi-[Jēulla-suta-Nannakaḥ] tathā vaṇak 6 Saṅgama-suta-Dēvāḥ || tathā
śa[ma]hattrā-Dha[mg][ya]-
suta-Sīhaḥ || tathā mā[ma]hattara-Govāsā-suta-Ajāīnaḥ || tathā mahattara-Govās-
suta-Māhā[ri]pa[kā]-
bh || tathā mahattara-Dhāra-suta-Kaṇṭhabaḥ || Likhitaḥ ch-aian-mi(ma)yā kula-
putraka.4Datta-suta-[Dhā ?]-
[r]ādi[tye]n-eti || 6 || Śrī-Valabhi-samvat 574 Maḥa-śuddha 6 || 6 ||
Sva-hosta[tra] śrī-Va[ba]lavarmmaṇaḥ || 10 sva-hostaḥ śrī-Dhika 11 || 6 ||

B.—PLATES OF AVANIVARMA II. YOGA; [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 956.

First Plate.

1 Ōnh 13 [1*] Jayās-çı-ābbhā[yu*]dyaṣ-cha || Jayati 14 jagatāṁ prasūṭir-visv-ātma sahaja-bhūṣhatam nabhacakrā || Druptaka-
nakṣaṇadṝṣa-daśāsatayukṣa-mālā-ārcharaḥ 15 Savitā || [1*] 3Asta-īha sārō va[ba]hira-
anta-ra cha cchhīdrāśaḥ pari-

1 Read, probably, cēdhvaṇa. 2 Meter: Indravajra.
3 Meter of this verse and the rest: Śūkṣa (Anuṣṭabh).—Read śaṣṭṭhīṁ varsha-. 4 Read rājābhē Śaṅgar-. 5 Read śaṣṭṭhiṁ varsha-. 6 Read vaṇik-N-. 7 Read vaṇik-J-.
8 Read vaṇik-Sah-. 9 The same word occurs e.g. in Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 161, line 60.
10 This mark, which does not look like a letter, apparently represents the signature of Dhika.
11 One would have expected -Dhikasya. See line 52 of the grant B.
12 From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirochand Ojha.
13 Denoted by a symbol. 14 Meter: Ārya.
15 Read -māl-dekhaḥ 14 Meter: Indravajra.
TWO GRANTS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA.

3 to na vipatraśāñkāh | bhūdyāḥ pariṁ-n-ai̇va mahīpaṭinā̄m Vā(chā)lukyānām-aparā-n-tuṅga-[vañj]āṃb (I) [2°] Vā(ba)bhūva-
4 tuti(a-sa)[tra] mahā-mahīpati mah[a]-mati Kalla-Ma[hål]āla-sañjūtau | yayoḥ sitā kirttir=upagamad=guṇ-
5 naḥ pariṃ práṣiddhiḥ(m) satata[m] sunirmalaḥ || [8°] Saubhātrānaḥ=cha yayoḥ=aśi(s)ad=āṇyonyam=avibhita(ma)-
7 nṛpaṃḥ nīvīityā(yi)ṣṭiṣṭiḥāṃ Rājā Kallaḥ kula-[k]ī(yi)ṭi-yu[k]taḥ || kā[m] iṭyā mahātyā sthirayā śīryā va(cha) kalpadrumānāṃ-cī-
8 va pariṣṭha[ba] || [5°] Rājya[m] ma[cha]? mahīpatau guṇaṅga-śaṅkakārabhūtē sati kahīni[r]āṭi-pa-
9 rākram-[n]jita-tanau nīrbhātikāḥ śāsati | lōkānāṃ-abhavān=manō rati-yuta[m] dharmma-pra-
11 tatōkavīrtiḥ lākṣmī-nidhānaṃ saravāṃ guṇānām || (I) śaṃrasya bhūmīr- vnasārit=mmāntāṃ
dharmma-pra-
ninasaṃdrama[16] || (I) [9°] 17 Rājā-pārti
16 nītrasiṣanibhārayavilā[ś]n ripuṭṭhimāguṇa=avjīrī-vēv kṣhiti-talan

Second Plate; First Side.

17 samarā puvinya || [10°] 18 Kuna[ttha?] jās[ha]i-pra[cha]nara-nara-kari-prāj(a)ya-

1 18 Valgattayaraggamaturega-mattamatsanga-duggamam | yach-chaha

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1 Read vipatraśākhaḥ, i.e. both vi-pattra-sākhaḥ, 'without leaves and branches;' and vi-pattra-sākhaḥ, 'whose branches protect from misfortune.' A bamboo (vastu) has leaves and branches. But the Chalukya race (vastu) is a different kind (apara) of vastu, one that has no leaves and branches, i.e., in the other sense of the adjective. Similarly the other epithets in the verse suggest other differences between the two kinds of vastu. The word apara of the last Pāda is practically equivalent to vastu, which is employed in a similar verse above, Vol. III. p. 208, line 6 of the text. Apara is used in the same way (not in the sense 'before which no other excel') in the verse in Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 193, line 10.

2 Metro: Vanasāthā.
3Metro: Ślokā (Anuṣṭubb).
5 Metro: Uṣpāṭti.
7 Metro: Yatra.
9 Metro: Pratihāra.
11 Metro: Āryā.
11 Here again I cannot give confidently the name intended in the original. The right reading may possibly be śṛṃśaṃ-Vāṇakahavālo.
12 Read rāja-prāya=ananta=Dharmā. The name at the end of the verse undoubtedly is Dharmā. The name of the chief, concealed in this corrupt passage. The verse would be right if we were to read Rājendro-nanda, but I am not sure about this conjecture.
14 Metro: Āryā.
15 Here again I cannot give confidently the name intended in the original. The right reading may possibly be śṛṃśaṃ-Vāṇakahavālo.
18 Karpṭaṭāṁ śa(sai)nyam-ājō(jau) bhayarahita-manā bhūriśō-bhū(νu)praviśya | ekākī khadga-
19 yashtyā dṛutam-atisayā yō-riṃūddhi-pravāhō[rī] vāh-āṛuṣhō-vagāṭhāṁ kamala-
20 vanam-iva śratāya-khēdā lūlāva || [11*] Taṃmād-śaṃṭayata sutō śvavirmma-
21 । pa-vinśa-ādi-guṇapatapētābh | sannāhaved-bhvrī* jām-imām-avatā āharīrim-
23 yuvati-nirmāta-narmmanī bhūptō(tau) na janatābhīr-asa[rī]jīmaṇī sa[rī] jīmaṇī kītāṁ ||
24 [13*] Taśya[ν] sūnur-saṇ-jīha
25 sukarmā mitra-va[ba]ndh[ṁ] janaṁ[ntahīre]-sā[rī]jīmaṇī || kīrtītō vidita-śātravammarṁ ā-
26 yō janaim-abhi-
27 dhāya Va[ba]lārvmmā || [14*] Satatam-avītath-ōktih snāna-jāpy-ādi-ā(ā) laḥ
28 prāṇīyaśatasahasrā-
29 dhīna-viśitrnmaṇḍpat | bhrijasuṛ-vyihit-āśō yaḥ sad-ārabbhya vā(hā)lyāṭvī(ś-Tri-
30 nayaṇa-charup-ā-
31 rchchhālalvān-saadpryātahi(ḥ) ||[15*] Prathītā-kaṛītsrāṅgam āśānāsmīśa-pāṇīḥ
32 Vīṣhadham-avasa-
33 m-laḥ sādhū jītvā samkkē [1*] sthīrataram-uraḥ-hakkā-yugmnā-āsē draḍhīyaṇ
34 ārūti-sukha-
35 dam-akṣinrō yō-grahīn-ma[rī] dra-nādaṁ || [16*] Chātara-turaṇa-durggān-samḥyati
36 dhvasta-śāṭh[ḥ] śpurṣa-
37 m-iha jagatiśāṁ Jajjap-ādūn-nihatya | praśabham-abhimanaskō yō vyadhṛtta
38 [kaḥ]liṣēśō
39 bhuvanam-ūdham-arin Dūṇa-varmśena hmaṁ || [17*] Kuvalayadala-nētraḥ
40 sannat-āṁśasthālā-
42 katir-udāraḥ kehāma-ma
43 dhīna-tathā yō vidita iha jagatyāṁ Yōga-nāmn-apareṇa || [18*] Saṁgrāmē
44 Yōkshadān[rī] va[ba] j-

Second Plate; Second Side.

34 m-aka[ḥ]ilam-apī dhvānāsvītvā praviśrō yaḥ samjagṛāha tūryam paṭutara-
35 ninadamā Sāgarakshōhbha-
36 nāma yasy-āluṅkāra-ḥūtāṁ jīta-ripu jagrihuḥ pattayō-ṣi prattītē
37 saṁkha-[chchhā]tra-dhavaj首饰 [17]
38 n-ahamahamikayā mu(yu)ddīha-bhūmin praviśya || [19*] Kōdāṇḍa-dhvasta-dhāra-
39 sara-kara-nakharō vi[kra]ma-sva[ba]ddhaha-
40 chittē līlabhīm(nn)-ānyasō(sā)nā-samadagajghatā-tumbhatāmgaśthalkē' || yasmin-
41 [kra]mya bhūmin

1 Read -astītīyā yō-riṃūddha-
3 Read -astītīyā yō-riṃūddha-
4 Metre: Vasantatilakā.— Read Taṃmād-āṣaṇtā.-
6 Metre: Drutavilambita.
8 Metre of verses 15-16: Mālini.
9 Read deṣa-guru-
10 Read druṣṭhi-dhā-
12 Read jāgatiśāṁ.
13 Read jāgatiśāṁ.
14 Read -avasira-yatāḥ.
16 Read -ḥūttāṁ.
17 Read -kṣitam-ahamsatāṁkaḥ prā. — Metre of verses 19 and 20: Sragdharā.
18 The syllable pi was originally omitted and is engraved in the margin.
19 Read -kṣitam-ahamsatāṁkaḥ prā. — Metre of verses 19 and 20: Sragdharā.
20 Read -kṣitam-ahamsatāṁkaḥ prā. — Metre of verses 19 and 20: Sragdharā.
Third Plate.

52 pāda-prasad-āvāpta 
53 d-anumatyā cha

tanti(nu)yukto-taim [train dra]?]pāla\[ārDhika-prativa(ba)ddhais-

ta-

1 Read niḍāḥ niḥkaraṇa. 
2 Read -ndəgāḥ karaṇa-gaṁ-aṁ riṣa niḥkaraṇa. 
3 Metre: Vasantatala. — The general meaning of the verse clearly is that a certain Dharaṇivarāha, for whose identification see above, p. 3 f., was put to flight by, or fled before, Avarnavarman. But I am not sure about every detail of the verse.— The first words of the verse perhaps are either vyāvad-pi yaṁkhatam or vyāvad pradātam. 
4 Read satacāṁ. 
5 Read māndesm matimda. 
6 Read, probably, -ndədraḥ (in the sense of 'elephant'). 
7 Read vatsa-pāṇu. 
8 Read Trivikrama-vikrama. 
9 Read -makṣa-rāṣṭrapaladēva-prasāhā. 
11 These two akearas (the first two syllables of the word presāda) are quite out of place here. In agreement with the preceding adjectives one would have expected Mahāndrapaladēvasya, but the writer proceeds as if the whole preceding passage, commencing with prastāpaṇa, were a single compound, qualifying Mahāndrapaladēvasya. 
12 Here, in my opinion, some words have been omitted. As the text stands, we do not learn from it what the chief Yōga had received from Mahāndrapāla. 
13 The two akearas in brackets are quite doubtful. I can only suggest that the intended reading may possibly be -tadāntapāla.
No. 2.—VASANTGADH INSRIPTION OF PURNAPALA;
THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1099.

BY PROFESSION F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

About the year 1840 the stone, which bears this inscription, was taken by Captain T. S. Burt from a tank at Vasantgadh1 in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, and the inscription was published in Journ. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. X. p. 664 ff., from a very unsatisfactory transcript prepared by Pañjīt Kamalākānta. For a long time the stone seems to have been lost sight of; but it has lately been rediscovered by my indefatigable friend, Mr. Gaurinshankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur, and is now deposited at the town of Sirohi. I re-edit the text from impressions which have been kindly sent to me by Mr. Ojha.

1 Read "iddh-Āmbulak-.
2 Read sūpadālamāvhitikāḥ (or "vedhitikāḥ, which occurs often elsewhere).
3 Read kālana.
4 Read vṛdhādh.
5 Read sāmāyaṇam dāna-śaśram-sītāyā.
6 Metro: Śūkha (Amuṣṭabh).
7 Read yasya yasya yadd bhūmiśc-tasya tasya todh pahā.
8 Metro: Indrāvajra.
9 Read dattāni.

10 Vasantgadh (Basantgadh) apparently is situated to the east of Mount Ābā, but I do not find it on the map of the Rājputāna Agency. At or near the same place an important inscription of the time of king Varmalēka, of the [Vikrama] year 682, has lately been discovered.
The inscription contains 23 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2' broad by 1' 4'' high. At the upper proper right corner part of the stone is broken away, so that between about 15 and 2 akharas are missing at the commencement of lines 1-9. Otherwise the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty nearly throughout. The size of the letters between \( \frac{1}{8} \) and \( \frac{1}{6} \). The characters generally differ little from the ordinary Nāgāri, but they include a few signs which are peculiar to the earlier northern inscriptions. The letter \( b \) everywhere is denoted by a sign of its own, and the secondary \( d \) is often written by a superscript line; once (in Teṣahāḥ-praśādā, l. 13) we have the sign of the upadhmānita; and once (in bhāṣyāḥ, l. 12) the conjunction \( r \) is made up of the full sign for \( r \) and the secondary form of \( y \). Between verses 32 and 33 and at the end of the text a conch-shell has been engraved, and between verses 33 and 34 a circular ornament. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words asyā-dnevadāpi and nagar-ānayaadāpi in lines 8 and 13, the whole is in verse. Both the language and the verses often are incorrect, and as a piece of literary composition the inscription is worthless. Here, to show how very limited was the author's knowledge of grammar, I need only point out forms such as nāma, l. 5, vāma, l. 9, vāmī, l. 14, and evā, l. 21 (for nāma, vāma, vāmī, and evā), from passages regarding the reading of which there cannot be any doubt. And what liberties were taken by him, simply for the sake of the metre, in the spelling of words, may be seen from instances like Pāruṇāpāla, l. 7, samāhāra, l. 19, svaipāna, l. 15 (for Pāruṇāpāla, samāhāra, svaipāna), etc. 1

The object of the inscription is, to record that a queen named Lāhinī, a younger sister of the Paramāra Pāruṇāpāla and widow of a king Vigranāraja, at Vaṭa (Vaṭa-nagara, Vaṭapura) restored an ancient temple of the Sun, and restored or founded a tank (nālī), apparently the very tank where this record has been found. And the inscription is divided into three parts, the first and second of which give the genealogies of Lāhinī and Vigranāraja, while the third glorifies the town Vaṭa and the pious work executed there by the widowed queen. The whole is introduced by two verses, in one of which (so far as it is preserved) the author pays homage to Mahāśvama (Śiva), Prāchēṣa (the poet Vālmiki), and Vānī (the goddess of eloquence), while in the other he invokes the protection of the god Hari (Vishnu).

Verse 3 relates that through the anger of (the sage) Vasishtha there was produced a youth or prince (kumāra) from whom the Paramāra (or Paramāra) family took its origin.2 In his lineage there was Utpalaśri; from him sprang Áranyāraja, and from him Adbhutakṛishna-rāja. His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son) was Mahāpāla, and from him sprang Dhandhuka. To Dhandhuka there was born from his wife Amritadēvi Pāruṇāpāla, who ruled the Arbuda territory (bha-mautam-Arbudanaya).3

In his reign, his younger sister Lāhinī was married by king Vigranāraja (Vigranāraja).

Vigranāraja's genealogy, in verse 12, commences with a twice-born named Yōta, who by his bravery acquired the title of king (bhūpa). In his lineage there was the king (nṛpa) Bhavagupta, who, after restoring the temple of the Sun dwelling at Vaṭa (Vaṭa-vēśi-bhānu), reigned at Vaṭa. In his lineage, again, there was Sangamarāja, who ruled Badari in Varnāratha. From him sprang Durlabhāraja; from him, Chachā; and from him, Vigranāraja, who, as stated

1 The author's mistakes have been more fully pointed out in the notes on the text. The inscription emphatically teaches us that the mistakes which may be found in an inscription need not necessarily be ascribed to the writer or engraver.
2 In line 9, verse 13, the word is used in the plural (Vaṭeshen), and in the inscription of Varmalāta, mentioned above, the place appears to be called Vaṭkaraṅkhanā.
3 See e.g. Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 190, verse 13. In the present inscription we have the name Pramāra in verse 8, and Paramāra in verse 10. The name is written Pramāra also in the unpublished Bhāruṇja inscription of Pāruṇāpāla of the [Vikrama] year 1102, of which I possess impressions.
4 In the Bhāruṇja inscription mentioned in the preceding note Pāruṇāpāla is said to rule the Arbuda-maudāla.
already married Lahiri. After his death, his widow went to her brother's home, and was settled at the town of Vaṣa which in the course of time had fallen into decay.

The town of Vaṣa (Vaṣa-nagara, Vaṣa-pura) is glorified in verses 20-25. Here it will be sufficient to say that it is stated to have been founded by the sage Vasishtha, that it was situated on a river named Sarasvatī, and that its inhabitants are described as devoted to the worship of the Sun. That the queen Lahiri restored there an ancient temple of the Sun and restored or founded a tank, has been already mentioned.

The inscription (according to verses 33 and 34) was composed by the Brahma Maṭrīśarma, the son of Hari, and engraved by Śrīvālā, the son of the śūradhāra Dēuka, who was the son of Dūrga (Durgā, i.e. Durgāditya), the son of the svāhata (architect, carpenter, etc.) Nāga. It ends (v. 35) with the date: the ninth tiṣṭha of the dark half of the month Nāha, i.e. Śrāvana, the moon being in (the nakṣatra) Mrīgasīra, of the year (given in words) 1099 in the time of Vikramāditya, in the place (stūnukā) of Chitrabhānu. By this last expression I understand the author to say that the date fell in the Jovian year Chitrabhānu. This year can be combined with the Vikrama year 1099 only, when the latter is taken to be the expired Chaitreśāditya Vikrama year 1099, and Chitrabhānu to be the Jovian year so named according to the southern system. For that year the date would correspond to the 12th August A.D. 1042, when the 9th tiṣṭha of the dark half of the amānta Śrāvana ended 10 h. 46 m., while the nakṣatra was Mrīgasīra by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise. The date is the earliest date of the Vikrama era that quotes a Jovian year, and, with the exception of quite modern dates, the only Vikrama date in which a Jovian year is quoted according to the southern system. It also is the earliest known date in which we find the expression Vikramaditya-kalē.

The Pramāra or Paramāra chiefs mentioned in this inscription ruled the Arbuda-mandala, i.e. a tract of country called after Arbuda, the modern Mount Ábu. They are probably closely connected with the Paramāras of Chandravati, mentioned, e.g., above, Vol. VIII, p. 201. Regarding Vigrathakāja and his ancestors I cannot offer any remark.

The places Vaṣa and Badari in Vamārāṭha (v. 14) I am unable to identify. Vaṣa must be an old place, being mentioned already in the Vasangoti inscription of Varmalāṭa of the [Vikrama] year 882, and in a somewhat earlier inscription which was found at the village of Sānoli in the Bhōmasta district of Māvād, and of which Mr. Ojha has sent me impressions. If not identical with Vasangoti itself, it must be looked for close to it.

TEXT.3

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. [Ma]hēśvara[m] || [P]rachēṭassāna tathā Vāśiṣṭha-
pṛasaṅga-sukṛītā mayā || [1*] Jyotish-yjotividdān savaḥ saiva-dhiyaṁ dhīshyan ca

2 1 2 3 4 5 6 7-
aṁ jñāṇyataṁ matimataṁ dātā cha sat-

karmmanāṁ || pāyād-vā Vasu-Siddhā-Kinnara-nutra-trailokya-dipyō Harī || [2*]

Vasishṭha-kūpā-yajanāṁ kumaraṁ Pramārāntavya ya.7

1. The exact meaning of verse 20 is not clear to me, and there is a doubtful passage in verse 23.
2. By the northern system Chitrabrānu lasted from the 11th September A.D. 1039 to the 6th September A.D. 1040.
4. Abh. Beng. Vol. X. p. 671; I quote from one a few passages, to show what that text is like.
5. About 15 or 16 akṣaras are broken away at the commencement of the line. Ed. has Praṣamya Hari-
putra[ś]asavād Māyāśarma; i.e. [ś]vāṅkīriṣṭasṛivaṁ Vāśiṣṭha; but this, with the exception of the word Vāśiṣṭha, is a pure invention, suggested by verse 33 of the text.—Metre: Śūkta (Anahastham). Ed. 
8. I.e., apparently, “from whom the Pramāṇа family took its origin.” The word Pramāṇa seems to have been formed on the analogy of bandhūsa, jamātā, etc.
3 - 0 - 0 || C - 0 - 0 - 0 - O - O tōsaṃ bhūmyāṁ mahābalā yattra nṛtipā babhūvāḥ || [3*] Asy-ānvayē hy-Utpalarāja-nāmā1 Āranyakāpi tatō babhūvā || tasmād-babhūv-Ādhbhatkriṣṇarājō vikhyāta-kṛtīti kila vāsu.2


5 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - [raulah] kritibhih || [6*] Yēn-hṛtita sau[ṃ]sa-rya-balāna lakṣaṁ[na]4 vikhyāpaṁ nāmaṁ\(^{a}\) parasasuya-madhīye || asy-āpi bhāryā-Aṃrita- dēvi-tā(m)nām\(^{m}\) rūpēna ś(d)īlās kulōṇa yuktā || [7*] Utparinamasyāsuvī5 Pūrṇapālah pūrṇāṁ-imāśīh pālaya.


7 - 0 - 0 - [kō] || vikraṁītā mada-sā[ṃ]hini varasajjā naddhāḥ svakē marudīr || Pūrṇapāla\(^{12}\)-kulanprādita-uripatau sau[ṃ]sau-rya-vaṁśī dhārmikī13 || attra śrī-Paramāraṇāma-tilākā rājyān sthirām śāsī || [10*] \(^{14}\) Asy-ānūjā Lāḥpiṇā-nāma-


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1 Observe the hiatus.
2 Ed. has Vāduṇḍāḥ; but I suspect that the original had evasāddhānam (wrongly for evasāddhānam).
3 Ed. has Tasya-dānaḥ bhāḍalaya-pratiṣṭithāḥ Ārāurations evaśādvaṇāyaḥ.
4 Here this name might be read Vadhuddaka; but in the Bhārunda inscription of Pūrṇapāla the name is quite clearly Dhadhukā. The same name occurs in Nos. 210 and 609 of my Nārāyaṇa List. In a paper on the Chālamānas of Nāddhā I shall show that Dhadhukā also occurs, as another form of the name.
5 The reading is clear, but offends against the metre. Perhaps we should read vijītya-vrāhīḥ, where (as in the case of the first d of Pārāṣadāla in l. 7) the final a would have been wrongly lengthened.
6 This wrong form (for nīma) is clear in the original, and required by the metre. Ed. has kādāva.
7 Ed. has bhūrya Gāpribdā-vānī.
8 This is quite clear in the original; Ed., instead of it, has tasmād-amushyāna bhērē. I consider it quite possible that the author really wrote vtipaṇam-asy-ādivē in the sense of 'as his son was born,' incredible as this may seem to be.
9 Read aśtrāṇa-. Ed. has vijītya rādhāṇaṃ nāmaī pī bhūtān caṇḍapaddēti.
10 Metre: Drutavilambita.
11 Read, perhaps, sekucaḥ or sukuvcaḥ. Ed. has karipada maśibhdhatatasyāyād.
12 Metre: Śarāvāvīkṛtīdīta.
13 The akṣaras na rās are engraved below the line.
14 For the sake of the metre for Pārāṣadāla. Ed. has pūrṇaḥ Pākukalara-prādita āyādāyād.
15 Observe the hiatus.
16 This metre of verses 11-15: Indrāvaśya, Upendravaśya and Upayati.
17 For the sake of the metre for -kādāvōyād.
18 Ed. has yo dudnasauryagīrjarhadāyaśaṇyāh Kāṭikaraṇaḥ.
19 Read udhirātya. The following vēśāḥ (for vēśas) is clear in the original, and required by the metre.
20 Ed. has vandō maravāya-gōd.
21 Ed. has Vāllabhāraṇā-śīpō-Chand̄api.
vijitya lókān || [15*] 1Dvijihvaripuvāhanolalakanāntarāmānvitaḥ || kulōchchayakritōmaiv-vividhiṣṭachārakulākṣāṇ—for
vapah || svapaurushahṛtāvanis-balaniṇiṣṭhakṛtrō || [16*] 2Prōṭibhuhṣitaśakamalakaratalakṣaṃśu iṣaṃ-va kuśajñān rājā-Lāhuṃī-udhā-
vān3 saḥ || [17*] 3 Bhāryānaḥ śa ca-āvāya guṇāṇa samēṭṭaḥ chittēśṭām vāi-bubhujo ca bhūpanā || sā-pi priyaḥ prāpya patin-tu rēmē yadvac-Chhācā-Indrēṇa sāmān varētō || [18*] 4Asmin mṛtō bhartari daiva-yogā-pārthūrt-sa-grihān sā-pi gataḥ vyūkyaḥ || āvāsā tā vai nagarō Vāṭeś-smin daivāt-pra-
hinē bahuṣaḥ kramēṇa || [20*] 5Nagar-ānvayō-pī || || Taptān tapanī-Vāruṇī-sāpi yattra nyagronहa-saktē-yērama-māpavaya || sthānē-śrūkha-Bhargausvanāt6 Vasiśṭhaḥ mukti-pradau sthūpāravān-varishṭhaḥ || [20*] 7 Tadvaḍ-Vaṭā-
ākkhyānam nagaran ānāya-sminī. Tvaṣṭḥuḥ-praśādāt-kirtāvān.

n-Vasiśṭhaḥ || prākāra-vapi-ōpavanais-tadā[ga]śiḥ prāśāda-vēśmaih sughanāh
sautongeih || [21*] 8Śrūtimante-ōdāṃ sakshēbyānā shubāngavartta-saṁkulaṃ || vēdā-nāvavānā dvijāḥ samyga-yattra trīrv-sūpya-agaravitaḥ[ha] || [22*] 9Lōkār
dharmma-paraiv savakarmma-nirataḥ sadbhī sad-āvāsītam || vīryarthah10 [cha sa?] māgataiḥ pratiśāsaṁ nityam vajñibhir-vrītām || [pau-
rāni]bhi17 paṇiṣṭhān-vṛityasamākṣā[gu] sūdā(-sū)pain-jñānaiḥ saṁkulaṃ || Indra-sthānām-
iv-ōpāram Vāṭa-śuṣhā postalā samśhitam || [23*] 6Svar-udgata yattra sarit-Sevasavati svapāma-paṅk-tīvali19 niṣṭān

nimajjatam || supunyapuṣṭopadakpēnāḥ vāhīni dvij-āśramāṇām ājanaṇadhiṣṭhītaḥ || [24*] 7 Yē
darśvam-pālayaṇāt nāgarahita-ratā13 niṁtmaṇāt prāśūtāḥ || dēva-viprān-vyanjana kṣanadbhavanaṁvāstratanādi-dānāḥ || khyātir-yēśhāṁ cha
nityaṁ tri(tri)bhuvanā.

valayē sad-guṇāvēva nityā tē-smin-paurāṇa samastāḥ sakalājñasa-hitā Bhāṇēvē
bhaktimāntaḥ || [25*] 8Satētāgata Lāhuṇi-nāma-rājāḥ bharturv-viyogāṭhi-
nipādītāṅgī || asmin purē vayojana samēṭtya triptā [tu] tēśhām [va]chanēt-
prabuddhaḥ || [26*] 8Bhā-

nōr-grihām daiva-vaśād-vibhangaṃ Vasiśṭha-paurāṇa sukṛtma yad-āsīt || vaināśi14 sarvamā saha jīvātēna jñātvā grihām kāritam-hā Bhāṇēb || [27*]

1 Metre: Prāktāra.
2 This apparently is intended for an Ayā verse, but it is quite incorrect. Ed. omits the whole of it.
3 Read cāna-saḥ.
4 Metres of verses 18-21 : Indravajrā.
5 Read śpitaṁ ca, or, perhaps, śpitaṁ ca.
6 Read svarāja.
7 Instead of these words and of the first half of the following verse Ed. has Vasiśṭhaḥ kṛīdā-pi atē-āteatē-
yām Vasiśṭhapāṇḍavaśī-/pi (jātyamatraśā- Vāispīri pī) atra nyagṛhadhāy-dēranaḥ.
8 Wrong for tapō.
9 The intended reading may be—Mādaḥasaya, but I am not sure about the meaning of the verse. Some
legend, which is unknown to me, seems to be referred to.
10 Read eva-maṇi, or, perhaps, eva-maṇa.
11 Read sminē-śaḥ.
12 Metre: Āvīnśkṛitāṃ-
13 Read śvīrōja-
14 Wrong for ādityaṃ-jaśṭhā, which would not have suited the metre.
15 Metre: Śvēda (Aṃuśhāha).
16 Metre: Śārdūlavikṛtāḥ.
17 Read śvīlāyāñ[
18 There is hardly any doubt here about the actual reading, but the text must be incorrect. I cannot suggest
a satisfactory emendation ; Ed. has paṇḍavān-pagārājanaiḥ-
19 Metre: Vānāśastra.
20 Wrong for tāvāna-paṅk-tīvala, which would not have suited the metre.
21 Read jānaṇaccha niśhūli, 22 Metre: Śvajrā.
23 Read ṛutī.
24 Metres of verses 30-31 : Indravajrā.
25 Wrong for vināśi (or vināśīka), which would not suit the metre.
Susilasha-samdhiṁ ruchireṭaṁ sapdaṁ saśil-eśatakrāṁ cha sthira-sinkha-karunāṁ || yadvad-dhimārīś-dikharaiś-cha tadvat-kṛtvā ||

19 nikētaṁ Vata-vāśi-bhānoṁ ṭha [28*] Lōka-prap-aiśhā sukṛitā cha vāpy āstvaḥ saśilabhāsuddhā-ghaśitaṭpalāṁ cha || sāpāna-paṃktyā susuḥhā(bhā) subaddhā nirsī(śrī)u-bhūṭeśa divaukasasya || [29*] Devaiḥ samastaiṁ-riḥ(shi)bhiṁ-cha jauṭhā pāpāpaḥ vyāpya jagat-sthitā yā || ādyam-yaḥ


21 mudre pavana-vidhunītāṁ11 sanātatāḥ prāchehāhantī || yāvad-vyōme12 susīghram prachal[pa?]ṁ mihiś-ṣayaḥ(ā)na-yāca-chakrāḥ || vāpy-ōkau tāvad-āstām-13 udōkara-sadṛśau śreyasē kārakasya || [32*] || Kṛtā-śyāṁ Hari-pattveṣa Mātrīṣamma-dvijanmanā || āstāṁ-lōkā-hiṁ-ṭāṁ-

22 rthāya Lāhiniyāḥ-cha16 hit-aiśhāṁ || [33*] Āśaḥ-ṣeṣa Nāgāt-sthapatō-tu Durgāḥ || Durgākātō Déuka-sūtradhāraḥ || asy-āpi sūnaḥ Śivapāla-nāmā || yēn-ekkṛtā-śyāṁ17 susuḥhā praśastiḥ || [34*] || 18Navanavatir-ih-āśid- Vikramādiṭya-kāḷe || jagati

23 dasāṣatānāṁ-agratō yatraḥ pūrṇā [1*] prabhavati Nabha-māśe sthānākē Čittraśhānoṁ ṭhi Mrigaśirasa śaśāṃkō krishṇa-pakṣe navamyāṁ || [35*] ||

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No. 3.—ALUPA INSCRIPTIONS AT UDIYAVARA.

By Professor E. Hultsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

The ancient royal family of the Ālupas is one of those whose early history is wrapped in obscurity—"carent quæ vate sauro" as Horace (Carm. IV. 9) expresses it. All that was until recently known regarding them will be found on page 309 of Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.* A few additional records of them were published by Mr. Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnaticæ.* The Ālupas or Āluvas are referred to in inscriptions of the two Western Chalukya kings Pulakēśa II.19 and Vinyāditya, of the Rāshaṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III.,20 and of the Kādamba Jayakaśin I., and the poet Bīlāna mentions them in connection with his patron Vikramādiṭya VI. They are thus proved to have existed as a ruling family in the period from the seventh to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era.

As regards the name Ālupa, Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that it seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar coast.21 This is very improbable, because Ālūvāy (Alwy) is situated in Travancore, while the inscriptions of the Ālupas are

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1 Ed. omits this verse.
2 Read -vidhak-arpam.- This word vidhakarpas apparently is a technical term, relating to architecture.
3 Read -drēppitād., the preceding sāḥdāt for the sake of the metre stands for samādiḥ.
4 Read -vītēbdā ṭid.; the preceding sāḥdāt for the sake of the metre stands for samādiḥ.
5 Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).1
6 Observe the hiatus.
7 Read dēṭātānādād.; the preceding sāḥdāt for the sake of the metre stands for samādiḥ.
8 Read -drēppitād.
9 Read dotted.
10 Read -parāṭa(?).
11 For the sake of the metre for -vidhak-arpam.
12 Wrong for vyōmā, which would not have suited the metre.
13 This word is wrongly used here for datēṭā (from de) or yātēṭā (from as).
14 Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).2
15 The name of the queen is written here with (the dental) s.
16 Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).3
17 The name of the queen is written here with (the dental) s.
18 Metre: Indrāvajra.2
19 Metre: Mātāla.- Ed. omits the last Pāda of the verse and has instead of it as 1099.
20 See as above, Vol. VI. p. 10.
21 See below, p. 19 and note 7.
22 History of the Deccan, p. 61, note 3.
found in South Canara, Kadur and Shimoga. The original meaning of the word Álupa or Ájuva is probably 'a ruler,' from the Dravidian root ḍ, 'to rule.'

A few individual names of kings are preserved to us. The Sorab plates of Vinayaditya were issued at the request of Gunasagar-Álupendra's son Chitravaha-Maharak, who was in possession of the district (vishaya) of Edovelal in the N.E. of Banavasi in North Canara. According to the Harihar plates of Vinayaditya, which are dated two years after the Sorab plates, another village in the district (bho) of Edovelal, forming part of the Banavasi-manadala, was granted at the request of Ájuvaraja, i.e. perhaps Chitravaha-Maharak. The same two princes (Gunasagar and Chitravaha) may be meant in an inscription at Kigga in the Koppa taluka of the Kadur district, which states that, when Ájuvarasa, whose second name was Gunasagar, was ruling the Kadamba-manadala,— Ájuvarasa, (his) great queen and (his son) Chitravaha made a grant to a local temple. Another inscription (Kp. 37), which is on the other face of the same stone, is dated while some Chitravaha was ruling Pombuchchu, the modern Humcha. Finally, an inscription at Mava in the Sorab taluka of the Shimoga district states that in the time of Prabhatarasa Gondarasa, i.e. the Rashtra king Gouda III, a certain Chitravaha ruled the Ájvakheda six-thousand, while Rajadityarasa ruled the Banavasi-manadala.

If the Chitravaha of the first Kigga inscription was really the same person as the Chitravaha of the Sorab plates, it would follow that the Álupa or Ájuva prince Gunasagar was governor of the Kadamba-manadala, i.e. the Banavasi province, in or immediately before the time of the Western Chalukya king Vinayaditya, and that Gunasagar's son Ájuvaraja Chitravaha or Chitravaha I. granted two villages in the district of Edovelal, which formed part of the Banavasi province, during Vinayaditya's reign. Consequently Chitravaha I. seems to have succeeded his father Gunasagar in the government of Banavasi. In the time of Gouda III, however, the Banavasi-manadala had been taken from the Álupas and was entrusted to Rajaaditya, while the Ájvakheda six-thousand was administered by a second Chitravaha, who on the strength of his name may be assumed to have belonged to the Álupa family. To judge from the Mava inscription, he proved troublesome and had to be coerced by the force of arms. That Chitravaha, whom the second Kigga inscription mentions as residing at Humcha, may or not be identical with this Chitravaha II., but must be distinct from Chitravaha I., whose capital was most probably Banavasi. If this identification is correct, Pombuchchu, the modern Humcha, would have been the head-quarters of the Ájvakheda six-thousand, which in a later record is mentioned as Ájvakheda among the boundaries of the Poysa kingdom.

Mr. Rice's volumes contain many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient Álupas. These are the Chaagavas, Koogavas, Nàdjavas, Sàntaras, and the rulers of Kajasa and Kàrkala.

In the course of a tour in 1901, Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., discovered a number of archaic Kanarese pillar inscriptions of the Álupas at Udiyavara near Udipi in the South Canara.

4 Further remark on the same inscription will be found below, p. 21, note 3.
5 The Kanarese text has *pindavade* for *Pombuchadhde* in the Roman text.
6 See p. 17 below.
7 Ep. Csm. Vol. VIII. Sh. 10, with Plate facing p. 3 of the Roman texts.
10 Id. Vol. V. p. viii; Vol. IX. p. 18.
11 Id. Vol. V. p. viii.
district. Of these records I now edit the eight most complete and important ones. Regarding some difficult points in them I have consulted my old friends Venkayya and Krishna Sastri, whose remarks proved of much assistance in unravelling the meaning of these enigmatical ancient documents.

The first five Udyāvara inscriptions are on Virakals, i.e., stones set up as memorial of deceased heroes; the remaining three refer to grants of tolls. The three first inscriptions must all belong to the same period; for Nos. I. and II. mention a certain Raṇasāgara, and Nos. II. and III. one Śvetavāhana. These two names and, in addition to them, Chitravāhana in No. I. look like those of Ajuva princes, among whom we have already found a Guṇasāgara and two Chitravāhanas. As the alphabet resembles that of the Māvali inscription,1 we may identify the Chitravāhana of No. I. with Chitravāhana II., who ruled the Ājīvakhējā six-thousand in the time of Gōvinda III. Consequently Nos. I.-III. must be assigned to about A.D. 800. From the first few lines of No. I. we learn that Chitravāhana II. seized Udyāvara in the course of a war with Raṇasāgara, who seems to have been a rival claimant to the throne. Nos. II. and III. refer to the storming of Udyāvara by Śvetavāhana, and No. II. records the death, on this occasion, of a follower of Raṇasāgara. From this it may perhaps be concluded that, after the time of the inscription No. I., Raṇasāgara succeeded in ousting Chitravāhana II., but that, later on, he was in his turn defeated by Śvetavāhana, who may have been a near relative of Chitravāhana II.

The remaining Udyāvara inscriptions date from the reigns of the two Ājūpa, Ājuva or Ājiva kings Prithivisāgara (Nos. IV.-VI.) and Vijayāditya (Nos. VII. and VIII.) alias Māramma (No. VII.). It is impossible to say at present how these two princes were connected with Chitravāhana II., Raṇasāgara and Śvetavāhana. But, as the alphabet of their inscriptions agrees with that of Nos. I.-III., they must be assigned to the same period.

In each of the eight subjoined inscriptions Udyāvara is referred to by one of its older names Udayāpura (Nos. V. and VIII.), Udayapura (Nos. II., III., VI., VII.) or Udayapura (Nos. I. and IV.). In the three last it is mentioned together with Paṭi (No. VI.), Pombuĉcha (No. VII.) or Ponvulcha (No. VIII.). Paṭi and Pombuchcha are known to have been ancient names of the modern Humcha in the Nagar tāluka of the Shimoga district.3 This Humcha seems to have been the capital of the Ājūpa kings. For an inscription at Kigga is dated while Chitravāhana (II.) was ruling Pombuchcha.4

I.—Inscription of Chitravāhana (II.) and Raṇasāgara.

This inscription (No. 94 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the Śambhukallu temple at Udyāvara. It records that a follower of Chitravāhana (II.) met with his death when the 'lord of the earth' (viz. Chitravāhana) occupied and entered Udayapura (Udyāvara) 'during the trouble of Raṇasāgara,' i.e. in the course of a war with the latter.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śri [1]* Raṇa-
2 sāgaranā śaṁ (saṁ) ka-
3 ṭāḍu]-Udayapuraṁ
4 dhare[2] śaṁ-paḍo-po-
5 guvaḷī Vijaya-
6 nāya garā magan-Kā-

1 See above, p. 16 and note 7.  
3 See p. 16 above.
TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When during the trouble of Raṇasāgara¹ the lord of the earth² occupied and entered Udapyrusa, — Viṣṇuṇāyga’s³ son Kālīte, (who was) eminent in war, a lion in battle, brave as a lion, applying a castle-robe⁴ to the array (of his enemies), breaking the body of bold hostile armies, breaking in battle the array of the enemy’s forces, ascended to the abode of heaven, having fought⁵ (with) the splendour of a hero on account of Chitravahana.

II.—Inscription of Raṇasāgara and Śvētavahana.

This inscription (No. 108 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar lying near a well in the back-yard of Rāghavendra-bhaṭṭa’s house at Udiyāvara and commemorates the death in battle of a follower of Raṇasāgara. He fell while Udapyrusa (Udiyāvara) was entered by Śvētavahana, whom I take to have been the victorious opponent of Raṇasāgara. The dead warrior is described as a zealous devotee of the ‘lord of Paṭṭī,’ and he and his two immediate ancestors as adherents of the ‘Paṭṭa lord.’ Paṭṭi (or Pombuchha) is the modern Humcha.⁶ It may be concluded from the present inscription that this town was the seat of the head of a Śaiva matha.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [I*] Raṇa[śa]-
2 garanā ānu Viṣṇu-
3 Pra[hā]rabhūsha-
4 ṇanā magan Kā-
5 makōjan tammattu-
6 mūvarā Paṣupā(pa)taṇ
7 namvrān g=ṭo[v]ā[do]ṛā

¹ I.e. 'the trouble caused by Raṇasāgara.'
² Viz. probably the Chitravahana mentioned in l. 16 f.
³ Ndya* is a tadhāra of ndya.*
⁵ Here and in the four next inscriptions śrī is the same as īrī, 'to strike, to stab.'
⁶ See p. 17 above.
⁷ As suggested to me by Rāj Bahadur Venkayya, nombrda is meant for the Tamil nambrdy, 'lord' (literally: 'our lord'); read nambrddy.
8 nālageyan ki(ki)。
9 ḍon Paṭṭi-
10 odėyong-liā(va)-
11 doran=Paṭṭi-nāl-pā-
12 yron Śvētavāhā-
13 nan Udayapu-
14 tamān poguva-
15 lii egidu śva(sva)-
16 rgga(rggā)layakk=egri-
17 [don] [!!*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvētavāhana was entering Udayapura,— Ranaśāgara’s servant, Viśā Praharabhūhana’s son Kāmakōṭa, who pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Pasupata lord of those three persons themselves, (and) who seized, destroyed and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of Paṭṭi, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (his enemies).

III.—Inscription of Śvētavāhana.

This inscription (No. 105 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the same house as the preceding inscription and commemorates the death of another hero on the same occasion.

TEXT.

1 Svasti ārī [!!*] Pāṇḍyavī-
2 liarasādī maga-
3 n=Devu sādu(dhu)-priyan=a-
4 sādu(dhu)jana-varjitan=Śvē-
5 tavāhanar=Udaya-
6 puramān=poguvalli
7 egidu svarggālaya-
8 kk=egidon [!!*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvētavāhana was entering Udayapura,— Pāṇḍyavillarasa’s son Dēvu, (who was) beloved by the good (and) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (his enemies).

IV.—Inscription of Prithivisāgara.

This inscription (No. 103 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the south-west corner of the court-yard of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyāvara. It forms the memorial of a warrior who was killed when Prithivisāgara stormed Udayapura (Udiyāvara) after his coronation.

TEXT.

1 Svasti ārī [!!*] Pri-
2 thivisāgara-

1 Read odęyong-.
2 I.e. the Pasupata priest whose adherents Kāmakōṭa, his father Praharabhūhana (and his grandfather) Viśāja were. I owe this explanation to Dr. Fleet. With tamattu-mācār compare tamattu-agovar and tamattu-āvvar in Kittel’s Kannada Grammar, p. 241. Dr. Fleet has noted the similar expression tamattu-irāvār or tamattu-irāvār, above, Vol. VI. p. 161, note 7.
3  n-paṭṭaṁ  gaṭṭi-
4  sī  Ud(e)ya-
5  puramān-po-
6  gutappalli  Na-
7  ndaḷumnuḍiya-
8  rā  magan-Pali-
9  paiṛa  eriḍu
10  svarggālaya-
11  kk-égiḍon  [||*]

**TRANSLATION.**

Hail! Prosperity! When Prithivisāgara, having had (himself) crowned, was entering Udeyapura,— Nandaḷumnuḍi’s son Palipaiṛa, having struck down (his enemies), ascended to the abode of heaven.

V.—Inscription of Prithivisāgara.

This inscription (No. 101 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple and records that another follower of the Ājupa king Prithivisāgara fell at the storming of Udayāpura (Udiyāvara).

**TEXT.**

1  Svasti  śrī  [||*]  Prithu(thi)visāgara
2  śāmad-Ājupendra  dushṭa-bhaya-
3  škaragge  ishta-bhṛityan-appa  Po-
4  lokku  Priyachelva  [U]da[yā]-
5  puraman  pugutappa-
6  lī  śha[pa](va)-ra[ṅga]dul=uru-
7  bhāṭara  [a]ridu  Priyache-
8  lva  chevra-śanpanna1  ka[kha]la-
9  [ja*]-na-varjītan  dharegī(ṛ)-
10  [śa*]-āge  ovdora  pata-
11  [t]iya  alidu  suralō-
12  kakke  ēgidan  [||*]  Kejeya
13  Vāl[ē]ryan  niṣisida  [||*]

**TRANSLATION.**

Hail! Prosperity! When Polokku Priyachelva, who was the beloved servant of Prithivisāgara, the glorious Ājupendra, the terror of the wicked, was entering Udayāpura,—(this) Priyachelva, (who was) endowed with beauty (and) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the world of the gods, having struck down great warriors on the stage of battle (and) having destroyed the foot-soldiers of those who were not attached to the lord of the earth.3 (His) friend Vājegeya set up (this memorial stone).4

VI.—Inscription of Prithivisāgara.

This inscription (No. 102 of 1901) is engraved on another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. It opens with the name and birudas of the Ājupa or Ājuva king

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1 Read -sampanna.
2 As Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests, paṭati is perhaps a tadākha, used collectively, of paṭṭī.
3 Fiz. the Ājupa king Prithivisāgara.
4 Hāl Bahadur Venukayya would prefer to take ērg as synonymous with the Tamil ēru and to translate: “Kejeya set up (this stone representing) a chief (with) a sword (in his hand).”
Prithiviṣāgara, who claimed descent from the lunar race and bore the surnames Udayāditya and Uttama-Pāḍya, and records that he confirmed a previous grant of tolls to the two cities (nagara) of Udayasura (Udyāvara) and Paṭi. The last is evidently the same as Paṭi, the modern Humcha. The imprecatory passage at the end of this inscription and of the two next ones (VII. and VIII.) mentions two sacred places: Vāraṇaṣi and Shivavalli. The former is of course the modern Benares. Regarding the second, Mr. Krishna Sastri contributes the following information:

"The Shivalli (Śivalli) sect of Brāhmaṇas in South Canara take their name from this place. In the Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. III. p. 610, we are told that the town Oodipī (Uḍipi), 'considered the most sacred spot in the Canarese country,' is 'formed of parts of Badagbett, Moodanidambore, Poollore and Shivully villages.' In the Madras Postal Directory Shivalli figures as a village served by the Uḍipi post office."

TEXT.

1 Svasti śri [||*] Prīdhun(thi)visāgara
2 śrīmād-Ājupendra Śomavānīhē-
3 dhāva kulatilakan Udayāditya
4 Uttama-Pāḍya śrīmād-Ājūvara[n].-
5 r=Būjgaṃdvamara nāṭu-mudimeyn[1]
6 Udayasurara nā(ma)agara-sahitam Pa-
7 tiya nagarakke jaladuṇam sthala[du]-
8 laṁ sunkam=ardha-dāna kāḍa[n] [|^*] Udayas[pu]-
9 rauṇīgara mangan[Ś]ihingadattan[ṃ] Ku[mā]-
10 ra Egeyanu Raṇāvīka[mara][nātha]-
11 nu Sandavaradara Kaṇaḍa[ri][ni] [|^*] [1].
12 du a(ā)chandran[ā]k[ā]ma nilpu[d=a]ke[kke] [|^*]
13 Idan=vakram-illāde kāḍu sali[po]-
14 a[n]āṇvamādhada pa[pha]la-prāpti sku[kkuñā] [|^*]
15 Idan=aśivon=Vāraṇa(nā)siyu[m śi(śi)va-
16 va]litumana[a]līda pa[ccha[ma]-
17 ha(ha)pātaka-saṁ(saṁ)yut[ar-apar [|^*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! During Būjgavarna's headmanship of the district, Prithiviṣāgara, the glorious Ājupendra, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the ornament of (his) family, Udayāditya Uttama-Pāḍya, the glorious Ājūvara, confirmed the gift of one half (of) the tolls both on water and on land to the city of Paṭi, together with the city of Udayasura. (The recipients of this gift were) Udayasuranaṅga's son Singadatta; Kumāra Egega; Raṇāvīka[mara][nātha], and Sandavaradara's (son) Kaṇaḍa. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (To) him who without fraud confirms and grants this, shall be the acquisition of the fruit of a horse-sacrifice. He who destroys this, shall be covered with the five great sins (of one) who destroys Vāraṇaṣi and Śivavalli.

1 See p. 17 above.
2 See Kittel's Kannaḍa Grammar, § 183, 8.
3 As suggested to me by Rāi Bhāsara Venuṣaya. naṇa-mudime is the equivalent of the Tamil naṇa mudumai, 'the headmanship of a district.' Compare Ep. Carn. Vol. VI. Kp. 38, where Kundavarmanur naṇa mudima gey (this is the reading of the Text in Kannaḍa characters, p. 325) has to be translated by 'while Kundavarmanur was headman.'
4 The words ida paḍedey may be supplied from VII. 1. 10, and VIII. 1. 10 f.
5 See above, p. 18, note 3.
VII.—Inscription of Vijayāditya Mārama.

This inscription (No. 98 of 1901) is engraved on two contiguous faces of another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. Like the preceding inscription, it confirms a previous grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayapura (Udiyāvara) and Pombulcha (Humcha). The Ājupa or Ājva king who confirmed this grant was called Vijayāditya Mārama. Like the Prithivasīgarā of the preceding inscription, he bore the surname Uttama-Pāṇḍya and traced his descent from the lunar race. Besides, he claimed the sovereign titles Paramēśvara and Adhirājarāja.

TEXT.

1 Ōṁ¹ svasti śrī [***] Vijaya[ā]ditya Āju-
2 pėndra paramāśava[śa]ra adhirā[ā].²
3 jarkājan Uttama-Pāṇḍyan-Śo(sō)mavanāsō.
4 dbhava śrī-Mārāmm-Ājvarasār [U]³
5 Udayapurada naka(ga)ra-sahitaṁ Pombu-
6 lohada naka(ga)rakke sunka kāduṁ saṅku-
7 rakke [pu]ṭṭige ondare maḷavege pa-
8 līti padināru palaṁ aṣajaṁya pē-
9 ṭīṅga(ṅe) māṇ(ā)ra vejasina pēṭīṅge
10 padina(mā)ru pala[mṁ] [***] Idā paḷedor Su-
11 sēnavadiyara Svarṇapūgāsai Mutta-
12 varara Aḍiyapaseṭṭiyu Mandukara
13 Parasēbyan Sēnavadiyara Nagakumārān [***]
14 Idn a(ā)chandratāraka[mṁ] nilpud-akke [***] Idā kādo
15 atṭagupa asva(sva)mēda(dha)da pa(pha)lam-akke [***]
16 Idan-alido B[ā]raṇāṣṭiyu Śivavalleṭṭi-
17 ma alīḍa paḷichchamaha(hā)pīṭakam-ak[sa][(kk)uṁ] [***]
18 Raḍadhārī-liṅkhiṁ ||⁴

TRANSLATION.

Ōṁ. Hail! Prosperity! Vijayāditya Ājupēndra Paramēśvara Adhīrājarāja Uttama-
Pāṇḍya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the glorious Mārāmm-Ājvarasār, confirmed the tolls (due) to the city of Pombulcha together with the city of Udayapura, (viz.) per double bag (of grain),¹ one and a half basket² (of grain); per malave³ (of cotton), sixteen pala (of) cotton; per load of areca-nuts, three hundred (nuts); and per load of pepper,⁶ sixteen pala (of pepper). They who obtained this (were) Susēnavadi's (son) Svarṇapūgāsai,⁷ Muttavara's (son) Aḍiyapaseṭṭi, Mānduka's (son) Parasēbya, (and) Sēnavadi's (son) Nagakumāra. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (To) him who confirms this, let there be the eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice! (To) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (of one) who destroys Bāraṇāsi and Śivavalleṭṭi. Written by Raḍadhārī.

¹ Expressed by a symbol.
² Corrected from a. The engraver has for the sake of clearness repeated the a at the beginning of the next line.
³ In the original the final stop is represented by a four-petalled flower.
⁴ Sāṅkurā is perhaps the same as saṅkara No. 4 in Kittel's Kannada Dictionary: 'a double sack for manure and grain to be carried on the back of a bullock.'
⁵ Puṭṭige is the same as puṭṭi, 'a basket.'
⁶ Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests that this may be another form of mapa or mapara, 'a mound.'
⁷ Originally I had taken ceḷaṇu for keḷaṇu, 'corn.' But as the toll was not levied by measure, but by weight, I adopt Mr. Krishna Sastri's suggestion, who compares meḷaṇu, 'black pepper.'
⁸ With gṛṇasi compare gṛṇāiga in the inscription VIII. 1. 11, and Dr. Fleet's remarks, above, Vol. VI. p. 255, note 3.
VIII.—Inscription of Vijayaditya.

This inscription (No. 97 of 1901) is found on the same pillar as the preceding one (VII.). It is engraved on the same two contiguous faces as VII., but begins at the opposite end of the pillar, which must have been placed upside down when the new inscription (VIII.) was incised on it. A third face of the pillar bears six lines of writing (15-20) which appear to be connected with VIII. This circumstance enables us to conclude that VIII. was engraved at a later date than VII. When the writer of VIII. had reached line 14, he was confronted with the end of the inscription VII., and was therefore obliged to finish his copy on another face of the pillar.

The contents of VIII. resemble those of VII. The king is the same; only one of his names, Máramma, is omitted here. He is stated to have confirmed the same grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayāpura (Udiyāvara) and Ponvulcha (Humcha). But the names of the local representatives receiving the grant differ from those in VII. This shows that some time must have elapsed between the incision of both records, although both belong to the same reign.

TEXT.

First and Second Faces.

1 Svasti śrī [||]* Vijayādhi(dirtyan
2 Ājupendra paramāśara ā(a)-
3 dhī(dhī)rājājan Uttama-
4 Pāṇḍyan=Sāmavānābhavan1
5 Ājuvarasar Arakellarā
6 nāṭu(madhi(me)| Udaya-
7 pura(na)(na)(sa)(ha) Ponvulcha-
8 da(na)(ma)(na)(na)(k)(a) arddā(rddh)-[dā]na
9 kā(daha) avargge āṭṭaguna
10 asva(śva)māda(dha)dā pa(ph)a)lam-akkum [||]* Idā
12 Koḷalsaṭṭiyarā Madāman Vīja[ṇa]-
13 Ṭṭigara Dhemmanhygan=Maṇugasa-
14 ttavar Sarvvavandu Puleyaran[||]

Third Face.

15 Ī okkal-pađed[du]-
16 vu [||]* Idā aśiva
17 Sivavājīiyu[3] Vā-
18 rāṇāsityuman
19 alida pačchama-
20 hāpataka=akkum [||]*

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! The eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice shall be to him—Vijayaditya Ājupendra Paramāśara Adhirājāraja Uttama-Pāṇḍya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, Ājuvarasā—who, during Arakella's headmanship,of the district,5 confirmed the gift of

1 Read =Sāmavānābhavan.
2 Read Muttavurer, as in VII. l. 11 f.
3 Read Śivavājīiyuś.
4 The s of khwa is expressed by two different symbols behind and below the kh.
5 See above, p. 21, note 8.
one half of the tolls to the city of Ponvulchira together with the city of Udayāpurā. They who obtained this (were) Muttavara’s (son) Saruvigōṣīga, Koḍalaṣṭhik’s (son) Madāmma, Vijayaṣṭhi’s (son) Dharmāṇāyaka,1 Maṇḍugātītāvya, Sarvavandu2 (and) Paḷeyarmā. These ryots obtained (it). (To) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (of one) who destroys Śivaśaṅkī and Vāraṇāsī.

No. 4.—TWO GRANTS OF INDRARAJA III;
SAKA-SAMVAT 836.

By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

These two epigraphic documents were first brought to the notice of the students of Indian antiquities by the late H. H. Dhruba, who published a transcript of them with his remarks in the Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges. Vol. XL. p. 322 ff. They were afterwards edited with lithographs by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with a translation by Mr. (now Prof.) S. R. Bhandarkar, in the Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol. XVIII. p. 253 ff. About three years ago, when Prof. Hultsch first thought of having the inscriptions re-edited in this Journal, no trace whatever of them could be found, and it was on a chance visit to the State Museum at Baroda in 1903 that I saw the plates exhibited there. On my informing Prof. Hultsch of their whereabouts, he asked Rai Bahadur Venkayya to obtain them on loan through the Resident at Baroda from the Curator of the Baroda State Museum, and I re-edit the inscriptions at the suggestion of Prof. Hultsch, and from the excellent ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

[Along with the two sets of plates, two seals were received from the Resident at Baroda in December 1903. As the seals had been detached from the plates, it was not possible to ascertain which seal belonged to which set. But before returning the plates and seals on the 7th December 1904, I put down some notes about them, of which the following is a copy.

[The plates measure on an average 13" by 9½". The rings bearing both the seals had been cut before they were received in my office. The larger of the two seals measures about 3" by 2½". The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the seal is 3½" in diameter and ½" thick. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, as the principal figure, an image of Garuḍa—whose wings are distinctly seen—squatting on a seat which is probably meant to consist of two serpents. These appear to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands, each of which is holding a hood. What looks like his sacred thread is perhaps a third serpent. The Garuḍa faces to the full front and has on his proper right a representation of Gaṇapati in the upper corner, lower down a chaury, and below it a lamp. On the proper left in the upper corner is a goddess riding on a lion, and below the lion a svastika surmounted by a chaury. On each side of the head of Garuḍa is a circle which may be meant for the sun and moon. Below the squatting Garuḍa is an inscription which is not quite distinct, but which seems to be सौमायविष्णु. Along the margin of the seal is a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a liṅga and an elephant-god are recognisable. The emblems on the smaller seal, which measures about 1½" by 1½", are also cut in relief on a countersunk surface, but are not quite distinct. The central figure is Garuḍa, squatting, as in the bigger seal, apparently on a couch consisting of two serpents, which seem to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands. Each of the hands of Garuḍa appears to hold a hood. What looks like his sacred thread may be a third serpent. To his proper right at the upper corner is a projection which may stand for Gaṇapati, and below it is a lamp stand. To the proper left at the upper corner is another

1 See above, p. 18, note 3.
2 I.e. Sarvabandhu.
projection; which is perhaps intended to represent a goddess. Below the goddess is a lamp stand above a veṣṭika. The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the smaller seal measures 3" in diameter and ½" in thickness. Two sets of impressions of each of the two inscriptions were sent to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in August 1903.—V.V.]

As regards the find-spot of the plates, H. H. Dhrupa, who first edited them, says:—"On the 6th of July 1881, as a Dubia servant of Mulji Khusah, Patel of Bagumrā, was furrowing the earth with the plough in his field, the ploughshare drew out of it these plates." This clearly shows that the plates were found at Bagumrā, and consequently we must, as was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn,1 speak of them as Bagumrā, and not as Nānsāri, charters of A.D. 915.

Each of the two sets consists of three copper-plates, which are, to judge from the impressions, about 13" long and 9" broad. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates, and on both sides of the second plate. The engraving is clear and well executed. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may be drawn to $g$ in gatasya and svargya, l. 13; to $s$ in lādchhana, l. 8, and viśāb, l. 13; to $m$ in "mnauṣṭya-pu," l. 17, "mnauṣṭya," l. 57, and grāmakītā, l. 46; to $bh$ in bhāga, l. 28; and to $s$ in santarpāpa, l. 57, so far as the first record is concerned; and to $k$ in kānt-śīla, l. 1; to $kh$ in kākha, l. 29; to $j$ in saras-asūbhājī, l. 5, and jagati, l. 7; and to $bh$ in kaustubha, l. 2, so far as the second record is concerned. The language is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. The letter $b$ is throughout denoted by the sign for $v$; consonants are doubled after $r$; visarga has been (permissibly) omitted once before the following $th$ in vakha-thāla, l. 2 of both grants; $v$ has been substituted for $s$ in kāpcha, l. 11 of No. II.; visarga followed by $s$ has been at least thrice changed to that letter in Raspigrahas-samahavā, l. 33, "palakšītas-sūdrabhga, l. 51, and lakha-surddha, l. 55 of the second record; anuevāra followed by a nasal has been twice changed to that letter in sammānita, l. 18 of No. I. and l. 20 of No. II., and in gopdśāŋandama-rayana, l. 6 of No. I.; the dental nasal has been used instead of an anuevāra before $s$ in śanasī, 25 of No. I. and l. 27 of No. II. Lastly, the same word is spelt lādchhana in No. I. l. 8, but lādchchana in No. II. l. 9.

Each of these three grants registers the grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇa, made by the Rāṣṭrakūta king Indra III. or, as he is described in lines 43-45 of No. II.,1 the P.M.P., the prosperous Nityavarshanaṇṇendrādeva, who meditated on the feet of the P.M.P., the prosperous Akālavarshadēva,2 i.e. his grandfather Kṛishna II. Indra III. had, when the grants were made, gone to Kurundaka from his capital Māṇyakhetā for the pāṭambandha festival. On that occasion he had himself weighed against gold, and, without coming out from the pan, gave away, together with twenty lakṣhas and a half of drāmmas, Kurundaka and other villages, granted afresh four hundred villages resumed by previous rulers, and finally bestowed the village of Tenna, according to No. II., on a Brāhmaṇa of the Lakahmaṇa gōtra, a student of the Vāji-Mādhyanāganda śākhā, and named Siddhaphalabhaṭṭa, the son of Śrī-Vennapaḥaṭṭa, originally of Pāṭaliputra; and the village of Umbar (or Umbarā), according to No. I., on a Brāhmaṇa of the same gōtra and student of the same śākhā as the above grantees, but named Prabhakarabhaṭṭa, the son of Rānapabhaṭṭa. The charters are dated, in words, on the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phāguna of the Yuvā-sanvatsara, the Śaka year 836 (expired), which corresponds to the 24th February A.D. 915.

After the introductory ēṣu veṣṭi and the opening verse invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and Śiva with which almost all the Rāṣṭrakūta grants begin, we have verse 2 in praise of

1 See above, Appendix to Vol. VII. p. 15, note 5.
2 For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. VII. p. 27, note 2.
the god Krishna. In the verse following we find Indrarajadeva (III.), the royal grantor of the charters, compared to the god Upendra (Vishnu). In verse 4 we are informed that the god Brahman sprang from the water-lily in the navel of Vishnu, from Brahman his son Atri, from Atri the Moon, and from the Moon the dynasty of the Yadus, where Krishna was born. In the next verse we are told that there arose king Dantidurga in the Satyaki branch of the Yadu dynasty, to whom of herself repaired the goddess of sovereignty of the Chalukya family. This means that Dantidurga was the first Rashtrakuta king who defeated the Chalukyas and made himself master of their dominions. From verse 6, if we notice the double entendre clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga first reduced the lowermost, i.e. southern, country, then turned his arms against the Madhyadisa, and finally conquered the city of Kachchh. According to an inscription in the Dasavatara cave at Elura, Dantidurga subdued the rulers of Kachchh, Kalinga, Kosala, Srishaila, Malava, Lata, Tikka, and so forth. If we are right in understanding verse 6 as we have done, Dantidurga first gained victories in the South and conquered the kings of Srishaila, Kalinga, and so forth, then turned to the central part of India and subjugated the princes of Kosala, Malava, Lata, and so forth, and finally came back again to the South and vanquished the lord of Kachchh.

Verse 8 tells us that after Dantidurga his paternal uncle Krishnaraja (I.) came to the throne. The next verse makes mention of his son Nirupama (Dhruva), but omits the name of his elder brother Govinda II., probably because the author of the inscription wanted to give a direct genealogy of the royal grantor, with reference to whom Govinda II. was a collateral prince, while he mentioned the name of Dantidurga as the latter was the founder of the dynasty. But by no means can this omission be taken as favouring the view that Govinda II. did not reign. I have elsewhere adduced reasons for dissenting from this view; and in support of my position may now be stated the incontrovertible fact that the Dhuli copper-plate grant of Govinda II.'s nephew and feudatory Suvarnavarsha-Karka distinctly refers itself to his reign, and gives the date Shaka 701, when we must consequently suppose Govinda II. to have been alive and wielding supremacy. Verse 10 informs us that Nirupama (Dhruva) won two white parasols in battle, one from the lord of Kosala and the other from the king of the North. Who these princes were we have no means to determine. But it looks tempting to identify the king of the North either with the Indravasanta mentioned in the Jaina Harivamsha, or with Chakravatya, the ruler of Kauaj and contemporary of Dharmapala of the Pala, and of Govinda III. of the Rashtrakuta dynasty.

Verse 11 says that from Nirupama (Dhruva) sprang Jagatunga (Govinda III.), who, in his turn, begat Srivallabha (Amoghavarsha I.). The next verse tells us that Amoghavarsha

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4 In an unpublished grant of Amoghavarsha I. in the possession of my brother Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, two princes of the names of Chakravatya and Dharma are mentioned as having gone to the Himalayas to do homage to Govinda III. who had gone thither on an expedition of conquest. It can hardly be seriously doubted that Dharma is Dharmpala, the second prince of the Pala dynasty, and that Chakravatya is the same as the Chakravatya of the Bhagalpur grant, whom Dharmpala restored to his lost throne. Prof. Kielhorn (Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Gottingen, 1906, p. 303) has already identified this Chakravatya with the Chakravatya of the Gwalior inscription, who was conquered by Naga, Naga, who was a contemporary of Govinda III. (Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XXI. p. 422, note 2). We have thus four princes, viz. Govinda III., Nagabhata, Chakravatya and Dharmpala, who were contemporaries. We know from Rashtrakuta records that Govinda III. reigned from A.D. 794 to 813. We must, therefore, suppose Dharmpala to have flourished about this time. As this synchronism was not known before, it was not right to assign Dharmpala to A.D. 801, the date of the Pathari inscription referring itself to the reign of the Rashtrakuta prince Parabala (Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Gottingen, 1901, p. 525 f.). But now we see that this date would be rather too late for Dharmpala. Besides, there is nothing to show that this Parabala is, as a matter of fact, identical with Parabala, the father-in-law of Dharmpala.
I. raised the glory of the Rāṣṭa sovereignty immersed in the ocean of the Chalukyas and thereafter assumed the epithet Vīranārāyaṇa. If we read between the lines, we cannot fail to notice that the Rāṣṭhrakūṭa sovereignty had been shaken by the Chalukyas of Vāṇgi to its very foundations in the early part of Amoghavarsha's reign. The Chalukya contemporary of Amoghavarsha I. was Narendramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II.,1 who, in an Eastern Chalukya record, is represented to have fought, during twelve years, by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Gangas and the Rāṭas. The latter can be no other than the Rāṣṭhrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ, and it thus appears that Narendramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II. was a powerful king. We can, therefore, very well understand that he might have for a time eclipsed the glory of the Rāṣṭhrakūṭas. Amoghavarsha I., however, was by no means slow to retrieve his lost reputation, and seems to have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the Chalukyas, whom, as verse 13 informs us, he destroyed, just as a man burns chick-pea plants, the stalks of which have been pulled out by the root. That he inflicted a severe defeat on the Eastern Chalukyas can also be seen from the Cambay and Sāungi charters,2 in which he is said to have gratified the god Yama with unprecedented morsels of cakes which were the Chalukyas. Verse 13 incidentally gives us the information, if my interpretation is correct, that the Chalukyas whom Amoghavarsha I. vanquished had devastated Stambapura, which is the same as Tāmralipta, identified with the modern Tamluk, the head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name of the Midnapur district, Bengal.

From Śrīvallabha(-Amoghavarsha I.), who was a comet of destruction to the Chalukya family (v. 14), sprang Krishṇarāja (II.), whose fights with the Gūrjars used to be still remembered by old men, as we are informed in verse 15. I have elsewhere pointed out that the Gūrjars, with whom the Rāṣṭhrakūṭas were often at war, ruled over Northern India and had their capital at Mahādyā or Kanaunj, and consequently the Gūjara prince defeated by Krishṇarāja II. (A.D. 888-911) must have been Mahendrapāla (A.D. 899-907), the patron of the poet Rājaśekhara.

Krishṇarāja II. had a son of the name of Jagatunța (v. 16), who married Lakshmī, the daughter of Rāṇavigrāha, the son of Kokkalla of the Haihaya, i.e. Kalachuri, dynasty (vv. 17-19). It is worthy of note that Raṇavigrāha is here called Chēdī-lēvara, i.e. lord of Chēdī. The same fact is hinted by a verse in Jāhiṇa's Śāktimuktrāvalī, quoted by Dr. Bhandarkar in his paper on the Karhāḍ plates of Krishṇa III.,3 which purports to say that of rivers the Narmadā, of kings Raṇavigrāha, and of poets Sūrānanda were the ornaments of Chēdī. The name Raṇavigrāha does not occur in the list of the names of the Kalachuris of Chēdī. From a Ratanpur inscription,4 however, we learn that Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was a ruler of Tripuri, and the others lords of maṇḍalas, i.e. minor chiefs. If this statement deserves any credence, Raṇavigrāha, being a ruler of Tripuri, i.e. of Chēdī, and not of a maṇḍala, was the eldest son, and the successor of Kokkalla. But from the Benares copper-plate inscription5 it appears that Kokkalla was followed by his son Mūgda-tūṅga-Prasiddhāvalla. We may, therefore, suppose that Raṇavigrāha and Mūgda-tūṅga-Prasiddhāvalla were one and the same prince.

The issue of the marriage of Jagatunța with Lakshmī was Indrarāja (III.), whose epithets Rāṣṭa-Kandarpadeva and Śri-Kirti-Nārāyaṇa are mentioned in verses 20 and 21. The next verse contains a double entendre, and so far as its mythological sense goes, it does not present any difficulty. But the historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name of Upendra by the Rāṣṭhrakūṭa prince Indrarāja III. But who this Upendra was, and how the epithets krita-

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1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 100.  
4 *Id.* Vol. II. p. 301.
Góvardhan-óddhára and hél-ónmátila-Mérú, used in connection with the kings Upéndra and Indrarája respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upéndra referred to Mahipála of the Pratihára dynasty of Mahédya, for whom I then contended that the Bhágalpur grant of the Pála dynasty gave the other name Chakráyudha. But I have stated above that, beyond all doubt, Dharmapála and Chakráyudha, whom he re-instated on the throne, were contemporaries of the Ráshtrakúta prince Góvinda III. Chakráyudha cannot, therefore, be identified with Mahipála, who was a contemporary of Indra III., the great-great-grandson of Góvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanalal Indrájí, the word Mérú in the expression hél-ónmátila-Mérú signifies Mérú or Mérhá, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary Mérá king of North Káthákávíd by Indrarája III. Prof. Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that Mérú probably is Mahédya, i.e. Kanají, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanají by Indrarája III. specified in the Śúhrí charter. With regard to the other expression, viz. krita-Góvardhan-óddhára, no interpretation has been proposed, and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse.

In the preamble of the proose passage preceding the formal part of the inscription, the P. M. P. Śríman-Nityavarsharánaréndradéva, i.e. Indrarája III., is spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of the P. M. P. Śrímad-Akálavarshadové, i.e. his grandfather Krishná II. This indicates that Jagattunga, the father of Indrarája III., did not come to the throne. The same may be concluded from the statement of our inscriptions that the battles of Krishnarája II. were remembered and described by old men in Indra III.'s time. This shows that hardly a generation had passed since the occurrence of that event, and that consequently there was no Ráshtrakúta sovereignty intervening between Krishná II. and Indra III. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that the Káhrépata grant of Rańtarája, in setting forth the Ráshtrakúta genealogy, takes the succession direct from Krishná II. to Indra III., and refers to Jagattunga only further on as the father of Amóghavarsha-Vaddiga. But our conclusion is placed beyond all doubt by the Déról and Káhrépá plates of Krishná III., which distinctly speak of Jagattunga as having died without obtaining the sovereignty.

The composer of our inscriptions was Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Némáditya. There can hardly be a doubt that he is identical with Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of the Nalachampá, of the Śaṅgiliya gótara, and the son of Némáditya (var. leot. Dédáditya). Another Śaṅgiliyakari-chakravartí Trivikrama was the sixth ancestor, of the astronomer Bhágkara-bhaṭṭa, a contemporary of king Bhója of Dhára. The oldest mention of Trivikrama is in Bhója's Saravat’khaṇḍhá-vañjar, while he himself quotes Bāga. The authorship of a Maddalasad-champá is also attributed to this Trivikrama.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grants, Pitaliputra from where the grantee of No. II. emigrated is obviously Paññá, the principal town of the district of the same name in Bengal, and Mánayákheṭa, the capital of the royal grantor, is Málikhódd in the Nizam’s Dominions. Kurundaka, where Indrarája III. had repaired for his paññabandha, was first identified by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson with Kurundwád at the junction of the Krishná and Pañcha-ghágreghá in the Southern Marātha country. In No. I. the village granted is Umvará (or Umbará) near Kánnampiṣṭa in the country of Létá, and the boundaries specified are Tólejaka to E., Mógaliká to S., Sánhk to W., and Javála-kúpaka to N. Umvará as was first pointed

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1 Above, Vol. VII. p. 32.
3 See above, p. 26, note 4.
4 See above, Appendix to Vol. VIII. p. 16, note 2.
8 History of Gujarát, p. 130, note 3.
out by Dr. Bhandarkar, is the modern Bagumra, with the prefix bag.¹ Tölajaka and Môgalikâ cannot be identified, but Saunik and Javalakâpaka are Saunik, one mile S. W. of Bagumra, and Jolwa, one and a half mile N. of Bagumra. In No. II. the village granted is Tenna near Kammapijja, and the boundaries specified are Vârṇâpallikâ (or Bârañâ) to E., Nâmbhitātaka to S., Vâlliâ (or Ballá) to W., and Vâvviyâna (or Bâbhiyâna) to N. They have been identified with Ten, Bârdjoti, Nâdida, Wunosa and Baben respectively. Kammapijja, in the vicinity of which lay both the villages granted, is Kâmrej. All these villages are to be found in the Naušâri division of the Baroda State. The Bagumra grant of the Gujarât Râshtrakûta Dhrûva II. mentions Trenna, both as a village and a territorial division, and speaks of the village of Trenna as having been bestowed upon a certain Brâhmaṇa by his grandfather Dhrûva I. (A.D. 834-835). "The explanation of its being given away again by the present record," as Dr. Fleet has rightly said, "is, no doubt, to be found in the statement, made in the present record, that Indra III. gave away four hundred villages which had been confiscated by previous kings; this was evidently one of them."²

TEXT³ OF No. I.

First Plate.

1 सखे¹ [ ] सौ गौतममा धाम यवमसिकमलं जात । चरच यथा
कालनुकलया कसलंकनम् || [१२] ज्यति⁴
2 "विविदधवं विविद्धविनिरंतरं विविद्धविनिरंतरं सभ: कस्तोतः । सुतंसरसिवुज-
रक्षे यथा न्
3 लक्ष्म: यक्षम: यक्षम: यक्षम: कथा: || [२८] सौ ज्यति
4 सुनद्वशस्यन्यश्चिरा: पर्याय: समर:-
5 सुनद्वशस्यन्यश्चिरा: पर्याय: समर:-
6 सुनद्वशस्यन्यश्चिरा: पर्याय: समर:-
7 सुनद्वशस्यन्यश्चिरा: पर्याय: समर:-
8 सुनद्वशस्यन्यश्चिरा: पर्याय: समर:-

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³ From inked estampages supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.
⁴ The i is not well-formed.
⁵ Read विविद्धवं.
⁶ METRE: Sûkka (Asamâthubh).
⁷ Read विविद्धवं.
⁸ METRE: Pushpitâgrâ.
⁹ विविद्धवं.
10 Read विविद्धवं.
11 Read विविद्धवं.
12 विविद्धवं.
13 METRE: Vasantatilâkâ; and of the next verse.
14 Read विविद्धवं.
9 माज्ञाम || [४०] क[ला]पाद खदर्शारिजचन्माणी स्वेतु पुनःविंदु विमां
च सम्यते-

10 य [६०] यव्हाकमया [सम]रे वसूपाशानया: कांचीपदे प[ढ]मकारि करण
भूय: || [६०] चा सेती: सातुप- [४०]

11 "मध्यवस्थयःकुषानोऽनुपुष्पहःक्षादा [कृष्ण]शास्त्रानोऽनुपुष्पहः
कादिकानाहनीचलः[७]गरणानूपुरी-बादितात्तात्.

12 यश्वाशि भूसिपालि: करमुक्ताविलिः[६०]गिरालायमानाभानमैक्यमक्ताऐवयि-
ततलुक्तका- [४०]

13 नवी मानवसि || [६०] झिला६ अगंगिजभुजः[ल]ननिज्भीड़ि: सर्वं विजतु-
मिव तस्य गतया राजः: || तत्र- [४०]

14 भव्यस्वस्वाधि पदे पितुवम्: तीर्थान्राज्यस्यति: प्रविधिप्रतापः || [८०] दि-
कुमदीवदन्तचाण्तपथ- [४०]

15 भंगतिलाय[म]नवनिसासस्तकालकीसि: || तीराधुतकुटकस्मीतिकरिषोऽऽधे-
द्वृ- [४०]

16 विक्रमी निरवाहिणि: || [८०] कौसः४ कुन्दसः३ रक्षारंगानकंबः
सितो लच्च्या:

Second Plate; First Side.

17 लच्च्या:७ पाणितसि विलासकम्भल पूर्णाङ्गिजस्विवदशिि || एकं कांपितकोससि-
हरकराशिचितिवामस्वनयु- [४०]

18 नर्चिनोद्रीचनराधिपाधाम तव श्रीतातपः रक्षे || [१००] तस्माने३ जग-
चुंि जक्स सचािि- [४०]

19 त[ह]िः || सीरि श्रीवासम धूमं राजराजस्वीमन् || [११०] निममा
[य]वलुकापौ१० श्रदार्जिनि- [४०]

20 य पुणः: [१०] प्रचानिमोदाकालो२ धीरनरायणीस्यवतः || [१२०] समूनीस्विति-
स्तवमात्तिकालनागी- [४०]

21 तक्षाखा: || तदद्भवेश्चन्द्रचक्षुकांस्पंकानिव || [१३०] [उष्णकसु]काकुक-
कान्तानकालके- [४०]

1 Metro: Sragdharā.
2 Read "महा".
3 Metro: Vasantatilaka; and of the next verse.
4 One of the two circles of the eśvara has been omitted.
5 The repetition of this word is superfluous.
6 Corrected by the engraver from "श्रेष्ठातपः".
7 Metro: Śārdulaśvākṣaṇika.
8 Metro: "स्रा".
9 Metro: "विस्त".
10 Read "कामी".
11 Metro: Śītha (Aṁuṣṭubb) ; and of the next two verses.
12 "कौस" is also possible.
13 Metro: Vasantatilaka.
14 Metro: Vasantatilaka.
Bagumra plates of Indraraja III.—First set.
22 तीस्रा दासाधिवर्तौत्जयः जश्नान : नीताम् कष्टंपुष्टर्वेदः [स]जनम्न [न]
कौति: परिपुर्ण।
23 मनि वश्य शास्त्राकार्यः। [१४] तदानन्तिपरब्रजालवाहिन: वायानमः:
(१) कुशीमन्योप।
24 रि बैरियाकर्मिरसामें विमुक्त। श्रृता। धाराकारिष्य सेन[ः]यापवशष्य यज्ञे- ।
26 तम्भि: बैरियवेदः स तच्चाद्रिवतिमदनसि: बुज्जगुत्स्तिव[ः]। [स]जसरवसि।
27 जय्वन्तीत्वकापिविभवविन्दन्विष्तिहृद्यनि: वीरसक्षण्यः। [१६] [स]द्वारु- मीलिकायः।
28 य [बैस्यायत्वमित्रि] भु[ः]: "[स]सम्भानुमो गज्ञहुः [ज्]गरावणोन्तिकविष्नुहेतु- ।
29 हरः। विवाचण: वाविष्य: नास्तसदसं वल्कोसिनामार्चे: सिंह: सान्प्लुवा- ।
30 रचनेन लिं:।
31 निर्विशयः: काकूभिकसः। [१७] वंग तथा सप्तवर्त्तमार्गोऽः: कोक्षमूर्वाच- ।
32 राजा चीरः। ।
33 शिवम्: समयवाचोत्तरः: कोतिसमाः। वपारातिपुरंसिधः: सन्तोषः पण्य- ।
34 ति: [सुमुक्तेषु] युन्मली प्रयातिविक्षणः: पच्छन्य: भण्डलम्। [१८] [रकुण- ।
35 गणपावेणपुष्प- ।
36 सन्धिशिरस्वतोऽगमि:। [२०] [१५] नसस्मससत्तिविंदुष्कृष्ममिद्विष्मविश्वासः नवनिवनश्चासं ।

Second Plate; Second Side.

1 Metre: सर्वधिव्यक्ष्रिप्ता। 8 Read "सम्भाने।"
2 Read "सान्प्लुवा।"
3 Metre: सर्वधिव्यक्ष्रिप्त। and of the next verse.
4 The first 'का' is not well-formed and looks almost like 'का'।
5 Read "सान्प्लुवा।"
6 The letter 'ता' is not well-formed। 9 Metre: मालिक। and of the next two verses.
7 Metre: मालिक। 10 Read "क्राकः।"
8 Read "नवनिवनश्चासं।" 11 Read "विष्म।"
12 Read "विष्म।"
37 च । यदीवैक्रमिनि रुपरूपरुणिर्विवचरणमिव चकार याभ[म] नान्द विधा: ।

38 ॥ [२१०] ॥ प्रद्दोत ॥

39 यथा: [१०] सुलभता जन्म यदीवमाकुलभिया जग्मु: स[म] विचित्रां द्ैव वान्व</p>

40 यथा ॥ [२१०] ॥ 'कत्तचोव्यवन्नीव' ॥ [२९५] ॥ लोमुखलितमेतिव ।

41 श्रीमतचन्द्रि जिला धिन न विधितम ॥ [२१०] ॥ 'सकलजननमोक्ष: सोध क[ल] नामधा' ।

42 ॥ भुवनपरिनिर्विवचरणम ॥ उपरं पर[श] रामबीकु मादान- ।

43 'शुरुचिगुणरूपरूपरुणिर्विवचरणकीमयि वभूव' ॥ [२१०] ॥ च ॥ परमभारकुमाराजाकीद्विगिराधारमाभ- ।

44 'रूपमन्दकबन्धुवद्वादनादनाधाराधारवालयद्वाराधारथाकमाधिकरणमभ- ।

45 'श्रीमतपारस्मिनि जयताक्रमबिलववर्गरुत्तरदेव: कुलकी सम्बन्धिय यदासंगतव्य- ।

46 'समाधीकार्यपरिनिर्विवचरणमसुखतिकाहनिविकारिकमवत्तरदी- ।

47 'समाधीगतप्रस्तुत: यथा श्रीमतमहाविदर्जनानीनिनविनशीलानी कीप- ।

48 ऋमधाय' कुलमदकामगैन सदा मतापिप्रीरामबीकोंकामुकिपूजन- ।

Third Plate.

49 याषोभिषेदये (१) कुलमात्राय वाजिमायानिन्यनंक्षायनिर्गमितः । राष्ट्रपतिसहाय ।

50 प्राकर्फ़हि बादेशालम्भरकमाधिकविणि जयवानसायामः यथा घु- ।

51 वेष्ट: तोलीवजः दक्षणसः योगिकता पवित्रत: संजीवीय उत्तर[ती] जवलाभुकमी- ।

52 व्यापसात पश्चादियोपलिचितः कीद्र्यः: सविद्वर: सद्यक्षमः[प] राजः: सीतयामान- ।

53 वितिक, 'समाधीद्विगिराधाराधारथाकमाधिकरणमभ'[वगा] पुरुषविविवचरणमभविटः। शकान्य- ।

54 तौत [सं] कवमशेषत्वादः यन्त्रिगुणहतरिपु [शु] वस्तवधारकामुकिपूजनसमयः संपन्ते ।

1 Metro: Śārdulāvijrīgita. 3 Read "गम"). 3 Read "रमी").

2 Read "सङ्कय"). 4 Read "बमग"). 5 Read "कम").

6 Metro: Śāladhajjī. 7 Read "शंकय"). 8 Read "विदिक").

8 This rd appears to have been first inadvertently omitted and then engraved quite close to the rim.
9 Read "वय").
10 Read "गम"). 11 Read "विदिक").

11 Read "बमग"). 12 Read "शंकय"). 13 The inner stroke of य in यशा is wanting.
TEXT OF NO. II.

First Plate.

1 चौ छलिं । स चौ विश्व भाग याविकालं जातं । हरष यथा । यथा... [का] नेनुकलयां कमः

2 संक्रमः ॥ [१०] 10विवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधवधव�...
5 अक्षबो नृसिंह: सततसुपृवद इश्वरदाराज्ञेव: || [४०] परि श्रीनायनाभी-

6 जामा [क्र]यवधमभावदि: सुविस्मुद्रितकरपरिसा हृदुक्तापि || तत्वा-

7 अगति स वहँिे इष्ठ तैसींतिलासि: शाखी गोयाल[नाम] नवनकु-

8 वलये-

9 रथचितमचितार || [४१] तवानवे वित्तसालाकभवशश्रमा श्रीकलितुमो-

10 लुरि: चर्वकवशग्नावि: सहवेव लाली गं[क्र]पककवलांक-

11 न[म]जगाम || [४२] कलापाव भूदयिराजवावंदे सैंर पुनरहु विसवं च मधवंदे।

12 यत्तास[क्र] समः वसुधावनाया: ३काशीपये पदमकावि करण भूष:

13 || [४३] था सेतो: सा-

14 'सुप्रापवलकपिक[क्र] समुद्रस्थलवक्षवधा ३काशीपये[वा] नीलचवरणबुरुष:।

15 बाथनातातु । यत्तासं भूमिपाला: करसुकलमिरलबी[क्र] सालायमा-

16 नामानीवृक्रियानिवितान्वि: मानयति || [४४] जिला जमावजमुज्जन पुलिनरि-

17 गोयो: शाखी

18 विहरतिमव तथ्य गतधरराजः ||(१) तवानववरश्शावशः पदे पितुधा: श्रीकलिताराजः

19 तिः प्रभितप्रताप: || [४५] दिकुन्दरीवदनचान्नमयबंगालिसालायमवनविसवत-

20 [क्र]शाककं शाकाराजकं रशि || [४६] तत्ताले जमानकु जका समानिन-

निमिति: । सौयं श्रीवाकः।
Bagumra plates of Indraraja III.—Second set.

E. HULTZSCH.

SCALE .45.

W. GRiggs. Photo-Lith.
36 चरित्र परिष्ध्ये ताँ जगलुक्येन: इ [१५४] चतुर्दशिदिव्रमानवाः गाथायेऽव ताभ्यामम् [भ]व-
37 दरियार्दो राक्षस्यदिव्य: स मनसि जातिनवास: कालासीमन्तिदीयां ववाले-
जनमग्राम: पुरा।
38 खालाकारार्याम्: [२०४] देवो यवतृश्चुपरामणारोविखुर्विवभव्यामाका-
मनविनविकेश्वर से।
39 समस्ते श्रीकीर्तिकरायायिग: युला जहा यद्रोयमकुलधियां जम्वु: समं विचिदि
40 देवेऽ वशश्रो मनाळि व भयं वेवांजि लीलाय: [२१४] शतमी-
शाक्तीहरुः हेली-
41 भूल्ललिमेक्षण: [२२४] उपेेदिमम्रनीराजेन जिला धन न विचित्रम् [२२४]
ककलानमस्य: [१४]
42 चोभ शला नस्मचन्दुनवपतितनेकावेवभोगाशारानां उपरि परमपमास्वःके य
43 कुमाराश्चारासुररत्वश्राविप्रायाश्चालाकेश्वां वभुः [२१४] स च चरमाहारक-
महाराजाधिशायाः
44 परमवर्त्तीमददकालववधिद्वादातुवातपरमारहकस्माहिराजपरस्थारी-
45 चीरीविवर्यनरकंद्रेण्यः कु मः सम्बन्धि 'यवासांवधमानाकाराइवपविवपयविति-
चायाः
46 कृटुक्तयुक्तकाँचारीकमार्गमरारादीमादिब्रजतुः व: संविदितं यथा-
चीरमन्य: [२५]
47 खेतराजाधानीनितिविनिगिना श्रीप्रवोहोरायः कु रोभमगितेन मया माता-
पिनोराय: [२५]
48 नविन्दाकासुधिक्याकायोभिजवे (२) जाचकाशमोचाय वाजिमाषाणितिमम्ब च: [२५]

Third Plate.

49 दशि पादलिप्तविनिमाण्यं [विनेि] पभवस्यताय सिन्धपहाय लाट्देशान्तगित-
कामण्य: [२५]
50 समस्ते तेवनामयाम: [२५] यथा पूवकाय वार्षकपलिका [२५] दिविषाणि
नायमारायकं [२५] परिचात मोंली.
TRANSLATION OF NO. II.

Oṁ. Hail!

(Verse 1.) May he (Vishnu), the water-lily (springing from) whose navel was made (his) abode by Vēdhas (Brahman), protect you, and Hara (Śiva) whose head is adorned by the beautiful crescent of the moon!

1 Read "जमीन".
2 Read वच्छा.
3 Read फूल.
4 Read "शेषम्".
5 Read प्रायस्.
6 Read प्रायस्.
(V. 2.) Victorious is (Krishna), (who is) the comet (of destruction) to Kaśī (and is) the friend of the gods, on whose chest, extensive as the Vindhya (mountain), dangles the pure Kaustubha, (and) on the stage of whose lotus-like face dance the side-glances of Lakshmi, with the pupils (of her eyes) languid through excess of love!

(V. 3.) Ever victorious is the king Indrarāja (III), whose long arms (were made her) refuge by the goddess of Wealth, who has rooted out in battles the circle of (his) enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (and who is) the lion (i.e. the best) among men, just as Upendra (Vishnu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (were made her) support by (the goddess) Lakshmi, who held up in battles (his) discus bearing spokes and difficult to resist, who carried off Bali and (his) legions (to Pañcāla), (and who was) a man-lion (in his fourth incarnation).

(V. 4.) The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the wide and blooming water-lily springing from the navel of (Vishnu) the lord of Śri; of him was born (his) son Atri; (and) of him again (i.e. of Atri) the Moon that overflows with rays of nectar. From him there grew on earth the lineage of the Yadus, amongst whom (at one time) flourished (Vishnu) the wielder of the Śārūya (bow) (in his eighth incarnation as Krishna), who was worshipped by the lotus-eyes of cowherdesses with every kind of flirtation.

(V. 5.) In that family there arose the illustrious king Dantidurga, born in the great Śātyaki branch, the best of men, whose hand (bore) the (auspicious) marks of the conch and discus, (and) to whom of herself came the goddess of wealth of the Chālukya family, just as (in that family) there arose Purushottama (Krishna), who prolonged the line of Śātyaki, who (held) the conch and discus in (his) hands as (his peculiar) characteristics, (and) to whom of herself came (the goddess) Lakshmi from the ocean.

(V. 6.) The hand (i.e. the prowess) of this (prince), matchless in battle, having (first) established itself on the most beautiful lowermost region of the earth, and having again overcome in a gentle manner at its own will the central region (Madhyadīśa), again established itself in the province of Kāñchī, just as the hand (of a lover), after (first) establishing itself on the hips of a woman, attractive to the heart, and pressing again gently at its will (her) waist, again establishes itself on the region (below the waist) where the girdle (is worn).

(V. 7.) His orders, forming a wreath on (their) crests with which came in contact (their) hands (joined) like buds, (all) kings respect with (their) heads slightly bent (and) with (their) knees rolling about on the surface of the earth, from Sētu (Rāmeśvaram), where the blossoming lavanga (trees) are destroyed on the declivities of mountain-tops by hosts of powerful monkeys, as far as the Kailasa (mountain), the outskirts of which resound with the jingling anklets on the moving feet of Bhavānī.

(V. 8.) When that king, after conquering the world by his own arm, had gone to heaven as if to conquer (it), being desirous of a fresh victory,— (his) paternal uncle, the illustrious king Krishnārjuna (L.), of well-known prowess, occupied his position of supreme majesty.

(V. 9.) Nirupama, of spotless valour, sprang from that (king), whose fame, solid, extensive and bright, diverted itself in the form of the lines of sandal-painting on the faces of the beauties, (viz.) the quarters, (and) who adorned the mountain (consisting of) the family of the glorious Bāshṭrakūṭas.

(V. 10.) From the hand of the trembling lord of the Kosala was smitten away by him in battle one white (regal) parasol, which was the white (auspicious) water-pitcher for the setting out of (his) fame, bright as the kunda (flower), on a journey over the whole world, (and) which

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1 "Patron of Yuyudhāna (a warrior in the Pāṇḍu army who acted as the charioteer of Krishna and belonged to the Vrishṇi family)."—Monier-Williams' Dictionary.
was the toy-lotus, resplendent as the disc of the full moon, on the palm of the hand of Lakshmi; another again (was snatched away by him) from the king of the northern (country) as if it were (his) glory.

(V. 11.) From him obtained birth Jagattuṅga, who honoured the twice-born; he in his turn begat as son the king of kings Śrīvallabha.

(V. 12.) This (prince), possessed of fortitude, on raising again the glory of the Raṭṭa kingdom, drowned in the ocean of the Chalukyas, became (i.e. assumed the epithet of) Vīranārāyaṇa, just as (Vishṇu), again uplifting the earth, drowned in the ocean, became Vīranārāyaṇa (i.e. the heroic Nārāyaṇa).

(V. 13.) Having, by means of punishment, put down obnoxious persons, he destroyed the fiery Chalukyas, (his) enemies, who had completely devastated (the city of) Stamba, just as (a gardener), after removing the thorns by means of a stick, burns chick-peas, the stalks of which have been plucked out with the roots.

(V. 14.) From him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain tree, (viz.) the high family of the Chalukyas, was born Krishnarāja (II.), of spotless life, whose fame, bright as the moon, wanders about, though constantly drunk by the people by means of the cavities of (their) ears.

(V. 15.) On the advent of clouds, when there is a heavy downpour of rain (and) when the circular rainbow (appears in the sky), the old men thus describe the event of his flight with the roaring Gūrjara:—"Thus did (he) in anger draw (his) bow, studded with a series of gems darting forth rays; thus did (he) discharge arrows at the heads of the warriors of (his) enemy."

(V. 16.) From him was born the illustrious Jagattuṅgadēva, who caused the destruction of the multitude of (his) enemies, who surpassed the beauty of Madana, who was the beloved of the goddess of Heroism, (the palm of each) whose hands (bore the auspicious sign of) a discus shining by means of (the marks of) a banner, a lotus and a conch, (and) who (thus) by (his) greatness excelled Vishnu.

(V. 17.) There was a king (named) Sahasrārjuna, sprung from the Haihaya lineage, who relieved the itching sensation of the powerful and shining long arms of the roaring and invincible Rāvaṇa, (and) the letters (setting forth) whose fame and name, finding a resting-place in the ears of the gods, (and) written by the Siddhas with the dense fluid of nectar, covered the walls of the quarters.

(V. 18.) In the dynasty of him who was an axe to the families of (his) enemies, there arose the renowned illustrious king Raṇavigraha, the son of king Kokkalla (and) the lord of Chēdi, into whose circle (of feudatory princes), pilferer as he was of the ornaments of the wives of (his) enemies, entered every enfeebled lord of the earth on the destruction of (his) partisans, just as the moon, destitute of (all) the digits, enters the disc of the sun at the end of the (dark) fortnight.

(V. 19.) From him who was the receptacle of a collection of all virtues (and) the abode of resplendent majesty, there was born a daughter (named) Lakshmi, possessed of lotus-like hands, (just as from the ocean, which is the abode of the sun) of intensely gleaming rays, there sprang Lakshmi, possessed of a lotus in (her) hand; Jagattuṅgadēva, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race (and) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (viz. Lakshmi, the daughter of Raṇavigraha), just as Hāri, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race (and) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (viz. the goddess Lakshmi).

1 The same as Tamilalipat, i.e. Tamilk; see p. 27 above.

3 [Compare Śīvpālāvadha, I. 48.]
(V. 20.) From these two sprang Raṭṭa-Kandarpadēva, whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was a grinding-stone to (his) enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, who was a refuge to all men, (and) who was a store of merit and beauty, [just as from (Hari and Lakshmi) sprang the god Kanḍarpā (i.e. Cupid), whose prowess is known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who is a grinding-stone to (his) enemies, who abides in the minds of beautiful women, who is a refuge to all persons, (and) who is a store of heavenly beauty].

(V. 21.) This king, overrunning, by means of his own valour, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, became (i.e. was known as) Śrī-Kirti-Nārāyaṇa, just as the god (Viṣṇu), covering, with his stride, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, was known as Śrī-Kirti-Nārāyaṇa; on hearing of whose birth, the lustre of the faces, the minds, and the heads of (his) enemies, whose understanding was bewildered, simultaneously experienced dejection, fear, and the cavity of the hands folded (as a mark of) servitude.

(V. 22.) This Indrārāja (III.), having uprooted Mēru (Mahādaya?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (his) defeating (king) Upendrā who had saved Gōvardhana, just as the god Indra, who uprooted (Mount) Mēru with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (his) vanquishing (the god) Upendrā (Krīṣṇa) who had uplifted the Gōvardhana (mountain).1

(V. 23.) This lord of the earth, entitled to obeisance from all men, on founding many endowments to temples and agrahāras (to Brāhmaṇa), to be respected (by all), became, in point of fame for charity, superior to Paraśurāma, the greatness of whose merits alone by the gift of a single insignificant village.2

(Li. 48–56.) And he, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhīrāja Paramadēva, the prosperous Nityavarshanaṁrāṇḍrādeva, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhīrāja Paramadēva, the prosperous Akṣāvarshaḥadēva, being well, commands all the lords of provinces (rājāra), lords of districts (vishaya), chiefs of villages, leading persons, officials, employés, functionaries, etc., according as they are concerned:—

"Be it known to you that by Me, who resides at the capital of Mānyakhaṭa (and) who has come to Kurundakā for the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet,—for the enhancement of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (My) parents and Myself—with heartfelt devotion—eight centuries of years increased by thirty-six having elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, on the seventh (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of Phāḷguna in the Yuva-samvatsara—having, on the completion of the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet, ascended the Tula-purusha,3 and having, without coming down from the pan, given away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of darpanas, Kurundakā and other villages, and four hundred villages besides, that had been confiscated by previous kings,—was bestowed to-day, by pouring water from the hand, for the sake of the Bali, Charu, Vastudēva, Agnibhūta and Aṭṭhiasantarpāṇa,—upon Siddhapatbhaṭṭa, of the Lakshanam gōtra, a student of the Vajjī-Mādhyanāma (śākhā), (and) the son of Śrī-Vennapabhaṭṭa who had come from Pātaliputra,—the village of the name of Tennā in the vicinity of Kammāḷa, in the country of Lāṭa, defined by the four boundaries, viz. to the east Vāraṇapallika, to the south Nāmbhitāsakā, to the west Vālīśa, (and) to the north the village of Vavvīyaṇa,4 together with the royal share.

1 There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is intended to yield two meanings, one mythological and the other historical. The first is clear, but the historical sense is by no means evident; see above, p. 27 f.
2 There is here a play on the word 'āra, which means both 'the earth' and 'insignificant.'
3 'Gift of gold, etc., equal to a man's weight.'—Monier-Williams' Dictionary.
4 According to No. 1. L. 48 f.—"upon Pṛbhakharbhaṭṭa, of the Lakshanam gōtra, a student of the Vajjī-Mādhyanāma (śākhā), and the son of Bāṇapabhaṭṭa,—the village of the name of Umvar in the vicinity of Kammāḷa, situated in the country of Lāṭa, defined by the four boundaries, viz. to the east Tōḷējaka, to the south Mōgalīkā, to the west the village of Sanki, (and) to the north Javalakūpaka."
with the appurtenances, with (the proceed of the punishments for) faults and the ten offences, with (the right to) forced labour as it arises, with the assessment in grain and gold.

(L. 56-59.) "No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to him while enjoying (this village), allowing (others) to enjoy (it), cultivating (it), causing (it) to be cultivated, or assigning (it) to another, in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brāhmaṇa. Likewise, this My gift to a Brāhmaṇa should be assented to, just as if it were their own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether My descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift of land is common (both to the grantor and to the preserver)."

[L. 59 f. and vv. 24-26 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(V. 27.) This praiseworthy panegyric was composed by the illustrious Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nēmāditya (and) serving the feet of Indrāja.

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No. 5.—RAGHOLI PLATES OF JAYA VARDHANA II.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S.; NAGPUR.

These plates were kindly sent to me by Mr. C. E. Low, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Bāḷaghāt district, Central Provinces. They were found in the village Ragholi belonging to the Sāletekri Zamīndārī, now under the Court of Wards and included in the Bāḷhār talāsī of that district, by a cultivator while ploughing the field. There are three copper-plates, of which the second and third bear writing on both sides; the third plate has only two lines on the reverse side. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom. At the broadest part they measure nearly 6½ inches, and the average height is 5½". They are held together by a circular ring, 2½" in diameter, which is somewhat thicker and rugged at the place where the two ends are soldered together. A circular seal with tasselled borders is attached to the ring and was put on it before the ends of the ring were soldered together. The seal has in two lines the legend Śri-Jayavedhana-devaṣya, which is enclosed by ornamental circles running round the bottom of the tassels. The ring was cut and resoldered by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who kindly took for me the impressions which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate. The copper-plates were found when Mr. Low was editing the Gazetteer of the Bāḷaghāt District, in which an extract from my translation has already appeared.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, written in characters belonging to the northern class of alphabets. The average size of the letters is about ½". They are badly formed and somewhat difficult to read. The first 20 lines of the inscription (excepting the opening words Īm svasti Śrīvedhānaputarī) and again lines 35 to 45 are in verse. The rest is Sanskrit prose. Final forms of ṭ occur in lines 1 and 38, and one of m in line 45. The letter b is not distinguished from v. A notable orthographical peculiarity occurs in lines 32 f. and 40 f., where we find me written for m in tāmara and kamala. On the other hand b is omitted in kūtumāna (l. 24) for kūtumbénaka; but regularly expressed by v in dādamu (l. 41). The letters with a ō in the top sometimes assume a very peculiar shape such as in sarre (l. 25) and vāruha (l. 37). At other places they have the usual form, as in sare (l. 29). There is also a tendency to change the final forms of nasals into anusāra in contravention of the accepted grammatical rules, as in prasukhāna (l. 24) and purukāna (l. 25). The ku of kameala in line 40 f. has a peculiar form and differs from other kus occurring in the inscription.

1 The word praṣasti is here evidently used in the same sense as praṣasti.
The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Khaddikā in the Kaţēraka district (I. 23) to a temple of the Sun-god at Chaţṭuliha (I. 29 f.) by king Jayavardhana II. It was issued from Śrīvardinapura (l. 1) and is dated in the 3rd year of his reign on the 30th day of the month Kārttika (II. 46 and 31). Judging from the writing it may be assigned to the eighth century A.D.; the characters very much resemble those of the Paithan plates of Govinda III, dated in the year 794 A.D.1 Jayavardhana II. is described in lines 20-22 as a devotee of Mahēśvara, the lord of the whole Vindhya, and Mahēśvara Paramārā. He belonged to the Śailavanāsī (verse 1). His grandfather, who bore the same name as himself, killed the former king of the Vindhya and made the Vindhya his residence (v. 3). The son of Jayavardhana I. and father of the donor was Śrīvardinapura II., who styled himself Vindhyāśvara (v. 4), and who may have founded Śrīvardinapura from which the present charter was issued. Five more ancestors of this line are mentioned, the first of whom was Śrīvardinapura I. His son was Prithuvardinapura, who is stated to have attacked Gujarāt (v. 1). In his family was born Sauvardinapura (v. 2), one of whose three sons killed the king of Paundra2 (Bengal and Bihar), while another conquered the king of Kāśi (Benares). Of this latter, whose name is not mentioned, Jayavardinapura I. was the son (v. 3).

The first verse of this charter opens with an obscure epithet to Śrīvardinapura I. who is called Kailāśa-dakshina-tīrāga-sīriṅga-vipula-dṛṣṭa-sūkṣma-prabhuḥ, which apparently means 'the lord of the family of her who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailās mountain.' It is very difficult to hit at the true import of this expression, and the only conjecture I can hazard is that it may mean the Gāṅga-vanāsī, of which the Śailavanāsī was probably a branch or a more well known name at that time. Otherwise it is difficult to see why in the same verse the same person should be called the lord or ornament of two families. If my conjecture is correct, the force of prakhyātā bhūci (famous or known on the earth) preceding Śailavanāsī-tīlakāḥ would be apparent. The Śailavanāsī is very probably identical with the Śailōdbhavas or Śīlōdbhavas of Orissa, to which Prof. Hultzsch has kindly drawn my attention. In the plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja,3 a feudatory chief Madhavārāja II., who issued the charter, is spoken of as belonging to the Śīlōdbhava family, which is identical with the Śailōdbhava of the Bugṛa plates of Madhavavarman4 as pointed out there. The former is dated in the year 619-20 A.D. and is the older of the two. Both were found in the Ganjam district, and both the charters were issued from Kōngēra or Kaṅgōḍa, which is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the Kong-t'o5 of the Chinese traveller Hsin Tsang, who visited the place in the year 639 A.D.6 This principality was included in the Kalinga country or, roughly speaking, Orissa. In fact the village granted by Madhavārāja II. was situated in the district of Kṛṣṇapagiri, a synonym of Nilagiri which is a name of Jagannātha (Puri) in Orissa.7 And it is well known that Orissa is the country where the Gāṅga-vanāsī originated. King Indravarman of Kalinganagara is spoken of as the 'establisher of the sūtrine family of the Gāṅgas,'8 an epithet which does not occur in other grants of the Gāṅgas of Kalinga. So he was a perpetuator of a dynasty with a new name, which probably he introduced in preference to an old one which was not very complimentary. The new name is a metronymic; so we may suppose that the one suppressed was a patronymic. The Bugṛa inscription tells us how one Pulindaśēna worshipped Brahmā in order to create a fit ruler for the land, and how the god granted his wish by creating out of a rock the lord Śailōdbhava, who became the founder of the family of that name. However complimentary the story may have been in the beginning, it could not have failed later on to appear somewhat analogous to the alleged origin of low

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2 Above, Vol. VI. p. 144.
3 Above, Vol. VI. p. 186.
5 Cunningham's Ancient Geography, p. 515.
6 Wilson's Vīrāca-Puḍras, Vol. II. p. 170, note 5.
castes, which trace their origin to some such inanimate objects as scarecrows, dirt from Mahâdèva’s body, or the sweat of his brow. In fact the aboriginal Gonds aver that their leader Lungo liberated the first men of the tribe from a cave in the Iron valley in the Red hill by removing a stone 16 cubits high with which Mahâdèva had closed the mouth of the cave, and out came 16 scores of Gonds at once. The Śailôdbhava origin would thus appear something like an improvement on this story. Recognising the tendency, which has always existed and still exists, to adopt eponymous names under the influence of what Sir Alfred Lyall calls the gradual Brâhmaṇising of castes, it would not be surprising to find a family with a dubious patronymic insinuating a non-Brâhmaṇical origin, preferring a metonymic connected with so holy a deity as the Ganges, in spite of the Kâhatriya mode of calling themselves after the male parent. It will then be asked why in the present grant the Śailôdbhava was at all mentioned, to which an answer may be found in the fact that there are always three classes of people: the conservatives or those who would stick to the old things only, the moderates who would tolerate both the new and the old, and the extremists who would wholly discard the old, and probably the donor of the present grant belonged to the second class. All this is, however, extremely hypothetical, and I only hazard it in the hope that a better explanation may be forthcoming. By the way I may mention that it was the Gâgavânâs kings of Orissa who revived Sun-worship and built many temples dedicated to that deity, and again most of the officials, such as samûhârtri and samândârâtri (1. 24), are those chiefly found in the grants of Orissa kings. These are other items in support of the donor’s family connection with Orissa.

With regard to the places mentioned in the grant, I identify Khaddikâ with Khadi, a village three miles north-east of Ragholi where the plates were found. It is only a Sanskritised name like Lânji for Lanji, which is also not very far away from this place. Katûraka is probably the present Katera near Katangi, 60 miles west of Ragholi. I cannot identify Chaṭṭhuliha, unless it is a mistake for Raghulliha or Ragholi, where the plates have been found. With the elision of a little stroke in the first letter, and giving a slightly slanting position to the second, the word would read as Raghulliha. This may find support from the fact that the engraving of the grant is very defective, and that several other mistakes have been committed in lines 33, 34, 44, etc. I cannot find in the Central Provinces a place answering to Srîvardhana-pura. It could not be Srîvardhana in the Bombay Presidency, the famous seaport referred to by European travellers as Ziffardan and celebrated as the birth-place of the first Peshwa. From what has been stated above, the family would seem to have come from a seaport in the east rather than from the west. But the place must be searched for nearer home, and it may be that it is now non-existent. The probability is that it was situated somewhere near Râmtek in the Nâgpur district. Five miles from this place there is a village called Nagardhan which was known as Nandivardhana in olden times, and local traditions assert that the surrounding country was ruled from that place by Kâhatriya Râjâs. The village contains ancient remains and is mentioned as the name of a district together with Nâgpur in the Dâdli plates of the Râahtrâkâta king Krihñâ III. dated in the year 940 A.D. It is plain therefore that

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1 Cunningham’s Reports, Vol. IX. p. 158.
2 See Hunter’s Orissa, Vol. I. p. 279 f. Dr. Hunter says:—“At a remote period, Sun-worship, driven out of Vedic India by materializing superstitions, found shelter on the secluded Eastern coast. Its existence in Orissa in ancient times is proved not only by the fact of a specific division of the country being devoted to it, but also by the rock writings... The most exquisite memorial of Sun-worship in India, or I believe in any country, is the temple of Konarak upon the Orissa shore.”
5 Mr. Craddock’s Settlement Report, 1895, p. 15.
6 It may be borne in mind that this part of the country was for a long time under Gonds and afterwards the Mahrâjas, and as a rule the memory of those only survives.
7 Above, Vol. V. p. 196 E.
Nandivardhana must have been a place of great importance before it gave its name to the district. I hold that this was founded by a successor of Jayavardhana II, who removed the capital from Śrīvardhanapura, also named after a king of the same line, to the place to which he gave his own name. The Bāḥṣṭraṅkūṭas rose in power on this side in the eighth century, and it is probably they who displaced the Śālavatīna dynasty of the Vindhyā mountains. Nandivardhana or Nagardhana is about 100 miles from Raghōli, and both were included in the same district about a century ago. It may also be stated that, so far as I have been able to find, there are no other villages ending in vardhana in Bālāghat or any of the surrounding districts, and the name is so peculiarly different from those of other villages in the locality that it may almost be called unique; for these reasons the location of Śrīvardhanapura round about Nandivardhana or Rāmtekr carries at least a certain probability with it.

TEXT.

Seal.

1 शीवर्य-  
2 हृदन्देवर्य [II*]  

First Plate.

1 श्री श्रान्य श्रीवर्यन्यपुरात् [II*] "श्रीलास्वरचतन्तुस्त्रूणः"  
2 विपुलवर्द्दीश्वर्यपुरः" प्रवासी श्रृवं श्रीवर्य-  
3 श्रीतरक: श्री- —  वर्त्तने यो श्रेष्ठ: । तत्प्रच: प्रव-  
4 हृदन्देवर्यन्यज्ञांकुशः[.] सुया" देयः श्रीज्ञांसातः  
5 साद वर्षसा विज्ञालिनिमयस्य: || [18] तद्दशिन्यभो"  
6 श्रीलोभिनी श्रीवर्यनी भूपतिरभ्दियातः  
7 सल्लविविकस्यः" पुत्रयश: लोनरसं । से-  
8 "पावसुपुर्वितेवितारणपरः पौष्पानन्दियं क्षाय-  
9 तिं चलेनो विपयं तमिव सकलं अपारं श्री-  
10 योतिक्षित: || [20] ताप्यात्सत्तमोऽविश्रय सच्चा द-  
11 पौडङ्क्तं दारुकं कामिनराधिकं सित-  

Second Plate; First Side.

12 गुणो जयवर्या अता दियां । तत्प्रचो जयवर्याने-  
13 तिं वर्षसा ख्यातो वरी भृपुतां विस्मे विभ्यवरेषमेव  

1 It is noticeable that all names of this line end in vardhana.  
2 From the original plates. I am indebted to Prof. Hultsch for a few corrections in my readings.  
3 Metre: Śāradāvārikṛṣṭa; also of the two next verses.  
4 Read "श्रान्य".  
5 There are two letters here which appear to have been struck off by the engraver. The metre also shows that they were redundant.  
6 Read पत.  
7 Read "श्रान्य".  
8 Read "स्मृतिः".
14 सुचिं त्वरा चार खिंगं || \[11\] 'बातम्बिनायान्तरीयने'चे -
15 उ: 'सवविष्ठनिकविवराणां: विनिर्विहरीं विन्यस्
16 इशचारेण: चरवन्तस्य सुनीतो वभुव' || \[12\] 'ततः-
17 अ: 'सवविष्ठनिकविवराणां चारो भ्राता-
18 गुणिंविष्ठनिकविवराणां: च चारोगमाद-
19 परिमंचापीति'तुदुहा दिवं यमगम्यवः-
20 श्रव. 'कोिंतं: || \[13\] 'परमनम्बीकं दातापिंकपातां-
21 सृष्टि: 'सवविष्ठनिकविवराणां चारो भ्राता-
22 उपरिमंचापीति: चारो भ्राता-चारीरीपातां-

Second Plate; Second Side.

23 कटेरकविवराणां वधिकंगालाण्यं व्रजांगस्तं || संपूर्ण प्रति-
24 वशिष्ट्यांचं कटुमिनं (1) सामाश्वंविवराणांगमाद-
25 चारो भ्राता: चारो भ्राता: विवरकाः-
26 'सवविष्ठनिकविवराणां चारो भ्राता: विवरकाः-
27 अं याम: 'सवविष्ठनिकविवराणां चारो भ्राता:
28 'सवविष्ठनिकविवराणां चारो भ्राता:
29 'मिने: 'सवविष्ठनिकविवराणां चारो भ्राता:
30 'सवविष्ठनिकविवराणां चारो भ्राता:
31 'सवविष्ठनिकविवराणां चारो भ्राता:
32 'सवविष्ठनिकविवराणां चारो भ्राता:
33 'सवविष्ठनिकविवराणां चारो भ्राता:

Third Plate; First Side.

34 गंगादिकं मन्त्रं || सुम्ब वस्तुवं || तथा चारों चारी-
35 श्रव. 'वहुमिर्वं सुधा दत्ता राजमं: सर्वाक्री-
36 'मिने: 'यास्य यस्य यदा भूवमिर्वं सम्भास्य तथा तदा फलं || \[14\]
37 शालं वर्षसंकल्पं सर्वं सोभंतं भूमिदं: 'सा-"
38 खोजन वातुगला च वातेव नत्ते वसे। [६८] खरण
39 तां परदता या यो हर्षेत वसुमरां । च विष्णु-
40 यां काालभूता पितामहः सह पश्यते ॥ [६८] दत्त क-
41 ‘शामदत्तांभिमुनिक्षॆँ जो वियमुखियोऽनुष-नुष
42 वोविन्त च शामदत्तसाधारण । चुक्तः ॥ न तिः पुष-
43 वे दत्तां शामदत्तां विकिश्य च च चुक्तोऽनुष
44 च चाषमायमाण्यां । त्रिमहाचक्षुपालेन लिं-

Third Plate; Second Side.

45 खिलं शासन हरम् । [१०] प्रवेशसामन्य
46 याराजं खरसं ॥ वालिः चे प्र दिन ॥ [१०]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Oṁ. Hail! From Srīvardhanasapura.

(Verse 1.) (There was) king Srīvardhana (I.), the lord of the family of her who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāsa mountain, (and) famous on (this) earth (as) the ornament of the Sallavatthas. His son Prithuvardhana, formerly having drawn the sword with his own arm, at once overcame the Gaurjara country by (his various) attacks.

(V. 2.) King Sauvardhana, who was born in his family, begat three sons of his own, who in due course acquired the glory of heroism on the circle of the earth. One of them, possessing valour, having killed the Paundra king who was skilled in rending up (his) powerful enemies, took the whole of that country.

(V. 3.) The third of them, of white (i.e. pure) character, the vanquisher of foes, having forcibly killed the self-conceited (and) cruel king of the Kāśis, took Kāśi (from him). His son, known by the name of Jayavardhana (I.), the best of kings, having killed the lord of the Vindhya, took up his residence in the Vindhya for a long time.

(V. 4.) His son was Srīvardhana (II.), the lord of the Vindhya, who possessed immovable (permanent) wealth like the immovable Vindhya mountain itself, who banished poverty by gifts of elephants, (and) who augmented the prosperity of various (other) big families.

(V. 5.) His son, skilled in destroying all (his) enemies (and) a treasury of great virtues, was called Jayavardhana (II.). The goddess of Wealth so closely embraced him that the goddess of Fame, as if (jealous of her cowife), out of anger ascended to the heavens.11

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1 Read बातुमाना।
2 Read परदता।
3 Read काालभूता।
4 Read नमम्यः।
5 Read सुधापुष्ट।
6 Read तयु।
7 The words in brackets are very common in inscriptions; see e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 210, note 3.
8 Read चंध।
9 I take drṣṭiτs-cakte to stand for drṣṭiτd-cakte in accordance with Pāṇ. VI. 3. 63, and to mean the Gauḍ-gaśa."}

10 Literally, 'another than the two.'
11 The idea is that he was very wealthy, and that his fame reached up to the heavens.
(L. 20.) The devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of his parents, the lord of the whole Vindhya, the Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Jayavardhanadēva, being in good health, having worshipped the Brahmānas in the village Khaddikā in the district (vīkāya) of Kaṭēraka, issues a command to the inhabitants and other householders (as well as) revenue collectors, receivers of public property and so forth, as they are appointed from time to time, (and) to all state officers and provincial governors.

(L. 26.) "Let it be known to you that this village is given by Us, with hidden treasures (and) deposits, together with (the right of) taking all the dues, with the prohibition for the regular or irregular forces to enter (the village), with (the fines leviable on) the ten offences, free from all troubles, to (the temple of) the holy Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka (i.e. the Sun-god) set up at Chaṭṭulliha, at the request of the residence (viz. Śrivardhanapura, l. 1), on the Kārttikī (tiṇi), with libations of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the planets endure, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourself, by (this) copper-plate charter. Knowing this, let (all) live happily, enjoying (their) due portion of rights, etc. And it is thus enjoined in the Dharmādētra: "—

[Here follow four of the customary imprecatory verses.]

(V. 10.) (This) suspicious charter was written by the illustrious Mahāchandaṇḍapāla, who subsisted on the lotus-feet of the illustrious Śrivardhanadēva.

(L. 45.) The year 3 of the augmenting and victorious reign, the 30th day of Kārttika.

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No. 6.—Maliyapundi Grant of Ammaraja II.

By Professor E. Hultsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

This interesting record of the Eastern Chāṇkya dynasty was first published in 1905 by Missara A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their Nellore District Inscriptions, p. 164 ff., with seven photographic Plates. The original copper-plates had been "discovered by Mr. Venugopal Chetti in the Rāmalingōvaravavāmi temple at Madanur, a village about 10 miles from Ongole, Nellore district." I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, to whom the original plates were kindly forwarded at my request by Mr. Butterworth, and who contributes the following remarks on them:—

"These are five copper-plates, measuring 2¾" by about 4¼". The first and last plates bear writing only on their inner side and have raised rims about ¾" high only on their engraved side. The three remaining plates, which bear writing on both sides, have rims of the same height projecting on both sides. Through holes (¾" in diameter), bored on the left margin of each plate, is passed a circular ring, which appears to have been cut and re-soldered before the plates came into my hands. The ring measures 5¾" in diameter and is a little more than ¾" thick. Its ends, which are slightly thinner, are secured in the upper part of an expanded lotus flower of eight petals. To the lower part of the same lotus, which is fashioned into a rim-like projection, is soldered a circular seal, which measures 2¾" in diameter and is nearly ¾" thick. It bears, in relief, on a countersunk surface, the legend Śri-Triḥkūraṁdākṣu[sa] in the centre, in characters similar to those of the inscription. Below

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1 These were probably killing (murder), theft, wrong action (adultery), slander, harsh language, untruthfulness, incoherent conversation, uncivility, atheism and perverse behaviour,enumerated as daśa dhāpakaṁra in the Śukraṇtī, adhyaśa 3, śāka 6.

2 The high rims are responsible for the fact that some symbols at the beginning and the end of lines have not come out well in the ink-impressions.
the legend is an expanded lotus flower, and above it a running (?) boar facing the proper left. In front of the boar is an elephant goad, and behind its tail a crescent."

The alphabet is of the same Telugu type as in other grants of the same dynasty and period. No distinction is made between secondary Ʉ and Ʉə, and secondary ɀ and Ɂ is often written as Ɂ and Ɇ. Final Ɂ occurs in line 32, Ɂ in ll. 8, 30 and 51, Ɂ in ll. 10, 14, 28, 37, 39, 52, and Ɇ in ll. 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 51, 54, 55 and 60. The jhavdhātiya is used in ll. 42, 51, and the saṅkhātiya in ll. 10, 41, 43, 46 and 51.

The following orthographical irregularities deserve to be noted. Against one of Pāṇini's rules (VIII. 4, 49) the Ʉ of varṣha is doubled in ll. 8 and 11, but not in ll. 13, 18, 25 and 40. Some spellings are due to the Telugu pronunciation. Thus we find yēṭad (I. 57) for āṭad, yuttara (ll. 54 f. and 57), but not in I. 59) for uttara, rakahapāyīṇa (I. 47 f.) for rakahapāyaśa, aruha (I. 50) for arha, krīṣṭa (I. 39) for krīṣṇa. Dental n is employed instead of lingual n in Kīranapura and krīṣna (I. 43), puṇya (ll. 49, 50), dīkārana (ll. 49, 53), gandśa (I. 50), juttaraśana (I. 54 f.). The vowel ri is replaced by ri in krīṣna (I. 43), ṣadriṭā (I. 52) and kṛitēd (I. 56). The palatal sibilant is improperly used in saṅha (I. 50) for saṅgha and ṣadriṭā (I. 52) for sadriṭā.

The language is Sanskrit prose, interspersed with 20 Sanskrit verses. In ll. 56-60 some names of villages, tanks and fields appear in their Telugu forms. At the end of the record the usual imperative verses and the names of the Ājāṉṛti, composer and writer are missing.

As the inscription records a grant to a Jain temple, it opens with an invocation of the Jaina religion (v. 1). Ll. 3-41 contain the genealogy of the Eastern Chāluṇa dynasty down to Sāmātahāweṇadvārāya Vijayāditya (VI.) or Ammarāja (II.), the date of whose coronation is given in the same two verses (13 f.) as in his Pāṇaṅkalūtra grant.\(^1\) The genealogical portion contains two passages of historical importance, the first (ll. 13-16) describing the ascent of Vijayāditya III., and the second (ll. 22-32) the accession of Chāluṇa-Bhima II.

The Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapāḍśva reports that Vijayāditya III. slew Maṅgirāja, burnt Chakrāṭa, terrified Saṅkīla, residing in Kīranapura and joined by Krishṇa, restored his dignity to Vallabhēndra, and received elephants as tribute from the king of Kalinga.\(^2\) The slaying of Maṅgi is referred to also in three other inscriptions.\(^3\) The second of them adds the burning of Kīranapura, and the third states that the king, having terrified Krishṇa and Saṅkīla, completely burnt their city. Hitherto we did not know who Maṅgi and Saṅkīla were. Verse 3 of the Malisapūṇḍi grant calls the former 'the king of the great Nojambe-rāṣṭra' and the second 'the lord of the excellent Daṅjña.' Thus Maṅgi seems to have been one of the Pallavas of Nojambevāḍi\(^4\) and Saṅkīla an early chief of Dāhalā (or Chēḍi). While both of the above-mentioned inscriptions couple the name of Saṅkīla with that of Krishṇa, the Malisapūṇḍi grant (v. 3) states that Saṅkīla was 'joined by the fierce Vallabha.' The Nellore District Inscriptions (p. 169, ntep 5) correctly conclude from this that Saṅkīla's ally Krishṇa was a Vallabha, i.e. a Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Hence my former identification of this Krishṇa with the Paramāra king Krishṇarāja\(^5\) must be wrong, and he may be identified, as was done by Dr. Fleet,\(^6\) with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa II. The latter is known to have been connected with the Chēḍi family, being the son-in-law of Kokkalla (I.) and the brother-in-law of Saṅkūka. I feel no hesitation in identifying Saṅkīla of Dāhalā with Saṅkūka (or Saṅkūkaraṇa) of Chēḍi, the son of Kokkalla I., but am unable to identify Kīranapura, where Saṅkīla resided according to the

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\(^1\) *Ind. Ant. Vol. VII.* p. 16. Ll. 23-34 of this grant are identical with ll. 32-41 of the Malisapūṇḍi grant.

\(^2\) Above, *Vol. IV.* p. 239 f.


Piṭhāpuram inscription and Krishnārāja according to the Malīyapupuḍi grant (v. 15). In two
grants the burning of this Kīrāṇapura,¹ the residence of Krishṇa and Saṅkila,² is attributed
to Vījayaḍīya III. himself. Verse 15 of the Malīyapupuḍi grant informs us that this feat was in
reality performed by a military officer named Pāṇḍaraṅga. It is perhaps worth noting that
another Bṛhtrakūṭa prince named Krishṇarāja is mentioned in a grant of A.D. 883.³ Between
the slaying of Maṅga and the victory over Saṅkila the Malīyapupuḍi grant mentions that Vīja-
yāḍīya III.⁴ defeated the Gaṅgas who took refuge on the peak of Gaṅgakūṭa.⁵ As suggested
in the Nellor District Inscriptions (p. 169, note 3), this statement may or may not be a mere
variant of one in the Piṭhāpuram inscription, according to which the king burnt Chakrakūṭa.⁶ He
is elsewhere said to have defeated the unequaled Gaṅgas.⁷ Finally the new grant reports
that Vījayaḍīya III. bore the surname Parāchakrārama (l. 14).

The Malīyapupuḍi grant gives a vivid description of the struggles that took place after the
death of Vīkramāḍīya II. Five years passed in continual wars between the rival claimants,
among whom Yuddhamaḷa, Rājamārtanda and Kaṇṭhikā-Vījayaḍīya are mentioned by name.
Then Rājarāhima (or Chālukya-Bhīma II.) succeeded in restoring order by slaying
Rājamārtanda, defeating and banishing Kaṇṭhikā-Vījayaḍīya and Yuddhamaḷa, and killing
many other rebels. Yuddhamalla (II.) is the son of Tāla, to whom one grant of Chālukya-
Bhīma II. attributes a reign of seven years,⁸ while two other grants,⁹ like the Malīyapupuḍi
grant, take no official notice of his reign. Rājamārtanda is perhaps the same as Rājamayya in
the Kalchubrara grant,¹⁰ and he is mentioned also in the Kolavenu plates.¹¹ In editing
these plates I committed a mistake, which has been endorsed by Dr. Fleet¹² and Prof. Kielhorn,¹³
in taking Rājamārtanda as a surname of Chālukya-Bhīma II. As stated in the Nellor District
Inscriptions (p. 170, note 4), the Malīyapupuḍi grant now shows that Rājamārtanda was a distinct
person. Dr. Fleet has already noticed that ll. 17-19 of the Kolavenu plates contain a verse,¹⁴
the first half of which I would now, with the help of his remarks, correct as follows:—


⁵ Above, Vol. VII. p. 181.
⁸ Lists of Southern Insocr. No. 502.
¹⁰ See notes 1 and 2 above.
¹¹ Above, Vol. VII. p. 181 f.
¹² Compare ibid. p. 338. ¹³
Pândarāṅga (the Pândarāṅga of v. 15) is mentioned as Ājāaptī in a grant of Vijayāditya III.\(^1\) The title Kafakaraḍja or Kafakāḍhpati, i.e. ‘superintendent of the royal camp,’ which was borne by his three lineal descendants, seems to be peculiar to the court of the Eastern Chālukya kings. Dr. Fleet remarked that the grants of Amma I. and Amma II. mention Kafakaraḍja, Kafakāḍa and Kafakāḍhīḍa as Ājāaptī, and came to the conclusion that these two words were not proper names, but mere titles.\(^2\) The Maliyapūḍi grant now shows that in each case they refer to one of the three direct descendants of Pândarāṅga, who bore that title, viz. Nīravadyadhavala, Vijayāditya and Durgāraḍa. It seems preferable to take also Kafakaraḍja in the grant of Chālukya-Bhima I.\(^3\) as a vulgar form of Kafakaraḍja, the title of Vijayāditya, and not as a proper name.

The object of the grant was the small village (grāmaṇḍikā) of Maliyapūḍi (l. 55) in the district (vishaya) of Kamma-nāṇḍa (l. 42). Its boundaries are given in l. 56 f. The northern boundary, Dharmavuramu, is the Telugu form of Dharmapuri, the south of which the Jindlagu was situated (v. 17). According to the Nellore District Inscriptions (p. 174, note) both Dharmapuram and the western boundary, Kalvakuru, are now in the Addanki division of the Ongole tāluka. Of two inscriptions at Dharmavaram (p. 966 ff. of the same work) the first mentions Gupakenalla (Vijayāditya III.), Pândarāṅga, the burning of Kiraṇapura, and Dharmavuram. An inscription at Addanki (p. 896 f. of the same work) also refers to Pândarāṅga and Dharmavuram. Maliyapūḍi itself, the village granted, does not exist any more at present (ibid. p. 167), but its former position is fixed by the identification of two of its boundaries. The district of Kamma-nāṇḍa, to which it belonged, is identical with the Kamma-rāṣṭra or Kammakā-raṣṭra of other inscriptions. To my former remarks on this geographical name\(^4\) may be added that it occurs as Kammakā-raṭha in the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions of Purisadatta.\(^5\) This Prakrit form renders my suggestion that Kammaka may be meant for Kammaka\(^6\) untenable; for the latter would have become in Prakrit Kammaṇka, and not Kammaka.

**TEXT.**

\[1\] 1 ॐ ्भृद्ध स्वामिजग्नितवाय सता चैव ज्ञिनिनिद्धभासात्समस्ति
\[2\] 2 य विलसर्वावसावयाय च ्समस्तावेत्रपु िय सुधकालिकता द्वाराय
\[3\] 3 कृमचनि च भूलवे न विवाद श्वातिष निवं जियि
\[4\] 4 तुद्दुरुस्मद्रम्यायमनः चारितितुपास्ताः कौशिकिरप्रमादकाम्बरा
\[5\] 5 ज्ञांभाषांगमम्[\#] परिपरिपालातन्त्रायिनाम् खाभमर्याय
\[6\] 6 भार्याश्रायप्रदर्षार्कातः भार्याश्रायप्रदर्षार्कातः भार्याश्रायप्रदर्षार्कातः

\(^1\) Above, Vol. V. p. 135, verse 9.
\(^2\) Above, Vol. VII. p. 184 f.
\(^3\) Above, Vol. V. p. 130.
\(^4\) Above, Vol. VIII. p. 238.
\(^5\) See Bhagnalal Indrani's transcript in Notes on the Amaravati Stupa, p. 56, and Bühl's transcripts in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 258 f. and in Amaravati and Jaggaṇayapa, p. 110 (compare Plate lxii. f.).
\(^6\) Above, Vol. VIII. p. 234.
\(^7\) From two sets of ink-impresions.
\(^8\) Read निर्माणः व.
\(^9\) The anuvātra stands at the beginning of the next line.
\(^10\) Read निर्माणः न्या.
7 नामकेतबधनविक्षरस्याद्रीचतुर्वेषां । चालुक्याः। कुषलकरिमपालस्य[४]।
8 यवन्नमस्य भान्त पुष्पमिवनवेनहृत[४]। दम्यानिति । वेणिकुमारलाभत्।

Second Plate; First Side.

9 कृपा ॥ जयसिंहस्वयंविष्करस्याम्। तदाहंवेदकामशीगांभुवनो। नव।
10 तत्सृष्टिविष्वनाभिः। जयसिंहाययन्योऽस्मि।
11 तदर्जः। कृपालिखस्यामन्।
12 विष्करस्यम्। जयसिंहाययन्योऽस्मि।
13 भूपाः। चलकरिमविष्करस्यामन्।
14 तपस्विः। पचार्जस्यामम। शान्तिः। विष्करस्यम्।
15 र्म गंगानारीयपिलकुलसि कर्मकर्मोऽस्मि।
16 यहोऽस्मि। विष्करस्यम्। चालुक्यानादानीर्जस्याद्री।

Second Plate; Second Side.

17 चालुक्यस्य विष्करस्यम्। सुत्तालुक्याभिमंरकिष्ठम्।
18 पुष्पसिंहाः। तदाहं संयुक्तसिंहायाद्री।
19 तत्सृष्टिभिः। चालुक्याभिमंरकिष्ठम्।
20 विष्करस्यम्। चालुक्याभिमंरकिष्ठम्।
21 जाः।[४] एकादेशं सम्भविंधकरिमविष्करस्याद्री।
22 भिक्षुमादिषिवत्तमयो विक्रमादिष्ठित्वम्। [४४] पवादछभविश्वम् विक्रम- 
मादिष्ठि- 
23 म[५]ने राजया इव प्राजावभवन्ययाद दायदराजचुवा राजायभविविविष्ठि 
युवम्भरा- 
24 'जसाकैनकापिकाविजयादिविधयस्तयो विष विलुत्तवा राजसु [५३] विष- 
वेन राज्ये कल्य [५३] के- 
26 विक्रमादिष्ठित्वम् दक्षिणि। [४४] चन्दे यात्रसहिष्ठितोपि 
वववे [४४] हु- 
27 द्वितीयाद्विाः।' देमेपदस्वेकारणा: प्रकरित: वाहायम् प्राप्तया: [५३] 
28 द्वितीयाद्विाः।' देमेपदस्वेकारणा: प्रकरित: वाहायम् प्राप्तया: [५३] 
29 द्वितीयाद्विाः।' देमेपदस्वेकारणा: प्रकरित: वाहायम् प्राप्तया: [५३] 
30 द्वितीयाद्विाः।' देमेपदस्वेकारणा: प्रकरित: वाहायम् प्राप्तया: [५३] 
31 द्वितीयाद्विाः।' देमेपदस्वेकारणा: प्रकरित: वाहायम् प्राप्तया: [५३] 
32 द्वितीयाद्विाः।' देमेपदस्वेकारणा: प्रकरित: वाहायम् प्राप्तया: [५३] 

Third Plate; Second Side.

35 तेस्रीस्मासाराज्याते: कृतिरङ्ग: [४४] लोकमाहादेया: १८ खंडु यस्म्भविद्या[४] न यवदियात्। [५३] य स 
साक्षरभिक्षुकसिद्धि[१३] वि- 
34 जात्या:॥ [५३] जवलात्तपचायरवस्तुवांशुकयामास[५] कात्यायनात: [५३] 

\[1^\text{st} \text{As remarked in the Nellore District Inscriptions, p. 178, note 1, the र after भवाभुः is superfluous; it was perhaps engraved because the writer had in his mind the frequent word स्म,} \]
\[2^\text{Read विशृवह्रा.} \]
\[3^\text{Read महसूल.} \]
\[4^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[5^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[6^\text{The akṣaras शी and दु are engraved on an erasure.} \]
\[7^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[8^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[9^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[10^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[11^\text{Read नूतनस्कार as proposed in the Nellore District Inscriptions, p. 178, note 6; र is engraved on an erasure.} \]
\[12^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[13^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[14^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[15^\text{The anusvara stands at the beginning of the next line.} \]
\[16^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[17^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[18^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
\[19^\text{Read वीवम्बला.} \]
35 न्यायात्मकाः सुत्राः विगर्हनकालः । [१०] विकाशपाठियोऽविवधायेत्
36 दक्षेन्द्रः विकाशपाठियोऽविवधायेत् । [१०] कार्तिकायमकालः स्वरूपाञ्जलिः
37 कालप्रकाशमानू । [११] काव्यायकालः क्षमतानिदिनस्वाभावः
38 कृत्वा । [१२] यवनक्षमाश्चानिदिनस्वाभावः क्रमान्
39 ग्रामाण्यः के तत्त्वाणि ॥ [१२] राजाध्यायं
40 दृष्ट्वाति राज्य शक्ति सम्बन्धिति अनुभवः ॥ [१३] विवाहदुम्पदिनश्री

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

41 तुरागाय । [१४] स समस्याव्यक्तिसिद्धियोऽविवधायेत् विवाहाधिकारवर्तमानः
42 मनोरथारोहिष्ठे । [१५] राजाखुट्राधिकारिनां सिद्धियोऽविवधायेत्
43 अर्थात् । [१६] विचारप्रथायोऽविवधायेत् विचारप्रवर्तमानः
44 अस्तराविकारिणी । [१७] तद्विद्ये
45 जो निरवधायवलः कटकराजपश्चीत्तिसोऽविवधायेत् ॥ [१८] तत्तनयो विवाह-दिल्लिवते
46 काव्यांत्तिः । [१९] जहाँ ॥ [२०] समस्याव्यक्तिसिद्धियोऽविवधायेत्
47 मघाया समस्यात्मकायोऽविवधायेत् ॥ [२१] चालवाणाः च लख्या द्वितीयं प्रतिक चदा रचना[२२]

1 Read "गीतीदासारुपः।
2 Read "वित्तिओऽयोऽविवधायेत्
3 Read "विचारप्रवर्तमानः
4 Read "विचारप्रवर्तमानः
5 Read "निरवधायवलः
6 Read "निरवधायवलः
7 Read "समस्याव्यक्तिसिद्धियोऽविवधायेत्
8 Read "समस्याव्यक्तिसिद्धियोऽविवधायेत्
9 Read "समस्याव्यक्तिसिद्धियोऽविवधायेत्
10 Corrected from "समस्याव्यक्तिसिद्धियोऽविवधायेत्
11 Read "समस्याव्यक्तिसिद्धियोऽविवधायेत्
12 Read "समस्याव्यक्तिसिद्धियोऽविवधायेत्
13 Read "समस्याव्यक्तिसिद्धियोऽविवधायेत्
14 Read "समस्याव्यक्तिसिद्धियोऽविवधायेत्
15 Read "समस्याव्यक्तिसिद्धियोऽविवधायेत्
16 The "विचार" was added subsequently.
17 Read "मघाया समस्यात्मकायोऽविवधायेत्
18 Read "मघाया समस्यात्मकायोऽविवधायेत्
19 The "विचार" was added subsequently.
20 Read "चालवाणाः च लख्या द्वितीयं प्रतिक चदा रचना[२२]".
21 Read "चालवाणाः च लख्या द्वितीयं प्रतिक चदा रचना[२२]".
48 विव बंग [४] स्थानो यथार्थ पून्याधिकवर्जयप्रभासांस्रोतां [२] ।
[१६] तन्न सतौ परम्परकोण-।

49 विषादिय विज्ञानविश्वासात: [३] कटकानिर्माणविज्ञातनाम । व "पुन्याधिकारको वाच्य [॥ १०]"

Fourth Plate: Second Side.

50 "[श्री]यायुपनिवन्धनपुष्पकोटिमहकुचनेनन्दिनो । [४] "पुन्याधिकवर्जयः छोरा दिजननिदसिनिर्मिती[३] ग-।

51 [४]धर्म:। [१८] तस्माप्रिष्ठप्रियतिते ध(५)प्राया। व (१)दिव[१] ।

52 भवन्त बल्ल म्नानान द्विगुच्छ । [१८] वैमनिरदेशस्बरूपसु-

53 शरीरमितिमितिमिति । सन्तोषनवर्जयमत्तसे लेके:। [२०] [३] ।

54 य कटकाराजग्राम, । । [२५] वेत्रसमस्तो चेतावन:। पूर्वत: गोर्जीनिं-।

55 भाप्यन्ति[३] शालियप्रविष्टाद्विते। दिच्छत:। शरीरमितिमिति नामितिमिति। पूर्वत: गोर्जीनि-।

56 गुलिनु । वशमंऽस्तो चेतावन:। पूर्वत: गोर्जीनिं-।

57 त: कल्याणु । युततः।। [२९] जैनपुथु । [२५]वेत्रसमस्तो चेतावन:। पूर्वत: गोर्जीनि-।

58 गुलिनु । भाप्यन्ति[३] शालियप्रविष्टाद्विते। दिच्छत:। शरीरमितिमिति नामितिमिति। पूर्वत: गोर्जीनिं-।

59 परिमत:। शालियप्रविष्टाद्विते:। दिच्छत:। शरीरमितिमिति नामितिमिति। पूर्वत: गोर्जीनि-।

60 इशान्यायः। (२) कल्याणु एवोक्षेति विनिमेयो । सीमा।।

1 Read "सर्वस्रो". The whole compound seems to be meant for "कटकाराजपञ्चनामसहित", which would have offended against the metre.
2 Read "पुंजा".
3 Read "श्रीवरिश्चरणपञ्चनामसहित".
4 Read "सर्वस्रो" or perhaps, for the sake of the metre, "सर्वस्रो".
5 Read "पुंजा" and compare below, p. 56, note 2.
6 Read चरानं.
7 Read जिष्या.
8 Read "भूतम्".
9 Read "सर्वस्रो".
10 Read "श्रीवरिश्चरणपञ्चनामसहित".
11 Read "सर्वस्रो".
12 Read "सर्वस्रो".
13 Read "बिल्कुल".
14 Read "पुंजा".
15 Read "दुर्दःशालियप्रविष्टाद्विते".
16 Read "सर्वस्रो".
17 Read "बिल्कुल".
18 Read "सर्वस्रो".
19 Read "सर्वस्रो".
20 Or possibly "सर्वस्रो".
21 Read चरानं.
22 Read इशान्यायः.
ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the religion (āśrama) of the lord Jinaṇḍra.

(Verse 7.) Kuja-Vishnuvardhana (I.), the brother of Satyārāya-Vallabhaṇḍra who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, ruled the Vēṇgi country (maṇḍala) for eighteen years; his son Jayasimha (I.) for thirty-three; Vishnuvardhana (II.), the son of his younger brother Indravaraja, for nine; his son Manjī-yuvāraja for twenty-five; his son Jayasimha (II.) for thirteen; his younger brother Kokkili for six months; his eldest brother Vishnuvardhana (III.), having expelled him, for thirty-seven years; his son Vijayāditya (I.)-bhāṭṭāraka for eighteen; his son Vishnuvardhana (IV.) for thirty-six.

(V. 2.) King Vijayāditya (II.), surnamed Narēndramāgarāja, who had the courage of a lion, for forty years with eight.¹

(I. 13.) His son Kail-Vishnuvardhana (V.) for one year and a half. His son, whose other name was Parachakraraṇa,

(V. 3.) (was) Vijayāditya (III.), who, having slain in a great battle Maṇgi, the king of the great Nāḍambaraśaṇṭra, having defeated the Gaṅgas who took refuge on the peak of Gaṅgakūṭa, and having terrified Saṅkhila, the lord of the excellent Dāḷaja, who was joined by the fierce Vālabbha, ruled the earth for forty-four years.

(I. 16.) Chalukya-Bhima (I.), the son of his younger brother Vikramāditya (I.) who had received the dignity of Yuvāraja, for thirty. His eldest son² Vijayāditya (IV.) for six months. His eldest son Ammarāja (I.) for seven years. Having overcome his infant son, Tala-nripa, the son of Yuddhamalla (I.), the parental uncle of Chalukya-Bhima (I.), for one month.

(V. 4.) Having slain at the head of a rough battle this Tala-rāja together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (and) had troops of furious elephants, the glorious king Vikramāditya (II.), the son of king Chalukya-Bhima (I.), of very fierce power, righteously ruled for one year the earth surrounded by the girdle of the oceans.

(I. 22.) Afterwards at the setting (i.e. the death) of Vikramāditya (II.), the kinsmen-princes who were desirous of the kingdom, (viz. Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtanda Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya, etc., were fighting for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like Rākṣhasas (at the setting of the sun). In mere war five years passed away. Then succeeded—

(V. 5 f.) The fierce warrior who slew among those Rājamārtanda; who in a battle made Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla go to a foreign country; the curved sword wielded by whose strong arm dispatched to the abode of Death many others who, though respectable kings, had shown themselves puffed up by evil conduct (and) causing distress to the country; (and whose) command is carried on the head like a garland by the eager kings of the earth.

(V. 8.) This Rājabhima (II.), the son of Vijayāditya (IV.) (and) grandson of Chalukya-Bhima (I.), righteously ruled the surface of the earth for twelve years.

(V. 9.) Ammarāja (II.), who was born to him by Lōkamahādevi, as Kumāra to Mahāśvara by Umā.

(V. 13 f.) Who—as the eastern lord of mountains, to redder the world, (puts on himself) the sun—put on, to please the world, the fillet in the twelfth year of (his) birth, in the year reckoned by the mountains (7), the flavours (6) and the Vasus (8)—(i.e. 867)—of the Šaka era,

¹ The reading of the text seems to be meant for वनस्पतिशस्त्रा चर्चिति, which would however be against the metre.
² The other Eastern Chalukya inscriptions show that agraja has to be taken here to mean 'the first-born son,' and not, as usually, 'the elder brother.' A similar use of the word agrajasam is noted by Dr. Fleet, above, Vol. VII. p. 181.
in this month of Mārgaśīrṣa, on the thirteenth day of the dark (fortnight), on Thursday, in the Maitra (Anurakha) nakhaatra, while the sun (was) in Dhanus, in the Ghaṭa lagna;

(L. 41.) This Samastabhuvanārāya, the glorious Vijayaditya (VI.), the Mahārājādhirāja Paramādeva, the very pious Ammara ā (II.) thus commands all the ryots, headed by the Raṅgākāyas, inhabiting the district (vishaya) of Kamma-nāṇḍu — Lords!

(V. 15.) Even one possessed of thousands of mouths (would be) unable to count the great achievements of that valiant Pāṇḍarāṇga, of spotless fame, who burnt Kiraṇapura, the residence of Krishnarāja, as Mahēṣa (Śiva) (burnt) Tripura.

(L. 44.) His son (was) Niravadyadhavala, whose forehead was decorated with the fillet of Kaṭakarāja. His son (was) the Kaṭakādhīpatai Vijayaditya.

Verse (16.) His son (was) Durgarāja, whose sword always (served) only for the protection of the fortune of the Chālukyas, and whose renowned family (served) for the support of the excellent great country (maṇḍala) called Vēṅgi.

• (V. 17.) There is on the southern side of Dharmapuri a very charming excellent temple of Jina (Jindala) founded by him, an abode of merit, and marked with the auspicious name of Kaṭakābharaṇa.

(V. 18.) (There was) the lord of ascetics Jinaṇandin, who resembled the Gaṇadharaṇa, belonged to the pure and worthy Nandi-gacchha (and) was the chief lord of the Koṭimaṇḍuva(?)-gaṇa, which is to be worshipped (as belonging to) the holy Yāpaniya-saṅgha.

(V. 19.) His first disciple was a chief of ascetics called Divājakaṇa, renowned on earth, a store of highest knowledge (and) high-souled, who resembled the Jinas themselves by great virtues.

(V. 20.) His disciple was the wise ascetic Śrīmāndirādeva, a store of great anxieties, whom people desire as if he were possessed of the power of pratikārya.3

(L. 53.) To the Kaṭakābharaṇa-Jindalaṇa superintended by him there was given, at the request of the Kaṭakāraṇa, for the cost of repairs of breaks and cracks, offerings, worship, etc., and of an alms-house (nāṭra), on the occasion of the winter solstice (uttarāyana), the small village named Maliyapūṇḍi, with exemption from all taxes, with lalitations of water.

(L. 56.) The boundaries of this village (are): in the east Muṅjuny[u]ru; in the south Yinnimil; in the west Kalvakuru; in the north Dhamavuramu.

(L. 57.) The boundaries of the fields of this village (are): in the east the Gollani-guṇṭha (pond); in the south-east the Rāviya-periya-cheruvu (tank); in the south a demarcation stone; in the south-west also a demarcation stone; in the west the Mālkapari and the Koṛab Kyu-taṭaka (tank); in the north-west also a demarcation stone; in the north the Dula-cheruvu (tank); in the north-east the boundary (is) also the boundary of the Evvōka-chānu (field) in Kalvakuru.

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No. 7.—PLATES OF VIJAYA-DEVAVARMA.

By Professor E. HULTZSCHE, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

Two sets of excellent ink-impressions of this grant were sent to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who had received the original plates from the Collector of the Kistna district.

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3 The word caṇḍa means also 'a cane'; see Nellore District Inscriptions, p. 173, note 5.
4 It is not quite impossible that Panāḍaṇa is a mistake for Panāḍaṇa; compare the Panāḍaṇaṁ karṇāṁ dhāraṇa of the Nandāṅgā, above, Vol. IV, p. 328.
5 According to Buddhist works, pratiḥāra or pratikārya means 'jugglery, working miracles'; see the St. Petersburg Dictionary.
"The plates belong to the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur, in whose office they have been lying for a long time. The person from whom they were originally obtained is not known."

"The copper-plates are four in number. Their length is $\frac{5}{4}$ inches, and their height $\frac{2}{3}$ inches at the ends and $\frac{2}{3}$ inches in the middle. Their margins are not raised into rims. The ring was cut by me (viz. Mr. Venkayya) for the first time. Its diameter is $\frac{2}{3}$ inches, and its thickness slightly over $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The ends of the ring are secured at the base of an oval seal, measuring $\frac{2}{3}$ by $\frac{1}{3}$ inches. The seal is all but obliterated; but a faint trace of some quadruped—perhaps a tiger—can be seen."

The inscription on the plates is carefully engraved and on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of the three grants of Sinhavarman and of the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarma. But neither $t$ nor $n$ have a loop at the left. As in the Hirahadagalli plates, the former is distinguished by a slight curve at the right; compare e.g. the $t$ of ēkṣa (l. 8) with the $n$ of vayana (l. 7). As first members of a consonant group both look the same; see the ītā of śāchīśktā and the ītā of chaśnumanta (l. 17). Final forms of $t$ and $m$, followed by a mark of punctuation which looks like a right angle, occur at the end of lines 17 and 19. The numerical symbol 20 occurs in line 11, the symbols 3 and 10 are used in the date (l. 15), and the plates ii, ii, iii, iii, iii, iii, and iv are numbered consecutively, like the pages of a modern book, with the symbols 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 on the left margin; on the first plate the sacred syllable $āmū$ occupies the place of the figure 1.

The language is Prākrit prose, with the exception of the last plate which bears two of the customary Sanskrit verses. While in the cave inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of the prose part of the subjoined plates agrees in this respect with that of the literary Prākrit and of the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi. In saṣvachchhāra (l. 14) $v$ is doubled after anuvāra. The language of the new plates is more archaic than that of the literary Prākrit in one important point: single consonants between vowels generally remain unchanged. Thus $k$ is preserved in bhaṭṭāraka (l. 3); $kh$ in pauṇkhṣa (l. 7); $g$ in bhaṅgavato (l. 1); $j$ in viṣyā (l. 1); $y$ in bijin (l. 5) and mahārāja (l. 6); $t$ in bhaṅgavato (l. 1), anuvahāta (l. 2 f.), bhāntavā and eta (l. 8), pariharitavā (l. 13 f.); $th$ in ratha (l. 2); $d$ in pāda (l. 2 and 3) and padesa (l. 10); $dh$ in medha (l. 5). But elision and ya-śrutīs have taken place in adhāya (l. 11) for druṭhika, niyattaya (l. 10) for niśvarāṇa, vayana (l. 7) for vachana, and at the beginning of the enclitic ça in dwaggdya ya (l. 12) and pariharitavyo (l. 13 f.)." The word Pausha (l. 15) appears in its Sanskrit form. Dental $n$ occurs in anuvahāta (l. 2 f.), Saśakāyana (l. 4), yājina (l. 5), gharatthāna (l. 11 and 12) = Sanskrit grihaṭhāna, and lingual $n$ in bhāntavā (l. 8), Ganasamā (l. 9), dwaggdya and rākhagya (l. 12), samāṣṭtā (l. 13) = Sanskrit saṃāṣṭtā, and saṣvachchhārya (l. 14). Both $n$ and $s$ appear in vayana (l. 7), niyattanandin[1] (l. 10) and manusāyan (l. 11). Among the remaining Prākrit words may be noted the two numerals terasa (l. 15) and vīnaḥ (l. 11), and of other inflected words the ablative Vagipūrṇ (l. 1), the genitives Devasaṃmāsa (l. 6) and Ganasamās (l. 9), the two differently formed locatives Elāre (l. 7) and padesamhi (l. 10), and the instrumental parihārēhi (l. 13).

The inscription is dated on the tenth tiṭhi of the dark fortnight of Pausha in the thirteenth year (in words and figures, l. 14 f.) of the Mahārāja Vijaya-Dēvarāman (l. 6), who issued

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1 See above, Vol. VIII. p. 144.
4 Another instance, in which the single pages of a grant are numbered, are the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi; see above, Vol. VIII. p. 144.
6 Compare Prof. Pischel's Prākrit grammar, § 189.
7 Compare ibid. § 184.
8 Compare ibid. § 61a.
9 Compare ibid. § 68.
10 Compare ibid. § 234.
11 Ibīd. §§ 443 and 444.
12 Compare ibid. § 402.
this grant from Vêngipura (l. 1) and addressed it to the villagers of Élûra (l. 7). The donee was named Gañadarman (l. 9) and received twenty (in words and figures, l. 11) niéartanas of land, evidently near Élûra, together with his site for a house and a site for the houses of his servants.

The king is described as the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śâlaňkâyana, the fervent Mâhâsâvâra, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy Chitrarathasvâmîn.1 Nearly the same epithets are applied in another set of plates to the Mahârája Vijaya-Nandaivarman,1 who was the son of the Mahârája Chandavarman, issued his grant likewise from Vêngipura, and addressed it to the inhabitants of a village in the district of Kudrâhâra.2 This family may be designated the Śâlaňkâyana Mahârâjas of Vêngipura. As Devavarman’s grant is in Prâkrit, he was presumably an ancestor of Chandavarman’s son Nandivarman, whose grant is in Sanskrit.

Vêngipura, the capital of the Śâlaňkâyanas, has been identified with Pedda-Vêgi, a village near Ellore in the Godavari district.3 The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a small mound which, on a visit to Pedda-Vêgi in 1902, was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of Chitrarathasvâmîn,4 the family deity of the Śâlaňkâyana Mahârâjas. Other indications point to the same part of the country. The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman were found in the neighbouring Kolleru lake,5 and Élûra, to whose inhabitants the subjoined edict was addressed, is no doubt the modern town of Élûra (Ellore), 7 miles from Pedda-Vêgi.

TEXT.6

First Plate.
Ohî [1*]

1 Sîri-vijaya-Vêngipura [1*] Bhagavato
2 Chitrarathasâmi-pâdân.
3 jhâtassa bappabhatâraka-pâdabhâttassa

Second Plate; First Side.

4 paramâsâmharassassa Śâlaňkâyanassa
5 asamedhayâjino
6 mahârâja-sîri-Vijaya-Devavammassa

Second Plate; Second Side.

7 vayàpema Élûre mulâda-pamukho
8 gâmo bhûnîtavvo [1*] Etassa
9 Ba[bhura]-sagottassa Gañassammassa

Third Plate; First Side.

10 sundara-padesamhi bhûmi-niyyattan[i]
11 visâh 20 gharatõhanam addhiya-manussâñah
12 dvaggâpa ya gharatõhanam parihâra-rakkhañah

2 This is the actual reading of the plates; see above, Vol. VI. p. 316 and note 4.
4 Compare the quotation from the Madras Journal, Vol. XIX. (which is at present inaccessible to me), above, Vol. IV. p. 158, note 7.
6 From two sets of ink-impressions.
7 Expressed by a symbol, which stands on the left margin of line 2.
Third Plate; Second Side.

14 tavvo ya [10] Viśvaya-sandvachchharaṇi
15 terasa [10] Paṇisha-kālapakṣha-dasani [10?][1]*

Fourth Plate.

16 Shašṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggō kṛdāti bhûmi-dāḥ [10]*
17 āchohhēttā ch-ānunanta cha tāṇy-eva narakāt1 vasēt ||
18 Bahubhir-vaśadhā datā bahuḥbhīṣ-cha-anupālītā [10]*
19 yaśya yaśya yadā bhūmiḥ2 taśya taśya tadā phala[m] ||

TRANSLATION.

Ou. (Line 1.) From the prosperous and victorious Vēngipura. The villagers3 of Ėḷūra, headed by the Mulas,4 must be addressed (as follow) by the word of the glorious Mahārīṣa Viśvaya-Dēvavarmāna, the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śālaṅkāyana, the fervent Māhēśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy Chitrarathvasāmin:—

(L. 8.) “It has been ordered that to this6 Gāpaśārman of the Bā[ḥura]7 gōtra (there have to be made over twenty)—20—nicarīnas of land in a handsome locality, a house-site (for himself, and) a house-site for the men who receive half the crop8 and for (his) door-keepers,9 (and) that the immunities (granted to him) have to be protected. And thus he must be exempted with all immunities. (In) the victorious year thirteen—13—(of the reign), (on) the tenth—[10]—tiṅhi of the dark fortnight of Paṇiha.”

[LL. 16-19 contain two of the usual verses.]

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No. 8.—BENARES INSCRIPTION OF PANTHA.

By P. Data Ram Sahni.

I edit this inscription from two rubbings kindly supplied to me, one by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, and the other by Mr. G. D. Ganguli, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. A transcript of it has been published before in 1886 by Prof. Hultsch in the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XL. p. 55.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved is said to have been discovered in the vicinity of the modern city of Benares, and is one of the twenty-four objects which were presented at the instance of Mr. J. H. Marshall, to the Lucknow Museum by the Principal of Queen's

1 This word looks almost like narakā.
2 Read kādānas.
3 Literally, ‘the village.’
4 This looks like a Dravidian word, which however cannot be traced in the dictionaries. The plates of Viśvaya-Nandivarman (l. 4) seem to read, instead of it, Mulasā; but the apparent as in the middle of this word may be in reality an obliterated µu.
5 The genitive bāgavato refers to Chitrarathvasāmi, the first member of the following compound. This is of course a grammatical blunder of the officer who drafted the inscription.
6 The pronoun this evidently had been uttered by the king in the presence of the donor, just as utkṣdham in the plates of Viśvaya-Nandivarman, l. 5.
7 Prof. Kielhorn suggests to me that this doubtful word may be meant for Bāḥura.
8 On ṛddhika or ēṛddhānta see the Mīḍakṣard on Yājñavalkya, I, 106. The Prākṛti form addēṇa occurs in Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 6, text line 30.
9 The Sanskrit original of dvargga seems to be dvedga, which may be taken in the sense of dvedhaka.
College, Benares, in December 1903. In discussing these sculptures, Dr. Vogel also noticed this stone, but failed to ascertain its precise find-spot.

Judging from the rubbings, the slab which bears the extant portion of the inscription measures 26" by 15" (66 cm. by 38 cm.). The stone-mason has done his work with great care and neatness, and the letters are deeply cut.

The inscription consists of eight lines, but it is far from complete. About one-fifth of the entire slab is broken away along the proper left edge, and consequently lines 1-7 have each lost a number of syllables, which varies from nine to fourteen. The first three syllables of the first line and the first akshara of the second line have also disappeared owing to a small piece of stone having chipped off from the upper right corner. The record is further damaged by the surface having more or less peeled off in the marginal portions.

The characters of the inscription very closely resemble those of an inscription from Jhâlîrâpâtan and are of the ornamental type current in Northern India about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Attention must, however, be drawn to the letters bh and y. The former of these always, and the latter in several cases, exhibit forms which come very close to those of the Maukhari alphabet of the sixth century A.D. The language is correct Sanskrit and metrical throughout. As regards orthography, there are three different points which deserve notice: (1) the doubling of the letters m, t, p, and in conjunction with a preceding or following r, in *marañyōrammōkha, l. 1; yattra, l. 2, *attra and *mûrti, l. 4; sarpa-sarpa and *vṛttr̥-vṛttr̥, l. 6; (2) the substitution of a single consonant for a double one in *tattva, l. 3; *vṛityā, l. 4; *ujuvala, l. 7; and (3) the use of v for b in *vramahā, l. 2, and *sandhivandha, l. 7.

The inscription is not dated, and its object is to record the erection of a shrine of Bhavānī at Benares. There are altogether five verses, the first three in the Sragdhārā and the last two in the Śūrdlavikūrītīa metre. The first stanza is devoted to the praise of the city of Vṛāgātī. The purport of the second verse is not quite certain; it seems to speak of a particular quarter of the holy city, which was often visited even by the moon when practising her penance. The third verse contains an eulogy of the builder of the shrine, named Pantha, and the last two speak of the consecration of the Bhavānī image (?) and the construction of the shrine, respectively.

TEXT.

1: [Otā svasti ||<s>]* [Khyā]tā Vārūṇas-īyām tribhuvana-bhavan-ābhōga-chaun-īti dūrātt-


2: [ta] sāgaṇō yattra dēvō vinuktah yāhām dṛishyā vran(bra)mah-āpi chyuntā-kali-

kalashō jāyatē sūdha-bhāvah || [1<sup>*</sup>] Asyām-uttānag-sīrōga-sphuṣa-śa[si]-

-kirāṇa-[śvēta-bhāsā sanāthāin ramy-āyāma*]-

3: pratōli-vividhā-ja tapada-stri-vīlās-ābhīrāmān | vidyā-vēdārthatatva(ttva)-vrata-japā-


4: Attra-ābhū-Pantha-nāmā śīśur-āpi vinaya-ṛyāpaṇō bhadra-mūrtīḥ tyāgī dhiṛaḥ

kritājaś parilaghu-vibhavōṇyā-śāmā-vṛity(tty)ā bhīhitā[shṭa] | Gaṅgā-arātaś-

suchi-stri]-

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<sup>2</sup> Archeological Survey Report for 1903-4, p. 212.
<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant. Vol. V. p. 130 and Plate.
<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* in *yattra, jāyatē, l. 2; vinaya, l. 4; and gēna, l. 5.
<sup>5</sup> In my own transcript this word was misread as *dryu*—E. H.)
<sup>6</sup> This restoration is based on the preceding *shśita* and *ātma-vṛityā*. 
Benares inscription of Pantha.
TRANSLATION.

[ Gł. Hail! ] (Verse 1.) Famous is this Vārānasi which, having usurped the extent 4 of the abode of the three worlds, is worshipped from afar by passionless people, with their mind solely fixed on liberation from birth and death; at which place was emancipated the god 5 with his attendants; and at the sight of which even the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa, freed of the stain of sin, becomes pure of heart.

(V. 2.) In this (city there was) a place, renowned on earth; [bathed in the white light] of the bright rays of the moon (as they fall on its) lofty turrets; charming with the gracefulness of the wives of the various inhabitants of the [beautiful and extensive] streets; a favourite resort of the moon 6 engaged in study, interpretation of the Vēdas, (search after) truth, (observance of) vows, muttering of prayers and austerities . . . . . . . .

(V. 3.) Here lived (a man) named Pantha, who even as a child was well-behaved, 8 handsome, generous, wise, grateful, (and) contented with his earnings in spite of his limited means; (who used to think thus to himself) : 4 The god (ambhaḥ) 9 Śiva is worshipped by my devotion without the foil of ascending the peaks of the Himālaya, [purified by the waves of the Ganges] ; and who constantly gladdened the assembly (of the wise) by (his) virtues.

(V. 4.) By him [was erected at a considerable cost (and) [with hundreds of] different consecrations [a beautiful image of Bhavānī], fierce-looking, awe-inspiring owing to a garland formed of gruesome human heads hanging (from her neck); with limbs encircled by crawling snakes, and with dry flesh pierced on an axe; delighting in a sportive dance, (and) with rolling [eyes].

1 Compare the expression saṃsthāya in l. 7.
2 This syllable is required to complete the word vistāra.
3 The restoration of mūrtīya, etc., is purely conjectural; but that it is probably correct, may be concluded from the fact that the epithets chaṇḍī, etc., clearly refer to an image of Bhavānī. Moreover, since the very next verse records the foundation of a Bhavānī shrine, it seems almost necessary to assume that an image of the same goddess should have been placed in this shrine.
4 Literally, 'the thief of the extent,' etc.
5 This passage presumably alludes to Śiva's residence at Benares in the Trādyāna. See Rājendralal Mitra's Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II. p. 63.
6 Literally, 'whose extent was charming.'
7 -bhakti-dhājyaṁśa would be a better reading.—[Or chandra may be meant for nara-chandra, 'an excellent man.'—E. H.]
8 I do not find the word eyeḍaṇa in any Sanskrit Dictionary. Vyaḍṛtī would be a more appropriate reading.
9 [But ambhaḥ does not mean 'a god.' I would rather conjecture at the end of line 4 Gaṇḍṛṣṭa gāhāṇaṁ and translate: 'devoutly (bhaktiḥ) [entering] the water (ambhaḥ) [of the Gāṅga].' In the following I prefer to join Śivaṁ and to translate: 'who daily pleased Śiva and Uma by (his) devotion (and their) attendants by (his) virtues.'—E. H.]
(V. 5.) Not satisfied with the erection (of this image only), the pious man, desirous of bliss, caused to be built a shrine of Bhavâni, which was joined with a very adhesive and bright cement, resplendent with the sound of bells, lovely, attractive, (and decorated) with lofty flags and yak-tails.

No. 9.—THE CHAHAMANAS OF NADDULA.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttingen.

Of the Châhâmanas of Sâkambhari we possess two long inscriptions. One of them is the Harsha inscription of Vigrabaraja, edited by me in Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 116 ff. It is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1030, corresponding to about A.D. 973, and gives the genealogy of the Châhâmanas from Guvaka I., 'who attained to pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of the glorious Nâgâvalôka,¹ the foremost of kings,' to Vigrabaraja. The other is the difficult Bijoli (Bijaoli, Bijjoli, Bihjholi) rock inscription of the reign of Somâvara, which has been uncritically edited in Journ. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LV. Part I. p. 40 ff. This inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1226, corresponding to A.D. 1170, and gives a long genealogy, commencing with Sâmanta, the reputed founder of the family, and ending with Somâvara.² Between these two longer records, and subsequently to the second, we have a few shorter inscriptions of the same family, notably the Delhi Siwallik pillar inscriptions of Visalâdeva-Vigrabaraja of A.D. 1164, and two short inscriptions on the defeat of the Chandella Paramaridêva by the Châhâmana Prithviraja II., of the [Vikrama] year 1239 = A.D. 1182. The latest available date for this family is the [Vikrama] year 1244 = A.D. 1187.³

From this Sâkambhari family there branched off, some time in the first half of the 10th century A.D., another line of Chahamanas (or Chhumanâs), which was founded by the Sâkambhari prince Lakshmana, and which for a long time had its seat of government at Naddula,⁴ the modern Nadol in the Jodhpur State of Râjputâna. To this branch of the family there is assigned in my Northern List only a single inscription, No. 141, the Nadolu copper-plate inscription of the Mahârâja Âlhanâdeva of A.D. 1161. But there belong to it also other inscriptions of the List, inscriptions of chiefs whose connection with the family was not known.

¹ I have already stated elsewhere that the true reading in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription is srîman-Nâgâvalôka-pravarapâra-sahâ-deva-bhâhu-viruprasâthâkha. In my Synchro.netic Table for Northern India I have suggested that Nâgâvalôka may be identical with the Prahlâda Nâghabha; but this appears to be a mistake. A definite date for a king Nâgâvalôka—apparently the Vikrama year 813 = A.D. 756—will, so far as I can see now, be furnished by a copper-plate inscription which has been quite recently discovered, and of which I have received a photograph from my friend Mr. Ojha.


³ See my Northern List, Nos. 144, 176 and 183.

⁴ So this name is spelt below, in the inscriptions A., B., and C., and in the inscription of Luptigadâvâ, treated under D. We find the name spelt in the same way (with ì) in verse 21 of the Bijoli rock inscription, which is quite wrongly given in Journ. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LV. Part I. p. 42, the actual reading on the stone being Jâdilipura joddi-pera kritâ Pallik-pra palla-stea i sadesa-teluyap râdhâm Naddâlacak yena su(ta)-ryeha. In the inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Ábhâ, which will be mentioned below, p. 81, the name is Naddâla. In verse 42 of the Mount Ábhâ inscription of Samarajêna (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 349) it is either Naddâla or Naddala (not Nadda); and in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Berlin Library, Vol. II. pp. 1003 and 1004, we find Nadâla, Nadâlalapura and Nadâlapura. In Mr. Kâthâvastra's edition of the Kâtimeupadi, II. 69, and, copied from it, in Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 26, verse 14, we also have Nadâla, but this almost certainly is a mistake.

⁵ Towards the end of the 12th century A.D. the seat of government was transferred to Jârâlipura (Jâkor); and at the commencement of the 14th century a branch of the family took Chandrâvatt with Mount Ábhâ from the Paramâras.
when I compiled the List. My object in writing this paper is, to give the genealogy of these Chāhāmanās of Naddula, so far as the documents which lately have come to my knowledge enable me to do so. For this purpose I shall give the texts of three inscriptions which the kindness of Dr. Fleet and Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha allows me to edit, and an account of the contents of some Mount Ābū inscriptions, based on excellent impressions for which we have to thank Mr. Consens.

A.—NADOL PLATES OF ĀLHAṆĀDEVA; [VIKRAMA-JSAṆVAT 1218.

These plates were obtained by Colonel Tod,¹ in October 1819, at Nadol, a town in the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna, and presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. An account of their contents was given by him in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthaṇ, Vol. I. p. 804; and the inscription which they contain was edited, in a rather slovenly manner, by Rao Bahadur H. H. Dhriva, in Jour. Bombay As. Soc. Vol. XIX. p. 26 ff. I re-edit it from an excellent photolithograph,² prepared under the superintendence of, and kindly placed at my disposal by, Dr. Fleet.

These are two plates, each of which measures about 8½ broad by 6½ high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Both plates contain a hole for a ring, but the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have not been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the greater part of the text is in verse. In respect of orthography it will suffice to state that the letters b and v are both denoted by the sign for v, and that the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal. The text contains a considerable number of clerical mistakes, most of which can be easily corrected. Other mistakes are shown by the metre to be due to the author himself, who possessed no accurate knowledge of Sanskrit. Of these I would point out here merely the wrong sandhi in spriyavan-amaratán (for spriyavan-amaratān) in line 17, the meaningless -pragunibhadāpasavyakaḥ pānīt (for -pragunibhadāpasavyadān) in line 21, and the omission of some word like viditām before the words vāstū in line 18. In lines 13, 14 and 16 the potential yāt is used for asti or bhavati.³

The inscription records a donation by the Mahārāja ĀlhaṆādeva of Naddula.⁴ According to lines 18–23, this chief, on Sunday, the 14th tithi (described as maḥāchatursatt-parvan⁵) of the bright half of Śrāvan in the year 1218, after worshipping the Sun and Iśāna (Śiva) and making gifts to Brāhmanas and ġuru, granted to (the Jaina temple of) Mahāviṇādeva in the Saṅdēraka gachchha,⁶ at the holy place (maḥadsthāna) of Naddula, a monthly sum of five drammās, (to be paid) from the custom-house (tiṅka-maṅḍapikā)⁷ in the grounds of Naddula.

¹ See his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthaṇ, Vol. I. p. 608; my Northern List, No. 141.
² Indian Inscriptions, No. 10, not yet published.
³ For instances where the potential is used for the imperfect see e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII. p. 135.
⁴ So the name is spelt twice in line 22, and the same spelling is required by the metre in line 3. See above, p. 63, note 4.
⁵ For the similar use of parvan in other dates see Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. p. 418, and Vol. XXV. p. 289 f.
⁶ In Mount Ābū inscriptions this gachchha is also called Saṅdēraka-gachchha and Saṅdēraka-gachchha. The town of Saṅdērā (the Sanātana of the map of the Rājputāna Agency) is mentioned below in C, line 16.
⁷ According to Colonel Tod Naddula was one of the ancient seats of the Jainas.
⁸ For passages in which the term maṅḍapikā occurs, compare e.g. Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 114, l. 27; p. 173, l. 6 (Śvyādhvitiya-maṅḍapikā); p. 175, l. 19; p. 177, l. 29 and l. 30; p. 179, l. 45; p. 283, l. 3 (patteya-maṅḍapikā); Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV. p. 10, col. 2 (Śvyādhvitiya-maṅḍapikā); Jour. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LV. Part I. p. 47, l. 3, and p. 68, v; Bādēnagār Inscrip. p. 205, l. 7; Śūkka-maṅḍapikā occurs e.g. in Bādēnagār Inscrip. p. 188 f., l. 10, 15 and 18.—The meaning of maṅḍapikā is suggested by the Marathi maṅḍ航空公司, "a custom-house."
⁹ The word talapada (in trit-Naddula-talapada-tulkamandaṅḍapikādān) is not found in the dictionaries. I take it to be synonymous with, or similar in meaning to, sastāla, which occurs in some of the Valakhli inscriptions, and for which see Dr. Fleet's note above, Vol. VI. p. 166. Compare also Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 339, note 30.

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The inscription, after the words ‘ōṁ, adoration to the Omniscient,’ opens with a verse in which the holy Mahāvīrakā pada, ‘the youngest of the Jinas,’ is desired to bestow welfare. It then (in verses 2-7) gives the following genealogy of the grantor:—

In the Chāhumāna race there was first at Naddūla the king Lakshmana. His son was Sōhiya, and his son Balirāja. After him came his paternal uncle Vigrahapāla. His son was Mahendrapāla, his son Anahilla, and his son Bālaprasāda. His brother was Jōndrarāja, and his son Prithivivāla. His brother was Jōjalla, and his younger brother Āśarāja, whose son was Ālañadēva. Nothing of historical importance is said about any of these chiefs.

According to lines 33-38, the dāta of this grant was the minister, appointed to the secretariat (śīrkarana),[1] Lakshmīdhara, the son of Dharaṇigga, of the Prāgārāja race; and the grant was composed and written by Śrīdhara, the son of Vāsala (Vīsala?), who was the son of Manōratha, of the family of the Naigamas. The inscription ends with the words ‘this is the own hand (i.e. sign-manual) of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ālañadēva.’

Naddūla of course is the modern Nadol where the plates were obtained, and where the temple of Mahāvira to which the grant was made apparently still exists.[2] The date of the grant, for the expired Chatra Viyakama year 1218, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 6th August A.D. 1181, when the 14th tithi of the bright half of Śrīvāsa ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.[3]

TEXT.[4]

First Plate.

4 sā-Lakshmana ādaṇ[12] || [2[*]] Tasmād va(ba)bhūva putrō rāja śri-
5 Sōhiya[13] tad-anu sūnuḥ | śri-Va(ba)itarūrā rā-
7 Āsāhilla[16] || [4[*]] Tat-sūnuḥ śri-
8 Va(ba)naprasāda ity-anjani pārthivā-

[1] Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 209, line 8 of the text. Above, Vol. III. p. 317, l. 45, śīrkarana by itself is used to denote the official (‘a secretary’).
[4] From a photo-lithograph prepared under the superintendence of, and supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet.
[8] Read -smayabhi, ‘a thunderbolt.’
[9] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
[10] For the sake of the metre for jagati-talā.
[11] Mr. Dhruvra’s text has Lōhiya; but Sōhiya is quite clear in the original. The same name, Sōhiya, I find above, Vol. VIII. p. 221, l. 19, and in another Mount Abhi inscription, No. 1699 of Mr. Cousens’ List.
[13] Here and elsewhere the 6 of sri has purposely not been changed to y before a vowel; compare below, lines 9 and 38, sri-Ālañadēva, and other passages in B. and C. and elsewhere.
[14] The name is written Anahilla in B., line 7, and C., line 11, and the same spelling is required here by the metre.
8  ryavritisôbh-ächhyaḥ // tasmād=abhavaddhṛtā śrī-Jōjallō rañarasa-ätmā [|| 6*]
   Tad-avarajō-bhūççt-vährmā-
9  n-Āsēś(ā)rajāḥ pratāpavara-nilayaḥ // tat-putraḥ kshōpiḥ śrī-Āñanadēva-
   nam-ābhūt || [7*]
10  Yasya pratāpa-pañ(?)lāṁ  sāmkuladikakra-prthulavistārām || sīmchānti
   svā=sūdītāhitaça-lalanā
11  nayanassahi=aughaṅhā || [8*] Sōyāḥ mahā-kshitiśāḥ sāram-idaṁ vuc(bu)ddhimān=
   acharīntaya || [7*] iha sam-
12  sārā2-āśāraṁ 3 sāvaṁnam jāmā-ādī jaṅtūnāṁ ||(i) [9*] Yataḥ [i*] Garbhāḥ
   strīkukshi-madhye pala-rudhira-vānā-
13  médās va(ta)ddha-pāndō mātuḥ prāṇāntakāśi3 prasavana-samayē prāṇīnāṁ
   syānun janmā4 dharmmā-
14  dhām=avēntā bhavati hi niyataṁ vā(bā)la-bhāvas-tataḥ svā=syāt=tārūpyaṁ
   svalpamātraṁ svajana-parī-
15  bhavasthā(?)mati6 vṛiddha-bhāvaḥ ||(i) [10*] Khadyōtōdyo(ddyō)ta-tulyāḥ || [7]
   khaṇam=ihā sukhadah śampa-

Second Plate: First Side.

16  dō driśaṁ-priṣṭāṁ chanḍalāṁ syād=dalam-upari yathā toya-
   viṁśiṣur=nalāṁсут || jāṭvä=vīvaṁ8 sva-pi-
17  trō sprīhayaṁ amarataṁ ch=āhakkāṁ9 dharmma-kṛttī devāntō10 rājaputraṁ12
   janapadā-gaanān vō(bō)dhayaty-ēva
18  vō=suṁ13 || [11*] Sam 1218 varṣēḥ śravāṇa-śudī 14 Ravaś 1 asminn-ēva
   maḥāchaturuddāst-parvavān || Snāvatā14 dhanu-
19  paṭē nivēṣya(śya)15 dalanā dātv-ālūtīn16 punya(ṇya)krin-Māṁravājayasya17
   tamāhprāpata-jātō samprūya ch-āghānījīlin18 [i*]
20  trāllīkā(śya)ṣya prabhūṁ charaṁcha-guruṁ samesapya pariḥ-śūrya-īśānam
   kanak-annama-vastra-dadanaiḥ19 samprūya viprā-
21 n gurūn || [12*] Amu20 tilakukshātōdaka21 pragunjīthāpasaivyakāh22 pāpiḥ ||(i)
   sāsanāṁ=ēnam22ayachchhata ya-

1  Read =jālaṁ.  9  This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
2  Read =kari and jaṁma 1.  8  Metro of verses 10 and 11: Sragdhara.
3  The th of the akṣara thā is not quite clear, but there seems to be no doubt that the above is the actua
   and intended reading. One would have expected -parbidhaṃastānabhi, but this would not have justified the 
   7  This sign of punctuation is superfluous. 
4  Here a syllable, perhaps esi, has been omitted.  6  Here, again, observe the wrong samālī for which the metre shows the author to be responsible;
   sprihayaṁ= would have offended against the metre.
5  Read =asiṅkīṁ dharmma-kṛttin; one misses a second cha.
10  I can only suggest that dēṣāntō may stand for dēṣāntō, i.e. dēṣāntoh, dēṣāntor, 'in (this) country'.
11  After this word a short syllable is missing; perhaps the reading should be 'iṣṭa-ṣa-jañapada-
12  The words vo=suṁ cannot be construed with the preceding. The author had in his mind the phrase viditām
13  Metro: Ārdūdāvīkriḍīta.
14  Mr. Dharma read this Maitapato niētēya, which he translated by 'while encamped at Maitapata.' Com-
   pare dhauta=evānt parṇāṇya in line 19 of B, and, e.g., in Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. p. 347, l. 7 of the text.
15  Read =dote=uddhiț.
16  Read =Mṛṭīkāmājasya.
17  Read =āṛya=ājālinī.
18  Dadana in the sense of dāma.  21  Metro: Āryā.
19  Read tīla kauṭākṣhatātaka. The ku of 'ākṣaka is treated as a short syllable before pr; see Ind. Studies, 
   Vol. VIII. p. 324.
20  The metre, in my opinion, shows that the author undoubtedly wrote this; what he intended was "parma- 
   pāpiḥ (="dakshina-pāpiḥ)."
22  Wrong for "bātu", or, better, "mad".
22 vach-chandrá-kkapúpálam 1 (ll) [13*] Śrī-Naddúla-mahásthānē śrī-
Sahajāra-gachchhē śrī-Mahávitra-vāya śrī-Naddúla-
23 talapada-sulkanmañjajaspikáyān másānmáma dhápavélāthān 2 3 śasanēna dra 4 5
pancha pradāt [1*] Asya
24 dévarasyanaṁ 6 bhuhjánasya asmadvaṁśaṁ jair= bhāvi-bhōtribhir-aparaiś=cha
paripātanā na káryā yataḥ [1*]
25 Śāmānāyī-yaṁ dharmā-seśtur=nipāṭaṁ kālē kālē pálanīyō bhavaddhiṁ
sarvān-śvām bhāvinah pā-
26 rthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchate Rāmachaṇḍram 2 [14*] Tasmāt I
7Asmadanva[ya*] jā bhūpa bhāvi-bhūpatayaś=cha yē [1*]
27 tēshām āham karē laghaṁ pálanīyam-idaṁ sādā ll(1) [15*] Asmadvaṁśaṁ
āhāraṁ parikshipte yah kaśchiti 9 nipāṭir=bhavēt [1*]
28 tasyāhām karē lagno=ami sā(sā)saṁām nā(na) vyatikramēt ll(1) [16*]
Va(ba)huhir=vasudā bhukta rājanayo Sagar-ā-
29 dibhiṁ [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi(mi)tasya tasya tadā phalamā ll(17*)
Vvasāṣṭhi-vaṁśa=sahasaṁ svargge tiṣṭhitān dāna-
30 dah [1*] akṣhechhē(tāt) cha-anumanītā cha tāny-ēva narakāḥ 10 vasē[1] [18*]
Sva-dattaṁ para-dattaṁ vā déva-dāyaṁ harēta yaḥ [1*] sa
31 viṣṭhāyāṁ kṛmir=bhūtvā pitaṁ(tri)bhīṁ saha majātī ll [19*] Śu(sā)ny-
āṭavīvy(ahy) atōyasu śrūhakāṭara-vāśi-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

32 naḥ kṛṣṇāhāyō=bhūjāyaṁtē dāya-dāyaṁ haraṁti yē ll [20*] Maṅgalaṁ
mahā-srīṁ ll
33 11Prāgvyāta=vaṁśē Dhāraṇigga=12nāmnaṁ sutō mahāmāyā-varaṁ su-karmmā l
va(ba)bhuva dū-
34 taḥ prātra(tri)bhbā=nīvāsā Lakṣahmidharaṁ ārikaraṇe niyōga ll [21*]
13Āṁśi-sva,
35 chchha-malā(nā) Mantrāthā iti prāk 14 Naigamānāṁ kulē sā(sā)stra-
ājānaudhārāsas-
36 plavita=15bhē=taj-jō-bhavatī Vāsalaṁ l putras=tasya va(ba)bhuva lōka-
vaśani(ti)ḥ śrī-
37 Śrīdharaṁ Śrīdharaṁ sūpāti rechayānchakāra liṅkhē ch-ēdaiḥ mahā-sā-
38 [sa]naṁ ll [22*]. Sva-hastō=yaṁ maḥārajā-śrī-Ālhanadēvāsya ll

B.—NADOL PLATES OF THE RĀJAPUTRA KIRTIPĀLA ;
[VIKRAMA-JAŚVAT 1218.

Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna has informed me that these
plates also were obtained, in the course of last year, at Nādol. My account of them is mainly
based on two good rubbings, kindly supplied to me by Mr. Ojha.

1 Read भक्तिधात ; compare शक्तिधात in line 26 of B.
2 Read दक्षा=सैल=र्ध्यम, without the sign of punctuation.
3 i.e. drumda.
4 Read देवस्यन्यानम (for नाइनद, नातड़).
5 Metro : Sālim.
6 Read आयुस्मात्वा=सिधाष्टरीय.
7 Read मेटेवे अनुभुत्वाल.
8 Read शाही- or शाहीं.
9 Read नारायण.
10 Metro : Upājīti.
11 The name Dhāraṇigga occurs above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, line 8 of the text ; here the letter ग seems to have
been doubled simply for the sake of the metre.
12 Metro : Sārdalahvikkṛita.
13 Read प्रक्ति.
14 Plavita wrong for pīdevita, which would not have suited the metre.
15 Read भवदत, and, perhaps, Vāsala.
These also are two plates, each of which measures about 9½" broad by 6½" high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides. The writing on them is in a state of perfect preservation. Each plate contains a hole for a ring; I do not know whether the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have been preserved. The characters are Ñâgari, and the language is Sanskrit. The text contains eight verses of chiefly genealogical matter, three of the ordinary imprecatory verses, and one verse giving the writer's name; the rest is in prose, which in one or two places is grammatically incorrect. As regards orthography, the letter v is used for both b and v, except in labdhahajamä, l. 3; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in Mahêśvarâ, l. 22; and the sign of atagraha is once employed, in śaṇajñā, l. 16. In line 29 the gerund ligudā is used in the sense of 'commencing from, beginning with.'

The inscription records a grant by the Dājputra (or king's son) Kārītipāla, a son of Ālhaṇapāva of Naddūla. After the words bhi seasti, it invokes the blessing of the gods Brahma, Śrīdhara (Vishṇu), and Śaṅkara (Śiva), 'who, always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinas' (or Jaina Arhats). It then (in verses 2-8) gives the following genealogy:—

In the town of Śakambhari there was formerly, in the Chāhamāna lineage, the king Vākpatirâja. His son was Lakshmana, who was king at Naddūla; and his son was Sōbhita. From him sprang Bālaṭīra, and after him there ruled his paternal uncle Vigrahapāla. Vigranapala's son was Mahēndra, his son Anahilla, and his son Jândrâraja, from whom sprang Āśarāja. His son was Āluṇa, the lord of Naddūla, who defeated the Saurāshtrikas. This king married Anallalādevi, a daughter of Anahilla of the Bāshtrâuda race, who bore to him three sons—Kâlhaṇa, Gajasimha, and Kārītipāla. Of these, Kâlhaṇa, the eldest son, was made kumāra (or heir-apparent) and given a share in the government.

According to l. 17 ff., the Dājapala Āluṇaṇa and the Kumāra Kâlhaṇa were pleased to give to the Dājputra Kārītipāla twelve villages appertaining to Naddūlā. And then, on Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Sraṇa of the year 1218, the Dājputra Kārītipāla, after bathing etc. at Naddūla and worshipping the Sun and Mahēśvara (Śiva), granted a yearly sum of two drammas from each of the twelve villages of Naddūlā to (the temple of) the Jina Mahēśvara at the village of Naddūlā, and ordered this money to be paid in the month of Bhādrapada of every year, commencing with the year then current. The twelve villages to which this order referred were Naddūlāgârama, Sūjera, Dariji, Kaviḷāḍa, Sōṇāṇap, Mārakāra, Haravandam, Māṇḍâra, Kâpasuva, Dēvasūri, Nāḍâra, and Mahāvīṇa.

So far as I can judge, the village of Naddūlā mentioned in the above is different from (the mahādhâma) Naddūla, and the words Naddūlā-pratibaddha in line 18 appear clearly to show that Naddūlā not merely was the name of a village, but also denoted the district to which the twelve villages given to Kārītipāla belonged.—On the map of the Rājputāna Agency I find,

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1 The second side of the second plate contains three lines of writing. Of these no rubbing, but only Mr. Ojha's transcript has been sent to me.
2 The metre of verse 6 is a mixture of Upāṇḍravajrā and Vasantalakā.
3 So the name is spelt here and below in C.
4 In B, the name is Astṛīja, while in A, the actual spelling is Astṛīja. Here we have Astṛīja, and in D, the actual spelling is Astṛīja.
5 The occurrence of this name here induces me to state that the name in the Delhi Siwâlik pillar inscription of Vasaladēva-Vigraharāja, A., line 2 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. p. 218) is Anallalādeva, not Astṛīdeva, and that therefore Anallalādeva should be substituted for Astṛīdeva also in my Northern List, No. 144, and above, Vol. VIII. App. I. p. 16, col. 1 (after AśПодроб). For a Aśrīdeva see my Northern List, No. 273.
6 On this and similar titles see my remarks above, Vol. IV. p. 312, note 7. Mahâdījakulī occurs below in D., and in other Mount Abû inscriptions.
south-east of Nadol, Desuri, which most probably is the Dēvasūrī of this inscription; of the other villages I can find no traces on the map.

After the imprecatory verses the inscription (in lines 33 and 34) has the words 'this is the own hand (i.e., sign-manual) of the Mahādākaputra (or Mahādāja's son), the illustrious Kirtipāla,' and the statement that this grant was written by Śubhamāra, the son of Dāmodara and grandson of the Kāyastha Sōjha of the Naigama lineage.

The possible equivalents of the date, for the pūrmānātha and amānta month Śrāvana, would be —

- for the Chaitrādi Vikrama year 1218 current: Saturday, the 25th June A.D. 1160, and Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160 (when the 5th tīkhi of the dark half ended 9 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise);
- for the Chaitrādi Vikrama year 1218 expired: Friday, the 14th July A.D. 1161, and Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1161 (when the 5th tīkhi of the dark half ended 3 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise);
- for the Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1218 expired: Tuesday, the 3rd July A.D. 1162 (when the 5th tīkhi of the dark half ended 11 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise), and Thursday, the 2nd August A.D. 1162.

From this it will be seen that the given date is correct only for the amānta month Śrāvana of the current Chaitrādi Vikrama year 1218, and therefore apparently corresponds to Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160. As current Vikrama years are quoted very rarely, this result is not perhaps quite free from suspicion; but I can see no valid reason to question the authenticity of the wording of the original date.1

**TEXT.**

**First Plate.**

1. ᪅ || Svasti || Śriyai bhavaantu vō devā || Vra(bra)hma-Śridhara-Śaṅkarāb sadā virāgavati-  
2. tō yē || Jinā jagati viśrutah || 1 6Śakambhari-nāma-purā pur-āśi tēch-chhri-Chāna-  
3. mān-āmraya-labdhajanmā || rājā mahārājanat-āṁbhiyugmaḥ khyātō-vanan Vākpa-  
4. tiraja-nāmā || 2 Naddūlē samahūt-tadīya-tanayaḥ śrī-Lakṣmaṇaḥ bhūpaticch3 ta-  
5. smāt-sarvavgu-anvito nripa-varaḥ śrī-Sōbhīt-ākhyāb sutaḥ || tasmāḥ-chh[r*]3-  
6. Va(ba)iraja- nā-  
7. ma-nripatiḥ paśchāt-tadīyaḥ mahl-khyātō Vigrasapāla ity-abhidhayā rājyē  
8. pitṛivyō-bhavat || 3  
9. Tasmāt-tivramahāpratāpā-tarapanīḥ putrō Mahēmādrō bhavat-taj-jāch-śrī-Anabilla-deva-  
   nripatēḥ śrī-Jīm-  
10. drarajāḥ sutaḥ || tasmād-durddharavārikunjaravadbha-prottālasinīḥ-ōpamaḥ sat-  
   kṛityā dhavāl[1]kṛit-ā-  

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1. With reference to the above I may state that Mr. Ojha has sent me a rubbing of a grant (engraved on one side of one plate only) of the Mahārājaṇa Kālhanadēva, which is dated in line 1: svasm 1223 rasaś Jy[8]ēkāṭā vadi 19 Sāmā. This date also works out satisfactorily only for the amānta Jyotisha of the current Chaitrādi Vikrama year 1223, for which it corresponds to Monday, the 7th June A.D. 1165.

2. From two rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirschand Ojha.

3. Denoted by a symbol.  

5. These signs of punctuation are superfluous.  

8. Read bhūpatis-.

9. The inscription C. has Sōbhīta; but as A. has Śāhya, I do not alter the Sōbhīta of the present inscription to Śāhya.
9 Khilajagach-chri-Āsarajō nīpaḥ || 4 Tat-putrō nijavikramārjitaṁ\(^1\)
mahārājya-pratāpōdayō
10 yō jagrāna jaya-śriyayā raṇa-bharē vyāpādyā Saurāśṭrikān || sauchāchāra-vaichāra-dāna-vasati-\(\text{Naddūl}^2\)
11 la-māṭhō mahān-saṃkhīyotpāda-vaivṛttitrān-asalathā śri-Alaṅahō\(^3\) bhūpatiṁ || 5
Anēna\(^4\) rājāja jana-viśrutē
dhē
12 na \(\text{Ksiṣṭhunā}^5\)-vaiṣṇāya var-Ānāhulasya putri | Annallādēvi-rīti śīla-vivēka-yuktā || Rāmēgē vai Janaka-śīvē vī-
13 vāhit-āśan || 6 Ābhyanē jatāḥ su-putrā jagatī vara-dhiyō rūpa-saṃuddaryā-
yuktā \(\text{Kūtā}^6\) śastraṁ śastraṁ pragu-
14 lhbāh pravara-vaṅgaṅa-tyāgavantā su-śilāḥ ājyē-hēbhaḥ śri-Kēlaṅh-ākhyas-tad=
15 rttipālō \(\text{Kś}^7\) yadṛṇ-āntrāpī Śaṃbhōs-tripuruḥavadh-aṭh-āmi janē vaṁdantyaḥ |

\(\text{Kī}\)

|| 7 Madhyād-amishāṁ pari

Second Plate : First Side.

16 vāra-māthō śthē(ṛyē)śthō tōgēaḥ kabhōpi-talō prasiddhāḥ | kṛitaḥ\(^8\)* kumārō

nirjāryā-dhāṛi

17 śri-Kēlaṅha(Cṭ\(^*\)) sarvva-ṛuṇair-upētāḥ | (|| \(\text{Ś}^9\)) Ābhyanē rājakula-śri-

Ālhaṇedēva- \(\text{Kū}^10\) kumāra-śri-Kēlaṅ-

18 naḍēvābhyanē rājaputra-śri-Kṛttipālasya prasādē datta-\(\text{Naddūlāl}^11\)-prativa(ba)ddha-

dvādaśa-grāmāni||

19 Tatō rājaputra-śri-Kṛttipālāḥ \(\text{Kū}^12\) sam 1218 Śrāvaṇa-vadi 5 Sōmē \(\text{Kū}^13\) adya-

ha[ba]\(^14\) śri-\(\text{Naddūlā}^15\) snātā dhō(ḥNa).

20 ta-vāsaṁ paridhāya tilākahatakuṣa-praṇayinā dakṣiṇa-karaṁ kṛitiṁ dēvān-

udakāna samārpya | va(ba).

21 halatamatiṁrapaṭalapāṭana-paṭyāsād niḥśeṣapātaṇapaka-prakṣhālamasya dīvākaraṇaṣyā

22 pūjāṁ vidhāya | charāchara-guruṁ Mahāśva(sva)ram namakṛitya | hutahūji

hōmādravya-ḥuṭhrā-ḍdatvā\(^16\) nanīti-

23 dūnaṭinājalaṁ-taralai jītāvṛtyām-Śkalayā | aśīkaiṁ pārach(ṛi)kaiṁ tā(ha)

phalam-amigkṛitya svapunya-

24 yāśo-bhūviriḍhīyē śāsanāṁ prayachchhati yathā || Śri-\(\text{Naddūlālgrāmē}^17\) śri-

Mahāvīra-jīnāya \(\text{Naddūlāl}^18\)

25 dvādaśa-grāmēṣu grāmāṁ prati dra 2 dvau drammam svapana-vilēpana-dīpa-

dhūm-ōpahōgārthāṁ | śāsanē

26 varshaṁ prati Bhādrapada-māse chaṁdrārkkakahiti-kāla[m] yāvat praddattā
dsattvā-

\(\text{Naddūlālgrāma} | \text{Śūjēra} | \text{Dārijī} [19]

27 Kavlīdā | Sōnuṁā | Mōraṁkā | Haravaṁdaṁ [1*] Mādōṣa | Kāpaṁsuvam |

Dēvaśuṛī | \(\text{Naddū}^1[*]\) Māuvādī
dē

28 śvān grāle\(^20\) 12 cēṭāu dvādaśa-grāmēṣu sarvavād-āpi asāmātih śāsanē dattau |

ēbhīr-grāmaṁ-adhūnā saṁvatsa-

\(^1\) Read "mārijita."
\(^2\) Read -Alaṅahō.
\(^3\) Metre : a mixture of Upēdaravajrā and Vasantaśilaka.
\(^4\) These signs of punctuation are superfuous.
\(^5\) Metre : Sragdharā. The last Pāda does not contain the proper casusars.
\(^6\) Metre : Uṛjaṭī. This sign of punctuation is superfuous.
\(^7\) Wrong for "grāmēṭh. The whole sentence which ends here is ungrammatical.
\(^8\) All the signs of punctuation in lines 19-23 are superfuous. In some places below the rules of asādhā have not been observed.
\(^9\) Read 5/1/1. 
\(^10\) I. e. grāmēṭh.
29 rālagītvā sarvad-aśī prati Bhādrapadā dātavyau | atāḥ śṛddh[v*]atāṁ kēn-aśī paripūtthanā na kartavyā ā
30 Anmad-vānē śreyaśkrāntē yō-nyaḥ kāś-pi bhavishyati [i*] tasya śaṃḥ kare
tagō[3] na lōpya[m*] mama śaṃsadhān || [9*] Shashṭhi[m] va-
31 reha-sahāra-aśī svarggaś tīṣṭhāti dāyakaḥ | ācchhētāḥ ch-anuma[m]tā cha
tāṇyēva narakaṁ[6] vasēt || [10*] Va(ba)hubhir-vasūdha

Second Plate; Second Side.8

32 bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yādā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ || [11*]
33 Sva-hastō-yaṁ mahārājaputra-śrī-Kirttiπāsya || Naigamāṃvaya-kāyaśtha-Sūdhā-
aptaḥ Śubhānkarāḥ
34 Dāmodara-sūttālekhī[7] śaṃsadhā dharmaśaṃsadhān || [12*] Mahgalaṁ mahā-
āśī ṛ̃

C.—SUNDHĀ HILL INSCRIPTION OF CHĀCHIGADĒVA;
[VIKRAMA-]SĀMYATA 1319.

This inscription is on two stones which were found on the Sundhā Hill, about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura in the Jodhpur State of the Rājputāṇa. I edit it from rubbings, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

The first stone contains 26 lines of writing which covers a space of 3 3/4" broad by 1 7 1/2" high, the second 24 lines which cover a space of 2 10" broad by 1 5 1/2" high. The size of the letters is about 1/8" on the first stone, and between 3/8 and 1/2" on the second. The inscription was carefully written by Nāmasīṁha, a son of the physican Vījayāpāla, and well engraved by Jīsaravi, a son of the sūtraśāra Jīsapāla, and is in a state of perfect preservation. The characters are Nāgari, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting two prose passages at the bottom of either stone which record the names of the author, the writer and the engraver, the date sāmyata 1319 in line 48, and another prose passage, numbered as a verse, in lines 35 and 36, the text is in verse, the total number of verses (including the prose passage counted as a verse) being 59. As regards orthography, the sign for v denotes both v and b; the palatal sibilant is used for the dental in hasya-, l. 16, svavaśittī, l. 19, sahasrāṁṣu- (for sahasrāṁṣu-), l. 22, śālīa-, l. 23, śitaḥ, l. 25, and sitāṁṣu- (for sitāṁṣu-), l. 37; kh and sh are confounded in mayaśa- (for mayākha-), l. 10, and pīyūkha- (for pīyūkha-), l. 41; the of īṛ is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name in śrī-Asādrāja-, l. 21, śrī-Udayaśīṁha-, l. 35, and śrī-Aparādīṭā-, l. 43; chch is written for chh in chhoṭahālaṇa, l. 7, and chchhāyadvī, l. 8; and the sign of ācchajra is employed in Saṁgērā ṇaka, l. 16, and in four other places. The language is generally correct and plain, but there are one or two passages about the exact meaning of which I am still doubtful. I especially do not understand verse 12, which seems to allude to some legend unknown to me, in which the creator weighs the sun and the moon, apparently using the Ganges as a scale. Moreover, I am not sure about the meanings of the word śṛkṣa, which occurs in verses 19 and 59, and gupadguru in verses 15, 26, and 27. To judge from the context in verse 59 (śṛkṣa-saptakā-vidi-), the former may denote some kind of musical instrument; and as a gupadguru must be

1 Read "rāl-lagītvā, 'commencing from the current year.'
2 Metre of this verse and the rest: Śīkṣa (Anashūbha).
3 Read "laghōvemēni.
4 Read "shashṭhiḥ.
5 Read "nara-kādē.
6 Of the three lines on this side only a transcript has been sent to me by Mr. Ojha.
7 The passive Akṣara is used wrongly here for the active alēkātā.
8 I owe this information to Mr. Ojha.
9 From the St. Petersburg Dictionary I see that śrīkṣa occurs in the Uttaramāharṣarakhataśaṃhama, l. 234 (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akademie, 1884, Part I, p. 282), where Prof. Weber has suggested for it the meaning 'a female singer.'
something on which a golden kumbha and a golden kulaśa can be placed, the word perhaps denotes a temple generally or a particular temple. Of rare words or words employed in an unusual way we may note kēli, ‘the earth,’ in verse 6, bhūspaṭa, ‘a mushroom,’ in verse 18, the feminine yugali, ‘a pair,’ in verse 18, and tāmbaliya, ‘an areca-nut,’ in verse 21; bandhu and bandha denote ‘a brother’ in verses 24, 26, and 20; and a cousin is described as pitripayatāyā bandhava, i.e. ‘a brother in consequence of being born from a paternal uncle,’ in verse 9.

The inscription in the prose passage at the bottom of the first stone and in verse 59 is styled a prāṣasti. It was composed by the (Jaina) sūri Jayamaṅgala (Jayamaṅgalācāhārya), who belonged to the Bhūṣad-gachchha and was a disciple of Rāmacandra, himself a disciple of Dēvāchārya. And its primary object is to glorify the Chāhamāna chief Chāchigadeva, during whose reign it was composed, and for whom it furnishes a date in the month of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319, falling in about A.D. 1263. Fortunately, the author has used the occasion to give a eulogistic account of the Chāhamānas of Naddula generally, which is of considerable interest.

Verses 1-3 pray the moon on Śambhu’s (i.e. Śiva’s) forehead and (Śiva’s consort) Pārvati or Chaṇḍikā to grant continuous good fortune and happiness. Verse 4 then records that formerly there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great Rāṣṭriya Vatsa. In his lineage there were:

1. The lord of Naddula, king Lakshaṁaṇa, who was a Śākambhari prince (vv. 5 and 6).
2. His son Sōbbha (v. 7; the Sōbhya and Sōbbha of A. and B.). He took away the glory of the lord (or lords) of the mountain Arubda.6
3. His son Bailiraja (v. 7 and 8). He defeated an army of Muniajaran, i.e. the Paramāra Vākpatiraja II. Amoghavarna of Mālava, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 974 to 993.
4. His paternal uncle’s son Mahindra (v. 9).—He is the Mahendran of A. and B., the son of Vigrāhpāla whose name is here omitted. He most probably is identical with the Mahendran or Mahindra (? mentioned under No. 53 of my Northern List as a contemporary of the Bāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikupāli, whose inscription is dated in A.D. 997.
5. His son Aśvapāla (v. 10 and 11; omitted in A. and B.).
6. His son Ahila (v. 12 and 13; likewise omitted in A. and B.). He defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Bhima, i.e. the Chaullukya Bhimadeva I. of Anahilapāta.
7. His paternal uncle Aṇahilī (v. 14-17; in A. and B. described as the son of Mahendran). He also defeated the king Bhima (Bhimadeva I.); took Śākambhari; and slew

1 See verses 26 and 27.
2 We understand this as srīkara-saptakasuddā which, as intimated above, appears to mean ‘playing the seven srīkaras.’
3 The exact date (in verse 57) is the aṅgaha-sṛṣṭiṇī or third tīthi of the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vaiśākha) of the [Vikrama] year 1319, given both in words and in figures. The date does not admit of verification; its possible equivalent would be the 4th April A.D. 1261, the 3rd April A.D. 1262, and the 12th April A.D. 1263.
4 According to the inscription of Lūṣṭigadeva treated of under D. the holy Vaiśehha (Vatsa) brought about the creation of the Chāhamāna family. And according to verse 12 of the Bijoli rock inscription of Sāmaṇara (No. 154 of my Northern List) Sāmaṇa, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the Vatsa-gētā at Abichchhastrapura.
5 The original has Śākambharadāna. It will be seen below under D. that Lakshaṁa most probably had the epithet Śākambhār-udāya, ‘the jewel of Śākambhari.’ We are told that a Chāhamāna even now will be addressed as Sambharāya, ‘Śākambhari prince.’
(or defeated) Sāḍha, a general of the Mālava king Bhōja (i.e. the Paramāra Bhōjadēva), and the Turushka.

(8.) His son Bālaprasāda (vv. 18 and 19; omitted in B.). He forced the king Bhima (Bhimadēva I.) to release from prison a king named Kṛishṇadēva.—This Kṛishṇadēva most probably is the Paramāra Kṛishṇarāja (the son of Dhandhuka1 and grandson of (?) Dēvarāja), of whom we have two inscriptions at Bhūmīl (Śrimālā), dated in A.D. 1060 and 1067 (Nos. 689 and 690 of my Northern List).

(9.) His brother Jindurāja (vv. 20 and 21; the Jēndarāja of A. and B.). He fought victoriously at Sāndēra (the modern Sanderao in the Jōdhpur State, south-west of Nādol).

(10.) His son Pṛithvipāla (vv. 22 and 23; omitted in B.). He defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Kārṇa, i.e. Bhimadēva’s son and successor Kārṇa Trailōkyamalla.

(11.) His brother Yōjaka (vv. 24 and 25; the Jōjala of A., omitted in B.). He by force occupied Aṇahillapūra (Aṇahilapāṭaka).

(12.) His brother Aśārāja (vv. 26-30; in B. described as the son of Jēndarāja). He pleased Siddhādhirāja, i.e. Kārṇa’s son and successor Jayasimha Siddharāja, by the assistance which he rendered to him in the country of Mālava, but afterwards apparently was on hostile terms with him.

With the account of Aśārāja ends that part of the inscription which is on the first stone. The part on the second stone (after a symbol for śū) begins, as if it were an independent inscription, with a verse (v. 31) praying for the blessing of Sambhu (Śiva), 'the crest of the Sugandhādri,' i.e. the mountain Sugandha, which clearly is the Sundhā Hill where the inscription was found. The author then continues the genealogy by stating that Aśārāja’s son was —

(13.) Aḥlādana (vv. 32 and 33; the Aḥlanadēva of A. and B.). His assistance was sought by the Gūrjara king, and his army put down disturbances in the mountainous part of Surāṣṭra (girasa Saunāshō). He built a Śiva temple at Naddōla.—We have seen above that the two inscriptions A. and B., which are of this chief’s reign, are dated in A.D. 1161 and 1160. Before that time, he is mentioned (together with his son Kēlaṇa), apparently as a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla, in the Kēlaṇa fragmentary inscription of Kumārapāla’s reign which is dated in A.D. 1153 (No. 183 of my Northern List).

(14.) His son Kēlana (v. 34). He defeated the southern king Bhilima, and after destroying the Turushka erected a golden toraṇa, 'like a diadem for the abode of the holy Soma.'—For the Mahērījādhārīja Kēlana I have given above, p. 68, note 1, a date in A.D. 1165. The southern king Bhilima, whom he is said to have defeated, must have been the Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhilama, whose Gadag inscription is dated in A.D. 1191 (No. 334 of my Southern List).

(15.) His brother Kirtipāla (vv. 35 and 36). He defeated a Kiratakūṭa chief named Asala, and at Kāsahradra routed an army of the Turushka. As ruler of the kingdom of Naddōla he took up his residence at Jāvalipūra.—Of the places here mentioned Kiratakūṭa is Kēlaṇa, according to Bhānavar Inscri. p. 172,3 a small village near Hāthamo under Bādamera (Bāmrer) in the Jōdhpur State. Jāvalipūra, to which Kirtipāla transferred his residence, is the

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1 He apparently is the Paramāra Dhandhku, who according to an inscription at Vimala’s temple on Mount Abh which will be mentioned below, p. 81, transferred his allegiance from Bhimadēva I. to king Bhōja, the lord of Dēhē (i.e. Bhōjadēva of Mālava).
2 I understand this epithet to mean that there was a temple of Śiva on the mountain Sugandha.
3 In line 5 of the inscription given there the name appears as Kiratakūṭa.—According to the Edīpādha Gazetteer, Vol. II. p. 265, ‘Kēlan’ is about 20 miles west of Bāmrer.
town of Jâlor in the same State. A place named Kâsahrâda has been identified by the late Prof. Bühler with Kâsandra or Kâsandhra, a village with about 400 inhabitants on the road from Dholkâ to Palitân, in Long. 72° 11' Lat. 22° 19'; but the Kâsahrâda of this inscription may be a different place nearer Nadol.—According to verse 41 Kiripâsa’s daughter Rûdalâdêvi built two temples of Śiva at Jâvalipura.

(16.) His son Samaraiśinha (vv. 37-40). He built extensive ramparts on the Kanakachala (or ‘gold hill’) and founded the town of Samaraipura.—This town I am unable to identify. Kanakâchala according to Mr. Oja is the name of the fort of Jâlor which, he informs me, is locally known as ‘Sonalgari,’ and the Sawarnā-giri of Jâvalipura I find actually mentioned in an inscription on Mount Abâ. In an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1221, from which Mr. Oja has sent me a quotation, it is called Kâchâna-gadha.—Samaraiśinha clearly is the Châhu[måna*-râga[ka*]-Samaraiśha], whose daughter Lâladêvi was the (or a) queen of the Chaulukya Bîhmâdeva II.

(17.) His son Udayasaiśinha (vv. 42-46). According to the prose passage in lines 35 and 36 he ruled the glorious Nâddula, the glorious Jâvalipura, Mânḍâvypura, Vâgghatâmâru, Sûrîchanda, Râtahrâda, Khédâ, Râmassâna, Râmsâla, Râtapura, Satyapura, and other places.—With the exception of Mânḍâvypura and Râtahrâda the places here enumerated are easily found on the map of the Râjputâna Agency (in Marwar) under the names Nâciol, Jâlor, Barmer, Sûrîchanda, Khêr (between Tilwara and Bâlotra), Râmsen, Bîhmâl, Râtapura and Sânchor. Mânḍâvypura is Mandor, according to the Râjputâna Gâssettir three miles from Jâdhupur; Râtahrâda I cannot identify.—Udayasaïśinha’s queen was Prahlâdanâdêvi, who bore to him two sons, Châchigadêva and Châmûndârâja. Regarding his exploits, the inscription states in a general way that he subdued the pride of the Turushka, was not to be conquered by the Gûrjara kings, and put an end to the Sindhu king. He was a scholar conversant with the great works of Bharata and others, and built two Śiva temples at Jâvalipura.—Udayasaiśinha clearly is identical with the Mahaḍâjaíkâda Udayasaiśinâda of whose reign we have three inscriptions at Bîhmâl (Nos. 697-699 of my Northern List) dated in the [Vikrama] years 1262, 1274 and 1305, corresponding to about A.D. 1205, A.D. 1218, and about A.D. 1248; and also with the Mahaḍâjâkula Udayasaiśinâda, for whom I have given a date, falling in A.D. 1249, in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. p. 175, No. 115. He was succeeded by—

(18.) His son Châchigadêva (vv. 47-57). He in verse 50 is described as ‘destroying the roaring Gûrjara lord Virama, hating the enemy Śâlya, taking exquisite delight in telling the shaking (or leaping) Pâtuka, depriving of his colour Śaṅga, and a thunderbolt to the mountain—the furious Nâhara.’ As will be seen from this translation, the words Śâlya, Pâtuka and Śaṅga of the original must in my opinion, like virama and saṅkara, be taken as proper names; but of the five persons enumerated I can identify only the first. Being described as ‘Gûrjara lord,’ Virama appears clearly to be the Vâghelâ Viramadeva, the son of Viradhâvala and elder brother of Visalâdêva, who is reported to have been the son-in-law of Udayasaiśinha of Jâvalipura, and

1 See his paper on the Sukritasamhâtana of Arisainha, p. 25. For another identification of Kâsahrâda see above, Vol. VIII. p. 206, note 2.
2 For a description of this fort which is about 800 yards in length by 400 in width, and crowns a rocky hill of an altitude of 1,200 feet above the surrounding plain, see the Râjputâna Gâssettir, Vol. II. p. 260.
3 Line 33 of No. 1223 of Mr. Consens’ List.
4 See the plates of Bîhmâdeva II. (of A.D. 1206) in Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 195, Plate ii. line 1.
5 I.e. apparently the Bhâratiya-adhyagadatra.
6 Udayasaïśinha’s other son Châmûndârâja is not further mentioned in the inscription. He may be the Châmûndârâja whose name occurs under No. 703 of my Northern List.
7 Śâlya probably is a proper name, denoting an enemy of Lavaṇa-praskâla, also in Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 27, verse 19.—In our inscription the name may be Śaṅkâlpa; compare Prof. Eggeling’s Catalogue, p. 1310.
would therefore have been the own brother-in-law of Chāchigadēva.—The following verses treat of the same chief’s works of piety. At Sṛmāla he remitted certain taxes, and at Rāmāsānya he granted funds for the worship of (the god) Vigrāhāditya, and placed a golden cupola (kumbha) and a flag-staff (ḍāvaja) on the temple of (the god) Aparājītēśa to whom at the same time he gave a silver girdle (mākhaḷā). For the same temple he provided a hall (śālī) with a car (raṭha) richly decked with precious stones. Chāchigadēva visited the Sugandhādēri, worshipped there the goddess Chāmānā, known by the name Aghaṭēśvari, and at her temple established a manḍapa which was consecrated by the Brāhmaṇa on the akṣaya-trītyā of the month Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319.

I have already stated that the inscription thus for the reign of Chāchigadēva yields a date in about A.D. 1262. Two other dates, of the [Vikrama] years 1333 and 1334, falling in about A.D. 1276 and 1277, are furnished for him by the two Bhūmāl inscriptions Nos. 702 and 703 of my Northern List, where he is described as the Mahārājakaḷa Chāchiga or Chāchigadēva.

I may add that Chāchigadēva is mentioned, under the name Chāṭha, in line 8 of the Jōhpur inscription of Rūpādēvi, published by me above, Vol. IV. p. 312 ff. In my text of that inscription I have given the name as Chāṭha, and a renewed examination of the impressions enables me to affirm that either this is the actual reading, or that at any rate the name would be so read in the impressions by any one not acquainted with what we have learnt now from the Sundhā Hill inscription. Knowing what I do now, I have no doubt that the intended reading is Chāṭha. This Chāṭha is called a Chāhūmāṇa in Rūpādēvi’s inscription and described as the son of Udayasainha1 and grandson of Śamarasainha, which exactly fits our Chāchigadēva. The inscription supplies the additional information that Chāṭha’s wife was Lakṣmīdēvi, and that this lady bore to him Rūpādēvi, who became the wife of a king Tējasainha (to whom she bore a son named Kāhētrasainha) and founded a well or tank in A.D. 1284, in the reign of the Maṇḍrājakula Śaṃyantasainhadēva.2

**TEXT.**

**First Stone.**

1 || Īṭh || Sṛvētānabhōj-ātapatram kim-u Giri-duhituḥ Svaṣṭatiṃyā gavakshaḥ kim vā saukhya-śasanā vā mahimamukhahāśidūhidēvi-gaṇaya | trailokyānanda-hēṭāh kim-uditam-anaghaṃ dālghya-nakṣatram-uchchaḥ Śaṃbhūr-bhālasthalānduḥ sukṛitikritā-

2 nutiḥ pātu vā rāja-lakshmidū || 1 Ṛṣasya-ānkh-āvanir-anupamamāṇandaśaṃdōha-mūlā chaṃbhadvāśuṣchadaladalamayā bhūshaṇa-pranḥapushyā(śahp) | sallāvanyōdaya-suphalini Pārvavājēpēma-vail lakshumīn pushāṅtvā- anu-dinam-ātivyakta-bhārtūyā nātānāḥ || 2 Viṣṇaṃukumaṇḍayā-

3 sā vyomīn dāityān-iva bhūvi maṇimayyā mākhalāyā pravētā | anupraṣita-lāhāmaksai-trāsayaśtri phapitaibhuvan-aṁtasa-Chaṇḍikā vaḥ śriyē-stū || 3 Śrīmād-Vatsamahāraḥi-barahanayanōdhuṭān vu(bu)pūrprabhā-pūrvvērvid h a r a-maulimukhaṣikharāleśkrān-tigmaduyātāḥ prithvīn trātū-

4 m-aṇāsta-dāityatimirāḥ īr Chāhāmānaḥ purā vīraḥ kahirasamudrmedāra-yadōsāpiṇakāś-bhavat || 4 10 Rātu-avālyām-iva nṛpa-tatau tāt-kramē viṣrutāyāṃ

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1 The proper relation to Udayasainha of the Māṇavasainha who is mentioned in my account of Rūpādēvi’s inscription, above, Vol. IV. p. 313, will be given below, under D.

2 So the name is spelt in the inscription. The published texts of the inscriptions Nos. 704, 706 and 707 (of A.D. 1292, 1296 and 1298) of my Northern List have Somanassainadēva.

3 From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishanker Hirschand Ojha.

4 Denoted by a symbol. 

5 Metre: Sṛgṛhādā. 

6 Metre: Mandākrāntā.

7 Metre: Malādā. 

8 Metre: Sārulavikrāntā. 

9 Originally “prabhā was engraved, but the sign for d has been struck out. 

10 Metre of verses 5 and 6 : Mandākrāntā.
dharmmasthānaprakaraṇaprāptapuṇyōtavāyaḥ | Śrī-Naddulādhipatir-abhaval-

Lakṣhmānapī nāma

5 rājā Lakṣhmīllātasadānaś Āśakambhar-tiṃdraḥ || 5 A pāṭālāt-samara-

jaladhāṁ Maniḍarō yaśya khaḍgō muṣṭi-vyājāṁ-bhujagapatiṇā śriṃkhalen-

āvava(ba)jīdaḥ || nirmathya-cchataḥ sapadi Kamalāṁ līlay-ōḍḍhritta(ya) maṇi-cchakrē

niṣṭaṁ raṇita-katakaḥ kālīkām-

pa-cchhalena || 6 1Tasmād-Dhimādribhavāvātha-yāṣōpahārī Śrī-Śobhīto-jani

nṛpōṣya satūddhavā-ōtha gāmbhirayadvairaya-sadaṇaṁ va(ba)lirājadevō yo

Mumjarāja-va(ba)la-bhāṅgam-śchikarat-taṁ || 7 Sāmrajy-āśakarōpuṁ

riṃrupiṇiṣyaga-stōmam-ākramya jāhre yāt-khaḍgō gāh-

7 dhahasti samarārasa-bharē Vīṇḍhyasālāyamānē muktāśaktiṇiṇu kānt-

ōjvalarchaḥu lasatīkṛti-Rēvātēnāḥ pranāhāṃdōpachār-ōlaṇgamulakataṁ

pushkaraṇaṁ cchhalena 8 2Tapātirīvaśatay-āthā vāṁ(baṁ)dahava

Śrī-Maḥīndrā-ajanista bhūpatiḥ yāt-kriṣāṁ-

8 lātikām-upēyuśaṁ cchhalayāś virahitaṁ mukhaṁ dvīśāṁ || 9 Jajōśe

kānte-tad-anu cha bhūvas-tat-tanījō-śvapālaḥ kāḷaḥ krūrē dvishī su-

charitē pūrṇasahāṃdiṛaṇaḥ yaḥ saṁslagnō na khalī tamaśa n-aiva
dēhākār-ātma tējō-muktaḥ ksvaḥ-id-āpi na yaḥ kīmaḥ mitrō-

9 dayēśuḥ || 10 7Kēyāvagranvijāṭhātāvāna-prādyaṭprabhaḥānva(ba)ra-śvaktam

sāṅgaraṇaṁ-maṇḍapatalaṁ yaṁ vairī-lakṣhamū śrītaḥ vīrēśu praśītēśu
tēhu rajāśa nīteḥu durilakṣhyatēna laṁvēḥ(bhīḥ)pyāva(ba)āpī
nirmunā-guptiḥya-vaśyā prāsaś-ākṛitē || 11 Pa.9

10 tras-tasya-Āhīla iti nriṇa-saṁnayuṣaḥ(kha)-cchhalena srashtē yaśya vyahita

yaśasāṁ tējāsāṁ tōlanaṁ nu Gaṅgōtīle sāśi-tapanayōr-dāmbaṅtē-

chārṇchēlē madhyasthāyidhumavānīna laṁśakmaṇte kautukē || 12 2Guruḍāhipati-

Bhīma-bhūhuḥ saṁy-pāraṁ-a-

11 jayad-rāṇēśu yaḥ [9] Śaṁbhuvat-Tripura-saṁbhavaṁ va(ba)bām vādavō

nāla iv-anv(ba)dhēr-jālaṁ || 13 Sainyākr̥nt-akhilavasyatāmnājīlās-tat-

pitīrīyaḥ ārīmān rājābhaba-ātha jīt-ārtimallō-nahilāḥ | Bhīma-kahiṇipati-

gajdhagātē yēna bhagāa ṛaṇ-ṅgrē ṛiḍyārē-āmbhōuni-

12 dhi-Raghu-krtē chē-saṁkṛtī khalanāṁ || 14 Amabhōjānī mukhyān-ahō

mṛgadāśāṁ chaṁdr-oluṣyānāṁ mudō Lakṣhmīr-yatra narottānasaraṇapavāryā-

pāraṅgamaṁ jānāṁ prasāhānā subhāṇi śikhari-dhīpa-vana gupadgra-sūmō 

yaśā naṁcērvana yaṁsaīaṁ sēn-āṅ-

13 ve(ba)ṛāśr-dadhau || 15 Urvīrūr13 viṣaptāvalaiṁ(ba)-sugrihiḥmyēcāṁ datvā14
dṛśām dhyāt-ātyantamanharākritűmuḥprāśadāsāvāyanaḥ | bhūḥphūṭāṁ vanāṁtarēnā
dvittēyānāḥ bhūḥ-phāṭa-vācyānāḥ sāmāt-ātapavēnānāḥ sētaō yad-vairāja-vēra-

14 ṛ || 16 Dhītāḥ kair-rem Chaturbhujā ya sa samārē Śaṁkambharāṁ yo

va(ba)bām jāgrāhānāu jaghaṇa Mālāva-patēr-Bojāsya Sādh-ākhaṇaṁ | 

damōd-aṅhālaṁ-apara-sainyaśīvahēnāḥ tīvant Turushkaṁ cha yaḥ sēkhāda-

Vaiṣṇuṭ-nāḍ(ha)julaṁ-yaśasā śringārītē yēna bhūḥ || 17 Jajōśe15 bhūbhīrś-tad-a-

1 Metre = Vaṃsataṭālaṣa. 2 Metre = Śraṣṭhrāha. 3 Metre = Chāhāna. 
4 Metre = Rathbhāhā. 5 Read chāhāna. 
7 Metre = Śrīdālavikṛṣṭita. 8 Metre = Mandākṛṣṭita. 
9 Metre = Maniṣṭha. 10 Read dha. 11 Metre of verses 15-17 : Śrīdālavikṛṣṭita. 
12 The exact meaning of the word gupadgra is unknown to me; it occurs again in verses 26 and 27. See above, p. 71. 
13 Read urvīrūr. 14 Read dotted. 
15 Metre = Mandākṛṣṭita.
15 nu tanayas-tasya Vā(bā)laprasādō Bhima-kahmābhırō-va ranayugallamardana-vyājγō yāḥ | kurvan plām-āstiva(ba)latayā mōchayāmāsē kārgārāh bhūmipātim-apī tathā Krishnādev-ābhūḍhānāh || 18 Śrīkaryō1 jala-bhraṁatah dadhur-ahō sainyē=ṣya sē-

16 vāraṇāyātart-pratimē samuṣaya-paṭa2 vāśē marāla-śriyām kumāraṁ väya-

vaśē kētu-nivāhā ṣa(sa)ay-ānukāraṁ cha tē3 samātāni cha kōklāra-

vaṁlān chittō tu tāpam dvīṣhaṁ || 19 Śrīmān-āsāyājanī narāpitaṁ-

vāṁ(bā)dhah Jīmadurājō yāḥ Saṃgērē

17 śrēk4 iva timirān vair-vriṇaṁ vi(bī)bhedā | yasa jyotīḥ-prakaram-abhidhē

vidvīṣhaṁ kauśik-ābhā đraśtuṁ sākta na hi girigahā-madhyaṁ-adhyāśīrītāṁ-

tat || 20 Gachchhāntināṁ ṛju-marigadriśāṁ bhūṣhapānāṁ prapatē väshē-

āsārāṁ-ghanatati-tulān vi(bī)bhṛatāṁmarāyē || dūrvaṇa

18 bhūṭhāni marakatamāni śrēṇyā yat-prayāṇa tāṁvā(bā)līya-bhraṁam-iva chiraṁ

chakrīrī padmarāgāh || 21 Prithvīṁ5 pālayatīṁ pavritramātinām yāḥ

karuḍhānāṁkaruṇaṁ mauriṁ prāpa yaśāṁsi kūṇādha-dhavalāyā-āṇahādṛiyā-ā

ānāhaḥ || Prithvīpāla iti dhruvāṁ karthāni

patis-tasya-anagarjum-abhadvat-pratyakṣahōrunidhiḥ6 sa Gūṛara-paṭeha Karṇapaya-

sainyā-āpahō || 22 Yat-sēnaṁ kīla kāmāhānū-sadṛṣṭē kārīṁtī śrī(sra)vaṁattē

payō, svachchhāndhāṁ sāccharāscarē-śe bhuvanē saṭārāṁ-trīṣṣukvratī ||

dharmi vata-saṁ svākiyaṁ-anaghāṁ vṛddhiṁ nayaṁtē

20 mudā kasyā-ānandā-kari va(ba)bhūya na bhuvō-bhishṭam samātanvatī || 23 Śrī-

Yogākō bhūptār-asya vāin(ba)dhūrṇīva kṣaṇaṁ bhavat-praya(ba)laprāpah || svēt-

ātapatreṇa virājmanāṁ śakty-āpanhālikāḥpaurē-πi rēmē || 24 Tyaktivā10

sandham-udāra-kālāvipiṁ karī-ā

21 chālaḥ dhṛghikāṁ pālyam-kāśrayaṁ karuṇasūḥ mudāṁ sthānaṁ samāntā-d-apī

yasyā-ārkitātipaṁ-vā(bā)lālalānāṁ sāile vanē nirjarē sthūlagrāva-sīrassu sanśmiṁsītē-

agūḥ pūrṇopabhuṅkta-śrīyāṁ || 25 Śrī-Āśārāja-nāmā samajāni vasudhā-nāyākas-ta-

22 sasyā vāin(ba)m dhūh sāhāyaṁ Mahāvānāṁ bhuvī yadasi-kriānaṁ viṣhaya-

Śiddhādhirājaḥ ī tushāṁ dhattā āṁśa kūnīhāṁ kana-kamayamaṁ-abhō yasya

guyapaguru-sthānēṁ tam hartiṁ naāva sāktaḥ kaluṣhīta-hrīdayāḥ śēsabhūpāla-

vāghibhiḥ || 26 11Udayagirisīrāḥ-sthānēṁ kīṁ sahaśrayāṁ-su-viṁvāi12

23 vitata-viṣaṭākṣīrtīr-mūrdhāṁ kīṁ nu pratāpah || upari suhaṅgātāy udgatā

maṇjarī kīṁ kana-kaka-kalasa-ābhāy- Yusya guyapaguru-sthāḥ || 27 Kana-karucūbhi-

śarāḥ śaḷaśarākāhārāmah phānāpam-mahanīyasy-āvatāraḥ sa Vishūpōh

(sa)lālanidhi-su

24 tāyā maṇidīre saṁkāṇḍā-dēśē dadhād-avanim-udārām-agriṁha punya-mūrttiḥ || 28

14Satṛgāra-taḍāga-kāṇana-Hariprāśāda-vāpi-prapā-kūpādīni vinimiṁ matē dvijān-

ānadhē kahamā-maṇdalaḥ || dharmasthāna-śatāni yāḥ kīla vun(bu)dhā-śrēṇiṣhu

1 Metre : Śārūlavikṛtiṣṭha. — Originally śrīkaryō was engraved, but this has clearly been altered to śrīkaryō.

The word occurs again in verse 69. See also, p. 70.

2 Read samuṣya-va.

3 Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out.

4 Metre of verses 20 and 21 : Manadārāṇī.

5 The sign of anagāra is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

6 Metre of verses 22 and 23 : Śārūlavikṛtiṣṭha.

7 Read karaḥkāḍā (for the ordinary karaḥkāḍā).

8 This word is quite clear in the rubbing, but I am not sure that it is correct. Perhaps the intended reading

may be prayākṣād-mahānaḥ.

9 Metre : Upākāti.

10 Metre : Śārūlavikṛtiṣṭha.

11 Metre of verses 27 and 28 : Mālinī.

12 Read ahaṁṣādā-piṁbāḥ.
THE CHAHAMANAS OF NADDULA.

25 kalpadrumaḥ kas-tasyaṇḍūrasthāna-dhavalam stōtuṣya yaśaḥ kōvidāḥ || 29 Śvētāy-eva. yaśasmi tumātara-stōmaḥ śī(ṣi)ṭaḥ subhramāṃ chaḥchahmahauktika-bhuḥanāni dhavalāṃ-uchchahiḥ samagrāṇy-api | prēmālpa-bhavaṃ sīmatam cha visadam subhrahā ||


Second Stone.

27 || Oṃ || 1Jaṭā-mūla Gaṅga-praveṣa-laulationam saṃnumścchchhatrapakraka iva namreṣu niśpateraḥ pradātum śrī-Saṃbhah sakalabhuvābhāhāvātihāvātayānā tayaḥ v deyād-vah śubham-iha Sugamadhān-muktaḥ || 31 6Āśārāja-khaṭipatayānahaḥ śrī-||

28 mad-Ahīdān-āhva jātē bhūbhrīd-bhuvana-vidūtā-Chāhamānasya vaṁśeḥ | śrī-Naddūla Śivaḥ-bhānāḥ-kriyādharmasvarasvan-vēttā yat-sāhayaṃ pratipadamaḥ-ahō Gūrjjarājēsāh-chakānākhaḥ || 32 Chānchatkētakāhāpaṣ-pravastātalāmālāgruṣ-| spūrjayachakamanda-||

29 nanālikēdālādikāhāma-kāmrō girau | Saurāśṭrō kuṭiloprakāmaṇṭakabhīd-| ātyuddāmākṛitte-tadāḥ yasyaabhūd-abhimāna-bhāsarataya śēnācharānḥ ravaḥ || 33 6Śrīmāṇa-sāyaṇāṭa Kēlaḥpōd dākshinādhiḥ-dōcānchad-Bhīli-| ma-śripatēr-mānaḥprāśā-sinaisindhuḥ | nirbhiṣyō-ōchhaḥ pravaṇa(ba)la-kalitaṁ yaś-| Turushkaṃ vyadhata śrī-Somāśāpamkuṭaṃvāst-tōrāṃ kārchnāsya || 34 | Bhrāṭ-āsya pravaṇa(ba)lapratāpa-nilayaḥ śrī-Kirtilīlā-hhvad-bhū-|| nātheḥ pratipakṣah-pārthivāhānāmuḥāyāṃ-anuṇaḥ(bu)vaḥ-ō-||

31 pamaḥ | yā-kaṭa-gāṇuv(bu)niḍhau hat-anārīkarīpāṃ kūmbha-khasthaḥ-bhyāḥ keharan-| muktānāvaṇa nīkāra marāla-lalitaṃ dhatte sma dhār-āśrāyāḥ | 35 Yō | durādāntā-Kirītākta-śrīpatēr bhītāvā saṇaśa-Āsalasa tasmina-Kāshadrīdē-||


1 I.e. eśadrīha; compare the same abbreviation e.g. in Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 243, l. 27, and above, Vol. III. p. 304, l. 5.
2 Read "aḍaṭ".
3 Denoted by a symbol.
4 Metre: Śikhariṇḍa.
5 Metre: Māndākṛta.
6 Metre: Māndākṛta.
7 Metre: Ārya. 11 Metre: Śardālavikṛtiṇḍa.
8 Metre: Śardālavikṛtiṇḍa.
9 Here the o of the second syllable is (before hr) treated as a short vowel; see Ind. Studia., Vol. VIII. p. 226.
10 Metre: Mālīna.
11 Metre: Śardālavikṛtiṇḍa.
12 Metre: Soma (Anushubha).
13 Metre: Soma (Anushubha).
14 Metre of verses 35 and 36: Sardalavikritiṇḍa.
lašaurya-ramaṇyaḥ  Śrī-Udayasimha-bhūpatir-abhūt-prabhā-bhāṣvad-upamānaḥ || 42


40 bhayamkāreṇa vijita-pratyarthabhāmipatiḥ śrīmān Chāhigadeva eva tanuṭē nirvighna-vṛttām bhuṇaḥ | dvaijhyayān viḍadhūn pannaga-patir-varakam varahō mukhaṁ kūrṇāt nakra-tatīm karīṁḍra-nivahaḥ saṁghātā-saṃsthyam param || 48 Mōrhō[13] sthāryaṁ vachana-racanam Vā-


42 ka-pāṇanakarasikāḥ Śaṁgaṣya raṅg-āpahāḥ | 17umādiyān-Nahar-āchalasya kuliśākāra-trīlokiṭala-bhrāmyatikirtīr-saṁhāvīr-dahānāḥ-āḍapratapt-ōvapāḥ || 50 Śrīmālē dvajājanuvēṭikākara-ītyāgī tathā Vīgrahādityasya-ā
d

43 pi cha Rāmasainya-nagaro nītyarochen-ārtha-pradaṇaḥ | prōṭtunγe-py-Aparājītēsa- bhuvaṇā saṇvāraṇa-kumbhādhavaj-āroṣī ṛupṣyamekhāla-वतरा-ṇaṣa-sayvī-aiva dēvasya yaḥ || 51 Chakrē śrī-Aparājītēsa-bhuvaṇē sālā tathāyān rathāḥ Kailā-

44 sa-pratimaṇa-trīlokiṇaṃkāra-ṛatmocchhayaḥ | yēna khañē-purandaraḥ kriyāmānāmadma-saṁvīttayā bhāgyam āti niyamāva parata-vatā kaṅkālāṃ nītām samāntād-ṣepi || 52 Karuṣo dāna-ruchir-Va(bha)laśiṣa sa sukṛiti śāṅghyō Dadhiḥs-tatāḥ hriyāḥ ka-

45 Ṽatpardoṇaḥ prākramadhir-ākāra-śa cha chintāmaṇiḥ | śrīmāḥ-Chāhigadeva-dāna- muditaḥ-tan-nama grihaḥ(haṁ)nti yat-tat-kriṭtṛ-ṣepi nītānarnam-abhava-

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1 The meaning intended apparently is 'by his splendour like the sun' (probhāga bāneṣaṇa-upamaḥ).
2 The prose passage which here begins is counted as a verse in the original.
3 Metre: Śrāduliśvaraṇī.
4 Read Vāṭāyapātraṁ.
5 Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out again.
6 Read sīdār-ūḍvālaṁ.
7 Metre: Āryā.
8 The numeral 5 is engraved at the commencement of the next line.
9 Metre: Rṣagōhāraṁ.
10 Read katadvṛttaṁ.
11 Originally -śaṇīdī or -saṇīdī was engraved.
12 Metre of verses 47 and 48: Śrāduliśvaraṇī.
13 Read śrīmāndeśe-Čāḥ
t.
14 Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out again.
15 Metre of verses 50-54: Śrāduliśvaraṇī.
16 Here originally a full stop was engraved.
17 The letter i of sañchi has perhaps been struck out; the exact sense of dvajasvāstikṣa is not clear to me.
D.—MOUNT ĀBU INSRIPTION OF LUṬIĞADEVĀ;
[VIKRAMA-JSAṂVAT 1377.]

This inscription is on a stone which is built into the wall outside the porch of the Achalēśvara temple on Mount Ābu. A translation of it was given, about eighty years ago, by H. H. Wilson in Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI. p. 285 ff. My account of its contents is based on impressions kindly sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch, who had received them from Mr. Couzens. I mainly treat of the inscription here in order to give the true names of the chiefs who are mentioned in it, and to show the connection of these chiefs with those of the preceding inscriptions. The published translation long ago led me to suspect that this record also belonged to the Chāhamāna family of Naddūla; I am able to prove now that such is really the case.

The stone contains 32 lines of writing which covers a space of about 1' 11" broad by 1' 4" high. Portions of the first ten and the last three lines and some of the final letters of nearly all lines are entirely gone or defaced. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is somewhat incorrect Sanskrit. Up to nearly the end of line 29 there are 36 verses, forming a prāṣṭāti which was composed by a certain Mahīdhara; the rest seems to be all in prose.

After three verses, for the greater part illegible, in which the blessing of certain divine beings is invoked, the author proposes to celebrate repairs made at the Achaluśvara temple, and to give the lineage of the person who made them. He then (in verses 6-10) records that, when the solar and lunar races had come to an end, the holy Vāchokha (i.e. Vatsa) brought about the creation of a new race of warriors, the Chāhamāna race, and that in it there was a personage named Śindūrāja, who conquered all other families.

1 Originally Jhānkārāna was engraved.
2 Metro: Śikharāli.
3 Metro: Sāndukāvīrtīṣaṭa.
4 Metro: Śāndukāvīrtīṣaṭa.
5 Metro: Upājīti—Here, as in verse 19, śrīkiṁ was originally engraved.
6 Read śrīkīma, as in line 26.
7 In Mr. Couzens' List the inscription is No. 1944.
8 The name is not preserved here, but the family is called Chāhamānasvāya in verse 17.
9 The original has Sīkharāja; in the Translation the name is Śindūrāja. The name Śindūrāja does not occur elsewhere in the Chāhamāna family. I suspect it to have been wrongly given here by the author instead of Śindūrāja.
Then there came Lakshmana, who by his irresistible valour acquired part of the earth. In the mutilated verse 12, which together with verse 11 treats of this chief, the word Naddula is distinctly legible, as well as Sākambarā; and it is certain that Lakshmana is described in the verse as king of Naddula, and highly probable that he is spoken of as Sākambhari-māniyka, 'the jewel of Sākambhari.' After him, verse 13 mentions 'his son' Balirāja, and Balirāja's 'son,' whose name I read as Sōhi, regarding this to be another form of the name Sōhiya (Sōhita, Sōhita) of the preceding inscriptions. According to the latter, Sōhiya was Lakshmana's son, and his son again was Balirāja; the author of the present inscription has erroneously transposed the two names. Verses 14-18 then enumerate Mahindu, Jindurāja, Āśārāja, Ālāna, Krittikāla and Samarsaśina. From what we know already from the other inscriptions, this is the line, from father to son, of the Chāhamanas of Naddula from Mahindu to Samarsaśina, except that, between Mahindu and Jindurāja, Aṇahilla, the son of the former and father of the latter, has been omitted.—So far our inscription tells us nothing of importance that is new.

Samaraisinha, according to verse 19, had two sons, of whom the one called Udayasirīha, who also is already known to us from the inscription C., succeeded him in the government. Udayasirīha's elder brother was Mānavasirīha (v. 20); his son was Pratāpa (v. 21), and his son Vijaya, also named Dāsāyandana (v. 22). This chief married Nāmalladēvi (v. 23), who bore to him four sons—Lāvanyaikarna, Lunḍha, Lakshmana, and Lūnavarman (v. 24), of whom the eldest became the ruling chief. When Lāvanyaikarna died, he was succeeded by the next brother, whose name in verse 26 is clearly Lūṇṭigadēva, in verse 28 Lūṇṭiga, in verse 30 Lūṇḍhagara, and in the prose passage in line 29 Lūṇṭigara. Lūṇṭiga conquered and ruled 'all countries,' particularly Chandrāvatī and the divine territory of Arbuda (Arbuda-dīya-dēśā, v. 27). On the mountain Arbuda he set up images of himself and his queen, and carried out repairs at the temple of Achalēvara. As a grant to the temple, he moreover gave the village of Hēthuṇḍī (v. 33) for the perpetual worship of the god.

From the prose passage which follows, and which is more or less illegible, we learn that in the year 1377, on Monday, the 6th of the bright half of Vaishāka, in the Kehayu-samvatsara, Lūṇṭiga, described as the Mahārājaka, the glorious Lūṇṭigara, resided at [Vū?]hunḍha which belonged to Chandrāvatī. This date regularly corresponds, for the expired Kārttikeya
Vikrama year 1377, to Monday, the 6th April A.D. 1321, when the 8th tihti of the bright half of Vaśākha ended 17 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise; the day did fall in the Jovian year Kēhaya, which according to the northern mean-sign system lasted from the 30th May A.D. 1320 to the 26th May A.D. 1321.

Of the localities mentioned, in addition to the well-known Arbuda or Mount Ābû, Chandrāvatī according to the Rājputāna Gazetteer, Vol. III. p. 126, is a large place (now in ruins) on the Banās river near the south-east border of the Sirohi State. There can be no doubt that it was taken by Luṇṭga from the Paramāras. Hēṭhunjī is the small village of ‘Hetamji’ on Mount Ābû. Vūhunḍha—if this is really the name—I am unable to identify.

On Mount Ābû there are at least two other inscriptions, of no great extent and partly illegible, of the reign of Luṇṭgadēva, described as the Mahādrājakula, the glorious Lūṇḍhāka or Luṇḍha(?). One is dated on Wednesday, the 8th of the dark half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1372, corresponding, so far as I can see, to Wednesday, the 17th March A.D. 1316; the other on some specified day, which I cannot make out with certainty, in the [Vikrama] year 1373. And there is a third, partly effaced inscription, which also mentions the Mahādrājakula, the glorious Lūṇḍhāka or Luṇḍhāka, and speaks of the glorious Nāmaladēvī, who clearly is the Nāmalladēvi of the present inscription, the mother of Luṇṭgadēva. I am not at present prepared to give a fuller account of these three inscriptions.

But I may add here that another account of some of the later Chāhamānas is found in an inscription which is on a stone at a temple—the Vimala-vasahātd, ordinarily but wrongly called Vimala Saḥ’s or Shāh’s temple—which was founded on Mount Ābû, according to the inscription itself in the Vikrama year 1088, by a certain Vimala, ‘an ornament of the Prāg-vāṭa race,’ after he had been appointed daṇḍapati at Arbuda by the (Chaulukya) king Bhima-dēva (I). This inscription in lines 9–15 (verses 14–22) gives the following ‘rājdaiva’:

There was a hero, Asārāja by name, a moon to the lotus-flower—the Chāhuvaṁśa family, who was king of the town of Naddulā (v. 14). Then came Samarasimha; and his son was Mahāpāsamahabhāṣa (v. 15). Then came Pratāpamalla; and of him was born Vījāda, who ruled the Marathall-maṇḍala (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Luṇṭga (v. 17). After him the text mentions Luṇḍha (v. 18) and Lumbha (v. 19), without distinctly saying that they were his younger brothers. It then records the conquest of Arbuda (v. 20); says further that Luṇṭga’s son was Tējasimha (v. 21); and after him eulogizes Tihunḍa, to whom it wishes long life (v. 22).

The mutilated verse 23 appears to say that the glorious Lumbhāka, together with Tējasimha and Tihunḍa, in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda;

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1 See my Northern List, Nos. 193, 209 and 210 (new above, Vol. VIII. p. 201).
3 Nos. 1907 and 1909 of Mr. Consens’ List.
4 No. 1906 of Mr. Consens’ List.
5 No. 1790 of Mr. Consens’ List. I hope soon to give the text of this inscription, which is ready for publication.
6 Vimala adha seems to occur first in As. Rev. Vol. XVI. p. 311, note. It owes its origin to a misunder-
7 Anil-dhikṣai, by the term Vimala, according to Vimala’s temple,’ which we find e.g. in line 8 of No. 1774 of Mr. Consens’
8 I may add that in line 10 of the present inscription we have the similar term Tījāpda-vasahāt, ‘Tījāpda’s
temple.’
9 The date is given in verse 13: dīrō-Vākramdīttago-arigad-śayatēt Śakalātī-sīyēt saraddē nahrēl(sarē)!
10 Tējasimha. The date is given here exactly as it is written in the original.
11 This may be a spell for Chāhuvaṁśa or Chāhuvaṁśa.
12 This is the actual spelling of the name, and is required by the metre. The same may be said of the name Tējasimha, which occurs below.
and the rest of the inscription treats of a private family, two members of which made repairs of the temple. The date given in verse 41 is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha of the [Vikrama] year 1378. It corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322.

As regards the genealogy given in this inscription, it is curious, but of no historical importance, that it commences with Āśarāja1 (Āśarāja, Āśāraja), who was neither the founder of the family nor the father of Samarasinha who is here mentioned immediately after him. Instead of the name Mānavasinha of Lunṣṭigadēva's inscription this account has Mahaṇasinha which must be regarded as another name of the same person; and while according to the former Vijaḍa had four sons, according to this genealogy he had only three—Lūṇiga, Luṇḍha and Lumbha. Of these, Lūṇiga undoubtedly is identical with the Āvanyakarpa of the other inscription,2 and Luṇḍha with Luṇṣṭiga (Luṇḍha), while Lumbha (Lumbhaka) most probably is another name of Luṇḍavarma. What is new to us and of some importance, is, that by the account here given Tējasinīha, who is known to us from other inscriptions, was a son of Lūṇiga. According to No. 261 of my Northern List Tējasinīha3 was ruling in the [Vikrama] year 1387, corresponding to A.D. 1331; and there is an unpublished Mount Ābū inscription4 of his of the [Vikrama] year 1393, corresponding to A.D. 1336. What was the exact relation of Tīhuṇāka (Tīhuṇa) to Tējasinīha, does not appear from the Vimala temple inscription; but the matter very probably is cleared up by a statement in an inscription (No. 265 of my Northern List5) of Tējasinīha's son Kānhaḍadēva, who was reigning at Chandrāvati in the Vikrama year 1394, corresponding to A.D. 1338. That inscription in lines 11-14 records four separate grants of villages by the Chāhumānaṇātīya-rāja-śrī-Tējasinīha, the dēvaṇā-Tīhuṇāka, the rāja-śrī-Kānhaḍadēva, and the Chāhumānaṇātīya-rāja-śrī-Samutasinīha. Here Tīhuṇāka is placed between Tējasinīha and his son Kānhaḍadēva, who both are distinguished from him by their title of rājan. This and the order in which Tīhuṇāka is mentioned in the Vimala temple inscription render it probable that he was Tējasinīha's younger brother. And this may possibly be the meaning of the word dēvaṇā prefixed to his name, a word which seems to be etymologically connected with the Sanskrit dēvar, dēvara, used in the specific sense of 'a husband's younger brother.'6

In the Table on page 83 I have placed all the chiefs mentioned in the above in their genealogical order, and have given the dates known from inscriptions either for themselves or for the kings and chiefs with whom they are said to have come in contact. The Table will show that Laksahmapa, the founder of the family, must be placed in about A.D. 925-950, and that therefore he very probably was a son of that Vākpatirīja of Sākambhari, who was the grandfather of the Vighrasārajā7 of the Harasha inscription who lived in A.D. 973. My genealogical Table of the family is not quite complete. I do not know yet how to place exactly the Mahārājākula Sāṃvataṣṭātinīha or Sāṃyantaṣṭātinīha, who is mentioned in Nos. 704-707 of my Northern List with dates from about A.D. 1282 to A.D. 1289, and— if this should be a different chief— the Rājad Sāṃvataṣṭātinīha, mentioned in Kānhaḍadēva's inscription of A.D. 1338.

1 If it were not for the other inscriptions, this name might of course be taken to stand for Āśarāja.
2 Compare Lūṇigadēva for Lavanaprasaṅka in No. 249 of my Northern List.
3 In the original of No. 261 (Np. 1940 of Mr. Cussons' List) the name is spelt Tējasinīha.
4 No. 1947 of Mr. Cusson's List.
5 No. 1919 of Mr. Cusson's List. The inscription has been roughly edited in Ind. Ant. Vol. II. p. 256.
6 In No. 1938 of Mr. Cusson's List a Meruṇā-rāja is mentioned. According to Ind. Ant. Vol. IV. p. 146, "the Sirohi chieftains, though Chobas, are universally known by the name of their subtribe, the Devā."7 The foundation of the separate kingdom of Naddūla was perhaps connected with the disturbances which preceded Vighrasārajā's reign.
Lakshmana of Naddula (son of Vākpatirāja of Śākambhari).

Sōhiya (Śōhīta, Vigrahapāla. Śōhīta, Sōhī).

Ballirāja, Mahēndra (Mahīndu).

Āśvapāla. Aśakilla.

Ahila, Bālapraśāda. Jāindrāja (Jindurāja).


Ālhaça (Āhlādāna); m. Annalladēvi. A.D. 1163-1161.


Samarasīthha. Rūdaladēvi.

Mānavasīthha (Mahaṭvasīthha). Udayasīthha; m. Prahlādanadēvi. Lālādēvi; m. by Bhūmadēva II. A.D. 1205-1249.

Pratāpa. Chāchiga (Chācha); m. Lakshmīdēvi. Chāmupījarāja. A.D. 1262-1277.

Vijāḍa-Dāsasyandana; m. Nāmalladēvi. Rūpādēvi; m. by Tējasīthha. A.D. 1284.


Kāṇhadēva. A.D. 1338.

1 At war with the Paramāra Muṇjarāja (A.D. 974-98).
2 Probably a contemporary of Dvārakā of Hastikupālī (A.D. 997).
3 At war with the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I (A.D. 1029) and the Paramāra Bhūjadēva (A.D. 1021).
4 At war with Bhīmadēva I.

*Probably a contemporary of the Paramāra Kṛishṇadēva (A.D. 1000-07).
* At war with the Chaulukya Karpa (A.D. 1091).
* Contemporary of the Chaulukya Kṛishṇadēva (A.D. 1138, 1139).
* Contemporary of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla (A.D. 1145-69).
* At war with the Dvāṣagiri-Yuddha Bhūlāma (A.D. 1191).
* Transferred the seat of government to Jāvalipura
* It is impossible to say whether these were younger daughters.
* This Tējasīthha had a son named Kśetřasīthha.
* Took Chaodrēvati with Mount Abū from the Paramāra.
No. 10.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-PANDYA.

BY V. VENKATTA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

Ambasamudram is situated on the northern bank of the Tāmraparṇi river and is the headquarters of the talūka of the same name in the Tinnevelly district. The town has a local reputation for the manufacture of clothing largely in demand on the western coast. On the southern bank of the river is the big and flourishing village of Kartigaiikkurichchi, which gives its name to the cloths manufactured at the sister town on the other bank, because the trade in them is carried on mostly by the Brāhmaṇas of the former place, who temporarily reside in Malabar and are frequently met with on the west coast.

The site of Ambasamudram seems to have been altered in comparatively recent times. The greater portion of the town is now situated at some distance from the river, while the most important temple, now called Erichha-Uḍaiyar, is quite close to it, and is separated from the town by a pretty large extent of rice fields. The heavy floods in the Tāmraparṇi at certain seasons of the year might be one of the causes which led to the removal of the town to a more distant locality. Besides, in ancient times, Ambasamudram seems to have been a big place, including some of the adjacent villages such as Tiruvallīvaram1 and Maippārkōyil.2 In an inscription of [Jaḻavarman Sundara-]Chōja-Pāṇḍya3 the temple of Erichcha-Uḍaiyar is said to be situated in the southern hamlet of Rājarāja-chaturvērdimāgala. During the period of Pāṇḍya supremacy the town was called Iążangkkudit or Iążangkkuditi,4 which was altered into Rājarāja-chaturvērdimāgala after the Chōja conquest.5 The latter name has probably to be traced to the Chōja king Rājarāja I., after whom the Pāṇḍya country was itself called Rājarāja-

maṇḍalam.6

During the field season of 1904-05 I copied eight inscriptions in the temple of Erichcha-Uḍaiyar, of which two belong to the early Pāṇḍyas,7 two to the Chōjas,8 one to the Chōja-Pāṇḍyas9 and two to the later Pāṇḍyas,10 while the eighth does not mention any king.11 One of the early Pāṇḍya records12 seems to belong to the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya,1 who took the head of the Chōja.13 The Chōja king with whom he fought must be Āditya (II.) Karikāla,13 who, according to the large Leiden plates, fought in his youth against Vira-Pāṇḍya.14 The newly discovered15 Tiruvāḷaṅṭadu plates of Rājendra-Chōja I. do not mention the name of the Pāṇḍya king against whom Āditya II. fought, but report that the latter "killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory in his city."16 Accordingly, Vira-Pāṇḍya reigned in the

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1 The temple at Tiruvallivaram is said to have been situated in Rājarāja-chaturvērdimāgala, which was the name of Ambasamudram in Chōja times; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 63, Nos. 115 and 119 of 1906.
2 The Vishnu temple at this village, called Rājendras-Chōja-vināgar in ancient times, was also situated in Rājarāja-chaturvērdimāgala; No. 112 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1905.
3 No. 102 of the same collection.
4 No. 104 of the same, and lines 2, 6 f. and 10 f. of the subjoined inscription.
5 The name occurs already in an inscription of the 11th year of Rājarāja I.; No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906.
6 *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. II. p. 149.
8 Nos. 98 and 99 of the same collection.
9 No. 102 of the same.
10 No. 104 of the same.
11 He was the elder brother of Rājarāja I. (A.D. 985 to at least 1013).
12 *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. I. p. 112.
period prior to the conquest and occupation of the Pāṇḍya country by the Chōḷas at the end of the 10th century A.D.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a slab built into the floor of the first circuit in the Erlichcha-Uḍaiyār temple, which is comparatively dark. The record was found and copied with the help of a lamp. At my request the Collector of Tennevelly has removed the slab to the Government Central Museum at Madras. The plate issued with this paper is based on fresh impressions prepared by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., after the removal of the stone to Madras.1 The alphabet of the document is Vaṭṭeluttu and the language Tamil prose intermixed with a few Sanskrit words in the Grantha alphabet. The preservation is good, though a few syllables are mutilated at the end of lines 3 to 13 and 81. The slab was ruled before the writing, which is crowded into three sides of it, was engraved. The number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha is comparatively few, viz., svasti (l. 1), īrī (ll. 1 and 3), anugraha (l. 1), baḷārav (ll. 1, 3 and 10), mahāraja (l. 5), mahārāja (ll. 12 and 81) and rājyaavasa (l. 12).

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve to be noted. The horizontal stroke of ka is very often small and indistinct. But the letter has not yet assumed the slanting form found in the Tirunelli2 and Cochin plates3 of Bhāskara-Ravivarman. The variant of the letter ya noticed by Prof. Hultzsch in the Kōṭiyam plates of Sthānu-Ravi and in certain Chōḷa inscriptions4 does not occur here. Two slightly different forms of ā are used, of which one (the first ā of veluttu in ll. 5 and 14) resembles, to a certain extent, the form in an ancient Vaṭṭeluttu record from Tirunādarkuṟṟu in the South Arcot district.5 The vowel ni occurs thrice in the inscription (ll. 9, 22 and 75). As in other Tamil inscriptions, hardly any distinction is made between the short i and the long ī when they occur in combination with consonants. Double kk is occasionally written as a group, e.g. in mahārājakku and nāṉdukkuka in line 12; poḷudakku in line 15; kummiyatekkku in line 16; jakkukku and kkarudai in line 18. The î-symbol is added in some cases over the top of the consonant to which it belongs, instead of by the side as in later Vaṭṭeluttu epigraphs; see e.g. vī of virirundu (l. 6), li of poḷi (l. 9), ī of kuṭi (l. 11), mi of omi (l. 14), and ī of nāṟṇāḷi (l. 16). The syllable po is written as in the Madras Museum plates of Jāṭilavarman6 without the addition of the ò-symbol (on the right) found in the Chōḷa Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions7 published by Prof. Hultzsch. The Tirunelli plates8 distinguish by a similar addition the long po from the short po, and only a single instance of the former occurs in the Cochin Jews' grant.9 Thus the distinction between po and po appears to be a later innovation, and evidently belongs to a period subsequent to the Jāṭilavarman plates and to the subjoined inscription. If this conclusion be correct, the Cochin and the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara-Ravivarman must be later than Varagūṇa-Pāṇḍya. And as Prof. Hultzsch has remarked that the alphabet employed in both of them agrees with that of the Chōḷa inscriptions from South Travancore published by him,10 Bhāskara-Ravivarman may have to be assigned to the 10th or 11th century A.D.

The language of the subjoined record calls for a few remarks. The vulgar form mahārāja occurs twice instead of the Sanskrit mahārāja (ll. 12 and 81), while mahāraja in line 5 is

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1 The stone has evidently been slightly damaged in transit. Accordingly, portions of the last letters in ll. 4 to 9, which are missing on the Plate, are found on my original impression prepared at Ambāsamudram in 1905 before the stone was removed to Madras.

3 Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72.
5 Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXII. Plates facing p. 70, ll. 32 and 43.
6 Above, Vol. V. Plate facing p. 46, E, line 1; and H, ll. 5, 8 and 9.
7 Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290; compare poḷa in ll. 10, 19 and 34 with poḷa in l. 21.
8 Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72; compare poḷa in line 27 with poḷa of the preceding note.
evidently a mistake. *Amīdu* (l. 14) and *aṁaṁda* (l. 19 f.), both of which correspond to the modern Tamil *amuda*, are *tadvahāva* of the Sanskrit *amṛita*. The word *pola* (l. 9) is used both here and in the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya instead of the more common *poliśā*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions and survives in the Malayalam *palīśa*. The word *nāru* (ll. 27 and 69) is still current in Malayalam, while its modern Tamil equivalent is *nāru*. The root from which they are both derived is *nāru*, which has acquired a figurative sense in Tamil, while the original meaning seems to be preserved in Telugu. The measure known as *tevīnty* occurs four times in the form *tevīty* (ll. 25, 27, 54 and 70). The word *nimādi* is used in line 27 as well as in line 13 apparently in the same sense as *nimādi*, of which *nīyādi* (l. 77) is a variant. *Vēnu* in line 75 is a vulgar form of the word *vēṇḍiya*. The form *kuṇi*, which occurs twice (ll. 58 and 73), is perhaps a simple mistake for *kuṇaṭi*.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the time of Varaguna-Mahārāja, whose name occurs thrice (ll. 5, 11 f. and 81), and is dated in the 12th opposite to the fourth year of his reign. From his camp at Arasiward on the bank of the Pennai river in Tondai-nālu, the king granted 290 *kātu* to the temple of Tiruppottūṭalaiyar (the ancient name of Erihcha-Udaイラ) at Ilaṅgōkkudi in Muḷi-nāḷ. The assembly of the village received the money. The committee of the assembly and the temple servants had jointly to provide for offerings to the god, according to a fixed scale, out of the interest from those 290 *kātu*.

The inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya in the Upper Cave at Trichinopoly is dated on the 2501st day (and) in the 4th year or the 11th year of his reign.10 No reasonable doubt can at present be entertained as regards the identity of this king with the donor of the subjoined record. On the occasion of making the former donation Varaguna was at Niyamam in the Tanjore district, after having destroyed the fortifications of a town named Vēmbili. At Rāmanathapuram near Dinigal in the Madura district is a Tamil inscription which refers to the expedition (yāttirai) of Māraṇṭhāṭiyam against Idaivai in the Chōḷa country.11 The Trichinopoly epigraph implies that Māraṇṭhāṭiyam was a surname of Varaguna, and this inference is borne out by a

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1 *Amīdu* occurs also in the Tanjore inscriptions; see e.g. South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. II. p. 69, text line 3. *Aṁ overd* is another form of the same word; see above, Vol. VII. p. 194, text line 3.
2 See the Director-General’s Annual for 1905-6, p. 276, text line 16.
3 See e.g. South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. II. p. 69, text line 3. The form *poliśā* also occurs in epigraphical records; see *ibid.* p. 122, text line 27.
4 According to Dr. Gundert *poliśā* means ‘interest on money.’
5 According to Winslow *nāru* means ‘to destroy, to kill.’
6 According to Brown’s *Telugu Dictionary*, *nāru* means ‘to grind or sharpen’ and ‘to reduce to powder.’
7 This name means ‘the blessed lord of the bull,’ i.e. Śiva.
9 The expression *avai-čōriyār* seems to imply that the system of village administration prevalent in the Chōḷa country in the 10th century A.D. was also in operation in the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the 9th century A.D.; see the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99, paragraphs 59 to 73.
10 See the Director-General’s Annual for 1905-6, p. 276.
11 Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II. paragraph 25. This is the inscription mentioned by Mr. Sewell (Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 299) as being engraved on the “Pāṇḍya Rock” in very old Tamil characters.
12 Māraṇṭhāṭiyam seems to have been a formal name of Varaguna, just as Rājēndra-varman and Parakēśar-varman were of Chōḷa kings. Kannirukkaḍaṅ was a similar name assumed originally by Chōḷa kings and subsequently by the Pāṇḍyas too. Among the later Pāṇḍyas, Māraṇṭhāṭi-varman and Jāṭhavarman were similar formal names derived, evidently, from the Tamil word *Mēḍraṅ* and *Śaṭṭiyam*. The former denotes in Sanskrit ‘Cupid,’ but has been so often applied to the Pāṇḍya king that it has become one of the synonyms of ‘the Pāṇḍya king.’
13 No. 277 of 1895 in the Travancore Museum belongs to the 27th year of Māraṇṭhāṭiyam. It may be a record of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya, though this is not absolutely certain. It mentions a hero named Rānakṛti, the army of the Chēra king, and Vīḷiḷām.
record at Tillaštānams in the Tanjore district, which is dated during the reign of Mārāṇaḍaiyaṇ and records a gift for the merit of Varaguna-Mahārāja. Accordingly, it may be concluded that Varaguna alias Mārāṇaḍaiyaṇ led the expedition against Iḍavai in the Chōla country. Iḍavai is evidently identical with the village of the same name in Maṇiṇaṭṭu, a subdivision of Rājendrasimha-vaṭaṇaṭṭu situated on the northern bank of the river Kāverī. The village of Vēmbaṭṭu situated in the same subdivision might be identical with Vēmbil, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. The destruction of Vēmbil probably followed soon after the expedition against Iḍavai. In the same locality is Tirupppirambiyam, where a battle was fought between the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna and the Western Gaṅga Prithivipati I. The expedition against Iḍavai in the Chōla country and the attack of Vēmbil were apparently acts of aggression on the part of the Pāṇḍya king, which eventually led to the battle of Śrīpurambya (in Tamil Tirupppirambiyam). The part which Prithivipati I. played in this battle was hitherto inexplicable. In editing the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya, I remarked:— How it was that the Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavāḍi in the Mysore State managed to get so far south as Kumbhakōṇam in the Tanjore district, and why the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna had to fight against them, are points on which no information is at present forthcoming. The verse in the Udayendiram plates which describes the battle runs as follows, with Prof. Hultsch's corrections:

With the approval of Prof. Hultsch, whose translation of the verse is slightly different, I render it as follows:— "Having defeated by force the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna at the head of the great battle of Śrīpurambya, and having made (his) friend's title Aparājitā (i.e. the unconquered) significant, this hero entered heaven by sacrificing his own life." Thus we get a king whose name or surname was Aparājitā, and who with his ally Prithivipati I. fought against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna. The existence of a king named Aparājitā might be concluded already from one of the Ukkai inscriptions, where the other name of that village is Aparājitāchaturvedimāṅgalam. From the Ambur inscriptions of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Nṛpatuṇga it may be supposed that Prithivipati I. was his feudatory. Accordingly, Aparājitā, the friend of the latter, was probably also a Gaṅga-Pallava. Indisputable evidence of the existence of a Gaṅga-Pallava king of that name is furnished by an inscription of Vijaya-Aparājitavikramavarman, discovered by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar at Tiruttāṇi in the North Arcot district. Aparājitavikramavarman was apparently the successor of Nṛpatuṇga, and we may at present suppose that during the reign of the latter (or after his

1 No. 51 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.
3 Ibid. p. 59.
5 Tirupppirambiyam near Kumbhakōṇam is the modern Tamil name of Śrīpurambya mentioned in the Udayendiram plates of Prithivipati II.; see also the following note.
6 Ibid. p. 387. Vainbalsgul, where another battle was fought by Prithivipati I. according to the Udayendiram plates, may have to be looked for in the same locality. It is not impossible that the name is identical with Vēmbil, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. But the name of Prithivipati's enemy in the battle of Vainbalsgul is not mentioned. Consequently this identification remains doubtful.
7 That the Pāṇḍyas were strong and powerful about this time, is proved by their invasion of Ceylon recorded in Chapter L of the Sinhalese Chronicle Mahādevha; see Mr. L. C. Wijesinha's Translation. The invasion seems to have been unprovoked and falls into the period A.D. 846-869.
8 Director-General's 'Annual for 1903-04, p. 273.
11 Above, Vol. IV. p. 182.
death) there was a Pândya invasion headed by Varaguṇa. The invader probably did not meet with any effective resistance at first, and therefore advanced as far north as Áraśūr on the Southern Ponnar river, where he was encamped at the time of making the grant registered in the subjoined Ambāsamudrām inscription. Subsequently, Aparājīta, who was perhaps the heir-apparent at the time, appears to have been sent with the Western Gaṅga Prithivipati I. to repel the invasion. The decisive battle was fought at Śripūrampiya, and the invader was driven back. But the Gaṅga king lost his life in it.  

The Tiruvāḷḷuṅgāṉḍu plates of the Chōla king Bājēndra-Chōla I. help us to trace the fortunes of the Gaṅga-Pallavaas to the very end. Verse 49 of the Sanskrit portion of this grant, which describes the achievements of the Chōla king Áditya I., runs as follows:—

"Having conquered in battle the Pallava who had brilliant troops, though (he was) Aparājīta (i.e. the unconquered), he (viz. the Chōla king Áditya) also took possession of his queen, (viz.) the earth, (and) thus accomplished his object." In other words, the Chōla king Áditya I. conquered the Pallava Aparājīta and annexed his dominions. The Pallava Aparājīta may now be identified with the Gaṅga-Pallava king Aparājītavikramavarman of the Tiruttanī inscription, and with that Aparājīta who defeated Varaguṇa-Pândya. And, evidently, Ukkaḷ in the North Arcot district was called Aparājīta-chaturvēdāṅgalam after this Gaṅga-Pallava king. He was apparently the last member of his family. Though successful against the Pândyas, he could not offer any effective resistance to the rising Chōlas, who, under Áditya I., not only conquered him in battle, but also annexed his dominions.

In a Vaiṭṭaluttu inscription at Aivarimalai in the Madura district, copied during the last field season by my assistant Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, I found a Śaka date for Varaguṇa. His 8th year is coupled with Śaka-samvat 782. Thus his accession took place in A.D. 862-63. If the facts and inferences set forth in the preceding paragraphs be confirmed by future researches, and if there was only one Pândya king named Varaguṇa, the invasion of Īḍavai in the Chōla country and the destruction of the fortifications of Vēmbil must have taken place in or before A.D. 872-73. Varaguṇa was at Arāśūr on the southern Ponnar in A.D. 877-8. The battle of Śripūrampiya might have taken place towards the close of the same year or in the next year. If the surmise made by me, that Aparājīta was probably heir-apparent when that battle took place, be true, his accession may be placed about A.D. 880. His defeat by the Chōla king Áditya evidently occurred after the Tiruttanī inscription of the 18th year of his reign.

1 Aparājīta is called the friend (suḥṣīd) of Prithivipati I., who was a Gaṅga-Pallava feudatory. If the former had been the reigning king, it is perhaps not likely that he would be referred to as the ‘friend’ of Prithivipati I.

2 Soon after the conquest and occupation of the Pallava dominions by the Chōlas, the Gaṅgas, who had been feudatories of the Gaṅga-Pallavaas, seem to have acknowledged the Chōlas as their overlords. In an inscription of Rājakēariyavarman which has to be attributed to Áditya I., Pridiḷūi, son of Mārmaraiyar (i.e. perhaps Prithivipati II., son of Māraśiḥha), is mentioned, apparently, as a Chōla feudatory; Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1896-97, paragraph 7.

3 Read सुभाषितम्.


5 The place at which this battle was fought is not mentioned here. According to tradition the battle which crushed the Pallava power was fought near Shollingur in the North Arcot district; see the Manual of the North Arcot District, Vol. I. p. 39.

6 That Aparājīta is called a Pallava, is no bar to the proposed identification. In the Bāhdır plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 181), the Gaṅga-Pallava Nṛpatatvaikramavarman and his ancestors are called Pallavaas, and their legendary ancestors are the same as those of the Pallavaas of Conjeeveram. Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II. paragraph 25.

7 The latter event is mentioned in the Trichinopoly inscription, dated in the 11th year of the king’s reign.
Accordingly, the event may be supposed to have taken place at the end of the 9th century A.D.¹

The great Śaiva saint Māṇikkavāsagar mentions the Pāṇḍya king Varagunu twice² in his Tiruchchirambalakāvaiyār. The time of Sundaramūrti-Nāyār, who probably flourished in the 8th century A.D., is the upper limit of the date of Māṇikkavāsagar, who is conspicuous by his omission from the Tiruttōṇḍattoṭgai, i.e. the list of Śaiva saints composed by the former. The lower limit may be taken as the reign of the Chōḻa king Parakāśarivarman Rājendraśiva (A.D. 1052 to 1053),³ because in an inscription of the 5th year of his reign (= A.D. 1056-57) reference is made to the poem Tiruvembōvai composed by Māṇikkavāsagar.⁴ It may, therefore, be concluded that this Śaiva saint was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna. And if there was only one king of that name, the Śaiva saint must have flourished in the second half of the 9th century A.D.

It is worthy of note that the calculation of the annual requirements of the temple provided for in the subjoined inscription implies that the measure of paddy known as kalam consisted of 90 nāli, instead of 12 kurunji or 96 nāli, which we find, for instance, in the Tanjore inscriptions, and which is the prevailing equivalent in the Tamil country. A kalām was equal to 15 kurunji, and a kurunji equal to 6 nāli. The rate of interest, according to the subjoined inscription, is 2 kalām of paddy for each kāśu; while in the Tanjore inscriptions it is 3 kurunji for one kāśu. Thus the rate in the Pāṇḍya country at the time of Varaguna would be nearly eight times higher⁵ than that prevailing in Tanjore during the reign of the Chōḻa king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 985 to at least 1013), in case there was no difference in the value of the kāśu. The variations at the same two places and periods in the price of some of the important articles of daily consumption are recorded in the foot-notes. It is interesting to note that common salt and firewood, which are included among the daily requirements in the Tanjore inscriptions, are conspicuous by their omission in the subjoined document. This is a significant fact, though we may not be warranted in concluding from it that these two documents had not to be paid for in the Pāṇḍya country during the reign of Varaguna.

TEXT.

First Side of the Stone.

1 Svasti [ī] Śrī-Bhaṭṭārka-sāmgha[ha][tī][nā]-
2 (x) Muli-nilṭi-Ṭaṅgoṭṭukūṭ [Tij]-

¹ The conquest of the Pallavas is attributed by tradition to Ādōṇḍai, an illegitimate son of Kulottunaga of Tanjore. The first battle, said to have been fought at Purunārat, ended in favour of the Pallavas. Ādōṇḍai was then forced to retreat to Sholingur. "Encouraged there by a dream, he renewed the contest and defeated the enemy with great slaughter. The Pallava king was taken prisoner, and the brazen gates of the Purunārat fort were carried to the temple (of) Tanjore," see the Manual of the North Arcot District, Vol. I. p. 34. If there be any truth in this tradition, the word of the king must have been a surnome of Vījayaśāla, and Ādōṇḍai of his son Aditya I. But there is not even the slightest hint in epigraphic records that Aditya was the illegitimate son of Vījayaśāla. Another tradition has it that the mythical Chōḻa king Kōkkiṭṭaḷḷ had an illegitimate son named Ādōṇḍai by a Nāga woman, and that the province conferred on the latter by his father was called Īḻaiṇgai or Īḻaiṇgai-sānmatālam. It looks as if this Ādōṇḍai is mixed up with the conqueror of the Pallavas in the former story.

² Verse 306 in illustration of Marudukaraśīrṣṭi, and verse 327 in illustration of Vījayaśīrṣṭiśālaśīrṣṭi.

³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 7.

⁴ No. 12 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905 from the Vīṣṭanāśvara temple at Kōṭṭar near Tirukkoḻūr.

⁵ In ancient times the rate of interest seems to have been more or less arbitrary. It looks as if the ordinary laws of Political Economy were not allowed full play, and it is therefore unsafe to draw any conclusions from the rate of interest. At Conjeevaram the rate of interest during the reign of a Chōḻa king named Parakāśarivarman was 15 per cent. About a century earlier the rate was 5 per cent. in the same place. Again the interest on 250 kalājus of gold was 500 kāśus of paddy, and 160 kāśus on 30 kalājus. G. O. No. 452, Public, dated 10th June 1831, p. 5.

⁶ Read 'nāl'; the 'ka' of anusvāra is slightly different from 'śa' in ll. 5, 12 and 81.
3 Ρυππόττοπομεντόρ Σελκύτιλ-Βήσσαρα[-*]κκου μο[[δαλ*]]
4 [κε]όδιαμι πολι κονδου μα[νι]γου κάλαμουν=δι[ρου-αμν*]-
5 δε σελν[τη]νυάδα[σα] Βεραγώνα-Μαθαράρ τονδ[ναττ[ισ-Π*]-
6 πεναι-κκαραί Αραίστου νυργινδου Ιλα[μοκκ*]-
7 δι-οιοχαβαιρεις καβαρς=κοντιτα κάσου ρου-ναττ[ισ-του-κα*]-
8 μουρ [κ] ιρακσ=καβαρς-ιρου-ταλαμάγκα μο[νχ*]
9 κυρ νησαν=κοκκου-μελεταμι πολι-νελ αμ νευρ-ο[πα][δ*]-
10 γον καλαμ [κ*] ιρο κονδου Βήσσαρα παγκακανιμ Ιλα[να*]-
11 γοκκοντι-οιοχαβαιρεις-νυργινδου νυρα-ταγκο-βαραγνυ[να*]-
12 Μαθαράρ[ά]γκρικου ραγνα-ναττ[ισ]ηςαμ ναγκανουκκου εδ[ι*]
13 πανμισαντ[δα][μ*] γον δου Τολά-ναγκο-μοναλάγκα νησα[δι*]-
14 γαγα ναγκ ιαλαμ[μπ*]-νουρμ-αμιντ αναλιττουμ [πά]-
15 [κ*] πολι-πολυικευμεν νυννουαρα αρασι δεν[ε][χ]=
16 [ττα] να [κ*] ιι ιουνακαματουκκου μπα[γα][γα]-
17 λαμπου-πκαρα ινναπδικκα μπασιν=μπαρου-νττου[γ]=
18 λακου=πκασάνου-νττου=τεγνου=κκαρου-ντου-
19 ππαλα-ναγιν γρακκαραί ορου-παλαμ καρι-αμ[ι]-
20 ινα δου κακκα γου που πουλιναρι ιουνδου που-
21 [κ] ικακαγι ορου ιορκακαγι ορου ερξει-κκαρι
22 καμμινουκκουρι νελ-παλα[μ*]
23 κα[κ*] ι ιντι καλαμαν νουρκακαμα μπασυν=μπαρου-νέ-
24 κα κακκακαμα τεγνουκκου μπασιν=μπαρου-νε-
25 [κ]* πασιν=λαμπου-λαμπου-πκαρα-
26 ναγιν ναρμενουκκου ιαννακκαγι τακτουμ-
27 ναρμενουρ ρο-νενιντ ι [κ*] γαγα ιανγιδι ναγκου
28 πολυικευμεν νυννουαρα αρασι με
29 μεν=ττατα μποι-μπου-μαλι

Second Side of the Stone.

30 [κ] ανα δι-αγκακ[κ*] δου ιασινα δεν[ε][να]-
31 [κ*] ι κακκαλ ιουμα του-ναρ-
32 [κα*] ιαλαμ [κ*] ινα [κα*] ιαναρικκευμεν μου [κκαλα*]
33 νελαγκα μουρ-τουμ[κντα] ιρου-γαλα-
34 μ [κ*] μπαραμπου-πκαρα-
35 ναγιν ναρμενου [κ*] μποι-μπουμ-
36 κκου μου-μαλι νελαγκα δρ-α[ε][τ*-]
37 κακκα λελ ιουρματα ιουνδου [κ*]
38 μπασιν=μπαρου-νττου-ναλι-
39 ναγιν νι[κε]-πκαρα μου μποιμα=μαλι
40 [καπν]α μου [κε][κ*] ασικκου νελ-μουρ-ερμα-
41 πλι καλαμ [κ*] μπασιν=ττου-τεγνου-
42 [κα ρ] ναλι νανα ναρμενουρ ινα-ταλα-τεγνουкку
43 μου-μαλι νελ[αγκα] δρ-ασικκου νε-
44 [κ*] ιουμα του-μπου-γαλαμ [κ*] ιανγιδι-
45 λαμπου-μποι νανδου [κκου]
46 ναγιν νελαγκα δρ-ασικκου νε[ι]
Third Side of the Stone.

56 [l] nell[ã]ga or-št[ta]-
57 kku nel patt[o]y[ba]-
58 [d]i[k] kalaṉe mu[kk]u[ru]*gi [l]
59 ilai-amirdu vel-
60 [i]lai iranḍu pāḍṭu
61 [i]vai oru-pañguk[k-i]-
62 [ru]-nāli nellāga or-[a]-
63 ṭaiakkku nel pa[di]-
64 [n-a]gu-galam aḍai[kkā]-
65 y nāḍadu ivai [i]-
66 rubad-aḍai[kkāy][kku] mu-n-
67 [nā]līy-uri nellāga
68 or-aṭṭaiakkku nell-[i]-
69 r[na]ba[t]-en-galam [l] nūr[n]
70 n[ã]cheviṭṭu iḍu
71 nālikk-iru-nāliy[ãga]
72 or-aṭṭaiakkku nel
73 pann-iru[ku][ru]*gi [l] el-
74 l[ã]m ēṭṭi or-ā[t]-
75 ṭaiakkku vēṇa nel [ai-n]-
76 nūr-[e]badiṅt kala[m] [l]
77 i-ppariśu niyadi-
78 [p]paḍi muṭṭ[ã]mai
79 u[ñ][e]duṇ-gāla[mn]-jī-
80 lu[t]u[v][a]dā ga vai[t*][t]-
81 r śri-Varaguna-Mahārāja[r*] [l*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 8.) Hail! By the grace of the blessed lord (bhaṭṭar) Varaguna-Mahārāja, being encamped\(^1\) at Araśāḍr on the bank of the (river) Pennai in Toṇḍai-nāḍu, gave into the hands\(^2\) of the members of the assembly of Iḷaṅgōkkudū two hundred and ninety kāḍu, from the interest of which—the capital remaining unspent\(^3\)—offerings had to be provided for four times.

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\(^1\) Read saḍapalām.
\(^2\) Vṛtrūvada means literally 'being seated majestically.'
\(^3\) This is the literal translation. The money must have been sent by a messenger to be made over to the village assembly.
\(^4\) Literally 'taking interest (in such a way) that the capital is not destroyed;' see note 1 on page 90 above.
(a day) to the lord of the glorious temple\(^1\) of Tiruppottudaiyar at Ilaṅgoṅkuḍi in Mulțināḍu.

(Ll. 8 to 10.) For this (amount) the members of the assembly have to measure out five hundred and eighty kalam of paddy per year (as) interest, at the rate of two kalam for each kātu.

(Ll. 10 to 14.) Out of this (income) the servants of the lord (bhatāvar) and the committee of the assembly of Ilaṅgoṅkuḍi shall jointly pay for offerings four times a day,\(^2\) commencing from the month of Tulā in the twelfth year opposite to the fourth year of the reign of Varagaṇa-Mahārāja, (according to the following) scale:—

(Ll. 15 to 27.) (The following) are the requirements for a single offering:\(^3\)— four nāṭi of clean superior rice;\(^4\) (one) uṇi of split green gram for the kumudāyan;\(^5\) (one) ṣalakku of cows' ghee of the best quality to be offered\(^6\) (by itself); (one) uṇi of cows' curds; four black plantain fruits; one palam of sugar; ten palams of vegetables (for) the vegetable offering (kari-amirūri), (viz.) one kāykkari,\(^7\) two puliāgarī,\(^8\) one pulakkukkaari\(^9\) (and) one porikkari—in all, five (kinds of) curry; (one) ṣalakku of cows' ghee of the best quality for seasoning\(^10\) and frying vegetables; (one) uṇi of cows' curds for the compound curry (kāṭu);\(^11\) two sūṭiṭu of asafetida; two bundles of betel-leaves,\(^12\) ten areca-nuts (and) one sūṭiṭu of lime (nūru) for the leaves offering.

(Ll. 27 to 73.) The aggregate requirements for (the offerings) four times a day\(^13\) (are):—

At the rate of sixteen nāṭi of clean superior rice (a day), sixty-four kalam of clean superior rice

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\(^1\) The word erkkēil means 'the sanctuary of a temple' according to Dr. Gundert. It is used here in the same sense as the Tamil tirukkuθiyil, 'a temple, a place of worship, a sacred shrine.' In the Tanjore inscriptions ērikkōyi is used to designate the orthodox Hindu temple as opposed to the temples of the Dravidian village deities and to the Jain temples (South-Ind. Inscri. Vol. II. p. 48, note 8, and p. 59).

\(^2\) The word ngudi occurs again in line 27. Literally '(the offering) at one time.'

\(^3\) With ēnaiḷe cosmetic ariyakkuṅkai-nei in a ēnaiḷe inscription from Conjeeveram; South-Ind. Inscri. Vol. I. p. 117.

\(^4\) This word occurs in a similar context in an inscription of Rākṣēvara Varman found at Tiruvelḷai near Trichinopoly (No. 518 of 1905). In an unpublished record of the ēnaiḷe king Rākṣēvara Varman from Guḍimallam in the North Arcot district, split green gram (irā-pagarrā-paraṇṇa) is provided for kumudāyan-amuni (No. 222 of 1903). The modern meaning of the word kumudāyan, vis. 'mortar,' will not do here. In Mālayālam and in Kānarese the root kumun means 'to beat with a pestle,' and kumudāyan might therefore denote something pounded, if the word is derived from that root.

\(^5\) The verb nīkōkkka in line 17 may also have to be taken with the words tayir (l. 18), karvēḷaiṟpaḷam (l. 18 f.), and porikkarai (l. 19), if not with all the items mentioned in ll. 19 to 27.

\(^6\) According to one of the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I. (South-Ind. Inscri. Vol. II. No. 26) pepper, mustard, and perhaps also salt were required for this preparation. Some vegetable must also have been added, though the fact is not specifically mentioned. Old rice, pulse, pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar and ghee were required for a similar preparation called appakkōkkarkarī.

\(^7\) Pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar, tamarind, curds, horse-gram and plantain fruits were required for it according to the inscription quoted in the preceding note. Pariyitaṅgaṇaṅgari (consisting of pepper, cumin, tamarind, and perhaps some vegetable) was a similar preparation.

\(^8\) Pulakkukkarī, 'boiled curry,' is perhaps so called in order to distinguish it from porikkarī, 'fried curry.' The former is not mentioned (at any rate under this name) in the Tanjore inscription quoted above, while ghee is provided for the latter. Evidently porikkarī consisted of a vegetable fried in ghee.

\(^9\) The verb tami means 'to sprinkle.' Condiment powder is even now sprinkled over boiled curry and the whole seasoned with boiling ghee, in which a small quantity of mustard is frying. The preparation is called podiśalā, 'powder sprinkling,' and the same is apparently indicated by the use of the verb tami here. A story is told in connection with the Tamil poet Kamba, which shows that the noun tami was not in common use during his time.

\(^10\) Kāṭu is a liquid preparation still in use and consists of (1) a vegetable cooked either with Bengal gram or beans, (2) two or more vegetables boiled together, or (3) specially made powder dissolved in curds, (1) and (2) do not, generally, require any curds.

\(^11\) The word for betel-leaves both here as well as in the Tanjore inscriptions is veḷḷiḷai, 'white leaf,' while the modern Tamil form is veḷḷiḷai, 'empty leaf.'

\(^12\) Worship at six periods of the day is the rule at present in big temples. In the case of a minor shrine in the Tanjore temple, provision was made for offerings only three times (morning, midday and night, South-Ind. Inscri. Vol. II. p. 146) and twice in the case of two other shrines (ibid. pp. 70 and 71).
for a year. At three kalam of paddy for one kalam of rice, this (comes to) one hundred and ninety-two kalam (of paddy). The split green gram (required for a day) is two nādi. At the rate of three nādi of paddy for (one) nādi of split (green gram), twenty-four kalam of paddy per year (have to be allotted) for this (item). Cows’ ghee of the best quality (required for a day) is (one) nādi and (one) uri. At the rate of thirty nādi of paddy for (one) nādi of ghee, this (comes to) one hundred and eighty kalam of paddy for a year. (The quantity of) cows’ curds (required for a day) is four nādi. At the rate of three nādi of paddy for (one) nādi of curds, this (amounts to) forty-eight kalam of paddy annually. (The number of) black plantain fruits (required for a day) is sixteen. At the rate of (one) nādi of paddy for two (fruits), these (cost) thirty-two kalam of paddy annually. The sugar (required for a day is) four palam. At the rate of (one) nādi and (one) uri of paddy for every palam, this (item costs) twenty-four kalam of paddy per year. (The daily consumption of) vegetables being forty palam, sixteen kalam of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) every year—at the rate of (one) nādi of paddy for ten palam. (One) dākkhu and three śeṣīṭu of asafetida (being required daily), nineteen kalam and three kuruṣi of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) annually—at the rate of six nādi of paddy for (one) dākkhu of asafetida. (For) the leaves offering (are required) two bundles of betel-leaves (daily), which, at the rate of two nādi of paddy for one bundle, (come to) sixteen kalam of paddy for a year; forty areca-nuts (daily), which, at the rate of three nādi and (one) uri of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, (cost) twenty-eight kalam of paddy annually; and (and) four śeṣīṭu of lime (daily), which, at the rate of two nādi (of paddy) for (one) nādi (of lime), (cost) twelve kuruṣi of paddy per year.

(Ll. 73 to 81.) Altogether, the (quantity of) paddy required annually is five hundred and eighty kalam. The glorious Varaguna-Mahārāja thus deposited (this money), in order that

1 In Tanjore 5 kalam of paddy were required for 2 kalam of rice during the time of Rājarāja I.
2 Rice was exchanged at this rate during the time of Rājarāja I at Tanjore.
3 In Tanjore ghee and paddy were exchanged in the proportion of 1 to 32 at the time of Rājarāja I.
4 The same rate obtained in Tanjore during the reign of Rājarāja I.
5 There seem to have been three varieties of peat fruit available in Tanjore and its vicinity about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Two fruits of the first kind could be had for one nādi of paddy (South-India. Inscr. Vol. II. pp. 75 and 77); five nādi of paddy had to be given in exchange for 18 fruits of the second variety (ibid. p. 127); the third was sold at the rate of 1200 for each kala (ibid. p. 151).
6 Two kinds of sugar were apparently available about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. in the Chola capital and the country surrounding it. Of the cheaper kind 3 palam could be purchased for 2 nādi, 1 uri, 1 dākkhu, and 4 śeṣīṭu of paddy (South-India. Inscr. Vol. I. p. 127), while the more costly variety exchanged at the rate of 1 nādi and 1 uri of paddy for 1 palam (ibid. pp. 70 and 71).
7 In one of the Tanjore inscriptions quoted in the preceding foot-notes, the daily allotment for purchasing vegetables is 6 nādi of paddy. The quantity of vegetables is not mentioned.
8 If this calculation is correct, a kalam must be equal to 15 instead of 12 kuruṣi, and a kuruṣi equal to 6 nādi.
9 Asafetida and lime are not mentioned in any of the Tanjore inscriptions, where common salt and firewood are specially provided for (South-India. Inscr. Vol. II. pp. 75, 77 and 180). The two latter are conspicuous by their omission in the Ambasamudram record. Perhaps they had no exchange value in the Pindy country during the time of Varaguna. It may also be that temples could obtain both common salt and firewood without any payment.
10 From lines 26 and 60 of the text it may be concluded that one bundle (parrx) was equal to 4 dākkhu of betel-leaves.
11 Provision is made for the supply of areca-nuts and betel-leaves in three of the Tanjore inscriptions, where only the aggregate cost of both is given (Nos. 6, 26 and 35 of South-India. Inscr. Vol. II.): 1 nādi of paddy for 8 areca-nuts and 32 betel-leaves (No. 6); 4 nādi and 1 uri of paddy for 30 areca-nuts and 60 betel-leaves (No. 26); and 1 nādi and 1 uri of paddy for 12 areca-nuts and 24 betel-leaves (No. 35).
12 The actual calculation yields 36 nādi of lime annually, costing 72 nādi of paddy, i.e. 18 nādi less than a kalam (= 30 nādi according to this inscription) or 12 kuruṣi. But it has been pointed out that a kalam was made up of 15 kuruṣi (note 8 above). Thus the kuruṣi was equal to 6 nādi instead of the more common 8 nādi. With this equivalent of the kuruṣi the calculation in the text would be correct.
13 This calculation would be correct only on the assumption that a kalam was equal to 10 kuruṣi and a kuruṣi equal to 8 nādi; see the preceding note.
(the members of the village assembly) might provide (the requirements) day by day for a long time without (any) obstruction.

No. 11.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 984.

BY STEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANIA.

This inscription is found on a set of copper-plates which have been deposited in the Madras Museum. I do not know where they have been originally found. I publish the inscription from excellent ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the plates as follows:

"The plates are five in number. The first bears writing on the inner side only. The last is completely blank; it was evidently put in to protect the single line of writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates have slightly raised rims (though in certain places these are either beaten down or worn away) and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered into the lower part of a round seal. About the middle of the seal is a seated Nandin, whose tail extends to the bottom of the seal. From either side of the hind part of the Nandin proceed what may be taken for lotus buds. On the proper left of the Nandin are two flag-staffs placed one by the side of the other, with a bowl above them; and on the proper right of it are a conch, a lampstand and a dagger. The ring was cut by me. It is not quite circular. The diameter varies between 5 and 4\frac{1}{2}. The thickness of the ring is \frac{1}{8}. The seal is roughly 2\frac{1}{2} in diameter. The following measurements of the plates show that, as regards breadth, they are slightly bigger in the middle than at the ends, while, as regards height, the reverse is the case:

- Average breadth of plates: \( \frac{91}{2}, \frac{93}{4}, \frac{94}{4} \)
- Average height of plates: \( \frac{41}{4}, \frac{43}{4} \)

The fourth plate is comparatively small in height, measuring \( 4\frac{1}{4} \) at the ends and almost \( 4\frac{1}{2} \) in the middle."

The inscription consists of 54 lines. The greater part is in a good state of preservation. The fourth plate, however, is rather corroded, and some passages of it can only be read with difficulty.

The alphabet is Nagari of the same kind as in the Naḍagām plates of Vajrāhasta of Śaka-Samvat 979. The class nasal, and not the Anusvāra, is used before class mutes. Exceptions from this rule are "चोकुम" in l. 19, and चव in l. 48. Consonants are doubled after भ, except in निसिलित, l. 26. थ is written for त throughout. थ has been substituted for थ in ध्रीष्ट, l. 25, and धल, l. 49. On the other hand, we find ळ for ळ in अतिवित्त, l. 21, चाणिम, l. 39, and देव, l. 54. A nasal with a following guttural or palatal is written in the same way as in the Naḍagām plates. Note further such writings as समुच्छत, l. 7 and 24, प्रस्थतिन instead of प्रस्थतिन, l. 19.

1 The word niyati is apparently synonymous with niyātā which occurs frequently in the Tanjore inscriptions, and with niyātā in the Trichinopoly cave epigraph of Vaṭaṇga (Director-General's Annual for 1903-4, p. 275, text line 19).
2 In later inscriptions the phrase nāṇa-pālam is replaced by the Sanskrit chändedādityavat, "as long as the moon and the sun (endure)."
3 Since the above was written, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the original plates together with Mr. Venkayya.
4 Above, Vol. IV. p. 183 ff.
The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains the same twelve verses as the Nāgaśām plate of Śaka-Samvat 979. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The first 41 lines are almost identical with the corresponding portion of the Nāgaśām plate. They are, however, more carefully engraved and give several passages in a more correct form.

The inscription is one of king Vajrahasta (III.), the son of Kāmārvāva (II.) of the Gāṅga lineage, and of Vinayamaḥādevī of the Vaidumba family. His genealogy is given in the same words as in the Nāgaśām plate, from Guṇamahārāva downwards, including the date of Vajrahasta's coronation. The inscription then goes on to state (l. 40 ff.) that the devout worshipper of Mahāśiva (Śiva), Paramahāpatraka Mahārājaḥṛīḍā, the lord of the three Kalingas, the glorious Anantavarman Vajrahastadēva, being in good health, issues the following order from Kaliṅganagara, having called together all the subjects, head by the ministers:—"Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother, father, and Ourself, the village named Tamrachera in Varāhavartani, combined with the Chikhal hamlet (vṛtaka), circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, as an Agrahārā, to five hundred learned Brāhmaṇas who delight in the six acts of sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, [giving] and accepting, (and) who are well versed in sacred lore, in the Śaka year of the dice (4), the Vasu (8) and the treasures (9), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. Therefore (Our gift) should be preserved by future kings in compliance with the law proclaimed by Manu. Moreover, land with the produce of two hundred Murakas of grain has been given, to last as long as the moon and the sun, free from hindrances, to the god Kṛtisvara for (the maintenance of the rites of) Bali, Charu, Naivedya, Dīpapāj, and so on. And the repairs of what is broken and torn in this (temple) should without fail be effected by the Brāhmaṇas living there."

The inscription does not add anything to our knowledge of the history of king Vajrahasta III. We only learn that he also had the name Anantavarman, like his grandson Chājagaṇagadeva.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kaliṅganagara has been identified by Mr. Ramamurti with the villages Mukhalingam and Nagarakṣatakam in the Ganjam district. Varāhavartani occurs in several Gāṅga grants. The village of Tamrachera is also known from Gāṅga inscriptions. Its boundaries are given in the Chicacole plates of the Mahārāja Dēvendrarvarman, in which the village Tamrachera is granted to three hundred Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. The Chicacole plates of the Gāṅga Mahārāja Indravarman, issued from Kaliṅganagara in Gāṅgāśa Śaka 128, further state that the village of Tamrachera was granted to certain Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mārgasīra. The latter inscription mentions Tamrachera-va-grāmaḥ bāḥ(vā) tākā(ha)-sahita[jā](l. 8 f.). This vṛtaka is perhaps identical with the Chikhal-vṛtaka of our inscription. The village of Tamrachera has not as yet been identified. It should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.

The date of the grant is found in a part of the inscription which has not been so well preserved as the rest. The first word is scarcely legible in the ink-impression. After a careful examination of the original, however, Mr. Venkayya and myself find that the reading kṛita is certain. The date of the inscription is accordingly the Śaka year 994. If we take this to be

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2 This was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tamrachera.
4 Above, Vol. III. p. 127, note 5; Vol. V. p. 185, note 5, etc.
6 Ibid. p. 119 ff.
the current Śaka year, the date would correspond to A.D. 1061-62. Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to inform Professor Hultzsch that the only eclipse of the sun which was (slightly) visible in Ganjam between the Śaka years 980—989 took place on the 20th June A.D. 1061. This would therefore be the date of our inscription.

**TEXT.**

*First Plate.*

1 ॐ श्री वीमतामक्षेत्रमुनिविद्वद्वयम[शित]यादन[द]चिह्नसाख[शो]-
2 व्रजीऽवर्त्तयः[व]दिगुरुप्रविश्वकाशामीयोऽवादः[विलाविचारः]
3 चारपुश्करिप्रविश्वकाशामीयोऽवादः[म]हाम[ह]द्राचारः
4 मिश्रप्रतिष्ठितपशङ्करप्राचीऽवादः [व]सकलमुनिविद्वयम[शो]-
5 श्यामाविवाहाराजस्य[श]भासूऽदम्बनेवभभती गो-
6 क्षेत्रसामायिणि: प्रसादशस्मायामंदिकिष्केश्वरीयः
7 'श्रमानायर्य्यावत्वलच्छच्छहरम[श्र]समारकवतायनमुखः
8 'समारकवतायनमुखःमीमामवस्मायर्नमध्यमविज्ञानमी

*Second Plate; First Side.*

10 [व]नामव्ययमलयः[व]विक्र[स]माकानक्तचरामण्डल-
11 श्रमानायर्य्यावत्वलच्छच्छहरममुखः पुषः || 0 || पुषः \* भूपतिभवयभववर्यः
12 वष्णुवत्र या पश्चिमः \* 10 पश्चिम युग्मा भूपतिभवयभववर्यः 11 बुधवार[श्र]मे-
13 क एव खरी \* 12 विन्यास्य मर्त्यवर्यभवन्तः 13 श्रीव-
14 'अश्रुस्तुतावनारिततमलुदार[श्र]रिवः \* सच्ची
15 समस्तमानः || \* 18 तथा तनयो गुण्डमराजु || [ब]पत्रः
16 सम[श्र]लयः \* सदनुजः कामस्यवदे[ब] || पश्चिम[श्र]क्षमः
17 [ब]काम || [श्र]तद्यादि || विनयादिवः \* समाख्यः \* 17 || ततः \* कामस्यवदे-
18 आतो जगतीकषमूःक्ष: \* 19 यो क्षत्र्यात्राजित: \* यो क्षायक्षः[ब] \* -

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\*From the original plates.\* \*Expressed by a symbol.\*

\*Read अभिम.\* \*Read अश्रुस्तुतावनारिततमलुदार.\*

\*Read अस्ति, श्रीव.\* \*The d-stroke is not visible in the ink-impresion.\*

\*Read माकानक्तचरामण्डल.\* \*Read माकानक्तप्रवाहः.\*

\*This looks like दि.\* \*Metre: सारंकिले; read श्रुपतिभव.\*

\*Before पत्रच्छ the engraver began to write श्र, but subsequently cancelled it.\* 

\*Read अस्ति.\* \*Read अश्रुस्तुतावनारिततमलुदार.\* 

\*Read अस्ति, श्रीव.\* \*Read अस्ति, श्रीव.\* 

\*Read अस्ति, श्रीव.\* \*Read अश्रुस्तुतावनारिततमलुदार.\*
From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.
Second Plate; Second Side.

19 खोलीपति: || [१८]  'प्रारंभिक दबाबमण्डमण्डवालीदबाब[ना]जावालि।
20 अस्मदादहमतनुज्योत। य[श्व]गिनमास्वरी:[ १८] स(१) [श्री]रामन्य.-
21 इभीसापतिपादस्मृति-योतंत्रः। (१) पश्चिमधातुमञ्ज्यामृ-
22 मुखियश्री || [१८] तत्पति: || [१८] ऐसः || [१८] सुराजसुलाना।
23 समस्मात्तम [श्व]मितारिमिष्कः: [/१८] शाप पाति कामाक्षिवृक्षपत्थुः
24 कालचित्तामबिंदुमासा अस्मुक्ष: || [१८] तदः || [१८] तदनुचितः।
25 पालसु: गुणविनिरनवकः गुणविनवकः महीः। [१८] कलमपुरसरलभृतिः
26 वर्षांशि भालियलयमलबुतेरिनिरिनिरितातितचः || [१८] ततोः
27 भुक्तामबाक्षः तुः। चावति भावमिताम[श्व]मिकाशिवभिगतः || [१८] ||

Third Plate; First Side.

28 भावः। वर्णहस्ततत्तपेतरसुदादिकमुः जनमाः। [१८] कामाः[श्वा]-
29 क्ष्म्मः ग्रीमानमानावदस्मृति। [१८] विदः २०विदवाहरे[प]-
30 यापर्यनिषविशुद्धियाह [१८] य(१): समस्मात्तम [१८]निपायः: जीवजः
31 श्व द्रिति त[न]ः: || [१८] सनुवुमितारिमिष्कः तापति २४शाकादस्मृति दिनः[।]
33 तीव्राद्वियः। सकारविचक्षे रचितः योगिभिः: || [१८] चावणयः
34 समस्माचरंतु विषपु[१८] मार्गविषय चांति महीम [१८] मार्गत्रापायः [१८] निक-
35 च निरसान || निरापदव शावलिः ३० भूवि भवलि विभुतितसंवः || [१८] या.-
36 से ४२महुकुटमस्थुः श्वस्मः [१८] दि[श]कवालि शास्त्रमोरितामलिनेन या-

Third Plate; Second Side.

37 येव भवन(;)प[श्व]दसमारिताः। [१८] किमुरेरितनसःप[प] टेरः [१८] [कृष्ण]शामी:-
38 पलके[श्व]ालिभिः पुनः युवस्तथितामारिताः वारः || [१८] ३६तुरांगः

1 Metre: Śārūlavikīrtita; read प्रकटिः।
2 Read "वहस्ततत्तपेतरसुदादिकमुः जनमाः।"
3 Read "सनुवुमितारिमिष्कः तापति २४शाकादस्मृति दिनः[।]
4 Metre: Vamisastha.
5 Metre: Mālīnī.
6 Read रचाप्रेति.
7 Metre: Śūkla; read प्रकटिः।
8 Read नामः।
9 Read विषपु।
10 Read बेदवाहरे॥
11 Read निरहे॥
12 Read चावणयः।
39 श गुणीनी  यश  वचीरुखायें।  [1*] चायीधि  चीरकवालावनुकलु
30 विराजम्  [२१९]  ॥  'कंदुङ्गरातारसधारितपरमभद्रा-
41 रक्तम्  हराराजक्षमधिकलिखिताधिपतिद्विधदनास्वां  व-
42 वहस्वदेवः [२*]  क्रान्तिभ  'समतामास्वायुखातन्यदुन्नमा[श]व [च]-
43 माभायमाति  चित्रितमञ्जु  भवता  ॥  वरासनः[ण]ः  तामारचे-
44 कहामो  नाम  (१)  चित्रितावट्केन  समेच्छीकाल  ॥  चतुर्मीमामामामामामामानादकाहितिसः-
45 'कंदुङ्गरातारसधारितपरमभद्राविष्णुस्मिताचान्द्रकाविशिष्टातिसः-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

46 भकानां शास्त्रातापिन्योराजनं:  पुषायमविभ[श]पुष जनमकपक-
47 सुनिवििशाकायः  नुथिष्ठीहराराजः  विशिष्ठो य[श]जय[श]मा[श]कयात-
48 मापापानःदानः  प्रतिपाधियुम्निनिर्मायो  'वश्वाय[श]महः  ॥ पंचः-
49 सतः[श]करणे[श] उदयायः  सतःयुम्नेन सतःयुम्नानामानी:  नािितरकारिनीमिति-
50 रावरिपायनिनमिति  ॥ यथे  च  ।  कौटेकर-
51 देवाय वाचानाथपूज्यः  निमिश्विरिहायः  ॥ वलिस्वनवेददासिपूर-
52 आयं धान्यसुरक्षात्तहोरिवा  ॥ भुमिंता  ॥ तच  च  ।  छङ्कुः-

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

54 दितमवचरः  ॥ तच्छवाचार्चरवः  कर्त्तवमिति  ॥

No. 12.—TALAMANCHI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I.; A.D. 660.

By Professor E. Hultzsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

This inscription was first published by Messrs. A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their Nellore District Inscriptions, p. 189 ff. According to p. 192 of the same work, the plates were "discovered about 12 years ago by a servant of Adapalli Venkaṭa Rēḍḍi of Pārlapalli

1 Read शृङ्खली.
2 Read शृङ्खली.
3 Read शृङ्खली.
4 Read नवराष्ट्रम्.
5 Read नवराष्ट्रम्.
6 The engraver had originally written शृङ्खली.
7 The engraver originally wrote शृङ्खलायें, but cancelled the first श. Read शृङ्खलायें; after the श an त has been cancelled.
8 Read शृङ्खलेइ.
9 The reading of this word is very uncertain; read perhaps शृङ्खलेइ.
10 Read शृङ्खलायें.
11 Read शृङ्खलायें.
12 Read शृङ्खलायें.
13 See note 14.
14 The engraver seems to have begun to write शृङ्खलायें, but the d-stroke has been left unfinished; read शृङ्खलायें.
while ploughing some land known as Talamanchipadu in Talamanchi of Nellore taluk where a flourishing village is said to have once stood.” They “have been sent to the Madras Museum at the request of the owner.” I re-edit the inscription from three sets of ink-impressions, kindly prepared at my request by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the original as follows:—

“Three copper-plates, of which the first and last are engraved on their inner side only. They measure 7 1/4” in breadth. The height of the plates is not uniform. Generally they are higher in the margins than in the middle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Height in the margins</th>
<th>Height in the middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st plate:</td>
<td>3 1/2”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd plate:</td>
<td>3 1/2”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd plate:</td>
<td>3 1/2” &amp; 3 5/8”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Through circular holes bored on the left margin of each plate passes an oval ring measuring 2 1/2” by 3 1/2”. It is nearly 1” thick. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a seal, which is also oval and measures 1” by 5/8”. The emblems on the seal, which appear to have been engraved on a countersunk surface, are much worn, but show a lump in the middle—perhaps meant to represent a boar. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 80 tolas.”

The writing on the plates is well preserved, excepting a few letters near the margins of plate i. and plate ii. a. The alphabet resembles that of two other grants of Vikramaditya I. The upadhamāniya is used once (l. 24), a final form of m twice (ll. 24, 27), and one of n once (l. 17). The three Dravidian letters f, f and r, the second of which has the same shape as the upadhamāniya, occur in the two village names Elasatti (l. 23) and Koḷchumko[nra] (l. 22). The language is Sanskrit. There are four well-known Anushṭubh verses: one at the beginning and three near the end; the remainder of the inscription is in prose.

The document was issued in the sixth year of the reign (l. 20) of the (Western) Chalikya (l. 5) Vikramāditya (l.), the son of Satyārāya (i.e. Pulakāsin II.), grandson of Kirtivarman (l.) and great-grandson of Polikeśin (l.). Each of these four kings receives the same laudatory epithets as in other published grants of the same period. The new inscription records the grant of the village of Elasatti, north of Koḷchumko[nra], to Śrīmēghāchārya (ll. 22 and 31 f.), the preceptor (guru) of Vikramāditya I., and was written by Vajravarn of the Vaidya family.

The historical importance of the plates lies chiefly in the date of the grant (l. 20 f.), regarding which Prof. Kiernan kindly contributes the Postscript on p. 102 below. On the strength of the latter I have added the date “A.D. 680” to the title of this article and to the heading of the accompanying Plate.

**TEXT.**

First Plate.

1 जयवलुः[विष्णुतः विष्णी]जौरांह चौभितापणे[तः] [१०] द्वितीयः[धी]चतुर्दशास-विवर्तनमुः

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1 On the map prefixed to the Nellore District Inscriptions, Talamanchi is marked by the figure ‘32’ on the north of Nellore town.
3 Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetti are unable to identify this village; see Nellore District Inscriptions, Preface, p. vi.
4 From three sets of ink-impressions.
Second Plate; First Side.

10 [पर]नामवेदन सतायनशीलपृथ्वीविविधविविभक्तमहाराजाचिराणिरमेरवरपथ[र].
11 [ख] प्रियतमयः मिचकशकामवापवत्रंगमेष्येनेय प्रतीतानेवास.
12 सरसुखुषु मिचकशकापवविभिवरविविभंत्रणंवधननायवज्ञलमनिनिग्नामिग्निग्निग्न.
13 धारणां च वृत्तपरीमयसुविन्मकुण्यमुमनिनिग्निग्निग्निग्निग्नि.
14 थाम्मकस्वममनेकप्रणसस्थलु[रीताव]मननप्रतिभित्वाव.
15 समनिताचवालसमाबालवः समनितांविभिन्ति[पर]स्वमसमितिविभाव.
16 स्वेते विनंतान रूपमर्दालिन चर्चायोगीभूमिभूमि समुद्रे स्वा.
17 पितावं राप्रिश्रवम रिपुरप्राधिरिमि दिती जिला श्रवणां लक्ष्योऽ प्रायः च.
18 प्रमेष्टायानिनिविविभक्तमधि हसितमादिवसाहवावयवी.

Second Plate; Second Side.

20 [भ]सुर "भोगात्मः प्रवाहमानववादवायववुष्टवकरस" नादी.
21 शामसुखुषु "उदकपुर्व फान्नोपालवेदविद्युतवाचिवहित.
22 संगनोत्र श्रीमुनासावावः श्रायुगपरी कौतुफुको[नृष]घम.
23 स्कृतिराधी" एकसत्त्रिम यामः "मातापितोराय.
24 नुश्यावादवशी सर्वविद्वापविराज" दत्तः [ी०] भास्नाय.

1 Read "भागः".
2 Read "सनायत्वकः".
3 Read "महाय".
4 Read "कार्णातिरितिं".
5 Read "निः".
6 Read "या".
7 Read "विनितातिरितिं".
8 Read "प्रायः".
9 Read "विनितातिरितिं".
10 Read "विनितातिरितिं".
11 Read "श्रायुगम".
12 Read "परवर्तव".
13 Read "स्वराय".
14 Read "स्वराय".
15 Read "स्वराय".
16 Read "स्वराय".
17 Read "स्वराय".
18 Read "स्वराय".
19 Read "स्वराय".
20 Read "स्वराय".
21 Read "स्वराय".
22 Read "स्वराय".
23 Read "स्वराय".
24 Read "स्वराय".
25 Read "स्वराय".
26 Cancel the second "विनित" and the second "कीस्वतीय"; read "कीस्वतीय".
27 Instead of "रामा" read "रामासामान".
28 Cancel the aneuphous of ना and read ना.
29 Read "दितिर".
30 Read "विनित".
31 Read "विनित".
32 Read "विनित".
33 Read "विनित".
34 Read "विनित".
35 Read "विनित".
Third Plate.

28 तुषा ने भगवान वीर चित्तिन्द्र वासिने [II*] वेदनवासिन वासिनेन [I*] वेदनवासिन वासिने भगवान भगवाने ।
29 राज्यालम्बर राज्यालम्बर [I*] राज्यालम्बर राज्यालम्बर तसे राज्यालम्बर।
30 तदा फलम [II*] संसाध विद्यायां व यी देवी वंशमात्र [I*] वादिः वादिः।
31 बङ्किमाणि बङ्किमाणि वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइन [II*]
32 वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ।
33 वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ वायुगइ।

TRANSLATION.

[Verse 1 contains an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu.]

(Line 2.) The great-grandson of the glorious Polikedi-Vallabha-Maharaja, whose body was purified by bathing at the end of a horse-sacrifice, (and) who adorned the family of the glorious Chalikyas;4

(Line 7.) The grandson of the glorious Kirtivarman-Prithivivallabha-Maharaja, whose pure fame was established in the territories of hostile kings, such as Vanavasi, which had been subdued by (his) valour;

(Line 8.) The dear son of Satyasraya-Sriprithivivallabha-Maharajadhira-Ja-Paramesvara,5 who acquired the surname of 'supreme lord' (paramesvara) by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the lord of the whole northern country, who had encountered (him) in battle;

(Line 11.) He who, at the head of many famous battles, (assisted) by none but (his) noble steed named Chitrakaaptha and by the edge of (his) glittering, spotless and sharp sword which behaved like a tongue in licking the blood of hostile kings, conquered would-be conquerors by his own arms which resembled the coils of the serpent who carries the burden of the earth; into whose own armour many blows had plunged; who, having gained for himself the royalty of his father, which had been concealed by the triad of kings,6 caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself) alone; who, for the increase of (his) merit and fame, by his own mouth confirmed the property of temples and the grants to Brahmanas which had lapsed in that triad of kingdoms; the sun of whose valour (became) irresistible after he had recovered at the head of battles the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter, and after he had acquired the title of 'supreme lord' (paramesvara); Vikramaditya-Satyasraya-Sriprithivivallabha-Maharajadhira-Ja-Paramesvara commands all people (as follows):—

(Line 19.) “Be it known to you (that), in the sixth year of (Our) reign of growing victory, at an eclipse of the sun in the month of Sravana, the village named Elasatti on

1 Read ॐपे।।
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 The d of any is expressed twice.
4 The usual epithets of this family (II. 2-5) are omitted in the translation.
5 I.e. Pulakasini II.
6 Vic. the Cheda, Padja and Keraja. Compare one of the epithets applied to Vikramaditya I. in the grants of his son Vinasaditya, above, Vol. V. p. 203, note 16.
the northern side of the village of Ko̱lo̱chun̄ko[ra] has been given by Us, with libations of water, with exemption from all molestation, to Our own preceptor (puru) Śrīmēghāchārya of the Vāśisṭha gōtra, who knows the Vēdas with (their) Āgās and Upāgās, in order that (Our) mother and father and Ourselves might obtain merit and fame. As long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the oceans shall exist, (this grant) should be protected without distinction from their own gifts by those who desire to accumulate fame."

[Verses 2-4 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 31.) (This) edict (in favour) of the family of Śrīmēghāchārya was written by the illustrious Vajravarman of the Vaidya family. Let there be welfare to cows and Brāhmaṇas! O𝑖𝑖.

POSTSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELOHNS, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The inscription edited above by Prof. Hultzsch is dated in the 6th year of the reign of the W. Chalukya Vikramāditya I., at the time of a solar eclipse in the month Śrāvana. From page 2 of Appendix II. to Vol. VIII. of this Journal it will be seen that this date must necessarily fall between A.D. 635 and 685; and from what we know to be the general rule regarding eclipses that are quoted in dates, we may conclude that the eclipse here referred to probably was one that was visible at Bādāmi, the capital of the W. Chalukyaas, situated in about Long. 76° and Lat. 18°.

Now it so happens that during the fifty years from A.D. 635 to 685 there was, in both the pūrṇimānta and the amānta month Śrāvana, only a single solar eclipse that could have been at all visible at Bādāmi, viz. the eclipse which took place 3 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660. That eclipse, an annular one, was fully visible at Bādāmi, and the 13th July A.D. 660 was the 15th of the dark half of the pūrṇimānta Śrāvana. We may compare especially the solar eclipse in the date of the Paṭṭadakal duplicate pillar inscription of the reign of the W. Chalukya Kirtivarman II. (No. 48 of my Southern List), of the 25th June A.D. 754, which likewise took place in the pūrṇimānta Śrāvana; and to show that in early times the pūrṇimānta scheme of the months was prevalent in Southern India, we may also cite the solar eclipse in the date of No. 9 of the List, which took place in the pūrṇimānta Bhādrapada, and the solar eclipse in the date of No. 551 of the List, which took place in the pūrṇimānta Phāḷguna.

Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660 (in Śaka-saṅvat 582) would thus be in every way a suitable equivalent of our date; that it is its true equivalent is rendered more than probable by the date of the Nerūr plates of the queen Vijayabhaṭṭārikā (No. 23 of my Southern List). That date corresponds to the 23rd September A.D. 659, and is of the 5th year of a reign of which hitherto it appeared doubtful whether it was the reign of Vikramāditya's eldest brother Chandrāditya or of Vikramāditya himself. Since we now have a date in A.D. 660 which would be a most proper equivalent for a date of the 6th year of the reign of Vikramāditya I., the date in A.D. 659 must surely be definitely assigned to the 5th year of the same reign, and the two dates in my opinion must be taken to prove that Vikramāditya I. commenced to reign between some time in September A.D. 654 and July A.D. 655.1

1 Dr. Ficht, in his Dynasties, p. 363, arrived at the conclusion that "we shall probably be very close to the mark, if we place the formal commencement of his reign somewhere in the autumn of . . . . A.D. 655."
No. 13.—MANDHATA PLATES OF DEVAPALA AND JAYAVARMAN II.
OF MALAVA.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttingen.

Of the Paramāra kings, who ruled over Mālava for more than three hundred years, there have been published hitherto the texts of twelve copper-plate and three stone inscriptions. We have besides short notices of about half a dozen other stone inscriptions, generally of small extent or importance. Of the copper-plate inscriptions, three were first edited by Colebrooke in 1824, two by L. Wilkinson in 1836 and 1838, one by Rajendralal Mitra in 1850, and three by FitzEdward Hall in 1860 and 1861. Of the stone inscriptions, the largest was first edited by Bal GangaDhar Shastry in 1843, and another by FitzEdward Hall in 1859. And from these editiones princeps the genealogy of the Paramāras of Mālava, with most of their dates, might have been drawn up, about fifty years ago, very nearly as I have given it above, Vol. VIII. App. I. pp. 14 and 15. Moreover, of so important a king as Udayāditya we even to-day hardly possess more than that 'wretched scrawl,' made known in 1840, of a person 'who knew nothing of Udayāditya's family.' I mention this to show how little that is really new we have learnt about Mālava, from its own records, for half a century, and to indicate what chances are open to the officials of the Archaeological Survey of India to enrich our knowledge of the history of that country. For, in my opinion, a systematic search for inscriptions in the ancient Mālava country will be sure to bring to light numerous documents of importance. Even now such a search has been well inaugurated.

In 1903 there were discovered at Dhār the inscriptions published above, Vol. VIII. p. 96 ff. and p. 241 ff., highly interesting from a literary point of view. And in 1904 and 1905 were found, at or near Māndhātā, the two copper-plate inscriptions now here edited. These plates are of some value inasmuch as they show how Dēvapāla, one of the later kings of Mālava who was already known to us, was related to preceding rulers, and as they give us the names of two sons of his, Jaitugidēva and Jāyavarmān [II.], who, one after the other, succeeded him.

A.—MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF DĒVAPĀLA; [VIKRAMA]-JASĀVAT 1262.

These plates were found, in May 1905, near the temple of Śiddhāśvara at Māndhātā, an island in the Narmadā (Narbada, Nerbudda) river attached to the Nīmār district of the Central Provinces. They were discovered enclosed in a chest made of two stones, 1' 6½" long by 1' 5½" broad. They are now in the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur, to which they have been presented by Rao Jaswant Singh of Māndhātā. The first account of them was given by an old pupil of mine, Mr. Lele, Director of Education in the Dhar State; and a transcript of the inscription engraved on them, with a translation and notes, was afterwards furnished to the authorities by Mr. Pyari Lal Ganguli, pleader of Nīmār. The text and a translation, with an introduction, have also been sent to the Government Epigraphist by Pandit Hiranand Shastri, Curator of the Nāgpur Museum. At Prof. Hultzsch's request, I edit the inscription which is on these plates from impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Consens.

The inscription is on three plates, which are stated to measure about 1' 5½" broad by 1' high, and of which the second is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third plates are


2 Mr. Lele at the time most kindly offered to send me impressions of the plates, but was somehow or other prevented from doing so. I take the opportunity of thanking him here also publicly for the generosity with which he has made over to me his valuable impressions of the Dhār inscriptions published in Vol. VIII. of this Journal.
inscribed on one side only. The writing on the several sides covers a space between 1' 4" and 1' 4½" broad by between 10½" and 11½" high. In the lower proper right corner of the first side of the third plate a space about 2" broad by 3" high is marked off by double lines, which enclose an engraving of the mythical bird Garuḍa, the exact shape of which may be seen from the accompanying photograph (1). The plates are held together by two rings for which there are two holes in each plate; these rings, I am informed, are open and were apparently never soldered together.

The three plates contain 80 lines of well-engraved writing, which is in so perfect a state of preservation that, with the exception of not more than three aksaras, every letter may be read with absolute certainty. In line 42 a vacant space is left for four aksaras which may have been illegible from the original from which the inscription was copied; and there is a similar vacant space for two aksaras in line 54. The size of the letters is between \(\frac{3}{16}\) and \(\frac{1}{8}\). The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, and the language is Sanskrit. The forms of individual letters hardly call for any remarks. Attention may be drawn to the initial i and i (e.g. in iuva, I. 4, and Udās, I. 50), and to the initial d (in ēka, I. 17) and au (e.g. in ānday, I. 27, and āuruva, I. 40); perhaps also to the forms of th (e.g. in purushārthā, I. 1) and kh (e.g. in śākṣhīta, I. 1). It may also be stated that the signs for t and bh, and those for dh and d, often are so much alike that it is very difficult to distinguish between them. As the 22 verses in lines 1-17 are all numbered, the inscription offers specimens of all numeral figures; and in lines 23, 24, 49 and 50, it gives the fraction \(\frac{1}{2}\), denoted by two vertical lines, placed, as the case may be, after a numeral or the sign for nought. In line 79, before the word rākṣita, the text contains a peculiar symbol (perhaps a monogram), the meaning of which I am unable to explain. As regards orthography, the sign for s denotes both b and v; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal about 30 times, and the palatal instead of the dental about 25 times (even in such ordinary words as ēṭah for sūṭah, I. 9, Śrīvāsita- for Śrīvāśita-, I. 29, etc.); ri is used for ri in Bīṣṭ, I. 60, and for ri in tīrī in tīrī (i.e. trīṣī), I. 29 and elsewhere, and in Śakrī- for Śakrī, I. 23 and 71; j is employed instead of y in jyā- for yāṭ, I. 73, and in the names Jyāḍha-, I. 29, and Jyāḍha- (for Yāḍha-), I. 64; and kh for khy in Śākṣhāyana-, I. 46. The occasional employment of dy, do and dho for dhy, dē and dāho need perhaps hardly be mentioned; but I may add that the word tāmāratām is written tāmārātām in line 2, and that the sign of agraṭha is employed three times, in sāyībute, I. 15, dāyāyāmaya-, I. 75, and vadhaujasam, I. 75. There are a few clerical errors not referred to in the above, that can all be easily corrected. The inscription, in lines 1-17, has 22 verses which chiefly contain genealogical matter, and of which verses 1-19 were already known to us from the three grants of king Arjunavarman. In addition to them, we have in lines 20-22 the well-known verse commencing with Vāḍaḥra-vibraman-idām vasadh-tridiptayam which, with a single exception, occurs in all Paramāra plates; and in lines 75-78 four beneficent and imprecatory verses, the last of which, commencing with Iti kumāladalābhbhimil-lādām, is common to all Paramāra plates. The rest of the text is in prose. In the poetical portion we find in line 6 the (as far as I can see, perfectly correct) adjective uddāna, instead of uddāna which alone is given by the dictionaries. And in the prose part there occurs, in lines 72 and...

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1 Similar representations of Garuḍa are found on all complete plates of the Paramāra of Māla, of which facsimiles have been published; compare e. g. above, Vol. III. Plate opposite p. 50.
2 Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 85.
3 Nos. 195, 197 and 198 of my Northern List.
5 I know of no grammatical rule by which a compound formed of ad and dāman (in the sense of dāma udgataḥ) would become uddāma, and most of the passages, which in the dictionaries are quoted under uddāma, might just as well be placed under uddāna. In his commentary on Yājñavalkya I. 79, Mallīkara actually explains uddāna-udgat by uddānaudā mā yadāt ādīgatā gajānā.
73, the strange revenue term *shamhaldatama*[ka]-*samavita*, which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain.

The inscription records a grant of land by the Paramāra (or Pramāra) king — Mahādrāja, as he is styled in line 80 — Dēvapāla of Mālava. A full translation of the introductory verses will be given below. As has been already stated, up to the end of verse 19 (in line 15) the text is identical with the introductory part of the three published grants of the Paramāra Arjunavarman, and so far contains little more than a list of kings who were ruling over Mālava: Bhōjadeva, Udayaditya, his son Naravarman, his son Yaśōvarman, his son Ajayavarman, his son Vindhayavarman, his son Subhaṣatarman, and his son Arjuna (Arjunavarman). Vindhayavarman and Subhaṣatarman were at war with the Gūrjaras, and the first of them recovered Dhārā, which must have been taken possession of by the enemy.1 Arjuna in his youth put to flight Jayasimhadeva, of whom it is elsewhere said that he was a king of Gūrja and belonged to the Chauhunya family (of Apahilapāta).2 To the nineteen verses of Arjunavarman’s grants only three new verses (vv. 20-22) are added here, which tell us that on Arjuna’s death he was succeeded in the government of Mālava by Dēvapāla and record the name of this king’s father. When I published the Harsaudā inscription of Dēvapāla, I had to point out3 that by certain epithets in that inscription Dēvapāla was clearly connected with the Mahākumāras Lakalmivarmanadēva, his son Harīśchandradēva, and his son Udayavarmadēva of Dhārā. Verse 21 of our inscription now informs us that Dēvapāla actually was a son of Harīśchandra (and therefore a brother of the Mahākumāra Udayavarman, whose plates are dated in A.D. 1200). In the Harsaudā inscription, which is dated in A.D. 1218, only three years after the date of the latest known Grant of Arjunavarman, Dēvapāla, unlike his brother and his father and grandfather, is styled Mahārajadhirāja. This, together with the fact that he succeeded Arjunavarman, would indicate that in him the two branches of the Paramāra family which till then had separately held sway over Mālava became reunited, or that one of them ceased to exist.4 Besides the Harsaudā stone and the present plates, the date of which will be considered below, we know of two inscriptions of Dēvapāla’s reign, dated in about A.D. 1229 and probably 1232.5

In lines 17 ff. Dēvapāla informs all king’s officers, Brahmans and others, and the Pattakila and other people dwelling at the village of Sātājurū in the Mahūnda pratīyogaṇaṇa, that, while staying at Māhiṣmati, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon6 on the full-moon *tīthi* in the month Bhādrapada in the year 1292 (given in words), after bathing in the Rēvā (i.e. Narmadā) and worshiping Śiva (at the temple) in the neighbourhood of (the temple of Viṭhun) Daityavardhana, he granted the village of Sātājurū, (as stated in lines 72 and 73) well defined as to its four boundaries (kṣānika), etc., to certain Brahmans enumerated in lines 22-71; and (in line 74) he orders the resident Pattakila and others to give to these Brahmans the customary share of the produce and money-rent, etc., excepting what was already enjoyed

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1 The context would indicate that Dhārā had been taken by the Gūrjas.
2 See now above, Vol. VIII, p. 90; compare also below, p. 118, note 2. — In Māhutunga’s Prokhandacakāndinī, p. 249 f., we are told that the Mālava king Śāhaja (i.e. Subhaṇavarman) when about to invade the Gūrja country, turned back from his frontier on hearing the verse: *Pratigā rājendrāṇa prasāvaśeśa rājāt v sa loka vilaya yati paśchimāmbalambūsyaḥ*; but that afterwards the Gūrja country was ‘broken’ by his son Arjunadeva.
5 Nos. 207 and 214 of my Northern List.
6 The text has *śāma-parvani* instead of the fuller and ordinary *śāmagrahaṇa-parvani*; similarly *śāmya-parvani* is used instead of *śāmagrahaṇa-parvani*, e.g. in the dates of No. 356 of my Northern List and of No. 339 and 390 of my Southern List. — I may add that, excepting the Mahākāla plates of Jayasimhadeva, published above, Vol. III, p. 48, the word *parvani* occurs in the dates of all fully preserved Paramāra plates that have been hitherto published. We have *paṇcaraka-parvani* in No. 40 of my Northern List, *śāmagrahaṇa-parvani* in No. 49 and 121, *śāmagrahaṇa-parvani* in No. 57, *saṅgha-śāmya-parvani* in No. 172, *Mādhavaiśvāṣya-parvani* in No. 189, *abhīṣikta-parvani* in No. 195, *śāmagrahaṇa-parvani* in No. 197, and *śaṃdēparaṇā-parvani* in No. 198.
by gods (i.e. temples) and Brāhmaṇas. After the usual appeal to future kings to preserve this grant and the imprecatory verses, the date (in line 79) is repeated in figures, with the additional remark that the day was a Thursday.

I may state here at once that, so far as the week-day is concerned, the date is incorrect. The full-moon tithi of Bhādrapada ended—
in the current Chaitrādi Vikrama year 1282: 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 80th August A.D. 1224;
in the expired Chaitrādi Vikrama year 1232: on Tuesday, the 19th August A.D. 1225; and
in the expired Kārtikādi Vikrama year 1282: on Monday, the 7th September A.D. 1226.

None of the possible equivalents of the date therefore was a Thursday. On the other hand, there was an eclipse of the moon—a partial one—from 17 h. 45 m. to 20 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India, on the second of the three possible days, and I have no doubt that that day, Tuesday, the 19th August A.D. 1225, is really the day on which the grant was made, and that in line 79 ‘Thursday’ has been erroneously put down instead of ‘Tuesday.’

Of the localities mentioned above, Māhishmati, from where the grant was made, is Maheswar, a town in the Indore State, Central India Agency, situated in Long. 75° 37' and Lat. 22° 11', on the northern bank of the Narmadā (Constable’s Hand Atlas of India, Plate 27, B d). The village of Satājūnā exists still under the same name—the Indian Atlas has ‘Satajana’—about 13 miles south-west of Māndhālā in Long. 76° 3' and Lat. 22° 8' (Indian Atlas, sheet 54). Mahuṣaṇa, after which the pratijāgaraṇaka or district was called, probably is the village of Mohod, about 25 miles south of ‘Satajana,’ in Long. 76° and Lat. 21° 48'. Below, in line 23 of the inscription B., we have Mahuṣaṇa-pathaḥ, clearly equivalent to Mahuṣaṇa-pratijāgaraṇaka. Among other Paramāra grants, the word for ‘district’ is pathaḥ also in No. 37 of my Northern List, and pratijāgaraṇaka in Nos. 172, 189, 195 and 198. The latter term long ago has been identified with the modern pargāṇa, ‘a district or tract of country including a number of villages.’

An abstract list of the donees will be given below, p. 115 f. From that list it will be seen that their number was 32, and that the proceeds of the village granted to them were divided into 32½ shares (vaṣṭaka),1 in such a manner that 26 donees received one share each, 3 half shares each, 2 one share and a half each, and 1 (the mahādrāja-paṇḍita or king’s Paṇḍita Göṣṭhī) two shares. The original in each case gives the gōra and pravaras of the donee, the names of his father and grandfather, and his place (or country) of origin; also, with two exceptions, the Vedic śākhā or Veda studied by him. The gōras, śākhās and localities so mentioned may be seen from the list; the names of the donees’ fathers and grandfathers are given in a separate, alphabetical list, below, p. 116 f. The two lists will show that, with a single exception, the people referred to in the preceding are distinguished by certain epithets which are prefixed to their names, and which generally refer to their religious occupation and are mostly given in abbreviated forms. In alphabetical order, these epithets are: agna, i.e. agnīhōtrin; āva or āvasaṭhīka; upa, i.e. upādhyāya; cha or chaṭṭuveda; tha, i.e. thakkura; trī (for trīṣ), i.e. trīveda; dē, i.e. dēkhāta; dev, i.e. devīveda; pān or paṇḍita, i.e. paṇḍita; pāṭha, i.e. pāṭhaka; ṣaṇī, i.e. ṣaṇīka; śu or śukla; śrōtri, i.e. śrōtrīya. In addition to these, we have paṣṭaka in line 71, rājas in line 37, and mahādrājapāṇḍita in line 39. About the meaning of paṣṭaka I am somewhat doubtful. The meaning that first suggested itself to me was paṣṭakakula; but as most of the other epithets refer to religious occupations, I would rather

1 The inscription B. (in lines 32, 34, 36 and 37) shows that the word vaṣṭaka is synonymous with pade, ‘a share.’

2 He probably is the Goshta, mentioned in line 51 of the inscription B.
Mandhata Plates of Devapala and Jayavarman II.

...to be equivalent to pañchakalpin (pañcāli) which occurs as an epithet of two persons (father and son) in Prof. Weber’s Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., Vol. II. p. 96. In the case of 20 donees the same epithet is borne by grandfather, father and son; in 7 cases the grandfather and father have the same epithet, and the son has a different one; and in one case the epithet of father and son is the same, while that of the grandfather differs. In the four remaining cases we have the sequences: dīkṣita, dēvasathika, śukla; upādhyāya, agnihōtrin, dīkṣita; agnihōtrin, dīkṣita, dēvasathika; and agnihōtrin, upādhyāya, dēvasathika. Speaking from personal experience, I remember that many of my Indian pupils had one or the other of the above mentioned terms as surnames—Dīkṣita, Padhye, Pathak, Pandit, Shukle, etc.—which they probably have handed down unchanged to their children and children’s children.

Of the places with which the donees are connected, I take Mahāvana-sthāna to be Mahābān, a town in the Muttra district of the United Provinces (Constable of the Hand Atlas, Plate 27, C b); Tripuri-sthāna is Towar, a village in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, about six miles west of Jabalpur; Aklā-sthāna probably is Akola in Berar (ibid. Plate 31, D a), and Mathura-sthāna is Muttra in the United Provinces (ibid. Plate 27, C b). DīnḍiTānaka-sthāna apparently is the DīndiTānaka, mentioned above, Vol. V. p. 210, now the town of DīndiTānaka in Jōdhpur, Rājputānā (ibid. Plate 27, B b). Regarding the remaining places I cannot offer any definite suggestions. Mutavathū-sthāna is the same place which is mentioned as Muktavasthū-sthāna in the three grants of Arjunavarman, and Hastināpura may be the village of Haitiāvara (on the northern bank of the Narmāda in the Pargārā pratījōgavānaka), which was granted by Arjunavarman’s grant published in Journ. Am. Or. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 27. With Takārī-sthāna compare ‘Takārī,’ above, Vol. III. p. 380, and note 13. The names Āśrama-sthāna and Sarasvati-sthāna I have not found elsewhere. On the other hand, Madhyadēśa is too well known to call for any remark here. After the date in line 79, the text of our inscription has the three aksharas dā ṣrī mu, followed by the numeral 3 and a peculiar mark the exact shape of which may be seen from the photograph. The first akshara of course stands for dātakaḥ or dātah, and should be followed by a name to which the word ṣrī would have been prefixed; but I do not know whether any or what name may be intended to be denoted by mu 3 and the following symbol. We find the same mu 3 (probably followed by the same mark which we have here) also in the two grants of Arjunavarman in Journ. Am. Or. Soc. Vol. VII. pp. 29 and 33.

The inscription then has the statement that ‘this was composed by the king’s preceptor (ṛg-ṛgum) Mahāman, with the approbation of the mahāsāntivigrahaka (or great minister of peace and war),’ the learned Bilhaṇa—‘a statement which occurs also in Arjunavarman’s grant in Journ. Am. Or. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 33, and (with mahāpaṇḍita instead of mahāsāntivigrahaka-paṇḍita) in the same king’s grant in Journ. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. V. p. 379. On Mahāman, who may reasonably have been composed merely the introductory verses of the inscription, see now above, Vol. VIII. p. 99. As regards Bilhaṇa, in verse 7 of the pratāasti at the end of Āśadha’s Dharmāṁritas the learned Bilhaṇa, the lord of poets,’ is described as ‘the mahāsāntivigrahaka of the glorious king Vindhyā (Vindhyā-bhāpati).’ Since this king Vindhyā can be no other than Arjunavarman’s grandfather Vindhyavarman, it might seem as if his mahāsāntivigrahaka Bilhaṇa could not be the Bilhaṇa of Arjunavarman’s grant and of the present inscription. But in my opinion there are not for the present any valid reasons why the

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1. In Prof. Peterson’s Third Report, App. I. p. 385, the town is called DīndiTānaka-stāna.
4. Vindhyā-bhāpati has been taken to mean ‘king of the Vindhyas or Mālava,’ but as Arjunavarman in the same pratāasti denotes Arjunavarman, the former can only denote Vindhyavarman.
two should not be considered to be identical. Of the length of the reign of Arjunavarman's father we know nothing; and all we know in this respect about Arjunavarman is, that he reigned during the five years from A.D. 1211 to A.D. 1215. Besides, it should be borne in mind that Āṣāḍhara himself, from whose work the above statement is taken, was a contemporary of no less than five successive kings of Málava, from Vinayakavarman to Dēvapāla's son Jñānīdēva.¹

The inscription ends with the words: 'this is the own hand, i.e., the sign-manual' of the Mahārāja, the glorious Dēvapālandēva,' followed by the usual maṇḍalāṁ maḥiśriḥ.

**TEXT.**²

First Plate.

1 Om² || Ōṁ nāmaḥ purvaṁhāraṁ-chuḍāmanayaḥ dharmanayā || 'Pratīvimśa-'nibhāda- bhūmih krītva sākhṣat-pratigraham | jagad-aḥlādayaṁ-dīyā[ṛ*[d]]-dvijētā.

2 drō maṇilāni vaḥ (II) 1 (II) Jīyāḥ-Paraṁśaṁ-mou saha kṣatrāṅ-gu kṣhaṅyaṁ rau-Āhaṁ | saṁdhyārkaṁ-vīmvaṁ =ōr-vvri-dātur-yaśyāt (a)ti tämvratāṁ (III) 2 ||

3 Yena Maṅḍolādvaṁaspā-rābhīḥ sa(ṣa)miṁti mṛdhīḥ | prāṇeva (śav)īrī-viṣṭugūṇīḥ sa kāmaṁ śrēyaṁ-ṣtu vaḥ (I) 3 (II) Bhūmēs-śāpi dhṛtāḥ mū[ṛ*[r]]dhnī yat-pādāḥ

4 sa Yudhikshṭhirāḥ | vaṁs(ā)-ādyuṁ-śīṁḍunā jīyāḥ-su-tulyaḥ iva nirmitaṁ (II) 4 (II) Paramārakulōṭanāsāḥ Kansaṁjīn-mahīṁ-nirjāḥ | śri-Śhōjadēva ity-āśin- naśīrākānta-bhūtalaḥ (II) 5 (II) Yād-yasaṁścharākānt-ōdītāḥ | digutsaṅgatarāṅgītā | dvishanāpita-yaśābpun j̄aṁdaṅkā[ṛ*[y]]-minlītaṁ (II) 6 (II) Tātō-bhū-

5 d-Udaydētyō nityotsāḥ-aṅkakautuki | asādhaṛāṇa-vīrāśrīc-āśri-hētur-virōḍhīdīnāṁ (I) 7 (II) Mahākāla-kaḷpaṁitō yasyābādhambhir-āsau(ùn)-

6 gaib | kati nōmnūltās-tungā bhūḥyitaḥ kuśak-ōṅvapāḥ (I) 8 (II) Tāmācch-cchhīma-dvishanāṁ Naravarmā nārādhīpaḥ | dharmaḥ(rmn-ō)-bhuyāddharanā dhīmān-ābhūt-ātmā

7 mahībhūjāṁ (I) 9 (II) Prati-prabhātmā viprābhōyā dattai[x]=grāma-padāṁ svayaṁ | anēkappadātāṁ rūnīyē dharmām yēn-āika-pād-āpi (I) 10 (II) Tāty(ś)ī-ājani Yāsōvārmā


9 Tasyā-ṃuṣiyāyaṇaḥ putraḥ Sutrāma-srīr-ath-aśīṣhat | bhūpah Subhaṇāvrmaṁ-ēti dharmavā tīḷaṁ-mahī-talaṁ (I) 14 (II) Yasyā jvalati dig-jētaḥ pratāpaṁ tapana-dun-


¹ See the inscription R., below.
² Denoted by a symbol.
³ Read pratibimbā.
⁴ Read tāmārāṭaṁ.
⁵ Read ṭōḍītāḥ.
⁶ Read -śāpi.
⁷ From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens.
⁹ Read śrībham.
¹⁰ Read svu-tulya.
¹¹ The editions of the plates of Arjunavarman have garjjan; but garjjad- is the reading also of R., below, p. 121, line 14.
No. 13.] MANDHATA PLATES OF DEVAPALA AND JAYAVARMAN II. 109

13. yaštā |(I)| 16 |(I)| Va(h)b)alil-āhavē yasa yaJayasimhē palāyitē | di$kālahahā-
yājēsa yaśo dikṣabhā viṣṇubhitam |(I)| 17 |(I)| Kāyagāndhacarva-sarvavasya-
nidināhā

14. yēna1 satypratam | bhār-āvastaraṇam2 dāvyās-chakrē pustak-āvayāb |(I)| 18 |(I)| Yēna trividha-vīrēca tridhā pallavitām yaśaḥ | dhavalaśvam dadhm-

15. gaṇti kathām-amya(nya)kāthā |(I)| 19 |(I)| Ath-ārthinām-apunyēṇa punyēṇa svargga-subhravān | sō dībhutatyāgaśiśa-cha śringārī cha divam gataḥ |(I)| 20

16. taḥ Pṛamāra-śaṅkādrayya Habirāchandraśe raiṇḍeṇaḥ | raraṇaḥ Mālava-

17. kshētrām | Dēvāpālaḥ pratapavān |(I)| 21 |(I)| Pavitra-karapadmaśya(aya) ᵃyā

18. bhitajj na vidmē Dēvāpālaya dēvāpālaya cha-āmśarān |(I)| 22 |(I)| Sa ēsa nam-nayāḥ sa ṣvā-ābhūndayi || Mahuāda-reatipųgalakē Sātā-

19. jrān-grāmē, samasta-rājapuruśāḥ vṛt(brāḥ) ṣan-ottariṇaḥ pratiṇivād(a) paṭaṇkila-jana-
pad-ādīnaḥ cha vō(bōḥ)dhaṇyā-astu vah samvidi-

20. yaṣṭā 3 śrī-Śālīśhmati-śhitaic-asamāhīr būdvāhyadhīkva-dvādaśasat-

samvatsarat Hādhrapade māsē paunrṇamāyasāṁ so-

Second Plate : First Side.

20. ma-parvamrīv Rēvāyām snātva śrī-Ḍaityaśūdana-samidhan bhagavantaṃ

Bhavāni-patim samabhārachchaya samśāras-āśāmām dviṣṭayā | tathā hi | Va. 3

21. tābhra-vibhramam-idaṃ vauṣ(sa/dh-ādhipatyam-āpātmatra-madhrurō

viṣhay-

ōpahōgaḥ | prāṇās-trāṇagrajalvinīdu-samā nārāṇām dha-

22. rmmah sakhā param-sāh paraloka-yānē | iti sarvvam vimṣṭiṣyādṛiṣṭa-

phalam-aṅglikṛtya || 7 Āśrāmahāna-vinīrgattāya Vājimādhyāmānām-

23. kh-ādhyāyīnē Parāsa[ra]\* gōtrāya Parāsa-Śaktī-vaśiṣṭh-ēti3 tri-pravaraśa śrōtri29

Dāmōchāra-paṇtrāya śrōtri2 Vra(brāḥ)hu-putrāya śrōtri29 Gaṅgadhā-

24. rasa(sa)rmmaṇe vṛ(ṛ)hu-maṇyāya vaṃṭakam-ēkam 1 Mahāvānasthāna-

vinīrgattāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gāṛggya-Gaurīvit-Āṅgīra-ēti tri-pravaraśa Āśva-

25. lāyanaśāk-ādhyāyīnē dī25 Gaṅgadhāra-paṇtrāya āvsa(sa)thika-Mahādītya-putrāya

śukla-Bhadṛēva(sa)rassa(sa)rmmaṇe vṛ(ṛ)hu-maṇyāya vaṃṭakam-ē-

26. kaṁ 1 Mahāvānasthāna-vinīrgattāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gāṛggya-Gaurīvit-Āṅgīra-ēti

tri-pravaraśa Āśvalayanaśāk-ādhyāyīnē dī2 Śiṁ(sii)a-ha-

27. kaṃṭha-paṇtrāya śu11 Mahdkaṇṭha-puṭrāya śu1 Chaṇḍrakaṇṭhasa(sa)rmmaṇe

vṛ(ṛ)hu-maṇyāya vaṃṭakam-ēkam 1 Mahāvānasthāna[ṇa]\* vīrxīrgattāya Āudalya-

28. dhyārīnīsak-ādhyāyīnē dī Padmaśvāmi-puṭrāya dī Trīlōchana-puṭrāya dī5

Nārāyaṇasa(sa)rmmaṇe vṛ(ṛ)hu-maṇyāya śārdham vaṃṭakam-ēkam 1,5 Ma-

1 Originally yēna was engraved.


3 These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

4 Metre : Vasantaśākka.

5 Instead of the akṣara ṣa originally ṣaḥ seems to have been engraved.

6 This sign of punctuation is superfluous. Here and in other places below the rules of samādi have not been observed.

7 Originally Parāśa Śa was engraved. Read Parāśa-Śaktī-vaśiṣṭh-ēti, where the name Śaktī, as elsewhere, would stand for the more correct Śaktī. See below, line 71.

8 I.e., here and below, ērōṣīga-

9 I.e., here and below, ērōṣīga-

10 I.e., here and below, ērōṣīga-

11 Here the praças are omitted.
29 hāvanasthāna-vinirggaṭaśa Kātyāyana-gōtrāya\(^1\) Śaka(a)-mavēd-ādhāyāya inām trī\(^2\) Rāmesvāra(sva)-ra-pauṭraya trī\(^3\) Jasōdhara-pauṭraya trī\(^4\) Śurasarmmaṇā\(^5\)
vrā(brā)-hamaṇāya vaṃṭakam-ēkam-ē-
30 kaṁ 1 Taṅkārīsthāna-vinirggaṭaśa Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāja-Āṅgīrāsa-
V ā(ba)-ra-praṣṭā-ētī tri-praṣṭāpya Kaṁthumāsakh-ādhāyāya-
31 nē trī\(^5\) Dālan-putrāya trī\(^2\) Āsādha-putrāya trī\(^2\) Visvēvasaraśmaṇā\(^6\)
vrā(brā)hamaṇāya vaṃṭakam-ēkam 1 Taṅkārīsthāna-vinirggaṭaśa Bhāradvāja-
32 ja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāja-Āṅgīrāsa-Vā(ba)-ra-praṣṭāpya Mādaṅgīndana-
śākha-ādhāyāya inī\(^5\) Kēlīha-putrāya inī\(^5\) Madhu-putrāya inī\(^5\) Rā-
33 māsā(sa)raṃmaṇā vrā(brā)hamaṇā\(^7\) ya vaṃṭakam-ēkam 1 Tripurīsthāna-
vinirggaṭaśa Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāja-Āṅgīrāsa-Vā(ba)-ra-praṣṭāpya-ētī tri-
prava-
34 rāya paṁ\(^7\) Haridha-putrāya paṁ\(^7\) Mahādha-putrāya paṁ\(^7\) Bhṛgu-
śarmanā\(^6\) vrā(brā)hamaṇāya śārdham vaṃṭakam-ēkam 1 1\(^7\) Mutavathūsthāna-
vinirggaṭaśa
35 Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyapa(pā)-vatsāra-Naṅdhra-ētī tri-praṣṭāpya Āśvalyānāsakh-
Śākha-ādhāyāya chā\(^10\) Prīthvīdha-putrāya chā\(^7\) Āsā(a)-dhara-pu-
36 rāya agni\(^11\) Nārāyaṇaśarmanā vrā(brā)hamaṇāya vaṃṭakam-ēkam 1
Akōlaśāna-vinirggaṭaśa Parāsava(su)-gōtrāya Parāsava(su)-Kāṅkāya-
37 na-Kaṅkāya\(^12\) tri-praṣṭāpya ṭhā\(^13\) Bharatapāla-putrāya ṭhā\(^13\) Dālāna-putrāya
rāja-Gōsā(sa)śarmanā\(^14\) vrā(brā)hamaṇāya vaṃṭakam-ēkam 1 Mathurāsthā-
38 na-vinirggaṭaśa Āśvalyānāsakh-ādhāyāya Vāsiṇḍhau-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Avatsāra-
Vāsiṇḍhau-ētī tri-praṣṭāpya chaturvvēda-Jaṅgārdana-pauṭraya-

Second Plate; Second Side.

39 yā chaturvvēda-Dharaṇidharputrāya mahārājapāṇḍita-śrī-Gōsāśarmanā
vrā(brā)hamaṇāya vaṃṭaka-dvayaṁ 2 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggaṭaśa Ā-
40 śvalyānāsakh-Śākha-ādhāyāya Bhārgava-gōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyavana-śopnuvān\(^5\)
Aurvā-Jāṃadagnya-ētī paṇīcha-praṣṭāpya chā\(^7\) ... 16-praṣṭāpya chā\(^7\)
41 Vaiṣhā-puṭraya chā\(^7\) Rāmesva(sva)-raṣa(sa)rmaṇā vrā(brā)hamaṇāya vaṃṭakam-
ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggaṭaśa Āśvala[ya\(^9\)]nāsakh-ādhāyāya Kāśyapa-
42 yā Kāśyap-Avatsāra-Naṅdhra-ētī tri-praṣṭāpya chā\(^7\) Samuddha-pauṭraya chā\(^7\)
Dēvadhara-pauṭraya chā\(^7\) Gadādhara(sa)rmaṇā vrā(brā)hamaṇāya vaṃṭakam-
ēkam 1 Ma-
43 thūrāsthāna-vinirggaṭaśa Āśvalyānāsakh-Śākha-ādhāyāya Bhārgava-gōtrāya Bhārgava-
Vaitahsaya-Sāvetas-ētī tri-praṣṭāpya chā\(^7\) Parītha-puṭraya-
44 yā chā\(^7\) Dharaṇidharputrāya chā\(^7\) Garbhaṃsva(sva)rmaṇā vrā(brā)hamaṇāya
vaṃṭakam-ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggaṭaśa Āśvalyānāsakh-Śākha-ādhāyāya-

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\(^1\) Kātyāyana-gōtrāya was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line. Here, again, the pravaras are omitted.
\(^2\) Here and below for trī\(^2\), i.e. triksā-yā.
\(^3\) For Vaiṣādhara-vāra.
\(^4\) For Śurasarmmaṇā.
\(^5\) In the place of the akāśa-vāra originally āva inām was engraved.
\(^6\) Read Pīṇḍarāvāra.
\(^7\) This, or paṁ\(^7\), here and below, = paṁāṭī-a-
\(^8\) The ādikṛt of this man is omitted.
\(^9\) Below, in lines 47 and 49, the name is Mutēnumāṃ.
\(^10\) I.e., here and below, chaṭuṭrēka-vāra.
\(^11\) I.e., here and below, agnīṣṭhī-
\(^12\) Read Kaiṣāṣa-ādi-
\(^13\) I.e., here and below, 4atica-vāra.-
\(^14\) The ādikṛt of this man is omitted.
\(^15\) Read -Aṣṭasāda-; see below, lines 52 and 66.
\(^16\) Here an open space is left for a name of four syllables which has been omitted.
50 v-ēti tri-pravarāya di² 'Gaṅgādhara-pauṭrāya di° Kēśava-puṭrāya Uḍāsār-mmaṇaṇaḥ vr(ṛ)ḥmaṇaṇa vaṁṭaka(k-ā)ṛddhaṁ ī Mahāvanasthā[na*]v-ānirggaṇṭa Kau-thumaśaṅk-ādhyāyaṁ Gautama-gotraṁ Gautam-Āṅgiras-Autathya-ēti tri-pravaraṁ paṁ° Madana-pauṭrāya paṁ° Kāhna(nha)ja-puṭrāya paṁ° Kuladharas(as/a)mmano

51 vr(ṛ)ḥmaṇaṇa vaṁṭaka-ṛṇaṁ ī Āṅkarīsthaṇā-vānirggaṇṭa Kau-thumaśaṅk-ādhyāyaṁ Vatsa-gotraṁ Bhāṛgava-Chyavana-Āṇuvānī Anrvṣa-Jamadagnī-ē

3 ti paincha-pravarāya tri° Janārdana-pauṭrāya tri° Narasiṇa(siṇa)ha-puṭrāya āvān° Aḥbhumaṇḍāsārmano vr(ṛ)ḥmaṇaṇa vaṁṭaka-ṛṇaṁ ī Madhyādaśā-nirggaṇṭa

52 yr(ṛ)ḥmaṇaṇa vaṁṭaka-ṛṇaṁ ī Āṭhāntiṣṭhiṇa-vānirggaṇṭa Mudgala-gotraṁ Āṅgiraśa(sa)-Bhara... sa° Mudgal-ēti tri-pravaraḥ agni° Chchhūti-pauṭrāya agni° Dharṇaṅḍha-pauṭrāya

53 yr(ṛ)ḥmaṇaṇa vaṁṭaka-ṛṇaṁ ī Madhyādaśā-nirggaṇṭa Madhyāṇḍinaśaṅk-ādhyāyaṁ Śaṁjilya-gotraṁ Śaṁjilya-Aśiṣ(a)ta-

54 Dēval-ēti tri-pravaraḥ yājīṁ° Nāgadeva-pauṭrāya yājīṁ° Krīṣha-puṭrāya agni° Śīhānśva(āva)raśārmano vr(ṛ)ḥmaṇaṇa vaṁṭaka-ṛṇaṁ ī Mathurāsthāṇa-vānirggaṇṭa

55 Rāṣṭrya Šāvvalāyaṇaśaṅk-ādhyāyaṁ Dhumiya-gotraṁ Kāṣyap-Āvatsāra-[Na*]dhruv-ēti tri-pravaraḥ chَا Vaišṇu-pauṭrāya chَا Śaṅdhara-pauṭrāya

56 yr(ṛ)ḥmaṇaṇa vaṁṭaka-ṛṇaṁ ī Mathurāsthāṇa-vānirggaṇṭa Rāṇyānīśaṅk-ādhyāyaṁ Bhāṛadvāja-gotraṁ Āṅgira-

57 rass-Va(ha)ẖaṣpaṭya-Bhāravāj-ēti tri-pravaraḥ tri° Mādhava-pauṭrāya tri° Sōmesva(āva)ra-pauṭrāya tri° Kuladharasārmano vr(ṛ)ḥmaṇaṇa vaṁṭaka-ṛṇaṁ ī Āṅkarīsthiṇa-vānirggaṇṭa

Third Plate.

60 Mathurāsthāṇa-vānirggaṇṭa Rāṇyānīśaṅk-ādhyāyaṁ Bhāṛadvāja-gotraṁ Āṅgira-Va(ha)ẖaṣpaṭya-Bhāravāj-ēti tri-pravaraḥ tri° Ri(ri)sh-pauṭrāya tri°

---

1 Read śādākṣhāyaṇa or, more correctly, Śādākṣhāyaṇa.
2 Autathya = Auchiṭṭhī; see below, B, line 33.
3 Originally Gāmāḍ was engraved, but the first d has been struck out.
4 Originally "sthunam or was engraved.
5 I.e., here and below, avastātaṁ.
6 In this name an open space is left for two syllables. The name which one would have expected is Bhārmastaṇa.
7 I.e., here and below, gṛjñāṇa-
8 Originally Gāmāḍ was engraved.
9 The akṣaras of is engraved above the line.
10 The akṣara s of is engraved above the line.
11 Read Āṁśaṇaṁ.
12 Read Rāṇyānīśaṅk-ādhyāyaṁ.
61 Máarkanda-patrāya tī Maha[du]dasāsamaraṃe vṛā(brā)haṃaṇāya vaitakam-ekāmaṇ 1
62 gōtrāya Ángirās(a)1 Anvā(ba)riṣha-Yauvanāsv(śv)-ēti tri-pravaraṇa cha⁵ Vijayal-
patruṭāya cha⁵ Ajayal-patruṭāya cha⁵ Allīśaṃraṃe vṛā(brā)haṃaṇāya vaitakam- 
ēkaṇa 1
63 Madhyadēśa-vinirggaṭāya Mādhyamindasākh-ādyāyinē Kāṣṭha-gōtrāya Kāṣṭha-
Āvatsāra-Naidhrva-ēti tri-pravaraṇa upā 2 Nārāyaṇa-patruṭāya agni 23
64 Jāṅgīwā-patruṭāya di⁵ Lāmaśaṃmaṃe 3 vṛā(brā)haṃaṇāya vaitakam-ekāmaṇ 1
Madhyadēśa-vinirggaṭāya Mādhyamindasākh-ādyāyinē Śāṅgīla-gōtrāya A-
65 śi(a)ta-Dēvala-Sām(a)gīlī-ēti tri-pravaraṇa agni 24 Kātaka-patruṭāya di⁵ Puru-
shottama-patruṭāya āva⁶ Narasiṃha-śaṃmaṃe vṛā(brā)haṃaṇāya vaitakam-ekāmaṇ 1
Ma-
66 dyadēśa-vinirggaṭāya Mādhyamindasākh-ādyāyinē Máarkanda-gōtrāya 
Bhāṛgava-Chyavana-Ānupāna 4 Aṝrvya-Jāmadagnē-ēti pāṅcha-pravaraṇa agni 7 
Chehittu-pau-
67 trāya upā 8 Dāmōdana-patruṭāya āva⁶ Máarkanda-gōtrāya vaitakam-ekāmaṇ 1 
Madhyadēśa-vinirggaṭāya Mādhyamindasākh-ādyāyinē Bhāradvāja-gō-
trāya Áṅgirās(a).3 Vā(ba)rhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-ēti tri-pravaraṇa dvi⁴ Nārāya-
patruṭāya dvi⁴ Padmansāba-patruṭāya pāṁha 25 Vayudēṣaṃmaṃe vṛā(brā)haṃaṇāya 
vaitakas-
mēkaṇ 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggaṭāya Áśvāyanaśākh-ādyāyinē Kautsa-gōtrāya 
Áṅgirās(a)- Āniva(ba)raṣha-Yauvanāsv(śv)-ēti tri-pravaraṇa cha⁵ Hari-pau-
trāya cha⁵ Janārddana-patruṭāya cha⁵ Rājēśaṃmaṃe vṛā(brā)haṃaṇāya vaitakam-
ardhaṃ hīn Sāmputra-patruṭāya Kangamasākh-ādyāyinē Pārās(a)ra-gō-
trāya 26 Pārās(a)ra-gātri⁵ Vaśī(śi)aḥ-hēti tri-pravaraṇa paṅcha⁵ Kāhna(na)da-
patruṭāya paṅcha⁵ Kumara-patruṭāya paṅchī⁵ Kusumā-pālaśaṃmaṃe 

vṛā(brā)haṃaṇāya vaitakam-ekāmaṇ 1
72 samastō-po graṃaḥ chaṭṭhakarnakaṭa-13 visna(śu)ddhaḥ sa- vipakhamalākulaḥ sa-
hirayabhāgabhāgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ sarvādāya-samētaḥ sa-nilūhiṃkāhipsah sa-
73 mālā ṭama(k)a-14 samanviṭō maśāṭīṛīr-ṣṭhānaḥ cha puṇya-jāśā-10 bhūvīrydhāya 
chaṁdrārākṣṇavakshiṃ-samakālaṃ yāvant-paraya(yā) bhaktayā śāśa(śu)nēṃ-ōdakak-
purvāṃ pradattām[*] tan ma-
74 tvā tannivasa(sī)pa(ha)kaṁjanapada-yātadhāyamāṇaḥ-bhāgabhāgarahārayādikah 
dēvarāv(brā)haṃabhuḥktya-vaṭjaṃ-ājīvā-viḥūyairvīhūvā sarvām-ābhāyaḥ vṛā(brā) 
haṃabhuḥyā dātayām[*]
75 smaṇyaḥ cha-aitat-puṇya-phalaḥ vudhyaḥ 15 smadvaṃsajair-ṣanyair-āpi bhāv-
ibhōkṛtiphir-āsamapradaṭṭaḥ-dharmādayoḥ 16 tyāṃ-sunantaṃvyaḥ pālanayaḥ-ōcha 17 Uktam cha || 18 Va(ba)huḥbhir-vāṣa(śu)dhā
copper-plate.

1 Originally Áṅgirās(a) was engraved.
2 I.e., here and below, upādāya-.  
3 This sign of abbreviation is engraved at the commencement of the next line.
4 For Yaśātu-.  
5 Read Áṇapada-.  
6 I.e., pāṭha-kaḥ.
7 I.e., here and below, pāṭha-kaḥo-pi(?).  
8 Originally Lāhāsa was engraved.  
9 Originally Áṅgirās(a) was engraved.  
10 Read Śāktī-, and see above, p. 109, note 8.  
11 Read ṣaṭhūkhaṃkātra-.  
12 The aškaṇa in brackets might possibly be read cāṇa. As will be seen from the facsimile, the space between i 1a and i 1a at the commencement of line 72 is larger than it generally is between two aškaṇa.
13 Read puṇya-yaḥ.
14 One would have expected dharmādayoḥ; but dharmādayoḥ is the reading of most of the Paramāra
copper-plates.
15 Originally 'īcchāḥ was engraved.
16 I.e., 111.  
17 I.e., this verse and the next; Śūkha (Anushtubh).
TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-22.

Om! Om! Obeisance to dharma, the crest-jewel of the aims of man!

(Verse 1.) May (the Moon), the Lord of the twice-born, gladdener of the world, after having openly accepted the earth in the guise of its reflection, bestow blessings on you!

(V. 2.) May that Paraśurāma be victorious, for whom, when he granted the earth (to the Brāhmaṇa), the very orb of the twilight-sun, pierced by the Kṣatriya-slain (by him) in fight, became the copper-plate!

(V. 3.) May Śrī Rāma minister to your welfare, he who in battle quenched the fire of separation from his life’s mistress by the water of Mandodari’s tears!

(V. 4.) May Yudhishthira be victorious, whose feet even Bhima placed on his head, (and) whom the Moon, the progenitor of his race, framed as it were equal unto himself!

(V. 5.) There was a king, great like the Kaṁsas’s conqueror, an ornament of the Paramāra family, the glorious Bhūjādeva, who occupied the surface of the earth by the van of his army.

1 Metre: śālīnī. 2 Metre: Pushpītāgā. 3 Read buddhād. 4 I.e. dūtakaḥ or dūtaḥ (as in the inscription B). 5 For the exact shape of this mark, which is not a sign of punctuation, see the accompanying photo-lithograph. 6 This sign of punctuation is superfluous. 7 I find no English word by which I could fully express all the meanings of the Sanskrit dhāraṇa; in the present case ‘religious merit’ would perhaps best convey some idea of what is intended. The four aims of man are dharmam, artha, kāma and mokṣa. 8 The spot (kālākha) in the moon is by poets taken to be the reflected image of the earth. Prof. Jacobi, who first drew my attention to this notion, quotes Rāya Rāmānūja XIV. 40, and especially Haracīḷauya XLI. 64; and I find that the idea is clearly expressed in verse 1922 of the Subhāṣīṭalal, according to which ‘others have said’ that the spot in the moon is ‘the reflected image of the earth’ (bhāmā-saḥ bhāmāḥ parśvā); compare also ibid. v. 2054, satalakṣaṇaḥ pariṇātad prasrēt kalakṣaṇaḥ. With pratibimba-nikālāt compare pratibimba-miśrāt in the Pārijātāmanjīrī, above, Vol. VIII. p. 110, line 50; and with jagad-dhālāyana, as applied to the moon, dhālāyana-evam in Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 208, line 1—The Moon being a devī (or Brāhmaṇa), one of his privileges is to receive gifts (pratigraha), just as it is his duty to make them (dāna). 9 The verse has been called awkward, because it has not been understood. Since warriors slain in battle enter heaven through the sun, this luminary, covered with their blood, assumes the reddish hue of copper. In this state it appears in the twilight sky, and is thus represented to be the very copper-plate charter (tīmra) by which Paraśurāma covered the earth to the Brāhmaṇa. For the idea of warriors who are slain in battle splitting the sun compare, e.g., Sp. Ind. Vol. II. p. 192, v. 33; Subhāṣīṭalal, v. 2274; and the pretty verse, given to illustrate the figure of kālākha, in Bāndhav, Bombay ed., p. 331: Naśeṇu kāmāyāṃ kriṣṇāhīṃśaḥ sevāyogamadā prāksyaṁ marcācchattī; Nrisimha bhūpada yācyante kampākumāraṁ ānugatāṁ svatīmam; at raise of being split, the sun trembles.

10 Mandodari was Rāvana’s favourite wife. 11 I.e. the god Kṛṣṇa.

The word nādra (i.e. sād-nukṣa) occurs in the Pārijātāmanjīrī, above, Vol. VIII. p. 116, l. 78; also, e.g., in the Nāṣakādhyatācharita, XIII. 73 and XIII. 23.
(V. 6.) When the lustre of the moonlight of his glory overflowed the lap of the regions, there closed the day-lotuses of the glory accumulated by hostile kings.

(V. 7.) Then came Udayāditya, whose one desire was constant enterprise; who, of unequalled glory as a hero, made glorious his adversaries.

(V. 8.) As lofty mountains, abounding in ridges, at the end of a mundane period are uprooted by impetuous winds, so in fierce contest how many rulers of the earth, abounding in armies, were not uprooted by his irresistible arrows!

(V. 9.) From him sprang king Naravarman, who left the vital parts of adversaries; the acme of kings, wise in upholding religion.

(V. 10.) At every dawn freely granting shares of villages to Brāhmaṇas, he made religion, one-footed though it is (in this Kali age), possessed of several feet.1

(V. 11.) His son was Yasovarman, the chaplet of Kshatriyas; (and) from him sprang his son Ajayavarman, renowned for the glory of victory.

(V. 12.) His son, of auspicious birth, the foremost of heroes, was Vindhyavarman, long of arm, eager to extirpate the Gūrjara,

(V. 13.) The sword of this (king) skilled in war, with Dārā rescued by it, assumed three edges,2 to protect as it were the three worlds.

(V. 14.) Then the son of that illustrious one, king Subhatavarman, abiding by religion, ruled the surface of the earth, glorious like Indra.

(V. 15.) The fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters, whose splendour was like the sun’s, in the guise of a forest-fire even to-day blazes in the town3 of the blustering Gūrjara.4

(V. 16.) Now5 that he has attained unto godhead, his son king Arjuna supports with his arm the circle of the earth like a bracelet.

(V. 17.) When in the battle which was his childhood’s frolic Jayasimha took to flight, his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the quarters’ guardians.

(V. 18.) A treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (Sarasvati) of the burden of her books and lyre.

(V. 19.) This triple hero6 made his fame triply sprout. How otherwise did the three worlds acquire their whiteness?7

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1 The golden age dharmap had four feet, of which it lost one in each subsequent age (Parāśaramāriti, ed. by Vāman Sāntī Ilaṇqurkar, Vol. I. P. I. p. 82). The word for 'share' in the original being pada, i.e. 'foot', the king by granting shares of villages increased the number of dharmas' feet and so brought back as it were the golden age. Compare Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. p. 218, l. 19: mabhīddhā ṛṣīyāni kurveṣu parvendya adhikāh | dharmah-pudādīriḥ-bhūvah-śvātā; see also ibid. Vol. XII. p. 159, l. 7.

2 By itself the sword had two edges (dhārā); the town of Dārā, retaken by it, became its third edge (dhārā). The author suggests that the sword became like the trisāma, i.e. the 'three-streamed' Ganga, which flows through, and purifies, heaven, earth, and the lower regions.

3 The word pattana may also be taken as a proper name of the well-known Pattana (see e.g. above, Vol. VIII. p. 224, No. XII., and p. 229, No. XXXI.).

4 Giriṣṭhara-Girijara—occurs also above, p. 35, l. 27; compare also Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. p. 217, l. 11: m-aicat G[ri]ṣṭhara girijaa.

5 This 'now' is really inappropriate in inscriptions of Arjunavarman’s successors, but the verses 16-19 have been taken over unchanged from that king’s own grants.

6 I.e. a hero in flight, in compassion (like Jumātavāhana), and in bounty (like Bālī)—pudāha-root, padātha-root, and dhāna-root; compare Vakakeshārya in his edition of the केरायप्रकाश, p. 113; Śrīpratīkāla, III. 14 (trisāma-nāyaka); and similar works. In the Pārijātamaṇī, above, Vol. VIII. p. 102, l. 7, and p. 103, l. 13, Arjunavarman is styled trisāma-root-bhāgā. The same epithet I find applied to a person named Udaya, in three Mount Abh inscriptions of the Vikrama year 1245 and 1291 (Mr. Cousens’ List, Nos. 1725, 1728 and 1840). With the whole verse one may compare Bhārata, p. 256: Narasimha mākhāla kṛiti-śripathagā tavā | sa kaśya bhāvād śāhgyā pūndā bhuvanatrayam 1. 

7 In various works. In the Pārijātamaṇī, above, Vol. VIII. p. 102, l. 7, and p. 103, l. 13, Arjunavarman is styled trisāma-root-bhāgā. The same epithet I find applied to a person named Udaya, in three Mount Abh inscriptions of the Vikrama year 1245 and 1291 (Mr. Cousens’ List, Nos. 1725, 1728 and 1840). With the whole verse one may compare Bhārata, p. 256: Narasimha mākhāla kṛiti-śripathagā tavā | sa kaśya bhāvād śāhgyā pūndā bhuvanatrayam 1. 

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(V. 20.) Then, through the want of merit of suppliants and through the merit of the lovely-browed damsels of paradise, he who was both marvellously bountiful and amorous went to heaven.

(V. 21.) Then Dévapála, full of prowess—the son of Hariśchandra, the moon of the Prámarśas—came to rule the Málava country.

(V. 22.) Because of the pouring out of the water of donations by him who holds kusa grass in his lotus-hand, we know no difference between Dévapála and the guardian of the gods [whom the exploits of the enemy of the Dánavas caused to take the arghya in his lotus-hand (to make a respectful offering)].

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LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name of donee</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Gótra</th>
<th>Sákhá or Véda</th>
<th>Place of origin</th>
<th>Shares</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gaṅgádhara²</td>
<td>śubtiya</td>
<td>Parás[a]</td>
<td>Vájimaddhyandina</td>
<td>Áframa³</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Bhadréśvara</td>
<td>sukla</td>
<td>Pavitra</td>
<td>Áśvaláyana</td>
<td>Mahávána</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Chandrákṣha</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nárayaṇa</td>
<td>dikshiita</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mándhyandin</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1†</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>trivédha</td>
<td>Kátyáyana</td>
<td>Sánavédá</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Bháradvája</td>
<td>Kauțuma</td>
<td>Ṭákár</td>
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<td>dikshiita</td>
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<td>Mándhyandin</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>paṇḍita</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>omitted</td>
<td>Tripuri</td>
<td>1†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
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<td>agnibhrtrin</td>
<td>Kátyápa</td>
<td>Áśvaláyana</td>
<td>Mutavatálú</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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¹ The king Dévapála and the guardian of the gods (dénava, i.e. the god Indra) are alike because either of them is dánauvári-víjriṃbhikáta pavitra-rakasapadma. About the exact meanings of the first of these two words there can be no doubt; it means 'the pouring forth of the water of donations' (dénau-vári), and its the exploits of the enemy of the Dánavas' (Dénavāvári, i.e. the god Vishnu-Krśna). I am not so sure about the two meanings of the second word. Referred to the king, it means 'holding pavitra (i.e. kusa or darbha grass, which is taken up by the person who is about to make a donation) in his lotus-hand.' Applied to Indra, I take it to mean that Indra, pleased with the exploits of the conqueror of the Dánavas, took up the pavitra (i.e. the arghya vessel) to make a respectful offering to Visnu. In support of this explanation I would quote Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 124, v. 2, where Brahman offers to Visnu the arghya-saila, when he sees how the latter has cheated Bali. But I am myself not quite satisfied with this explanation, because I suspect the word padma to have been used in two different senses in the compound. From inscriptions we may compare with our verse especially the verse in Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. p. 218, ii. 19 and 20: Súrya bhádhra vidhíhaa dánau-rddhitá-bhikáta Mahádhraváh deiva-bhrása mārga-vat-sámyam-ágatah a, where dánau-rddhitá-bhikáta means both 'excessively pleased by the water of donations' and 'pleased by the enemy of the Dánavas.' Dánauvári also has a third meaning, 'the rutting-juice of elephants' (máda-yala), and in that sense as well as in the sense of 'the enemy of the Dánavas' the word is used in the Naśadhaḥsútra, XIII. 3 and 29, the first of which, in so far as it is applicable to Indra, seems to have suggested the súrya bhádhra . . . dánau-rddhitá-bhikáta Mahádhrá[?] of the verse quoted above from an inscription. (Incidentally I may mention that Paścuvelvá is not 'the title of a work,' but a name of the 15th sarga of the Naśadhaḥsútras). In Hādenikii, p. 200, the hand of a king is compared with the ocean, because both hold the dánauvári.

² All these names have the word karman attached to them.

³ With the exception of Madhyadhrá and Prátiśeṣa, these names have the word stídham attached to them.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name of donee</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<th>Shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Gōsala</td>
<td>rājan</td>
<td>Parāvasu</td>
<td>omitted.</td>
<td>Brought forward</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gōśē</td>
<td>malarājapāṇḍita</td>
<td>Vasishtha</td>
<td>Āśvalāyana</td>
<td>Akōkā</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Rāmēśvara</td>
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<td>Bhārgava</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mathurā</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Gudādhara</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Garbhēśvara</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Bhārgava</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Lōlaśa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Purushōttama</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Gautama</td>
<td>Śāṅkhāyana</td>
<td>Dīṇḍavānaka</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Gudādhara</td>
<td>drīvēda</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>Mādhyāndīna</td>
<td>Mutavathū</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
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<td>pāṇḍita</td>
<td>Gautama</td>
<td>Kauṭiyamna</td>
<td>Mahāvana</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Abhinanda</td>
<td>āvaasthika</td>
<td>Vata</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Śakāri</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Anauta</td>
<td>agnilōtrin</td>
<td>Mudgala</td>
<td>Mādhyāndīna</td>
<td>Madhyadēśa</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Śāṇḍilya</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Ĉulē[re]</td>
<td>chaturvēda</td>
<td>Dhaumya</td>
<td>Āśvalāyana</td>
<td>Mathurā</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Kuladhara</td>
<td>trīvēda</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Rāqāyini</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Mathusadana</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>chaturvēda</td>
<td>Harita-Kutsa</td>
<td>Kāśha</td>
<td>Sarasvatī</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Lōluđa</td>
<td>dīkṣitā</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>Mādhyāndīna</td>
<td>Madhyadēśa</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
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<td>āvaasthika</td>
<td>Śāṇḍilya</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Māraṇḍēya</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Māraṇḍēya</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Vāyudēva</td>
<td>pāṭhaka</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Rājē</td>
<td>chaturvēda</td>
<td>Kauṭika</td>
<td>Āśvalāyana</td>
<td>Mathurā</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Kusumapāla</td>
<td>pāṇḍita</td>
<td>Pārāśara</td>
<td>Kauṭikā</td>
<td>Hastināpura</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 324

**NAMES OF THE FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS OF THE DONEES.**

Ajayi, chaturvēda, l. 62.
Āśādāhara, trivēda, l. 31; chaturvēda, l. 35.
Bhāratapāla, thakkura, l. 37.
Brahman, śrētriya, l. 23; chaturvēda, l. 47.
Chhitū, agniḥōtrin, ll. 54, 66.
Dāllaśa, trivēda, l. 31.

Dāllaśa, thakkura, l. 37.
Dāmōcāra, śrētriya, l. 23; upādhyāya, l. 67.
Dēvadhara, chaturvēda, ll. 42, 45.
Dharaṇḍhara, chaturvēda, ll. 39, 44, 47; agniḥōtrin, l. 54.
The first plate is inscribed on one side, and the second on both sides. The writing on the first plate and on the first side of the second plate covers a space about 1' 4" broad by between 9½" and 10" high, that on the second side of the second plate 1' 4½" broad by 8" high. The three sides together contain 53 lines of well-engraved writing which throughout is in a perfect state of preservation. On the proper right of the second side of the second plate, between lines 42 and 50, a vertical line marks off a space 3" broad by 4½" high, which contains an engraving of Garuda, with, below it, the words su-hastaya-mahârâjasya, in smaller characters than those in the body of the inscription. The bird is represented in human form, kneeling towards the left, but with the head turned towards the right, and with four hands, the two inner ones of which are joined over the breast, while the two others are lifted up on either side, the one on the left holding a snake, the head of which looks like a bird's head. The size of the letters is about ¾. The characters are Nagari, closely resembling those of the inscription A., and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is so carefully written that in respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. The sign for s denotes both s and v; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal only in sata-, l. 25; as is often the case elsewhere, dy, de and dâv are employed instead of dây, dâr and dîke; Janârâdasana is written Janârâjâna- in line 34, and shâdbhîr= as shâshbhir= in line 37. The sign of avagraha is employed seven times; and, excepting in sādprastâ, l. 16, at the end of a verse or half-verse.

1 The plates were first mentioned by Mr. Lele in a Report of his on the progress of Archaeological work in the Dhâr State, dated the 24th August 1904.
is denoted by the sign for m, not by that of ananda. — In lines 1-23 the inscription has 23 verses, chiefly containing genealogical matter, 21 of which are already known to us from the inscription A.; and in lines 25-27 we again find the verse commencing with Vatikavrishraman-idam vasuhi-ashhipatyanam, and in lines 42-48 five benedictory and imprecatory verses, the last of which here too is the verse commencing with Iti kamaladaidambuvindu-lohamsat. There are besides two verses in lines 50-52, which record the names of persons who had to do with the writing of the grant. In the prose part of the text, attention may be drawn to the peculiar construction in lines 25-28, aumahiti . . . Ganga-deva-puruṣott . . . grhasthamyaḥ trikhyāḥ brähmaṇaḥ środhya dāpitaḥ, "we have caused Gangadeva to give this village to three Brähmaṇaś."1

The inscription records an order by the Paramāra Mahārāja Jayavarman [II] of Mālava, dated, as will be shown below, in A.D. 1260 and 1261. Of the 23 verses with which it opens, verses 1-21 are identical (except for two various readings2) with the same verses of the inscription A., and contain therefore the same list of kings from Bhūjadeva to Dévapāla. The two new verses, 22 and 23, may be rendered thus:

"When that king, the glorious Dévapāla, had joyfully resorted to Indra's abode, his son, a death-dealing god to enemies (while) ever pleasing the people by his good qualities, the wise king Jaitugidēva, the glorious Mālava chief, ruled this land, by his noble exploits a young Nārāyaṇa."4

"Now that he, after enjoying the delights of royalty, has gone to the habitation of the gods, his younger brother, king Jayavarman, rules the land."5

Dévapāla, therefore, was succeeded by his son Jaitugidēva, and he by his younger brother Jayavarman [II].— Jaitugidēva was known already from the pratāti in Aśadhara's Dharmaśāstra, referred to above, according to which the commentary on that work was completed during the reign of the Pramāra Dévapāla's son Jaitugidēva, on a date which corresponds to Monday, the 19th October A.D. 1243. In my Northern List, No. 223, I have assumed that Jaitugidēva is identical with a king who is mentioned in a Rāhatgajā inscription of the 28th August A.D. 1256, noticed by me in Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. p. 84, where I have given the king's name as Jay[a]śikha]dēva. But with what we now know from the present inscription, I am not sure whether Sir A. Cunningham6 was not right in reading the same name as Jaya[varma]dēva, and would therefore suspend my judgment on the matter till we possess proper impressions of an inscription at Udaypur in Gwālīor, which seems to be of the reign of a king Jayasinghadēva and to be dated in the [Vikrama] year 1311 (in Jan-

1 Exactly the same construction occurs in my Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS., Bombay, 1881, p. 11: tēna . . . idhakha-sāhaṇa-pūraṇī-viśdhi-pūrṇaḥ, 'he caused the writer Sāhaṇa to write (a certain MS.).' With the use of pūraṇī we may compare that of hastī in Prof. Peterson's Fifth Report, p. 29: Udyanachandragunind Jinaḥkrodadīdhamukha-dāsad-vimalachandragunind-hastachakha Oghashrayakshetram imi lokhitam.

2 In verse 17 this inscription has Jaitrasimha instead of Jayasimha, and in verse 21 pratāti instead of ravañaka.— For the reading Jaitrasimha see above, Vol. VIII. p. 203, where a certain person is called both Jayaṭasimha and Jaitrasimha. If any importance could be attached to the new reading, it would in my opinion show that the Jayaṭasimha, who was defeated by Arjunavarman, undoubtedly was the Chaulukya Jayasimha (Jayasimha) Abhinavasimhadrāja.

3 The text actually has: "Now that Dévapāla has resorted to Indra's abode, his son Jaitugidēva rules this land." The verse undoubtedly was taken over unchanged from an inscription of Jaitugidēva himself.
4 "Bāla-Nārāyaṇa" most probably was an epithet of the king. Compare Kundra-Nārāyaṇa, as an epithet of the Paramāra Sinhaharja, in the Nāravahadakshacharita, I. 59.
5 See above, p. 107.
6 See Archæol. Survey of India, Vol. X. p. 31. Judging from Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription which I have again examined, the two aksāras between Jaya and dēva are almost completely broken away.
7 I am writing this with Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription before me.
nary 1255). For the present, what is certain is, that Jaitugidēva\(^1\) was reigning in A.D. 1243 and his younger brother Jayavarman in A.D. 1260-61.

In lines \(23\) ff. of our inscription Jayavarman informs all king's officers, Brāhmaṇs and others, and the Paṭṭakāla and other people dwelling at the village of Vaçaūḍa in the Mahāuḍa pathaka, that, while staying at Maṇḍapadurga, in the year 1317 (given in words), he caused the Pratīkhara\(^5\) Gaṅgadēva to give the village of Vaçaūḍa to three Brāhmaṇs.

And, according to lines \(23\) ff., the Pratīkhara Gaṅgadēva, on Sunday, the third tithi of the bright half of Āgrahāyana (Mārgaśīrsha) of the year 1317, while the nakṣatra was Pūrvāśādēha and the gōga Sōta, at Amaraśāva-kēśātra on the southern bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā), after bathing at the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapālā and worshipping the holy Amaraśāvarādevā (Śiva) with the five offerings,\(^3\) gave the village of Vaçaūḍa, divided into six shares (vāṣṭaka) so that—

four shares (pada) were assigned to the agnīhōtrin\(^4\) Mādhavāvaśarman— a son of the pāthaka Hariśarman and grandson of the dīvī śāda Vāda— a Brāhmaṇ of the Bhārgava gōtra\(^3\) and student of the Mādhavaśvarsādī ākāshā, who had come from Navagāmva;\(^6\)

one share (pada) to the chatureśveda Janārdana— a son of the dīvī śāda Lāmadēva and grandson of the dīvī śāda Lāśāh— a Brāhmaṇ of the Gautama gōtra and student of the Āvalāyana śākhā, who had come from Ṭakāri; and

one share (pada) to the dīvī śāda Dharmāvaśarman— a son of the dīkṣīṭa Divākara and grandson of the dīkṣīṭa Kēkū— a Brāhmaṇ of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and student of the Mādhavaśvarsādī śākhā, who had come from Ghaṭānāhari.

From line 37 to line 48 the text contains so well-known phrases that it may be passed over here. The remaining part of the inscription yields the following information—

On Thursday, the 11th of the bright half of Jyāśūthā of the year 1317, this king's order (rāja śūkṣma) was written 'here, at Maṇḍapadurga,' by Harshaśāda, a son of the learned Gaviśa, with the approbation of the sāndhiyograpa (or minister of peace and war), the paṇḍita Māladēha, an official of the Mahārājadrīhīrāja, the glorious Jayavarmanādeva; and the king's document was corrected by the grammarian (śākhā) Āmadēva, a disciple of the learned Gōsēka (Gōśa)\(^7\) who knew the boundless essence of legal science.' The grant was engraved by the rāmnārāṇa Kānhaṇḍa. The dāna was the great minister (mahāprādhāsā), Rāja Ajayaśāda.

The words 'this is the own hand (i.e. the sign-manual) of the Mahārājā' are engraved, as has been already stated, under the engraving of Garuḍa on the second side of the second plate.

The dates contained in this inscription are both correct. The first date, in lines 23 and 29, for the expired (Caitrāj or Kārttikād) Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Sunday, the 7th November A.D. 1250. On this day the third tithi of the bright half ended 16 h. 13 m.; the nakṣatra was Pūrvāśādēha, by the Brahma-sūdhaṇḍa for 17 h. 4 m., according

\(^1\) In the first half of the 13th century A.D. we find the name Jaituṭi twice in the family of the Yālavas of Dēvagiri; and there was a [Śīla] Koṭkhapacakravartī Jaitugida, an unpublished inscription (belonging to the Bombay As. Soc.) of whom apparently is dated in A.D. 1207.

\(^2\) Given in the abbreviated form pratīkhā. The word pratīkhā means 'a door-keeper', but denotes a rāja official.

\(^3\) Compare paśčāppachādṛa, pāśū, pāś, dāpā, dāpa and naiśūdīya; compare Sūtra-kumārdhā, p. 140 ff., where paśčāppachādṛa, naśāpachādṛa and similar terms are explained.

\(^4\) These epithets here too are given in the abbreviated forms agm, psd, dsc, chs, and df.

\(^5\) In the original the pravasanas also are given.

\(^6\) The names of the places of origin here also have the word śīdaṇa attached to them.

\(^7\) See above, p. 106.
to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the equal space system from 10 h. 30 m.; and the yuga was Shi la for 20 h. 46 m., after mean sunrise. And the second date, in lines 48 and 49, for the expired Karttikeya Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Thursday, the 12th of May A.D. 1901, when the 11th titki of the bright half ended 10 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise. The dates show that the year 1317 of the inscription was a Karttikeya year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Mandapadurga, from where the king's order was issued, is Mandogarch (Mándâ), a deserted town in the 'Dhrâr State, in Long. 75° 23' and Lat. 22° 21' (Constable's Hand Atlas, Plate 27, B d). From the same place was issued the order in the Pipilânagar of king Arjunavarman. 1 On Mahuṇa, see above, p. 106. Vaḍāiḍa perhaps is the village of 'Burud ' which according to the Indian Atlas is about three miles north-east of 'Satajana,' the village granted by the inscription A. I have already pointed out that Mahuṇa-pathâkâ of this inscription is equivalent to Mahuṇa-pratijâgaranâkâ of the inscription A.; and I may state that a (or the?) village of Vaḍāiḍâ is mentioned also in the plate of the Paramâras Yaśôvarman and Lâkshâmi varman, in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. p. 352, li. 5 and 13. Amarâvâra-keshâṭra is the Amarâvâra-tirtha from which the grant of Arjunavarman in Journ. Am. Or. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 27 was issued, and the Amarâvâra mentioned in the plates of Jayasimha, above, Vol. III. p. 47; it is near the island of Mândhâtâ, on the southern bank of the river Narmadâ. The grant in Journ. Am. Or. Soc. quoted just now also mentions the confluence of the Revâ and Kapilâ, which is now called Kapila Sangam, where a small stream joins the Narbadâ. 2 Of the places of origin of the dones, Tâkâri-sthâna is one of the places mentioned in A; Navagâmva-sthâna may be the town of Navagôon in the Chândâ district, mentioned in the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces, p. 370, but there is at least one other place of the same name in the Central Provinces; Ghaṭâushâri-sthâna I am unable to identify.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 || Ōṁ namah purusârtha-chûḍâmaṇyâ dharmâmâyâ || *Pratîvîma-ânihâd-bhûmêb kritvâ sâkhât-pratîgraham | jagd-â- 2 hâdâyanâ-digyâ[â] = dvijendrâ mâyâlani va bh || 1 ||<br> 3 ||<br> 4 Râmaḥ sêryasa cau va bh || 3 ||<br> 5 va nîrmittâh || 4 ||<br> 6 ||<br> 7 dayâdityo nityâtâh-aikakautuki ||<br>

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2 See Gazetteer of the Central Provinces, p. 258.
3 From an impression supplied by Dr. Sten Konow.
4 Metre of verses 1-21 : Sêka (Anâhâhîh). 5 Read pratîtiñâma.
6 After de 4 another vertical stroke was engraved, but has been struck out.
7 This sign of punctuation was originally omitted. 8 In the place of ta originally ita was engraved.
9 Read -addyaâ.— Between the aksharas ita and ita a vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.
MANDHATA PLATES OF DEVPALA AND JAYAVARMAN II

8 ntē yasya-ōddāmaṁbaṁ-aśuṅgaḥ | kati n-ōmmūlītas-tuṅga bhūbhirataḥ kaṭa-kūvaṇāh
l(l) 8 [l[*]] Tasmāĉ-chhina-dvīshamnarmanmā Narava-
9 rnmṇā narādhāpaḥ | dharmam-ābhhyuddharṣaṇaḥ dhimān-ahūt-sīma mahībhujam ||
9 [l[*]] Prati-prabhadāṃ viprēbhīyō datair-grāma-padaṇaḥ svayā-
10 m | anēkapadatām ninye dharmamō yēn-äkṣa-pād-sīpi || 10 [l[*]] Tasy-ājani
Yasovarmmṇaḥ putraḥ khaṭhriya-Śekharaḥ | tasmād-Śayava-
11 rmmṇāḥ bhūṣāya-jastraṛviśrutah | sutaḥ || 11 [l[*]] Tat-sūnur-vivra-mūrdhānaḥ dhany-oṭpattir-ajayaḥ |
Gūrjjara-chhēdēa-nīrvaṇāṇaḥ | Vīndhyavarmmṇaḥ mah[ā]-

12 bhūṣāḥ || 12 [l[*]] Dhārṣyā-ōḍdhīrataḥ sārdhānaḥ dādātya sma tridhāratām |
sānyuginaya yasya-āsītratām lōka-trayimaṇa || 13 [l[*]] Tasy-ā-
13 mushyāyaṇaḥ putraḥ Śrīrāma-Śrīr-atih-Śeśāyaḥ | bhūṣāḥ Subhaṭṣaṇavrma-ēti
dharmmaḥ tiasṭham-mahi-talum || 14 [l[*]] Yasya jvalati da(dī)g-jé-
14 tub pratāpas-tapana-dyutah | dāvagī-chhēhādā(dma)n-ādy-āpi | garjyad-
Gūrjjara-puttānā || 15 [l[*]] Dēvā-bhūyaṁ gāte tasmin-naṭanām-ṛjuna-
bhūpate[ī]n[ā]-

15 | dōhnāḥ dhautte śdhunāḥ dhārṣṭī-valayaṁ vālavaṁ yathā || 16 [l[*]]
Vā(bā)lalā-āhavē yasya Jaitrasimhēḥ kalāyitē | dikpālaḥ-
16 sa-vyājēṇa yaśo dīkṣoṁ virīmūbhitaṁ || 17 [l[*]] Kārvṣgāṁdhavṛṇa-sarvaṁva-
sinidhīnaḥ yēna sāṃpratitaḥ | bhār-avataraṇaṁ dēvayāṁ-chakrē
dhavalaṁ dadas-triṇa jagaṁ katham-anantāḥ ||
18 19 [l[*]] Athārthāṁ-sapuyēna punyēṇa svargga-suddhāvām | so śdhūnta-
tyāgaśīlaṁ-cha śrīngāri cha divāna gataḥ
dhavalaṁ dadas-triṇa jagaṁ katham-anantāḥ ||
19 || 20 [l[*]] Tatāḥ Pramāra-chaṭḍrasya Hariśchandrasya maṇḍanaḥ l(l) pṛaśaṭī[ī]
Mālava-kahōuṇā Dēvpālaṁ pṛatāpavā-

Second Plate; First Side.

20 n || 21 [l[*]] Tasmān-Aimdra-padaṁ mūd-āṣīratavati śrī-Dēvpālaṇēḥ nripē
tat-sūnur-dvīshad-aṃtakā niya-gruṇair-lōka-
21 n-sadā raṅjayaṁ | dhimān(ī)-Jaitrugidēva ēṣaḥ nripatiḥ śrī-Śālavā-Śēhādālaḥ
śāsti kahōuṇām-imām-udāra-cha-
22 ritaḥ svair-Vā(bā)bā)lānārāyaṇaḥ || 22 [l[*]] Bhuktveḥ raśya-sukham tasmān-
prāptē trīḍaṁ-māṇḍuṁ | śāsti tasy-ānujaḥ kahōuṇā Jaya-
23 varūṇāḥ jāḍṣhīpah || 23 [l[*]] Sa ēṣa nara-nāyaṁkā sarvaṁ-abhūdayat ||
Mauhāḍa-paṭhakā Vauḍālī-āṃrām saṃsta-śājaṇpurushāñ vār(vār)-
24 hmaṇn-śṭiārān-pratiṁvā-pīṭkālā-janapad-ādīnā-cha vō(bā)bā)ḥnāyē-ṣtva vaḥ
saṃviditaṁ yathā || 10 śrīnān-Mauhāḍa-purd baggage-sthitār-ā-
25 smābbih saṃptasāḥdihka-trayōdāṣasa(ā)ta-saṃvatsaraḥ || saṃsārasya-sārātāṁ
dīpasya || tathā hi || 10 Vāṭābhra-viḥbhranām-īdān vāṣu-
26 dh-kahōuṇām-pāṭamātra-madhurō viṣha-yāpabhōgaḥ | pṛapās-trīṇa-grajalavīṁdu-saṃma
naraṇāṁ dharmmaḥ sakāḥ param-abō

1 Read -nirbhāmādāt.
2 Originally dhātri- was engraved.
3 In A. and in the three grants of Arjunaavarman the name is Jayasimhē.
4 In the place of of originally ed was engraved.
5 Instead of this word A. has sarakāḥ.
6 Metre: Śārdīlavikṛttā.
7 The askara pd of this word seems to be corrected out of īd which was originally engraved.
8 Metre: Sūkṣa (Amūhūrē)."
27. paralbha-yānē [I*] iti sarvamāh vāmāsa dápan-ādriṣṭāphalam-amgikrītya | prati² śrī-Gāṁgadēva-pārsvā³ Vaśāūda-grāmō-yaṁ

28. triḥbyō vrā(brāh)māṇēbhāyō dāpitaḥ | Tena cha prati³ śrī-Gāṁgadēvēna

sammatē 1317 Aṛaghaṇa-śukla-trīṭāṣṭayāṁ tithau

29. Ravi-vāsair Pūrvaśāhāācā-nakshatrā śūla-nāmāṁ yōgē śrīmad-Amarēśvara-

keśētē Rēvāyā dákahinē kūlā Rēvā-Kapīlā-

30. saṃgāmē sāhābh bhagavāntaṁ charāchara-guruh śrīmad-Amarēśvara.⁴
dēvā maṇḍi-ṭopābhāriḥ samabhārycha ||¹ jīvitaṁ vidyuch-charāchalam jāstvā

31. Navagāmavasthāna-virigatāya Bhārgava-sagōtrāya Bhārgava-Chāvāna-⁷Āṇavāna-

Aurva-Jāmagnya-ēti maṇḍi-praṇavarēṇa Maṇḍyaḥ-

32. dinaśākh-ādhyāyinē dvī⁵ Veda-paṇṭāya⁶ pā⁴⁰ Hariṣarmma-praṇatāya agni²¹

Mādhavaśārmanapē vrā(brāh)māṇāya padāni chātvāri

33. 4. Taṅkarīsthāna-virigatāya Gautama-sagōtrāya Gautamā-Āṅgirasa-Auchathē-ēti

tri-pravārya Āśvalayanaśākh-ādhyāy-

34. yinē dvī² Lēlah-paṇṭāya dvī³ Limadēva-praṇatāya cha²² Janārijaśārmanapē³³

vrā(brāh)māṇāya padām-ēkam 1 Ghaṭāusharisthū-

35. na-virigatāya Bhāravāja-sagōtrāya Āṅgirasa-Vā(hā)rhapsatya-Bhāravāj-ēti

tri-pravārya Mādhyaam-dinaśākh-ādhyāyinē

36. di⁴ Kēkō-praṇatāya di⁵ Divākara-praṇatāya dvī³ Dhāmadēvaśārmanapē

vrā(brāh)māṇāya padām-ēkam 1 evam-ēbhāyas¹²² triḥbyō

37. vrā(brāh)māṇēbhāyō shahbhīr-³³vaṇṭakair-Vaśāūda-grāmō-yaṁ samaśetō-pi

chatuḥkamkañē.²⁷ viśuddhāḥ sa-vriksamālaśakulaḥ sa-hiranyabha-

38. grbhbhāg s-ōparikaraḥ sarvādāya-samētāḥ sa-nidhō(dhi)nikshēpō mātāpitrōr-

ātmanē cha pūrayaśocbhivridhīyā

39. charādrākkārṇlaysa[kah]iti-samakālaṁ yāvate-parayā bhaktās dēvavrā(brāh)māṇa-

bhuhti-varjaṁ ēsānēṁ-ōdaka-pā-

Second Plate: Second Side.

40. rvva[ḥ] pradattaḥ || tān-matvā tanniṁśi-ṭaṭṭakilajanapadair-yathādīyamāna-

bhāgabhāgakarunahireṇyā{idikam-ājīb-vidhē-

41. yair-bhūtvā sarvvaṁ-ēṭhēyō saṁpaṇḍtāvyam¹³ sāmānyaḥ chāśrūdha dharm-

phalam vu(bu)dhv-śāmadvaṁśaśaj-anyair-āpi bhāviḥ-brhābhī-

42. smatpradāpita-dharmāddāyā²⁹ syam-anumantāvyah pālanayaccha || Uktam a²⁹

[va(hā)]hubbhiv-vasudhā bhaktā rājabhīṣ Sugar-hē-

43. bhīḥ | yasaḥ yasaḥ yadā bhūmīs-tasaḥ tasaḥ tāda phalam [I*] Śva-dāttāṁ

para-dāttāṁ vā yō hrēta vasaṃdharām

¹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
² Read -pātṛi-dē.
³ Originally sammatē seems to have been engraved. Read samēnt.
⁴ Read Āgraṇaṇya.
⁵ The ekāhaṇa of this word in the engraving is really rara.
⁶ Read Chāvāna; this correction may have been made already in the original.— Here and in some places
below the rules of asādēi have not been observed.
⁷ I.e., here and below, prathāḥra.
⁸ Originally asādēi was engraved.
⁹ I.e., here and below, dēsēda.
¹⁰ I.e. pāṭhākha.
¹¹ I.e. chaturkēta.
¹² Read dēśkēta.
¹³ Read evēdē.
¹⁴ Originals evēdē was engraved.
¹⁵ I.e., here and below, prathāḥra.
¹⁶ I.e. angāhāri.
¹⁷ Read Jāmdṛddha.
¹⁸ Read bāghaṇa.
¹⁹ Read chatuskākṣata.
²⁰ Compare above, p. 112, note 16.
²¹ Metro of this and the next two verses: Śīkha (Anushūbbh).
44 | viśhṭhāyāṁ sa kṛmin-ḥūtvā pitṛbhīḥ saha majjati | (!) Shaśṭhiṁ varha- 
45 | sahaṛṣeśaṁ svargeśaṁ tīhaṁ tīhaṁ bhamīdaḥ |
46 | ḥoḥhōḥtā ca-anumattā (ntā) cha tanyāva narakesa vaśe | (!) 1Sarvveṇ-èveṇ 
47 | bhāṅgavīṁ bhūmipālāṁ bhūyō bhū-
48 | yō yācchāta Rāmabhadaḥ | sāṃānya śyaṁ dharmmaṁ-sētum-nripāpaṁ kāle kāle 
49 | pālantō bhavadhīḥ || Itī2 kamadalalāmũn(bu) viṁdu-lōlāṁ ārīyam-anuχhīntya manushya- 
50 | jīvītaṁ cha | saka-
51 | lam-īdam-udāhrītakā cha vudhva3 na hi pūrasaṁhīḥ para-kirttayो vilīpyaḥ iti 
52 | ||| || Sānva-
53 | 1317 Jyēshṭha-śādi 11 Gurūv-adāy-deva śrī-Matiṣa-indugō māhārājākhirāja- 
54 | śrīma-jayavarmanme-
55 | dēva-ulisthunō saṃdhīvīrṇa(grah)hika-paṁ4 śrī-Mallādhara-sammattōna ||
56 | 5 Harshadēv-ābhidhēn-īdam lēkhitāṁ7 rāja-sēsanaṁ3 | (!) Yō2 vētty-sāpāram
57 | smṛtiśāstra-saṁrām Gēsēka-nâmō vṛ(ṃ) dhv-puṅgava-
58 | sva | śihaḥ suhdhi śāvīd(ā)lika Āmādeo ābhōpaya lēkhyam samaśōdhī 
59 | tōna | (!) Uktīrṇam-īdam ru(ṛ) pakāra-Kānhaṇēna |
60 | Dūtō mahāpradhāna-rāja-śrī-Ajayadēvaḥ | (!)
61 | 10Sva-hastō-yāṁ māhārājāsya ||

No. 14.—KANKER INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHANUDEVA;
THE [SÅKA] YEAR 1242.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A.; NAGPUR.

This inscription or praṇasti, as it is called in line 19, is lying in the veranda of the school 
house at Kanker, the capital of the Fedearul State of that name in the Central Provinces, and 
was brought away from the ruins between the Dwān and Śītalā tanks in that town. It was first 
brought to my notice by Mr. Baínath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State, who kindly 
 furnished me with an inked estamge, and further estamges were supplied to me by the 
Dwān of the Kanker State and the Agency Inspector of Schools, Chhatissgarh Fedearuries.

The stone is a cubit square and half a cubit thick, and the writing covers a space of 18' 
by 17" in 19 lines. The letters are bold and well formed, the average size being 4'. The 
characters are Dēvanāgarī, and the language is Sansākrit. The whole of the inscription is 
written in verse, except the commencement (āhit sādhiḥ) in line 1, and the concluding portion 
(ll. 18 and 19) containing the date and the names of the creator and the writer of the inscription. 
There are altogether eight verses, of which six are in the Śārdūlavikṛṣṭa metre, and the 
first and the last in Sragdharā and Amāhūṭhubby respectively. The principal orthographical 
peculiarities are the indifferent use of $t$ for s and vice versā (ll. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 15, 17, 19) and 
the use of b for s (ll. 2, 12, 14). Some of the letters with a superscribed rēpha have been doubled 
-especially m and t), others not. The sign of avagraha has not been used at all. Final forms of 
$t$ occur in ll. 12 and 18.

1 Metre : Śālinī. 2 Metre : Pushpītāgrā. 3 Read ēddārād. 4 La.-pāṭahī. 5 This sign of punctuation is superfluous. 6 Metre : Śūka (Anuṃtahubba). 7 Read likhitān. 8 Originally ēddānaṁ was engraved. 9 Metre : Indravājā. 10 These words are engraved in small letters under the figure of Garuḍa which is on the proper right of the plate 
between lines 42 and 50.
The inscription is an eulogy of the Nāyaka Vāsūdeva, the minister of king Bhāṇudēva of Kākāra. It states that he constructed two temples of Mahādeva, and another in honour of the local deity of the fields, besides a building with a gateway, and excavated two tanks. It is dated in the [Śaka] year 1242 bearing the name Raudra, on the 5th ātika of the dark fortnight of Jyāisūthi, corresponding to (Tuesday), the 27th May A.D. 1320. Unfortunately the week-day is not mentioned, and hence the date does not admit of verification. It is also possible that it may have been Wednesday, the 28th May, as there was a repitition of the Hindū date paśchami in that fortnight and month. The record gives the genealogy of the minister for four generations, and that of his sovereign for seven generations. It is stated that Vāsūdeva’s ancestors wore elephant-catchers (?). Though in the Kanker State wild elephants are not now found, they are still to be met with in the division in which it is included. The most important part of the inscription is that which gives the genealogy of the Kākāra chiefs, mentioning in order the following:—Sīmarāj, Vyāghrs, Vēpēdeva, Kṛishna, Jaitārāja, Somaścandra and Bhāṇudēva. The dynasty is stated to be lunar, and the want of any epithet indicating paramount sovereignty postulates a subordination to another power. The epithets applied to them:—aravāta (I. 1), urūpa (II. 2 and 5), bhārāindhara (I. 6), bhāpāla (I. 7) and urūpati (II. 10 and 13), are all synonyms of the word ‘king.’ In two copper-plate grants of Pamparājādeva found in the Kanker State the king is styled Somaścandra-prasādā-mahānandalinga ( feudatory chief of the lunar race), which supports the above statement. The present Rāj family of Kanker is doubtless connected with these kings. It belongs to the lunar race and has always claimed to be a very ancient family. According to its own traditions it claims to have come from Orissa. Its original ancestor was ruling at Jagannāthapuri, but, on suddenly becoming a leper, in which state he could no longer occupy the throne, left the place and went out in search of a cure. At Siyāwā, close to Kanker and now in the Dhamtari taluq of the Raipur district, a spring was found, by bathing in which he got rid of the loathsome disease. The local people persuaded him to stay on at Siyāwā and installed him king, and he and his descendants continued to rule there. There can be little doubt that Siyāwā was once the capital of this dynasty, as its ruins and temples testify. There is still an inscription there, which is dated in the Śaka year 1114. The capital was finally removed to Kanker. This must have been done prior to Bhāṇudēva’s times. For in line 12 we read: Kākāra urūpa-Bhāṇudēva-nagarī (in Kākāra, the town or capital of king Bhāṇudēva), and in lines 3 to 5: Kākāra . . . . . . śri-Jaitārāja-bhēvat (there was the illustrious Jaitārāja in Kākāra). This Jaitārāja was the grandfather of Bhāṇudēva. Thus Kākāra has been the capital of the State for over 600 years. Kanker once included the rich Dhamtari taluq of the Raipur.

1 This is the really the correct name of the town and State, but it is now officially written as Kanker. In General Cunningham’s Report for 1873-74 it is spelt as Kākēr, showing that the nasal had not been till then inserted. The local people at present still call it Kākēr.

2 The Central Provinces, called Gondwāna by the Mulsāns, were so infested by these animals that even revenue was levied in elephants. Even places like Jhalpur, which were and are far less jungly than Kanker, had their quota of wild elephants. See Jarrett’s Aśi-Akbari, Vol. II. p. 296, where the following occurs:—“Garha (2 miles from Jhalpur) is a separate State abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in mahors and elephants.” About a dozen years ago 40 elephants were captured in Raikohal, a State now transferred to Bengal, and I had once an occasion of riding one of them.

3 These have not yet been published and are at present in my possession.

4 Central Provinces Gazetteer, 1870, p. 296.

5 It is said that the installation of the Kanker chief is up to this day confirmed by the Halbās by anointing the Rājā before the shrine of Maṃdēvī. The Halbās are an aboriginal tribe mostly living in that State and the adjoining tracts. These Halbās claim to have come from Orissa along with the leper king and are still the chief domestics of the Kanker chief. They speak a dialect which is a curious mixture of Oriya, Chhattīsgarhi (a form of Eastern Hindi) and Marātī; see Dr. Grierson’s Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VII. p. 331.
district, but is now limited to an area of 1,429 square miles lying between 20° 6' and 20° 34' N., and 80° 41' and 81° 40' E.

As regards the buildings and tanks mentioned in the inscription, there can be no doubt that the two tanks are identical with the present Diwân and Sîtalâ talâôs, between which the ruins of the temples may still be seen. It is very probable that the Sîtalâ talâô—a name which gained currency since a hut dedicated to the goddess Sîtalâ was constructed on its bank—is the Kauḍika-bandha of the inscription, the unnamed tank being called Diwân talâô or 'minister's tank,' thus keeping up the memory of its original constructor, who by calling it a taqda apparently distinguished it from the bandha, i.e. the tank formed by merely damming up a stream. The very name Kauḍika-bandha indicates its secondary importance. In the first place it was merely a bandha (dam), and secondly it was probably constructed by the payment of kauḍikas, a Sanskritised form of kauḍis (cowries) or shells, a currency of the lowest value.

The temples and buildings have all fallen or been pulled down, and from the materials a fresh temple was constructed by the predecessor of the present chief. The old temples were seen by Mr. Fisher, who was Deputy Commissioner of the Raipur district (to which Kanker was formerly attached) about 1873 A.D., and he alludes to them in his private Journal thus:—

"Saw some very curious old temples to the west of the village; one has a bijâk giving, as I was told, some particulars of its history. They are very old and utterly neglected now." This bijâk was seen on the gate of the Mahâdêva temple about the year 1825 as recorded in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV., p. 505, where its date is also stated, which is the same as that of our inscription in all details. A noteworthy point in our inscription is the mention of the construction of a puratōbhâdra with a pratōli, about which latter Dr. Vogel has written an article in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, July 1906, p. 539. He has proved that pratōli really meant a gate-way, evidently strongly built and of considerable height. It was sometimes provided with a flight of steps. I have not been able to find puratōbhâdra in the Kâtasa to which I have access, but saratōbhâdra is described as a kind of house with 4 doors facing the 4 quarters. From this I infer that a puratōbhâdra was a building with only one door in front. And the Kîkairâ puratōbhâdra was actually furnished with a gate-way (pratōli).

1 In this part of the country a good deal of transactions were done in cowries (shells, Sanskrit kapardika), which are still used as currency by the poor people. It must not however be supposed that there were no coins here. In the copper-plates of Pampârajâdeva alluded to before, the coin tāsña of local mint finds a mention. It is still a practice in some places to get work done, chiefly digging and throwing of earth, by what is called kauḍikas, a mode of piecework payment, 2 or 4 cowries or more according to the labour involved being paid for each basket of earth thrown out. A man with cowries stands at a place where the earth is to be thrown, and as each labourer turns up and throws down the earth, he receives immediately the fixed number of cowries each time. This mode of labour automatically punishes the idlers and saves a good deal of supervision and account-keeping where a large number of labourers are engaged simultaneously on such a work.

2 Quoted in Cunningham's Archaological Reports, Vol. VII. p. 147.

3 Dr. Flet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 43.

4 The idea seems to have been taken from a saratōbhâdra village, which is described in the Mûndrasa, a book of the highest authority on Hindû architecture, as "a town or village of quadrangular form, containing in the middle a temple dedicated to one of the triad, Brahma, Vishnu or Mahâvâra. It has 4 streets of equal length on the 4 sides at right angles, and 2 more crossing each other in the middle. Between these may be formed 9, 4, 5, or as many more streets as the extent of the village will admit, on each side, parallel to the middlemost street. Without the walls should be placed the shrines of the deities who preside over and defend the several quarters of the village; at the angular points should be erected halls, porticoes, colleges and other public edifices, and towards the quarter of Agni (south-east) a watershed for the accommodation of travellers and passengers. The whole village should be secured by a quadrangular wall and a ditch around it, with a large and as many small gates in the middle of the sides and at the angular points. Without the northern gate should be erected a temple for the worship of Mahâkâll, and the hut of Chandâlas or outcastes should be a kroda distant from the village. A tank or reservoir should be constructed either on the south or north side or near either of these 2 points for ablutionary and culinary purposes."—See Ram Rātra's Architecture of the Hindus, 1834, p. 43.
TEXT.

1 भी सिष्ट: ॥ चारीश्चरेण हिमाद्रिधितगुणमचिंकरादिरिस्पंदिश्चाादाप्रदानव

2 दुरुत्वमं तेजसपापसमूहः॥ अरे सीपि ख्यिेवितत्रपतितसक "ब्रह्मेव ने चौबे कुञ्ज्या।"

3 ख्यं वैदिरज्ञाजङ्गलनपरं विकासान्तविवः ॥ ॥ कालानिंवनिपालमोहिसिंहुक-मोहः।

4 "संहिरांकुरज्योतिकादित्वादपनकनदज्योतितिमकाञ्जा" ॥ सूचि ॥ ओषामांगववेश-विकः।

5 समुखः: बीजीतराजोभवपाद्वादुजमतापमसः: बीसोमचन्द्री खुप: ॥ ॥ लक्षार्यी।

6 युगागामासवक्ष्वागवेशोङ्गः: बीमादुरवसी: चतितले "सख्मप्रतिरो-दयःः:।"

7 प्रतिपथवपदलौ भुस्पाहवधवमिश्रवे अग्नाश्विनः लोक एव सुकृतो 

8 चावनः ॥ ॥ देशः: "युगानिरेरितिमातुर्गन्नकामर्तिष्ठा हिजा: खंडापुरः

9 सप्रय परा: पर धाभिकः: ॥ ॥ सम्बा: "साज्ज्यविचारधीतमनो भाबाव- 

10 लिन भानुदेवरात्रि किं कि न बीकीर्तर || ॥ वी नागदलिन्द्रवनं- 

11 यादः: बीदामोदरंदुहस्वलयमः ॥ ॥ बी[व] प्रजानायकः ॥ सख्यात्सामनः: 

12 को भीमाभिन्दति काशी ब्रह्माद्वैदेवशनरे "बीमादुसुवेशोभवः ॥ ॥

13 गर्भ जातिजनानवध्वभानाकी "विक्ष्यात्विनिल" भानुदेवरात्रि: "पारंजा

14 Read "चारीश्चरेण हिमाद्रिधितगुणमचिंकरादिरिस्पंदिश्चाादाप्रदानव.
15 Read "ब्रह्मेव ने चौबे कुञ्ज्या।"
16 Read "ब्रह्मेव ने चौबे कुञ्ज्या।"
17 Read "ब्रह्मेव ने चौबे कुञ्ज्या।"
18 Read "ब्रह्मेव ने चौबे कुञ्ज्या।"
19 Read "ब्रह्मेव ने चौबे कुञ्ज्या।"
20 Read "ब्रह्मेव ने चौबे कुञ्ज्या।"
21 Read "ब्रह्मेव ने चौबे कुञ्ज्या।"
TRANSLATION.

(Osh. Success! (Verse 1.) In the race of the Moon there was (born) Sinhbaraj, a (very) lion to enemies, (and) praised as possessing numerous virtues. From him was born king Vyaghra, of unequalled fame, who outshone the sun by his splendour. He also begot an ornament of kings befitting his own manliness: Vopadöva; and the latter, likewise, (had a son) named Kri[shna], who was given to destroying crowds of hostile kings, (and) who dominated the universe by (his) valour.

(V. 2.) (Then) there was in Kakaira the illustrious Jaitara, the lustre of the nails of whose lotus-feet was rendered (still more) brilliant by the light emanating from the shining diamonds in the diadems on the heads of kings (prostrating themselves before him) to the ground, (and) who had the merit of conquering heroes on the battle-field. From him who owned the glory of wonderful great valour (was born) the illustrious king Sëmachandra.

(V. 3.) From him, the glorious ocean of virtues, (was born) a young king: the illustrious Bhänu, who was brilliant by (his) whole body and apparel, who acquired honour and prosperity, the destroyer of the party of opponents, a crest-jewel of kings. (He) is (now) protecting the earth. While he is ruling, the people are (all) virtuous (and) well-intentioned.

(V. 4.) The country is replete with permanent wealth and virtue and is devoid of (all) calamities; the twice-born are devoted to good actions; the subjects are intent on performing sacrifices and doing charitable acts. What more? The citizens are very virtuous (and) refined, (and) their minds are purified by the study of the Ñåstræ. What wonder does not (happen) in (this) iron age, while king Bhãnudëva, the incarnation of virtue, is ruling the kingdom?

(V. 5.) In a family which abounded in men subsisting on (catching?) groups of elephants there was the Náyaka Po[i]tú, of brilliant fame, a leader of men, the son of the illustrious Dámðara. His famous, straightforward son was called Bhîma. His son was the illustrious Vâsûdëva, (who resided) in Kakaira, the town of king Bhãnudëva.

1 Read सहारान. 2 Read वैज्ञानिक. 3 Read वैज्ञानिक. 4 Read दृष्टि. 5 Read साहित्य. 6 Read साहित्य. 7 Read साहित्य.
(V. 6.) This illustrious Vásudéva, the pillar of the city, the chief gem (shining) with priceless splendour amongst (his) caste fellows, famous, devoted to the lotus-foot of king Bhánuśáva, known to be very valorous before the array of knights on the battle-field, great, of wonderful power (and) patience, is (now) administering the country.

(V. 7.) (This) clever (minister) caused to be built two temples of the god whose ornament is the moon (viz. Mahádeva), together with halls, a puratóbhadra with a gate-way, and an excellent temple (dedicated) to the guardian deity of the fields. Moreover (he) caused to be dug a large pond (tañga) and a long tank (bändha) called Kaulikas, which contained a great quantity of water.

(V. 8.) The moon-light of the true fame of Vásudéva, devoted to sacrifices and charitable works, has expanded (and) become established so long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure.

(Line 18.) Sávat 1242, in the Raudra year, on the 5th (tithi) of the dark (fortnight) of Jyaishtha, (this) pratasti was erected by the Náyaka Vásudéva. Written by Śaktikumára. Hail!

POSTSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIRLHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Prof. Hultzsch has asked me to express an opinion on the date of the stone inscription published above, of which he has sent me an impression. He also, at the instance of Mr. Hira Lal, has requested me to give my readings of, and, if possible, to verify, the dates of two copper-plate inscriptions of the Kákaicra (Kanker) chief Pamparajadéva, which are about to be published by Mr. Hira Lal, and of which impressions have been forwarded by him.

The date of the stone inscription clearly is, as given by Mr. Hira Lal: Sávat 1242 Raudra-saṅvatara | Jyaishtha-vadi pañcachamyáśa. It does not admit of exact verification, and the only question concerning it is, to which era the year 1242 should be referred so that the date may fall in a Raudra-saṅvatara. A priori the expression saṅvat 1242 would be taken here to denote the Vikrama year 1242; but there is no Vikrama year 1242 that could be called a Raudra year. Nearest to V. 1242, Raudra, by the southern system, would be the expired Chaitrá Vikrama year 1257; and by the northern mean-sign system it would indicate the time from the 13th November A.D. 1195 to the 8th November A.D. 1196, in the expired Chaitrá or Kártiiká Vikrama years 1252 and 1253. If the year of the date were 1252 instead of 1242, it might be taken to be the expired Kártiiká Vikrama year 1252, in which case the 5th of the dark half of Jyaishtha would undoubtedly fall in a Raudra year; but there is nothing to prove that the writer erroneously put 1242 instead of 1252.

Assuming, then, the figures for the year and the Jupiter's year to have been correctly given, it would only remain to take the expression saṅvat 1242, as has been done by Mr. Hira Lal, to denote the expired Śaka year 1242, which by the southern system was a Raudra year. But here we are at once met by a difficulty. In my paper on the dates of the Śaka era in inscriptions I have shown that among 400 Śaka dates of inscriptions only five do not contain the word Śaka or Śáka, and that of even these five dates three are spurious or suspicious, while the two others are in verse. There is therefore every reason to assume that the writer of the inscription would have denoted the Śaka year 1242 by some such expression as Śáka 1242, not by saṅvat 1242. And there might be the further objection that in the Central Provinces, where the date comes from, the system of Jupiter's years ordinarily followed seems to have been the northern system, not the southern system by which alone the Śaka year 1242 can be described as a Raudra year.

1 See Ind. Ant. Vol. XXVI. p. 149.
As the date cannot be verified, it would be useless to indulge in further speculations. To me the wording of it seems certainly to be suspicious. And I can only say that, assuming the figures for the year to be correct and the date to be really a Saka date, it would correspond, to the pârîmânta, Jyaistha, to Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1320, and for the amânta Jyaistha, as stated by Mr. Hira Lal, to Tuesday, the 27th, or Wednesday, the 28th May, A.D. 1320.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of Pamparāja, one is clearly dated as follows:—

[L. 7] ......... Isvaro-

[L. 8] sanvatsara Kârtika-masâ Chitrâ-rikshâ Ravi-dînâ suryoparâgâ

[L. 10] ...... sanvat 966

i.e. "in the Isvâra year, at an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, in the nakshatra Chitrâ in the month Kârtika, ...... in the year 966."

I have no doubt that the year 966 of this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era.

In Festgruss an Roth, p. 53 ff, I have tried to prove from the 12 dates between the years 793 and 958, which hitherto have been available, that the Kalachuri (Châdî) era commenced on the 5th September A.D. 248, that the years were Aśvinidâ years and the months pârîmânta months, and that therefore, to convert an expired Kalachuri year into an expired year of the Kaliyuga, we must add 3349 when the date falls in the bright half of Aśvin or in any month from Kârtika to Phalgun, and 3350 in all other cases. Applying this here, we find that our date, for the pârîmânta Kârtika of the expired Kalachuri year 966 = Kaliyuga expired 966 + 3349 = 4315, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, when the 15th titih of the dark half ended 3 h. 33 m., and when the nakshatra was Chitrâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise. On the same day there was a total eclipse of the sun, the greatest phase of which at Kanker (in about Long. 82° and Lat. 20°) was four digits.4

It will, I think, be generally admitted that Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of our date; but, in connection with this date, the writer apparently has wrongly quoted the year Isvâra instead of the immediately following year Bahudhânya. By the northern mean-solar system Isvâra lasted from the 2nd September A.D. 1212 to the 29th August A.D. 1213. By the northern luni-solar system therefore Isvâra was the proper name of Kaliyuga 4314 expired, and not of the year of our date, viz. Kaliyuga 4315 expired, which according to the northern luni-solar system, as already intimated, would have received the name Bahudhânya. For the present, I can ascribe the error only to the writer's carelessness, but the error is of such a nature that it confirms rather than invalidates our general result.4

The date of the other copper-plate of Pamparâja I read thus:—

[L. 8] ...... | sanvata | 965 Bhâdrapadâ vadi 1[0]

[L. 10] Mriga-rikshâ Sô[ma]-dinâ

Here everything is perfectly clear and certain in the impression excepting the number of the titih and the second akehara of the name of the weekday. As regards the latter, it appears to

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1 If the year were 1244 (instead of 1243), it might be taken to be a Kalachuri year, in which case the date would have fallen in a Raudra year. I do not mean to suggest hereby that the inscription could be assigned to so late a period (A.D. 1492-93).

2 The 5th titih commenced 1 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise of the Tuesday and ended 6 h. 30 m. after mean rise of the Wednesday.

3 Between A.D. 1201 and 1250 this is the only solar eclipse in the month Kârtika that could have been visible at Kanker.

4 Mr. Hira Lal quite lately has sent me for calculation a date from the Central Provinces, which undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1065. According to the original date, this day should fall in the year Parâbhava; but by the northern luni-solar system it would fall in the year Plâvânga which follows immediately upon Parâbhava, and by the southern system in the year Viśvava which immediately precedes Parâbhava.
me evident that the engraver after the ahusara sī in the first instance by mistake engraved the letter d (of dinō), and that he then altered this d to ma. Under any circumstances there could be no doubt that the intended weekday is Sūma-dina or 'Monday.' Nor can there be any real doubt about the number of the tithi. The date clearly gives us the dark half of the month Bhādrapada and during it the nakshatra Mriga (Mrgasārśa). Now in the dark half the nakshatra will ordinarily be Mriga about the 9th tithi of the amāṣa and the 10th tithi of the pūrṇimānta Bhādrapada; and a careful examination of the impression shows that the word sudi is actually followed by 10, the 0 of which is engraved quite on the margin of the plate. I therefore take it that the date gives us for calculation the year 965, the 10th tithi of the dark half of (the pūrṇimānta) Bhādrapada, with the nakshatra Mriga and a Monday." And treating the year again as a Kalachuri year, I find the following equivalents:—

For the expired Kalachuri year 965 = Kalyuga expired 965 + 3350 = 4315: Saturday, the 2nd August A.D. 1214, when the 10th tithi of the dark half of the pūrṇimānta Bhādrapada ended 18 h. 25 m., and the nakshatra was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahmi-siddhānta for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

For the current Kalachuri year 965 = Kalyuga 4315 current: Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, when the 10th tithi of the dark half of the pūrṇimānta Bhādrapada commenced 7 h., and when the nakshatra was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahmi-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

Of the two, I do not hesitate to accept Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, as the true equivalent of our date. That the tithi of the date was a current tithi can cause no difficulty. And the fact that Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years is proved by another date, in an inscription of which Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar some time ago has been good enough to send me a photograph. The inscription referred to is one at Scarinārāyan which the late Sir A. Cunningham had stated to be dated—

Kalachuri-samvataras || 898 || Asvina-sudi 2 Sūma-dina.
According to the photograph the date really is—

Kalachuri-samvataras || 898 || Asvina-sudi 7 Sūma-dina, and with this reading the date regularly corresponds, for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday, the 24th September A.D. 1145, when the 7th tithi of the bright half of Asvina ended 20 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

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No. 15.—NOTE ON THE TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

By Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttingen,

While I was reading the final proof of my paper on the two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahendrapala of Kanauj, published above, p. 1 ff., I received from Prof. Hultsch excellent ink-impressions of the two inscriptions which had been supplied to him by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. The impressions enabled me to make one or two slight corrections in my texts, but it was impossible to insert in my article Mr. Venkayya's description of the original plates, and to get ready in time the collotype fascimile of the second of the two inscriptions, the plates of Avanivarman II. Yōga, which Prof. Hultsch had at once ordered to be prepared and which is now published herewith.

On the plates A., those of Balavarman, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows:—

"The two plates are about 13" broad and about 9½" high, somewhat less in the middle. They are strung on an almost circular ring, 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured below

1 So the tithi was already given, correctly, in At. Rev. Vol. XV. p. 505."
a circular seal, which is slightly damaged and measures nearly 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" in diameter. It is about 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)" thick, and bears in relief a squatting figure, perhaps representing a god, the right hand of which seems to be raised, as if to indicate the abhayahasta. Either plate near the top has a ring-hole which is about 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in diameter."

On the plates B, those of Avanivarman II. Yēga, Mr. Venkayya writes:—

"The three plates are between 12\(\frac{3}{4}\)" and 12\(\frac{1}{2}\)" broad and between 8\(\frac{1}{2}\)" and 9" high. They are strung on an oval ring which measures 2\(\frac{3}{4}\)" by 2\(\frac{1}{2}\). The ends of the ring are secured below a circular seal, which is slightly maltreated and measures nearly 2" in diameter. The seal bears in relief a squatting figure, similar to the one on the seal of the other plates. Each plate contains a ring-hole which is about 1\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in diameter."

On the excellent facsimile published herewith I have to say only a few words. It will show that the inscription in some places is not very easy to read. As regards individual signs, I would merely draw attention to the forms of the initial i and ô, e.g. in ika, l. 33, and evams=, l. 45; to the sign for ry, e.g. in āvāyaga, l. 11; to the final i, e.g. in ābhūt, l. 32; and to the numeral figures, especially that for '9', in line 68.

In my text of the inscription the word śrī has by an oversight been omitted before Tao[ru]ād, above, p. 10, l. 57.

No. 16.—VANDRAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, Ph.D.; HALLE (Saale).

These plates were found in the backyard of Buddhārajī Venkataraju of Vandram, a village in the Bhimavaram taluka of the Kistna district, and were forwarded by the Head Assistant Collector of Narasapur through the Collector of Kistna to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who sent me two sets of ink-impressions of them, with the following remarks:—

"These are five copper-plates, measuring 7\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in length and 3\(\frac{3}{4}\)" in height. They have high rims more than \(\frac{3}{4}\)" thick. The ring on which the plates are strung was cut by me for the first time and soldered subsequently. It is oval, measures 3\(\frac{1}{2}\)" by 3\(\frac{1}{2}\)", and is nearly \(\frac{3}{4}\)" thick. The ends of the ring are secured in an expanded eight-petalled lotus at the bottom of a circular seal, which measures 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in diameter. The seal is much damaged, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend Śrī-Trivāhu[vanāhitā], with a bear facing the proper left over it and a floral device below. The other symbols cut in the seal are not quite distinct. Traces of the sun over the bear, of the crescent of the moon behind his tail, and of an elephant goad in front of him are visible."

The first and last plates bear writing only on one side, and the three remaining plates on both sides. The plates are in a bad state of preservation. Of plate i. a small portion is missing. Plate ii.b is a palimpsest, and part of its writing is effaced. The two first lines of plate iii.b and some letters of the two last lines of plate iv.a are damaged by corrosion. Of plate iv.b the two first lines and part of the third are in a still worse condition. On the last plate (v.) some letters are more or less doubtful.

After the MS. of this article had gone to the press, I received from Mr. Venkayya the original copper-plates, with the help of which I was able to improve my readings of several indistinct words.

The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the usual type. I would only draw attention to the peculiar form of the secondary ā in mārtīte, l. 18, and sanāḥaya, l. 36 f. The language is Sanskrit; but the four first lines of the last plate contain some Telugu words. The Sanskrit portion consists of both prose and verses.
The inscription opens with the genealogy of Ammarāja (II.) of the (Eastern) Chālukya (1.5) dynasty. Ll. 1-17 are practically identical with ll. 1-23 of the Elavargā grant of the same king. But Vikramāditya (I.) receives the title Yuvardāja (I. 13), and the name Kolhabigadga is twice (II. 14 and 17) spelt with b, not with bh.

Ammarāja II. is then praised in seven verses, all of which occur in his Paṇḍakaḷḷuru grant, where they are however differently arranged. The two verses (5 and 6) recording the date of his coronation are also found in the Malayaṇḍa grant. It is a curious fact that the major portion of plate ii.b (consisting of verses 3-5 and nearly the whole of verse 6) of the Vandram plates is engraved over another grant of Ammarāja II., which seems to have been partially effaced by the writer, but of which distinct traces are still visible. I subjoin a transcript of those lines of the original inscription on plate ii.b which can still be made out.

20 ... ... ... ... ... ... SAMAŚKARIYAMIKSAWAYAMVADISA ... 
21 DHARAJA[VISVAPRAMŚETVAR: PARJAYĀRAKAR: PARJAYĀRADHIŚE KATAPITUVADĀDAVAYA ... 
22 Vī VASIŚCHAKRAKSHIPRATIMUHAN ĀKṬUHHĀMSTAMYETSAMASA ... 
23 PANYAT [i] VIṣDITAM ... ... S VAYANDHAGAŚI VADHANKA ... 

The poetical description of Amma's reign is followed by a prose passage (II. 30-37) which is worded in nearly the same manner as ll. 30-36 of the Elavargā grant. Ammarāja II., who is here styled 'Samaśkariyamikṣaśa, the glorious Viṣṇuāditya (VI.) Mahārājadhyārja-Paranaśavara Paramaḥattāraka, the very pious one, who meditates at the feet of (his) mother and father, thus commands, having called (them) together, the ryots, headed by the Bṛdrakatās, inhabiting the twelve villages (the chief one of which is) Prāndoru in the Pāvunāvāra district (viṣhaya).'

So far the text can be easily transcribed and understood. But the remainder of the inscription cannot be deciphered in full, as a number of words in the damaged portions are doubtful or quite illegible. Besides, the author of the long metrical passage describing the donee (II. 37-61) knew so little Sanskrit, or got his draft copied in such an imperfect way, that I am unable to propose satisfactory corrections even of some of the well-preserved portions of it. The whole of this passage seems to be in verse. Making allowance for the damaged and lost lines I number the verses as 8-23. Verse 8 praises the family (gotra) named Mitrayu. A descendant of it was Tārakṣaya-Pediyar (v. 9), who lived in the large village Rāvīpare (v. 10), his son Viṣṇuāditya (v. 11) and his grandson Tūrkkṣaya-Kṛṣṇa (v. 12). The last had by Kandamāvā a son named Kuppanayya (v. 14), who seems to have enjoyed the titles of minister (amāṭya, v. 15) and vassal (āmānta, v. 16). He had the surname Viṣṇuāditya (v. 21) and founded a shrine of Śiva at Drākṣabhimā.

To this Kuppanāmātya, who is devoted to Me, the village named Tāndoru has been given by Us, having made (it) an Andrékara; to whom (the village) named Bṛdrakat (in the neighbourhood of Prāndoru) in your district (viṣhaya), together with the share of gold,

1 Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 31 ff. 2 Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 15 ff. 3 The verses of the Paṇḍakaḷḷuru grant (ll. 23-37) correspond to the following verses of the Vandram plates: 1, 4, 3, 6, 7, 2; and an additional verse is inserted between 1 and 4.
4 Above, p. 47 ff. 5 Both sides of plate v, also exhibit traces of obliterated writing. A grant of Bhūma I. is a similar pallimpsest; see Prof. Kielhorn’s remarks, above, Vol. V. p. 127.
6 In the latter the epithet mahā-pediyar-dhyātak (ll. 35) is however missing.
8 Drākṣabhimā kṛṣṇa-Śiva-viṣhaya v. 22 (l. 59).
9 Prāndoru is the Telugu genitive of Prāndoru (l. 35). 10 L.s. in the Pāvunāvāra-viṣhaya of l. 35.
was given with exemption from all taxes, having made (it) an Agrahāra." I subjoin my reading of this passage, which is so peculiarly worded, that it remains doubtful whether the present grant refers to Tāndogō or to Bećiśpūddi or to both, and whether only the second or both of them belonged to the Pāvunavāra-vishaya.

61 62 63 64

Of the subsequent description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 64-67) I am unable to furnish a satisfactory transcript. The remainder of the inscription (ll. 67-72) is nearly identical with ll. 57-60 of the Elavārī grant. The last line (72) seems to read:

Accordingly the Ajā寺 was the Kāśakāṃ, the poet Mahā[kā?]dhattra, and the writer Jontācchara.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Drākshārama is well-known, and the Pāvunavāra-vishaya is probably the same as Pāvunavāra-vishaya in a grant of Bhima II. The villages Prāndoṛu, Bećiśpūddi, Tāndogō and Raśpūrd are I am unable to identify.

First Half of the Text. 11

First Plate.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

10 11

10 11

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

From two sets of ink-impressions and the original copper-plates.

11 12

11 12

11 12

11 12

11 12
10 तख्ष च्ये भाटा विष्णुविनायकाभारा समानित । तपुली विजया-
   दिवाभारः
11 कोटदाम । तकुमी विष्णुवेभः पद्मगं । तकुमी विजयादिलाखनरेण-
   कुपराणः
12 वाराहवलारिणिः । तकुमुः कालिविष्णुवंजोड़ानवरः । तकुमी गुणाक-
   विभवयाः
13 दित्विङ्कुत्तिलारिणिः । तदरुजयवराजविक्रमादिलिखमुपैः संतुलाभः
14 'कालिविष्णुवंजोड़ानवरः' । तपुचः कोशिकविजयादिलिखः कश्मासानः
   तत्तूरः
15 भाराजः सत्ता वायाविः । तपुला विजयादिलिखः बालसुखावान तालापो भास्माशेः [16]
16 तं जिला चालुकरमीतत्वयो विक्रमादिलिख एकादशा भासानः । तत्तखान-
   लाराजस्व चुटो हुः
17 मकः सत्ता वायाविः । तं जिला कोशिकविजयादिलिखः भीमराजी
   हाराम वायाविः । तत्त मः
18 चेप्रसर्नास्यप्रासानांसः कुमारामः [16] लीकमङ्कादेवः चेप्र सयम-
   भवद्धाराजः

Second Plate ; Second Side.

19 खः ॥ [16] यिः कुपराण मणिं भवसंग महंद्रभिष्मकारसुभवण्टा
   [16] चरसमरिपुर्दः
20 शेत्र भक्तुः (1)भारत विविष्कुकिमनिकिमिः ॥ [16] वालिकायककापतज-
   विजुः
21 देशान्तराजसुखद्वारः (न)रमः । याचकजगिन्तामिशरिवेलिसमः ॥
22 निश्चितारमासः भुमणः [16] ॥ [16] विकिरधराकापिवविद्वो विव-
23 निकान्तकोविधिः [विकीनारिकः]ः । काँतिनागमकुमः
24 तो ब्रह्मच... समुपः ॥ श्रीमणः ॥ [16] गिरि-
25 सवेलसंहारः सकाचः । ... [श्री]वर्षस्यस्मिनः [16] क्रमाण-
   चयोः
26 दशदीने मुरुपरे मैननः[चे] ॥ [16] तनुच्छ रवी घटाने धार-
27 [च]वर्ष्य तु [ज्ञानः] परः । चेप्रादुद्धिमिनीः रविजरित्वः लोकाः

1 Read 'कामिनः'।
2 Read चारणः।
3 Read शेत्रः From here to the end (i. 27) this side of the plate is a palimpsest.
4 Read 'तरंचिवः'।
5 Read 'सम्बोधिणः'।
6 Read 'त्रिविक्रमः'।
7 Read 'वाराणः' वत्सस्मै मासां।
8 Read 'दर्शनः' दर्शनः।
Vandram plates of Ammaraja II.
Third Plate; First Side.

28 तुरानार ॥ [४] यश्मन् । सासुरि नृपैैं परिपलकोकसख्वां ॥
29 पच्चाणि । सततस्योपिनुर्मिष्योरिविप्लिपित्वविग्रहोरी
30 देयं ॥ [७] स सुकन्तरिपुवियमिक्कुषतष्ठितमणिष्णाः ॥
31 संवकरिकयमप्रज्ञितचरणसचिवबुधगः
32 नीलुः[८]चविन्यक्कक्षालिविप्रवादानी । भा
33 सीतातोतरः । समस्तिनुमणानयथीविज
34 याज्ञवल्हचारा विचाराय[१०]सिद्धः । परशुपारकः । परस्परः
35 चक्षः । मातापियादानुभातः । पालवाराथि व्रतायः
36 [हाद्य]ग्रामविवासिनो राज्यमुखाकुटिन्यमाहः

Third Plate; Second Side.

37 वेशसामापवले ॥

No. 17.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

By F. W. Thomas, M.A.; London.

The Mathura Lion-capital was discovered by the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji under circumstances detailed in his article on The Northern Kshatrapas edited and published by Professor E. J. Rapson in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S., Vol. XXVI. 1894, pp. 541-554; see in particular pp. 542-4. It was found embedded in the steps of an altar devoted to Sitala on a site belonging to some low-caste Hindús at Mathūrā, but not more definitely located. Having been with difficulty secured by Dr. Bhagvanlal, the capital was conveyed to Bombay; subsequently, on his death, it was despatched to England, and it can now be seen in the Buddhist Room at the British Museum.

The inscriptions incised on the capital were transcribed and translated by the discoverer himself; but owing to his death the task of publishing the MS. was entrusted by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to the late Professor Bühler, who was able to compare the readings with the stone itself and with paper impressions presented to him in 1889 by Dr. James Burgess. At the commencement of the published account, which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S., Vol. XXVI. 1894, pp. 528-540, Prof. Bühler observes that "the collation has made necessary some alterations in the transcript and in the translation, among which the more important ones have been pointed out in the notes. But I may confidently assert that all really essential points have been fully settled and explained by Dr. Bhagvanlal, whose great acumen and scholarship are as conspicuous in his interpretation of these inscriptions as in his other epigraphic publications. For convenience's sake I have prefaced an introduction, summarising the chief results deducible from the inscriptions."

1 Read विश्वाखालियः.
2 The asvarada stands at the beginning of the next line.
3 Read "वीरिएरियः".
4 Read भासी.
5 The Kavasruru grant (l. 32 f.) supplies the correct reading मानोप्रति मल्लिकार्जुनवी". 
While endorsing in the main these statements of so great an authority, from all points of view, as the late Prof. Bühler, I have endeavoured, in re-editing the inscriptions with Plates, which before were wanting, to give an unbiased reading based upon new impressions supplied by the kindness of the Department in the Museum (at the instance of Dr. J. F. Fleet, who originated the suggestion of this article), and upon frequent inspections of the stone itself. The present versions will therefore be found to differ in some particulars from those of Dr. Bhagvanial and Prof. Bühler.

The shape and dimensions of the capital will be best realized from the accompanying Plates; but some particulars demand a verbal description. *In the first place*, the circular hole in the upper square surface, corresponding to a similar hole in the under surface, proves that the capital was surmounted by a shaft or some other continuation. Prof. Bühler remarks that various representations on slabs from the Amaravati Stūpa prove this shaft to have supported a Dharmachakra, referring to the Archaeological Survey Plates published by Dr. Burgess (Plate xxxviii. figs. 1 and 6, and Plate xl. figs. 3 and 4). But it has already been pointed out by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, pp. 216 and 464, that the use of lion-capitals of actual pillars was a common feature in Indian architecture, derived from Persian models. Examples may be seen in the Archaeological Survey publications relating to Bharhut (Cunningham, Plates vi., viii., x.), Sāfeshi (Maisey, Plates xix., xxxii.), Mathurā (V. A. Smith, Plates xlii.-xlvi. and xlix-l.), Amaravati (Burgess, p. 93, Plates xlix., lii., liv., lv., and Burgess, 1882, Plate xiv.), and elsewhere. The presumption, therefore, is that the lion-capital formed the crown of a real pillar.

*Secondly*, the state of the stone has been somewhat impaired by time and accident. In some cases, e.g. in the loss of the horn-like projections of the two heads, this has involved no curtailment of the text. The chippings at the two bottom corners have been, no doubt, equally harmless. But the front, which would be the most exposed portion of the stone, has in part so peeled away as to render some characters illegible. In the second line of the large inscription carved on the body of the lion to the spectator’s left (J. 1. 1) the large rā is followed by traces of two or three aksaras of equal size leading to a partly visible sa (?), after which intervene three doubtful characters before we come to firm ground again in puli.  

In size the aksaras vary considerably. We may distinguish five groups: (1) the inscriptions B. E. F. I. J. M. on the front and back of the stone (among which I. perhaps exceeds the others slightly in size), having characters about 2-2½ in. in height; (2) G. N. P. E’’, on the back and under surface of the stone, circa 2-1½ in.; (3) A. (on the unpolished top and back of the stone), K. L. (on the breast of the left lion), O. Q. R. (underneath), J’. (front, on the leg of the left lion), circa 1½ in.; (4) C. D. E’; which may be estimated from E’, slightly the largest, visible among the characters of E.), circa 1 in.; (5) H. H’’, slightly incised in small characters, of about ¾ in., at the places indicated on the front. In the same inscription the aksaras generally maintain a fair average size, but sometimes they become a little cramped by limitations of space. It is clear that the inscriptions in the larger characters (1), (2) and (3) were carved first, and those of a smaller size were afterwards crammed in wherever space offered.

In type, on the other hand, the characters present an uniformity which, like the subject-matter of the records, forbids any supposition of additions during the subsequent history of the stone. They have been copied by Prof. Bühler to those of the Bhābhāsgarhi and Mānsāhra versions of the Edicts of Aśoka. But the degree of similarity and dissimilarity may now be more exactly estimated from Bühler’s *Indian Paleography*, where the columns viii. and ix.

1 In quoting Kharākṣāhlī records, length of vowels is noted except where the intention is to insist upon the exact reading supplied by the original in question.
Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital
in the British Museum.

Front of the capital.
of Plate No. 1 are based chiefly upon these inscriptions. The type may be described as intermediate between the Aśoka forms and the cursive derivatives of the Dhammapada MS. and those discovered by Dr. Stein, to which approximate the vase scratchings from Māṇikālā and other places and the inscription of Suc-Vihār (see the Plate given by Dr. Hoernle in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. X. facing p. 325). It does not, however, appear to be quite identical with that exhibited in all of these or in the Taxila plate (see the facsimile above, Vol. IV. facing p. 56), where on account of the historical contiguity we should expect to find, and do find, a near congener. The inscriptions edited by M. Senart in the Journal Asiatique, Sér. IX. Vol. XIII. (1899), p. 526 ff. and Vol. IV. (1894), p. 504 ff. (No. 35), are also in similar characters (see the Plate).

The forms of the individual letters may be seen from Plate IV. Those of ṭha, sa, ma, ṝpa, the position of medial e and the looped form of u have been described by Bühler. Attention may be called to the rāa in Q. 1, the ṭaṅa in A. 7, the ṭaṅa (?) in I. 1, the curious form in J. 1 interpreted by Bühler as ṣτa, the archaic ma with the original angle beneath in A. 2. A few points call for further consideration. The form of ta, which occurs many times, has in other records the value of ra (see the Plate). Although we have certainly one case (J. 2, in kārīta), and perhaps two others (E", in kroṣṭīta, and B. 1 in Tachilikarasa or Bakhilikarasa?), where the bottom curve is wanting, the character occurs so often that there can be no doubt as to what it denotes. In supposing it to be a da Bühler, who in his articles in the Z. D. M. G. Vol. XLIII. pp. 133 and 294-6 has read a similar character as tt (so also Johansson, Der Dialekt der Shāhābāgārāh-Redaktion, I. p. 126), was influenced by finding it in pratēśī (M. 2) and similar cases. But the regular form of ḍa is several times instanced, and the t for ḍ in pratēśi and elsewhere is a dialectical, not an orthographical, feature, found in other Kharāṣṭhī records.

The only question remaining, as concerns ta, is part of a larger matter. How do we find represented the conjunct ṭ? In a number of cases the addition is made by a stroke inclined to the left attached to the lower curve. This occurs in A. 1 (chhaṭtra?), A. 6 (mātra), A. 7 (pitrā). In these examples there was some slight danger of confusion with ṭa, which shows (see the Plate) a similar stroke attached to the upper curve. Perhaps for this reason another device is more frequently adopted, namely a dot in place of the stroke; see B. 1 and 3 (chhaṭra?), B. 2 (putra), M. 1 (chhaṭra?), Q. 2 (chhaṭra?). There remain A. 3 (where ṭa is written), A. 5 (where I can detect no clear indication of the r-stroke or dot), G. 1 (where there is nothing attached to the ṭa, though the reading may be cchhaṭa, if not chchhaṭa), G. 2 (chhaṭa), A. 9 (where we seem to have atrauṛena for aṭā). In A. 1 we have two strokes, both of which seem to be intentional; one of them, which resembles the downward stroke of the Aramaic and Pahlavi ṭ, I have conjectured to denote a doubled ṭ before the r. Of a cerebral (ta) I can find no trace, unless indeed it is contained in the mysterious third sign of A. 13.

With other consonants than ṭ the r is regularly inserted where required. We may quote bha in A. 7 (where it takes the form of a detached stroke), gra in A. 2 and N. 2, pra in A. 10 (pradhra), A. 11 (prat), M. 3 (pratēśi), N. 3, ḍha in A. 10 and M. 2, ḍhra (chhaṭa?) in G. 2 and I. 1 (chhaṭa) and chhaṭa). In the last example, as also in pradhra (A. 10, paṭhrā in I. 2), it would seem to be even repeated; but this may be a feature of pronunciation rather than of writing. A really close r-stroke is found in mahēshri, A. 2, and probably in Fīsarpū, A. 7.

The case of kra is peculiar. If we disregard the doubtful inscription E", it is found four times, in bhakravatō (A. 12), mākravata (F. 1 and N. 1), and sakhrastānata (P. 1), i.e. in places where we expect a simple ga. This can hardly be accidental; it would seem probable that in these cases the combination kra represents a spirantic pronunciation of ga, analogous to the Persian χ; more especially as in the name of Seistān (Pahlavi Saghastān) this sound no doubt prevailed at the time.
A few further points remain to be noticed. (1) In atērēna and hārakāparivārēna (A. 9 and 10) we find a perhaps intentional stroke diverging from the tail of the ṇa, though not in both cases on the same side. Have we here ṣa? The rather noticeable variations in the form of the nasal may be observed in Plate iv.

(2) Sa varies between the forms with and without the small adjunct near the centre (see Plate iv). In N. 3 the addition of the r-stroke makes ṣaṁ. In E. 4 a slight curve at the foot may also indicate ṣaṁ, anticipating, as in the Stein documents, the following nasal. A writing ṣya is certainly to be seen in G. 1 and probably also in B. 2.

(3) The two occurrences of kharāṣṭa (A. 4 and E. 1) seem both to show a small diverging mark in the place where h is usually appended, a circumstance which, together with the probable derivation of the word, suggests a reading rha-ḥra.

(4) In A. 2 a has a small stroke added as a sort of head.

(5) In A. 13 we have the distinguishing mark of d vertical and at the top; elsewhere it is horizontal and at the centre.

(6) The ṣe of A. 11 has two small (head and foot) strokes differentiating it from the ṣe of the previous line,—apparently without reason.

(7) The complicated jo of C. 2 recalls the varieties on the coins (see Gardner, The Coins of Bactria, pp. 55, 83).

(8) Lastly we may mention that the stone presents a number of dots and other small marks which must apparently be ascribed to accident or wear. In some cases we might be tempted to trace the anuvāra, e.g. in J., where we should thus arrive at a reading Sarvāstitātāsamā.

The Prākrit in which the inscriptions are composed has been described by Bühler and perhaps need not be discussed at length. It is distinguished by closeness to Sanskrit. Elision of medial consonants occurs, if we neglect the suffixal k (nāgara, kusāla, māhāsāyaṇa), in atērēna (for śurēna ṣ), saṣpa[t]ā. In ayārī and puṣya (=āchārya and puṣa) we have a weakening of ch to y. I have suggested (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1906, p. 205) that the sound denoted by this y was that of the French j, and the matter will arise again in connection with the proper names. The changes apparent in the word chhatrāva are not necessarily Indian. The hardening of g and d to kr and t has been already dealt with; on the other hand, p appears in tha and pratīḍāvitō as ṭ, never b as p. Consonant s is, except in foreign and technical names (kharāṣṭa, saktāna, sarvāstivāda), assimilated ([t]tha, kadhāvīra, pratī[t]ḥāvita, bhī[k]hū); r, on the other hand, remains both as prior (sarva, kharā), and as posterior, member of a conjunction. The forms of the a and d declensions are very well preserved. The nominative sing. masc. appears both as a (in thāva, etc.) and as o (kharā, etc.); the neuter is in a[n] (tarīna[n]), the genitive singular in [x]a, twice written ṣya. In mūsa[īc] the i declension shows the Prākrit form; of the i inflexion we have several forms (instrumental -ī, etc.). The r-stems seem to be regular (dhāte in A. 3 being a miswriting for dhīrā), while in yuvādhā [A] in A. 4 we have an ultra-Sanskrit use of the consonant paradigm. We may note the employment of sarvāstivāda in place of bodhi. The only pronouns occurring are iṁ, nominative masculine, and iṣ, a locative, and the only finite verb bhūṣaṅ (certainly not bhūṣati, as Bühler read) presents a problem; see the note to A. 13. The false concord tarīna pratīḍāvitō is found elsewhere (see the note ad loc.).

We now come to the historical matter, which has been discussed both by Bühler, pp. 529-33, and by Professor Rapson (p. 541 ff. of the same volume). The object of the chief inscription (A.) is to record a religious donation on the part of the Chief Queen of the Satrap Rājula, with whom are associated various members of her family and her whole court. In the other inscriptions we find honorable mention of (1) certain other members of the Satrap family at Mathurā, (2) other Satraps, and (3) a Buddhist teacher, or two Buddhist teachers, bearing the
names Buddhila (or Budhila) and Bud[ha]dēva. The last named, who is termed an aḍhōrya and represented as a champion of the Sarvāstivādin school against the rival Mahāsāṅghikas, bears a name which cannot have been rare; one teacher of this name is mentioned by Tārānta as a leader of the Vaibhāshikas (see Schiefner's translation, pp. 4 and 67, and the references in the St. Petersburg Dictionary), and we therefore have no sufficient means of identification. It is different with some of the other names.

In the first place, the Great Satrap Rājula himself and his son, the Satrap Śuṛāsa, have both been identified with rulers named on coins and in other inscriptions from Mathurā (see Bühler, pp. 591-2, Ep. Ind. Vol. I., pp. 195-6, 198; Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. III. p. 30, and Vol. XX. pp. 43-5; V. A. Smith, Mathurā, p. 21; Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 9, § 33). These identifications were made by Cunningham, who also proposed to identify the Yuvāraja Kharāōsta with the Kharāōsta, son of Artas, known from coins, a suggestion which is scarcely tenable (Bühler, op. cit., p. 532). The further identification of the Great Satrap Kusulasa Pādika with Pādika, son of the Satrap Liaka Kusulaka, named in the Taxila plate, is important not only as supplying a date, though in an unknown era,—for the Taxila Plate is dated in the year 78 (in the time) of the Great King Mōga,—but also as implying that the other Satraps mentioned may also have ruled in distant places. It appears therefore that the inscriptions make a point of naming with respect the chief representatives of the Kuharapīpa dominion in Northern India; and this is a strong argument for retaining the evident interpretation of inscription P. as 'in honour of the whole Saka realm' (Sakastāna). It is therefore important to ascertain what other indications of nationality the inscriptions supply.

In an article published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1906 (pp. 181-216; see also pp. 460-4) I have endeavoured to prove (1) that Sakas inhabited the region now known as Seistan as early as the time of Darius the Great and Alexander; (2) that the inscriptions of the lion-capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Saka nomenclature; and I have inferred that the Kuharapīpas of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Saka domination. I think that all these propositions must be adhered to. Upon the first of them we need not dwell here. The second is strongly supported a priori by the fact that Pādika of Taxila, who bears himself a distinctively Persian name, mentions as his overlord the Great King Mōga, whose name is with equal distinctiveness Saka.

I may here refer to a small point in the Taxila inscription which is not without interest. The form of the phrase cchatrapasa Liakō Kusulakā nāma tasa (for cchatrapasa Liakā Kusulakasa), which recurs in a second phrase, has been by Bühler compared with passages in two of the Jain inscriptions from Mathurā. We may perhaps find something of the kind in later Sanskrit inscriptions and in the style of the Pañchatantra and Hitopadeśa. But the turn of the phrase is so conspicuous a feature of the edicts of the Achaemenids that we are strongly tempted to regard it as, like the earliest Indian architecture, derived through the Satraps from a Persian model.

This is not the place for resuming at length the discussion of the etymology of all the names occurring in the inscriptions. A few points may be mentioned:—

1. The name Kharāōsta or Kharka(hra)ōsta, as =khshathra, 'sovereignty,' +ōsta, 'blessing,' is practically certain. The initial kha, which reappears in kharāōta with variant khakarāta, presents no difficulty; it recurs in the kharapallana (no doubt =khshathrapihlanā, 'defence of sovereignty,' ) of the new Sāmnāth inscription (above, Vol. VIII. p. 173 ff.). The variation, in the initial consonant group, of which we find a third form in cchatrapa, is of the same nature as that in cavalier and chivalry, that is to say, it is due to historical and dialectical differences.1

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1 On a coin given by Prof. Rapson, Indian Coins, Pl. iii. No. 1, we have Kshakardta in Brāhmi together with Chhakardta in Kharoṣṭhī; some of the Nāṣik inscriptions have Kshakardta, etc.
The hra, from thra, arose (with other forms) on Iranian soil, Mihra (Skt. Mihira) being a variant of Mithra, of which a still more simplified form is found in Miraboyana of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (see M. Boyer's article in the Journal Asiatique, Sér. X. Vol. III. (1904) pp. 463-4); the old Persian dialect had also s, concerning which it may be sufficient to refer to the grammars.

2. Mewaka is no doubt a variant of the Scythian name Mauakes MvAvyect, which we find attached to the king Manes and Möga (= Manaka).

3. The two names Kalát, Kamát show a Pahlavi suffix át, in the second case with addition of an Indian termination.

4. Nášado is no doubt for Násrádó, 'New Growth,' with a Pahlavi or Afghan 1 for r.

5. The element Khal- appears in Khalama and Khalafanumó.

6. The termination -ás in Kómás and Zámás seems to be Scythic.

7. The element -si in Áyasi Kómás, Nandasíka, Pésipi, is certainly not the Sanskrit śr, which would have been so written in these inscriptions. It is a derivative element, perhaps identical with the -ci, -ci (Pahlavi -cik) which appears in many Iranian names.

8. The ḣ in Ayasi, Hayuana, Ayvimisa, found also on the coins as an alternative for s in Áyitiša, etc. (see Gardner, op. cit. pp. 93, 173), most probably represents a j sound resembling the French j, for which reasons it must also remain undetermined whether the ayasia (=dcharya) and puya (=paj) of our inscriptions were intended or not to represent a pronunciation with a y.

9. The name Abúhôdlá doubleless consists of two members, Abú (of uncertain meaning) to be traced in Abhôdû (see Justi's Iranisches Namenbuch, s. v.) + hôla, a variant of the hóra in Spála hôra and the hórák of our inscriptions. That spála is a Pahlavi form of O. Pers. spáda = Zend spáda = Neo-Pers. sipáh is plain from its occurrence in Spalapati, which corresponds to the Persian Spahbad, Pahlavi Spáhpát (see Justi, op. cit. and Horn, Neupersische Etymologie, No. 699). As the Zend-Persian ahura is used in the sense of 'prince' and as the form hóra is to be traced in the common (Sasanian) name Hormídas, there can be no reason to doubt that this is the meaning of the second part of the name of Abúhôdlá and that her hórákôparâwēra was a 'retinue of princesses (or ladies).'

10. As regards the term Kusaša (=Kusalaka of the Taxila Plate), it seems to me extremely unlikely that the word is unrelated to the Kusâla, Kusâla, Kusôla applied to Kadphises and Kanishka, more especially now that the Sârnath inscriptions have brought Kanishka into relation with the northern Satraps. The word seems to me to have been probably a title of the order of Sâhôb, Bâhdân, and the like.

It will now be sufficient to enumerate the persons occurring in the inscriptions. These are:

1. The family of Rájula:

(a) Rájula himself with his sons Kharaôsta (Yavardija, son of the Chief Queen Abúhôdlá), Súdfâsa (entitled Satrap), Khamama (entitled Kusnàra), and Maja (entitled Kanishtha).—The two last also being possibly children of the Chief Queen Abúhôdlá—and his daughter Hana.

(2) Five other, probably princely, persons: Kâlût, Nasîlûdó, Kâmûlô, Ayvimisa Khralsamâs. These were perhaps relatives of Rájula.

(3) Friendly satraps, namely Kusàla Pâdika, Môvâki Myâika, K(r)ôôôina, Khradas, Tachhila (Rachhila).

(4) A Buddhist dcharya, named Buddhila (Budhila), and a second (perhaps identical with the former), named Budhadéva.


2 On this and other similar titles see M. Levi's article in the Journal Asiatique, Sér. IX. Vol. XIX. p. 95 ff.

3 The name of a satrap Mewak is traced by Prof. Rason on a coin (J. R. A. S. 1894, p. 519).
The inscriptions supply in themselves no means of dating. But the style of the monument of which they celebrate the foundation seems to have been strongly Persian. This is in favour of an early date; but for a definite determination of it we must continue to rely upon the more or less contemporary Taxila plate belonging to the year 78 (in the reign) of the Great King Mēga, who is usually placed (see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 29) as early as 120 B.C.

**TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES.**

**A. I.**

1. Mahāchhatra(ttra)vāsa rajulaśa [Mahāchhatravāsa Rājulaśa]  
2. agra(ggra)maheshvironasia(o?) [agramahēsli-Āyasiā]  
3. komussa dhite [Kōmūsā dhite]  
4. khara(rha?)ostasā yuvrāśa [Kharaostasa yuvrāśa]  
5. mata nadadi(si?)(akasa].. [mātā Naṇidda(si?)akasa ..]

**A. II.**

6. sadha mata(ttra) abhohola(e?) [sadhā mātrā Abūhōla]  
7. pitramahi pipseria bhra [pitamahi-Pispasiā bhrā-]  
8. tra hayunarana sadha banadhitra(?) [trā Hayunarānā sadha Hana-dhirā]  
9. atra(te)ūrena horakapa [āmēgūrōga hōrakāpa-]  
10. rivarena iṣe praḍhrapirmater [-rivārena iṣe praḍhrapirvāte-]  
11. se(āre?) nissime sarīra praṭiḥavito [-sē nissimē sarīra[ṅ] praṭiḥāvītō]  
12. bhakravato śakamunisa bṛhadh [bhakravatō Śakamunissā Buddhassā]  
13. ma(mra?)kīte(hi?)ra(?)ya saśpaś bhūsaveti(?) [ ... rāya saśpaś bhūsā-v-iti]  
14. thuvā cha saṅghārama cha chaṭu [thūva cha saṅghārama cha chaṭu-]  
15. diśesa saṅghasa sarva [-ddīśesa saṅghasā Sarvā-]  
16. stivatana parigrhahe [-stivātānaḥ parigrhahe].

**TRANSLATION.**

By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājula, daughter of Āyasi Kōmūsā, mother of the Heir Apparent Kharaōsta, Naṇḍasi-Akasā (by name), together with her mother Abūhōla, her paternal grandmother Pispasi, her brother Hayunarā (?), her daughter Hana, her household and court of hōrakāphe (ladies), a relics was deposited in this piece of land in a stūpa with the thought: "May it be for the eternal ... ... of the Holy Śākya sage Buddha." And the stūpa and the monastery are for the acceptance of the universal Saṅgha of the Saṅvātivādins.

**NOTES.**

**Genealogy.**—The scheme appears to be as follows:—

\[
\text{Pispasi.} \\
\text{Āyasi Kōmūsā=Abūhōla.} \\
\text{Rājula=} Naṇḍasi-Akasā. \\
\text{Hayunarā.} \\
\text{Kharaōsta.} \\
\text{Hana.}
\]
Readings.—L. 1. The additional stroke in the tra, if not accidental, may denote a doubling. At least I learn from Prof. Rapson that a (cross) stroke is used in the Stein documents for that purpose.

L. 2. aggra with a cross stroke; sa in maheshi has the original form with a subscribed angle; shri has the oblique r-stroke found elsewhere.

L. 3. te in dhita is quite clear; it must be due to an error, as the regular form of tra occurs several times in the inscription.

L. 4. Is the side stroke in the r of kharadasa accidental, or does it possibly represent h? See p. 138 above. It occurs in the place, though not with the shape, of aspiration in other consonants.

L. 5. No doubt saudari should be read, on the analogy of the other names. But the lower stroke of the akshara is curtailed (being at the edge of the stone) in such a way as to produce the appearance of the cursive da in Bühler’s Table, col. viii. After sa nothing can be clearly seen on the stone. The analogy of the other names would lead us to expect Sad. On the ta in madh see p. 137 above.

L. 8. From what nominative form the instrumental Hayauri is to be derived is not obvious.

L. 9, a[ḥ]tevīna presents a case, rare in these inscriptions, of disappearance of a medial consonant. The only other cases are: (1) saśād for saśvātā, l. 13 (if that is the correct reading); (2) k in udhvaramasa and māhdesaṁghātā; and (3) kharadasa. As in general the medial consonants are sharpened rather than weakened, this seems to show a mixture of dialects. On the word hāra see p. 140 above.

L. 11, nīśīma. Bühler takes this as denoting a stūpa, and he quotes Professor Pischel’s view that it is a Prakrit form of nīśāma, used in the sense of ‘high’, hence =stūpa. The word is certainly a substantive and the name of a manufactured object, as appears from the phrase nīśīma kārīta niyātē in inscription J.; but in point of etymology it may perhaps be related to the nīśīmanālaka of the Mahāvihāra, c. xxxii: rājā śārirah jhāpesah yasmin nīśīmanālaka.

L. 13. The last akshara is doubtful, and it is indeed possible to question whether any sign is intended after it. Bühler’s reading bhūsati is out of the question. We must apparently take bhūs as a strange optative form.

L. 12. The sign for tē is, owing to misplacement of the vowel stroke, that usually in these inscriptions denoting tra. I do not detect a sign for r.

L. 6. Whether madh or madrā is inscribed I cannot determine.

L. 7. tra is clear in pitra, and Sri in Pīpaśīri.

L. 9. The second akshara resembles tra; more than anything else; if it is really tē (which in any case must be meant), the sign for η is added to the earlier form of ta.

L. 13. Bühler’s reading mukhiṭṭa. The first akshara is certainly not ma, but might be ma, unless it is simply ma, and the third is far from being an ordinary hi; the expression Buddhaya mukhiṭṭa does not present an orthodox appearance.

L. 15, tē seems clear; compare tē in l. 10.

Grammar and interpretation.—L. 1, s in Rājūla is supported by the Rannubala, etc., of the coins.

L. 2. It is doubtful whether maheshi Ayasti or mahēṣhi Yasti is to be read. In the former case we have an omission (or postponement) of the sign of declension, as in pitāmahi, l. 7. It would however not be entirely out of the question to take pratiṣṭhātī as an active participle with the subject madh in the nominative and a false concord: Bühler observes (p. 535) that pratiṣṭhātī is the neuter, as frequently in the Śāhābārzīri version of the Rock-Edicts. We may quote śrīśī kṣatā in Edict XI. Generally however in cases parallel to the present (e.g. in
Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital in the British Museum.

Back of the capital.
the Māpcikāła, Taxila, and Wardak inscriptions) the active construction (pratīṣṭhāvīti) is preferred.

B.1
1 Mahachha(chhā?)travasa [mahācchhātravasa]
2 vajulasya putra [Rājulasya putra]
3 śuḍās āchattrava [Śuḍās śchattravē].

TRANSLATION.
Śuḍās, son of the Great Satrap Rāṣṭra, being Satrap.

NOTES.
L. 1. A cross stroke, apparently intentional, on the chha may indicate duplication, as in the cases already noted.
L. 2, va (sauc).
L. 3. As these inscriptions seem to present no other nominatives in -sa, Śuḍās may best be regarded as a locative; in Mā it is plainly so.

C.3
1 Kālūī a [Kālūī a-]
2 varaj(jho ?) [-varajō].

TRANSLATION.
Kālūī, younger brother.

D.3
Naūndo [Naūndō].

E.4
1 Khara(ra?)asto yuvaraya [Kharaṣṭā yuvrāyā]
2 khalamasā kumara [Khalamasā kumāra]
3 maja kaniṭṭha [Maja kaniṭṭha]
4 sa(sar?)manamota.

TRANSLATION.
Kharaṣṭā, Heir Apparent; Khalamasā, kumāra; Maja; youngest.

NOTES.
Bühler read Jalama in 1. 2, but the akṣara seems to be a kha. He also regarded kumāra(majā) as a single word. The last line is uncertain; but I may perhaps suggest that the cross stroke in mō is accidental, in which case we may understand the words samādā nāti as indicating that the three sons named were uterine brothers. Bühler’s reading chha is by no means borne out by inspection.

E.3
Kamuio [Kamuio].

NOTE.
Apparently a proper name, like Kālūī.

E.5
kra ka(rva?)rita (yu ?) [-kra kārita ?].

1 See Plate II.
2 In small letters at the place indicated in Plate III.
3 In smaller letters within E.; see Plate II.
4 On the right cheek of the right lion; not shown in the photographs.
NOTE.
The *ta*, if it is so to be read, has the earlier form.

F,\(^1\)
1 Buddhìsa Nakraraasa [Buddhìsa Nakraraasa]
2 bhikkhusa sarvastivatasa [bhikkhusa Sarvastivatasa].

G,\(^2\)
1 Mahachhatarvasya Kusulaasa padikaa meva(na)kisa [mahachhatarvasya Kusulaasa Padikaa Mevakiisa]
2 miyikaa chhatavasa puyae [Miyikaa chhatavasa puyae].

J. (3),\(^3\)
Sarvastivatana padi[ri?]grahe [Sarvastivatana padi[ri?]grahe].

TRANSLATION.

F.—Of the Nāgara bhikkhu Buddhīsa, a Sarvastivādin.

G.—For the honour of the Great Satrap, the Kusula Pādika, and the Satrap Mevaki Miyika.

J.—For the acceptance of the Sarvastivādins.

NOTES.

These three inscriptions, written in aksāras of about the same size, adjoin each other, and may form a single whole.

Readings.—G. 1.—The wa or na of meva(na)kisa is a single straight stroke. Mevaki is however more probable than mēnaki (maunākī) ; see above.

J. (3).—The di in padigrāhē (＝pratigrāhē) is identical with that in Pādika ; nevertheless parigrāhē is on the whole more probable in view of A. l. 16. The bhikkhu Buddhīsa may be, but need not be, identical with the Buddhādeva of the inscription K. He belongs to Nāgara, no doubt the famous city of Nāgarahāra (but see Watter’s Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. p. 184 ff., 201 and reff.). Concerning the remaining persons see the introductory remarks. There seems to be no ground for joining the inscription J. (3), as Bührler does, to the lines J. (1 and 2), on the opposite face (the front) of the stone.

M.\(^4\)
1 Chha(chohha)trave śūjise [chhakravē Śūjīse]
2 imo paḍhravi [imō paḍhravi]
3 prateṣo [prateṣo]

I.\(^5\)
1 veṣa añ (u?) dirna (dīnaṁ?) kadhavaro bussa
2 ro kadha
3 varo
4 viyaa

\(^1\) See Plate II.
\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^4\) See Plate I.
\(^5\) Ibid.
Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital
in the British Museum.

Top and bottom of the capital.
1 viya rva . . . . . . palita (??) na
2 nisitno karita niyatito [nissiito karita niyatisita].

These three inscriptions present the most difficult problems of all those inscribed on the capital. They are written in akeharas of approximately the same size. As M. has no verb (unless we here make use of the -kakari (??) of E°), we should naturally expect it to be in connection with one of the others. It certainly seems to join the savya° of I. 1. But here we enter upon a very obscure passage. Bühler with great ingenuity has elicited the reading savya-udino kadhavaro busaparo kadhavaro veloduro skandhavrdro busaparo skandhavrdro, which he renders 'the army has started in haste, the army is intent on wealth.' But to this there are, apart from the inappropriateness of the sense, the following objections: — (1) skandhavrdro does not mean 'an army,' but 'an encampment;' (2) the meaning 'riches' attached to busa is attested only by Wilson’s Dictionary; (3) it is doubtful whether the third akehara is really u; it is unlike the other u’s of these inscriptions and rather resembles sas, while the bottom curve may even be a part of the accidental indentation in the stone (see the Plate); (4) a weakening of g to y in savya is contrary to the tendencies of the languages employed in these inscriptions. On the other hand, the vo of I. 2 plainly follows the pa of I. 1, and a reading veeyaitina kadhavaro= vajjayantina skandhavrdro appears but little promising. The viya which precedes the large rva in J. 1 is in small characters and no doubt an independent addition. Can it possibly be an insertion to show that the large rva, which apparently joins on to nothing, is an error for evya= viya? The sign which Bühler renders by shd (reproduced in his Indian Palaeography, Plate I. col. xiii.), is quite clearly inscribed; but its meaning is anything but clear. It is more like rd, which seems very unlikely. With the preceding pai (Bühler puli) it composes no doubt a proper name. What came before pai, occupying a space sufficient for 7 or 8 akeharas, is quite obscure owing to the stone having peeled away. We seem to have the remains of a sa; but what is to be done with the large rva commencing the line? Even adopting the suggestion that it is an error for eya we have no ground for proceeding further. The words nissitno karita niyatisita, ‘a sāpa was caused to be made and presented,’ are quite satisfactory. We have already noted the older form of tā in kārita. With these remarks I must be content so far as these inscriptions are concerned.

J°.

1 Khalaśamun-
2 so.

The akeharas are perfectly clear, though Bühler read khalaśama so. We seem to have here a proper name.

K. & L.°

1 Ayariasa [Ayariasa]
2 budhatevass [Buddhatévass]
3 utaena ayimisa [utaena Ayimisa].

TRANSLATION.

Through the elevation of the achatya Buddhadēva, Ayimisa.

The exact meaning is not clear. We might take Ayimisa as a genitive with dana understood. But what then was the dana? The last akehara of Ayimisa, which lacks the tail of the sa, was read by Bühler as ta.

1 See Plate I.
2 On the leg of the left lion, under his tail.
3 Not shown in the Plates: incised in very clear characters on the breast of the left lion between J. and F.-G. (see Plate II): plainly a single independent record.
GUHĀVĪHĀRÉ.

TRANSLATION.

In the care-vihāra.

Bübler would translate: 'In the Gaha-monastery,' and the matter cannot be considered certain, as we have a Harinasmāghārama near Gaya (Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. I. p. 18) and a (Jaina) Mihiravihāra mentioned in an inscription published by him in Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 212.

Dhamada(?)na(?) [dhammadānakā].

TRANSLATION.

Religious donation.

N.3

1 Ayariasa budhilasa nakrarassa bhikhu [āyārīassa Buddhiḷassā Nākarassā bhikkhu-]
2 sa sarvastivātvaṣa pagra [-ssa Sarvastivātvaṣa pāgrā-]
3 na mahasaghíma pra [-naṁ Māhāsāṅghikāmaṁ prá-]
4 ma(?)śavítvā khalulasa [-māśavītavā khaḷḷulassā].

TRANSLATION.

To the Sarvastivādin ācārya Buddhila, a bhikkhu of Nagara, an exercise-ground in the knowledge of the nature of proof to the vanguard of the Māhāsāṅghikas.

L. 1. Buddhila is, of course, the bhikkhu already mentioned in the inscription F. The rendering 'of Nagara' (Bübler) seems to be the most satisfactory among the meanings of Nāgaraka, for which see the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Concerning the place probably denoted see Watter's Yuan Ch'ung, Vol. I. pp. 184 ff., 201 and ref. Ll. 2-3. Of the sa which Bübler inserts after gra, in order to get the word prakāśamā I see no trace.

L. 4. The reading seems certain; the only difficulty is the word khalula. Halāyudha gives khaḍārākā in the sense of 'a military exercise-ground,' and the Atharva-Veda has khaḍāra with indeterminate sense. If the rendering given above does not seem quite acceptable, we may at least find in khalaḷa some form from the root khaṇḍ, so common still in titles of controversial works. That the Māhāsāṅghikas were opposed to the Sarvastivādins Bübler has already observed. I conjecture that pramaṇavītava-prāmāṇavītita.

O.3

1 Sarvabuddhana puya dhamasa [sarvabuddhānaṁ pūyā dhammassa]
2 puya saṅghasa puya [pūyā saṅghassā pūyā].

TRANSLATION.

Honour to all the Buddhas, Honour to the Dharma, Honour to the Saṅgha.

P.3

1 Sarvassa sakrasta [sarvassa Sakrastā-]
2 nasa puyac [-nasa pūyac].

1 In small characters below the letter H. in Plate I.
2 In small characters, as H., below the letter H'. in Plate I.
3 See Plate III.
TRANSLATION.

For the honour of all Sakastāna.

The objections raised by Dr. Fleet (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1904, pp. 703-9; 1905, pp. 154-6) to this rendering of Bühhler seem to me ineffective. As regards the presence of Sakas at Mathurā, see the introductory remarks, where it is also shown that the form of the word exactly represents the name of Sakastāna. Nor is there any difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Sakas,' since we find in the Wardak inscription (and elsewhere, e.g. in the inscriptions of Sue Vihār, Anyor, and various Mathurā inscriptions, which have regard to the 'good and happiness of all living creatures,' sarasattvādām even more comprehensive expressions; nor again is there any difficulty in the use of sarva (uncompounded) with the meaning 'whole' (see the St. Petersburg Dictionary). As regards svaka, 'one's own,' (a common word), and the Pāli sakatthāna, 'one's own place (home, etc.),' it may be remarked that, while it is natural to say, as in the passages cited by Dr. Fleet, 'he went to his own home,' etc., it seems less natural to inscribe on the stone 'honour to (somebody's) own home,' etc. [This inscription has been recently discussed by M. Barth, Comptes Rendues de l'Académie, 1907, pp. 364 ff., with his accustomed perspicacity. I am, however, unable to admit that the name of a donor is required here any more than in the inscriptions G. and O. A pañja addressed to a country is certainly unusual, but inscription G. contains a similar pañja addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dominion.]

1 Khārdasa [Khārdasa]
2 chhatavasa [chhatavasa].

TRANSLATION.

Of the Satrap Khārdasa.

1 Ra[ta?](Ra?)[chhilasa] [Ra(Ta?)chhilasa]
2 krouīasa [Krouīasa].

TRANSLATION.

Of Ra[chi] (Tachhila ?) Kauṇḍinya (?).

Kauṇḍinya is a suggestion of Bühhler, who also regards Tachhila as = Takshatīlasa.

Additional Notes.

1. A number of questions relating to, or connected with, the inscriptions on the Lion Capital—for instance the forms of the names Moga, Rajāla, and Kharnoasta, and the date of Moga—have been discussed by Dr. J. F. Fleet in an article entitled 'Moga, Maues, and Vonones,' published in the J. R. A. S. for October 1907, pp. 1013-40.

2. P. 137, l. 9: Insert after 'pp. 526 ff.' the words ' (where saṃna is perhaps = saṃnā = satvām, see Pischel's Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen §300).'

3. P. 137, l. 38: Insert after 'detached stroke' the words 'to the left together with the same curve to the right that in ṣo denotes ə, see below.'

4. P. 139, l. 44: Insert after the words 'defence of sovereignty' the words 'see the Iranian Grundriss II. p. 97.'

1 See Plate III. and Plate I. where R. has been printed in error. The word fåhatavasa is inverted on the stone.
2 See Plate III.
No. 18.—MOUNT ABU VIMALA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF [VIKRAMA]-SĀMVĀT 1378.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

In 1828 H. H. Wilson, in As. Res. Vol. XVI. p. 284 ff., published an account of the inscriptions on the mountain Arbuda, the modern Mount Abu in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, from copies presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Captain Speirs, Political Agent at Sirohi. In that account Prof. Wilson gave full translations of one of the two large inscriptions at the temple of Neminātha, the texts of which were first published in 1883 by Mr. A. V. Kāthavāne, and which have now been edited, with facsimiles, by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII. p. 200 ff.; of the Guhila inscription in the neighbourhood of the temple of Achalēsvara, edited by myself in Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 347 ff.; and of the Achalēsvara temple inscription of which I have treated above, p. 79 ff. Of other inscriptions only short abstracts of the contents were given, apparently based on an account in Hindi that had been drawn up by a native scholar.

For many years afterwards little was done for the study of the Mount Abu inscriptions. But in the cold season of 1900-01 Mr. Consens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, while staying at Abu, had impressions (or, in a few cases, eye-copies) prepared of all inscriptions which are now found on the mountain; and by sending them to the Government Epigraphist he for the first time has placed at our disposal trustworthy materials for a critical examination of these records. Most of these inscriptions are very short; none of them go back beyond the middle of the 11th century A.D.; and considering their great number, the data furnished by them for the political history of the country are disappointingly few. In other respects, some are of considerable interest and well deserve to be made more generally accessible, while a good many contain some name, or expression, or date, or perhaps only some mark or letter, which, unimportant as it may seem at first sight, may prove of use on a future occasion.

The number of the inscriptions in Mr. Consens' collection, which has been sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch, is 298, of which 270 are ink-impressions and 28 eye-copies only. Of the total number, 148 are from the temple of Rishabha (Ādīnātha) which was founded by Vimala; 97 from the temple of Neminātha, founded by Tējāpāla; 30 from the temple of Achalēsvara, and 13 from other localities. Of the Vimala temple inscriptions 126 are dated, the earliest date being of the [Vikrama] year 1119 (about A.D. 1062), in a short inscription (No. 1780 of Mr. Consens' List) of a minister of the Chaulukya Bhīmādeva I., and the latest (in No. 1874) of the [Vikrama] year 1785 (about A.D. 1728); between the two, the years which most

1 A kind of facsimile of the inscription may be seen in Bhāmeagar Insr. Plate xxxvi.
2 Prof. Wilson also gave a translation of the inscription of the Vikrama year 1265, published by Dr. Cartellieri in Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 221 ff., the original of which is now at the town of Sirohi; see Progress Report of the Archaeol. Survey of India, W. Circle, for 1905-1906, p. 47.
3 For inscriptions that have been edited (in addition to those translated by Prof. Wilson) see my Northern List, Nos. 261 and 265.
4 In inscriptions the temple is called Vimala-vasahikā, Vimala-saṃkhikā, Vimala-vasahik, and Vimala-vasahikā-thilā, in literary works also Vimala-vasahikā. Above, p. 81, I have already stated that the names 'Vimala Sā' or 'Vimala Sāh,' recently written 'Vimala Sā,' in my opinion owe their origin to a misunderstanding of the term Vimala-vasahikā, 'Vimala's temple.' Similarly, Lādiga-vasahikā has given rise to the name (for Tējāpāla's brother) 'Luniga Sāhākā,' in As. Res. Vol. XVI. p. 309.
5 Above, Vol. VIII. p. 200, Prof. Lüders has shown that the ordinary name of the temple is Lādiga-vasahikā (or Lādiga-vasahikā-rājā.) In inscriptions I also find Lādiga-vasahikā, Tējāpāla-vasahikā and Tējāla-vasahikā, and in literary works Lādiga-vasahikā.
frequently occur are the Vikrama years 1245 (22 times) and 1378 (25 times). Of the inscriptions at Tējāhpāla’s temple 77 are dated, and here the earliest dates are of the Vikrama year 1287 (about A.D. 1230), the very year in which the temple was founded, while the latest date (in No. 1748) is one of the [Vikrama] year 1911 (about A.D. 1854); no less than 47 inscriptions are dated between the Vikrama years 1287 and 1297, and 9 between 1346 and 1389. Of the 30 inscriptions at the temple of Achalaśvara 22 are dated. Here the earliest inscription appears to be one (No. 1950), unfortunately almost entirely effaced, of the [Vikrama] year 1186 (about A.D. 1129), and another (No. 1941) seems to contain a date in the [Vikrama] year 1191. What I consider to be certain is, that No. 1951 of Mr. Cousens’ List is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1207 (about A.D. 1150), in the reign of the [Paramāra] Mahāmadalēvāra Yaśōdhamaladēva (a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla, an inscription of whom is dated in the same year). Two other inscriptions (Nos. 1945 and 1946) are dated in the [Vikrama] years 122[5] and 123[8], the rest in 1377 and later years. Regarding the 13 remaining inscriptions, it will suffice to say that the Guhila inscription mentioned above (No. 1953 of the List) is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1342, and that the dates which occur in others are of later years.

Of the inscriptions at the temple of Nēminātha, the two largest and most important, together with 30 shorter ones, have been edited from Mr. Cousens’ materials by Prof. Liiders, above, Vol. VIII. p. 200 ff. I now give the text of an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1378, which is at the temple of Rishabhā, and the chief point of interest in which is the statement that that temple was founded in the Vikrama year 1088 (about A.D. 1031) by a certain Vimala, who had been appointed dāṇḍapati at Arbuda by [the Chaulukya] Bhimadēva [I].

Before I proceed to describe the inscription, I may state that the date here given for the foundation of the temple is known to us also from other sources. In Ind. Ant. Vol. XI. p. 243, the late Dr. Klett gave an extract from a Partāvali of the Kharatara-gachchha, according to which the minister Vimala, who belonged to the Pēravāda (Prāgvaṭa) family, and who broke the parasols of thirteen Sulṭāns and established the town of Chandrāvati, caused a temple of Rishabhadēva to be built on the mountain Arbuda — a temple which even now is known by the name Vimala-vusāti, and which, it is added, was consecrated by Vardhamānasūri in the year 1088. The same story, with the same date, is more fully given in the extracts in Prof. Weber’s Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., Vol. II. pp. 1036 and 1037, where we are moreover told that, to obtain from the Brāhmaṇa the ground on which he intended to build the temple, Vimala had to cover it with gold coins, and that he expended 18 crores and 53 lacs (185,300,000) in the building of the temple. And the date also occurs in an interesting extract from Jina-prabhasūri’s Tīrthabaliṣa, in Prof. Peterson’s Fourth Report, p. 92 ff. That again, the Vikrama year 1088 is given for the foundation of the Vimala-vusāti, and 1288 for that of the Lāṇiga-vusāti, and it is also stated that, when the two temples had been demolished or damaged (bhagna) by the Mēchchhas, they were repaired in the Saka year 1245 (i.e. the Vikrama year 1378), the first by Lalla, the son of Mahāņaśimha, and the other by Pithaṇḍa, the son of the merchant Chaṇḍasūri. We shall see below that our inscription actually records the restoration, in 1378, of Vimala’s temple by Lalla (Lāliga), the son of Mahāņaśimha, and

1 No. 129 of my Northern List.
2 So far as I can see, there is something wrong in the verses 29 and 40, as given by Prof. Peterson, but regarding the date of the construction of the Vimala-vusāti there can be no doubt.
3 According to the extracts, the eśatra-kāra, who built the Lāṇiga-vusāti, was Sōbhyanāśa, who is mentioned in the same way (as pradādākara-eśitra-kāra) in Mērunāga’s Prahaṇdūkhaṇḍa, p. 369. This builder’s name actually occurs in No. 1074 of Mr. Cousens’ List, an inscription of the Vikrama year 1288.— Jina-prabhasūri’s account of the mountain Arbuda, from which the extracts are taken, seems to be based on inscriptions and to be quite trustworthy.
Vijāda, the son of Dhanasimha; and the name of the person who repaired the temple of Tōjapāla (the Lūnya-vahat) is given as Pēthadhā in an inscription1 at that temple, the full text of which is:

L. 1 ॐ || ॐ-चांद्रार्ककान नामदताद-देशा सांग्हा-पालिसाह निर्मा

2 ॐ पेठधाषाह सांग्हा-युक्ताह | जीर्णपीतिन्ताह वा नापाला-

3 साया चाचियाह | ोऽ यन-राज्यबुद्धाद्रान स्व-साराैह ||

The inscription with which we are more immediately concerned here is on a black slab, built into the side wall of a shrine in the corridor of Vimala’s temple. It contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space between 1’ 7½” and 1’ 8” broad by 1’ 1½” high, but of which only the first 22 lines extend over the full breadth of this space; lines 23-29 are only 1’ 5½” long and line 30 (which contains merely a date) only 3½”. The greater part of the writing is well preserved; but in line 16 about 10 aksharas and in line 17 about 4 aksharas are effaced, and in some places the writing is difficult to read, mainly, as it seems to me, because the letters have been formed carelessly and are so close to one another that they have not come out clearly in the ink-impression at my disposal.2 The size of the letters is between ¼’ and ½”. The characters are Nāgari. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the words om || ṛt-Arbudatirtra-praśastir-liḥyat || at the commencement, the words oṁa rājya-vāt || in line 9, and the date in line 30, the text is in verse, the number of verses being 42. In respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. There are separate signs for the letters ो and ॹ, and the sign for the former has been wrongly employed also for ॊ in sarbāyaṣa, l. 16, and sa-habha, l. 21. The palatal sibilant is used instead of the dental in manasaḥ, l. 4, ०ाः (for ूाृ), l. 6, and sakairo, l. 8; and the dental instead of the palatal in nicēṣṭām, l. 8, pūṣṭa, l. 18, and tāṣi, l. 29. Instead of the vowel ॅ we have the syllable ॆ in Rishabha. l. 26 and 29, and in line 24 the author himself has written ृत-तत्तताश instead of ृद-तत्तताश, which would have suited the metre.3 What is more interesting is, that in line 4 we find nripaṇa for nripaṇa, and in line 21 vaddyaṇa instead of vaddyaṇa. The latter reminds us of the name Nyānaksita (instead of Jñānaksita) in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII. p. 93, l. 26, and shows that in Rājputāna as well as in the Kanarese country there could have been hardly any difference in pronunciation between ṣa and ṣa; and nripaṇa recalls ṭaṇa and similar genitive cases of far more ancient inscriptions,4 without, of course, proving more than that the pronunciation of ṣ must have been similar to that of the conjunct ṣy. In respect of grammar I need draw attention only to the word vidadhāma, in line 3, the reading of which is certain, and which the author undoubtedly has used as a 3rd person singular of the Perfect of vi-dhā (instead of vidadhē), probably misled by the participle vidadhāma which was more familiar to him than the proper verbal form.5 Though the writer or engraver in some places has done his work carelessly, I believe that, with the exception of what has been entirely effaced

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1 No. 1743 of Mr. Couse’s List, “on pilaster near shrine doorway of the principal temple in Vastupāla’s temple.”
2 Denoted by a symbol.
3 These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
4 No. 1790 of Mr. Couse’s List.
5 When my text was finished, I was able to compare impressions kindly sent to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirsbanda Ojha and by the Government Epigraphist, which in one or two places where there had been some doubt confirmed the correctness of my readings.
6 For curiosity’s sake it may be stated that the Sanskrit ṣaka, German ‘hase,’ English ‘hare,’ seems to go back to an original ṣa; compare Prof. Wackernagel’s Altind. Gramm. Vol. I. p. 225.
7 Compare ृद्रिष्ठा and ृददvariable in the St. Petersburg Dictionary.
9 Proper Perfect forms which occur in the text are bahdhā, bahdhā, chādra, didā, pra-pāde and kārayam-dvatah.
and of perhaps the last words of verse 21, the original text may everywhere be restored with confidence.

The object of the inscription is, to record that in the [Vikrama] year 1378 two persons, Lalla (Lālīga) and Vījāda, for the spiritual welfare of their parents repaired the temple of Rishabha (Ādinātha) on the mountain Arbuda. And the inscription is divided into three parts. The first part (verses 1-13) is a pradāti or eulogy of the sacred Arbuda; but besides glorifying that locality and some mythic or divine beings (Ambikā and Śrīmātā) residing there, it also gives a few historical details connected with it, and especially records the foundation, in the Vikrama year 1088, of the temple of Ādinātha by Vimala. The second part (vv. 14-23) contains a vijñāvāti of the chiefs who at the time of the restoration of the temple were in possession of the mountain. And the third part (vv. 24-38) gives an account of the family of the men by whom the temple was repaired. The concluding verses (39-42) record the name and spiritual lineage of the priest or teacher who consecrated the restored building, and the exact date when he did so.

To omit what is of no historical interest, the first part begins with the well-known story how on the mountain Arbuda there sprang from the fire-pit (anala-kuaṅga, agni-kuaṅga) of the sage Vasishtha the hero Paramāra. In his lineage appeared the hero Kānaḍadēva; and in his family there was a chief named Dhandhu (Dhandhurāja), who was lord of the town of Chandrāvati and who, as a result of offering sacrifice to the [Chaulukya] king Bhīmādeva I. and to escape that king's anger, took refuge with king Bhūja, the lord of Dhārā. The author then, rather abruptly, tells us that in the Prāgvāta family there was a distinguished personage named Vimala in whom religion, immersed in darkness through the wickedness of the times, suddenly shone forth again in its splendour. He was appointed by king Bhīma daṇḍapati (commander of the forces or governor) as Arbuda, and there one night was enjoined by the divine Ambikā to build on the mountain a beautiful dwelling for the Yugaśibhartṛ (Yugadījīna, Ādinātha). That Vimala obeyed the request the author intimates in the verse: "I adore the holy Ādinātha who was placed on the top of Arbuda by the glorious Vimala, when one thousand and eighty-eight years had passed since (the time of) the glorious king Vikramādiyā."

The chief Dhandhu or Dhandhurāja, spoken of in the preceding paragraph, apparently is the Pramāra (or Paramāra) Dhandhuka mentioned above, p. 11, whose son Pṛṇapāla ruled the Arbuda territory in the Vikrama years 1099 and 1102. He would of course have been a contemporary of both the Chaulukya Bhūmādeva I. and the Paramāra Bhūjādeva of Mālava.— Vimala's name occurs in another inscription at his own temple, dated in the Vikrama year 1201. That inscription, No. 1787 of Mr. Conson's List, contains 10 lines of writing which covers a space about 2' 6" long by 5 1/4" high, and contains 17 verses. In the ink-impression the first two lines of it cannot be read with any confidence, but so far as I can see, a man is spoken of in them who belonged to the Śrīmāla kula and was an ornament of the Prāgvāta vaisāla. His son was Lahadha, who was somehow connected with the king Māla (i.e. the Chaulukya Mālārāja I.) and was also known by the name Vira-mahattama. Lahadha had two sons. The first of them was the minister Nēgha, and the second Vimala, who in verse 7 is described thus:

Dvītyaṅkā-vatītātāvaiśāvabhīṣṭaṁ śrī-Vimalo va(ba)bhuva
yān-ēdām-uchchhair-bhavasīndhuśtukalpaṁ vinirmandapitam-astra vēśma ||

1 The name Dhandhuka also occurs in the genealogy of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati, above, Vol. VIII, p. 201.
2 According to Mr. Conson the inscription is over the doorway of cell No. 10 in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It is referred to in As. Res. Vol. XVI, p. 311, in the words: "One inscription bears date S. 1201, but as nothing else is decipherable, it is of no further value."
Nēdha's son was Lāliga; his son was the minister Mahiṇḍuṇa; and he again had two sons, Hēma and Daśaratha. And the object of the inscription is, to record that Daśaratha at the temple of Rishabhā set up an image of Nemiśinēśa (Nemiśitrathaka, i.e. Nemiṇātha), which was installed on Friday, the first śaṅkāhi of Jyēṣṭha of the Vikrama year 1201, corresponding to Friday, the 5th May A.D. 1144. I may add that the genealogy here given is for the greater part corroborated by another inscription at Vimala's temple, No. 1768 of Mr. Cousens' List, the full text of which is:—

L. 1 Śrī-Śrūṇakulūdhava Venamahāmaṛti-putra-[as]mnauṇtri śrī-
2 Nēdha-putra-Lāliga-tatvata-Mahiṇḍuṇa-satāṁśāṁ || Nījapa-
3 trkalatā-samanvītā saha maṛti-Daśarathēn śaṁdha || śrī-Nēm-
4 nātha-[b]jīvanta mōkṣhārthaṁ kāraṁ vramyaṁ

For us the main point of interest is the date which the first of the two inscriptions furnishes for Daśaratha; for that date, being of the Vikrama year 1201, shows that Vimala, the younger brother of Daśaratha's great-grandfather Nēdha, may well have lived in the Vikrama year 1088, the traditional date for the foundation of his temple.

The contents of the second part of our inscription (verses 14-23) I have already given above, p. 81 f. This rājadeśi in verse 14 commences with Āsaraṇa, who belonged to the Chāhuvāna family and was king of the city of Nādula (Naddula). After him came Samaraśīna; and his son was Mahāpasiṁhavahā (v. 15). Then came Pratāpamalla; and to him was born Vījāṣa, the lord of the Marushthāl maṇḍala (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūṇiga (v. 17). Verse 18 then eulogizes Lūṇiga who like a god of death devoured the host of adversaries; and verse 19 Lumbha, of whom verse 20 records that he conquered the mountain Arbuda, and that, after having ruled the earth, he became the lord of heaven (i.e. died). Verse 21 then eulogizes Tējasimha, the son of Lūṇiga; verse 22 wishes long life to Tithunāka; and the mutilated verse 23 appears to say that Lumbhaka together with Tējasimha and Tithunāka (śrīnal-Lumbhaka-nāmā saman-
vītās-Tējasimha-Tithunāka) in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda.

Regarding the first part of this rājadeśi, as far as Vījāṣa, there can be no doubt, and I have nothing to add to what I have previously said about it. A difficulty arises concerning the sons of Vījāṣa. According to the inscription of Luṃtiḍugēva, above, p. 80, Vījāṣa, who is also called Daśayaṇandana (Daśaratha), had four sons—Lāvanyakarma, Lūṇiga (Luṃtiga), Lakṣmaṇa, and Lūṇiga Varman, of whom Lāvanyakarma is distinctly called the eldest (jyēṣṭhā). According to the present inscription Vījāṣa had three sons the first (ādya) of whom was Lūṇiga. After Lūṇiga the inscription mentions Lūṇiga and Lumbha, without saying that they were his younger brothers or in any way specifying their relationship. In my account of Luṃtiḍugēva's inscription I have identified Lūṇiga with Lāvanyakarma, and have taken Lūṇiga and Lumbha to be the names of his brothers, identifying Lūṇiga with Luṃtiga and Lumbha with Lūṇiga Varman. Other inscriptions are sure to be discovered which will show whether I am right or wrong. In the meantime I feel bound to state that my friend Mr. Ojha, than whom nobody is better acquainted with the history of his country, takes the three names Lūṇiga, Luṃtiga and Lumbha (Lumbhaka) to denote one and the same person, and to be all Sanskritized forms of Lūṇiga, denoting a chief commonly called Rāvaṇa,

1 The metre shows that the name is correct here.
2 The inscription is on the seat of an image in cell No. 10 in the corridor.
3 Metre of the two verses: Aṣṭā.
4 These signs of punctuation are superfluous.
5 The metre requires us to read Mahiṇḍuṇa.
6 Read Śrīnātha.
the famous conqueror of Ábu.' If my learned friend should be right, the last lines of the genealogical Table published above, p. 83, would of course have to be slightly altered. Mr. Ojha agrees with me in considering Tihunáka (Tihuná) to be a younger brother of Téjasimha, but from his point of view places both, together with Téjasintha's son Kánsadéva, under Lujtiga (Lunďha, Lujíga, Lumbha). At the time when our inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1378, Lumbha was dead, and the government of Ábu must have been actually carried on by Téjasintha.

The account, which forms the third part of our inscription (verses 24-38), of the family of the two men (Lála and Vijsá) who restored the temple, contains little more than a list of names which may be seen from the following Table:—

**Genealogical Table.**

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Jélhá.
    
Vélháka.
    
Pársá.

Sohí. Dégá. Désala ; Kuladhara.

from Démáti : from Mál :

Gósala ; Gayápála. Bhima ; Móha ; Móha.
m. Guñadévi. m. Hámadalá. m. Hámadalá.

Dhanasimha ; Mahásimha ;
m. Dhándhaladévi m. Mayánalladévi.

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The individuals mentioned in this Table were devotedly attached to the Jaina faith. Jélhá, the founder of the family, was a merchant, and his guru was Dharmaśári.¹ His place of residence was given in the inscription, but the name has been effaced. Of Désala it is said that he made fourteen processions to the seven sacred places,² Satrühjaya and the rest. The other members of the family are eulogized in general terms.

¹ See below, p. 154.
² The seven térthas or káttaras are frequently mentioned, but I have not yet found the names of the seven places.
There are at Vimala’s temple several short inscriptions of members of this family, likewise dated in the [Vikrama] year 1378. And there is a longer inscription\(^1\) of the same family, No. 1791 of Mr. Cousens’ List, which is dated, in words and figures, in the Vikrama year 1309. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing with 15 verses, and records the installation, by Anandaśūri, of an image of Nemiśina (Nemiśinā) at Vimala’s vasaṅkā. We learn from it that the family belonged to the Īkṣaṇa vāhaṇa,\(^2\) and that its founder, Jīhāka, as he is there called, was an inhabitant of Māṇḍyaśayapura (Mandor). After Kuladhara it mentions five sons of his, but as the text is partly effaced, I am not at present prepared to give their names from the ink-impression at my disposal.

The remaining verses (39-43) of our inscription record that Rishabhna was installed (or rather re-installed) on the mountain Arbuda by the guru or sūri Jñānaśandha, on a date in the [Vikrama] year 1378. Regarding the spiritual lineage of Jñānaśandha, we learn that he was preceded by Amaraprabhasūri, and that the founder of the lineage was Dharmasūri, also called Dharmaghoṣha-gaṇapārṇya, i.e. Dharmaghoṣha, ‘the sun of the gaṇa,’ ‘who defeated Vāḍiocandha and Guṇachandra, and caused the awakening of three kings.’ Other inscriptions of the [Vikrama] year 1378 speak of Jñānaśandha either as being in the paṭṭa of Dharmasūri\(^3\) or as being in the paṭṭa of Dharmaghoṣha;\(^4\) and an undated inscription, No. 1796 of Mr. Cousens’ List, commences with the words: Śrīmān-Dharmaghoṣhaśūri-paṭṭa śrī-Āgaṇaśūri-literā-śaśūri-śrī-Amaraprabhasūri-paṭṭa śrī-Jñānaśandhaśūri-

The Anandaśūri of the last must be the Anandaśūri mentioned above with a date in the Vikrama year 1309; and the Anandaśūri and Amaraprabhasūri of the inscription apparently are the Anandaśūri and his disciple Amaraprabhasūri who, according to Prof. Peterson’s Fifth Report, p. 110, l. 1, are mentioned in a manuscript written by Amaraprabhasūri’s advice in the [Vikrama] year 1344. Before Anandaśūri there is mentioned, ibid. p. 109, Dharmasūri (a disciple of Śilabhadrasūri of the Bāja-gaṇchha), who to the pride of conceited disputants was what the lion’s roar is to an elephant, and who put an end to the intoxication of the king Vīgraha. And the same person is mentioned, under the name Dharmaghoṣhaśūri, in Prof. Peterson’s Third Report, App. pp. 15 and 307, where he is represented as enlightening the king of Śākambhari; and ibid. p. 262, where he is said to have defeated disputants in the presence of the king of the Sapādalakṣha country. From all this there can be no doubt that, of the three kings who in our inscription are spoken of as having been awakened by Dharmasūri, one was a king Vīgrahaśrāja of Śākambhari (the capital of the Sapādalakṣha country). In fact, I believe that that king is identical with Vīṣṇalāva-Vīgrahaśrāja, whose Delhi Siwālik pillar inscriptions (No. 144 of my Northern List) are dated in the Vikrama year 1230 (in A.D. 1184), and that Dharmaghoṣhaśūri himself is a person of that name who in a short Vimala temple inscription (No. 1906 of Mr. Cousens’ List) is mentioned with a date in the [Vikrama] year 1296 (in A.D. 1170). Who the two other kings were I do not know; nor have I identified yet Vāḍiocandha\(^5\) and Guṇachandra who were defeated by Dharmasūri.

The date given in verse 42 is Monday, the ninth tīkṣa of the dark half (sītī) of Jyēṣṭha in the year made up of the vasiṣ (8), the muśi (7), the guṇa (3) and the moon (1), i.e. the [Vikrama] year 1378. Here there is the difficulty that the word sītī, which ‘I have translated by ‘the dark half,’ might equally well denote ‘the bright half’; and at first sight the latter interpretation might really seem to be preferable, because in line 30 of our text the date is repeated

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\(^1\) This is the inscription referred to in As. Res. Vol. XVI. p. 311, in the words: “Another (viz. inscription), in like manner, shows a date S. 1309, but nothing else.”

\(^2\) I.e. the Īvaṇa tribe; compare Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 40.

\(^3\) Nos. 1758, 1823 and 1832 of Mr. Cousens’ List.

\(^4\) Nos. 1755, 1758 A, 1764 and 1793 of Mr. Cousens’ List.

\(^5\) There is a Vāḍiocandha who composed the Jānasāvadhyāya; I do not know whether he is the man mentioned in our inscription.
in the words 1379 Jyāśāthā-vadi 9 Sōmē. But against this it has to be said that in four independent inscriptions (Nos. 1771, 1821, 1829 and 1904 of Mr. Cousens' List) we have saññat (or saññ) 1378 varśē Jyāśāthā-vadi 9 Sōma-dīnā (or Sōmē), which evidently is the same date as the one given in our inscription. And besides, for the bright half of Jyāśāthā the date would be quite incorrect for 1378 (as a Chāttāvādi current or expired, or Kārtīkāvādi expired year), whereas for the dark half of the pūrṇimānta Jyāśāthā of the expired Kārtīkāvādi Vikrama year 1378 it regularly corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1332. For these reasons I regard my translation of the date to be correct and take Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1332 to be its proper equivalent; and I consider the way in which the date has been repeated in line 30 (where '1379' under any circumstances would be suspicious) to be due to a mistake.

TEXT.

1 || Ōṁ || 2 Śrī-Arubadstrtha-praśāstrī-likhyatē || 3Aṃga-kṛṣṇa-āchālapadō vriṣabhāsītō- si || 4 bhūtār-gaṇḍhipatiśvita-pādāpadunāḥ || saṁbhur-yugādipurnahō jagad- ekānāthaḥ puṣyaya pallavayaṁ 5 prati-vēṣaraṁ sa[h] || 1

2 || 6 Nibadhha-mulaih phalibhiḥ sapatra8 || 7 drumaś-naraṁdhrīr-iva śeyamānaḥ || pādāraju-vad-bahuvihinākha śrī-Arubuḍo naṁdatu saṁa-rājaḥ || 2 Yasmin

8Vīśūlādālakumāra-janmā kahatikahatih-trāpaparā pur-ṣaft || pratyahi-11

3 || 12 rthārthōmnhathā-kṛtātiḥ || 13 kahāvā-ṛṣa śrī-Paramāra-nāmā || 3 14Tad-anvayē Kāndhādēvaviraḥ puṣ-ṛsīvā || 15 prablā-pratāpaḥ || chiraṁ nivāsānā

16 vidadhānaḥ || 17 yasya karābhuja sarvajagay-jayārāṣḥ || 4 18Tatkalakamala- marāṇā kāṁ[m]8 pratyarthi-mahājālākā[m] || Chāṇḍrāsvatpur-śaḥ samajani

19 vir-āgrājas[ṛ][ṣ] || 20-21 Dha[m]dhuḥ || 5 22Śrī-Bhismādevasya śreṣṭhaḥ || 23 sēvā- amāṁsa[m]ānāḥ kīla Dhamdhurañjāḥ || narēsa-rōṣhāchōcha tato manāśvi[evi] Dhārādhīpaṁ

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1 From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens, No. 1790 of his List.
2 Denoted by a symbol.
3 Here, as often elsewhere, the vowel of śrī is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name.
4 Metre: Yamantilākā.
5 This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, may have been struck out in the original.
6 Originally 'yadā' was engraved.
7 Originally 'ad' was engraved, but it seems to have been changed to sah.— So far as I can see, the verse does not admit of a proper construction. In the three first Pādas the author addresses the Jaina Tirthankara Rishabha, in terms which would be equally applicable to the god Śiva; and, as the text stands, he then in the fourth Pāda speaks of him in the third person, in words which would literally mean 'may he day by day put forth sprouts for (our) religious merit.' Instead of pallaṇavayaṁ I should have expected pallaṇasa, followed by an accusative case and generally words to some such effect as 'cause our devotion to thee to sprout for our religious merit!' (Compare Gātakunjaya-mādāmaya XIV. 33: tādriśānā hi sādhaṅkati-vad-dvayō pallaṇaya- api). In the first Pāda I take vriṣabhāsītō-śi to be equivalent to both Viṣṇuḥ, daśī-śi and vriṣabhāsītō-śi, so that the Pāda would mean both 'O Viṣṇu (Rishabha)! having chosen this mountain for your residence, you are seated (here),' and 'you (Śiva !), who have taken the name Acula, are seated on a bull.' I am aware that Rishabha has a bull for his cognisance, and that in representations of him this animal is figured beneath him; but I am not sure that he could be described as 'seated on a bull.'— In the second Pāda gaṇḍhipatī denotes both Puṣṭarika, the leader of Rishabha's gana, and Gaṇḍa.
8 Metre of verses 2 and 3: Upājāki.
9 Read asapattra-īva. The word phala means both 'fruit' and 'the blade (of a sword),' etc.; paṭṭa 'leaves,' and 'vehicles,' etc., and edah 'rivers,' and 'armies.'
10 Read Pāśaṅkādā; the same wrong reading we have below, in line 9.— With sāne-kvâṇa compare ati-kvâṇa in Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5.
11 The akṣara aki is a mistake for rkti, and should be struck out because rkti has been repeated at the commencement of line 3.
12 Read kritārthāḥ.
13 Wrong for vidadhāḥ, which would not have suited the metre.
14 Read 'detta.'
5 Bhājānripamḥ prāprddē || 6 Prāgravātastāś-ābharaṇaṁ babhūva ratnaṁ pradhānamḥ Tha(vi)mal-abhidhānaḥ | yasa-tejasā dusumay-ādhakāra-maṅgale-pi dharmmaḥ sahas-sāvīr-āśtra|| 7 Tava(ta)s-cha Bhimēna narādhipēna sa pratāpa-bhūri(m)i-r[Vima]-

1 Metre: Indravajra.  
2 Read dussamay(or duṣkhamay)-dāḍhākāra-.  
3 Metre of verses 8-10: Vaiśāsaka.  
4 Here a sign of punctuation was originally engraved.— Ambike is similarly described in the inscription of the Vikrama year 1201, mentioned above, p. 151 f., in a verse the correct reading of which, I take to be: Vikrama-kuladaṇḍhi-rāṣṭrapāla-yuddhaṁ tathā ca bhūtasabālesvāt-bhūtvarṇa tvegamunakekoḥ | vakti ākata-samaddhāraṁ yuddhakṣavatām sadāvasa mrgapati-mahākārtāḥ | Ambike vāstam tukhyati. Compare the representation of Kushan figures in Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXII. p. 463, Plate iv.  
5 Metre: Upajati.  
6 It is difficult to say whether we should read Ādindhaṁ or Ādīḍēmaḥ. The aksara which follows upon ddi originally was dē, but seems to have been altered; and the next aksara looks more like the than de, so it might be said that de has been wrongly engraved instead of e also in Tāhama for Vima, in line 5. On the whole I think that the reading Ādindhaṁ is preferable.  
7 Metre: Śloka (Aṃśṭubha).  
8 The sign for d in this word is clearly struck out in the inscription, and it seems probable that the engraver intended to alter bhavatādē to bhavatānā. In the above I have purposely given Śrīmad, not śrī-Mādē, because in other inscriptions śrī appears clearly to be part of the name, not an honorific prefix. I may mention that in No. 1774 of Mr. Cowse's List we have Śrīmadāṭādē as one word, not Śrīmadāṭēl, and that in the account given of this mythical being and her father in Mārunāga's Prabandhakāntāmāpī, p. 232 f., the base of the word is both Śrīmadē and Śrīmadēl. In the same account the father's name is Śrīpājāya.  
9 Metre: Āryā.  
10 Read Vaśīhē; compare above, line 2.  
11 Read Śrīṣīhē.— Since at the commencement of the verse the mountain is addressed in the vocative case, one would have expected head Śrīṣīhē, but this would not have suited the metre.  
12 Metre: Śvagātā.  
13 Čaḍhānāma—probably a mistake for either Čaḍhāna- or Čaḍhana-.  
14 Metre: Dravāvālimūtra.  
15 Metre: Upajati.  
16 After the 6 of tāmaś another vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.  
17 Metre: Indravajra.— Read Āhara-trayagas.  
18 Metre: Rathāḥhitā.  
19 Read, probably, madhumānaḥ.
13 latam sapta[1]raha | babhava bhunipati-labdhamano | Lushub-abhidhamo | jagad-
| ekarah || 19 | Sahitya sastran prabalam | balena shri-Arybuddan | prapya
| 14 ka-lomalipital-babhava || 20 | Lushyasya tanjoo jaga[j-ja]y Teyasimha iti
tajasa[n] indhi | yat-pratapadavavakas-chiram
| va[1]ma[8] 

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2. Up to the end of the line the aksharas in brackets are more or less conjectural; they are carelessly written in the original. For bhunamadana read bhunamadana.
3. This sign of punctuation is superfluous.
5. The four aksharas sahhatam are quite clear in the original, but offend against the metre and yield no proper meaning. The only alteration which I could suggest would be dahathath.
7. Read prithyadha.
8. Here about 10 aksharas are effaced.
9. In No. 1701 of Mr. Coombs' List (see above, p. 154) Jethaka is described as an inhabitant of Mandavapura.
12. Read: phalas-vitta-vittapa.
14. After the akshara daya a sign of punctuation was originally engraved, but has been struck out.
16. Here originally me was engraved, but the sign for e seems to have been struck out; the two aksharas him at the commencement of the next line are quite clear. The author has used the feminine msatatt instead of the masculine msatam.
17. Read jyedhah.
POSTSCRIPT.

On the Châhamânas of Nâdûla.

As I have referred in the preceding to the Genealogical Table of the Châhamânas of Nâdûla published above, p. 83, I take the opportunity to state that Mr. Gaurishankar Hira Chand Ojha has recently sent me rubbings of four inscriptions, two of which furnish a date in the [Vikrama] year 1147 for the chief Jôjâla (Yôjaka), here called Jôjala, while the two others are of the reign of Bâyâpâla of Nâdûla, whose name does not occur in the Table, and for whom they furnish dates in the [Vikrama] years 1198 and 1200. The rubbings do not enable me to edit the full texts of these inscriptions, but the initial lines, which contain the dates and the names of the chiefs, may be given with confidence.

1. — This inscription is at Sâdri (about 13 miles south of Nâdlô) in the Gôdâwâr district of the Jôhlpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing and commences:—

L. 1 Odiśi 19 sahar 1147 Vaisåkhâ-sudî 2 Budha-vîsâre mahâ- 2 râja-sri-Jôjâladasvûna sri-Lakshmipatvâmi-prabhârita- 3 samastadévânaam yâtrâkâla-vyavahârâ lékhilaḥ ||

1379 Jêsta-sudî 19 Sômê ||

1 Metro of verses 3b and 3b : Sôka (Anushthubh).
2 I am doubtful as to the correctness of the two names; the four aksharas at the beginning of the Pâda might be read also ekaññapâ.
3 Wrong for shad-râtsavanâ, which would not have suited the metre.
4 Metro : Áryâ.
5 Metro : Upagiti.
6 Read "ram-Râkshâ." 7 Metro: Svâgata.
8 Metro : Sôka (Anushthubh).
9 Read -yanâpyena. 10 Read -yanâpyena.
11 Metro : Vasantañâ. — With the commencement of the verse compare e.g. Prof. Peterson's Fifth Report, p. 207, v. 5 : tatprâja-bhâskarâmapi-reyaga-dâsikapâ-sâdâti.
12 Metro : Áryâ.
13 Metro : Sôka (Anushthubh).
14 Read -vasshi Jôjâlakâ (or Jôjâlakhâ). 15 Read -girîva-Râkshabha. 16 Read Jôjâla (or Jôjâla)-sudî ; and see above, p. 155.
17 Denoted by a symbol.
2.—This inscription is at Nadol. It contains 13 lines of writing and commences:—

L. 1 Ōṁ† saṁvat 1147 Vaśākha-śudi 2 Vu(bu)dha-väsā-  
2 rē mahārājāḥ-hirāja-śrī-Jōjāla-devaḥ sama-  
3 sta-dvānām śrī-Lakṣaṁuṇaśa-vāmi-prabhṛtināṁ yātrā-ya-  
4 vahāraṁ lēkhaśat yathā || . . . .

The date of these two inscriptions regularly corresponds, for the expired Kārttiķēdi Vikrama year 1147, to Wednesday, the 23rd April A.D. 1091, when the 2nd tīthi of the bright half ended 16 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

3.—This also is at Nadol. It contains 39 lines of writing and commences:—

L. 1 Ōṁ† saṁvat 1198 Śrāvaṇa-vadi 8 Raṇvā-sady-ōha [ma]-  
2 hārāja[hirāja]-śrī-Rāyapāladevaḥ² kalyāṇa-vījā[ya]-  
3 rājyē ēvaṁ kālē pravarttamanē . . . .

The date corresponds either, for the pūrṇimānta Śrāvaṇa of the expired Chaitrādi Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 22nd June A.D. 1141, when the 8th tīthi of the dark half ended 3 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise; or, for the amānta Śrāvaṇa of the expired Kārttiķēdi Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, when the 8th tīthi of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. As the date of the following inscription is correct only for the amānta month, I here, too, take Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1143, to be the true equivalent of the date.

4.—This also is at Nadol. It contains 8 lines of writing and commences:—

L. 1 Ōṁ† || Saṁvat 1200 Bhādrapada-vadi 8 Budha-vārē ady-ōha śrī-  
2 Na[du] ṛjē samastarājāvalisamalaśkrita-pūjya-mahārājādhi-  
3 rājya-paramesvara-śrī-Rāyapāladeva-vijayarājyē Ᾱ-  
4 vaṁ kālē pravarttamanē . . . .

The date, for the amānta Bhādrapada of the expired Kārttiķēdi Vikrama year 1200, corresponds to Wednesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1144, when the 8th tīthi of the dark half ended 16 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

In the Table Rāyapāla (A.D. 1142 and 1144) would have to be placed between Jōjāla (A.D. 1091) and Āhaṇa (A.D. 1153-1181), and it is probable that he was the immediate predecessor of the latter; but how he was related to either of them is impossible to say at present.

I may add that Mr. Ojha has also been good enough to send me some notes on the identification of Kāsamhrada and Naddulāl, spoken of by me above, pp. 73 and 67. On the former, which I suspected to be somewhere near Nadol, he writes:—

"I would identify Kāsamhrada with Kāyadrē (also called Kāsamhrē) at the foot of Mount Ābū, about 3 miles from the Bhimāna station of the R. M. Railway. It is a place of considerable antiquity with several old temples. An inscription of the time of the Paramāra prince Dhāravarsa was discovered there by me some years ago."

And respecting Naddulāl, which I had taken to be a different place from Naddulā, he says:—

"As you think, it is quite different from Naddulā. It is now called Naralā, and is situated in the Godāvarī district of the Jodhpur State. An inscription from the place is published in Bhādenagar Inschr. p. 140 (where the date given is incorrect)."

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1 Desecrated by a symbol.
2 Read *dvāra-kalyana*.
3 See my *Northern List*, No. 306.—On the map of the Rājputāna Agency 'Nārāli' is seven miles northeast of 'Nadol.'
No. 19.—Inscriptions from the Bastar State.


Mr. Consens in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-04 (p. 54) opens his report on the conservation of antiquarian remains in the Central Provinces with the remarks that 'the Central Provinces and Berār cannot be said to be rich in antiquarian remains,' but 'possibly there exists many an old relic of considerable interest lying hidden away in some of the extensive jungles and little known tracts in the province, that has not come under the notice of any one capable of estimating its value.' Exactly from such a place do I draw the materials for the subject I propose to notice on.

Bastar is a feudatory state in the extreme south of the province situated between 17° 46' and 20° 14' north latitude and 80° 15' and 82° 15' east longitude, touching the Gōdāvarī and comprising an area of 13,000 square miles, all covered with dense forests and populated by the wildest tribes, some of whom did not till very recently know the use of clothes. This extensive jungle has been made to yield no less than 22 inscriptions¹ through the strenuous efforts of my friend Mr. Baijnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State. Three of these inscriptions were noticed by Colonel Glasford, Deputy Commissioner of the then Upper Gōdāvarī District, about the year 1862 A.D.² So far as is known, only one of them has been published, viz., the so-called Nāgpur Museum inscription of Śomāśvarā.³ On the authority of the information supplied by the Curator of the Nāgpur Museum it is there stated that the stone was brought from a village, Kowtah, near Sironcha, which is incorrect as will presently be shown. It belonged to Bārsūr, of the Bastar State, and is an important record of the predecessors of the present line of Rājas.

In order that the references to places in the Bastar inscriptions may be easily understood, I append a map of the State showing their positions as also some other places possessing archaeological remains. As most of the latter have never been noticed before, a brief mention of at least some of the important ones may not be out of place here. These places are Bārsūr, Dantēwārā, Gaḍia, Bhairamgarh, Narāyanpāl, Sunārāpāl, Kuruspāl, Tirathgarh, Potinār, Chapkā and Dōdgar.

Bārsūr is a place of very great interest. It is 55 miles west of Jagdalpur, the present capital of Bastar. It contains ruins of many temples, the most important of which is a Śiva temple with two sanctuaries having a common maṇḍapā supported on 32 pillars in four rows. In each of the sanctuaries there is a liṅga and a Nandi, and old people remember that an inscription was removed from this place about half a century ago. Another Śiva temple has a maṇḍapā with 12 pillars in three rows, and the third is called Māmā bhārājā-kā mandir and is distinguished by carvings on the inside walls in the shape of bells suspended from chains. Outside the Gaḍēśa temple there is a huge figure of Gaḍēśa, 17' in circumference and about 7' or 8' high. Numerous images are lying about or collected together under huts, of which the most noticeable is one of Vishnu, 4' high, and showing good workmanship. There are also some images of Mahishāsuramardini, one of which is inscribed. All the temples are of medieval Brāhmaṇic style, most of them built of stone without lime.—Dantēwārā is about 20 miles south of Bārsūr, and in the intervening villages there are sculptured stones lying about, some of them being five-hooded cobras or intercoiled snakes. Dantēwārā contains the shrine of Dantēśvarī, the tutelary goddess of the present ruling family. The temple is built at the junction of two rivers

¹ Since I wrote this Mr. Baijnath has made further discoveries which will be described in another paper.
REFERENCES.

Chief Town  JAGDALPUR
Town or Village  Barsur
Main Road
State Boundary
Places of archaeological interest are underlined, thus  Godia

Nota:
Area in Square Miles  12,062.

BASTAR
FEUDATORY STATE.
Scale 1 Inch = 24 Miles

Prepared specially for the Govt. Epigraphist for India.
from an original supplied by him.
called Sañkhini and Dañkini, and is notorious as a place where human sacrifices were formerly annually offered. At least a place was pointed out to me in the innermost sanctum, close to the goddess, where they said the victims used to be decapitated. The goddess has eight arms and is represented in the act of killing the buffalo demon. She is in reality Mahishásuramardini, locally known as Dantésvari. There are various other images such as those of Vishañu, Kárttikeya, Gacës, etc., some of which were brought away from the ruins of Bärsår. There are five inscriptions here, three inside the Dantésvari temple, one just outside it, and another near a mud hut called Bhairamguḍel. There are remains of several other temples buried in ruins. For the support of the Dantésvari temple, an estate consisting of several villages is attached.—Bhairamgarh is about 70 miles west of Jagdalpur and has three or four temples, together with remains of a fort and a ditch and several tanks. There is an inscription on a pillar, and at Potinār, a village near Bhairamgarh, there is a slab inscribed on four sides.—Gaḍia is 20 miles west of Jagdalpur and has a stone temple with no idol, but built in the same style as those of Bärsår. About 400 yards away there is a big inscription, and a tiṣa was found buried in a brick mound.—Narâyānpāl and Kurupāl are quite close to each other, the former being situated on the river Indrāvati. Near these villages are the forts of Räjapura and Bōdrā, and not far away the beautiful falls of the Indrāvati at Chitrakūṭ present a magnificent appearance.—Narâyānpāl is only 6 miles from Gaḍia and has an old temple, an image of Vishañu, and an inscription.—Sunārpāl and Chapkā are within 12 miles from Narâyānpāl. Chapkā has a number of sati pillars, several of which are inscribed.—Tirathgarh also contains some temples and relics.—Dōṅgar is a place where according to custom the present Rāja go to be crowned. Here one of the queens, whose finger was chopped off by royal order and who ventured to inform her father, writing the letter with the blood so wantonly spilt, was buried alive. The pit, which is still pointed out, was once disturbed by a greedy Rāja of the same family, who also brought down the temple of Narâyānpāl and some others in search of supposed buried treasure.

I now proceed to give a short notice of each inscription of which I possess impressions, with very brief remarks where necessary, reserving a fuller account for other papers. The Bastar inscriptions may be roughly divided into three classes, viz., those of the (1) Nāgavaṁśi kings, (2) the Kākasīyas, and (3) miscellaneous. Of 22 yet discovered, ten belong to the 1st class, five to the 2nd, and the rest to the 3rd.

THE NĀGAVAṀŚI INSCRIPTIONS.

I.—Narâyānpāl Stone inscription of Queen Gūṇḍa-mahādēvi, the mother of Sōmesvaradēva.

Narâyānpāl is a village 23 miles west of Jagdalpur. The inscription is on a stone slab and is in Nāgari characters, and the language is Sanskrit. It records the grant of the village Narāyanapura to the god Narāyaṇa and some land near the Khajurji tank to the god Lōkāvāra, and it is dated in the Saka year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon-day of the Karttiṃka month in the Kharasaṅvatara (Śaka-nṛpat-kālītī daśa-tātra-sūtra[?]-triṃṇāṇāḥ Kharasaṅvatara Kārtīka-paurṇimayāda Budhavāra) corresponding to 15th October 1111, A.D., and issued by Gūṇḍa-mahādēvi, the chief queen of Mahārāja Dhārāvaresha, the mother of Sōmesvaradēva and the grandmother of Kanharadēva, who was then ruling on the death of his father (Mahārāja-Sōmesvaradēvasya śvar[śevar]gatu tēśhām pratiṣya dām naṇṭuḥ . . . triṃad-vṛtra-Kanharadēvasya kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyaḥ). The dynasty claims to belong to the Nāgavaṁśa and the Kāsyaṇa gōtra, to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of Bhogavati the best of the cities (Nāgavaṁśikhaṇa Bhogavati-pura-varāśara savatsa-vyāghra-lōmachhana Kāśyaṇa-gōtra). At the end of the inscription the sun and moon, a cow and a calf, and a

1 This has now been removed to a roadside place called Jāngī, six miles north of Potinār, for easy access.
dagger and shield with a śāla in its socket, exactly of the shape in which the Śālaṣṭrīs wear them, are engraved. There is a postscript to this inscription in which it is stated that the land was given by Dāhara-mahādevī, who was probably the widow of Somēśvara, as will appear further on. There can be no doubt that Narāyanpāl is the Narāyanpura of the inscription. A temple of Narāyaṇa is still standing there. The image of Viṣṇu, about 2' high, canopyed by a hooded snake, is exquisitely executed.

II.—Bārsūr inscription of Gaṅga-mahādevī, wife of Somēśvaradēva.

This inscription is now in the Nāgpur Museum, and, as stated above, it has already been published.1 It is a slab 9' 2" long, 14" broad and 3½" thick, broken into two pieces, the bigger one measuring 6½" and the smaller one 2' 11". It is inscribed on three sides. The inscribed portion of each flat side is about 4½", thus leaving half of the pillar buried underground. As the whole of the inscription could not be completed within the allotted space, the remaining portion has been inscribed on the third side, on which the writing runs to the length of 3¼'. The stone is stated to have been brought from Kowthā near Sironcha, but the Tahsildar of Sironcha informs me that it was never sent from that place.2

The stone is indisputably from Bārsūr. Happily Col. Glasfurd has given a facsimile in his report on the Dependency of Bastar. Speaking of the Bārsūr temples he says:3—"In front of this temple I found a slab with an ancient Sanskrit and Telugu inscription on both sides; part of it had been broken off and was nowhere to be found. After offering a reward and causing search to be made I had the satisfaction of obtaining it. As the Telugu is of an antiquated character, I regret to say I have not succeeded in obtaining an accurate translation of the inscription. A facsimile is appended. From what I can ascertain it would appear that the temple of Mahādeva where the slab was found was built by a Rājā Somēśvaradēva, a Nāgavaṇḍī Kahatriya, in the year 1130."

The inscription is in the Telugu character, and the language is also Telugu prose, the birudēvalī or titles of the king being in Sanskrit and corresponding with those in the Narāyanpāl Sanskrit inscription. It records that Gaṅga-mahādevī, the chief queen of Somēśvaradēva gave a village named Kērāmaṇaka or Kēramaṅka to two temples of Śiva (both of which she had built) on Sunday, the 12th tīthi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the Saka year 1130. The two temples referred to here still exist, having one common maṇḍapa, and from local enquiry it appears that it was from this place that Col. Glasfurd removed the slab. Although the names of the temples Vīraśomēśvara and Gaṅgamadharēśvara given after the royal couple as recorded in the grant, are forgotten, a tank still remains which is called Gaṅgāsāgar and retains the memory of the charitable queen Gaṅga-mahādevī. If the Somēśvara of this inscription is identical with that of Narāyanpāl, there has apparently been a mistake in engraving the date which should be 1030 and not 1130, and that is perhaps the reason why the week day does not correspond with the tīthi given there, viz., the 12th of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, on a Sunday. According to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, Phālguna Śukra 12 of Saka-Saṅvat 1130 ended on Wednesday. So it was concluded that the year meant was Śaka 1131 expired, in which year the tīthi given in the inscription fell on a Sunday. But on calculating the week day for the same tīthi in Śaka 1030 expired I find that

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2 A similar error seems to have been committed in relegating the Buddhist stone inscription of Bhavadēva (reprinted in J. B. A. S. 1905, p. 617, by Dr. Kielhorn) to Batabpur, whereas from my enquiry in situ I found that the inscription was really brought from Bhāndaka, and this is confirmed by General Cunningham, Reports, Vol. IX, p. 127.
it also fell on Sunday. In the Narâyânpâl inscription it is stated that the grant of Nârâyânapûra was made in Śaka 1033, in the reign of Kanharâdâva, who had succeeded his father Sômâsvâra-dâva on his death. And as there is nothing to show at present that there were two Sômâsvâras, the date 1030 fits in very well. It, however, seems somewhat extraordinary that such a palpable mistake should have been allowed to remain when it could be corrected by joining together with a curved line the two ends of the Telugu 1 which is like an egg halfe-cut (at least it is so in the inscription) thus transforming easily the second 1 of 1130 into a zero. I am very reluctant to suppose that the engraver committed a mistake, but that he did is patent enough in this case whether we read 1030 or 1130. The village Kârama-gâra may be identified with Kôdmâlnâ, which is situated quite close to Bârsâr and is said to have been mwa'off or exempt from the payment of taxes for a long time.

III.—Kuruspâl inscription of Dhârâna-mahâdâva, second queen(? of Sômâsvâra.

Kuruspâl is a village about a mile off from Narâyânpâl. The inscription was found built upside down into the steps of a small tank, which shows that it did not belong to the tank itself, but was brought away from some ruins, possibly the temple built in the centre of the tank, and was utilised without regard to what was engraved on it. It is in the Nâgârî character, the language being Sanskrit with very bad spellings. The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land situated near Kâlamba by Dhârâna-mahâdâva, who seems to have been the second queen of Sômâsvâra-dâva. The inscription belongs to the victorious reign of Mahârückhâra-dâva Sômâsvâra-dâva (Mahârückhâra-dâva-Sômâsvâra-dâva-pâdhâna kalyâna-vijaya-râja

. . . śrimat-ad(mach-chhâ)vana-mahâdâva dvîtiya Dhârâna-mahâdâva tay-dchamya Kâlamba-samipasthâ bhûnti dattah(a)). The same long birudas as in the Narâyânpâl and Bârsâr inscriptions are attached to Sômâsvâra-dâva’s name. The inscription also mentions the name of Nârâyânapûra. It is dated in the Sumya samvatsaras.

IV.—Sunârâpâl stone inscription of Mahâdâva, queen of Jayasimhadâva.

Sunârâpâl is about 10 miles from Narâyânpâl. The stone is partially broken, and a part of the inscription is gone. It is undated. It records the grant of land, or, more properly, an imprecation against the resumption of granted land, and gives the names of witnesses before whom the gift was made, but it is not stated where. The gift was apparently made by Mahâdâva, the chief queen of Jayasimhadâva of the Nâga race, the supreme lord of Bhôgâvati, having the tiger with a calf as his crest. He is called Râjâdhirâja Mahârâja Śrî Jayasimhadâva.

V.—The Dantâsvâri gudî inscription of Narasimhadâva.

This is another stone inscription in Telugu character found in the temple of the goddess Dantâsvâri at Dantâsvâra. It is dated in the dark fortnight of the month Jyâshâtha in the Śaka year 1140 (expired). In this year there was an eclipse of the sun, and the month of Jyâshâtha was intercalary. At that time Mahârâja Narasimhadâva, the ornament of the race of the best of serpents, was ruling (Śrî-bhûjaya-vanâ-bhûshana-Mahârâja-svina Śrîman-Narasimhadâva-Mahârâjâla vâyâmu). The inscription is only a fragment.

1 Since I wrote the above, Prof. Kielhorn has kindly calculated the date for me and finds that Śaka 1090 Phalguna Sudi 12 Sunday regularly corresponds to Sunday, 14th Feb. A.D. 1109.
2 I do not think that much importance can be attached to the different birudas used in the Bârsâr and Narâyânpâl inscriptions. The Sômâsvâra of the former has the title jagadâhâ-Mahâdâva-mahâdâva, which does not occur in the latter. But then the birudas used in the Bastar inscriptions are not always the same.
3 For reading this I am indebted to Mr. Sitaramayya, one of the Superintendents in the Comptroller’s office, Central Provinces.
Of the remaining five Nāgavaṁśi inscriptions it has not yet been possible to obtain good impressions. They are all in Telugu. The Potinār slab seems to refer to Narasimhadeva and the Dantēvārā stone lying outside the Dantēvārī temple to Jayasimhadeva. The Bhairangarā inscription contains birudas similar to those found in the Bārsur one, and the king is stated in both to be the worshipper of Māṇikya-devi (Śrī-Māṇikyadēvi-dīvyam-trīpāḍa-padam-ūrdhāhaka), which is an older name of Dantēvārī, so named by the successors of the Nāgavaṁśi, the Kākatiyas, although the latter claim that Dantēvārī came with them from Warangal, where she was called Māṇikya-devi.1 This inscription is incomplete and it appears that it was never completed. The Bhairangarā inscription at Dantēvārā appears to be the oldest of all, as its date appears to be Śaka 984.2 The Gadin inscription, apparently of Somēsvarama’s time, contains the usual figures of the cow and calf, Sun and Moon, Śiva, etc., the peculiar signs of the Nāgavaṁśi kings, although they do not seem to refer to their family crests. They are all picture impressions. The sun and moon represent that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Śiva is the protector against violation of the grant on the spiritual side, and the dagger and shield of the king on the temporal. The cow and calf depict the grave sin which the transgressor would commit, exactly equal to taking away the cow from the calf. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Kuruppāl inscription has a representation of an ass associating with a pig, the impression being explained in the text thus, Jō (yō) anyathā kārōti tasya pitā gardabhaḥ śūkral mātā (he who acts otherwise has for his father an ass and for his mother a pig.)

From these inscriptions it would appear that Bastar, which has been held to have always been the home of wild animals, with almost wilder tribes, was once ruled by a people whose civilization is sufficiently evidenced by the remains of temples, some of which are of great architectural beauty. These inscriptions carry the history of Bastar back to the eleventh century A.D., when at least the central portion of the State was ruled by the Nāgavaṁśi kings. They apparently belonged to the Sinda family of Telburga, whose titles are strikingly identical with those of the Bastar Nāgavaṁśi kings. Dr. Flett states3 that there appear to have been more branches than one of this family. One of these was that of Bastar, which has been hitherto unknown. These inscriptions disclose the names of five or six different kings, viz., Dhārāvarahi, his son Somēsvaradeva, and his grandson Kanharadeva, Jayasimhadeva, Narasimhadeva, and a possible Somēsvara II. In view of the fact that half the inscriptions relating to these kings have not yet been deciphered owing to their incompleteness or want of proper impressions, I reserve a fuller discussion of the history of these kings for another occasion.

II.—THE KĀKATĪYA INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are modern ones, the oldest being those of the Dantēvārī temple at Dantēvārā written by the rājakuru of the present family, who was a Maithila Pandit. One of these is in Sanskrit and the other is a Maithili rendering of the same with some additions. Col. Glassfurd has given a very defective transcript of both in his report. They are dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1760, or 1703 A.D. on the 3rd day of Baisakh, dark fortnight. They record the pilgrimage of Bāja Dikpāladeva to the Dantēvārī shrine when ‘so many thousands of buffaloes and goats were sacrificed that the waters of the Sankhini river became red like kuśama flowers and remained so for five days.’ The Kākatiyas are stated to be Somavaṁśis,4 born of the

2 As read by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.
4 In the Kākatiya inscription of Gaṇapati (Ind. Ant. Vol. XXI, p. 200) they are stated to belong to the solar race to which ‘Saṅgara, Bhagiratha, Baghu and Rāma’ belonged. This apparent contradiction is, however, capable of being explained. The Kākatiya king Gaṇapati had no male issue. He had a daughter named Rudrāmba, who succeeded him on the throne. Apparently she also had no male issue and had therefore to adopt her daughter's
Pāṇḍava Arjuna. The genealogy begins with Kākati Pratāparudra, who was king of Warangal. His brother Annamrajā was the first to come to Bastar, and the genealogy is continued to Dikpāladēva, nine successors being mentioned. The present Bastar family is the representative of the old Warangal family, who, having been defeated by Musalmāns, fled to Bastar. Combining the information hitherto available, the following list of Kākatiya kings may be made up.

1.—Predecessors of Annamḍēva, from Professor Kielhorn’s Southern List, above, Vol. VIII, Appendix, p. 16.

1 Durjaya.
2 Bēta (Betmaraja) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 1.
3 Prōla (Prōlrāja, Prōḍaraja) Jagatikāsārin, son of 2; made the Western Chālukya Tailapa-
dēva prisoner; defeated Gōvindaraja and Ganda of Mantrakūta; conquered but reinstated Chōjōdaya; put to flight Jagaddēva.
4 The Mahāmangalēva Rudradēva, son of 3; subdued Dōmama; conquered Mailigidėva; burnt the city of Chōjōdaya. A.D. 1163 [and 1186].
5 Mahāḍēva (Mādhava), brother of 4.
6 Gaṇapati (Gaṇapa) Chhalamattiganda, son of 5; defeated the Dēvagiri Yādava Śinghaṇa, the kings of Chōla, etc. A.D. [1199-1200 to 1260-61].
7 the Mahāmangalachakranārta Pratāparudra of Ekaśilānagarī, i.e. Warangal. His general Mṛupiḍi entered Kāṭchi and installed Māṇavira as governor. A.D. 1316.

2.—Successors of Annamḍēva down to Dikpāladēva according to the Dantēwarā inscriptions.

1 Annamrajā, brother of Pratāparudra.
2 Hāmiradēva.
3 Bhairava (Bhai Rāj) dēva.
4 Purushottamadēva.
5 Jayasimhādēva.
6 Narasimhādēva; his queen Lachhimi-dēt dug many tanks and planted gardens.
7 Jagaddisvaradēva.
8 Vīranarayanaṇadēva.
9 Vīrasimhādēva, married Vadanakumārī, a Chandellā princess.
10 Dikpāladēva, married Ajabakumārī, of the Chandellas, visited the Dantēvarī temple in Sarvat 1760, A.D. 1703.

As Pratāparudra. It is possible that Pratāparudra's father may have belonged to the lunar race, and, while Pratāparudra became by adoption a Kākatiya of the solar race, his brother Annamḍēva, the founder of the Bastar family, must have remained what his father was, that is, of the lunar race. Strictly speaking Pratāparudra himself does not seem to have a very strong claim to be a solar Kākatiya. He was adopted by his grandmother, whereby he became a member of her (i.e. his father's) race, but it can be urged in his favour that he succeeded to the Kākatiya throne, and that adoption of females was valid in ancient times (see Dattakamasīrastra VII § 30–38 as quoted by Mayne, Hindu Law and Usage, sixth edition, p. 130), whereby Gaṇapati's daughter, whom her father had called his 'son' and had given a male name of 'Buda' (on which account she was called Budrāmba; see Ind. Ant. XXI. p. 199) became incorporated with her parental race of solar Kākatiyas. The commentator of the Pratāparudrya, who was no less a personage than the great Māllinātha's son, explains the word thus:—Kākati

manda Durgā Saktir Āśāśilānagarī-varṇapadya kuladēsa na Saktir bhajanī-ary-dii Kākatiyaḥ. It is in this sense alone that the Bastar family could be classed as Kākatiya. This would not affect their true lineage, i.e., the lunar race. All this however would apply if Annamḍēva was a brother of the Pratāparudra of our list I. But list II with 10 kings for a period of about 400 years postulates the existence of another Pratāparudra, who probably ruled a hundred years later and 'lost his kingdom and his life in the battle with Ahmad Shah Bahmani' in 1424 A.D. This Pratāparudra was also probably engrafted from another family like his predecessor, in all likelihood from the lunar race to which his brother Annamḍēva as a matter of natural course continued to belong.
3.—Successors of Dikpaladeva down to the present ruling chief, according to records kept in the Raja's family.

1 Rajpaladeva.
2 Dulpaladeva.
3 Duryodena; his brother Ajmehr Singh rebelled against him in Samvat 1836, A.D. 1779.
4 Mahipaladeva.
5 Bhupaladeva.
6 Bhairamadeva.
7 Rudrapratapaladeva, the present chief.

The family records place another Prataparajadeva between Narasirhadeva and Jagadisrayaradeva, Nos. 6 and 7 of List 2. Pratapuradadeva, the brother of Annamraja, is stated to have had three eyes; his army was composed of nine lac archers, and during his time golden rain fell. Pratapurandra I was a great patron of learning, and Vidyarnatha wrote a work on Alankara, which he called after him Pratapuradrayasobhakasha or Pratapuradraiva.

The other three inscriptions are at Dongar; they are written in Hindi. Two of them are dated in Samvat 1836, or A.D. 1783, and refer to a visit of Raja Duryodena in order to quell a local rebellion. The third is dated in Samvat 1928, or A.D. 1871, and records the patibhadhishaka ceremony of Bhairamadeva, the father of the present ruler.

III.—MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are unimportant and give no historical data. Six belong to Chapka and are engraved on ait memorial stones and, with one exception, in Nagari characters. Most of these have the usual marks of the sun, the moon and the outstretched hand with figures of husband and wife. Some have got temples engraved, with the couple in the act of worshipping the hagha represented there. One is found at Barasur on the pedestal of a goddess and is fragmentary.

No. 20.—KANKER COPPER PLATES OF PAMPARAJADEVA

[KALACHURI] SAMVAT 965 AND 966.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

These are two copper plates which were found in an old well in the Village Tahekkapar, 18 miles from Kanker, the capital of the state of the same name in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. They are now in the possession of the chief of that state and were sent to me by his Divan Paooit Durgaprasad. Ink impressions were kindly taken for me at Nagpur by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plate.

There are two different records issued at an interval of a year. Both the plates are 7½" long, but they differ in height and weight, one measuring 3½" and the other 3½", the bigger one

1 This may be true in the sense that he ruled over so big a population, who, as subjects, could at any time be called out for military service. In Bastar and adjoining tracts almost every man knows the use of the bow and arrow, with which they even kill tigers. The probability, however, is that nine lac was a conventional term for the highest number. In the Bothur inscription (Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I, Part II, p. 433) the Chalukya king Satyashraya is stated to have put to flight a Chola king who had collected a force numbering nine lac, and in another inscription (ibid) the Chalukya king Prataparatha is stated to have collected a force numbering nine lac archers. This may be the reason why the king's title is used as a conventional term. But the old connotation of the number is evident in the use of the word 'nine lac' in the old records. Duff has given the common term as 92 forts, 700 chillas, 108 iris, etc.

2 Ind. Ant. xxi. p. 199, and Duff's Chronology of India, p. 218.
weighing 6 oz. and the smaller 6 oz. 10 drs. "The former has an oblong hole at the top, measuring \( \frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{2} "\), apparently for stringing it with other plates. It is uniformly and sufficiently thick, and in a good state of preservation. The smaller one is thick in the middle but very thin at the ends, so thin indeed that the commencement of "svasti" has cut through the plate leaving holes in the engraved portion, and, similarly, at the diagonally opposite end, a portion is exceedingly worn-out leaving irregular holes there. The corners of this plate were rounded off. It has at the end an ornamental figure representing the moon. This was probably the family crest.

The average size of the letters in the bigger plate is \( \frac{1}{4} " \) and in the smaller \( \frac{1}{2} " \). The former appears to be a palimpsest. Both the sides contain minute scratches of letters of almost double the size, which are altogether illegible.

The characters in both the plates, which were written at an interval of a year only, are Nāgarī, and the language in both is corrupt Sanskrit prose. Both the plates were engraved by Sēthi or Sāo Kesāva, who apparently lived at Pāḍi (town).

There is very little to note about orthographical peculiarities. The letters ḍha, ṛa, ṅa, ḍha, ṛa, ṅa, and the figures 9 and 5 appear in a somewhat antiquated form, and the usual indifference to the use of \( s \) for \(  ś \) is conspicuous. Spelling mistakes there are many; they have been noticed in the footnotes under the text.

The bigger plate, which is the older of the two and was issued from the Kākāra residence, is a state document conferring a village with a fixed revenue on the village priest Lakshmīdhārāsaran. This refers to Jaipār village, but Chikāhlī is also incidentally mentioned. The smaller plate records the gift of two villages, Kögarā and Ḍandālī, to the same person on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. These transactions were made by the Mahāmandālīka Pamparājadēva of the Sōmavānsa (lunar race) in the presence of his queen Lakshmīdēvi, prince Vōpadēva and eight Government officials including the minister. In the village document these officials appear as witnesses. The recipient of the villages was himself one of them.

The village document is business-like and contains abbreviations which were no doubt very well understood at that time, but are now difficult to make out. It does not indulge in genealogies. In the gift, however, we are told that Pamparājadēva mediated on the feet of Sōmarājadēva, who mediated on the feet of Vōpadēva. I take this Vōpadēva to be identical with that of the Kanker stone inscription of the Śaka year 1242 (see above, page 124). I shall discuss this question in another paper on the Sīhāwā inscription, which also gives a genealogy of this family.

The bigger plate is dated in Sāṅvat 965, in the Bhādrapada month, in the Mriga lunar mansion, on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight, and the smaller one in the Īśvara-saṅvatāsara, in the month of Kārttika, in the Chitrā lunar mansion, on Sunday, at the solar eclipse, the year being given in figures at the end as 966. It is not stated to what era these dates belong, but Professor Kielhorn, who has kindly calculated them for me, has conclusively proved that they refer to the Kālačury era. The reader is referred to the postscript added by him at the end of my article on the Kanker stone inscription (see above, pp. 128 and ff.), where he has fully discussed the question. The English equivalents of these dates, as calculated by him, are Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, and Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, respectively.

The towns and villages mentioned in the plates are Kākāra, Pāḍi, Kögarā, Ḍandālī, Jaipār, Chikāhlī and Vānikottā. Kākāra is the modern Kanker, where the present chief of the state resides. It is 88 miles from Baipar, the headquarters of the Chhattīsgarh Division, in which the Kanker state is included. Kögarā has now been corrupted into Kōngērā. There are two villages of this name in the state, and for distinction one is called Dēo Kōngērā (8 miles
Plate I.

TEXT.

1. Svasti Kākaira-samāväśe rājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvaśva śva-ra-Só-
2. ma-master(ś)-ānaya-prasūta-Kātyāyaśa ni-vara-lavdhā-passāva-savdā-ābhīnāndita-nīva-bhuj-
3. āpārīta-
5. devi kumāra Vōpadēva pradhāna Bhōga rāra vaipāthā aśa ēte nīva-
6. yāpāraśa kurvāṃ tī-
7. sīlāha(n)ati Jaipāra Vanikōṭṭa maryādi-wārya grāma-patrō-yaya gaitā-
8. Lakshmīdharāya(ya) pradatta-
9. prathama sarāha gaja bhāma aścchu 130 vijaya-rāya ṭāmaka 140 halav-
10. ārdha-patāṃ-
11. tetrā tathā Chikha-grāma-patrō vijaya-rāja īśa(t)āmaka 150 pralav-pau-
12. pa-patāṃturā Asumi arthā sākshiṣa bhātīra(yaka) (i) Gōvinda gai[nt]ā-
13. Lakshmīdharā vai gai[nt]ā Mā-
14. hēsvare [n]ā(yaka) Chhaṃṭī [n]ā(yaka) Dāmōdara aśa(śa) Pālaṭī samvā (i) 965 Bhādrapada vadi 1[0]
15. mira-rikāhā sōmā-dinā pad Vīṣṇuśarmāmba likhitān sēhī Kēśavēnā utkṛtpaṃ Pādi-
16. 11 pattanā []] subhaṃ bhavatu

TRANSLATION.

Hail! At the Kākaira residence, in the victorious reign of the illustrious Mahāmaṇḍalikā Pamparājadēva, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the great worshipper of Śiva, (who is) born in the lineage of the family of the Moon, who is hailed as having obtained the 5 sounds as a boon from Kātīyavan, who has acquired (his country) by (the force of) his own arms, with him the queen Lakshmīdevī and Prince Vōpadēva (sitting) by his side, and while the eight10 officials

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1 Read "śabā-śačaka-sūd.-
2 Read śrīmat-
3 Read rājya-
4 Read mārgarkatā-
5 Read śrīmat-
6 Read bhuvāra.
7 Read Mahāśiva.
8 Read Śiva.
9 Read mārgarkatā.
10 These eight officials seem to have included the minister, the village priest, who in the present case is a party to the transaction, the Rāja Pādīt, who wrote out this document, and five others, whose office is probably expressed by five letters Rā, Ṛ, Vai, Pā and Tā, which perhaps stand for Rāṣṭrika (chief counsellor), Rājyaśaṅkha (court favourite), Pārīśika (chamberlain), Pārīśika (side-de-camp), and Tākārī (lord-in-waiting). See Jour. As. Soc. Bengali, 1905, Vol. I, p. 10; Vol. XVII, 1878, pp. 405 and 408; Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, pp. 244 and 237. In the last, which is a Chaulukya grant of A.D. 1207, the following occurs: "śivē aśhaṭṭhāra gṛhālayaikāḥ adra karaṇāya, this place of worship has to be taken care of by the following eight trustees. Our inscription was written only six years after the one referred to above, and it would seem that at that time eight was considered as adequate number of persons as witnesses or trustees, etc., in connection with transactions of at least landed property.
I.
[Kalachuri] Samvat 965.

II.
[Kalachuri] Samvat 966.
(headed by) the minister Bhoga (?) are present on duty, this document of the village, making Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa the limit, is given to Gaiti Lakshmidhara. First (the revenue was payable) at 130 (in former coins, now) 140 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for half the Halbā paṭṭi (share). Similarly in the document of Chikhall village, 150 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for the Pralava (Halbā paṭṭi (share). The witnesses for this purpose (are) Bhūtārikāja Gōvinda, Gaiti Lakshmidhara, Gaiti Mahēśvara, Nāyaka Chanaṭṭu, Nāyaka Dāmodara, Bha Palaṭṭu. Śañvat 335, Bhadrapada (month), in the Mrga lunar mansion (rīkṣa), on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight. Written by Paṇḍit Vaiṣhūṣarmaṇ and engraved by Śēti Kōśāva in the Paḍi town. Let good fortune attend.

Plate II.

TEXT.

1 Ōm Svasti Pāṭḍi-samāvāsā samasta-rāj-āvali-maṇḍalaṅkṛita-sōmavām[śānaveya]-prasād-ā-mahā-

1 This is another ambiguous phrase capable of various interpretations. It is possible that the executors meant to convey that the boundaries of Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa were duly marked out on the spot before the document was given to Lakshmidhara. Vanikōṭṭa is another troublesome word. It may have been the name of a village in the vicinity of Jaiparā and may have been used as an adjunct to distinguish it from other villages of the same name. Similarly people talk of Déori Nāharman, meaning that Déori which is near the village Nāharman, to distinguish it from another Déori. There is a village in Kanker called Pharakōṭ, which is probably a corruption of Parashikōṭ, and on this analogy, it may fairly be asserted that there is nothing extraordinary in the name Vanikōṭta as denoting a village. It is, however, equally probable that it was a village, and that Jaiparā had this adjunct because there existed in that village a cemik-kōṭta, or ‘traders’ fortress,’ that is, a fortified place probably made by Banjāras for storing grain purchased for transport. In olden times the Banjāras are known to have carried even guns for protecting themselves from plunder. Jaiparā may have been one of their central depôts, which they fortified, and the village therefore came to be called Jaiparā Vanik[k*]-kōṭṭa. It is not necessary that the Banjāras alone should have done this. There may have been other traders who might have built a fortified place, but as this part of the country has been and is a favourite resort of these wandering traders, it is more likely that they should have built such a depôt. Numerous examples of such adjuncts may be cited. Thus, there is a village Bard in the Sanger district. It has got Hindu tombs called Suraśi and hence people call it Barā Suraś, and in fact the adjunct has gained such prominence that the real name Barā is almost elbowed out, and only Suraś is regularly used. Similarly, Hirdēnagar-Garhākōṭ, well known as Garhākōṭ, derives its name from the construction of a fort and rampart, the original principal village being Hirdēnagar, which a Bundel chieft Hirdē-Shāḥ founded in his own name.

2 The village priest is still called Gaiti in Kanker and Bastar States.

3 Lines 4 and 5 are so obscure as to make their translation extremely doubtful. There can be little doubt, however, that they relate to the fixation of revenue of the villages mentioned, in the coins of the reigning prince. Whether the old revenue in respect to the village to which the transaction refers, was 130 ṭakās, or on revision on the present occasion, was enhanced to 140 ṭakās, or the old 130 ṭakās were equal to 140 new coins is not clear. While executing the present document opportunity was taken to revise the revenue of another village, Chikhall, for which another grāmsapati or document existed, and the revenue was fixed at 150 new ṭakās. It appears that the Chikhall document was not near at hand, and that seems to be the reason why blank space enough to fill up 3 figures was left out between the words Chikhall-grāmsapati and Pījaya-rājyaṭhakā to be filled up afterwards. But once omitted nobody cared to fill it in, the matter not being of great importance, as the old rental was superseded by the revised amount which was thenceforth payable to the State. The fact that this record is a palimpsest seems to show that the fresh transaction was a matter on revision under the new régime of Paupāraṇa, and apparently the old record, which had become useless, was beaten out and the new one was inscribed instead. The words sarīha gaja kāda daḥkuu appear to be some local technical term, which was used in legal matters and was well understood at the time, but so far as my enquiry from local sources goes, it has not survived and it is not now used in State transactions. The matter, however, is not of great importance and does not affect the historical information inferable from the record.

4 Paṭṭi are plots of land in a village and the Halbā or Halbā paṭṭi was apparently one cultivated by the Halbās, an aboriginal tribe chiefly found in Kanker (see above note 5, page 124).

5 Expressed by a symbol. 6 Read "maṇḍalika." 7 Read -vaṇdvaya-. 8 Read -mahamāpadeśka."
TRANSLATION.

Hail! At the Pādi residence, in the augmenting, prosperous and victorious reign on this earth of the illustrious Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāmanḍalika Pamparājadēva, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahāmanḍalika Sōmarajadeva, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Mahāmanḍalika Vōpadēva, who was born of the moon and who was adorned by the gems of the row of all the kings. In the Īsvara-samvatsara, in the month of Kārttika, in the Chitrā lunar mansion (rīkha), on Sunday, at the solar eclipse, with the queen Lakshmīdevī and Prince Vōpadēva (sitting by us), and while the eight officers Vishnuśarman, Nārāyaṇa, Bhaṭṭarāṇa (ka ka) Gōvinda, Gai(tā) Mahēśvara, Nā(yaka) Chhaṭāū, Nā(yaka) Dāmōdara, Sā(o) Palṭū, (headed by) the minister Vāgū i are present on duty, the village Kōgarā near Śri Prāṅkēśvara, to the extent of its four boundaries, has been given by us, after having washed our feet (ceremoniously), to Gaitā Lakshmīdharasārman, a student of the Yajurveda, adorned with all virtues, the son of Gaitā Gaddādhara and the grandson of Gaitā Mādhavāsārman, who was born in a family (belonging to) the Ghṛtakaṇṣi gōtra, the best of all twiceborn, and the author of the Uddīyota. At the same time and in the same country, the Âṇḍalī village was given by the illustrious prince Vōpadēva, after having washed his feet. Saṁvat 966. Engraved by Śao Kēśava. Let good fortune attend.

21.—KHARIAR COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVĀ.

By Šten Konow.

These plates were sent to me in March 1907 by the Commissioner of Raipur, who stated that they had been dug up at Khariār in the Raipur District, Central Provinces. The name of the
place occurs as Karial on the Indian Atlas sheet 92 N. E., Lat 82° 50' and 20° 17'. The plates have now been deposited in the Nágpur Museum.

There are three copper plates, each measuring 5\(\frac{3}{4}\)" × 3\(\frac{3}{4}\)". The first is inscribed on one side only. Traces on the other side show that the plate has formerly been used for another inscription. The plates are quite smooth, and their edges have neither been fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. They are in an excellent state of preservation. About 1" from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about \(\frac{1}{4}\)" in diameter, for the ring on which the plates are strung. This ring is oval, 3\(\frac{1}{4}\)" long and 2\(\frac{3}{4}\)" broad. It had not been cut when the plates were sent to me.

The ends of the ring are secured in a circular seal, about 3\(\frac{3}{8}\" in diameter. It is identical with that described by Dr. Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 196. Its upper part shows a representation of a standing Lakshmi facing full front; on each side of her an elephant is standing on a waterlilly, with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is an expanded waterlilly, in the proper left corner a śankha.

The seal has been subjected to fire, and the legend could not be made out when I received the plates. It has, however, proved possible to clean it, so that it can now be read with certainty. It therefore also makes it possible to decide what the legend must have been on the corresponding seal published by Dr. Fleet, which is quite illegible.

The weight of the three plates is 1 lb. 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) oz.; and of the ring and seal 1 lb. 2 oz., total 2 lb. 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) oz.

The size of the letters is about \(\frac{1}{4}\". The character is the same box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as in the copper plates of the same kind published by Dr. Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 196 and ff. The long variety of \(i\) is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting \(i\), and usually not in the centre of it as in the Áraṅg plates of Mahá-Jayarája,\(^1\) nor in the right side of it as in the Raipur plates of Mahá-Sudéva.\(^2\) The separate sign of the cerebral \(d\) occurs in chāḍāmanī, l. 1, and the final form of \(t\) in dadvat, l. 18, and vasāt, l. 19. Note also the use of one and the same sign to denote a stop in l. 5 and the visarga in l. 4, etc. The compound \(ūgh\) occurs in Drôṇasiṅghēna, l. 23, and \(āgh\) in kāḍhanaṁ, l. 17; mahāmatād-\(\text{chēkhṛēh} ṭha, l. 21, and, falsely, in dīndadēkhrēhṛṛṛṛ, l. 22.

The numerical symbols for 2, 20, and 9 occur in l. 23.

The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory stanzas, here attributed to Vyāsa, are in verse, the remainder of the inscription is in prose.

As regards orthography we have to note the doubling of \(k\) before \(r\) in vikrama, l. 1; the similar doubling of \(dh\) before \(y\) in amuddhyātāt, l. 3; the doubling of a consonant after \(r\) in starga, l. 18; visāṛjītā, l. 8; svarpaṇaḥ, l. 16; dharmārthā and dharmma, l. 13; sūrya, l. 16; sāvna, l. 8; hētur-vvasu, l. 3; bhūr-vvaiṁśavī, l. 16; bahubhir-vvaiṁśavā, l. 19; the form sāvvasata, i.e. sāvvasata, l. 22; the use of the jīvāmālyā in yāk-kaṇchanaṁ, l. 17 (but rāja khaṇi, l. 4); of the upadhanīya in -\(pradāh\) parama, l. 3; Sāmbilakayō ṭraivṛtī, l. 5, etc. The visarga is usually replaced by \(s\) before hard dentals. Before the stop, however, we find bhūmīṣṭa tasya, l. 20; -srīśeṣṭa ṭesa, l. 10. A superfluous annuvāsa has been added in bhūmiṇḍān, l. 12. Trī and \(tri\) have been interchanged in pitri-, l. 3, and tridāta-, l. 6. Note finally the forms tāmbra-, ll. 10 and 23; Drôṇasiṅghēna, l. 23, and the use of the genitive in Vīṣṇuvāminas, l. 10.

The inscription is one of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēva, and it is dated in the second year of his reign on the 29th day of Śrāvaka. The engraver was Drônasiṅgha, who also occurs in

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\(^1\) Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 191 and ff.  
\(^2\) Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 196 and ff.
Mahā-Sudēva's Raipur plates. Like this latter inscription and the Āraṅg copper plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, our inscription was issued from Sarabhapura, and it states that the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre of the crest jewels in the tiaras of the adinātas who have been subjugated by his prowess; who is the cause for the removal of the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies; who is the giver of riches, of land, and of cows; who is a devout worshipper of Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, issues the following order to the householders living in Navanna and the neighboring Sāmbilaka, in the Keithimanda āhāra: Be it known to you that these two villages, which assure the happiness of the abode of the king of gods, have been bestowed by a copper charter on the Vajisanaśyin Viṣhniusvāmin, of the Kauśika gōtra, for as long a time as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of sun, moon, and the stars; together with their treasures and deposits, not to be entered by district officers and soldiers, free from all taxes; for the purpose of increasing the spiritual merit of our parents and ourselves.

The date of our inscription cannot as yet be settled. Mahā-Sudēva is the same who has issued the grant published by Rājendraśāla Mitra and Dr. Fleet. According to the legend of the seal he was the son of a certain Mānāmātra, who in his turn had risen from the Praśna-drasira, i.e., who was descended from Praśna, probably his son.

Neither Mānāmātra nor Praśna are elsewhere known. Mānāmātra can perhaps be identified with Mānāka, "the ornament of the Raśtrākūṭas," who is mentioned in the copper plates of Abhimanyu of Mānapura edited by Professor Hultzsch. This Mānāka had a son, Dēvarāja, who might be identical with Sudēvarāja. In support of this hypothesis it may be mentioned that mātri and aṣaka are both stated by lexicographers to mean ornament. On the other hand, the alphabets of the two inscriptions differ, and this, in addition to the difference in the names, makes the identification very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Sarabhapura also recurs in the two other grants by Mahā-Sudēva and in the Āraṅg plates of Mahā-Jayarāja. Navanna may be the present Nahna, the Nainī of the maps, three miles south of Kharār. We do not know anything about the location of the remaining geographical names of our inscription, Keithimanda and Sāmbilaka. They should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Kharār.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Svasti [*] Sarabhapurād-vivkram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuta-chuḍāmaṇi-
2 prabhā-prasēk-āmba-dhōta-pāda-yagalo ripa-vilāsin-adinat-śuddharaṇa-
3 hāṭur-vasuva-vasudhā-gō-praṇa paramahāgavatō māṭa-pītri-rad-ānuddhyā-
4 nāśa-rājya Mahā-Mahā-Sudēva-āhāra Keithimanda-āhāriya-Navanna-āhāra-pravēṣya-
5 Sāmbilaka-sāmacya-pratīvāsi-kutumbin-saṃājāḥ-payati || Viditam astu

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1 Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 196 and ff.
2 Ibid. pp. 191 and ff.
3 For the meaning of chaṭa compare Dr. Vogel in Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902-63, p. 247.
5 Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 196 and ff.
7 The Commissioner of Raipur now informs me that the plates were actually found in Nahna, and that the local authorities are inclined to identify Sambilaka with the present San Doli or Sundhal, a village adjoining Nahna.
8 From the original plates.
9 Read -dāhanta.
10 Read -pītri.
Second Plate; First Side.
6 vô yath-āsmābhūr-ētad1-grāma-dvayaṁ trīdāsa2-pati-sadana-sukha-pratiṣṭhāh kārō yāvān
d-ravi-sāsā-tārā-kirana-pratiḥata-ghōr-āndhakāram jagad-avatāhathatē tāvad-upa-
8 bhūgāna-saṁidhis-saṁ Siddhi-saṁchāna-bhūṣa-prāvēśya-saṁsāra-kara-visakṣji-
9 tō mātāpipitār-aśmāna-chā puny-ābhivyidhīyē Vājīsānēyā-Kōśika3-sagōtra-
10 Vīśnuśvāminas-tāmbrasāsanaṇu-ātisriṣṭaṁ [1*] Tē yūyam-ōvam-ūpalaḥbhī-ādevya-

Second Side;
11 jā-śravam-vidhēyā bhūtvā yathōchitaṁ bhūga-bhāgam-ūpasaṁyantasaṁ-khaṁ pratī-
12 vatsyatha [1*] Bhūvishyataṁcha bhūmipākaṁ-anu-lārṣayati [11*] dānāk12-
13 lana-jānī purāṇā dharmaṁśhu nischita-dhiyāḥ-pravādantā dharmma[n*]
14 ya suvijayata-kula-erutaya dattāṁ bhuvain bhavata vō matriśeva
15 gopūt[m*] II
15 Tad-bhavād bhūrī apy-ēbhā dattār-anupālayitavyā [1*] Vyaśa-gilāmācchā-ūtra
slokān-ūn-

Third Plate; First Side.
16 dāharantā II Agnōc2-apatya[1n*] prathamāṁ samvarṇām bhūr-vvaiśnavi
17 sūryaya- sutaḥ-cha gāvah [1*] dattās-trayastēnā bhavanti lōkā yaḥ-kāychanam gām
18 cha mālin cha da-
19 dyāt [11*] Shahaṁ-varta-saha araṇī svarggō mōdāti bhūmidāḥ [1*] āchchhāttā
20 chā-anumāntā cha tān-yōva narakē vāsēt [11*] Bahubhūrīvvasudhā dattā
21 rājajhi-
20 Sagar-adibhiḥ [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīḥ tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ II

Third Plate; Second Side.
21 Svadattāṁ3 paramadattām vā yatnād-nakshara Yudhiaṁśhāya [1*] mahām-mahīmatāṁ-
23 utkīrṇaṁ tāmbrasāsanaṁ Drōpiṣiṣṭhiṁa. 9

Seal.
Prasann-ārūṇa-sambahūta-Mānamātr-āndu-janmanā[1h*] Śrimā[t-Sudēj] varājasya asthirām
jagati [āsanaṁ].

1 The engraver originally wrote "āsamābhūr-saya", but corrected it to "āsamābhūr-dēta". The gender in the
2 following is wr-ng.
3 Read trī-
4 Read ṛnāśīkā-
5 Read kādāmipda-
6 The as in "samūdītona" has been added below the line.
7 Metre: Vyāsantatāka.
8 Metre: Indravajrā.
9 Metre: Sūkṣmāvādā.
10 Read saṁvatsara.
No. 22.—NOTE ON BHUJABALA MAHARAYA.

By R. Sewell, I.C.S. (Retired).

In Vol. VIII. 122 ff. Mr. H. Krishna Šâstri, B.A., publishes an inscription of the Kâlaśa chief Bhairava II. at Kârkala in the South Canara district of the Madras Presidency, and in the course of his discussion1 on the history of the family quotes Mr. Rice’s Mūdgere Tuluq inscription of A.D. 1516 (Mg. 41). His comment on this is as follows—“This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Krishnarâya of Vijayanagar, Bhujabala-Mahârâya led a campaign against the Tulu-râjya, and was encamped at the bhurana-sâle in Mângalâru . . . . Bhujabala-Mahârâya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Krishnarâya’s elder brother ‘Bushalrao’ mentioned on p. 110 of Mr. Sewell’s Forgotten Empire, etc. . . . .”

There seems to be a mistake here. Firstly, I note that Mr. Rice does not consider the word Bhujabala in the passage in question to be a proper name. The passage2 runs—Vijayanagarada bhujabala mahârâyara Tulu râjya da mêle danda bandu, and is translated by Mr. Rice—“The mighty (bhujabala) Mahârâya of Vijayanagar having come against the Tulu kingdom with an army.” Here there is no ruler or leader named “Bhujabala Mahârâya.” Secondly, the leader of the army could only have been Nuniz’s “Bushalrao,” elder brother of Krishnadâvâ Râya, if the date of this expedition to the Tulu country were referred to a period at least seven years earlier than the date of the inscription, because “Bushalrao” had died when Krishnadâvâ was placed on the throne in A.D. 1509. It is possible that the expedition did take place before Krishnadâvâ’s accession, and it is equally possible that it may allude to Krishnadâvâ Râya’s own exploit shortly after he came to the throne, when he, or his generals, reduced the Gaṅga Râja of Ummatâr in Mysore. The mention in “Mg. 41” of Krishnadâvâ Râya’s supreme sovereignty over the Kâlaśa country during the chieftenship of Imâdi-Bhairarsa-Ədâyâr gives us no clue to the date of the Vijayanagar army’s march to Mangalore, for this may have taken place at any period before the date of that chief’s grant, viz., Sunday, July 13, A.D. 1516. But what is quite certain is that the leader of the army referred to could not have been Krishnadâvâ Râya’s elder brother, whom Nuniz called “Bushalrao,” during, as stated by Mr. Krishna Šâstri, the reign of Krishnarâya; for it was “Bushalrao’s” death, according to Nuniz, that placed Krishnadâvâ on the throne.

At the date of the grant Krishnadâvâ was conducting his decisive campaign in the east, and had captured Koudavidi three weeks earlier, viz., on June 23rd, A.D. 1516.

No. 23.—RAJAPURA COPPER PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADEVA.

[ŚAKA] SAMVAT 987.

By Hira Lal, B.A., Nagpur.

The discovery of this first copper plate inscription in the wild Bastar State of the Central Provinces is the result of the zeal with which Rai Bahadur Bajnath, B.A., the Superintendent

1 Page 127, note 2. Will some one tell us whether the name should be spelt Kâlaśa or Kâlara. It appears to be spelt either way in the original inscriptions. Thus in Mr. 40 (the inscription preceding the one in question), the Kanarese text has Kâlaśa in line 11, and Kâlara in line 12. On p. 68 of his translation Mr. Rice gives us three times Kâlarâ and five times Kâlaśa; on p. 69 we have four times Kâlaśa (not Kâlarâ) and three times Kâlarâ. This last form is certainly wrong, for the second akṣara is always Ā in the original. The variation is only in the third syllable. Mr. Krishna Šâstri, in the Epigraphia spells the word consistently Kâlaśa.

of the State, set himself to make a search for the antiquarian remains in that little known and remote quarter, at my request. Mr. Baijnath has been richly rewarded for his efforts, for, in addition to the present copper plates, he has discovered more than twenty new inscriptions in Sanskrit and Telugu characters, of most of which he has sent me ink stampages and tracings. I have deciphered several of them and they will in due course appear in this Journal. I begin with the copper plates, as this is perhaps the most ancient Sanskrit inscription yet found in Bastar. Mr. Baijnath found the plates in the possession of a Brâhman named Gângâdhar Pârhi of Kâwadgaon close to Râjapura. Gângâdhar received them from his sister-in-law, who found them buried in a field at Nâharî, sixteen miles from Râjapura.

There are three copper plates, held together by a ring, soldered into what was apparently the lower portion of a seal, which had been broken off. Each plate is about $10\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ and they weigh 29, 30 and 35 tólas, respectively, the weight of the ring being 26 tólas. The plates are smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on both sides, except the first one, which is inscribed on one side only. Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Secretariat Press, Nâgpur, kindly took for me impressions, which are reproduced in the accompanying plate. The plates are numbered 1, 2, 3, on the margin, which was apparently left to prevent the ring holes from coming in between the written lines. The word śrī has been engraved in the upper margin of the first plate, over the figure 1.

The second side of the third plate is inscribed with benedictive and imprecatory figures, viz., 12 hands in a row at the top, beneath which there is to the proper left a cow with a bell attached to her neck, and a dagger and a shield beside her feet, a floured kâga in the form of a svastika in the middle, and a woman pursued by a donkey to the proper right, with the figure of the sun and the moon over it. My interpretation of these figures is as follows:—The hands are uplifted, apparently as an expression of benediction on the donor, and they are twelve, probably because there were 12 pîstras or doners referred to in the inscription. The cow is apparently drawn to remind us that whosoever appropriates the gifted land, will have to reap the same consequences which a cow’s curse can produce, or will fall into the same calamity as a cow is in when deprived of her calf. Śiva is shown as the protector against aggression on the spiritual side, and the ruling king’s dagger and shield on the temporal. The sun and the moon indicate that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Lastly, the obscene figure of an ass associating with a woman is a vulgar imprecation implying that the transgressor of a gift should be so low-born.¹

The inscription is in the Nâgari character. The average size of the letters is $\frac{3}{4}$". They are well formed and clearly written.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit, and except the benedictive and imprecatory verses, which are inserted in a somewhat disconnected manner, the remainder of the inscription is prose. In fact, the whole composition is disjointed, and there are several grammatical slips and spelling mistakes.

The most noteworthy orthographical peculiarities are the representation of the initial $i$ with two dots and a stroke underneath, resembling the Nâgari figure 2 (ll. 13, 16, 23 and 30). The umâvâra is put at the side of the letter and is represented by a dot with a hâla underneath (ll. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27), but in several instances it is also represented in the ordinary way by a dot on the top of the letter (ll. 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31 and 32). One top stroke representative of the vādīraś

¹ Compare my remarks, above, p. 164.
of ē, ai, ē and au is exhibited by a vertical stroke placed before the letter to which it is attached—a practice which is still followed in the Bengali and Oriya writing, but exceptions may be found side by side, where it is placed on the top of the letter according to the practice now followed in writing. Thus, in line 12, the ē of Madhurantakadēva has a top, while the very next ē of Kaṁharadēva has a vertical stroke preceding the letter ē. The latter form, however, predominates, the exceptions being found as regards ē in ll. 2, 4, 10, 11, 12, 21, 26, 29 and 31 and of ē in ll. 1, 19, 31, and 32. Ai has been used only once, in line 8, and au twice, in lines 11 and 26, and in each case one of the top ētris has been represented by a vertical stroke preceding the letter to which it is attached. The letters bha, bha, va and kha, invariably appear in their antiquated forms. The letter u is used throughout for b, and s for ś, except in the solitary instances of data in l. 3 and of śrī in l. 12 and 29. Ja is used for yā (ll. 20, 24, and 27), ri is used for the vowel ri in l. 8, and sa for ṣa in l. 6. In line 8 kaṁvala3 for kaṁala is a spelling which occurs in other inscriptions. It represents the actual pronunciation of the vernacular word—a pronunciation still kept up in the Chhattisgarh division, of which Bastar forms part.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of Rājapura village, situated in the Bhramarākotya mandala, to one Mēḍipōta or a Chhurikāra Mēḍipōta and his descendants, together with 70 gadyānaka2 gold. The grant was made by the king Madhurantakadēva, who belonged to the Chhindaka family of the Nāga (Cobra) race. The inscription is dated in the [Saka] year 987, in the Parashava samvatsara, on Wednesday of the bright fortnight of Kārttika month. Although the tithi has not been given, there is a most minute description of the moment of the grant, the nakṣatras being stated to be Anurādhā, the ydga to be Saubhāgya and the karaṇa to be Gara. From these data the exact date has been kindly calculated for me by Professor Kiellhorn who says:—

"The date for Śaka 987 expired corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1065. On this day the third tithi of the bright half of Kārttika ended 9 hours 17 minutes after mean sunrise, and the nakṣatra was Anurādhā and the ydga Saubhāgya. The second half of the tithi was the karaṇa Gara. But the Jupiter's year is not quite correct. By the southern system it should have been Viśvāvasu and by the northern juna-solar system Plavanga and by the northern mean sign system Kikaka. The mistake is the same as in the first Kanker plates."

The purpose for which the grant was made is somewhat obscure. I take it to be a compensation for supplying a victim for human sacrifice. Before proceeding to show how I arrive at this conclusion, it may be stated that in Bastar and the adjoining tracts human sacrifices were rampant about seventy years ago. It is notorious that human victims were offered to the goddess Dantēvarī, enshrined at Dantēvarī in the Bastar State. Colonel Macpherson of the Madras Army, who was appointed agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices and female infanticide in the hill tracts of Orissa, which Bastar adjoins, says:—"In the worship of Tari Punn or Earth Goddess the chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes both at social festivals held periodically and when occasions demand extraordinary propitiation, such as the occurrence of an extraordinary number of deaths by disease or by tigers, or should very many die in childbirth, or should the flocks or herds suffer largely from disease or from wild beasts, or should the greater crops threaten to fail, or the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the tribal chiefs. Victims are called Meriah and are acceptable only when they have been acquired by purashae or were born as such, that is, of a victim father. Victims are generally supplied to the Khonds by men of the two races called Panwā and Gahingā, who are attached in small numbers to almost every Khond village for the discharge of this and other peculiar offices. The Panwās purchase the victims without difficulty or kidnap

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1 Compare Dr. Grierson in J. R. A. S. 1907, p. 1057.
2 Gadyānaka is a weight = 32 guṇja. See Yājñavālīya iii. 258.
3 Above p. 129.
them from the poorer classes of Hindus, procuring them either to the order of the Khonds or on speculation, and they moreover constantly sell as victims their own children and children of whom as relatives they are the guardians. Khonds when in distress, as in times of famine, also frequently sell their children for victims, considering the bestification of their souls certain and their death for the benefit of mankind, the most honourable possible. The Meriah grove, a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, usually stands at a short distance from the village by a rivulet which is called the Meriah stream. It is kept sacred from the axe and is avoided by the Khonds as haunted ground." Bearing these remarks in mind, I now proceed to examine in how far they can throw light on our inscription. The italics in the above extract are mine, and they should be borne especially in mind, while considering what follows. In ll. 26 to 28 it is stated that "no body enters the chhuri prabandha. There is no place for the preceptor of yoginis. For this purpose this village is taken with a view to do good to all living beings." From this it is plain that the grant was not made for any spiritual purpose such as the increasing of the religious merit of the king and his ancestors, but with a practical earthly aim, viz., in order to secure the welfare of the general public including cattle and other animals. The grant was not made to a Brähmana but to a Mēdípota (ll. 12 to 14) who is styled "Pātra 12," and to whom 70 guṇḍāyāna gold were given in addition to the village, with the mutual consent of the king, the queen, the prince and officers of State as stated in the grant, evidently in order to make the transaction an out-and-out purchase. Had the donor been a Brähmana, we should have expected a mention of his parentage, pātra and caste, but no such information is forthcoming in this grant. In l. 25 Mēdípota is called chhurikāra, which is probably used in a technical sense having reference to the chhuri prabandha referred to above, and not in the ordinary sense of a knife-maker (blacksmith). I am unable to say what chhuri prabandha really means, but from the context it appears to stand for something like narabali prabandha, apparently on account of the great importance of the chhuri or knife in the sacrifice.

With regard to the epithet "12 pātra" I am inclined to believe that Mēdípota, whether this word is a proper name or the name of an office, was the head of the 12 persons employed in the work of procuring victims. So late as 1884 A.D., when an investigation was made in Bastar in connection with kidnapping persons for sacrifice, it was believed that there were 12 villages given rent-free to kidnappers of 12 families, with whom the stipulation was that in case they could not procure victims from elsewhere, they must supply them from their own family in consideration of the free grant they enjoyed. Of course the existence of a grant for such a purpose could not be proved, as the sacrifices had been stopped long before the institution of the investigation. But the tradition of 12 families of mellias or kidnappers of victims is significant and points to a practice which evidently existed in the days of these sacrifices. I am further inclined to think that Mēdípota was an office, Mēdi being the same as Meli or Mellī vulgo Mellia or Melia, the word pātra, which in Telugu means a sacrificial victim, being dropped for

1 The Kālikā Purāṇa says:—
If a human sacrifice is performed without the consent of the prince, the performer incurs sin (see Rudhārdaya in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. V. p. 335).
2 The text has chhuri praṇandaḥ, which might perhaps be translated "killing with a chhuri."—S. K.
3 The passage in question (l. 14) can also be translated,—"Receivers 12 Mēdipotās, in their hand property was received." The Chhurikāra of l. 25 would then be a special Mēdípota.—S. K.
4 Capt. MacVicar says:—
"The Meriah offering, whether so called Toki Poojaj or Noroboli (Naraboli), is essentially the same in object as the bōli (ball) of the Deoga Poojaj, and to this day the ritual of the Khonds is annually celebrated by the Boorisloo or Malia Pater (Pātra) at Pooramari, the capital of Chinha Ximoli, on the conclusion of the Dasesah festival—a goal now being substituted for the more precious victim." Mark the italics, which are mine. (See Report by Capt. MacVicar, 1851, in the History of operations for the suppression of human sacrifice in the hill tracts of Orissa, 1854). It would appear that Mellia (the procurer) and Meriah (the victim) were identical terms, the procurers being regarded in
the sake of brevity. It will now appear that the grant gives sufficient indications pointing to the procuring of a human victim. The village is secured as the residence of the preceptor of the jāginiśa, who of course dwell in a haunted place, which is naturally avoided by others. The victim is obtained by purchase, with the mutual consent of the king and his subjects, the grant is made to non-Brāhmaṇas, the likely persons to take part in such a ceremony, and all this is done for the purpose of dayā and dharma to all living creatures. Having referred to these main points, I pass over the minor ones which lead to the same conclusion, that this grant was made in favour of procurers of victims for human sacrifices. If therefore the purpose of the grant is really what it appears to be, then I fancy this is a unique record and no similar inscription has hitherto been discovered.

Some remarks about the dynasty of the king mentioned in this grant will be found above on pp. 161 and ff., where I have dealt with the inscriptions of the Nāgavānśi kings found in Bastar, most of which are not yet published, and which I propose to edit in due course as intimated before. The dynasty is clearly related to the Śinda family of Yelburga. Though styled “Lord of Bhogadvati, the best of cities,” Madhrurantakadēva appears to have been a Maṇḍalika (feudatory chief), as the verse in II. 24–25 shows that his rāja was limited to Bharamakotiya, which is described as a maṇḍala in l. 15. He belonged to the Ohindaka family, one of the 36 Agnikulas1 mentioned by Chand Bardai, the court poet of Pṛthvirāja.

With regard to the localities mentioned in the record, Rājapura is identical with the present village of the same name, 22 miles north-west of Jagdālpur (the capital of Bastar), on the bank of the Indravati river. There are ruins of a fort there, and it is believed that it was once a royal capital. The present Bāja family also dwelt there for some time. Chakrakotāva is, I feel little doubt, the town mentioned by the Kashmirian poet Bihāra in his Vikramāditeśacharita, in which he records that Vikrama as yuvārāja set out on a series of warlike expeditions, with the permission of his father. He repeatedly defeated the Chōlas and plundered Kāchei. He assisted the king of Mālavā in regaining his kingdom and carried his arms as far north as Gauḍa and Kāmarupa. He attacked also the king of Sinhala or Ceylon, destroyed the sandal wood forests of Malaya Hills and slew the lord of Kūra. He finally conquered Gaṅgakunḍa (IV, 21) Vēṅgī (IV, 29) and Chakrakotā (IV, 30). After having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards, and, on coming as far as the Kṛishnā, he was suddenly disquieted by the news of his father’s death. Dr. Bühler2 remarks that “Bihāra’s rhapsodic treatment of this portion of Vikrama’s career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars. Only so much may be considered certain that his last exploits were performed in the south as he came on his homeward march to the Kṛishnā.” There can be no doubt about these exploits of Vikrama. They were, as related above, the conquest of Gaṅgakunḍa, Vēṅgī and Chakrakotā, and at least these seem to have been conquered in the order in which they have been mentioned. Gaṅgakunḍa was the Bōja capital, situated in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly district,3 whence Vikrama proceeded north to Vēṅgī, the country between the Kṛishnā

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1 Pṛithvirāja Edaṭ, Canto 1, page 54 (Nāgari Prachārī Granthamālā series).
and the Godāvari. He apparently crossed the latter and raided the country of Chakrakōṭa and then wended his way homewards. This occurred just a few years after the present grant was made (1065 A.D.), in as much as Vikrama became king in 1076 A.D. Many a southern king like-wise raided this somewhat weak power, which must accordingly have been situated near to their kingdoms. Therefore Chakrakōṭa was not near Dhārā, as some scholars have supposed, but was contiguous to Vēgī, being situated in the present Bastar state. I think the confusion with Dhārā is due to the fact that Chakrakōṭya had a king named Dhārāvarsha (which has been apparently wrongly interpreted to mean ‘king of Dhārā’). In an unpublished inscription found at Kurushpāl, a place close to Rājapura, there occurs Chakrakōṭya dhārāvardhōṃ kulam-altānm karishnah ... samabhavadd Dhārāvarshanāmō narēvarah. The Narāyaṇapāla inscription also mentions Dhārāvarsha, whose widow Gunda-mahādēvi gave away the Narāyaṇapura village in her grandson’s reign in the year 1111 A.D. The name Chakrakōṭya probably survives in the present Chitrakōṭa or Chitrakōṭa, 8 miles from Rājapura. Bhrāmarakōṭya was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakōṭya, which seems to survive in Ghumara, a name given to the fall of the Indrāvati at Chitrakōṭa.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ī[chh] svasti [ máhi-] Sahasa-pañamapi-kiṛaṇa-nikar-āvabhāsa[ pā]-Nāgavāns-ō[ pā]
2 dhūvā-Brhāgavati-pura-var-ōvara[ pā]; viṣaṇa-jaya-puṣṭa-pāṣaṇa-gām-
3 bhā(bh)īiya-dhvani-lāmbkārita[ pā]-[f]a[ lā]ni-dīśa-āśadharāldhanu[ pā]-[f]a[ n]yāghrā-lām-
4 chhāna-[ pā]-Chhimdaka-kula-śilaka-kamala-bhāskara[ pā]-[f]a[ m]ahā-mahī-
5 svara-[pā]-charaṇa-kamala-śāvi-kīhajka-pumja-pā[ pā]-[f]a[ j]arita-bhā-
6 marāyamāna(pā)[ pā]-[f]a[ n]urapati-vinīrjita-duṇḍubhi-tūrya-rav-o[pā]-[f]a[ n]rā-
7 sit-āri-chakra chhirā-lavadha-jēyā[ pā]-[f]a[ n]vāvat-ōpāri-lavadha-lāthva[ pā]
8 kālī-vala-kadala(lī)-dhvaja 11sāmkh-aika-sāvd-ābhinārādita | svasti nri-
9 pa-kāl-śālita-śa[ pā]-vat 987 nava-sata-satāśi-sapt-

Second Plate : First Side.

10 varṣahasa[ pā]-parūbhava-samvatum-abhayantarā-kārtika-māsa-sukla-pakṣē[ pā]-vudha-
11 dinē nakvatra anurāvē[ pā]-suabhāgya-jōgē[ pā]-karaṇa-gajē[ pā]-sarvē[ pā]

1 The first raid so far as is known appears to have been made by Vijayāditya III. of the Eastern Chālukya line, who ruled between 844 and 888 A.D. He burnt Chakrakōṭa (above, Vol. IV, p. 226). Then the Chōja Rājendrachhōja I. (A.D. 1011-33) took Sakkara-kōṭam (South. Ind. Inst. Vol. II. p. 108), while one of his successors, king Virarājendrachhōja J., claims to have crossed the Godāvari, passed through Kalūga, and advanced against Chakrakōṭa (ibid. Vol. III. p. 70). Next the Chōja king Kūlētūnga, while yet a youth, won his first laurels in battle by storming Chakrakōṭa. This happened prior to 1070 A.D. and is mentioned in the Tamil poem Kāḷiṉatu Pārami (X. 24), and also in inscriptions (see e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXI. p. 286). Vikrama was probably the fifth raider, the sixth being Vīśnuvardhanā Hoyala in the 12th century (Kiellah’s Southern List, No. 396).
2 I would therefore, instead of ‘Rājakārīvarman (i.e. Kūlētūnga Chōja I.) conquered the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭa’ read ‘Rājakārīvarman conquered king Dhārā(varsha) at Chakrakōṭa’ (see Kiellah’s Southern List, No. 756).
3 See above, page 161.
4 Expressed by a symbol.
5 Read vahān-dāhōana.
6 Read -śvara cīvāda.-
7 Read -lōbhā-jay-ōpāla.
8 Read -śūkho-śabha.-
9 Read karaṇa-gajē.
10 Read aṅgadāl-dānōtālē dhanadhāura.
11 Read sanah-sukla-pakṣāh-dūha-
12 Read sarvo-kūrayā.
Second Plate; Second Side.

19 sahasra vr̥hamaṇa | gö-sahasra-gḥatames kṛitvā | tasyaṣyopi phalam bhavati ||
20 da[t*]t[ā*]m paradat[tā*]m vā jō(yō) harēd(rēta) vasmādhārah [\*] shashṭir\[11.\] varisha-sahasraṇi
21 viśṭhāyāṁ jáyatē krimi[h*]m || sāmānyō yāṁ dharma-śētuṁ(tur)=nripāgāṁ kālē kā-
22 lō (yō) pālanīyam(-yō) bhavadbhiḥ [\*] sarvāṇ+yōpēṭam\[12.\] bhāginaḥ pārthavēndrō bhū-\
23 yō yāchatē Rāmaḥāṇḍrāḥ [\*] Ākās-ōṭpātī\[13.\] nidhi guja da[t*]tam iti grāmya
24 vāhyāṁ rāja-ḍrayaṁ || ṛvavuḥaḥ[14.\] chaddras-ca sūrjas-ca jáva tiṣṭhati mēdinī ||
25 tu Bhrāmakōṭya rájavamaṁ tāvatu || chhuri-kāra mēḍipōtasya putra-
26 pāntē sāsanam\[15.\] pālanīyam || grāma-mēdhyaḥ chhuri-pravadam\[16.\] kō=pi na pravi-
27 satī\[17.\] || kulāyan\[18.\]jōgīnt-āchāryasayaḥ(ḥ) sthalam n=asti || āṭad-arthō

Third Plate; First Side.

28 grāmaṁ gṛhitaṁ dayā-dharma-sarva-jaṁtu-((upakār-ārtha-hētuṁ || Chakrākō-
29 tya-māḏaḷa-mādhyaḥ sākṣi nāyaka ārya-Dhārēśvarāḥ(śvarāḥ) Mūdhasēlī Nāga-
30 hasti l karaṇa Dārāl l Likhitaṁ kāyastha-Dhānūkēna(ḥ) iti
31 lokha[nl] dūrītām kumāra\[19.\] Tūngarāja Dhāmadēva Gōvardhanāḥ Danārdhanaḥ\[20.\] pātra
32 Gāgirā sādhu Sāhāraṅga(-su ?) | Maṇavṛddhi\[21.\] svahastō=yaṁ matam= ārōpaya-
33 ti ||

1 Read kumāra. 2 Read kumāra Nāyakaḥ. 3 Read Śrīrakaḥ.
4 Read śrīrāṣṭhi. 5 Read īkānamati; cf. īkāmatthotādē in ll. 29, 30, and 33 of the Siyadoni inscription (above, Vol. I. p. 177).
6 Read śrīnaśa-mūṣyamudīnām. 7 Read gṛhitām=taṇḍaṁ. 8 Read brāhmaṇaṁ. 9 Read tasyaṣyopi.
10 Read shashṭirī vārṣeṣa-sahārdāṁ.
11 Read gṛhitām vārṣeṣa-sahārdāṁ.
12 Read sarvām=taṇḍaṁ gṛhitaṁ pūrṇaṁśeṣaṁ vṛdhāṇaṁ bhū-ḥū.
13 Read gṛhitām=taṇḍaṁ gṛhitaṁ pūrṇaṁ=taṇḍaṁ bhrāmakōṭyaḥ rāja-vahāṉ=pi tūṁdāṁ.
14 Read tūṁdāṁ gṛhitaṁ pūrṇaṁ=taṇḍaṁ bhrāmakōṭyaḥ rāja-vahāṉ=pi tūṁdāṁ.
15 Read śrīrāṣṭhaṁ. 16 Read mēdhāṁ. 17 Read prabhādaṁ.
18 Read "satī. 19 Read kulāyan=jaṅgīṁ. 20 Read kumāra.
21 Read Jāndrána. In Basta and the adjoining Orīya country this name is commonly pronounced Dānārdraṁ, and I have found a Tahsilār of Kālāhandi who actually writes his name so. All these names should properly be in the instrumental.
22 Read Maṇavṛddhi.
TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! (In the reign of the king) born of the race of the Nāga (Cobra), which is resplendent with the mass of rays (proceeding from) the jewels in (its) thousand hoods; who is lord of Bhogavati, the best of cities; while the space between the ten quarters is resounding with the deep sound from the shrill drums (proclaiming his) brilliant victories; whose crest is a bow and a tiger; who is (as it were) the sun to the lotus (-like) crest jewel of the Chhindalka family; who resembles a bee which is rendered yellow by the mass of the pollen served to the lotus feet of the great Mahēśvara; whose circle of enemies is terrified by the sound of the dandubhi (drum) and tārīya (musical horn) won from Indra; who is ended with victories gained since a long time; whose banner is the lotus and plantain (leaf) supported on (the back) of Airāvata (white elephant); and who is hailed by the sound of couches only; in the year of the (Śaka) king 997 expired, in the month of Kārttika, during the currency of the Parābhava-saṁvatsara, in the bright fortnight, on Wednesday, in the Anurādhā lunar mansion, in the Saubhāgya yōga and Gana karāṇa, in all these auspicious moments, the illustrious Madhurantakadevā, Prince Kanbardēva, Queen Nāgala Mahādevi, Prince Nāyaka, Nāyaka Śūdraka, Prince Tuṅgarāja and Śrēṣṭhin Puliama, having unanimously agreed, the village Rājapura (situated in) the Bhrumarakaṁṭya manḍala is granted, after washing the feet and (accompained with) pouring streams of water, (and) 70 gadgadaka gold are received in the hand of (by) Meḍipōta, (who is the head of) the twelve pātras (persons worthy of receiving gifts). The gift is declared as Śivanirmāṇya (as sacred as a gift offered to Śiva and therefore inviolable), as long as the moon, the stars, etc., endure. If any one from time to time says: "I take it," the result for him also (will be the same as in the case of) breaking a thousand tāyus in Bāhūra, breaking a thousand tanks, and killing a thousand Brāhmaṇa and a thousand cows.

"He who resumes land given by himself or given by another becomes a worm in order for sixty thousand years."

"Common is this religious bridge to princes, and it should be guarded by you from age to age. Thus does Rāmachandra again and again conjure all future lords of the earth."

The produce from the heavens, deposits (in the earth) and (wild) elephants are given, but other things outside the village are the State property. So long as the sun and the moon and the earth and the royal race of Bhrumarakaṁṭya endure, so long (must this charter be observed). This charter is to be respected in the case of Chhurikāra Meḍipōta’s sons and grandchildren.

Nobody enters the chhuriprabandha at the village sacrifice. There is no place for the preceptor of the resident (local) jēgīna. For this purpose this village is taken, for the benefit of all creatures, for the purpose of (showing) kindness and (performing) virtue. In the Chakraṁṭya manḍala the witnesses are:—Nāyaka Śrī Dhārēśvara, Mūdhasēlī, Nāgahasti, (and) Karaṇa Dārī. Written by Dhānūka Kāyastha.

The pen (engraving stylus) (was) touched by Kumāra Tuṅgarāja, Dhāmadēva, Gōvar-dhana, Danārdana, Pātra Gāgirā (and) Sādhu Sāhāraṅga (Sāhāraṅga ?). This is in Manavri-dhi’s hand (writing) (which) sets up (expresses) the (general) opinion.

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1 In Blochman’s Asis-i-Akkari, Vol. I, page 132, the following occurs:—

"Elephants are chiefly found in the Sūbāh of Agra, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar as far as Berār, in the Sūbāh of Allahābād, in the confines of Pātah and Ghosaghāt and Ratnapur, Naḍanpur, Sargachh and Bastar."
No. 24.—SIHAWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNAVARA.

THE SAKA YEAR 1114.

By Hira Lal, B.A., Nagpur.

This inscription is on a slab built into the wall of the Karnavara, vulgo Kanar, temple at Sihawa, the principal village of the tract of that name in the Dhamtari tahsil of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It was first noticed in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. p. 500, and it is referred to by General Cunningham in his Reports, Vol. VII. p. 145. The place does not seem to have been visited by any archaeologist. The inscription was brought to notice by the District officials, who thought it sufficient to ascertain the date, and the full contents of the record have hitherto remained unknown. I therefore edited it from an ink impression supplied by Mr. Gokul Prasad Iyavd, Tahsildar of Dhamtari, from which a reduced facsimile is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

The inscription contains 16 lines covering a space 22' x 13 1/2". The letters are bold and well formed. They are all intact excepting one which is broken off in line 2. Their average size is about 1/2". The script is Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the invocation in the beginning, Oṁ namah Śivāya, and the name of the sūtradhāra at the end. There are altogether 13 verses, 4 in the Vasantatisaka metre, 8 Aṇuṣṭubha and one Upajāti.

The following are the principal orthographical peculiarities:— s is almost invariably used for ū. The sign of the avagraha is not used at all (see lines 3, 4 and 15). Letters following an anusvāra changed from a nasal are doubled (lines 2, 10, and 13). Letters with a rāpha are sometimes doubled and sometimes not. Instances of doublings may be seen in lines 1 and 15, and of non-doubling in lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11, while lines 8, 9, 10 and 14 afford instances of both. In conjunct letters s has been used instead of the proper nasal as in panchakṣaī and punyataḥ in lines 12 and 15. Śīna is spelt throughout as śīnā, following the usual vulgar pronunciation, and, finally, in line 1 the vowel ri is used instead of the ri, tritaya being written as tritaya.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of five temples, two in his parents' name, two in his own, and one in his issueless brother's, by king Karnaraja of Kākairā, and of one by his wife, queen Bhopalla-devī. These were all built at the sacred place Dēvahra. The date of the inscription is given in the last verse as Saka 1114, without any other details as to the day or month, etc. The inscription was accordingly written in the year A.D. 1191-92, apparently after the completion of the whole group of temples, and it was put up in one of the king's own temples, in which Śiva was enshrined. The other one of those which he had built for himself was dedicated to Kēśava, who apparently occupied a secondary place in his estimation. The temple in which the slab is found, is still called Kanēsar or Karpēswara, after the king's own name. The writer was the sūtradhāra Bāṇḍa, and the composer of the prasasti Nṛṣimha.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the three-eyed Śiva, and in the second verse the moon, as the progenitor of the dynasty, is praised. Then begins the genealogy of the king, commencing with Simharaja, whose son was Vāgharaja, from whom was born Vāpaśiva, the father of Karparaja, who married Bhopalla-devī, and who, having conquered all the neighbouring
princess, assumed the title of a paramount sovereign. Combining the information from the other two Kākaiāna inscriptions of these Sāmavāṇī kings we get the following genealogical tree:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{Krīshṇa?} & \text{Kānāraśi} & \text{Sāmarāja-dēva} & \text{Ranakēśarinn} \\
\text{—Bhōpallā-dēvi,} & 1192 A.D. & & \\
\text{Jālāraśi} & & Pampāraśi-dēva & \\
\text{—Lakhami-dēvi,} & 1216 A.D. & & \\
\text{Sāmachandra} & & & Vōpadēva (Prince) \\
\text{Bhānudēva,} & & & \\
\text{1320 A.D.} & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

It would appear that Vōpadēva had four sons, but the probability is that he had only three, the doubtful Krishna of the Kanker pratiṣṭhā being probably identical with Karṇa of our inscription. Evidently the three brothers were all ruling chiefs, who appear to have divided the state between them and selected their residences in different places, though always keeping in touch with the ancestral capital at Kākaiāna and recognising one amongst themselves as over-lord. Karṇa seems to have had a predilection for a site near the older capital, viz., Sīhāwa, and was probably living in Dhanorā, now in the Bastar State, at a distance of about 25 miles from Sīhāwa. In this village my friend Rai Bahādur Pandā Baijnāth, B.A., Administrator of the Bastar State, has recently discovered ancient remains, there being about 20 tanks and 25 mounds, one of which he excavated and found in it a huge Śiva tiṣṭha with beautiful carvings. Dhanorā is enclosed by hills on three sides, and is a likely place selected by a Rāja for his residence. There is a local tradition that a Rāja Karṇa ruled there, although the people of that place do not even now know of the existence of any inscription mentioning his name. Sāmarāja and his son Pampāraśi favoured Pādi-pattānas, which I cannot identify. It was possibly somewhere towards Dhamtarī side. Ranakēśarinn was issueless, as our inscription informs us, and he was probably wholly dependent on his brother Kānāraśi, as we find the latter building a temple in his name to perpetuate his memory—a thing which he would perhaps have done himself had he been his own master. If he was ruling as a chief subordinate to his brother, we have no information as to

Above, pp. 113 and 2, and 166 and 2.
where he had selected his residence. There can be little doubt that all these branches of the Kākāraja family owed allegiance to some other power, which was very probably represented by the Haihaya kings of South Kōśala, as the use of the Kalachuri era by Pampaśrājadeva would indicate. Kṛṣṇarāja was apparently more ambitious than the rest. He subdued the neighbouring princes, as our inscription relates, and probably set himself up as an independent ruler in the out-of-the-way jungles; that is perhaps the reason why he used the Śaka era in his inscription instead of the Kalachuri era, thus intimating that he did not acknowledge the Haihaya domination, unless it was customary to use the Kalachuri reckoning in official documents involving disposal of property, etc., while the older Śaka era was used for other religious and general purposes.

The earliest date1 of this line of kings is that which we get from the present inscription, viz., 1192 A.D., and the latest is that of Bhāṇudēva, 1320 A.D., there being thus a difference of 128 years between Kṛṣṇarāja and Bhāṇudēva. Kṛṣṇarāja stood in the same relationship to Bhāṇudēva as did the first ancestor Sinharāja to Kṛṣṇarāja. Sinha was great-grandfather of Kṛṣṇarāja, the latter being great-grandfather (or great-granduncle) of Bhāṇudēva, and if a similar interval is allowed between Sinha and Kṛṣṇarāja, Sinha's time would be about 1054 A.D. According to this calculation the generations would be very long-lived, about 42 years each on an average, which is hardly probable, though in sporadic cases there would be nothing extraordinary about it. The present Rāja family, according to its traditions, believes its first ancestor to have come from Orissa about Vikrama Samvat 1150 or 1993 A.D., and this curiously fits in well with the evidence afforded by the inscriptions under consideration. Apparently, then, Sinharāja was the first emigrant, and he came about the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. The Rāja family story2 as related before (above, page 124) is to the effect that a Puri king, having become a leper, quitted that place and came to Sīhāwā, which was merely a dense jungle, where he found a spring of water in which he took a bath which removed his leprosy. He was then installed king of that place, and it is possible that the locality was named after him, being called Sīhā + auk = Sīhāwā (the comfort of Sīhā) which finally was corrupted into Sīhāwā. From our inscription it appears that it was also known as Dēvadhada tirtha or the holy lake of the gods, and there was certainly ample reason for calling it so. In fact a large portion of the Sīhāwā tract seems to have been regarded as a piece of holy land. Local tradition avers that it was the hermitage of the rishi Śringcā, who is still worshiped there. Five miles from this place is the village Ratāwā where Angāra (Angirās) rāhu used to live, and Muchakunda had his āśrama in the village Mecha, 22 miles from Sīhāwā. About 10 miles west of Sīhāwā there is Dēvakūta (the hillock of the gods), which also

1 It is perhaps more than a coincidence that a king Vṝṣṇa-rāja of Mahānāga, who must have held sway in the same neighbourhood, is mentioned as early as the fourth century in the Alahan kā pillar inscription of Samudragupta, see Gupta Inscriptions, p. 6 ff.

2 A variant of the same story is that a Puri king having appointed an illegitimate son of his as his successor, the latter took offence and quitted the place. They came over to the wilds of Čhitrābāra and became the leaders of the local tribes, who installed them as their kings. That there is some truth in this story is evident from the fact that the installation of most of these chiefs is considered complete when it is confirmed by a particular tribe, by way of expression of gratitude on the part of the Rāja family. Thus the Kunker family seems indebted to the Halás, the Kalamāl family to the Kandia, the Bāli to the Bāliya, and so on.

3 Besides the healing power of the spring, which in itself is sufficient to cause the place to become a tirtha, Sīhāwā is the source of the Mahānāga or Chitrābāra, of which it is said —

Sīhāwā purī pūmgh pūmgh Mārjānakārā, Kūmārīyān truggh pūmgh pūmgh Chitrābāara sañcāt. Surāpurpurī in the present Sripur, capital of the state of the same name, and Mārjānakārā is another name of Narahimānavā in Bālayānābādī Zuṃāndara of the Sambalpur District. A visit to that place is held to wipe out all sins. En passant it may be noted that the apparent mistake of a sculptor in carrying out a cat-lion instead of a man-lion has metamorphosed the status of the latter kept in the Narahimānavā cave, into a new incarnation of the God, to account for which there has been no lack of imagination on the part of the local Brāhmaṇas.
contains ruins of old temples. At Sihawa there are two old temples close together in a pretty fair state of preservation. One of them, in which our inscription was found, is dedicated to Mahādeva, and it is certainly identical with one of the two mentioned in line 12. The other is dedicated to Rāma, but the people say that it was also formerly a Śiva temple and that the present statues of Rāma and others in it were brought from the ruined temple (about 300 yards away) near the Amrita Kund, a bath in which is reputed to have cured the leprosy of the first Kānya-kumāra. One of these must be the temple dedicated to Kēśava. There are three other temples close by, which may possibly be those constructed by Karkaraja in his parents' and brother's name. In the village Bhartīrās, which means 'the interior,' and which probably formed the interior of the Sihawa town in its days of glory, there is another old temple containing idols not easily distinguishable, but stated by the people to represent Rāmacandra, etc., and this may possibly be the temple which Bhūpaladēvi built. It cannot, however, be confidently identified; the probability for such a conjecture being based on another supposition, viz., that Bhūpaladēvi was a Vaiśākha, while her lord was a Saiva. It appears that it was in deference to her that Karkaraja dedicated one of his temples to Kēśava. And as one temple erected in her name was thus built on the holy spring, it seems reasonable to suppose that she should have selected a site for another which she built independently, in the interior of the town.

TEXT.

1 चिन्त- निवास्। कथाएँ।
2 मन्त्रालयঃ। 'চন্ত্রবাক্যঃ। দ্বিতীয় বাক্যঃ। প্রথম বাক্যঃ।
3 ধর্মের সম্পদণ।
4 তপঃ। যোজিতীত। হরিসরুসঙ্করে।
5 ধ্রুবকে সন্তান।
6 রাজার। সমস্তাপন।
7 বিচার। বিচার।
8 রাজ্য।

1 Mr. Gokul Prasad visited these temples lately (November 1907) and has sent me a copy of a small inscription found in one of them, in which I read the name of Sri Vaiṣṇava. Thus the Devakuta temples appear to be older than those of Sihawa, having been built in the times of Karkaraja's grandfather.

2 Metre: Vasanattilaka
3 Read: আনুষ্থং হিংস্ক।
4 Read: মুনি হিংস্ক।
5 Read: রাজার।
6 Read: সমস্তাপন।
7 Read: প্রাচীন।
8 Read: মুনি।
TRANSLATION.

Oṃ! Salutation to Śiva.

(Verse 1.) Let that triad of eyes of Śiva, consisting of fire, sun and moon, protect you on all sides—that triad which out of kindness burns the miseries of this world (and) illuminates and pleases it daily.

(V. 2.) May the god moon be victorious—the moon who is a good whetstone for sharpening the arrows of Cupid, who is (the embodiment of) the splendour on the orb of the mirror (*like) faces of the maidens of the (various) quarters of the sky, who is a pearl from the ocean (emanating in the form of) Atri’s penance, and (who is) the only jewel on the crest of Śiva’s head.

(V. 3.) In that (moon’s) family which prospered through Purūravas and other kings there was a king Śīnharāja who was the leader of (other) kings.

1 Metro: Vasantasilaka. Read श्रमः ६४५६. 8 Metro: Anushṭubh. Read श्रमः ६४५६.
2 Metro: Upajñati. Read श्रमः ६४५६. 9 Metro: Anushṭubh. Read श्रमः ६४५६.
8 Metro: Anushṭubh. Read श्रमः ६४५६. 16 Metro: Anushṭubh. Read श्रमः ६४५६.
(V. 4.) From him was born Vāgharāja, whose feet were indeed scratched by the friction of diadems (adorning the heads) of (other) kings (prostrating themselves before him). By (this) king, who was devoted to his subjects like a father, the world came to be well-ruled on all sides.

(V. 5.) From this lion as it were was born Vopadēva, another lion, frightened by whom the elephant like hostile kings went (i.e. retired) to the (various) cardinal points (of the compass).

(V. 6.) From him was born the illustrious Karṇadēva (who was) the splendour (adorning) the assembly of kings, whose glory was (well) known, and through fear of whose sword in the form of dispensation of justice the Kali (age) was unable to enter the spotless Kākaiya country.

(V. 7.) His queen was the beautiful Bhōpalladēvi, whom the people considered as if she were Lākhāmi (goddess of wealth) come to this earth.

(V. 8.) Having completely conquered the lords of all the neighbouring countries by the force of his arm and having secured paramount sovereignty (over them), (he) caused them to become devoted to his service, to pay tribute and presents and to become charitable.

(V. 9.) In the holy place Dēvahraḍa five edifices were built by him. Two of them were his own, where Śāṅkara and Kēśava (are enshrined).

(V. 10.) The king, having caused two other temples of the god of gods, the holder of the trident, to be built bestowed them on (i.e. dedicated them in the name of) his parents.

(V. 11.) One temple Karṇarāja gave to (i.e. dedicated in the name of) king Baṇakēsarīn, through fraternal affection, knowing that his lineage was to become extinct.

(V. 12.) There, an auspicious temple was also caused to be built by Bhōpalladēvi, who wished for the union with her husband (both) in body as well as in meritorious acts.

(V. 13.) This (was done) in the Śaka year eleven hundred increased by fourteen. Let prosperity daily attend. Composed by the clever Nṛśūmāha.

The Sūtrakāra (architect) was Sūpā (?)

No. 25.—VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF VARMALATA;

[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 682.

By D. R. Bhāndarkar, M.A.; Poonā.

Last year a summary of this inscription was published by Prof. Kielhorn,² with a promise to publish the full text on some future occasion. The impressions sent by Paṇḍit Gaurishankar Hirschand Ojha of Udaipur were not sufficiently clear for that purpose. During the touring season ending March 1906, my work chiefly lay in the Sirohi State. I was thus able to inspect the original stone in person and take the best possible impressions. When the summary was afterwards published on my return to head-quarters, I sent my impressions to Prof. Kielhorn. But, as circumstances arose which prevented him from publishing them, the impressions were

¹ In the original the word is trīdānak which I originally read as trīdādakān. Dr. Konow has suggested the correction adopted in the text.

Vasantagadh inscription of Varmalata

(V. 4.) From him was born Vágharṣa, whose feet were indeed scratched by the friction of diadems (adorning the heads) of (other) kings (prostrating themselves before him). By (this) king, who was devoted to his subjects like a father, the world came to be well-ruled on all sides.

(V. 5.) From this lion as it were were born Vópadéva, another lion, frightened by whom the elephant like hostile kings went (i.e. retired) to the (various) cardinal points (of the compass).

(V. 6.) From him was born the illustrious Karṇadéva (who was) the splendour (adorning) the assembly of kings, whose glory was (well) known, and through fear of whose sword in the form of dispensation of justice the Káli (age) was unable to enter the spotless Káikrå country.

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(V. 8.) Having completely conquered the lords of all the neighbouring countries by the force of his arm and having secured paramount sovereignty (over them), (he) caused them to become devoted to his service, to pay tribute and presents and to become charitable.

(V. 9.) In the holy place Déwarihâr five edifices were built by him. Two of them were his own, where Śaṅkara and Késâva (are enshrined).

(V. 10.) The king, having caused two other temples of the god of gods, the holder of the trident,1 to be built bestowed them on (i.e. dedicated them in the name of) his parents.

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[ Vikrama ] Sámvat 682.

By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.; Poona.

Last year a summary of this inscription was published by Prof. Kielhorn,2 with a promise to publish the full text on some future occasion. The impressions sent by Paṇḍit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur were not sufficiently clear for that purpose. During the touring season ending March 1906, my work chiefly lay in the Sirohi State. I was thus able to inspect the original stone in person and take the best possible impressions. When the summary was afterwards published on my return to head-quarters, I sent my impressions to Prof. Kielhorn. But, as circumstances arose which prevented him from publishing them, the impressions were

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returned to me. This is, indeed, to be regretted, as no other scholar could have done better justice to this important inscription.

The inscription was originally discovered at Vasantagiri, about five miles to the north of Pindwara, which is the principal town of the district of the same name, Sirohi State, and which is also a station on the Rájpátána-Málwá Railway running from Ahmedábhd to Ajmer. The stone was lying utterly neglected outside the shrine of Khmel mandir recently repaired, of which I have been told, it originally formed part. Vasantagiri itself is now desolated, but many people of the Sirohi State come there to pay their homage to the goddess. The shrine is looked after by the Bhis of the adjoining hamlets, and they had for a long time utilised the stone for sharpening their implements. As soon as the news of the find of this ancient inscription stone reached the ears of Pandit Sukhánandji, an antiquary of Sirohi, he hastened to the spot, took it into his possession, and brought it to Sirohi. It is now lying in safe custody in his house.

The inscription contains 17 lines of writing, which covers a space about 1' 12 1/2" broad, by 1' 8" high. The writing is, on the whole, well-preserved, but the proper right portion of it is a little worn, which is doubtless due to its having been used for whetting weapons. Again, there are two or three cracks running horizontally across the inscription and injuring a few of the letters in lines 1, 2, 10 and 11, but, with care, nearly the whole of the inscription can be made out with certainty on the original stone.

The size of the letters varies from 1/2 to 1/3. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, which was prevalent during the 7th and 8th centuries. The chief peculiarity of this type is the representation of the mediæ vowel a, i, and the four diphthongs :a, more frequently by superscript signs placed above the letters than by vertical strokes attached to the sides of the letters to which they belong. This is clearly noticeable, e.g. in the Udaipur inscription, of the Gahila prince Aparajita, the Jñánapánt inscription of Durgaguna, and the Kaúśikó inscription of Dharvada; and this characteristic is exhibited by our inscription also. The characters of our record are, as pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, almost identical with those of the Udaipur inscription. As in the latter, we have the tridented form of the letter y and a distinct separate sign for b. The letter y occurs in the present record no less than thirty times, and, in all these cases except one, the tridented form alone is employed. In this exceptional case (in yodhunstra, l. 1) like that in the Udaipur inscription, the letter is indicated by the old sign occurring, e.g. in the Maukhari inscriptions. We also have special forms for final k, t, and n. In the Udaipur epigraph, final t and n are represented by ordinary signs for those letters with a small horizontal stroke placed above each. Here, on the other hand, final k, t, and n are denoted by their usual signs, but with the tops a little curved towards their proper right (e.g. in vasik, l. 10, "sakrīt, l. 3, and gudha, l. 6). The sign for the apkalimāya occurs three times in "arpata-pra"?, l. 4, and priyāh-priyāh-prasray-adi", l. 7. The jihānālīya occurs only once, in vakhaman-nyatān-ka[rya]", l. 4. Again, our inscription shows a tendency to use some signs with a little ornamentation. Thus, the anusvāra is often represented, not by a simple dot, but by something like an asterisk (e.g. in tatāstā, l. 3). The superscript signs of mediæ vowels are also sometimes ornamentally engraved (e.g. in vriyay-yanj, l. 3). We further find the somewhat rare signs for t, th, and ph. With regard to th, it deserves to be noted that it is exactly like dh (e.g. in bhraman-sthān, l. 8), and can only be distinguished by having regard to the sense of the word wherein it occurs.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words on the name of the commence and the list of the names of the gudhikās contained in lines 13-17, the text is in verse. Solecisms are not infrequent. I need only point out the verse (11) which specifies the date, the language of which is anything but grammatical. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. Consonants are, as a rule, doubled after r: vṛṣrtya followed by r is changed to that letter; ri has once been substituted for r in ṛṣrtya, l. 1; on the other hand,
ri stands for ri in "kriyā", 1. 3; lastly, t has at least twice been doubled in conjunction with a following r, in "vadtra", 1. 2, and "madtra", 1. 4.

The inscription opens with two verses, the first invoking the blessings of Durgā and the second of Kāhāmārya, who is ordinarily supposed to be a form of Durgā and who here, in particular, is to be identified with Kīnhelmadī, outside whose temple the inscription stone was lying before it was removed to Sirohi, and of which it originally formed part. Verse 3 speaks of a king named Varmalāta, on whom the next verse bestows nothing but conventional praise, comparing him to a sorcerer, as pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn. Verse 5 informs us that Varmalāta had a feudatory of the name of Vaiśravaṇa-Satyaśrī, who was devoted to the worship of madī, i.e. doubtless Kāhāmārya, and able to guard the son of Himavat, i.e. Mount Àbu. His son was Bāljila (v. 6), who behaved like Vaiśravaṇa, i.e. Kāhā, the god of riches, in Vaiśa, by lavishing wealth on Brāhmaṇas, personages deserving hospitality, subordinates, and men skilled in arts (v. 7). While this chief (vaiśu) was governing, the temple of the goddess (Kāhāmārya) was caused to be made by the gōshtha, at Vaiśakarañchāna (v. 8). The kārīpukha, selected by the gōshtha to see this work through was Satyaśrī, the son of Pītāmaha, who was a merchant by birth (v. 9). Then follows a verse expressing a wish for the endurance of the temple as long as the mountain Mārū, the rivers, the sun and the moon last. Then follows the verse which contains the date. The language of it, however, to quote Prof. Kielhorn, is curiously ungrammatical. Making allowance for the solecisms, the year intended appears to be 682. As almost all the dates of the inscriptions found in Mālā and Rājputānā, the era of which is not specified and which are capable of being verified, have been shown to belong to the Vikrama era, our date may be taken to be a Vikrama year, and may, therefore, be supposed to be equivalent to A.D. 625. It was in this year, as verse 11 informs us, that the temple of madī was erected. The prasasti was composed by the Brāhmaṇa Dhūrtarādī, the son of Divākara, and incised by Nāgamundin (v. 12). Then follows a list of the individual members of the gōshtha who built the temple, their names occupying lines 13-17. Of these, three deserve some notice. The first is that of the only woman who was a member of the gōshtha. Her name is Būtā, and she is spoken of as a courtier (attached to the temple) of Śrī-madī, i.e. undoubtedly the

1 In the verse the words Kāhāmārya Kāhāmākari occur, of which the latter is taken by Prof. Kielhorn to be the name of the goddess. And this appears no doubt to be supported by the fact that Kāhāmākari or Kāhāmākari is actually the name of a goddess. But then the remaining word Kāhāmārya, which cannot be an adjective, remains unexplained. The final aryā, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of ar, mother, frequently applied to goddesses, shows that Kāhāmārya is the name intended. Moreover, Kāhā is as much a name for Durgā as Kāhāmākari.

2 In addition to the verse referred to (viz., above Vol. I. p. 234, verse 5) by Prof. Kielhorn in support of Mount Àbu (Arbuda) being called "son of Himavat," it may be mentioned that, in the Aravā-tradētrāya also, a copy of which exists in the Ratnakarodāsā at Jodhpur, Arbuda has been spoken of as a son of Himālaya and as being put by the latter at the service of the sage Vasiṣṭha to fill up a deep wide chasm, into which his cow had fallen.

3 The word gōshtha no doubt signifies, by itself, a panel or committee entrusted with the management of the religious endowments, as was first pointed out by Prof. Bühler (above, Vol. I. p. 190, n. 50), though in compound words, such as pasmāna-gosāth, pāsa-gosāth, and so forth, it has the general sense of an assembly.

4 The phrase of the word as first shown by Prof. Kielhorn (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. p. 92, n. 59). This meaning was not known to me when I edited the Ś-rule inscription, where I have, wrongly translated, the word by "those who caused the temple to be constructed." (Jour. Bo. As. Soc. Vol. XXII. pp. 153-3) Instead of "persons appointed to look after the construction of the temple."

5 The inscription says that the temple of Kāhāmārya was built by the gōshtha of Vaiśa or Vaiśakara, i.e. Vasantagad, and that Būtā, as we have seen, was a courtier of the temple of Kāhāmārya, and she could only acquire this position after, and not before, the erection of the temple. Nobody would appoint a courtier to a temple to do the duties of dancing and singing before the deity, before it was constructed, and much less would she be raised to such a dignified position as the membership of the gōshtha prior to the actual building of the temple itself. I am, therefore, somewhat inclined to think that the temple was not built, but rebuilt, by the gōshtha, and that the word kārā in verse 8 has to be taken in the latter sense. Instances of a similar use are not wanting.

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The second name is Pratihara Bota, the first of which words I think signifies the race. Bota was thus a Pratihara, i.e. Pada, and this is the earliest instance of the denomination Pratihara occurring in an inscription. The third name is rajasthaliya Adityadhata, the first part of which is unquestionably an official designation, meaning the foreign secretary.  

Prof. Kielhorn thinks that the name of Varmanlata spoken of in our inscription as paramount sovereign settles the date of the poet Maha. It would be impossible not to agree with him when he says, that, out of the numerous forms found in the manuscripts of the Siupala-vadha, of the name of the king at whose court Maha's grandfather Suprabhadra is stated to have held the office of prime-minister, the variant Varmanlata is to be selected as the most likely one. But to the identification of this prince with the Varmanlata of our inscription, supposing the date V.E. 628 to be correct, it is possible to raise an objection. As every student who has read the Siupala-vadha knows, Maha in his work distinctly alludes to the two grammatical treatises, the Kshitikakrittt and its commentary called Nydau. The former is the joint production of Jayaditya and Vaman, and, with regard to the former author, the Chinese traveller I-ting informs us in unmistakable terms that he died about A.D. 661-662. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the author of the Nydau was Jinendrabuddhi, who like Jayaditya was a follower of the Buddha. And it is inconceivable that I-ting, one of whose principal objects in coming to India was to collect information about Buddhist authors, could have passed him over in silence, if the latter had flourished before A.D. 695 when the Chinese traveller's departure from India took place. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the author of the Nydau could not have lived before the first half of the 8th century. Maha, therefore, has to be assigned to the latter part of the 8th century. This line of argument adduced by Prof. Pathak appears to me to be worth considering. Dr. Konow, however, informs me that he does not think it convincing. He says, the argumentum ex silentio is always unsafe, and, even if we admit that Jinendrabuddhi cannot have written before A.D. 695, that does not disprove Professor Kielhorn's identification of our Varmanlata with the king whose minister Magha's grandfather was. Our inscription may very well date from a time previous to his appointment as minister, and it does not, at any rate, make it impossible to bring Maha down to the first twenty years of the 8th century. There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that Jinendrabuddhi flourished about A.D. 700. The alleged reference to his work in the Siupala-vadha, I think, be more intelligible if we suppose it to have been a new work at the time when Maha wrote his poem.  

I quite accept Dr. Konow's main conclusions. But I agree with Professor Pathak that the argumentum ex silentio carries some weight in this particular instance. One of the chief objects I-ting had in view was to gather all available information about Buddhist authors in India. And, when we consider that he has even mentioned his own contemporaries, it is very unlikely that he should have failed to notice Jinendrabuddhi, if the latter had actually achieved fame in his time. As pointed out by Dr. Konow, there is, however, nothing to prevent us from considering Maha and Jinendrabuddhi as contemporaries. The mere fact that one author quotes another one, only shows that he knows him, and not necessarily that he belongs to a later time. Maha and Jinendrabuddhi can, therefore, very well both have lived at the beginning of the eighth century, and Professor Kielhorn's identification of the two Varmanlatas remains unaffected by Professor Pathak's argument.

2 It might perhaps be doubted whether Jinendrabuddhi was a Buddhist. But there are no reasonable grounds for this doubt. A Decan College manuscript (No. 38 of 1881-82, leaf 90b) has the following: Iti baddhastiacchaditya
dharya-Dvija(Jina)adrabuddhi(dhara)-eivarchiydya. Edikd-eivarama-panchikhydya devity-dhakhyaya cha
ttha-pada. I am indebted to Prof. Pathak for this reference. See also Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 57.  
3 Jour. B. As. Soc. Vol. XX, pp. 305-6.
The place Vaṭa, where the feudatory prince Rājījāla was reigning, is doubtless Vaṣantgāḍh itself. This will be seen from the fact that the temple to Kāhēmāryā, said in the inscription to have been built by the gōdhā of Vaṭa, is no other than the temple of Kīmel mātā in Vasantgāḍh of which the inscription stone originally formed part. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the temples dedicated to the Sun and Brahmā mentioned as existing in Vaṭapura in the inscription of Pūrṇapāla dated V.E. 1099, are still existing at Vasantgāḍh. A slightly different name for the place, viz. Vaṭākara, occurs in l. 9. We have a similar instance of a certain old place called both Arāśaṇa and Arāśapākara. The remains at Vasantgāḍh have been fully described and the question regarding the name Vaṭa and Vaṭākara is fully discussed in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the months July 1905 to March 1906, inclusive, pp. 49 ff.

**TEXT.**

1. भृत्यवि योगिनिर्म[लन] — ० ० [नम्य] क्षतिक्षेत्र योः। "कैलाशाक्षमारिशमतिनियतसुदारायसिनोहिमात्रा [1]" या।
2. राजःखलीखानी धृतिरिपः च सांत्या या धृतिरिपः सांत्या च देवो दुर्गमें य प्रदिष्टाः जगेत मक्कलारो दुर्गाः। [२] नियतमत्वमार्णार्यपः।
3. रक्षाको वरी "ज्यापरीहस्तम् [३]" चेमायथे चेमकरी विद्धातु दिवाभिः क्षतिनन्दनाः। [३] जयति ज्याल्क्षमालिनवक्षमसंवित्तियायाह। [४] ये-वर्गीयमालियो ज्यापरीहस्तमा ज्यापरीहस्तमा। [४] केर्लाक्षेमासमाजारतिविशदय
4. सुद्रया पारस्यम् [५] कौशिकास्य प्रकामं प्रतिवचनसुरूपः।
5. [खे] जापेरररस [६] सबी के मक्कलारो क्लवेवीहक्कितिदानन चावे तेनिए स्त्रिववत्तमनत्तिरता शासिता भूसिपाला। [७] त्सालायविशन्ति।
6. [खे] जोयरहितम्यापति क्षत्र गुप्ताः (i) नाशा वचम्यसिः भृत्यपादिती-भाव भावाः। [८] ब्रम्हामात्यः।
7. [खे] तालुणः प्रभृत्तिमयानुत्तिर राजधीनी [९]। तथा सुत्तरचिन्त प्रियः। प्रमीत्वादितिकक्षमशुद्धिः। [१०] राजराजेवद्विद्वराजाक्षास्की।

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1 In l. 9 of the Vasantgāḍh inscription of Pūrṇapāla, Vata is also spoken of as the name of a country. In verse 17 of the mātī-ki-adi inscription found at Ghatiyāla (Jour. R. As. Soc. 1895, p. 518), the expression Vāda-nāñgaya-māndāla occurs. This is doubtless identical with Vata-Nāñgaya-māndāla. Here the country or district is not called simply after Vata (Vasantgāḍh) but also after Nāñgaya which evidently is the present Nāñgā, about thirteen miles north-east of it.

2 From the original stone.

3 Expressed by a symbol.

4 Read केर्लाक्षमासमा।

5 Read दुर्गाः। metre: Sragdharā.

6 Read खेखाः।

7 Metre: Aryā; and also of the verse following.

8 Wrong for "क्षिप्तम्", which would not have suited the metre.

9 Read पदेयमणी।

10 Read खेखाः।

11 Read संक्षिप्तम्।

12 Read वर्षाक्षमासमा।

13 Read सार्दालाविक्रिदन्ता।
8 सिंपले कृषि लूपः । [२०] [६९] ब्राह्मणातिविद्वान्दिकाश्रयु विशिष्टः । [१०] सोधिकां मूढ़ी क्षापेन 'शाकवे बैद्यथायते' । [७०] तरंगवाचनं द्वाश्चाशिति राज्यं ।
9 बटाकशास्त्रेण[२०] गीता कारतंत्रिकस्वनेन सुवनस्य विक्रमितः । [८०] कारापक्षेण सूक्तः पितामहस्य सन्तवेस्वयः । [१०] गीता प्रसादपर्यये निकृपिते ।
10 [माः] ना स विशिष्टः । [१२] याय्योरोर्वतनं प्रसुरणिमकणोऽतृत्वैौलाधिपथ
11 [म्ह] नरकवत्सां[२०] महोद्यो याय्योर्वतनं[५] वालं [नित्या] निनाक्षां महुर्तः "वैयस्वामेर्वा वैवर्त्यानां" । [१०] हिरण्यवधिको वालं वधकां वाच्यैतिते । [२०] निम्बुहुः।
12 [८०] भवन्दिनः[२०] महोद्यो[८] निनाक्षां महुर्तः[१२] वैवर्त्यानां। [१०] पूर्वातिन्द्रविभिन्नवेशः प्रोक्तिः नामसुमूखिना
   [२०] [१२] । [१२] ।
13 [मों] निबाचः । [२०] राज्ञि । बक्तः । चद्दरकः । प्रतीहारवीरः ।
   राजस्वालयादिकसम्बन्धः । जा(?)व(?)खः । मातुरस्वविदेशः । कुञ्जवनः ।
   बनदनः[२०] । [२०]
14 धुवकः । धोभकपुषस्वकः । कवळः । बनदतः । नौसिकः । चरिते
   गुमः । [व]पकः । पपोः । सब्दः । रेलिनागः । रतिदासः ।
   तरणः । ——— दुः
15 धुटगुटः । भनगरः । वराणसिद्धः । ——— । राजकः । भद्रेभिः ।
   बद्रः । देशिल्लमालकः । खिलः । भाषिदिकः । धाणः ।
   शास्त्रानागः
16 ततः । भिलमालकः । सतमदेशः । बइः
   ——— । श्रीमानामहेश्वरानां ।[१०] एवस्यां भोज्याकारानां ।
17 । ।

1 Metre: Ratbiddhata.
2 Read विशिष्टस्.
3 Read द्विवेदी.
4 Read यमसेनः.
5 Metre: Śloka (Amsathubh).
6 Metre: Aryan; and also of the verse following.
7 The letter न is engraved below the line.
8 The word pawsa is curious, but it probably means "descendants of the citizens (of Vaisa)."
9 Metre: Snāgatārā.
10 The oksharas "वर्ता" are very indistinct.
11 Metre: Śloka (Amsathubh).
12 Read "पारविः"
13 Read रामविः.
14 Read गामाचि.
15 About five letters have been inclined in cursive form, but I am unable to read them.
No. 26. — DAULATABAD PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA SANKARAGANA;
SAKA-SAMVAT 715.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

These plates were in the possession of a Tongawalla, named Bhan Devram Bhat, a Brahmasahatri by caste, and residing at Daulatabad, in the Nizam's territory. They seem to have been preserved as heirloom in his family, and, according to the account given by him, it appears that they were given to his great-grandfather as a sanad. The plates were obtained on loan by me from the owner through Maulvi Syed Mohammad Bilgrami, First Talukdar, Aurangabad district, who was kind enough to accede to my request promptly.

There are three plates, each of which measures about 7 3/4 long by about 5 1/4 broad. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the remaining ones on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is, on the whole, in a state of almost perfect preservation. The plates are strung on a circular ring, the ends of which are joined together by means of a knob bearing a roughly round seal, containing, in relief on a countersunk surface, a representation of Garuda, squatting and facing full-front; his hands are joined, palm to palm, on the chest, and are turned upwards; his legs rest one upon the other, and two projections at the sides denote his wings.

The characters of the original inscription belong to the northern class of alphabets prevailing in the 8th century. With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to a, e.g. in Asta, l. 2; to v, which looks almost exactly like m, e.g. in "pasiña", l. 12; to nga in bhaga, l. 14; to ska in Sri-Sankaragaranaja, l. 27; to rya in virya, l. 20; and to ncha in "paśiñha", l. 35. The alphabet also includes signs for the numerals 7, 1, and 5 in line 41. The last sign is almost exactly like that for 5 given in the Sāmānagāth grant of Dantidurga, where the date is also expressed in words. No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the correct reading of the date of our inscription. The language is Sanskrit. Up to almost the close of line 24 the inscription is in verse, and two benedictory and imprecatory verses occur in lines 38-40; the rest is in prose. The number of verses at the beginning is 12. Of these, verses 1-9 also occur in other early Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. The remaining three verses are peculiar to this inscription, and are historically important. The whole of line 31 after the word vra(brā)machāri and a part of the line following have unquestionably been tampered with. They contained names of the donor and the village granted, which have been cancelled and replaced by new ones by heating the plates and beating in the letters originally engraved. The boundaries of this new village are specified after about the middle of line 42, where the original inscription really ends, down to line 55. The letters of these lines are as carelessly written and are of exactly the same type as those incised in lines 31-32 just referred to. Lines 42-55 are thus a continuation of the forgery commenced in lines 31-32. In respect of orthography, the letter b is throughout denoted by the sign for v; there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after r; the viṣāgra is often wrongly omitted; the vowel ri is employed instead of vi in bhupas=śriciṣṭapa, l. 5, Kanakāḍir=vi=Endrārājaḥ, l. 8, and priyā[ntam]jaḥ, l. 24; the letter gh is employed instead of k once in viṣja-siṁghaḥ, l. 4; and an annaśvara in conjunction with a following n is changed to that letter once in dhastin=nayaḥ, l. 2.

The inscription records a grant by Samarāvaloka-sri-Sankaragana-rāja of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. In the introductory metrical portion, his genealogy is given, beginning with Gōvinda-rāja I. The genealogy set forth as far as Kṛishṇarāja I. is in verses 1-9 which, as already said, are to be met with in many other grants of this dynasty, and which consequently teach us nothing new. It then describes Gōvinda II. in the following words in verse 10, occupying ll. 19-21 and bearing a double entendre: "His son was king Gōvindarāja who was like Hari (Kṛiṣṇa) inasmuch as both were fond of battles, inasmuch as the former was celebrated for
having snatched away the glory of Pārijāta just as the latter was for having carried off the greatness of the suspicious pārijāta (tree), and insomuch as the prowess of his arm was shown by the former by supporting Gōvardhana just as it was shown by the latter by uplifting the Gōvardhana (mountain).” The mythological sense is clear enough, and, besides, the verse seems to show that Gōvinda II. defeated a king of the name of Pārijāta, and made alliance with, and espoused the cause of, another prince called Gōvardhana.¹ The names Pārijāta and Gōvardhana are new, and have not so far been met with in epigraphic records. Then follows a verse (11) which is as important as it is unfortunately corrupt. But if the emendations proposed by me are accepted, the following appears to be its sense: “His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even deprived of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the elders, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family.” What the verse means is that Gōvinda II. was a self-conceited ruler and resorted to bad policy, which resulted in the regal authority being held by a person who had no respect for the Rāṣṭrākūṭa sovereigns that preceded him, and consequently created dissatisfaction amongst his feudatory chieftains, who deserted him, and that Dhruva-Nirupama fearing that the sovereignty would pass away to another dynasty, was compelled to take the reins of the government into his hands and thus rule over his brother’s dominions. The Dēōli and Karhād grants of Kriṣṇa III., however, give a slightly different account. They record that “sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose.” The discrepancy in the two accounts is with regard to whether Dhruva-Nirupama was actually entrusted by Gōvinda II. with the management of the kingdom, the Dēōli and Karhād grants saying that it was so, but our inscription implying that it was not so, as it was left to the care of one who was anything but attached to the Rāṣṭrākūṭa family.² But the facts, the actual occurrences, mentioned in our charter, which is the earlier of the two and consequently more reliable, could not have been distorted, though the motives might have been coloured and differently expressed; and hence what most probably happened was that Gōvinda II. gave himself up to sensual pleasures and allowed the government of his kingdom to slip into the hands of a person other than Dhruva, and not of Dhruva himself, as the Dēōli and Karhād grants claim, and whether it was to remove the danger thereby caused to the stability of the Rāṣṭrākūṭa supremacy, as the motive is stated in our inscription, or, what is more likely, his mind lusted after sovereignty, for securing which a splendid opportunity had presented itself when Gōvinda II. gave himself up to vicious courses, Dhruva-Nirupama was successful in making himself ruler of his brother’s dominions.

Verse 12 informs us that the paternal uncle of (Dhruva-)Nirupama was Śrī-Nanna, brother of Śrī-Kriṣṇarāja and son of Śrī-Kalkarāja. Then follows the preamble of the prose passage which usually precedes the formal part of a copper-plate inscription, and therein the

¹ I have taken the word uddhāraṇa in the sense of “uplifting, upholding,” but it also signifies “eradication, extermination.” In that case it would mean that Gōvinda II. slew a prince of the name of Gōvardhana. Or if Gōvardhana is here supposed to denote a province, it would mean that he devastated the province of Gōvardhana. A province and a place of that name have been mentioned in the Nālik cave inscriptions, and are also been spoken of in the Purāṇas. But whether the name was extant so late as the 5th century is doubtful. A similar play upon the word Gōvardhana occurs in the Bagamā grants of Indrāja III. (above, Vol. IX, pp. 32 and 36).

² This discrepancy may perhaps be removed by putting a different interpretation on the words: guruvāhākṣayottāna. It might be said that the person who had no respect for the elders, i.e., the Rāṣṭrākūṭa sovereigns who were dead, and in whose hands the sovereignty lay, was no other than Gōvinda II. himself. It might be argued that the management of the kingdom had actually been entrusted to Dhruva by him on account of his sensual courses, as the Dēōli and Karhād plates claim; and that the motive put forth by Dhruva and his party for ousting Gōvinda II. and completely severing his connection with the Rāṣṭrākūṭa kingdom was that he had shown himself unworthy of his elders, i.e., the sovereigns who preceded him, by abandoning himself to sensual pleasures and not himself carrying on the administration of his kingdom. In my opinion, this interpretation would be far-fetched and fantastic.
name of the grantor Samara-valoka-Sri-Sankaragana-raja is specified, and he is mentioned as son of Sri-Nanna just referred to. It is worthy of note that no titles have been coupled with his name. He was thus not even a feudatory chieftain. It is, therefore, no wonder that he is spoken of as issuing the charter with the express consent of Sri-Kaivalabhya Narandyradeva. The latter was doubtless an epithet of (Dhrusa-)Nirupama, who was then the paramount sovereign and whose cousin Sankaragana was. The proper object of the inscription is stated in II. 23-33, but, as said above, the names of the donor and the village granted to him which were engraved in ll. 31-32, have been erased, and new ones incised in characters which, though old, are not quite legible. The only particular which has survived of the original grantee is that he had emigrated from Tenvi, and the expression tat-pida-pujartha gurus-dakshina, which occurs in I. 33, shows that he was the preceptor of Sankaragana. Lines 34-36 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might rescind it. Lines 37-40 quote two of the customary beneficent and imprecatory verses. And the original inscription then concludes thus: "And this charter was written by Chandayika by order of the supreme ruler, when 715 years had elapsed in accordance with the era of the Saka Kings." The supreme ruler here alluded to is (Dhruva-) Nirupama, and the Saka year 715 must consequently refer to his reign. The earliest record—the Paithian grant—of his son and successor Govinda III is dated in Saka 716. It is thus plain that (Dhruva-) Nirupama could not have lived long after Saka 715 when our grant was made.

After this commences the second part of the forged record. It has been mentioned above that the name of the grantee and the village granted engraved in the original inscription in lines 31-32 have been erased, and new ones substituted for them by beating in the previous letters. The name of the new grantee cannot be made out, but his gotra specified is Bhudravaja. Secondly, the name of the new village incised appears to be something like Sama. And it is the boundaries of this village that are now specified in lines 42-53 after the completion of the old genuine inscription. The names are written so carelessly and the composition is so full of grammatical inaccuracies that it is not possible to be here definite about anything. In line 52 is given the expression vala(ill)ha-bha-narondra which is an epithet generally borne by the Bhadradvata rulers. The connection of this expression, however, with what precedes and follows is not clear. The forged document ends with Sri-Bhatarka(ta)ka-mata || 800. The name Bhatarka reminds one of the inscriptions of the Valabhi princes, and if the numerals taken for 800 are correctly read and represent a date, as is highly probable, it must be referred to the Valabhi era, and it thus becomes equivalent to A.D. 1119 which may be taken to be the date of the fabrication of the forged record. Our copper-plate charter, as has been said at the outset, was in the possession of a person from Daulatabad, a Brahmakshatri by caste, and has been preserved in his family as heirloom. As Brahmakshatri in the Dekkan are known originally to have come from Katriawar, it is not unlikely that somebody in his family, after securing these plates, tampered with them in order to use them as documentary evidence to strengthen his otherwise disputable claim to the village therein mentioned, and it is but natural that he should engrave the name Bhatarka after the manner of the Valabhi plates which he must have either seen himself in Katriawar or known about from his forefathers.

**TEXT.**

*First Plate.*

1. जी खस्ति [[४]*] स योवाइसी धाम यात्राकलम हरश यथा कांटितुः

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1 From the original plates. 2 Expressed by a symbol. 3 Read रूपमा.
2 कल्या कामलज्ञा ॥ [१०] ¹ आराध्यतिमिरुखमंगलशालागो धर्मिनयं।
3 बनभोजन रणप्रभरोऽुः [१०] मूर्ति: श्रिव पुरूवासदयनलाथा नौनिन्दयः।
4 राज ब्रह्म राजाणु राजसिंहः। [११] [२०] तथायेऽज्ञा जगति विन्दुअक्षान्नीसंक्षे।
5 रातिसंहिरकिविकासान्नार्थी। ² मूर्तिविपथ्यपालुकाज्ञातः।
6 कहल: श्रीकराज दति योगसिंहियीरुः। [१२] [२०] तथा प्रभृति-
7 कान्तकुटानवदलितीयात्राविकिरितियांवित्तांसरेपीठः।
8 च्वाय: अति चापितमियुरुक्षूः: रुपोढकेतनवाजारिवंदः।
9 बाण: [१२] [२०] तथोपरान्निरपस्यसमायुक्तेऽविद्विकस्यालिवः।
10 भृगु सूति। ³ गतकालसङ्कृतः: नवदिन्तिनराजीमूः। [१२] [२०] भाषितोऽभिपूः।
11 पवित्रकिलकलोकोतिविवेच्यालादालियकारितोभीमः।
12 क्षिताधालासुक्ष्यारचायः। राजपुरवायरातिरिपिपिन्नामः।

Second Plate; First Side.

13 "प्रभुबधविचर्येन जगती "सविक्रमवेदङ्गातपीक्षतः। [१२] [२०] चाप्वित:-
14 महामहोतिनिगरागमंगलमा नित्वलिताकामसेरः। [२०] यो व-
15 कम सपदि दशक्षणः जिज्ञास राजायायिरायिनसंहतः। [१२] [२०] कार्यः।
16 सर्वलक्षणार्थीयाचलाध्वीष्वयत्विमिदविधानादबः। [२०] कार्यः।
17 "कलमचर्याज्ञायम्यः भूतः। विविक्तिरिप्य: सच्छा विक्तिये। [१२] [२०]
18 विक्तिये।
19 अमाल प्रयति: वर्णमार्जी जमाजापालः। [२०] श्रीकराजसुफुतः।
20 रितानविवाहः। [२०] प्रति:। [२०] नवधिनीदोरवधारितवान्तामी।
21 गौरिवदारेण्यिति ² कृपण यमः। [१२] [२०] तथायेऽज्ञा निशुप्पन्ना-

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¹ Read "भारीहिंसिन".
² Read "भ्रमोऽ्
³ Read "सुषुम्न".
⁴ Read "विचारः.
⁵ Read "सरिताष्वादः".
⁶ Read "संस्कारः".
⁷ Read "सदिन्द्रिः" and "विज्ञापः".
⁸ Read "कमकारः".
⁹ Read "श्रीकिनोऽ्
¹⁰ Read "मेघोऽ्
¹¹ Read "भविष्याः.
¹² Read "भावोऽ्
¹³ Read "भागिनः.
¹⁴ Read "भावोऽ्
¹⁵ Read "भावोऽ्
¹⁶ Read "भावोऽ्
¹⁷ Read "सन्धिः" and "वैशीयः".
¹⁸ Read "सामोऽ्
¹⁹ Read "वैशेषिकः.
²⁰ Read "सामाग्रीः.
²¹ Read "सामाग्रीः.
²² Read "कृपणः.
²³ Read "कृपणः.
²⁴ Read "भूतिष्यादिरिष्या.

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* The letter र in "क्षिताधाला" was first inadvertently omitted, but was afterwards engraved below between र and न, and the omission indicated by a horizontal stroke above.
22 चः शश्व नवेरप पनि निवृमान || र[1*] चमारः गुष्ठकर्षीरतीवतीश्वरमणि।
23 भूर्वकविशाश्वपरिच्छिन्नर लक्षः। [11*] [111*] पितृश्वसः गुणवा चारवः शिवम् रीति।
24 विनूत: [1*] चीक्षशाराजभाषा द्वि चीक्षशराजप्रद्युजः। [11*] [111*] गुणवा तपुच।

Second Plate: Second Side.

25 प्रकटपरारामानान्दिकश्चको 'प्रातिनाराम: परधन्यपाद्वारः।
26 शैववध्याविरोधों विश्ववांकाशी विलुकागामाशिल।
27 मै जलामश् द्व प्रश्नवनः 1 "तु्र्यक्षोता समराबलोक्षीयः श्रेष्ठग्रन्थः।
28 चीक्षशिवलमनर्देवावलम्बः। स्वर्णिवागामवामभवाभुवः।
29 "भूतराधिकारिन्यायाधिकः समुद्रोविकल्यः वः संविद्यः यथाश्रयः।
30 मात्रापिप्पोराजस्थानयुवाययोभिषिष्यः। (1) तेनाचिनः।
31 "भूताभानवः भाराभाजगौरः वासुरे। — — नेयः।
32 विधः — — — भुक्ता सामारिन्यमहायायः। सामायसिद्धसः।
33 देवप्रियोऽरुपाराधिपश्वसवानपुरः। गुणदिवरे दसः।
34 यतोचक्षेपैवैः पालिनयो रचियोः। यो वाक्यानितिः।
35 राहतमन:। 16 पारिक्षिष्टिकसमानः चातुरोदितः। स पञ्चमः [1*]।
36 "पातकः चोप्पत्तिः। संहः। स्तवितुः च भगवता वेद्यशासनः या।
37 शीनः।

Third Plate: First Side.

38 वहे स्तवस्मातिष्ठ वर्ष भोदिः। [1*] चाहेति का तुष्टात्मकः च
39 ताम्बुर अग्रे वाहैतु: [11*] विनायकोपत्नीयः। गुणकोटवासिनः। [1*]।

1 चः seems to have been intended, but is, of course, an ungrammatical form.
2 Read चमारः and not च must have been in the original draft, and, being similar in formation, च was engraved instead of च।
3 Read भूर्वकविशा च। 4 Read लक्षः। 5 Read गुणवा शी। 6 Read गुणवा चारवः। 7 Read शिवम्। 8 Read चारवः शिवम्। 9 Read चारवः। 10 Read चारवः शिवम्। 11 Read गुणवा चारवः। 12 Read गुणवा चारवः। 13 Read गुणवा चारवः। 14 Read गुणवा चारवः। 15 Read गुणवा चारवः। 16 Read गुणवा चारवः। 17 Here and in the following the rules of शास्त्रिः have not been followed। 18 Read शास्त्रिः। 19 Read "तुर्यक्षोता समराबलोक्षीयः श्रेष्ठग्रन्थः। 20 Read गुणवा चारवः। 21 Read गुणवा चारवः। 22 This ought to be तोद्धत् according to the rules of grammar: but this will not suit the metre। 23 Read शी।
No. 27.—BUCKHALA INSCRIPTION OF NAGABHATTA;
SAMVAT 872.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POMA.

This inscription was first discovered by a Brahmaprabha of Jodhpur named Nannurama whose seal for antiquarian matters is as unflagging as it is disinterested. It was found at Buckhala in the Bidal district, Jodhpur State. It is incised on a pillar on the proper right forming part of the shrine wall jutting out into the sahāmapāpa of what is popularly known there as the temple of Parrati. The inscription contains twenty lines of, on the whole, well...
Daulatabad plates of Śaṅkaragāna.—Śaka-Samvat 715.
preserved writing which covers a space of about 2' 4" high by 11½" broad. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare forms of gh and s and the numerical figures 8, 7, and 2. Attention may also be drawn to the way in which the letters s and a are engraved. With regard to the latter there is no difference between it and a, except that the upper vertical strokes in the case of the former are much nearer to each other than in the case of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, but is anything but grammatical, and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, t is doubled in conjunction with a following r; dh is written dhi twice in the word mahārājārājārāja, and there is a tendency to use the dental sibilant instead of the palatal, though in one case the latter is substituted for the former.

The inscription is dated Sanvat 872, the fifth of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, and refers itself to the reign of the P. M. P. Nāgabhaṭṭa-dēva meditating on the feet of the M. P. Vatsārāja-dēva. It is thus clear that Nāgabhāṭṭa is no other person than Nāgabhata, son of Vatsārāja, of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty wielding away over the larger portion of North India. Of the princes of this royal family we have had but few dates earlier than the time of Bhūjādeva I. In fact, we had only one date, viz. Śaka 705 = A.D. 783-84, for Vatsārāja furnished by the Jaina work Harīvaśā-Purāṇa. And our inscription now supplies the second date, V. S. 872 = A.D. 815 for his son Nāgabhata.3

The purport of the inscription, however, is not quite clear. Something is said therein to have been set up (nicēṣṭī), but what that ‘something’ was is far from evident. This something, we are told, was set up, after building the temple (dīvagriha) and worshipping the feet of Paramēśvara, in the village of Rājyaghrāṅgakam, by the queen Jayāvall, the daughter of Jajjaka, who himself was a son of the Pratihāra Bapuka, and wife of Bhūmbhuvaka, the son of Haragupta of the family called Avāṅgānaka. As Jayāvall has been spoken of as queen (rājal), her husband must have been some kind of ruler, most probably a chief, feudatory to Nāgabhāṭṭa, and reigning at, or, at any rate, holding, Rājyaghrāṅgakam, which must be supposed to be the old name of Buchkalā. The name of the sūtrabhāra or mason is Paṇḍahārī, the son of Deīa.

The temple is, as we have seen, said to have been dedicated to Paramēśvara, which is usually taken to be a name of Siva. This, however, does not agree with the sculptural details of the temple. Although it is now-a-days called a temple of Pārvati, there is, truly speaking, no image in the sanctum. But on the dedicatory block on the shrine door and in the principal niche at the back, the images in which enable one to determine to what god the temple is dedicated, is a figure with four hands, doubtlesly representing some form of Vishnu, as the mace, discus, and couch-shell can be distinctly seen in its hands. Other images, also carved on the inner and outer walls of the temple, show that it was a Vaishnava structure. The word paramēśvara must, therefore, be taken in its ordinary sense and as referring to Vishnu.

TEXT. 3

1 बी [1] संवलक्रटे ५३२
2 चेरक्स सितपख्स पंचमा्
3 निवेसिन्ति" ॥ महाराजाविराण-

1 It is worthy of note that, in the copper-plate charters issued by Bhūjādeva I., Mahendrapāla and Mahāpāla alias Vinayakapāla, letter-numerals are used to express figures, whereas, in the present as well as other stone inscriptions belonging to the time of these princes, decimal notation is employed. It will thus be seen that both systems were current in North India about this time. [In the facsimile 823 is a misprint for 872.—S. E.]
2 The date has already been given by Prof. Kiellhorn in his Synchronistic Table for Northern India, col. 9, from information furnished by Mr. Olja.
3 From the original stone.
4 Read निवेसिन्ति.
5 Read महाराजाविराण.
No. 28.—KENDUR PLATES OF KIRTIVARMAN II.

SAKA SAMVAT 672.

By K. B. Pathak, Professor of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Poona.

This inscription was first brought to my notice in May 1902 by Bhringārkar bāvā, a well-known reciter of kirtans at Poona. He was then engaged in a literary controversy about the identity of Jñānēvāra, the well-known saint of Alandi, with Jñānēvāra, the author of the Jñānēvār, a famous Marāthi commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, and asked me whether the inscription threw any light on the point he was discussing. When I told him that the grant was issued in Saka 672, and had nothing to do with the author of the Jñānēvār, who was contemporary with Rāmadvīra, the last of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri, Bhringārkar bāvā was kind enough to lend me the plates for the purpose of editing the inscription.

1 Read "ताजकमाणि".  2 Read "माणि".
3 Read "ताजकमाणि".  4 Read "समीक".
5 Here and in the following the rules of suddha have not been observed.
6 The words परमेश्वरेऽ and निश्चि as they stand, make no sense, and I can suggest no correction.
7 Some such reading as "अग्राधिकरणतिः" might be expected.
8 Read "परमेश्वरेऽ".  9 Read "परमेश्वरेऽ".
10 Read पादे.  11 Read पदार्थयोगुण.
12 [14]  पुनः  13 पुनः  14 तत्क उपलिपिन
15 देवयोगुण  16 देवयोगुण  17 देवयोगुण  18 देवयोगुण.
19 देवयोगुण  20 देवयोगुण.

The plates were found at Kândúr, a village in the Khéd taluka of the Poona district. They belong to Mr. Purushottama Rajaspáthak, now residing at Kândúr. There are five plates, the first and the last of which are inscribed on one side only. The plates are equal in size, measuring 9½" long by 4½” broad. Their edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The ring on which the plates are strung is about half an inch thick and 5½" in diameter. The seal on the ring is oval, measuring 2" by 1½". It has, in relief, on a countersunk surface, a standing bull facing to the proper left. The weight of the plates, together with the ring and seal, is 235 tolas. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit throughout, and with the exception of the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictory and imperative verses at the end, the whole is in prose.

The grant is one of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II, and is issued from the city of Raktapura, which is probably to be identified with Lakshmíśvara, in the Dharwar district. It records that on the full moon day of the month Vaiśākha, during a lunar eclipse, in Śaka 672 expired, in the sixth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at Raktapura, Kirtivarman II., at the request of his great queen, granted to a Brahmāna named Rāmasārman, the village of Beppaṭṭi in the centre of the villages of Penāsaṛu, Kísuman-galam, Sullam and Pérbbali, in the district of Vellóli. The five villages can be easily identified with Bēppaṭṭi, Hebār, Kusangala, Sullá and Hebbalí, in the Dharwar district. Vellóli is a Sanskritised form of Belōli or Belvala, a name which is applied even at the present day to a portion of the southern Mahráhá country.

Before the discovery of the present grant, only three records of Kirtivarman II's time were known to scholars. Of these, the most important is the Vakkalērī grant, which has been published by Mr. Rice¹ and re-edited by Dr. Kielhorn.² As interpreted by these scholars, the date of that grant is Śaka 679 expired, which is spoken of as the eleventh year of Kirtivarman's reign, while, according to the present grant, Śaka 672 expired was the sixth year of his reign. These two statements cannot be reconciled. It is, however, important to note that the present grant was issued five years earlier, and is perfectly legible throughout. It also mentions the occurrence of a lunar eclipse. Therefore, the date in this grant, which admits of verification, is correct. But in the Vakkalērī grant, the first word describing the Śaka year is not legible. Both Mr. Rice and Dr. Kielhorn have proposed to read it as nara, nine, and this view has been endorsed by Dr. Fleet. But the proposed emendation does not agree with the present inscription, according to which Śaka 677 expired was really the eleventh year of the king's reign.

The historical information in the present grant may be briefly summarised thus. The first king of the Chalukya line was Polekésin who performed horse sacrifices. Then came his son Kirtivarman II, who defeated the kings of Vanaváśi and other countries. His brother Mahágala being passed over, we are next introduced to Satyásraya, better known as Polekésin II., who defeated the famous Buddhist king Harihávardhana, the patron of the illustrious Chinese traveller Huien Tsang and the hero of Bāga's immortal work, the Harihávardhana. Polekésin II.'s son, Vikramaditya I., was the next king, who recovered, by means of his horse Chitrakaṇtha, part of the Chalukya dominions, which had been overrun by the Pallavas, and had obeisance done to him by the lord of Kāśi, who had bowed down to none other. Vikramaditya I.'s son and successor was Vinayaditya, who broke the confederacy of the Chójas, Károlas, Pándyas and Pallavas, and defeated the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Vinayaditya's son Vijnayaditya, the next king, had greatly assisted his father and grandfather in their wars. Though suddenly taken prisoner by the enemy, whom he had put

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² Above, Vol. V. p. 200 and ff.
to flight, he skilfully effected his escape and restored the splendour of the Chalukya empire. He was succeeded by his son Vikramâditya II., who led an excursion into the Tundâka country, defeated his natural foe the Pallava king Nandipûtavarman, and entered the Pallava capital Kânchi, but did not destroy it. He restored to the Râjasinâhâsvara and other temples, which had been caused to be built there by Narasînhâpûtavarman, heaps of gold and rubies, which had been taken away from them. Vikramâditya II. was succeeded by his son Kîrtivarman II., who issued the present grant.

TEXT.1

First Plate.

1 Svasî [\*] Jayatî-avishkrita[\*] Vishpôr-vvârâhâni kahóbbie-ârpanam [\*] dâkahin-ônnata-damshâtra-agra-viáránta-bhuvana
2 vâpuh [\*] Šrîmatâm sakala-bhuvana-saṅstúyamâna-Mânuvas-sagôtrâyanâm Hár[j]têputrâpâm sa-
3 pta-lôkamâtrîbhis-saptamâtrîbhir-abhivardhitânâm Kârttikéya-pariraksha-prâsta(pta)-
4 kalyânan
5 paramparâpân bhagavan-Nârâyas-prasâda-saṅsâdita-varâha-lâñchhana-ôkshaça-
6 kañaça-
7 vaśi-krit-âśeṣa-mahbhirâṭatâ-Chalukyânâm kulam-alambârâman-ôsvâmâdh-ôva-
8 bhûtha-samâna-pavitra-krit-gâtrasya śrî-Pólecêśi-vallâbha-mahârâjasya a-
9 nûḥ parâkram-kârânta-Vanavâsya-âdî-paramipati-marjâla-prajibaddha-visuddha-kîrtti-
10 śrî-
11 Kîrtivarmanâ-prithu(thi)vivallâbha-mahârâjasya-tasyôâtmajas-saṃam-saṅsakta-sakałottarâ-
12 pathâsvârâ-srî-Harshavardhana-parâjyô-pâṭa-paramêśvara-sabdhas-tasya Sa-

Second Plate; First Side.

10 tyâśraya-śrî-prithu(thi)vivallâbha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-sâya priyatanâsâya
11 prajâtâ-nayasya hâtga(dga)-mâtra-sâhyasya Chitrakaśṭhâkhyas-pravara-taramâgâmê-an-
12 n=av=ôśadhit-ôśeṣa-vijigīlahôr-avanipati-tritay-ôntaritâm svagurô śriyam-ô
13 ātmasâ-
14 t-krita prabhâva-kulisâ-dalita-Pâmôjña-Chôla-Kârala-Kajhbra-prabhûriti-bhûbhajd-a-
15 dabhra-vibhramasy-ôsanvyâvanata-Kâmbhipati-makuṭa-chunhita-pâdamîbu-jasya
16 Vikramâditya-Satyôśraya-śrî-prithu(thi)vivallâbha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśva-
17 ra-bhaṭṭârakasya priyasûnôb pitur-ôjâyasy Bâlêndugé(ôśi)kharasya Tâârâráti-
18 r=iva dailyabalas-atisamuddhatam traîraîya-Kâmbhipati-balam-avâshtabhya kara-

Second Plate; Second Side.

18 dikrita-Kâvâra-Pârassika-Sîtâhâl-ôdi-dvip-ôdhipasya sakal-ôttarâpatha\*nâthha-mathân-
19 opâjit-ô-
20 rjita-pâlôdhraj-ôdi-samasta-pâramaisvarya-chinbau(hna)sya Vînasâditya-Satyôśraya-
21 âriprihit(thi)vivalla-
22 bha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya priyô-ôtmasâ-ôsai[\*]va ev=ôdhitgat-
23 sâstrô dakahinôśa-vijayini pitâmâhe samunmûlita-nîkhîla-kantaka-samhatir-
24 uttarâpâtha-
25 vijigīlahôr-gûrûr-agrata ev=ûhava-vyâpâram=ôcharam=ôrati-gaja-ghati-pâta-

1 From the original plates.
2 The engraver has originally written "patâś", but corrected it.
Third Plate; First Side.

27 v-ānapakshih-āpara-sāhāyaka= tad-avagrahān-nirgatya svabhuj-āvaashtambha-prasaśhadhi-
āśa-ha-viśva-
28 mbharaḥ prabhur-sakhaṁcit-ṣaktiraya-tvāt (ch)= chhastru-madha-bhamjanavād-
udāratvān-nirvādyavād-yas=sa-
29 mastaḥ huvana-āśraya= sakala-pāramāśvarya= vyahti-hetu-pālidhvaj-ādy-u[ṛ[ʒ]jvala-prājya-
rājaḥ Vijaya-ditya= Satya-draya-āṛṣṇṇa= (th) vīvallabha-mahārājādhiraajas-paramēśva-
31 ra-bhāṭārakaṇya= priyaputra-sakala-huvana-āśrama-lakshmi-svayaṃvar-ā-
32 bhishāka-samay-ānanta= samuṣajita-mahotāhāḥ ātmavahāṣaja-pū-
33 rvva-ṛṣipati-chchhāya-āpahāriṇaḥ prakṛitya-amitrasya Pallavasya samūl-
āṇṇuṇnāṇya
34 krita-matic-ātivaraya Turṇḍaka-vishayaḥ prápya-ābhimukh-āgatan= Nandipotavarmāṃ-
35 bhidhānaiḥ Pallavaḥ raça-mukhē samprahṛitya prapalāyya
kaṭumukha-vāditra-sa-

Third Plate; Second Side.

36 mudraghoṣh-ābhidhāna-vādyā-viśeṣān(abau)= khaṭvāṅga-dhvaja-pramāśa-prabhūta-
prakhyaṭa-hasti-varār-
37 u-svā-kiruṇa-nikara-vikāsa-nirākṛita-timirāma-māṇikya-rāśiḥ cha hastēkṛitya
Kalāśabhaya-nilai-
38 ya-harid-āmga-āmchita-kāṃchhiyamānānān Kāṃchim-avinaśāya praviśāya satata-
pravṛtti-dā-
39 n-ānā(ṃ)ndita-dvija-dīn-ānātha-janaḥ Narasimhahotpavaramma-nirmāṇpita-sīlāmaya-
40 Rājaśinhiḥśvar-ādi-dēvaka-suvaparāśi-pratya-prpan-āpāri-j-ojita-pu-
41 ṇyaḥ anivārita-pratāpa-prasara-prapti-Pāḍīya-Chōḷa-Kērṇā-Kaṭabhrā-
42 prabhūtī-ṛajanyakah keśubhita-kari-makara-kara-hata-dalita-vakti-mukta-muktāphala-
43 prakara-marichi-jāla-vilasita-vēḷ-ākule ghūrṇamān-ārpī-nidhānē dakhipā-
44 rvavē śarad-amala-śaśadhara-visada-yaśō-rāśi-mayan jayastambham-ātish[ḥ[ʒ]jpat

Fourth Plate; First Side.

45 Vikramāditya-Satyārṣasya-ṛṣiprithu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bha-
46 ṭārakaśaya sūnuh(r) bālye susikhaṇḍa-sastra-sastra[h]\[ʒ]\ svagunam-kalāp-ānandita-
47 kṛi-
48 dayāma pitrā samārōpitā-yaunvarājya[h]\[ʒ] svakul-vaṅgīṃ ḍ Kāṃchihpatēṛ-
49 mignrahā-
50 ya mām preśhaya ity-adēśaṁ prārthya labdhvā tad-anantaram-ēva krite-
prayānas-samā-
51 bhimukham-āgato prakāśa-yuddham kartum-asamarttham pravīṣata-durggam
Palla-
52 vaṁ samantāḥ-bhībhūya bhagāśaśākṣīn kṛtvā prabhūta-matta-mataṅgagaj-su-
53 varna-māṇikya-kōṭir-ādīya pitre samarpitavān-ēvaṁ kramēpa prāpta-sa-
Fourth Plate; Second Side.

54 śrūya-śriprihitivallabha-mahārajādhirāja-paramāśvara-bhāṭṭārakasa-sarvāṇ-ēva-
55 mājūhpayati [*] Viditam-astu vō-smābhir-dvisaptaty-uttaram-śaṭchhatēshu
56 Śaṅkāravēśh-ātīṭēshu
57 pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṃvatsarē shashṭhē varttamanē Raktapuram-
adhvassa-
58 tī vijaya-skandhāvārē Vaiśākha-paurṇamaśyām somagrahaṇē Kāyapa-gō-
59 trāya Vaijappasārmanṇaḥ [*] paurāya Mākaya-Vaijapō[ya*] yājīmāh
60 putrāya vēda-vēdāṅga-pāragāya Rāmāsarmmanṇē Vejōla-śiṣṭa-
61 yō Pōṇbasaaru-Kisumangalam-Sūḷḷam-Perbāḷį-nāma-grāmāyām-ma-
62 dhyō Beppatī-nāma-grāmō śri-mahādevi-vijjāśpanayā dattāḥ

Fifth Plate.

62 Tad-āgāmīmbhir-asamad-vamśyair-anyaīs-cha rājabhir-ayur-aśvavy-yādinām vilasitam-achī-
63 r-āmśu-chaṇḍalām-svagachchhadbhīr-āchandr-ārka-dhar-ārṣa-vat-tāḥ-samakālam yaśaś-
64 chikī-
65 reshubhī-svadattī-nirviśēshaḥ paripālanīyam-Uktāj-cha bhagavatā vēda-
66 vyāsēna
67 Vyāsēna [*] Bahubhir-vvasadhā bhuktā rājabhis-Sagar-ādiḥbhīḥ [*] yasa ya-
68 yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalām [*]* Svan-dātum sumahach-chhakāṁ
69 duḥkkhaṁ-anasya pālanaṁ [*] dānanāṁ vā pālanaṁ vēṭti(vēṭti) dānāc-chhreyō-nupālanaṁ [*] *
70 Svadattāṁ paradattāṁ vā yō barēta vasundharāṁ [*] shashṭh(ā)im-
71 varṣa-saha-
72 arūṭi viṣṭhiyāṁ jā yatē kri(krī)mir-iti [*] Dhanamjaya-Punyavallabhēna
73 likhitām-
74 mśidāṁ.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Hail! victorious is the body of Vishṇu, manifested in the form of a boar on whose uplifted right tuak rests the world, and who has agitated the ocean.

(Lines 2 to 6.) The great king, the prosperous Pōlokeśī-vallabha, whose body was purified by the arābhṛtikā bath terminating a horse-sacrifice, and who adorned the family of the prosperous Čalukyaś, who belonged to the family of Mānavya praised by the whole world, who were the sons of Hārīti, who were reared by seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds, who had acquired a series of benefits through the protection of Kārttikeya, and who had subdued in an instant all kings at the sight of the sign of the boar acquired through the favour of the revered Nārāyaṇa.

(Ll. 6 to 8.) His son was the prosperous Kirtivarman, the great king, and the lord of the earth, who had achieved spotless fame by the conquest of Vanavāṣī and other countries of hostile kings.

a [Looks like Vājaśarmaṇṇaḥ—S. K.] b Also called Banavasi or Banavasē.
(Ll. 8 to 9.) His son was he who had acquired the title of \textit{Paraméśvara} by defeating the prosperous \textit{Harshavardhana}, the lord of all the north, and addicted to war.

(Ll. 10 to 16.) The dear son of that\textsuperscript{1} asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the great lord, was \textit{Vikramáditya}, well versed in politics, whose companion was his sword alone, who had destroyed all rivals only with his excellent horse called \textit{Chitraka}ngtha, who retrieving the fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by the confederacy of the three\textsuperscript{2} kings, had destroyed the great splendour of the mountain-like kings of the Pándyas, Chójas, Kórñas, Kajabhras and others with his prowess resembling a thunderbolt,\textsuperscript{3} whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crest of the lord of Káñchí who had not bowed down to others, and who was the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the venerable emperor.

(Ll. 16 to 20.) His dear son, who reduced to the condition of tributaries the kings of Kovérs, Párasika, Símaña and other countries after vanquishing the proud army of the confederacy of the three\textsuperscript{4} kings and the lord of Káñchí at the command of his father, just as Káñkáya, at the command of Síva defeated the very insolent host of demons, who had acquired all the symbols of sovereignty such as a lofty \textit{pañjádhas} and others by subjugating the king of all the north, was \textit{Vinayáditya}, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 20 to 30.) His dear son, who while still a child, had mastered all the sciences and the use of arms, who when his grandfather conquered the southern region had uprooted the multitude of all his foes resembling thorns, conducting warlike operations in the very presence of his father who was desirous of conquering the north, who had the edge of his sword blunted by destroying the group of hostile elephants, who took the lead in all fighting, fond of meeting danger, who caused the multitude of his enemies to turn their backs, delivering to his father the variegated \textit{pañjá}-banner,\textsuperscript{5} the \textit{dákka}, the great musical instruments,\textsuperscript{6} rubies and intoxicated elephants, who, though taken captive through the force of circumstances by the flying foe approaching with some difficulty, put an end to anarchy and popular commotion by his prowess alone, and like Vatsarája, expecting no help from others, escaped from the peril and conquered the whole earth by dint of his arm, who was an emperor, the asylum of truth, through his three powers being uninterrupted, through his breaking the pride of his enemies, through his liberality and blamelessness, whose vast empire was resplendent with a \textit{pañjádhas} which was a symbol of universal sovereignty, was \textit{Vijayaaditya}, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 31 to 45.) His dear son, who had enjoyed great pleasure immediately after the time of his anointment at the self-choice by the goddess of universal sovereignty, who resolved to uproot the \textit{Pallava} king, his natural foe, who had robbed of splendour the former kings of his line, who on coming to the Tuñjáka\textsuperscript{7} district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing \textit{Pallava} king named Nándipótavarna, opposing

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Tseyya} means "of one who is well-known or referred to above."

\textsuperscript{2} Compare the expression \textit{sastra-sárāyata} with trairéṣya in line 17. \textit{Almändt-kritya} should be \textit{kritya}.

\textsuperscript{3} Vikramáditya is compared to Indra.

\textsuperscript{4} Trairéṣya is used by Jinasána in the following verse (\textit{Adipuráya}, XXX. 35), and is explained by the commentator to mean Chója, Kórña and Pándya:

\begin{verbatim}
pradáhyu daksíñam-deváh vihitá trairéṣya-pádabha,
ramámar prasámacchád-dás vijaya jayasasthaanāya.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{5} For the explanation of \textit{pañjádhas}, see my paper in the \textit{Ind. Ant.}, Vol. XIV. p. 104.

\textsuperscript{6} The expression \textit{mahá-kámbha} is frequently used in this sense in \textit{Pampa Sárashita}, p. 211.

\textsuperscript{7} Tuñjákavisháya or Tuñjá is a name of the Dravida country. Káñchí or Conjeeveram was the capital of it.
took possession of particular musical instruments, called kafumukhavidiitra and sanu-
draghasta, the khaññåya-dëva, many excellent and well-known intoxicated elephants and a
heap of rubies, which dispelled darkness by the brilliance of the multitude of their rays, who
entered, without destroying it, the city of Kāññchi, which was, as it were, a girdle adorning
yonder lady, the region of the south, who had rejoiced Brāhmaças, and poor and helpless people
by his uninterrupted liberality, who acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the
stone temples of Rājasinhiyavara and other gods, which had been caused to be built by
Narasimhapàtavarmana, who distressed Pändya, Chôja, Kërala, Kajabha and other kings by
the extent of his valour which could not be withstood, and who erected a pillar of victory in
the form of his great fame, as bright as the cloudless autumnal moon in the southern ocean, full of
rolling waves, the shores of which were shining with the multitude of rays of numerous pearls
dropped from shells struck and broken by the trunks of excited elephants resembling whales, was
Vikramaditya, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and
the venerable lord.

(Il. 46 to 54.) His dear son, who was trained in science and the use of arms in his
childhood, was appointed heir-apparent by his father whose heart was delighted with a
multitude of his virtues, who having asked for and obtained an order to put down the lord
of Kāññchi, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the Pallava king in every quarter,
who, unable to meet him in an open field had taken refuge in a fort, made him powerless, took
possession of many ruttish elephants, gold and crores of rubies, and delivered them to his
father; who thus gradually attained to the position of an emperor, and whose lotus-like feet
were rendered yellowish by the mass of pollen on the numerous crests of all feudatory kings, who
bowed to him through love of his heroism, Kirtivarman, the asylum of truth, the pros-
perous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord, thus commands all;

(Il. 55 to 61.) Be it known to you, when six hundred and seventy-two years of the
Saka era had passed away, and the sixth year of [our] increasing prosperous reign was
current, when our victorious camp was located at Raktaipura, on the full moon of Vaisñakha
during a lunar eclipse, the village named Beppatiti surrounded by the villages named
Poñbasar, Kiszumahalam, SojJam and Perbali, in the district of Veñvola, was granted by
us at the request of the prosperous great queen to Ramaśarman, well versed in the Vêdas and
Vêdhângas, who was the son of Mâkaya, a performer of the Vajapéya sacrifice, and the grandson
of Vajappasarman of the Kâyapa gōtra.

(Il. 62 to 64.) This should be preserved, as though it were their own gift, by future kings of
our own family or others, knowing the flash of life and other things to be as changeful as
lightening, and desirous of achieving a fame lasting as long as the moon, the sun, earth, and ocean
will endure.

(Il. 65 to 70.) And it is said by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas. The earth
has been enjoyed by many kings, including Sagaras. Whoever is the owner of the earth, reaps
its fruit. It is very easy to give what is one's own; it is difficult to preserve what is given by
others. Of the two things—a gift and preservation—preservation is the better. He who takes
away land, whether given by himself or others, is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand
years. This is written by DhanañjayaPunyavallabhā.

1 The expression hasti-bṛtya is not wrong; compare Dhanañjaya, D'sandhatānakīarya XIII, 36, and Bhañjü
Dikshita's remark on Pāñjini I 4, 77; vikramaditya-aṅgī; hasti-bṛtya maññasternīti. See Padamāñjary,
p. 224 (Benares edition).
2 Vikramaditya II. did not set up a pillar of victory; only his fame, which spread to the shores of the
southern ocean, is compared to such a pillar.
3 This must be the same person who composed the Vakkalāri grant five years later. A relative of his, perhaps
his father, was Anuvātāpunyavallabhā, who wrote the Kâññchi inscription of Vikramaditya II. (above, Vol. III,
p. 359 f.).
From the materials supplied to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya I publish here, with the results of my calculations, twenty-two more dates of Chōla kings (Nos. 137-159), and two dates (Nos. 159 and 160) of the king Feruñjirāngadēva, "who claims to be a Pallava and who subverted the Chōla sovereignty about A.D. 1231-32." Five of these dates (Nos. 145-149) belong to the king Rājādhirāja [II.] Rājakēśarivarman, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1183. The other dates in general merely confirm the correctness of the results previously found for the commencement of the reigns of the kings to whom they belong; but No. 142 reduces the period, during which Rājarāja II. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 6th April to the 11th July A.D. 1146.

I am still keeping back a number of dates of Kulottuṅga-Chōla II. Rājakēśarivarman in the hope that more dates of this king may be discovered before long.

At the end of this article I give a list of all published dates of Chōla kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A.—RĀJĀRAJA I.

137.—In the Śivayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruviśalūr. 3

1 Svasti śri [ || — ] Kō-Rājāraja-kēśarivarmanmaṇku yāṇḍu 5 āvadu iva-āṭai[ai]

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Rājarāja-kēśarivarman,—on the day of the auspicious yōga which was combined with the first tihī of a fortnight, 5 (the nakṣatra) Mūla and a Sunday in the month of Dhanus of this year."

I have previously found 4 that Rājarāja I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 935. This date of the 5th year of his reign corresponds to Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 939, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the first tihī (of the bright half of Paussa) commenced 5 h. 6 m., while the nakṣatra was Mūla, by the equal space system for 16 h. 25 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

For dates with the auspicious yōga—also called amrita-yōga 7—of a Sunday with the nakṣatra Mūla, see above, Vol. VI. p. 21, No. 33, and note. Compare also Ḥemāchandra's Sākhāvanīśvaram-ccitra, end of Adhyāya II. Pāda 2: Mūlākṣaḥ 8 śrāvati śāstré sāvakalīyāṇa-
hāro naḥ | adhumā Mālarājaśatu chitrānu lokaśu gīyatā ||

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1 See Mr. Venkayya's Annual Report for 1906-07, p. 89.
2 Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 266.
3 No. 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.
4 Read pratipada'.
5 It is not stated whether it was the bright or the dark fortnight.
8 I.e. Mūlā-nakṣatraṃ yuktō kṣaṭā śrāvati.
In the year which was the 18th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājarājakesarivarman,—on the day of Punarvasu, the week-day (being) Monday, (and) the day of the fortnight being [8—eight—] of the second half of the month Puratāthi, on [the day of] Révati which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth ōṭhī of the first fortnight of the month of Tula in this year.

The first of these two dates regularly corresponds to Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000, which was the 29th day of the month Puratāthi (i.e. the month of Kānya), and on which the 8th ōṭhī of the dark half (of Āsvina) commenced 0 h. 55 m., while the sakṣatra was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the Brahmasiddhanta for 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.

The second date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000. This was the 18th day of the month of Tula, and on it the 12th ōṭhī of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise; but as the sakṣatra was Révati only from 11 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise, I should have expected the day to be described as the day of (the preceding sakṣatra) Uttarā-Bhadrapadā.

In the 2[4]th year (of the reign) of the glorious Rāja-Rājarājadēvā, on the day of Sṛavāna, which corresponded to the fifth ōṭhī and to a [Wednesday] of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛṣchikā in this year.

For the given week-day (Wednesday) and the sakṣatra Sṛavāna, the date would be wrong for all the ten years from the 20th to the 29th year of Rājarāja’s reign. Irrespective of the week-day, the date for the 24th year would correspond to Saturday, the 8th November A.D. 1008, which was the 13th day of the month of Vṛṣchikā, and on which the 5th ōṭhī of the bright half (of Mārgaśīraha) ended 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, while the sakṣatra by all systems was Sṛavāna the whole day. I have little doubt that this Saturday is the proper equivalent of the date and that the week-day, if not misread, has been wrongly given in the original.

1 No. 27 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906.
2 The letter 14 is engraved below the line.
3 Read Révati-adi.
4 I.e. the šīdvedaśadāt-ōṭhī (the ōṭhī of the awakening of Viśnu).
5 No. 208 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906.
6 Read Vṛṣchikā.
B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

141.—In the Amrithaghatésvara temple at Tirukkaídayur.¹

1 Svasti śrī [1]² Pá-málay mi[j]aindu
16 kő-Pá-thitipatmar-sāna Tríbhuvana-

chechakranvi.

17 gaj śrī-Vikrama-Śoladēvarku yāṇu 6 śrā[ā]vadu V[ṛ]ṣchi


"In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Parakēśaviravan an d (the emperor of) the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōjadevä,—on the day of Mrigashśthi, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [second?] tiśi of the

[of the month of] Viśi[čhi[ka]]."

The reign of Vikrama-Chōjā has been found ³ to commence on the 29th June A.D. 1118, and this date of the 6th year of his reign undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1133. This was the 11th day of the month of Viśečha, and on it the second tiśi (of the dark half of Kārttiča) ended 4 h. 45 m., while the nakṣatra was Mṛgaśśthi, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—RAJARAJA II.

142.—In the Grāmārthaṇāśāvāra temple at Elvānāšūr.⁴

1 Svasti śrī [1]² Pā-maraviya Tira-mādam
13 kő-Pā-krēśvritisar[pa]mr-sā.na Tríbhuvana-

chechakravartī.

14 śigal śrī-Rājarājadeva[rku] yāṇu [1]⁵[vanadu].⁶ Mā-

15 sha-nayrku pūrva-pakḥattā ashtā[n]m Budan-ki-

16 jamayum pera Pūṣa[n]-nā.

"In the [1]5th year (of the reign) of king Parakēśaviravan an d (the emperor of) the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadeva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eighth tiśi of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

With the result previously obtained for the commencement of the reign of Rājarāja [II.] Parakēśaviravan, this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161, which was the 13th day of the month of Mēsha and on which the 8th tiśi of the bright half (of Vaiśakha) ended 12 h. 54 m., while the nakṣatra was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 15 m., after mean sunrise.

143.—In the Grāmārthaṇāśāvāra temple at Elvānāšūr.⁷

4 kő-Pā-thitipatmar-sāna
[Tr]i[bu-


[as]para-ma-


¹ No. 86 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
² Perhaps debtyāya (as is meant). See above, Vol. VII. p. 6.
³ No. 140 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
⁴ The letters e is engraved below the line.
⁵ The letters ede are written in a group.
⁶ See above, Vol. VIII. pp. 2 and 363.
“In the 17th year (of the reign) of king Parakāśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājāraja-dēvā,— on the day of A, which corresponds to a Sunday and to the ninth tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162, which was the 7th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 9th tithi of the dark half (of Mārgaśīrṣa) ended 16 h. 56 m., while the nakṣatra was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

The result shows that the nakṣatra, of the name of which only the initial vowel a remains in line 6 of the original, was Attam (Hasta).—The date is the latest one hitherto examined of the reign of Rājāraja II.

144.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēsvara temple at Elvānāsūr.2
9 nāyaṇu p[ā]rvva-pakṣhaṇtu paṇ[jami]y[u]m Tingal-kilamaiyum peṛa

“In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Parakāśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājāraja-dēvā,— on the day of Mṛigaśīrṣa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

In accordance with the previously obtained results, this date should fall in A.D. 1161, some time before the 24th March (the first day of the month of Mēsha); but with the actual reading of the original it would be incorrect. In my opinion, the fifth tithi (paṇ[jami]yum) has here been quoted erroneously instead of the seventh (saptamānāyum), and the date corresponds to Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161, which was the 12th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 7th tithi of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 3 h. 41 m., while the nakṣatra was Mṛigaśīrṣa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

Of the three dates, the date No. 142 would show that the reign of Rājāraja II. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th April A.D. 1148.4

D.—RAJADHIRAJA II.

145.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvūrūr.5
1 Svasti śr[1] a. Kaṭal śālūnā pār-mag[a]u[m]
2 kō Rājākēśaripā[na] sa-āṇa Tribhuvanach[ha][k*]karavattiga śrī-
āṇa Rājāda(dhi)rājadēvārku yāṇu 2[āvaṇu] Mēsha-nāyaṇu pārvva-pakṣhaṇtu
shasthiyina-Dīṅga-kilamaiyum peṛa Pūnarpuṣṭattināl.

“In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājadhirajā-deva,— on the day of Pūnaraṣa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

1 The name of the nakṣatra, which is lost in the original, may be Aṁvati (Āṁviti), Attam (Hasta), Aviṣṭām (Ḍakṣiṇaḥ) or Anuṣaṁ (Āntaraḥ).
2 No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1006.
3 The letters saḍa are written in a group.
5 The word aAMSda seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the figure 2.

Compare the date No. 106, above, Vol. VIII. p. 264.
The five dates Nos. 144-149 are of the reign of a king Rājādhirāja Rājakēśarivarman, and are taken from inscriptions every one of which begins with the words kājāl śūlāda. The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163. With such a commencement of his reign:

This date, No. 145, corresponds to Monday, the 30th March A.D. 1164, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 6th tīthi of the bright half (of the first Vaiśākha) ended 19 h. 3 m, while the naksattra was Punarvasu, by the Brahma-sidhānta from 7 h. 13 m, according to Garga from 9 h. 51 m, and by the equal space system from 21 h. 40 m, after mean sunrise.—This equivalent of the original date might perhaps be objected to on the ground that the naksattra was Punarvasu only from 7 h. 13 m. (or later) after mean sunrise; and in the case of the date No. 106, above Vol. VIII. p. 263, where also the naksattra was found to be Punarvasu from 8 h. 32 m. (or later) after mean sunrise, I have myself stated that that naksattra in the original date might have been quoted erroneously instead of the immediately preceding naksattra Ārdrā. But the two dates together now seem to me to show that in either case there was some special reason for quoting the naksattra Punarvasu, instead of the naksattra Ārdrā in which the moon was at the commencement of the day.¹

146.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvallāṇju. ²

1 Svasti ārī[ ārī] Kaṭāl śūlāda pār-mādaram . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
5 . . . . . . . . [kō] Rājakēśarivarman[vanma]r-ā[ṇa] Tribhuvanachakraya[tī]

"In the [36th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth tīthi of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th August A.D. 1170, which was the 14th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 12th tīthi of the dark half (of Śrīvaṇa) commenced 2 h. 3 m, while the naksattra was Punarvasu,² by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m, and by the Brahma-sidhānta for 17 h. 4 m, after mean sunrise.

147.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr. ³


"In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth tīthi of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

¹ For other dates with naksattras which also, if I may say so, commenced some time after sunrise, compare e.g. Nos. 23, 47, 68, 105, and 121 of this series.
² No. 637 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
³ A 12th tīthi joined with the naksattra Punarvas is called jayantī; it is a maṅg-دداد. This may be the reason why the 12th tīthi has been quoted in the original date (as a current tīthi).
⁵ The word dēsā seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the symbol for ten.
The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 27th February A.D. 1173, which was the 5th day of the month of Mānī, on which the 13th titki of the bright half (of Phalguna) ended 10 h. 50 m., while the nakṣatra was Magha, by the equal space system, for 1 h. 27 m., and according to Garga for 2 h. 33 m., after mean sunrise.

149. — In the Darbharāya śvēta temple at Tirunallār.1

1 Svasti śrī Parāśarā Śrī Kājal śūnda pārāśarāndarum. 

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king Rājāśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirajavāna, — on the day of Śvāti, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth titki of the first fortnight of the month of Śīmha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 15th August A.D. 1173, which was the 19th day of the month of Śīmha, and on which the 5th titki of the bright half (of Hiṃḍarāpada) ended 13 h. 53 m., while the nakṣatra was Śvāti, by the equal space system for 17 h. 44 m., according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

149. — In the Vṛshabhapuriśvara temple at Mēl-Śeyūr.2

1 Svasti śrī Parāśarā Śrī Kājal śūnda pārāśarāndarum. 2 Tribhuvanachakravattigal śrī Rājā [dhirā] jadwagku yāṇu u 13yadu Karkatajasāyaṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟrabbit rabbit "In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king Rājakāšarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirajavāna, — on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to the eleventh titki of the second fortnight and to a Wednesday, the thirteenth solar day of the month of Karkataja."

In the three hundred years from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1300 there are only two days which would satisfy the requirements of this date, viz., Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1097, and Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. TISE.

In A.D. 1097 the Karkataja-sāṅkraṇṭi took place 17 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 25th June; the first day of the month of Karkataja therefore was Friday, the 26th June, and the 13th day of the same month was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th titki of the dark half (of Āṣāṇḍha) ended 5 h. 36 m., and the nakṣatra was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

In A.D. 1181 the Karkataja-sāṅkraṇṭi took place 10 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkataja; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th titki of the dark half (of Āṣāṇḍha) commenced 4 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, and the nakṣatra was Rōhini, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

1 No. 294 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.
It is clear that if, as was assumed above, the reign of Râjâdhirâja Râjakâśarivarman commenced between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163, neither of the two Wednesdays given above could have fallen in the 13th year of his reign. On the other hand, I may state that if either of the two days really fell in his 13th year, the other dates would be incorrect. In these circumstances, and assuming that, with the exception of the regnal year, the details of the original date have been given correctly, I can only suggest that the year 13 (which is given in figures only) has been quoted erroneously instead of the 19th year, and that the proper equivalent of the date therefore is really Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181. It might of course be objected that this day would fall in the reign of Kulottsunga III. Parâkasârivarman, which commenced between the 6th and the 8th July A.D. 1178. But I have already shown that we have a similar overlapping of two reigns also in other cases. A date (No. 94) of the 19th year of Kulottsunga III, corresponds to the 25th January A.D. 1217, while the reign of his successor Râjârâja III commenced in June-July A.D. 1216; and of this reign again we have two dates (Nos. 96 and 97) of the 7th February and the 22nd April A.D. 1249, whereas the reign of his successor Râjarâja-Chòla III commenced in March-April A.D. 1246.

From the materials available I therefore infer that Râjâdhirâja Râjakâśarivarman, i.e. Râjâdhirâja II, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.

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150.—In the Grāmatādhisêvara temple at Ellânsévarā.

1. Tiruvâyânâcchakavattigai, sêri-Viṣṇu,[A]jéndra-Sâlâvark[ku] yându svadu

“In the 8th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Viṣṇu-Jéndra-Chóla-dêva,—on the day of Śrâvâsha, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 18th January A.D. 1184, which was the 22nd day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd tithi of the bright half (of Mâgha) commenced 5 h. 36 m., while the nakshatra was Śrâvâsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 11 h. 10 m., after mean sunrise.

151.—In the Amritâgâhâsârâ temple at Tirukkañâyâr.

1. Sâsti sêri [[1]] Pûrâl vâïyâppa
5. kô-[Ppa]rañâéarinmarâyâ
Tiruvâyânâcchakavattigai, Mâdura iñiyânu Pândâ[y]nâiyânu muñçâlakâni-
kônd-aruliyâ sêri-Kulottsunga-Sâlâvarkku yându 16 vâdu Mâsha-nâiyânu pârvâ-
pakâthattu [a]tâm [i[yì]]yāmu[m]

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of king Parâkasârivarman the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulottsunga-Chóla-dêva, who was pleased to take Mâdura and the

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1 Mr. Venkayya has informed me, about three years ago, that the figures undoubtedly are ‘13’; I would suggest that the thirteenth solar day, which is mentioned closely to the regnal year, may have misled the writer to put down ‘13’ also for the latter.

2 No. 156 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906.

3 Read -pakâthattu.

4 No. 48 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906.

5 Read Trâśâhu.

6 Read -pakâthattu.
crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth titi of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 1st March A.D. 1194, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 8th titi of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 10 h. 50 m., while the nakshatra was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

153.—In the Sīvayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīsālūr.

"In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulottunga-Chōjadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalguna, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third titi of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong because on the third titi of the bright half in the month of Kumbha the nakshatra could not possibly be Pūrva-Phalguna; and the probability would seem to be that either has the first fortnight been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Pūrva-Phalguna (Pārattu) instead of Pūrva-Bhadrapadā (Pārattādi). In my opinion, the date corresponds to Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1196, which was the 10th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 3rd titi of the bright half (of Phalguna) commenced 5 h. 40 m., while the nakshatra was Pūrva-Bhadrapadā, by the equal space system for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

153.—In the Vaṭāranyēśvara temple at Tiruvāḷāṅgādū.

"In the [53rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulottunga-Chōjadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Ijam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to the third titi of the first fortnight and to a Tuesday which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of Kanya."

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200. The preceding Kanyā-sankrānti took place 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th August; the first day of the month of Kanya therefore was Monday, the 28th August, and the 16th day of

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1 Another inscription of the [15th year of the same king with apparently the same astronomical details is found in the same temple (No. 42 of 1906). But the portion, where the fortnight, the nakshatra and the titi may be expected, is damaged. What is actually found is [pū] 81i [p] [vīd]a[k]ālamāyum perta Pārattādi [v]et.
3 Compare the date No. 50, above, Vol. VI. p. 283.
the same month was Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200. On this day the 3rd tithi of
the bright half (of Ásvina) commenced 7 h. 12 m., and the nakṣattra was Chitrā, by the equal
space system and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.—There seems no reason
why the second tithi (dvitiyāyugam) should not have been quoted in the original date instead of
the third (tritiyāyugam).

F.—RAJARAJA III.

154.—In the Jambukāśvara temple near Trichinopoly.¹

1 Svās[tī] śṛ[1] [1[*] [Tri]bhuvanachakravattitā] śrī-Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu
24[āvadu²] Mid[u]ga-nāyāṛu jūrva-pakshattu ekādaśiyyum
Śaṇi-kuḷimai[k]u[m] perγa [Ś]ōḍi-nāl.

"In the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious
Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāṭi, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh
tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The reign of Rājarāja III. has been found to commence¹ between (approximately) the 27th
June and the 10th July A.D. 1216. This date of the 24th year corresponds to Saturday, the
2nd June A.D. 1240, which was the 8th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 11th
tithi of the bright half (of Jyāauśha) ended 3 h. 37 m., while the nakṣattra was Svāṭi, by the
equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

155.—In the Jambukāśvara temple near Trichinopoly.²

1 Svās[tī] śrībh [1[*] Tribhu[va]ga[ka]chakravarttiṣa śrī-Rājarājadēva[rkku yāṇḍu
2[97]āvadu] Tulā-nāyāṛu-ppūrva-(pa)khattu prathamaiyyum [Ś]evvāya-
kiḷimaiyyum perγa
2 ra Śōḍi-nāl.

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious
Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāṭi, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first tithi
of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā."

The date, for the 23rd year, regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D.
1244, which was the 7th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the first tithi of the bright
half (of Kārttiika) ended 12 h. 58 m., while the nakṣattra was Svāṭi, by the equal space system
for 15 h. 46 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.—For the 26th year of
the reign of Rājarāja III. the date would be incorrect.

156.—In the Jambukāśvara temple near Trichinopoly.³

2[910]āvadu¹⁰ Tulā-nāyāṛu pūrva-pakshattu prathamaiyyum Śevvāya-
kk[a][k]i[l]a[m]iyyum perγa [Ś]ōḍi[n]i-nāl.

"In the 26th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious
Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāṭi, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first tithi
of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā."

¹ No. 508 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.
² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word reṣa placed side by side.
³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.
⁴ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 290.
⁵ No. 501 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.
⁶ This name consists of two abbreviations for the word reṣa placed side by side.
⁷ The second figure of the date might also be 6.
⁸ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.
⁹ No. 503 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.
¹⁰ See the notes on the preceding date.
The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.

157.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.¹


"In the 2[9]th year of the reign of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245, which was the 14th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 9th tithi of the bright half (of Phālgunā) commenced 1 h. 12 m., while the nakshatra was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

158. — In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.⁴


"In the 2[9]th year of the reign of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245.

G.—PERUNJINGADEVA.

159.—In the Jambunātha temple at Jambai.⁵


"In the 16th year of the reign of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Peruṣjīṣṣadēva,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth tithi of the first [fortnight] of the month of Dhanus."

Above, Vol. VII. p. 165, I have found that the reign of Peruṣjīṣṣadēva commenced between (approximately) the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243. This date, of his 16th year, corresponds to Monday, the 9th December A.D. 1258, which was the 14th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 13th tithi of the bright half (of Pausha) commenced 7 h. 48 m., while the nakshatra was Rōhini, by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, according to Garga from 1 h. 19 m., and by the equal space system from 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.—Instead of the 13th, I should have expected the 12th tithi to have been quoted, especially as, joined with Rōhini, this tithi is a mahā-dōdaśī (pāpa-nāśini).

¹ No. 600 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word rāja placed side by side.
³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.
⁵ No. 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
⁶ The syllables大豆[?] are repeated by mistake in the original.
160.—In the Grămărdhanăthēśvara temple at Elvănăsăr.¹

1 Svasti ārl [I]* — — — — — — — — — — — — Ģalabalavananachakkaravattiga ărl-kôṅ³ Paranż-
2 jingadēvarkku yāṇțu muppādāvadu Tulā-nāyaṛṛu aparā-pakhattu
3 tri(tri)jārayum Tīnga[[]]-kīḷamaiyum perṛa Kāṭtiṁ-gaṁ.

"In the thirtieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Perunţhēgadēva,—on the day of Krīttīka, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third tithi of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th October A.D. 1272, which was the 13th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 3rd tithi of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 6 h. 40 m., while the nakṣattra was Krīttīka, by the equal space system for 13 h. 47 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 0 h. 39 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

A LIST OF THE DATES OF CHOLA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Parāntaka I. Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.)

No. 101 (Vol. VIII. p. 261).—Year 36, Kaliyuga 4044 (current): Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943.

No. 55 (Vol. VII. p. 1).—Year 40: Saturday, the 25th July A.D. 946.

B.—Rājarāja I. Rājakēsarivarman.

(Between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985.)

No. 137 (Vol. IX. p. 207).—Year 5: Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989.
No. 1 (Vol. IV. p. 66).—Year 7: the 26th September A.D. 991.
No. 61 (Vol. VII. p. 169).—Year 11: Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 996.
No. 25 (Vol. VI. p. 43).—Year 15: Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 999.
No. 27 (Vol. V. p. 197).—Year 15: Wednesday, the 15th May A.D. 1000.²
No. 138 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 16: Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000.
No. 139 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 16: Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000.
No. 2 (Vol. IV. p. 67).—Śaka 929 (current). The date is incorrect.
No. 140 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 24: Saturday, the 6th November A.D. 1008.³
No. 3 (Vol. IV. p. 69).—Year 23, Śaka 934. The date would correspond to the 23rd December A.D. 1012, but contains no details for exact verification.

C.—Rājendra-Chōja I. Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 27th March and the 7th July A.D. 1012.)

No. 102 (Vol. VIII. p. 261).—Year 5: Tuesday, the 26th March A.D. 1017.
No. 32 (Vol. VI. p. 20).—Year 9, Śaka 943 (current): Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020.
No. 4 (Vol. IV. p. 63).—Śaka 943 (current): Wednesday, the 1st March A.D. 1021.
No. 5 (Vol. IV. p. 69).—Year 31 (for 21), Śaka 954: Monday, the 23rd October A.D. 1032.

¹ No. 159 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.
² Read "Parunţhēgadēva."
³ In the original the week-day is wrongly given as Thursday.
⁴ The week-day is wrongly given as Wednesday.
No. 33 (Vol. VI. p. 21).—Year 22, Śaka 955: Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033.
No. 34 (Vol. VI. p. 22).—Year 26, Śaka 959. The date is incorrect.
No. 62 (Vol. VII. p. 169).—Year 31: Friday, the 23rd July A.D. 1042.1

D.—Rājādhīrāja I. Rājakēśarivarmaṇa.
(Between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018.)

No. 15 (Vol. IV. p. 218).—Year [3]2 (for 22): Thursday, the 22nd November A.D. 1039.
No. 12 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 26: Wednesday, the 14th March A.D. 1044.
No. 13 (Vol. IV. p. 217).—Year 27: Wednesday, the 13th February A.D. 1045.
No. 14 (Vol. IV. p. 217).—Year 29: Wednesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1046.2
No. 11 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 30: Śaka 970 (current). The date does not admit of exact verification.
No. 35 (Vol. VI. p. 22).—Year 35: Śaka 975:—probably Sunday, the 23rd May A.D. 1053.3

E.—Rājendradēva Pakaśarivarmaṇa.4
(The 28th May A.D. 1052.)

No. 38 (Vol. VI. p. 24).—The 82nd day of year 4: Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055.
No. 36 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 6, Śaka 979: Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.
No. 37 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 12 (for 11?), Śaka 984. The date does not admit of exact verification.

F.—Virarājendrā Rājakēśarivarmeṇa.5
(Between the 11th September A.D. 1063 and the 10th September A.D. 1063.)
Vol. VII. p. 9.—Year 5: Monday, the 10th September A.D. 1067.

G.—Kulottungacchōja I. Rājakēśarivarmeṇa (Rājendra-Chōja II.)
(Between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.)

No. 56 (Vol. VII. p. 1).—Year 4: Thursday, the 7th November A.D. 1073.
No. 39 (Vol. VI. p. 278).—Year 7, Śaka 993: Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077.4
No. 63 (Vol. VII. p. 170).—Year 16: Thursday, the 12th March A.D. 1086.
No. 6 (Vol. IV. p. 207).—Year 37, Śaka 1030 (for 1028?). The date does not admit of exact verification.
No. 9 (Vol. IV. p. 72).—Śaka 1035: Sunday, the 22nd February A.D. 1114.
No. 7 (Vol. IV. p. 70).—Year 44: Friday, the 13th March A.D. 1114.
No. 8 (Vol. IV. p. 71).—Year 45: Thursday, the 8th October A.D. 1114.
No. 40 (Vol. VI. p. 273).—Year 45, Śaka 1036: Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114.
No. 26 (Vol. V. p. 48).—Year 48: Monday, the 7th January A.D. 1118.
Nos. 20 and 28 (Vol. IV. p. 262, and Vol. V. p. 198).—Year 48: Friday, the 25th January A.D. 1118.7

1 The makhāraṇa quoted is intrinsically wrong.
2 The 2nd śīṭi is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.
3 The 13th śīṭi has probably been wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.
4 In No. 37 surnamed Rājakēśarivarmeṇa.
5 No. 273 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1904 contains a date of the 7th year of this king and of Śaka 991 expired (= A.D. 1063-70).
6 The month Māgha is wrongly quoted instead of Phālguna.
7 In No. 28 the 12th śīṭi is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd which is correctly given in No. 20.
H.—Vikrama-Chôja Parakăsarivarman.
(The 29th June A.D. 1118.)

No. 21 (Vol. IV. p. 263, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 4: Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1122.
No. 103 and 104 (Vol. VIII. p. 262).—Year 4: Wednesday, the 10th May A.D. 1122.
No. 22 (Vol. IV. p. 264, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5: Monday, the 31st July A.D. 1122.
No. 37 (Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5: Thursday, the 31st May A.D. 1123.
No. 10 (Vol. IV. p. 73, and Vol. VII. p. 4).—The 340th day of year 5: Sunday, the 3rd June A.D. 1123.¹
No. 141 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 6: Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123.
No. 84 (Vol. VIII. p. 1).—Year 7: Thursday, the 7th August A.D. 1124.
No. 105 (Vol. VIII. p. 263).—Year 8: Tuesday, the 18th August A.D. 1125.
No. 42 (Vol. VI. p. 280).—Year 9, Šaka 1049: the 27th May A.D. 1127.²
No. 59 (Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 10: Sunday, the 15th April, or Saturday, the 14th April A.D. 1128.³
No. 64 (Vol. VII. p. 170).—Year 11: Wednesday, the 19th December A.D. 1128.
No. 58 (Vol. VII. p. 4).—Year 11: Saturday, the 5th January A.D. 1129.
No. 65 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 15: The date does not admit of verification.
No. 41 (Vol. VI. p. 279, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 16: Monday, the 16th April A.D. 1134.
No. 43 (Vol. VI. p. 281, and Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 17, Šaka 1054 (for 1057): Thursday, the 18th April A.D. 1135.

I.—Kulottuṅga-Chôja II.⁴

J.—Bājarāja II. Parakăsarivarman.
(Between the 8th April and the 11th July A.D. 1146.)
No. 85 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 4: Wednesday, the 23rd November A.D. 1149.
No. 86 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 6: Thursday, the 24th January A.D. 1152.
No. 89 (Vol. VIII. p. 3).—Year 6: Thursday, the 14th February A.D. 1152.⁵
No. 87 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 12: Wednesday, the 26th March A.D. 1158.
No. 88 (Vol. VIII. p. 3).—Year 15: Thursday, the 12th January A.D. 1161.
No. 144 (Vol. IX. p. 210).—Year 15: Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161.⁶
No. 142 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 15: Wednesday, the 8th April A.D. 1161.
No. 106 (Vol. VIII. p. 263).—Year opposite to 16: Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162.
No. 143 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 17: Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162.

K.—Bājadhirāja II. Bājakăsarivarman.
(Between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.)
No. 145 (Vol. IX. p. 210).—Year 2: Monday, the 30th March A.D. 1164.
No. 146 (Vol. IX. p. 211).—Year 8: Monday, the 10th August A.D. 1170.
No. 147 (Vol. IX. p. 211).—Year 10: Tuesday, the 27th February A.D. 1173.
No. 148 (Vol. IX. p. 212).—Year 11: Wednesday, the 15th August A.D. 1173.
No. 149 (Vol. IX. p. 212).—Year 13 (for 19?): Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181 (?)..

¹ The 7th šīlāi is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.
² The year Plava is wrongly quoted instead of Plavanga.
³ In the original date either the mahāśāka or the week-day is quoted incorrectly.
⁴ Perhaps identical with Kulottuṅga-Chôja II. Bājakăsarivarman, of whom I possess unpublished dates of the regnal years 4, 10, 14 and 15.
⁵ The month of Māsas is wrongly quoted instead of Kumbha.
⁶ The 6th šīlāi is wrongly quoted instead of the 7th.
L.—Kulōttunga-Chōja III. Parakēśarivarman (Virarajéndra-Chōja, Tribhuvanavīra).

(Between the 6th and the 8th July A.D. 1178.)

No. 66 (Vol. VII, p. 171).—Year 3: Monday, the 11th August A.D. 1180.  
No. 67 (Vol. VII, p. 171).—Year 3: the date is incorrect.

No. 107 (Vol. VIII, p. 264).—Year 4: Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1183.

No. 150 (Vol. IX, p. 213).—Year 6: Monday, the 16th January A.D. 1184.

Nos. 108 and 109 (Vol. VIII, p. 264).—Year 6: Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184.

No. 68 (Vol. VII, p. 172).—Year 7: Wednesday, the 22nd August A.D. 1184.

No. 23 (Vol. IV, p. 264).—Year 8: Monday, the 8th July A.D. 1185.

No. 90 (Vol. VIII, p. 4).—Year 10: Tuesday, the 5th January A.D. 1188.

No. 19 (Vol. IV, p. 220).—Year 12: Monday, the 4th December A.D. 1189.

No. 60 (Vol. VII, p. 6).—Year 14: Thursday, the 2nd January A.D. 1192.

No. 110 (Vol. VIII, p. 265).—Year 16: Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194.

No. 151 (Vol. IX, p. 213).—Year 16: Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194.

No. 24 (Vol. IV, p. 265).—Year 16: Saturday, the 4th June A.D. 1194.

No. 69 (Vol. VII, p. 172).—Year 17: Monday, the 13th February A.D. 1195.

No. 70 (Vol. VII, p. 172).—Year 17: Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1195.

No. 152 (Vol. IX, p. 214).—Year 18: Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1196.

No. 71 (Vol. VII, p. 173).—Year 19: Monday, the 2nd September A.D. 1196.

No. 17 (Vol. IV, p. 219).—Year 19: Tuesday, the 12th November A.D. 1196.

No. 72 (Vol. VII, p. 173).—Year 19: Wednesday, the 30th April A.D. 1197.

No. 16 (Vol. IV, p. 219).—Year 19 (for 20), Śaka 1119: Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197.

No. 111 (Vol. VIII, p. 265).—Year 20: Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198.

No. 31 (Vol. V, p. 199).—Year 20: The date is quite incorrect.

No. 73 (Vol. VII, p. 174).—Year 21: Wednesday, the 7th April A.D. 1199.

No. 74 (Vol. VII, p. 174).—Year 21: Saturday, the 10th April 1199.

No. 153 (Vol. IX, p. 214).—Year 23: Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200.

No. 112 (Vol. VIII, p. 265).—Year 23: Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200.

No. 113 (Vol. VIII, p. 266).—Year 25: Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202.

No. 44 (Vol. VI, p. 231).—Year 27: Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205.

No. 29 (Vol. V, p. 193).—Year 29: Wednesday, the 7th March A.D. 1207.

No. 114 (Vol. VIII, p. 266).—Year 32: Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209.

No. 18 (Vol. IV, p. 220).—Year 34: Monday, the 19th September A.D. 1211.

No. 91 (Vol. VIII, p. 4).—Year 35: Sunday, the 2nd June A.D. 1213.

No. 92 (Vol. VIII, p. 4).—Year 36: Monday, the 14th April A.D. 1214.

1. This name occurs in the dates of the 6th and 7th years.
2. This name occurs in the dates from the 32nd to the 39th year.
3. I now take this to be the proper equivalent of the date.
4. The 12th titi is wrongly quoted instead of the 11th.
5. The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.
6. The first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second.
7. The 4th titi is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.
8. The sahāstra Pūrva-Phalguni is wrongly quoted instead of Pūrva-Bhadrapā.
9. The sahāstra is intrinsically wrong.
10. The 15th solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 25th.
11. The sahāstra Uttarāsāghā is wrongly quoted instead of Uttarā-Bhadrapā.
12. The month of Rīhābha is wrongly quoted instead of Mēha.
13. The 8th titi is wrongly quoted instead of the 4th.
14. The 9th titi is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.
No. 29.] DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

No. 93 (Vol. VIII. p. 5).—Year 37: Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1214.
No. 30 (Vol. V. p. 199).—Year 37: Sunday, the 7th June A.D. 1215.
No. 94 (Vol. VIII. p. 5).—Year 39: Wednesday, the 25th January A.D. 1217.

M.—Bājarāja III. Bājakēsarivarman.¹

(Between the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216.)

No. 115 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year 2: Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218.
No. 75 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 4: Monday, the 22nd June A.D. 1220.
No. 76 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 5: Wednesday, the 19th August A.D. 1220.²
No. 77 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year opposite to 6: Thursday, the 13th October A.D. 1222.
No. 95 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year opposite to 8: Monday, the 7th October A.D. 1224.³
No. 116 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year opposite to 8: Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225.⁴
No. 117 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year 10: Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226.
No. 78 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 10: Tuesday, the 21st April A.D. 1226.
No. 118 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 12: Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1227.
No. 119 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 16: Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231.
No. 120 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 16: Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1232.
No. 45. (Vol. VI. p. 281).—Year opposite to 16: Saturday, the 25th September A.D. 1232.
No. 46 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 17: Tuesday, the 18th January A.D. 1233.
No. 47 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 18: Tuesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1233.
No. 121 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 18: Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233.
No. 48 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 18: Wednesday, the 7th December A.D. 1233.
No. 122 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 18: Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1233.
No. 49 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 18: Monday, the 2nd January A.D. 1234.
No. 123 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 19 (for 18): Sunday, the 11th June A.D. 1234.
No. 50 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 19: probably Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234.⁴
No. 124 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year 19: Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234.
No. 125 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year 19: Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235.
No. 128 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 27 (? for 21): Monday, the 12th January A.D. 1237.⁵
No. 51 (Vol. VI. p. 294).—Year 22: Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238.⁷
No. 52 (Vol. VI. p. 294).—Year opposite to 22: Monday, the 28th February A.D. 1239.
No. 53 (Vol. VI. p. 294).—Year opposite to 23: Wednesday, the 2nd March A.D. 1239.
No. 54 (Vol. VI. p. 285).—Year opposite to 22: Friday, the 4th March A.D. 1239.
No. 154 (Vol. IX. p. 215).—Year 24: Saturday, the 2nd June A.D. 1240.
No. 126 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year opposite to 24: Saturday, the 12th January A.D. 1241.
No. 127 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 27: Wednesday, the 30th July A.D. 1242.
Nos. 155 and 156 (Vol. IX. p. 215).—Year 29: Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.
Nos. 157 and 158 (Vol. IX. p. 216).—Year 29: Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245.
No. 129 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 29: Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245.
No. 130 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 30: Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245.⁸

¹ This surname occurs only in the date No. 45.
² The 8th śīkṣā is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.
³ The 8th śīkṣā is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.
⁴ [The last day of] the month of Kumbha has been quoted erroneously instead of [the first day of] the immediately following month of Mina.
⁵ In the original date either the aksakāra Uttirāṣṭhā (Uttara-Bhadrapadā) has been wrongly quoted instead of Uttirā (Uttara-Pahgūmb), or the first fortnight instead of the second.
⁶ If the published reading of the original date is correct, the second fortnight has been wrongly quoted instead of the first.
⁷ The 4th śīkṣā is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.
⁸ The 13th śīkṣā is wrongly quoted instead of the 13th.
No. 96 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 32: Friday, the 7th February A.D. 1248.
No. 97 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 32: Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248.

N.—Rājendra-Chōja III.

(Between the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1244.)
No. 79 (Vol. VIII. p. 175).—Year 3: Saturday, the 20th March A.D. 1249.
No. 98 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 4: Sunday, the 12th September A.D. 1249.
No. 131 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 4: Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250.
No. 80 (Vol. VII. p. 176).—Year 7: Wednesday, the 25th December A.D. 1252.
No. 83 (Vol. VII. p. 177).—Year opposite to 7. The date is intrinsically wrong.
No. 132 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 9: Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255.
No. 133 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year opposite to 11: Monday, the 9th July A.D. 1257.
No. 134 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year 16 (for 17): Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262.
No. 135 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year 18: Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264.¹
No. 136 (Vol. VIII. p. 274).—Year 20: Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1266.
No. 81 (Vol. VII. p. 176).—Year 21: Wednesday, the 30th June A.D. 1266.
No. 99 (Vol. VIII. p. 7).—Year 22: Wednesday, the 20th April A.D. 1267.
No. 82 (Vol. VII. p. 177).—Year 22: Sunday, the 8th May A.D. 1267.

O.—Perunjangadēva.

(Between the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243.)
Vol. VII. p. 164, B.—Year 7: Friday, the 30th July A.D. 1249.
No. 159 (Vol. IX. p. 216).—Year 16: Monday, the 9th December A.D. 1258.
Vol. VII. p. 164, A.—Year 18, Śaka 1182: Sunday, the 31st October A.D. 1260.
No. 160 (Vol. IX. p. 217).—Year 30: Monday, the 10th October A.D. 1272.
Vol. VII. p. 165, D.—Year 31: Saturday, the 10th February A.D. 1274.

P.—Tribhuvanasvara-Chōjadēva.

(Between the 24th August A.D. 1331 and the 23rd August A.D. 1332.)
No. 100 (Vol. VIII. p. 7).—Year 11: Friday, the 23rd August A.D. 1342.

No. 30.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By the late Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttingen.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. page 293.)

From the numerous dates of Pandya kings sent to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, I here give five (Nos. 63-67), the European equivalents of which may be given with certainty. The remaining dates must wait till more dates of the kings to whom they belong have been discovered. Of those here published, Nos. 64 and 66 are valuable inasmuch as, taken together with previously published dates, they show that Māravarman Kulaśékha I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 2nd and the 27th June A.D. 1938, and Māravarman Kulaśékha II. between (approximately) the 6th and the 29th March A.D. 1914.

¹ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.
In a postscript I give a date of a king Rājakāsaurusvarman Vira-Pāṇḍya, according to Mr. Venkayya a ruler of Kongu, which quotes both the Śaka year 1202 and the regnal year 15, both given in words. This date is of considerable interest, because my calculations prove its meaning to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king’s reign which commenced in the Śaka year 1202 (and not, that the day of the date itself fell in the Śaka year 1202). The date thus suggests another point of doubt and uncertainty regarding the interpretation of dates that do not contain sufficient data for exact verification, even where at first sight such doubt seems to be out of the question.

At the end of this article also I give a list of all published dates of Pāṇḍya kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆḌYA II.

63.—In the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tirumaiyam.¹


"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍya-deva, — on the day of Uttara-Phalgunti, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the tenth tithi of the first fortnight and to the thirteenth solar day of the month of Rishabha."

I have previously found ⁴ that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239. This date of his 7th year regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245. The preceding Vrishabhakāranti took place 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th April A.D. 1245, which was the first day of the month of Vrishabha; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245. On this day the 10th tithi of the bright half (of Jyotishtha)⁵ commenced 0 h. 43 m., and the nakshatra was Uttara-Phalgunti, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

For the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, the date would be quite incorrect.

B.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

64.—In the Arjunēśvara temple at Kilaṭi.⁶


"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkhara-deva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third tithi of the first fortnight (and) to the 6th solar day of the month of Mithuna."

¹ No. 387 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906.
² Read -pakhattu.
³ The whole of this line is engraved over an erasure.
⁴ See above, Vol. VI. p. 305.
⁵ I.e. the tithi of the Dasadhara.
⁷ Read "cāḥra."
I have previously found 1 that the reign of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 19th March and the 27th June A.D. 1208. This date of his 23rd year regularly corresponds to Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291. The preceding Mithuna-saṃkrānti took place 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th May A.D. 1291, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 6th day of the same month therefore was Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291. On this day the 3rd tithi of the bright half (of the first Āśādha) ended 3 h. 3 m., and the nakṣatra was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise.

The date reduces the period, during which Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 2nd to the 27th June A.D. 1298.

65.—In the Arjunśēvara temple at Kīrāḍi.3


“The year opposite the 30th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkhara-deva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to the eleventh tithi of the second fortnight and to the 8th solar day of the month of Karkaṭaka.”

For the year opposite the 30th, i.e. for the 31st year, of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I. this date regularly corresponds to [Saturday], the 5th July A.D. 1298. The preceding Karkaṭaka-saṃkrānti took place 17 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June A.D. 1293. The first day of the month of Karkaṭaka therefore was Saturday, the 28th June, and the 8th day of the same month was Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1298. On this day the 11th tithi of the dark half (of Āśādha) ended 18 h. 55 m., and the nakṣatra was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

66.—In the Bhūmiśvara temple at Guḍimallār.6


“In the 12th—twelfth—year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśeḵharadēva,—on the day of Dhanisṭhā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Mēṣa.”

This date is intrinsically wrong because the nakṣatra cannot possibly be Dhanisṭhā on the 14th tithi of a first fortnight in the month of Mēṣa. Irrespective of the nakṣatra

1 See above, Vol. VIII. p. 278.
3 Read “kṣaṇa.”
4 The syllable ti here stands for tītādiya.
5 No. 419 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1905.
6 Read saṃsti.
7 The word dāva seems to be denoted by a flourish added to 2.

Read pāvra.”
the date would be wrong for the 12th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulaśekhara I. But for the 12th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulaśekhara II. (which has been found to commence between approximately the 6th March and the 23rd July A.D. 1314) the date would regularly correspond to Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1325, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 14th tiṭiḥ of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 7 h. 9 m., while the nakṣatra was Hasta, by the equal space system, and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.—I have no doubt that this is the true equivalent of the date, and that the concluding words of the original date ought to be Atattu niḍi, "the day of Hasta," instead of Avirattu niḍi.

The date would prove that Māravarman Kulaśekhara II. could not have commenced to reign later than (approximately) the 29th March A.D. 1314.

D.—JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

67.—In the Satyagiriṇātha-Perumāl temple at Tirumāiyam.2

1 Svasti śṛ [i*] Śr̥-kō-[Chchaḍaśi]paṇmar-sāga Tr[i]buvaṇa[śa][ka]vatt[i]gal śṛ[ī]
Parākk[i]ya-Pā[ṇḍiyadē]varkku [ā]yudu 5vad[i]
2 edir 7vadu ... nājaṛṛu apar-pa[k]hashattu dvād[i]y[i]um Nāyaṛṛu-k[i]-
jam[i]y[i]um pēṛṛa Uttaradattu nāī.

"In the 7th (year) opposite the 5th year (of the reign) of the glorious king [Jata]-
varman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pāṇḍya-deva,—
on the day of Uttarāśādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth tiṭiḥ of the
second fortnight of the month of . . . . . ."

I have previously found that Jatavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya commenced to reign between
(approximately) the 10th January A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358. This date of the
7th opposite the 5th year, i.e. of the 12th year of his reign, undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday,
the 4th February A.D. 1359, which was the 11th day of the month of [Kumbha], and on
which the 12th tiṭiḥ of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 21 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise, while
the nakṣatra was Uttarāśādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole
day, and by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

The date shows that Jatavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya could not have commenced to reign before (approximately) the 8th February A.D. 1357.

POSTSCRIPT.

RAJAKESARIVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.4

In the Kariyamāṇikka-Perumāl temple at Viṣayamaṅgalam.5

1 Svasti śṛ [i*] Na[p]maṅgaḷaṇ-jiṇḍaka [i*] [Śa]jr-yāṇḍu āyirati-iru-nūṛi-irandil
2 tiga śr̥-Viṣa-Pāṇḍiyandvarku yāṇḍu pa[i]nu[i]jvadu Tu[i]nāyaṛṛu apar-

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1 See above, Vol. VI. p. 315.
3 See above, Vol. VII. p. 17.
4 This king is neither a Pāṇḍya nor a Chola, but a ruler of Kōṅgu; see Bai Bahadur V. Venkayya's Annual Report for 1905-06, page 79.
5 No. 544 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.
6 The akṣara te is engraved above the line.
7 The guttural a is engraved above the line.
"In the Saka year one thousand two hundred and two, the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king [Raja]késarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pandyadeva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to the tenth tithi and to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Tulá."

The meaning of this date would naturally be taken to be that the day of the date fell both in the 15th year of the king’s reign and in the Saka year 1202, either current or expired; but for either of these Saka years the date would be incorrect.

For the current Saka year 1202 the date might be taken to correspond to Monday, the 2nd October A.D. 1279, which was the 4th day of the month of Tulá, and on which the 10th tithi of the dark half (of Áśvina) ended 2 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. But the nakshatras on this day were Maghá and Pūrva-Phalguni.

For the expired Saka year 1202 it would correspond to Saturday, the 19th October A.D. 1280, which was the 22nd day of the month of Tulá, and on which the 10th tithi of the dark half (of Áśvina) ended 18 h. 25 m., while the nakshatra was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the Brahmasiddhánta for 11 h. 10 m., according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

The date would be incorrect also for the Saka year 1200 (current or expired) and for all years down to Saka 1214 expired. It would be correct for Saka 1215 expired (= 1216 current).

For this year it would correspond to Monday, the 29th October A.D. 1293, which was the 29th day of the month of Tulá, and on which the 10th tithi of the dark half (of Kárítika) ended 6 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise, while the nakshatra by all systems was Uttara-Phalguni during the whole of the day.

I have no doubt that Monday, the 26th October A.D. 1293, is the proper equivalent of the date; and, in accordance with this result, I take the true meaning of the original date to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king’s reign which commenced some time during the (current) Saka year 1203 (= A.D. 1279-80) that is quoted at the beginning of the date. For dates that have to be similarly interpreted, I may refer to Nos. 261, 262 and 269 of my Southern List.

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A LIST OF THE DATES OF PANDYA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara.

(Between the 30th March and the 29th November A.D. 1190.)

No. 2 (Vol. VI. p. 302).—Year opp. to 13: Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1204.
No. 1 (Vol. VI. p. 301).—Year 12 opp. to 13: Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214.
No. 45 (Vol. VIII. p. 275).—Year 13 (for 13 opp. to 13 ?): Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216(?).
No. 44 (Vol. VIII. p. 275).—Year 14 opp. to 13: Wednesday, the 29th March A.D. 1217.

B.—Māravarman Sundara-Pandya I.

(Between the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216.)

No. 6 (Vol. VI. p. 304).—Year 7: Monday, the 13th March A.D. 1223.
No. 5 (Vol. VI. p. 303).—Year 9: Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1225.
No. 46 (Vol. VIII. p. 276).—Year 15: Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1230.

1 Or perhaps: Between the 7th October and the 29th November A.D. 1190.
No. 3 (Vol. VI. p. 302).—Year opp. to year opp. to 17: Monday, the 4th September A.D. 1234.
No. 4 (Vol. VI. p. 303).—Year opp. to year opp. to 17: Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1235.

C.—Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

(Between the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239.)
No. 63 (Vol. IX. p. 223).—Year 7: Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245.
No. 10 (Vol. VI. p. 305).—Year 11: Sunday, the 25th April A.D. 1249.
Nos. 7 and 8 (Vol. VI. p. 304).—Year opp. to year opp. to 11: Wednesday, the 18th January A.D. 1251.
No. 9 (Vol. VI. p. 305).—Year opp. to year opp. to 11: Wednesday, the 14th June A.D. 1251.¹

D.—Jātāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

(Between the 20th and the 26th April A.D. 1251.)
No. 11 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 2: Thursday, the 27th March A.D. 1253.
No. 12 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 2: Saturday, the 19th April A.D. 1253.
No. 13 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 3: Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1253.
No. 17 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 7: Sunday, the 7th October A.D. 1257.²
No. 14 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 9: Tuesday, the 29th April A.D. 1259.
No. 15 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 9: Sunday, the 15th June A.D. 1259.
No. 16 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 10: Wednesday, the 23rd April A.D. 1260.
No. 18 (Vol. VI. p. 308).—Year 11: Tuesday, the 19th July A.D. 1261.³

E.—Vira-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 11th November A.D. 1252 and the 13th July A.D. 1253.)
No. 32 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 7: Sunday, the 13th July A.D. 1259.
No. 31 (Vol. VII. p. 10).—Year 15: Thursday, the 10th November A.D. 1267.

F.—Māravarman Kulaśekhara I.

(Between the 2nd and the 27th June A.D. 1268.)
No. 20 (Vol. VI. p. 309).—Year 10: Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1278.
No. 48 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 22: Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1289.
No. 64 (Vol. IX. p. 223).—Year 23: Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291.
No. 21 (Vol. VI. p. 309).—Year 26: Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1293.⁴
No. 19 (Vol. VI. p. 308).—Year 27: Friday, the 10th December A.D. 1294.
No. 49 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 30: Wednesday, the 31st July A.D. 1297.
No. 65 (Vol. IX. p. 224).—Year opp. to 30: Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1298.
No. 50 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 34: Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1301.⁵
No. 51 (Vol. VIII. p. 278).—Year 29 (for 39): Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306.
No. 22 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 40: Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308.
No. 47 (Vol. VIII. p. 276).—Year 40, Śaka 1229: Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308.

¹ The month of Mīná is wrongly quoted instead of Mithuna.
² In the date, which is intrinsically wrong, the month of Kanyā is quoted instead of Tula.
³ Thursday appears to have been wrongly quoted instead of Tuesday.
⁴ The 2nd śītaḥ is wrongly quoted, or misread, instead of the 3rd.
⁵ The 3rd śītaḥ is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd.
G.—Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.
(Between the 18th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276.)

No. 25 (Vol. VII. p. 311).—Year 6: Monday, the 21st July A.D. 1281.
No. 52 (Vol. VIII. p. 278).—Year 10: Monday, the 23rd July A.D. 1285.
No. 54 (Vol. VIII. p. 279).—Year 12: Wednesday, the 27th August A.D. 1287.¹
No. 26 (Vol. VI. p. 311).—Year 12: Friday, the 12th September A.D. 1287.²
No. 53 (Vol. VIII. p. 279).—Year 11 (for 12): Monday, the 12th September A.D. 1287.
No. 23 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 13 (for 14): Monday, the 1st August A.D. 1289.
No. 24 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 13 (for 14): Friday, the 5th August A.D. 1289.
No. 27 (Vol. VI. p. 312).—Year opp. to 14: Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290.
No. 55 (Vol. VIII. p. 280).—Year 2 opp. to 13: Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290.³
No. 56 (Vol. VIII. p. 280).—Year 9 for 10(?): Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1286(?).⁴

H.—Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II.
(Between the 6th and the 29th March A.D. 1314.)

No. 29 (Vol. VI. p. 313).—Year 4: Saturday, the 23rd July A.D. 1317.
No. 30 (Vol. VI. p. 313).—Year 5: Monday, the 5th March A.D. 1319.⁴
No. 28 (Vol. VI. p. 312).—Year 8: Saturday, the 14th November A.D. 1321.
No. 66 (Vol. IX. p. 224).—Year 12: Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1325.⁴

I.—Māravarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya.
(Between the 1st December A.D. 1334 and the 1st November A.D. 1335.)

No. 33 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 6, Śaka 1262: Wednesday, the 1st November A.D. 1340.
No. 34 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 8 (for 18): Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1352.

J.—Jaṭāvarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya.
(Between the 5th February A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358.)

No. 67 (Vol. IX. p. 225).—Year 7 opp. to 5: Sunday, the 4th February A.D. 1369.
No. 35 (Vol. VII. p. 12).—Year 10 opp. to 5, Śaka 1293: Friday, the 9th January A.D. 1372.

K.—Kōṣaṇa-marīkaṇḍaṃ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.
(Between the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.)

No. 59 (Vol. VIII. p. 282).—Year 4: Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405 (?).⁷
No. 58 (Vol. VIII. p. 281).—Year 8: Monday, the 27th July A.D. 1408.
No. 57 (Vol. VIII. p. 281).—Year 15, opp. to 2, Śaka 1339: Wednesday, the 12th January A.D. 1418.

¹ The 31st solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 30th.
² The 13th titā is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.
³ The [first day of the] month of Kanyā is wrongly quoted instead of [the last day of] Simha.
⁴ This date may possibly be one of the 8th year of J. Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., corresponding to Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259.
⁵ The date is intrinsically wrong. The month of Simha is wrongly quoted instead of Mina, and the maṅgala of Pusya (Pāṭāla nad) instead of Pūrva-Vaṭalagul (Pāṭaṭa nad).
⁶ The maṅgala of Dhanishta (Aṣṭāṭa nad) is wrongly quoted instead of Hasta (Aṭāṭa nad).
⁷ In the original date, which is intrinsically wrong, the first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second, and the 3rd titā instead of the 2nd.
L.—Jatilavarman Parakrama-Pandya Arikesaridiva.
(Between the 16th June and the 19th July A.D. 1422.)
No. 37 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year opp. to 31: Thursday, the 19th July A.D. 1453.1
No. 36 (Vol. VII. p. 12).—Year 2 opp. to 31, Shaka 1377: Monday, the 24th March A.D. 1455.
No. 38 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year 4 opp. to 31: Wednesday, the 16th March A.D. 1457.
No. 39 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year 8 opp. to 31, Shaka 1381: Wednesday, the 17th June A.D. 1461.2

M.—Mavarman Vira-Pandya.
(Between the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443.)
No. 60 (Vol. VIII. p. 282).—Year 11 opp. to 2: Monday, the 28th July A.D. 1455.
No. 61 (Vol. VIII. p. 283).—Year 14: Sunday, the 16th January A.D. 1457.
No. 62 (Vol. VIII. p. 283).—Year 14: Saturday, the 12th March A.D. 1457.

N.—Jatilavarman Parakrama-Pandya Kulasenkhara.
(Between the 15th November A.D. 1479 and the 14th November A.D. 1480.)
No. 40 (Vol. VII. p. 14).—Year 20, Shaka 1421: Thursday, the 14th November A.D. 1499.

O.—Mavarman Sundara-Pandya III.
(Between the 2nd June A.D. 1531 and the 1st June A.D. 1532.)
No. 42 (Vol. VII. p. 15).—Year 22 opp. to 2, Shaka 1477: Saturday, the 1st June A.D. 1555.

P.—Jatilavarman Srivallabha.
(Between the 28th November A.D. 1584 and the 28th November A.D. 1585.)
No. 41 (Vol. VII. p. 15).—Year 3, Shaka 1459: Wednesday, the 28th November A.D. 1537.

Q.—Jatilavarman Srivallabha Ativirarama.
(Between the 23rd August A.D. 1582 and the 22nd August A.D. 1583.)
No. 43 (Vol. VII. p. 16).—Year 5, Shaka 1489: Friday, the 22nd August 1567.

No. 31.—TIRUMALAI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

By Professor E. Hultsch, Ph.D.; Halle (Saale).

When, more than twenty years ago, I started epigraphical work in the Madras Presidency, I prepared with my own hands an inked estampage of the inscription which is here re-edited. After Mr. Venkayya had joined my office in Bangalore, we spent a considerable time in reading and translating this record — one of the first early Chola documents we tried to make out in a reliable manner. The Tamil text of it as printed in South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I. p. 98, does not contain any misreadings.3 But the translation on p. 99 needs revision in the light of the other Chola inscriptions which were published later on, and a facsimile of this beautifully

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1 Monday is wrongly quoted instead of Thursday.
2 Shaka 1381 is wrongly quoted instead of 1388, and the 23rd solar day wrongly instead of the 21st.
3 Only the date in line 13 should be '13' (instead of '12'); the same correction has to be made in the heading of the Plate facing p. 232 below.
engraved and well preserved rock inscription was hitherto missing. I therefore republish it now in Roman characters with a fresh translation, and with a collotype of a careful inked estampe which was prepared recently under Rai Bahadur Venkayya's personal supervision.

The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jain figure on the top of the hill of Tirumalai near Póitur in the North Arcot district. The language is Tamil, and the alphabet is likewise Tamil, interspersed with a few Grantha words and letters (śrī, śr., ś, śhī; śhī of viśhāyī, l. 9; Mahā, l. 10; Śrī-Rājendrā-Chōjādeva and ja of Jayāgopāla, l. 12; śrī, jina and dēva, l. 13; vydpāri, l. 13 f.).

The inscription is dated in the 13th year of the reign of the Chōja king Parakāśarivarman alias Rājendrā-Chōjādeva I. (l. 12), who ascended the throne in A.D. 1012. In its eleven lines consist of a passage in Tamil verse which describes the conquests of the king, and the first words of which (Tiru maṇḍi, etc.) are quoted — as pointed out by Mr. Venkayya — in Perundēvanāṭar's commentary on the Virudhāliyam. The list of conquests opens with Iqāsidūrā-nādu (l. 1 f.), i.e. the country of Ṭuṛatūr in the Mysore district, and Vasavādi, i.e. Banavāsi in the North Canara district. The next item, the city of Kolīppakka, must have been included in the Western Chālukya kingdom. For it was set on fire by Rājādhārāja I. in the course of a war against Sōmēśvara I. and Vikramāditya VI., and it is mentioned as Kolīppakē in an inscription of Jayasimha II. Maṇḍi-kaṇṭaka is identified by Mr. Rice with the city of Maṇḍe in the Nelamūngal táluka of the Bangalore district.

Iḷam (l. 2) or Iḷa-maṇḍala (l. 3) is the Tamil designation of the island of Ceylon. Rājendrā-Chōja I. boasts of having deprived his king of his own crown, the crowns of his queens, and two other trinkets which the Pāṇḍya king had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon: a crown and the 'necklace of Indra.' Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the Mahāvanāsa (chapter LIII.) also refers to the crown of the Pāṇḍya, which had been left with the king of Ceylon and was taken by him from the Chōjas, and that the 'necklace of Indra' is alluded to in several Pāṇḍya inscriptions.

The Kērāla (l. 3) is the king of Malabar. Śāndimattvī (l. 5), i.e. the island of Śāntimāt (?), is unknown. Muṇḍāgi is perhaps identical with the fort of Uchchaṅgi in the Bellary district. Jayasimha of Raṭṭa-pāḍi (l. 6), who was put to flight at Muṇḍāgi, is the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II.

Śakaragōṭṭam, i.e. Chākragōṭṭa, is shown by the inscriptions of Kulottthaṅga I. to have belonged to the dominions of the king of Dhārā. Madura-maṇḍala (l. 7) need not be connected with Madhura, the capital of the Pāṇḍya king, who has been already accounted for (l. 3), but may be meant for the district of the northern Mathur in the Yamunā. The three next geographical names cannot be identified.

At Ādināgar (?) Rājendrā-Chōja I. captured Indraratha of the race of the Moon (l. 8). As suggested by Prof. Kiëhlhorn, this prince may be identical with that Indraratha who is mentioned in the Udaypur inscription as an enemy of Bhōjādeva of Dhārā.

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3 Ibid. p. 62.
7 Ibid. p. 63 f.; Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. p. 72 and note 73.
11 List of Southern Insocr. p. 120, note 3.
Odda-vishaya (I. 9) is the province of Orissa, and Kōśalai-nādu is probably Southern Kōśa.1 Taṇḍabutti, i.e. Dānpahār, and its ruler Dharmapāla are unknown from other sources. The same is the case with Raṣāra, who ruled over Taṅkāpālatā (I. 10), i.e. Dakshina-Viṅgaṭa2 or Southern Berar, and with Gōvinda-candra,3 the ruler of Vaṅgaśā-dēśa, i.e. the Bengal country. Mahāpāla, whom the Chōla king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Prof. Keilhorn with the Pāla king Mahāpāla.4

The list of conquests closes with Uttiralādam (I. 11), i.e. Uttar-Viṅgaṭa or Northern Berar, and the Gaṅgā, i.e. the river Ganges.

The short passage in Tamil prose with which the inscription ends (II. 12-14) records its actual purpose—a gift of money for a lamp and for offerings to the Jaina temple on the hill by the wife of a merchant of Malliyur in Karaiyai, a subdivision of Perumbuṅgamāṭi. The temple was called Śri-Kundavai-Jinālaya (I. 13), i.e. the Jina temple of Kundavai. This name suggests that the shrine owed its foundation to Kundavai, the daughter of Parantaka II., elder sister of Rājarāja I., and consequently the paternal aunt of Rājendra-Chōla I., and wife of Vallasariyar Vandalayōvar.5 The sacred hill (Tirumalai) is stated to have formed part of Vaṅgaśā-dēśa, a pāḷiṅghaṭham, i.e. a village belonging to a Jina temple,6 in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision of Paṅgaśā-dēśa, a district of Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōla-śāhṣadā. Malliyur is the modern Gudimallār near Arcot.7 The remaining geographical names mentioned in this paragraph have been discussed in South-Ind. Insr. Vol. III. p. 89, and above, Vol. VII. p. 192.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on the later conquests of Rājendra-Chōla I., which are registered in the Tanjore inscription No. 20. Mr. Venkayya has shown that my former identification of Kāḍāram with a place in the Madura district8 must be wrong, because the Chōla king despatched an expedition to it on ships by sea, and because two of the localities mentioned in connection with this expedition, Nakkaṇāram and Pappālam, are, respectively, the Nicobar Islands and a port in Burma.9 Among the remaining items we read in line 9 of the Tanjore inscription nīrāsīr-śrīvaiyamam, and in line 11 kalai-takkūr pugal talai-takkulam. The second of them, Takkōlai, may be identical with Ptolemy's Tākula ṯiṇāmar, which Colonel Gerini places at Takōpā on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula.10 Instead of the first, which I had translated by 'Vijayam of great fame,' an inscription at Kāḍiyūr near Tanjore reads nīrāsīr-śrīvaiyamam, 'the prosperous Śrīvaiyama.'11 This may be the correct reading; for according to the larger Leiden grant (I. 80) Śrīvaiyama was the name of the country ruled over by the king of Kaṅhā or Kāḍāram.

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2 In his Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907, p. 87 f., Mr. Venkayya has shown that the Tamil term Ilāḷa does not correspond to the Sanskrit Lāṭa (Gujārāt), but to Viṅgaṭa (Berar).
3 Page 34 of Dr. Burnell's South-Indian Palaeography (2nd ed.) contains the following note—'The great inscription at Tanjore (11th century) mentions a Śrīram, but also a king of Karuvai (or Karūr) and a Gōvinda-candra (king of Kaṅkārā).—Kānāḍa (= Kaṅkāra or Karūr ?) is nothing but a miswriting of the word Kānāḍa, which happens to precede the name Gōvinda-candra (I. 10), and Karuvai, here represented as Takkālāmm, which is probably derived from Adinagar-avai (I. 8). I am not drawing attention to these mistakes in order to gloss over them, but to prevent their being quoted as reliable facts.
4 List of Southern Insr. p. 120, note 4.
7 See Mr. Venkayya's Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-1906, p. 36 f., Nos. 418, 419 and 419.
8 South-Ind. Insr. Vol. II. p. 106.
TEXT.

1 Svasti śri [†∗] Tiru maṇḍi vajarav-iru-nilā-maṇḍandaiyum pēr-chēchaya-pāvaiyūn-ju-ttai-ōcheliyum-...daṅ perun-deviyar-āți iṅbr-uru neṇ-udiyal ūlijal Idaṇu-

2 raī-nāduṇ-duṇār-vaṇa-vēlī-ppaḍar Vāṇavāṣiyun-ju[li]-chēch-ūl-ppaṭai, Kolīṭoppākkaiyun- manoṭk-arun-maṇṇappaṭai, Ilaykkakaddakkamum poru-gaḍal īṭāṭ-araśarda-μuṇḍiyum āṅgu-

3 var deviyar-ōṅg-eṅi-μuṇḍiyum-μaṇṇa-avar pakkai-Tṭoppavar vaitta śaṇduṇa-μaṇḍiyum Indiran-āramun-deṇ-īrīrā Īḷa-maṇḍala-muḷuvadum ērī-বাড়ি-

4 muṇṇa(m)āḷίy-čōṇu-ṇa-daṇam-āgiya ālar pagal muṇḍiyun-Jōṅgadim-maṇḍiyun- jāṅg-ālir-vōlai-ṭo-bāraṇ-gāvar-pal-balā-ṇa(ji)un-jēruvār-cheppa-

5 ill ēruṭuatt-ουr-gad-arāṣīśaḷai caṭṭa Paramāraṃaṅ mēv-aruṇ-Jāṇḍimagāvvar-araṅ karuṇa ēruṭiyya sem-br-Śiru-ttai-μuṇḍiyum bāyān-goḍu pāli miga Musaṅgiyil mu-

6 dag-īṭṭ-oḷita Ṣayaśi(ī)ntuṇ-āḷa-pperaμ-bun(a)bōtulump pāi-iyal Iraṭṭābāñ ēḷ-araṅñakkamun-nāvā-nilu-kkāla-ppera-malaiyam villiṟama-virār Saṅkaragōṭṭana-

7 muṇṇa-baḍa-vallai Madura-maṇḍalamum kā-maidāi-vaiyaiya-Nāmaṇaikkōṭuṇām vēn-jīlai-virar Paṇṭoppāljippuṇ pāṭ-udu-ppala-nāṭ-Maṇṣun-ēṭāsāmum ayarvi-

8 l-vai-ul Ṣaṇagār-aṇavaiyai-Chandiraṇ-jōl-gulatt-Iridaraṇai viḷaiy- annarkalattu-κkīlaijyāṇuṃ pīj(it)t吓ppala-dāṇṭatdun nirai kula-daṇa-kkuvai-

9 yun-īṭṭ-aruṇ-jeṭṭi-miḷūyai-ōṭṭa vishayyum bāṣūrār śēr naḷ-Kōśālai-nādu- Daṇmbalāṇai vem-muṇāyai-salillum vand-uṟai-sōḷai-Tṭandaya(bu)bittiyum Irāṇa-

10 śūrāṇai muṇṇa-ur-tākki-tiṭiṅ-ṇai-gi(gr)itṭi-Ttakkalalādum-Govindaśaadang māv-silind-ūda-ttaṅgāḍa-sārāl Vaiṅgalā-ēṭāsāmum-dōṇu-gaḍal-chāṅgoṭṭaṅ-

11 muhulāṇai veṅ-jaṃaṛ(ī)[*]-vaḷagatt-mānūvitt-aruṇi on-diṟal yāṇaiyum peṇḍir-bandārum nittila-niluṇ-gaḍal-Utti[Raj]alādum vēṉ-maṇṭi-ṛṛṭtt-ṭṭeṇi-buṅag-Kaṅgaiyuu-

12 poru-dandāṭ-kouḍā kō-Pparageśaribāpmar-āṅa uḍaiyār Śrī-Rājendrā-Chōḷadēvaru yāṇḍu lāṣaduvu [Jai]vēṇgoṇḍa-Śōja-maṇḍalamu Paṅgal-

13 naṭṭu naṭuvil Malīyur-muṅqai-nāṭṭu-ppaḷ[j]ichchandam Vaṅgaṟūr-Ttirumalai Śrī-Kundavai-

14 pīrī Nannappayai maṇṇāvaṭṭa Śānuṭṭappai vaitta tiranandāvilakkku onṭīnuṇku-kkāṭu irubadum [tiru]vamduṇdu vaitta kāṭu pattum [†∗]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity!

(L. 12.) In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Parakāśarivarman alias the lord Śrī-Rājendrā-Chōḷadēva, etc.,—

1 Read rēqiyar.
2 Read "ittu-araṇa.
3 Other inscriptions read aḷḷopp-arun; see South-Ind. Jour., Vol. II, p. 93, note 5.
4 Read pannaṭarandaṇai. That this is the original reading, becomes more than probable, in the following manner:— (1) The doubtful word may be expected to rhyme on Chandira, the third word before it. (2) The Tanjore inscription No. 20 reads Indraḍaṇai. (3) Indraṭa is the only correct Sanskrit name I can think of, which would account for both corrupt readings.
5 The Tanjore inscription No. 20 reads kṛṇa-araṇaṇi-muṇṇi.
6 Read, as in the Tanjore inscription No. 20, tēḷu-gaḷ-ḷaṅgu-goṭṭaṇi.
in (his) life of high prosperity, while Tira (Lakshmi), having become constant, was increasing, (and) while the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—

seized by (his) great, warlike army (the following)—

Iḍaiddurai-nādu; Vaṇavāśi, (round which) a fence of continuous foresta was spreading;¹ Kolilippakkai, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood;² Maṇṇai-kaṇḍakkam, whose strength was unapproachable;³ the crown of the king of Ijam (on) the tempestuous ocean; the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that (king); the beautiful crown⁴ and the necklace of Indra, which the king of the South (i.e. the Pūṇḍya) had previously deposited with the (king of Ijam); the whole Ijam-manḍala (on) the transparent sea; the crown praised by many and the garland of the Sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting (king of) Kēraṇa rigtufully wore; many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the coconuts resound; the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tira (Lakshmi), which Parāsarmā, having considered the fortifications of Sāndimattvuru impregnable, had deposited (there), when, in anger, (he) bound the kings twenty-onmes in battle; the seven and a half lakṣas of Iraṭṭabādi, (which was) strong by nature, (and which he took), together with immeasurable fame, (from) Jayasimha, who, out of fear and full of vengeance, turned his back at Muṣaṅgi and hid himself; the principal great mountains (which contained) the nine treasures (of Kuvārā);⁵ Saṅkara-gotṭam, whose warriors were brave; Maṇḍura-manḍala, whose forts (bore) banners (which touched) the clouds; Nāmaṇikkōpam, which was surrounded by dense groves; Paṇchappall, whose warriors (bore) cruel bows; the good Māṣuqi-dēṣa, whose fruits were fresh; a large heap of family-treasures, together with many (other) treasures, (which he carried away) after having captured Indrāratha of the old race of the Moon, together with (his) family, in a fight which took place in the hall (at) Ādinar, (a city) which was famous for unceasing abundance; Oḍḍa-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, (and which he subdued in) close fights; the good Kōsalai-nādu, where Brāhmānas assembled; Taṇḍabuttī, in whose gardens bees abounded, (and which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapāla (in) a hot battle; Taṇkanalādham, whose fame reached (all) directions, (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Ranaśura; Vaṇgaḷa-dēṣa, where the rain-wind never stopped, (and from which) Gōvinda-chandra fled, having descended (from his) male elephant;⁶ elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahipāla, dressed (as he was) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets; Utiralaṇḍau, as rich in pearls as the ocean; and the Gaṅgā, whose waters dashed against bathing-places (tirtha) covered with sand,—

Chāmaṇḍappai, the wife of the merchant Nannappaya, who resided (at) Mallijyūr (in) Karaiya, (a subdivision) of Perumbāṇappāṭi, deposited twenty kāśas for one perpetual lamp and two kāṇas for offerings to the god of the Śrī-Kundavai-Jinaiyā (on) the holy mountain (Tirumalai) of Vaṅgavū, a paṭṭi-chandi in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision (vaṇai) in the middle of Paṅgala-nādu, (a district) of Jayaṅgonda-Chōla-manḍala.

¹ It seems most natural to take paṇaḍ as a verb. It may also mean ‘a road’ or may be the nom. plur. of the Sanskrit ḍhata, ‘a warrior.’
² This was perhaps done by the besieging Chōla army when setting fire to the city. Among the meanings of suṣṭi the Dictionnaire Thomlin-François notes the following:—‘boulettes, menu bois sec pour brûler.’
³ Other inscriptions read saṁarkaṇamaraṇa, ‘whose fortifications were unapproachable.’
⁴ It seems more simple to take the first member of saṃdara-marāṣṭi as an adjective, than to translate the compound by ‘the crown of Sundara.’
⁶ Compare poṇaḍaṭiṇaṇḍaṭe, ibid. Vol. II. p. 84, line 7 f.
No. 32.—MAMBALLI PLATE OF SRIVALLAVANGODAI; KOLLAM 149.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., MADRAS.

The copper plate on which the subjoined inscription is engraved, belongs to the Mambalil bhadraattil of the Mambalili maṭha and was secured for me for publication by Mr. S. Govinda Pillai, High Court vakil, Trevandrum. Besides this plate, there are five other odd plates belonging to the same maṭha, which bear fragments of inscriptions of the Kilappērūr 1 dynasty of the Vēṇāḍu kings. In one of them occurs the name Śrī-Vira-Dēvadaraṇa-Kēralavarman of Kilappērūr. 2

The plate measures $10\frac{1}{2}\times 3\frac{1}{2}$ and has a hole on the left margin. It does not appear to have possessed a ring or seal. At the left end of the plate, the owner has engraved, in modern Malayāḷam characters, the word Mambalil. Excepting this single word and a few Grantha letters interspersed in the document, the inscription is written in the Vaiṭṭaluttu alphabet. The words svasti and dīri in line 1; the letter dīri occurring in the name Śrīvallavangōdai in lines 7, 18 and 19; rakkhe 3 and rakkhe 4 occurring in the words raaśhecheelu and rakkaḥāhāgām in I. 12 are in Grantha characters. The consonant k retains the earlier form, without a loop at the bottom; this form differs from the later ones which are scarcely distinguishable from the symbol for ch. The letter pū (of pauḍa in I. 3), whilst it has the common form in all other instances, looks like the Grantha letter kha. The language of the inscription in Tamil, tinged here and there with the colloquialisms of the Malabar Coast: e.g. irundaluṭy-ḍattu vaiṅkho, (=at the place where they were pleased to be seated), in I. 5; paṭṭiṭa-gaṅkollu for paṭṭiṭa-gaṅkollul (= belonging to the bhaṭṭaṛaka) in lines 6 and 12; arī for aṛī (= rice) in I. 9; Mūlukaiyār for Mūrulaiyār in I. 21; Śeṇāvaran for Śeṇāvaran in I. 22; raaśhecheelu for rakkaḥāgām in I. 12. The phrase nāyāṭhecheelu is contracted in the modern Malayāḷam language into naiṭhecheelu.

This is the earliest known record dated in the Kollam era, and belongs to the reign of the Vēṇāḍu king Śrīvallavangōdai. 3 It is dated in the 14th year of the Kollam era,

1 [Kilappērūr is annexed as the house-name of the Vēṇāḍu (Travancore) princes in later inscriptions (Ind. Ant. Vol. XXV, p. 190). It is a village about 8 miles to the north-east of Ārriṭṭal, which is the hereditary domain of H. H. the Senior Rani of Travancore (Mr. Nagaswami's Travancore Manual, Vol. III, p. 579). The country around Ārriṭṭal seems to have been known as Kādelā in ancient times. The late Mr. Sundaram Pillai was of opinion that Vēṇāḍu and Kādelā were two distinct principalities and that the latter was at some stage of its history annexed by the rulers of the former. The Vēṇāḍu kings are said to have assumed the family name Kilappērūr after this annexation.—V. Venkatayya.]

2 [This name occurs without the title sēra in a Vaiṭṭaluttu inscription from Viraṇam in the Travancore State. The late Professor Sundaram Pillai has called the king Kēralavarman II. and assigned A.D. 1193 for his date (Ind. Ant. Vol. XXIV, p. 283).—V. V.]

3 [In the name Śrīvallavangōdai kēḍā was perhaps an epithet of the rulers of Vēṇāḍu. The first part of the name, i.e. Śrīvallavan (Śrīvallabha) may be that of the king to whom Vēṇāḍu was fideitary. Such a combination of names is frequently met with in Tamil inscriptions. If the name Śrīvallavangōdai be a similar compound, Śrīvallavan or Śrīvallabha might be the name of a Pāṇḍya king. The Pāṇḍya king, who probably reigned about this time, was Vira-Pāṇḍya, with whom the Chōḍā Āḍiva II. is said to have fought in his youth. Vira-Pāṇḍya himself claims to have taken “the head of the Chōḍa (king)”, and a number of his inscriptions have been found at Śuchindran in South Travancore. But we have at present no reason to suppose that he bore the name Śrīvallabha, although the designation was common enough among the Pāṇḍyas. On the other hand, the Singhalese chronicle Mahāvamsa refers to an invasion of Ceylon in the period A.D. 975-991 by Vahalla, the Chōḍa king (Mr. Wijesinha's Translation, Chapter LIV, p. 88). It is, however, doubtful if the Chōḍas were powerful enough to undertake an expedition against Ceylon at the time of which we are now speaking. And as the chronology of the Singhalese chronicle is not beyond question, we cannot suppose that the ruler of Travancore mentioned in the Mambalil plate was a Chōḍa fideitary. The history of the Chōdras is very little known. Consequently it is uncertain to which dynasty the Śrīvallabha, whose fideitary the Vēṇāḍu ruler might have been in A.D. 973, belonged.—V. V.]
on a Sunday corresponding to the Aśvati-nakshatra in the month Vṛśchikha when the planet Jupiter stood in the constellation Tula. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date:—"If the date were correctly recorded, it would correspond, for the year 149 of the Kollam era, to Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 973, which was the 5th day of the month of Vṛśchika, and on which [the 11th tithi of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa ended 11 h. 12 m., while] the nakshatra was Rēvati for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise, and Aśvini (Aśvati) for the rest of the day. On the same day Jupiter's mean longitude was 191° 44'), and his true longitude 195° 27', i.e. in either case Jupiter was in the sign Tula."

"The difficulty here is, that the day should have been described as the day of the nakshatra Aśvini, when this nakshatra only commenced 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and I have no doubt whatever that either Aśvini (Aśvati) has been quoted erroneously instead of Rēvati, or Sunday instead of Monday. If the week-day were Monday, the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 5th November A.D. 973, the 5th day of Vṛśchika, when the nakshatra was Aśvini (Aśvati) for 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise, and when Jupiter of course still was in the sign Tula."

The inscription informs us that Umaiyyammai of Tirukkalayapuram, daughter of Adichaham, set up a bhaṭṭāraka (image) in the temple at Ayurūr. The king Śrīvallavaṅgoda made a gift of land to Umaiyyammai for the purpose of keeping up the services of the bhaṭṭāraka set up in the Ayurūr temple; and she, in her turn, made over the subject matter of the gift to the Tiruchchēngurūr temple, in order that it might be placed under the management of the Poduvil of that temple. From the produce of the land so given, the Poduvil of the temple of Tiruchchēngurūr had to supply to the temple daily 5 nālis of rice for daily offerings and annually 200 pūratis (of 9 nālis each) of paddy. If the word uḍai used in I. 18 was really meant to be used in the sense of 'of or belonging to,' the inscription would warrant us to draw the conclusion that Umaiyyammai was a near relation of Śrīvallavaṅgoda—either his mother or wife. It would then be more probable to consider her as his wife than as his mother, as the passage Śrīvallavaṅgoda uḍai Adichaham-Umaiyyammai means Adichaham Umaiyyammai belonging to Śrīvallavaṅgoda. She might perhaps be the daughter of the Chōla king Aditya II. to whose time this record belongs. If, on the other hand, uḍai be a mistake for igai then no sort of relationship need exist between the two.

The inscription employs several peculiar terms which require some explanation each. The word attippēru (I. 8 and 19) implies 'acquisition by the pouring of water.' This mode of acquisition differs from others, such as purchase, etc. The meaning of the expressions kiliḍu and igai-igai is not definitely known. Kii-igai literally means 'that which is placed under,' and igai-igai, 'that which is placed in the middle.' A piece of land placed under the management of a person was perhaps called a kiliḍu with reference to that person. If this person sublet to a third party, the person subletting seems to be the igai-igai, i.e. he is the middle man between the owner of the property and the sub-tenant. It is in this sense that the passages of the inscription, in which these terms occur have been translated. The name poduvil was given to a class of people who were eligible for service in temples. It has now

1 [According to the Editor's footnote 6 on p. 236, the name of the week-day is engraved on an erasure.—F. K.]
2 [See below, p. 238, note 3.—V. V.]
3 [The record may belong either to the reign of Aditya II. or of his successor Madhurantaka. If Umaiyyammal was the daughter of the Chōla king Aditya II., it is difficult to understand why he is described as a native of Tirukkalayapuram. In all probability she was a private individual.—V. V.]
4 [See below, p. 238, note 10.—V. V.]
5 [See below, p. 237, note 12.—V. V.]
6 [Compare Hultsch, Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. p. 292.—V. V.]
become the name of a sub-caste among the Ambalavasi section of the Malayalis. Then again, the word adhikāri occurs in the inscriptions of the Tamil and Malayalam countries, and is used in the sense of ‘an officer in charge of a division,’ and it is in this sense the term is used in line 23 of the present record. The phrase mukkilyvaṭṭam implies, according to Dr. Gundert, a Bhagavati temple. If this be the sense in which it is employed in our inscription, then the bhattāraka set up by Umaiyyamai might be taken to be Bhagavati. But its literal meaning, ‘the three-fourths of a vaṭṭam (circuit or group of villages),’ and the use of the bhattāraka instead of bhattārakī preclude the possibility of its being a Bhagavati temple in the present instance. How mukkilyvaṭṭam came to mean a Bhagavati temple is not known. The meaning of the expressions Śīrṣūnādai and Śīrṣūnānāt-taṭaṇam is not clear. Hence they have been tentatively translated as “the custom obtaining in small towns” and “the fine levied in accordance with the custom obtaining in small towns.”

The places mentioned in this inscription are:—Kollam, Tirukkalkayapuram, Ayirūr, Tiruchcheṅgūṟūr, Iḍaiyāmaṇam, Murunnaṉiyūr, Manaḷmukku, Punalur and Kuḍāṅgoṭṭūr. Of these Kollam, Ayirūr and Tiruchcheṅgūṟūr are the modern Quilon, Ayirūr and Cheṅgūṟūr (the head-quarters of the taluka of the same name) in North Travancore. Iḍaiyāmaṇam might be identified with Āḍeanam, a station on the Maniyachi-Quilon branch of the South Indian Railway; and Punalur is another station on the same line. I am not able to identify the rest.

TEXT.3

First Side.

1 Svasti śrī [||] Kollam-dōq̄ri nūṟru-nāṟṟappōn-badām-āṅḍu Tul.-
ttu! Viyāḷa-nīṟṟa Mirichchiga nāyīṟṟa [Nāyīr-āṅḍa]4
2 Acheṇuvadi i-nāḷ[||]āl Kollattu=pū[|]āgāṉi kōyil[=]nīya-
3 riya kōṭṭil[=] Tiruchcheṅgūṟūr-pparuḷai-pperu-makka[=] kūṭṭa-
4 i-gūḏi iṟundaruliy-eṭṭattu5 vaichchu Tirakkalaiyapuratt-Āḍichchan-
5 Umaiyyamai
6 Ayuruvīr-piradiṭṭa-śeyda paṭṭāragaraiyum paṭṭāragarkkoḷi[=] pūmīyum
   Āḍi-
7 cheṅaṭ-Umaiyyamaṅku [n]roḍ-aṭṭi-kkoṭṭattu Vēṉāḍ-uḍaiya Śrīvallavaṅgōdai
   [||] Āḍich-
8 cheṅaṭ-Umaiyyamai tāṉ-aṭṭirēṟu koppadu Tiruchcheṅgūṟūr-ppaṭṭāraga-
9 rkkult-kkīl-īkā-y Cheṅgūṟū naḍaiy-oḍu kūḍa nāṉāḷi-chechey[da]i[=] iruv-
10 mudi-t
11 nuṟkuṇ [o]ṛbadi-nāḷi-pparaiyāl iṟumāṟṟu paiṯi-cheche[y]du nel āṅḍu-
12 varai kaṭṭudpāda-ppoluvāl kaiyil niroḍ-aṭṭi-kkoṭṭuttu [||] Ayuruv-
   mnu-
12 kkal-vaṭṭamum paṭṭāragarkkoḷi[=] iḍaiy-iḍum rakhichchu koṭṭuttu rakhā-
   pōgaṇ̄

1 [The word adhikāri is also used in the sense of ‘minister;’ South-Ind. Insere. Vol. II, p. 92, and above Vol. VII, p. 196.—V. V.]
2 [According to Mr. Nagamalya the village is called Cheṅgannur (Travancore Manual, Vol. III, p. 831) and there is a large and famous paṭṭaṅa dedicated to the goddess Bhagavati, in which there is celebrated annually a festival lasting for 26 days.—V. V.]
3 From the original copper plate.
4 This portion is engraved over an erasure.
5 Read irundaruliy-eṭṭatu.
Second Side.

şeyyumavaṇ े yeppēṟṟu-vagai chehipur-naḍai-taṇḍam irunṟuṟu-kkaḷaṇju
15 poṇ taṇḍa-ppaṭha-kaṭṭavariṇa [][*] avaṅku³ pāṇu tānuṟmaṇaṉi impaṟi-
16 sē taṇḍappaduvidu [][*] i-ppariśu mēr-chollapaṭṭa Ayūr mukka-
17 ivaṭṭaṇum pannaṟṟagarkkoḷ[4] idaiy-ṭuṇi-Srivalavangadaiv-udai-
18 Ādichechañ-Umaiyammar atte-ppārū koṇḍadu [][*] Srivalavangadaiv-u-
19 daṇ-irakka-Tiruchcheṅguṇṟur-ppaṭṭaragarkku kil-īdāga attey-e⁺⁺⁺
20 ḍatt-aiṇiyū-jādukkṭa Muruṇaiaiyūr-Tēvum-Bavittiraṅ nānum-ai-
21 vaḷ [][*] Idaṇiyamantattu Saṇṇaraṅ-Gaṇḍaṅ nānum-arivaṅ [][*] Maṇalmukki[7]
22 Kaṇḍan-Dāmodari nānum-arivaṅ [][*] Vēṇṭtiṅku adigāraṅ-joygī-
23 gra Pupalur(i) Iravi Parandavaṅ nānum-arivaṅ [][*] Kaṭṭagōṭṭur-
24 Pparan-
25 daṇa-Gaṇḍaṅ nānum-arivaṅ [][*] ivai Tiruchcheṅguṇṟur-ppaṭṭar-
26 iva Śat[ta]ṃ-Jadaiyaṅ-eluttu [][*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 7). Hail! Prosperity! In the year one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared, on a Sunday corresponding6 to the Achuvadi (avatī-nakṣatra) in the month of Mirichigam (Vṛṣiṣhka), when Jupiter stood in Tula—while7 the great men of the paraṇāi8 (assembly) of Tiruchcheṅguṇṟur were pleased to be assembled9 on this day in the high hall of the palace (situated) in the flower garden of Kollam, Srivalavangadai, (the king) of Vēṇṇus, gave, by the pouring of water, to Ādichechañ-Umaiyammar of Tirukkalayapuram, the battārarak¹⁰ set up by Ādichechañ-Umaiyammar at Ayūrūr, and the lands belonging to the battārarar.

(Lines 8 to 11). Ādichechañ-Umaiyammar gave, as kil-īdū to the battārarar of Tiruchcheṅ-
10 guṇṟur, by pouring water in the hands of the poduvall,¹¹ what she acquired by gift,¹² so that (he)

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¹ The reading seems to be id[a] gaigitt-ongru. If na'i has to be taken as nd it would be quite different from the other ndr which occur in the inscription and resemble the modern Tamil nd.—V. V.
 ¹² The reading seems to be veyṛṟṟnu.—V. V.
 ¹³ Read avayukku.
 ¹⁴ Read pannaṟṟagarkkuḷa.
 ¹⁵ Read aṭṭiyya-vadattu.
 ¹⁶ The original has Nāyirṛṛṇḍa Aĉchavaḍi, which would mean in Tamil the (nakṣatra) Āśvati (Āśvini) which was governed by Śaṁyū (the Sun). If then the week day was Sunday, Nāyirṛṛṇḍa would correspond to the modern Nāyirrātchā and the word dēhā which Dr. Gundert derives from the root dē ṣ to sink may, in that case, be derived from the root āḷ to rule.—V. V.
 ¹⁷ The expression idattu eĉchōku of the original seems to be used in the sense of the modern Malayalam idattu teĉchā which appears to be almost synonymous with the Tamil idattill.—V. V.
 ¹⁸ The word paraṇāi occurs also in the form paraṇai and is a takdhaes of the Sanskrit parshakat.—V. V.
 ¹⁹ The expression paraṇai of the original seems to be used in the sense of the week day which Dr. Gundert refers to the root dē ṣ to sink, may, in that case, be derived from the root āḷ to rule.—V. V.
 ²⁰ It was evidently the image of the god that was made over to Ādichechañ-Umaiyammar; see below, p. 235, note 10.—V. V.
 ²¹ According to Dr. Gundert, poduvall means a class of half-Brahmans, temple servants and agoppoduvall with pppandai officiate as priests and administrators of temple property.—V. V.
 ²² It is evident that the same as aṭṭipēṟṟu which, according to Dr. Gundert, means complete purchase of a free hāṭ, Mr. Nagamiya defines the term as the out and out surrender of the eemī's rights by sale (Travancore Manual, Vol. III, p. viii.)—V. V.
might supply, according to the rate current in small towns, 1 four šalăi of rice 2 for (daily) offerings, and two hundred parai of paddy at nine šalăi per parai, annually. 3

(I. 11 to 13). The poduśālā shall protect the mukkāl-vaṭąm 4 of Ayurrū and the idaiyidu of the bhafāraku, and take (a fraction of the proceeds) as remuneration for the protection (afforded). 4

(I. 13 to 14). The dvairas shall not enter as 6 idaiyidara in the kiliṭu (which is the subject of) this transaction, 7 and shall neither dismiss (the dvairas) nor collect the rent.

(I. 14 to 16). He that reduces this to a fourth 8 shall, consistently with the custom obtaining in small towns, be subject to the general fine of two hundred kaśānu of gold. 9

(I. 16 to 17). He that abets the former shall also be subject to a fine in the same way.

(I. 17 to 19). Both the mukkāl-vaṭam of Ayurrū and the idaiyidu belonging to the bhafāraku, mentioned above, are thus the acquisitions in gift of Ádichchān-Umāyammai (of, or) related to Śrīvallavāṇgādai. 10

(I. 19 to 22). (The following are the signatures of) the ṣaddhas who were present at the time when Ádichchān-Umāyammai, while she was with Śrīvallavāṇgādai, made this gift of

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1 [I take chiṣṭaramañḍiṇaḥ kāndu as meaning "together with the shrine at Śrīrū." Nadai (nada) is used for 'temple' in South Malabar according to Dr. Gundert, and there is a temple at Quilon called Gaṇapatinadī meaning 'shrine or temple of Gaṇapati.' — V. V.]

8 [I would read in the original chiṣṭaramañḍī (I. 9) and chiṣṭamāsul (I. 10) and take chiṣṭamāsul as equivalent to émsul which occurs in the Ambasamudram inscription of Varaguna-Mahārāja (above, p. 90) and which according to Winslow means "superior kind of rice, of a yellowish hue — as kṣīṭā." — V. V.]

4 [As the dative tīruvacchantukkōma is used and as the purpose for which the 200 parai of paddy had to be supplied is not stated, it looks as if the paddy was to be converted into rice and used for offerings. In this case, there is something wrong in the calculation here made. At the rate of four šalăi of rice per day the quantity required for a year — or 360 days comes to 1,440 uṣa of rice or 160 para according to the equivalent of the para given in line 10. How 100 para of rice can be obtained from 200 para of paddy it is difficult to understand. According to the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I., 2 times the quantity of paddy required was to be given a given measure of rice, and 3 times the quantity according to the Ambasamudram inscription of Varaguna-Mahārāja. — V. V.]

7 [The word mukkāl-vaṭam occurs in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman, where Professor Holtz has translated it by 'temple.' (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. p. 292). According to Dr. Gundert the term denotes Travancore's temple of Kōnganāmā. An inscription at Tiruvallivaram near Ambasamudram in the Tinnevelly district mentions Tīrurparaḍu (dakam) pāsāḷa tāṇgaḍu tirumukkāl-vaṭam, where tirumukkāl-vaṭam appears to mean 'the holy shrine' of the god Diva (No. 130 of the A. A. Superintendent's collection for 1905).— V. V.]

9 [According to Dr. Gundert vakkāl-khūugan is synonymous with ṛgga-khūugan, which denotes the ruler's share. From certain Tellicherry records (1796-1799) it appears that this share amounted to one-fifth (of the revenue).— V. V.]

5 [The word ṛgga here translated 'as' occurs in a similar context in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX. p. 290, text line 17). It is apparently synonymous with the Tamil deṇdū and the Malayalam ṛgga.— V. V.]

6 [Iappers means 'in this manner, thus.' I would translate the passage thus: "Neither the dvairas nor the idaiyidara shall be entitled to interfere and disturb the kiliṭu itself, or settle or seize (any) property." — V. V.]

8 [L. he who contributes to the dwindling of this charity.

10 [I would translate the passage as follows: "He who does any injury to this (contract) shall individually pay a fine of two hundred kaśānu (to) the shrine at Śrīrū." See notes 1 and 2 on p. 237 and note 1 above.— V. V.]

[V. Instead of Ayurārācaraśrimudātmāya tāṇgaḍu potṭırāgar of line 6, we have here Ayurrū mukkāl-vaṭam which to a certain extent confirms the meaning 'shrine' of mukkāl-vaṭam. Instead of potṭırāgarapālaśrimudātmāya idaiyidara in line 6, we have here potṭırāgarapālaśrimudātmāya idaiyidara, which denotes the interest which the Ayurrū shrine possessed in the land acquired by Ádichchān-Umāyammai from Śrīvallavāṇgādai. Consequently, the sentence repeats the statement made in lines 5 to 7 that Ádichchān-Umāyammai had obtained the concession from Śrīvallavāṇgādai. Accordingly, it seems to me that Śrīvallavāṇgādaiḥuṇḍamāya at the end of l. 18 is a simple clerical mistake for Śrīvallavāṇgādaiḥ-ādai. If any such relationship as would be implied by the use of the word udai were intended, it would be more natural to expect it noted when Ádichchān-Umāyammai is mentioned for the first time. Besides, it would be unusual for the mother or wife of Śrīvallavāṇgādai to enter into a transaction of this nature with him.— V. V.]
British Museum inscription of Kanishka.
land as ḭaiṣyā to the bhāṭṭaraka of Tiruchcheṅguṇur:—¹ I, Dēvam-Pavittirāṇ of Mūrunāṭyūr, also know;²

(L. 22). I, Sāhārāna Kanṭaṇ of Iḍaiṣyāmanam, also know;
(L. 22 to 23). I, Kanṭaṇ Dāmōdana of Māṇalmukku, also know;
(L. 23 to 24). I, Iravi-Parandavāṇ of Pupaiṭur, the adhikārīn of Vēṇādu, also know;
(L. 24 to 25). I, Parandavāna-Kanṭaṇ of Kudagōṭṭur, also know.
(L. 25 to 26). This is the writing of Sāṭṭaṇ-Sahāiyān, the podiṣṭā of Tiruchcheṅguṇur.

No. 33.—THREE EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR H. LÜDECKE, PH.D., ROSTOCK.

I.—BRITISH MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA.

On the occasion of a visit to the British Museum in the autumn of 1906, I discovered in one of the cases of the Northern Gallery the stone bearing the subjoined inscription, which, as far as I know, has never before been published. At my request impressions were taken, from which I have prepared the transcript. Subsequently Dr. Fleet kindly sent me the photograph of the stone reproduced in the accompanying plate.

Nothing seems to be known about the origin of the stone, but the characters, the language and the date of the inscription prove that it comes from Northern India.

The sculpture at the top of the stone represents a man and a woman sitting on a bench. The woman to the left, wearing a loin-cloth and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the ankles and in the lobes of the ear, rests her left elbow on the knee of her left leg which she has placed on the top of the bench, and turns her laughing face to the spectator. The male person also is wearing a necklace, bracelets, ear-drops, and a ḍhoti covering the knees. He is sitting astride, and with the right hand he touches, or points to, a sort of stand placed between the two persons on the bench and bearing what would seem to be a cushion adorned by three small square marks and supporting some bell-shaped object. Right over the head of the man there appears something which at first sight looks almost like a club, but which in my opinion probably is the mutilated head of a cobra. As the stone is broken off immediately above the head of the female person, it is quite possible that her head also was overshadowed by a similar representation of a serpent’s head, and it seems to me very probable therefore that the sculpture represents a Nāga and his wife.

The writing is Brāhmaṇ of the earlier Kusāṇa type. The subscript ya is expressed by the full sign, and the sa shows the old form with the small cross-bar. The language is the usual mixed dialect. The inscription, which is dated in the tenth year of mahārāja dēvaputra Kānīshka, records the gift of a temple. Details will be discussed below.

¹ [In the original the name Ādiḥchana-Usmāyammī is not repeated as it is represented in the translation. It looks as if Ādiḥchana was seated with the members of the assembly of Tiruchcheṅguṇur in the palace at Kollam (L. 4-5) while making the gift to Ādiḥchana Usmāyammī. Accordingly I would translate this sentence as follows:—"(The following are the addhas who know (the transaction entered into) at the place at which (Ādiḥchana Usmāyammī)—while Ādiḥchana was sitting with (the assembly? )—granted the kṛitā (of the land?) to the lord (bhāṭṭaraka) of Tiruchcheṅguṇur." The same fact is referred to in lines 8 and 9.—V. V.]
² [The name of the man was apparently Dēvam Pavittirāṇ.—V. V.]
³ I.e. the terms of this transaction and bear witness to the same.
⁴ [Parandvan is apparently a taṭhāhara of the Sanskrit Paramāna.—V. V.]
TEXT.
1 Siddha[ añ] mahārājasya dēva[patrasya]2
2 Kān̄ishkṣayā savatārē [10]3
3 gri 2 di 9 ēśayō purvay[ā]4
4 [u]tārāya[n] na[va][uk]kāya[n] [b]ā-
5 [rmya][n]-[d]ata[ma][n] priyatāṁ dēvi 8 grā[masya].9

REMARKS.
1 The anuvāra is indistinct because it is crossed by the line forming the base of the sculpture. — 2 The reading of the bracketed characters is certain, though the surface of the stone has peeled off at the corner. — 3 This figure also has suffered from the peeling off of the surface, but the reading is beyond doubt — 4 The ē is very indistinct, and the correct reading may possibly be purvasya or purvayān. — 5 At first sight one might feel inclined to read nātarāyan, but the base-line of the first letter is quite straight, whereas na has a distinctly curved base. I feel therefore sure that what appears to be the continuation of the base-line to the left, is merely due to a flaw in the stone. — 6 The two convergent side-lines of the va are not very distinct, just as in the same letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the letter look almost like na. But this line is far too thin to really form part of the letter and must be accidental. — 7 The bracketed letters of these two words are more or less damaged, but the reading seems to be sure. — 8 The ē-stroke is added to the top of the letter, whereas in dē in the first line it is added in the middle. — 9 The last two letters are damaged, but only the ya can be said to be conjunctural.

TRANSLATION.
Success! In the year 10 of the mahārājasya dēnaputra Kān̄ishka, in the second (month of) summer, on the ninth day, — on that (date specified as) above a temple was given in the northern navamikā (?). May the goddess of the village be pleased!

NOTES.
The orthography of the inscription is very irregular, double consonants, long vowels and the anuvāra being frequently not expressed in writing. A long ē appears in the word kārmya. According to the St. Petersburg Dictionary the same form is found also in the Tott, Ār. VI. 6, 2 instead of the ordinary karmyam occurring in the corresponding verse in Atharvāv, XVIII, 4, 55. In kārmyan-dataṁ the final m is converted into the nasal before the following mute, which is rare in inscriptions in this dialect. Another instance is found in the concluding words of the Mathurā inscription, above Vol. I. p. 336, No. 8: priyatāṁ-bhayasānā-Rishabhārīh, which at the same time help us to understand the phrase found at the end of the present record: priyatāṁ dēvi grāmasya.

Of greater interest is the spelling of the king’s name, Kān̄ishka, with a long vowel in the first syllable and a lingual ē. With regard to the latter point, the seven Brāhmi inscriptions that have preserved the name are in perfect agreement. In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Śuddhi-Vihārī and Zeda the name is read as Kanishka, in that of Manikyala as Kaneshka,4 but I am by no means sure whether in the two last mentioned inscriptions the readings Kān̄ishka and

British Museum stone of Kanishka.

From a photograph supplied by Dr. Fleet.
Kanishka would not be preferable. On the whole, contemporary records certainly are in favour of the spelling with the lingual $\eta$, and I would therefore propose to use Kanishka as the common form of the name. The spelling with the long vowel in the first syllable as in the present inscription is unusual, but it does not stand quite alone. In the Sārnāth inscription, No. 3, the editor, it is true, reads Kanishkasya, but the photo-lithograph distinctly shows Kiniśkasya.

Turning to the special object of the inscription, we may infer from the concluding words that the temple was dedicated to a goddess, and the representation of the two Nāgas above the inscription makes it not unlikely, I think, that the goddess intended was a Nāgī. That during the Kushāna period there existed temples for the worship of serpents in Northern India, is well attested by the two Mathurā inscriptions, which mention the temple (ṣi[k]āna) of the udgādra Dadhikarṣa and a servant at the temple of the same Dadhikarṣa (Dadhikarrapadavihikula).

The most difficult words of the inscription are utardyaḥ navamikāyaḥ. I have thought for some time that they might be part of the date and mean ‘on the following (i.e. intercalated) ninth (lunar day)’, but for two reasons this idea must be given up. Firstly, such a statement would be in the wrong place after āyām purcayā, and secondly, as Professor Kielhorn informs me, utara is never used in the sense of aṣṭika or deity. I\textsuperscript{3} The words must therefore be connected with hārayanavataḥ, and as a form ending in -āyaḥ can hardly be anything else but the locative singular of a stem in ā; utaṇa navamikā would seem to denote either the locality where the temple was erected or, possibly, the goddess to whom it was dedicated. However, these explanations are far from satisfactory. Neither has navamikā the appearance of being the name of a locality, nor does utara navamikā in the least sound like the name of a goddess or a Nāgī. I am at present unable to solve this difficulty.

II.—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION, DATED SAMVAT 74.

This inscription is engraved on a stone-slab discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. It was first edited in 1870, together with facsimiles, by Rajendra Lal Mitra in the Journ. As. Soc. Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 129, No. 15, and by Dowson in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 4. In 1873 Cunningham published it again with a facsimile in the Arch. Surv. Ind. Vol. III. p. 32, No. 8, and in 1904 I have treated it in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIII. p. 106, No. 20. I edit it here again for a special reason. When I was in Oxford in 1905, Professor Hoernle kindly made over to me the collection of impressions, rubbings and drawings of inscriptions formed by him when preparing the second volume of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, which was to contain the ‘Indo-Scythic’ inscriptions. In this collection there is also the impression which I have used for the present edition. It cannot be said to be first-rate and, as unfortunately most of the impressions of this collection, it has been tampered with in some places by pencilling out parts of letters that in the impression itself are more or less effaced. Nevertheless the impression is of the greatest value as shown by the following note written on the margin, probably by General Cunningham himself: ‘The only impression now available.—The stone has been lost at Agra.’ Under these circumstances it seemed to me desirable to publish the accompanying reproduction of the impression, which in spite of its shortcomings naturally is far superior to the drawings published hitherto. Professor Hoernle’s collection contains besides two facsimiles. The one is an eye-copy in red and blue pencil on a slightly reduced scale, made according to a marginal note by Captain Watts, Royal Engineers, the other is a pencil-tracing on transparent paper, perhaps made from the stone itself, but afterwards gone over with China-ink, blue and red pencil, and practically of no value.

\textsuperscript{1} I have some weeks ago examined the original and the d is quite certain.—S. K.


\textsuperscript{3} Professor Halkisch writes to me that he is never less inclined to connect utaṇa navamikāyaḥ with the date, but he would take utara in the sense of ughyamāna, yāra-likha, ‘above-mentioned.’
The inscription is divided by a blank space into two parts. The upper portion, containing eight lines, is complete with the exception of some letters at the end of the first two lines, which have disappeared by the breaking off of the right corner of the stone. Of the lower portion which in Dowson’s and Cunningham’s facsimiles has been omitted altogether, nothing is left but faint traces of some characters in the first line. The characters are Brāhmī of the Kushāna type. The śa appears in the elder form with the small cross-bar, but the subscript ya shows the cursive form. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is dated in the year 74 of a mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra whose name began with Vāsu, but owing to its fragmentary state its real purport cannot be made out.

1 Mahārājasyaḥ rā [ā]……….Ś
2 sya dēvaputraśya Vāsu….Ś
3 savatsaraś 70Ś a varsham[ā]-Ś
4 sā prathamā śiivaś
5 triś[ā]Ś 30 aśayā ś purvayaśāŚ
6 TalakiyāŚ [ā]Ś mahādaśa-
7 māyāśyaŚ Vā-
8 līnas[ye]Ś k[ā]śeŚ t[ṛā]Ś Mihi-
9 …….. [mahādaśa]Ś ……..

REMARKS.

1 The ā-stroke is distinctly visible in the impression, although it does not appear in Capt. Watts’ eye-copy. — 2 The ā-stroke is uncertain. Restore rājātirāja. — 3 The ā-stroke is quite distinct, though here again it is omitted in Capt. Watts’ eye-copy. As regards the restoring of the line, I refer to the remarks below. — 4 The ā-stroke, omitted in Capt. Watts’ eye-copy, is quite distinct. — 5 Owing to a flaw in the stone, a small portion of the lower left cross-bar of the symbol has disappeared. In the impression somebody has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards, but there is nothing to warrant this restoration. There can be no doubt that the symbol had the shape of a plain St. Andrew’s cross, just as in other inscriptions. The lower right cross-bar also has been pencilled over in the impression, but this is of no consequence as it is perfectly distinct. The meaning of the symbol will be discussed below. — 6 The upper portion of the n and the d are not quite distinct. — 7 The ā-stroke is indistinct, and the ā has suffered from a hole in the paper. — 8 The apparent curving of the tail of the a has been caused by pencilling. In Capt. Watts’ eye-copy the tail is quite straight. — 9 Above the ps there is a distinct stroke which might be accidental. — 10 There are some strokes behind and below the ū, but they are not noticed in Capt. Watts’ eye-copy and may be accidental. The ā-stroke is not very distinct, and the reading Talakiyā would be possible. — 11 Capt. Watts expressly states that there are no traces of letters before the ū of line 7 and the ī of line 8. The ū has been pencilled over so as to look almost like ū, but there can be no doubt that it is ū, and as such it appears also in Capt. Watts’ eye-copy. — 12 The ya is damaged, but certain. — 13 The ḱ of the first and the ṛ of the second syllable are damaged, but certain. The ā of khā is very faint and not given in Capt. Watts’ eye-copy. The last syllable may also be trā as in Capt. Watts’ eye-copy. — 14 Of this word only faint traces are visible in the impression, and the reading rests almost entirely on Capt. Watts’ eye-copy. Instead of dṛ Capt. Watts gives dd.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 74 of the mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra Vāsu……, in the first month of the rainy season, on the thirtieth day, 30,—on that (date specified as) above, in the field (f) of the great general Yālina at Talakiyā (or Talakī?) Mihi…….
Mathura inscription of Samvat 74.

E. Hultsch.

From a damaged rubbing.
NOTES.

The orthography shows the usual features. The lengthening of the vowel in ādaṇḍa appears again in the same word in the Sat-Mahet inscription, above Vol. VIII, p. 181, and we may further compare such forms as ādāvāśa and ādāvāśaṇā in the Mathurā inscriptions, Ep. Ind., Vol. II. p. 198 ?, Nos. 1 and 4.

As regards the date, the first symbol of the date of the year requires a fuller consideration, as it has been differently interpreted. As already stated above, it has the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. Cunningham[1] originally read it as 40, and he was followed by Dowson, who in editing the Mathurā inscriptions everywhere adopted Cunningham's readings of the dates. In 1891 Bühler expressed his belief that the sign really represented 70,[2] and this opinion was endorsed in the following year by Cunningham in his paper on the coins of the Kushāṇas in the Numismatic Chronicle, Ser. III. Vol. XII. p. 50, note 6.

I accordingly read the symbol as 70 when I published the inscription in the Indian Antiquary, and I am still convinced that Bühler was right, but in order to settle this question definitely, it will be necessary to examine the other Northern Brāhma inscriptions where the same sign occurs. They are the following seven, all of which come from Mathurā or its neighbourhood:—

(1) Mathurā inscription of the time of svamān mahākṣatriyapū Saṅśāra, Ep. Ind., Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2, and Plate. In the Vienna Or. Journ. Vol. V. p. 177, Bühler read the symbol as 40, adding 70 in brackets. In the Ep. Ind., loc. cit., Bühler again gave 40 in the text, but added in a note that the symbol might possibly be 70. And lastly in Ep. Ind., Vol. IV. p. 55, note 2, he stated that he would now remove the alternative reading 42, which he had thought admissible at first.

(2) Kāman inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. II. p. 212, No. 42, and Plate. Here Bühler rendered the sign by 70 in the text, but added in a footnote that it might also be read as 40.


(6) Mathurā inscription, Journ. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 18, and Plate. The facsimile is very poor. In the Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIII. p. 101, No. 12, I have read the sign as 40, but I have pointed out also that the inscription is possibly identical with that referred to under No. 3.


1 The absurd opinions of Rajendralal Mitra may be passed over in silence.
It thus appears that the symbol has hitherto been treated sometimes as 40 and sometimes as 70, but it will be readily conceded, I think, that it is impossible to assign two different values to the same sign in inscriptions of the same locality and the same period. But before we can decide which of the two interpretations is the correct one, we shall have to examine also the other symbols supposed to represent either 40 or 70 in the early Brahmi inscriptions of Northern India. The following inscriptions, which for convenience sake I number in continuation of the list given above, must be taken into consideration:

(8) Mathurā inscription of the time of mahārāja Huvikaha, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 387, No. 9, and Plate. The symbol resembles the ligature pta and was read by Bühler as 40.

(9) Mathurā inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 387, No. 10, and Plate. The general appearance of the symbol is the same as in No. 8, but its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph. Bühler read the sign as 40.


(12) Mathurā inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 204, No. 20, and Plate; p. 321, and Plate. The upper part of the symbol is the same as in Nos. 8—11, but its lower part is a distinct loop. Bühler read the sign as 70.

(13) Mathurā inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 387, No. 11, and Plate. As Bühler expressly states in a footnote that the symbol is a plain pta, it may have been so in the impression before him. In the photo-lithograph, however, it does not bear the slightest resemblance to that sign, but looks exactly like the letter bra. Bühler read the symbol as 40.

(14) Sāgahi inscription of the time of mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra Shāhi Vāsashka, Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 369 f., and Plate. The symbol found here has quite a peculiar shape. Provided that the vertical standing behind it does not belong to it, but is part of the following sign for 8, it resembles the usual sign for 20. As such it was read also at first by Bühler, but at Cunningham’s suggestion he afterwards took it to be 70. The reading of the sign was then discussed at length by Dr. Fleet in a paper in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1903, p. 326 ff., and he came to the conclusion that it was 20. But later on, when Mr. Vincent Smith in his Early History of India, p. 238, had suggested that the symbol might be read as 60, Dr. Fleet admitted the possibility of this interpretation; see Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1905, p. 357.1

Leaving aside for the present the symbols found in the last three inscriptions, it appears that there are two symbols, the St. Andrew’s cross and the pta, one of which must represent 70 and the other 40. Now in the inscription which forms the subject of this paper the St. Andrew’s cross cannot represent 40, as in that case the inscription would be dated in the year 44 in the reign of a king whose name begins with Vāsu, whereas we know that from 33-60 Huvishka was the reigning monarch in this part of the country. Here, therefore, the St. Andrew’s cross must represent 70, and we must accordingly assign the same value to the symbol also in the inscriptions enumerated above under Nos. 1-7. We thus get the dates S. 72 for No. 1, S. 74 for

1 Another sign that originally was read 40 by Bühler, is found in the Mathurā inscription of the time of mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra Huvishka, Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate. Later on Bühler declared that on further consideration he read the symbol as 60, and as such it has been treated since then everywhere; see Ep. Ind. Vol. II. p. 304, note 61.
No. 2, and S. 77 for Nos. 3-7. The inscriptions themselves contain nothing to contradict this result. No. 4, it is true, mentions the mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra Huvishka, but not in connection with the date, the inscription simply recording a gift to the vihāra of that king. As to the date S. 72 for the mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra Śojaśa, I refer to the remarks of Dr. Fleet in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1907, p. 1024 ff.

If the St. Andrew's cross represents 70, the sign resembling pta must be 40. The inscription No. 8, therefore, would be dated in S. 44, No. 9 in S. 45, No. 10 in S. 47, and No. 11 in S. 48, which is in accordance with the statements of Nos. 8 and 11 that their dates fall into the reign of Huviksha or Huvisha.

The symbol occurring in No. 12 undoubtedly differs from either of the two symbols found in Nos. 1-11, but whereas it bears no resemblance whatever to the cross-shaped sign, it is easily intelligible as a cursive development of the pta sign. In my opinion therefore this sign also must be taken as 40, and the inscription as being dated in S. 49, not S. 73. There is another point in favour of this interpretation. The inscription records a gift made at the request of the venerable Vṛidhahastin (Vṛidhahastin), a preacher in the Kōttīya (Kōttīya) yaṣa, the Vairā (Vairī) akṣa. There is another Mathurā inscription dated in S. 60, recording a gift made at the request of the gātain, the venerable Kharūna, a pupil of this same Vṛidhahastin. If Vṛidhahastin in S. 60 had a pupil who had acquired the dignity of gātain, he must have been a man advanced in years at that time, and although, of course, it is not impossible that he was still alive in S. 79, it would certainly seem more natural to find him as a spiritual adviser in S. 49 and his pupil in the same capacity eleven years later on, in S. 60.

Little can be said about the symbol occurring in No. 13. The form appearing in the photo-lithograph is quite peculiar and unlike any other symbol in the inscriptions from Mathurā or elsewhere, but in accordance with Bühler's statement, it may be provisionally taken as 40.

As regards the symbol in No. 14, I agree with Dr. Fleet that there is no reason whatever why it should be 70, as even the sign in No. 12, which Bühler cited in support of this interpretation, is to be read not 70, but 40. On the other hand, I feel sure that it is not 20. I have lately received through Dr. Konow impressions of an inscription running round the base of a pillar preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription, which is in Brāhmi characters of the Kushāna type, is partly worn, but the date is quite distinct. Now the sign for the ten in the date of the year is the same as that in the Sāvāchī inscription, showing again the vertical, which is thus proved to be an integral part of it and not to belong to the following sign. And although unfortunately the text of the inscription contains nothing that would enable us to form a positive opinion on the value of the symbol, we may safely assert that it cannot be 20, as we find this number expressed by the usual sign in the date of the day. Lastly also the proposal to treat the symbol as 60 cannot be said to be convincing, the sign that has hitherto been read as 60 in the inscriptions of the Kushāna period certainly being entirely different. I do not want to offer a new hypothesis. In my opinion we shall have to wait for fresh materials before we can hope to arrive at a satisfactory result in this question. In how far the restoring of the king's name in our inscription of S. 74 is influenced by this uncertainty, will be shown below.

I know that the results arrived at above are partly not in harmony with those deduced from the coins of the Western Khatrapas. The numenal signs occurring in the legends of those coins are given in table IX, col. V, of Bühler's Inōische Paläographie from Professor Rapson's table in

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1 Perhaps the symbol found in No. 9 forms the intermediate stage between the pta and the looped sign. As I have stated above, its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph, but it does not seem to me impossible that here also it consists not of the usual fork, but of a loop, though a much smaller one than in No. 12.


the Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1890, Plate to p. 6-9. Here the St. Andrew's cross has been entered as 40, and a sign much resembling the pta and another looped sign almost exactly like that of No. 12 as 70. I do not wish to throw any doubts on the correctness of these readings, but I contend that for such questions inscriptions must be treated separately according to time and locality.

Rajendrałal Mitra, Dowson and Cunningham agreed in restoring the name of the king as Vīṣu[ḍvasya]. When I edited the inscription from the facsimiles published by my predecessors, I drew attention to the circumstance that the available space is hardly sufficient for the three aśvāyas Ṛṣuṣyas, and I proposed to restore the name as Vāsushkasya, as this name of the king seemed to be attested by two other inscriptions of S. 76 and S. 78, whereas the first undoubted record of Vāsudēva's reign was dated in S. 80. What I said about the difficulty of supplying three syllables is confirmed by the impression now before me, although owing to the frequent irregularity of the writing in these inscriptions it is impossible to speak on this point with absolute certainty. But the evidence for the existence of a king Vāsuhaka in S. 76 and S. 78 is not so strong as it seemed to be formerly. As I have tried to show above, the date of the Sāṉchi inscription mentioning a king Vāsuhaka is quite uncertain, and the Mathurā inscription mentioned by Führer as being dated in S. 76 and recording repays in the reign of Vāsuhaka has not yet been published. As Dr. Kenow informs me, it cannot even be found now, Führer's trenches having been filled up again a long time ago and the exact spot where the inscription was found being no more known. Under these circumstances a decision is of course impossible for the present. If Führer's statement after all should prove correct, I should unhesitatingly restore Vīṣu to Vāsushkasya, otherwise the reading Vāsudēvakya will have to be accepted.

The rest of the inscription calls for few remarks. Talakya or Talakō seems to be the name of a locality, but I am unable to identify it. The title mahādaṇḍanāyaka is frequent in the inscriptions of the Gupt period and later times. In the Kushāpa inscriptions it has not yet been found before, but the subordinate title of daṇḍanāyaka occurs in the Manikyāla inscription, where the correct reading in l. 2 is, not Laladaṇḍanāyago, but Lala-daṇḍanāyago.

III.—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚONḍĀSA.

This inscription was first published, together with a facsimile, in 1870 by Professor Dowson in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser. Vol. V. p. 188, No. 29. In 1873 it was published again with a facsimile by Cunningham in the Arch. S. Rev. Rep. Vol. III. p. 30, No. 1. And in 1904 I have tried to edit the text from these two facsimiles in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIII. p. 149, No. 24. For the present edition of the record I have made use of an impression found in Professor Hoernle's collection described above.

Cunningham states that the stone bearing the inscription was found in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. According to Dowson, it has been cut through and the first part of it has been carried off. On the other hand, the facsimiles distinctly showed that something was missing at the right end, and thus I was led to suppose that the stone was damaged on both sides. This, however, is not the case. Nothing is missing at the beginning of the writing on the left, and on the right also only one letter has been cut off at the end of the first two lines. With this exception the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

2 This is the reading suggested by Dr. Fleet, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1903, p. 326, but he is himself inclined to look upon this form as a more variant of Vāsuhaka, if the existence of such a name should be proved; see Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1905, p. 357 ff.
3 Journ. As. Soc. IX. Vol. VII. p. 8 ff.
The characters are of the so-called archaic type of the Mathurā inscriptions; see especially the letters da, sa and sha, and the subscript ya. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is not dated. It records various gifts of a Brahman of the Śūgrava (Śaigraha) gotra, the treasurer of svāmin mahākshatrāpa Śoṇḍāsa. For details I refer to the remarks below.

TEXT.

1 Svāmīsya mahākshatrapasya Śoṇḍāssya1 gacchāvarṇa brāhmaṇāna Śūgrava-sagotraṇa [p]...²
2 raṇi āmāsā yamaṇa-puṣkaraṇaṁ paśchimā puṣkaraṇa utdāpāṇo ārāmō³ stambhō ī...
3 [śilā]patṭo⁴ cha-

REMARKS.

1 As to the reading of this name see the remarks below.—2 Little is lost of the pu, but the reading is certain. Restore puṣka-.—3 The outlines of the letters ni udāpāṇo ārānō are more or less touched up with pencil, but the reading is perfectly certain.—4 The reading śilā is certain, although the letters are entirely spoiled by being gone over with pencil.

TRANSLATION.

By the treasurer of the lord, the mahākshatrapa Śoṇḍāsa, a Brāhmaṇ of the Śūgrava (Śaigraha) gotra, a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and this stone-slab (was caused to be made).

NOTES.

As regards the language, the most interesting form is imāshān. Apparently in the dialect of Mathurā the genitives plur. of the pronoun were, as in Pāli, imāsaḥ and imāsaṁ, and the author of the inscription transliterated the latter form into imāshān as he was wont to render imāsaṁ by imāshān. The nominative sing. masc. of the same pronoun is found at the end of line 2, but unfortunately nothing is left of it but the initial ī. The word puṣkaraṇ shows in the third syllable the vocalisation of the Pāli pakkharasī. Yamaṇa corresponds to Skt. yamala or yamāla, as the word would be written in Southern manuscripts. The construction of the inscription is rather peculiar, the verb or participle on which the instrumentalā brāhmaṇāna, etc., depend, being omitted.

The first point to command attention is the name of the mahākshatrapa, which is generally supposed to be Śoṇḍāsa. In the present inscription there is a distinct sign above the iō. It must have been found also in the impressions used by Dowsen and Cunningham, as the former reads Śaṅdāssya (for Śaṅdāssya) and the latter Saudāssya (for Saudāssya), although the facsimiles show no trace whatever of anuvāra or au. The sign cannot be the stroke denoting au, as it does not touch the upper line of the iō, but is separated from it by a distinct blank space. It can only be an anuvāra of the same bulky shape as that in gacchāvarṇa and in puṣkaraṇaṁ.

The form Śoṇḍāsa has not yet been recognised anywhere else. In the second Brāhmi inscription at Mathurā mentioning this mahākshatrapa¹ Bühler read Śoḍāsas, but the photograph by no means excludes the reading Śoṇḍāsas. Right above the iō there is a white spot scarcely less distinct than that above the ma of hāmaṁtamāss which Bühler read as anuvāra. In the Mathurā lion-capital inscription² Mr. Thomas reads the name as Śaṅsa and Śaṅsa, and with regard to coins, Professor Rapson has stated in the Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1903, p. 289, note 3, that whenever the name is legible, the first akṣara seems to be iō, and that the alternative forms Śaṅ and Śaṅ, given by Bhagvanlal and Cunningham respectively, cannot be

certainly read on any of the specimens of the British Museum. But even if a re-examination should prove the readings Šojaša and Šuśjaša to be correct, this would not invalidate the reading of the present inscription. Everybody familiar with the records of this period knows how often an anusvāra is omitted in writing, and that on that account the reading Šojaša, even if found once only, carries more weight than the reading Šojaša occurring ten times. In my opinion therefore Šojaša must be accepted as the general form of the name.

Scarcely less interesting is the designation of the donor. Dowson and Cunningham read gajavāra, and Bühler, Vienna Or. Journ. Vol. V. p. 177, proposed to alter the unintelligible syllables gaja into raj, 'during the reign.' The new reading gaṅjavarāha shows that gañjara, 'treasurer,' which hitherto was known only from the Raṅgaraṇīni I, 177 and Kāśmīrīnda's Lōkaprakāśa, was an official title in India already in much earlier times. As recognised by Benfey, gañjara is the Persian gañjārā, and the use of this title is a new proof of the strong Pārthian influence that made itself felt in Northern India from the time of Aśoka to the beginning of the Gupta empire.²

The donor calls himself by his gōtra name Śeṅgrava, which in correct Sanskrit would be Śaṅgrava. According to the Gaṅgāpītha the Śaṅgrava gōtra is referred to by Pāṇini in II, 4, 07 and IV, 1, 104. I have also no doubt that Professor Kern is right in identifying Śaṅgrava with Pāli Sīggava,³ the name of the patriarch who conferred the upasādhipaṭṭ order on the great Tissa Moggaliputta.⁴

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**No. 34.—PATHARI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PARABALA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 917.**

**By the late Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttingen.**

**Pathāri** in Long. 75° 15′ and Lat. 23° 56′, is the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Bhopal Agency of Central India.⁵ Its antiquities were first described, in 1848, by Captain J. D. Cunningham, in the Journal As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 305 ff. After stating that the locality of which he is treating includes two good-sized reservoirs or lakes, and that the present town of Pathāri and the smaller lake are distinguished by a single pillar and a solitary temple, Captain Cunningham on page 310 proceeds thus:— ‘Near to the western edge of the smaller lake stands the wand or pillar, now called of Bheem Sen. It is composed of a single block about 36 feet in height and 2 feet thick. The shaft is square in section for a height of 8 feet, and it then becomes circular . . . . On one side of the square portion of the shaft there is a long inscription, much obliterated, and of which I failed to make even a tolerable impression.’

The pillar and its inscription were again noticed in 1880, by General Sir A. Cunningham, in his Archael. Survey of India, Vol. X, p. 70, thus:— ‘Inside the town, on the top of the slope, there is a tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital. The shaft is circular, rising from a base 8 feet

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¹ See the St. Petersburg Dictionay s. v.
² In the Journal Roy. As. Soc. 1901, p. 280 ff, Professor Rapson has described a coin that shows a general similarity to those of Śoṇḍiṣa. With the exception of the first three akṣaras the inscription is not quite certain. Professor Rapson reads: brāhmanā[sa go]ṭa sa[na]-[bra][ha]. na]. Would it be too bold to conjecture that the brāhmanā mentioned here may have some connection with the brāhmanā Śaṅgrava, the gañjara of Śoṇḍiṣa, and that the reading must be altered accordingly?
⁴ See Dīpāvat. V, 57; 69, etc.
⁵ [The proofs of this and all subsequent papers by the late Professor Kielhorn have been read by me.—S. K.]
⁶ Constable’s Hand Atlas of India Plate 27 D u.
3 inches high and 2 feet 9 inches square. On the northern face there is a long inscription of 38 lines of small letters. It opens with an invocation to Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa, but the greater part of the record is so much worn as to be quite illegible. Many of the letters here and there are in good order, and from their shapes I would assign the monument to somewhere about A.D. 600. Close by this pillar there is a small temple, with Viṣṇu sitting on Garuḍa over the door-way.

In October 1894 I received from Professor Hultsch two impressions of the inscription, prepared by Mr. H. Couzens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle; and an excellent photograph of it, taken by the same gentleman, was given to me two or three years afterwards by Dr. Fleet. From these materials I have already published a short account of the contents of the inscription and the tentative text of nine verses of it, in the Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen for 1901, Part I, p. 519 ff. A repeated examination of the same materials now enables me to place before the reader, with some confidence, by far the greater part of this record, which, though troublesome to read, is not so illegible as it may have seemed to be on the original stone.

The inscription contains 38 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2 feet broad by 2 feet 7 inches high. It has certainly suffered greatly from exposure to the weather, especially in the middle and at the end of the lines all the way down, and for nearly the whole length of the last seven lines. But fortunately all proper names of importance may be read with absolute certainty, at any rate all those that occur in lines 1—31; and the same remark applies to the date of the inscription at the end of line 31. The size of the letters is about 1/4 inch in the topmost lines, but less in the lower part down to line 31, while it is somewhat larger again in lines 32—33. The inscription was written and engraved with great care and skill. The characters belong to the northern alphabet such as, speaking generally, we find it e.g. in the Gwalior inscription of the reign of Bhājadeva of the [Vikrama] year 933, published with a facsimile in Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 159 f. With our present knowledge of Indian epigraphy, we should assign them at once to about the 9th century A.D. They include the rare sign for jā, which has not come out well either in the impressions or in the photograph, in the word jhāṭī towards the end of line 15. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. This text is remarkably correct, and in respect of orthography the only points worth noticing here are that the sign for ṣ is used for both s and ṣ, and that the words aśus and dāvūs are written as sa and dvam, in lines 2 and 8.

The inscription consists of two parts. The first (and chief) part comprises lines 1—31, the second lines 32—38. This second part appears to be really a separate inscription, added by way of a postscript, which may record the installation of an image of Viṣṇu, but the exact purpose of which, owing to the damaged condition of lines 32—38, I have not been able to ascertain. What I may state with confidence is that, after the words dhūnamah at the commencement of line 32, there are five verses, two in the Śragdhara metre, one in the Vasantatilaka metre, one in the Upajāti metre, and the fifth perhaps in the same metre. So far as I can judge, the first and probably the second of these five verses contain some historical information, and it would therefore seem desirable to have a cast taken of this part of the inscription, which would enable one to decipher more of the text than I have succeeded in making out from the impressions and the photograph.

The first verse of the inscription commences with the words Lakṣham-straṇḍhāpāsa-, which are apparently misread as Lakṣam-Nārāyaṇa-. 2 The accompanying facsimile has been prepared under the superintendence of Prof. Hultsch from Mr. Couzens' photograph. A facsimile of the impressions would have been quite useless. 3 Exposed as the pillar has been to all the effects of the Indian climate for more than a thousand years it seems wonderful that of these small letters, which were not deeply engraved, many should have been preserved so well as we find them to be.

I am singular enough to hope that it will indeed some day be possible to make out the names which are hidden now in the second part of our inscription. It would then perhaps also be found that this part likewise ends with a date in the 9th century of the Vikrama era, of which in my opinion there are traces in the second half of line 33.
The first part (lines 1—31) also commences with oṁ namaḥ and ends with a date which will be given below. Between the two there are 32 verses, the text of more than two-thirds of which may be given with perfect certainty, while there is no doubt about the general meaning of any of the rest. The verses form a prāasti, the main object of which is to record (in verses 25 and 26) that the king Parabala of some Rāṣṭrakūṭa family founded a temple of Śaury (Hari, Vishnū), before which he erected the Garuda-crested pillar on which the inscription is engraved. The prāasti opens with four verses which invoke the protection of, and glory, the god Vishnū, under the names of Murāri, Kṛishnā and Hari. It then (in verses 5—7) relates that formerly there was a king Jējja, under whom this Rāṣṭrakūṭa vahśa was flourishing, and whose (unnamed) elder brother, after defeating thousands of Karpāta soldiers with their arrays of elephants, obtained the Laṭa kingdom. Jējja's son was Karkarāja (v. 11), who put to flight1 the king Nāgavālōkā and invaded his home (vv. 14 and 15). And Karkarāja's son was Parabala, represented as ruling the land when the inscription was composed (V. 18). The rest records that the pillar was actually set up by the king's chief minister, whose name is not clear in the impressions, and that the prāasti was composed by Harsha (v. 29) and engraved by the svetrādhāra Śāhula (v. 31), while the last verse 32 contains the usual prayer that the king's pious work and his fame may endure for ever.—The date at the end of line 31 is saṃvat 917 Chaitra-sūdi 6 Śukra, i.e. "Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 917." In this date the numeral figures for the year are particularly clear, and cannot be read in any other way. The figure for 9 is the same as e.g. in line 6 of the Deogad pillar inscription of the time of Bbōjadēva of the [Vikrama] year 919 (Archael. Surv. of India, Vol. X, Plate xxxiii, 2), and in line 22 of the Gurmha plate of Jayādityadēva II. of the [Vikrama] year 927 (Journ. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LXX. Part I. Plate i). The date must of course be referred to the Vikrama era. It is one of the earliest dates of that era which admits of exact verification and corresponds regularly, for the expired Kārttikeya Vikrama year 917, to Friday, the 21st March A.D. 581, when the 6th tithi of the bright half of Chaitra ended 16 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

The prāasti will, I think, be admitted to contain some rather pretty verses.2 Its author, so far as I can judge, was well acquainted, amongst other poetical works, with Māgha's Śūraśāsana, and in the composition of at least one verse he undoubtedly drew his inspiration from that poem.3 I refer to verse 16, which may be compared with Siś. XIX. 52. The former is:—

Śakalika-śevādī añābharanabāhūhitāḥ |
    drīyantā ripavā yasya añābharaṇabāhūhitāḥ ||

"With their limbs all cut to pieces (and thus)4 decorated with manifold ornaments (dbharana), his enemies are seen to abide on various battle-fields (raṇa-bhū)."

And Māgha's verse is:—

Śastraṇaḥ-yāmaya-śrinad-alabharaṇabāhūhitāḥ |
    dadṛśī śnyā Rāvaṇavāda-alabharaṇabāhūhitāḥ ||

"Decorated with glorious ornaments (alabharaṇa) which consisted in the wounds inflicted by weapons, another looked like Rāvaṇa, though abiding on a battle-field (raṇa-bhū) that was not connected with Laṅkā."5

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1 The original apparently mentions the place where Nāgavālōka was put to flight, but the name of it cannot be read with confidence. See verse 14 and the translation of it below.
2 Compare e.g. verses 13, 15, 20 and 30.
3 The prāasti somewhat pointedly ends with the word śrīmati, which, in the case of an author who had studied the śrīyogā sukēśvara does not seem to me to be without significance.
4 Compare the following note.
5 Mallinātha explains: svaśīyogāraṇabhāsakapatekē Rāvaṇa śrīyogā Laṅkaśasmśānbandha-virāhādite
eśāteśa ity-arthāḥ | upad-viśāteśa-yamakandha saṅkarah |
Here we not merely have, at the end of each half verse, the synonymous words dharaśdābhāśśāta and alaśkaśaśāśśāta, either of them similarly used in a double meaning, but we also find a form of the same verb (drīṣgantī and dadṛṣṭī) in exactly the same position in both verses. At the same time the manner in which the verse of the Śiśupālaśākha commences, clearly shows how we ought to interpret the first half of Harsha’s verse: the ornaments with which the enemies were decorated consisted in the wounds inflicted on them when their limbs were cut to pieces. I am aware that what I have pointed out here is not of any great value now, because we have lately learnt from another inscription that Māgha lived long before the middle of the 9th century A.D.

Among the contents of the praśasti there are three points of particular interest. The first obviously is, that the inscription is one — the only one hitherto discovered — of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Parabala, for whom it furnishes a date in A.D. 831. The second point is, that Parabala’s father Karkaraja defeated, and invaded the territory of, a king Nāgāvalōka. And to those may be added the statement that an unnamed elder brother of Karkaraja’s father Jēja, after defeating certain Karpataś, took possession of the Lāṭa kingdom.

As regards the first point, we knew indeed from the very earliest Sanskrit inscription brought to the notice of European scholars — the Mungrī plate of Dēvalpala1 translated by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1731 — that the Pāla king Dharmapala married Rāṣṭrāvati, a daughter of the glorious Parabala, the ornament of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family; but as the name Parabala could not be traced in any subsequent inscription, scholars conjectured that it was a birudā of one of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkhāṭ, perhaps of Gūravaraśa I or Amoghavariśa I, according to the notions which they had formed regarding the dates of Dharmapala. Now there cannot remain any reasonable doubt that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parabala of our Pathāri inscription is identical with the Parabala of the Mungrī plate, a daughter of whom was married by D harmapala. But it does not follow that Dharmapala’s reign must therefore be taken to have commenced so late as the middle of the 9th century. Many Indian kings have had unusually long reigns, and at present we know nothing about the length of Parabala’s reign, while all that we know for certain in this respect regarding Dharmapala is that he reigned for at least 32 years. The zeal and activity displayed by the officials of the Archaeological Survey in the search for epigraphical documents encourage us to hope that before long we shall be in possession of materials that will definitely fix both the exact time of Dharmapala’s reign and the chronology of events generally which took place in Northern India during the 8th and 9th centuries.

The king Nāgāvalōka2 who was defeated by Parabala’s father Karkaraja seems to have been a ruler of some importance. I have no doubt that he is identical with that Nāgāvalōka who is mentioned in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription of Vigraharaśa,3 in terms which would imply that he was the overlord, and who certainly was a contemporary, of the Chāhāmāna Gūrvaka I of Śakambhara, whom in my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have roughly placed at the commencement of the 9th century. There has lately been discovered a copper-plate inscription of a Chāhāmāna Mahādēvamahāśripati, which records a grant that was made at Bhūgunkachchha in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvalōka, and which apparently is dated in the [Vikrama] year 813 (corresponding to about A.D. 756).4 I owe a photograph of it to the kindness of Mr. Gaurishankar Hiraachand Ojha, but would wait for impressions before expressing an opinion regarding its genuineness and value.

2 I need hardly point out that this name looks like the well-known birudā ending in asalōka of certain Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings (Khādgavartā, Vikramavartā, etc.).
3 See above Vol. II. p. 131, line 12 of the text, where the actual reading of the original is śrīmam-Nāgavatā-pravarasripat.
4 If the grant is genuine, the donation recorded in it was probably made on the 28th October A.D. 756.
Nor can I say anything definite at present regarding the conquest of the Lāṭā kingdom by the elder brother of Parabala’s grandfather Jōjja. The known names of chiefs connected with Lāṭā from about the middle of the 8th century and the available dates will be found above, Vol. VIII. App. II. p. 4. It will be seen there that we have no date, and know little about Lāṭā, between A.D. 757 and A.D. 812, which is just the period in which, judging from the date of the present inscription, we should have to place Jōjja and his elder brother.

In the text which follows I have indicated by marks of interrogation all passages about which I am myself doubtful, and have left blanks where I could have put in only a purely conjectural reading. Others may be able to supply what is wanting or to find the correct readings where I have failed to do so. I know that I have shunned no trouble and might perhaps be permitted to say—

Harshēṇa nāmaṁ ruchitā praśastir-viśhēr-vaśād-aśa-ma-tālo-viśām ā
drakṣātī-yaṁ pramadāc-chhramaṇaṁ
sattāṁ mudāṁ saṁtātām-ātaṇātō ā

TEXT.1

1 Īvaṁ 1 namaṁ || 2 Lakshmi-nirandhrapina[sta]navalaśa-la[sa]t-pallavā 3 Vṛitra-śatōśṁ-
tīrtīlotkavāsāma-yā-dhāvatīdhi-varagavā[=f=r]jī
3 lalālana-d[r]i[dhāḥ pāṇṭu vaś-tō Mūrakēṁ ||[1*] ||[1*] ||[1*] ||[1*] ||[1*] 5 Vā(bā)lārka[=chchhavji-
6 chohhēvatāda-chohhavīḥ || satkārttasvarakṣa-nirīgata īva snigdhēndranlōpalas-
hambaṇaṁ 8 skandhāga-padmarāgasyagalanā ḳrīṣhō-stn
5 vaḥ śrīyauḥ ||[2*] ||[2*] ||[2*] 9 Tribhuvanahavāna-stambhō nabastalāmbhbodhi-aśtur-aṅgha-
4 dahanaḥ || vra[bra]hmāṇḍamāṇḍa(da)lāṁva[bn]jadaṇḍa-ruchir-ījayati10 Ha-
11 jalāndhir-īva Harir-avatātī-lārūpa-purushō-pī yaḥ sadā nava-kā-|
7 yaḥ ||[4*] ||[4*] ||[4*] 12 Rōj-āśid-varachakkrakālaḥchīta-kārō lakshmī-sanāthaḥ purā driptāri-
13 prava(ba)lauḍiḥvāt-pramathanā-ḥdhē[=dhā]ra-bhūto bhūvaḥ ||| vā(ba)ḥuḍasta-
mahidharaḥ [nara]-
8 ka-hā tumagavipadhvanakrit14 Kāṁśhātī-ṣaṁ-po-akṣiḥātanubhīch ohri-Jējja
9 ṭa-vaṁśi-yaiṁ santiḥāḥ yattra bhūbhūti ||[6*] 161 18 Jitva [vikāta]karighatā-
14 pra[bhuta]ra-Karpukṣṭabha(a)saḥa[rā]v[ī] || prithū[=f] ||[7*] ||[7*] 19 L[ā]ttā-ākhyaṁ rāśṭraṁ-
lavdhāṁ[=bhāṁ] yasya-āgrajan-ājan ||[7*] ||[7*] ||[7*] ||[7*] 20 [Vana]-

1 From impressions and a photograph supplied by Mr. Conze.
2 Metro: Scraped. 4 Read “śrīyauḥ.”
3 Compare Śākapiddhaka-panikaṭhaka, above Vol. II. p. 4. v. 22.
5 Originally “kundalō seem to have been engraved.
6 Compare Śākapiddhaka III. 11.
7 Originally “ruchēr” was engraved.—Compare above Vol. I. p. 40, verse 2: vra[=bra]hmāṇḍamāṇḍa-
8 lakṣhētpalanda-līlā vē[=kī]bhūtrē.
9 Metro: Āryā. 10 Metro: Śārdūlavīkṛditā.
11 Metro: Šārdūlavīkṛditā. 12 Denoted by a symbol.
12 Compare Śākapiddhaka xiv. 70: navah bhadha yaṁ purāṇa-purūṣah prachakṣuḥ.
13 Metro: Āryā. 14 “āprastīr-achchhīdras-tuṅga.”
15 Metro: Šārdūlavīkṛditā.
16 Metro: Mālini.
Pathari pillar inscription of Parabala. — [Vikrama-]Samvat 917.
mahīṣaḥ-saḥyaṁ vājīnād lōlā-nēttārā madagala-kapōḷā dantinaḥ simham-
ugrānaḥ [jvalatapav[a]-] kriyād vairi-virāḥ Kṛitāntaṁ rāpa-sīrasi yam-ekān-
mēnōrē naika-[rūpaṁ] il [8]*

11 Ekō-p-ītas-taṭāh kuruvaṁ-arrād-[ku]lam-ākulaṁ | chārunhāmikār-opē[lo] n]il-
rūpaṁ vi(bi)bha-[rit]i yāb [19]* 8 [Prāpt-ōcchhrayā p] ◯ ◯ ◯ ◯ maya
prakaṁja[nt]-mukti-āli[bbhiḥ] svamahima-pratipādanāya | [dēśi?][nta[rā]y-n-]

12 pagaṭa vikalā diśānā yasya dhvajā iva sādā ripa[vō] bhramanti [10]*

Tasya-śāṁjakō ripuva[ba]-[a]nta ◯ ◯ ◯ ◯ ◯ ◯ 9 śrī-Karkarāja iti

saṇiyati lāvāha(bdha)-kārttiḥ | P[ārth-āgraṇ p]-

13 r-iva va[ba] bhūva4 nirasta-sāloṣyō duḥsāsanāriva[ba] [la]-sāsna[bbhe][na]h il
[11]* 13 V[i]khṣipta[va]-[va] [ra]v... 12 ◯ ◯ ◯ ◯ ◯ ◯ ◯ ◯ 

ya[t-ka] [rūpa]

14 riva[nīt]-nayanapraṇālī-saṇisaktasajjalayatāsaja-para[va]haiḥ | śāhichyaṃamam- api
chandramaricī[ha]-śhṛi[ph]ītaṁ [va] [ba] bhūva [na]nū | yasya yaśō tīyitaṁ [13]*

Śrīvṛārādh-śattadvi[rada]ṁ-

15 ghanahāṣṭo[pa]sanāṃ[ha]-cānandē saṅgrāmō [hṛṣṭa-yō] dhō [tura] gaṅhuṇa-rajaś-

16 lav[an]e10 yaḥ parāyūta-mūrttīn il[14]* 11 Śrīvṛāravaśi yapravāvāvaś-

17 [mal]nābhararopabhuśhitāḥ | ṇrā[y]īna [ripa]vō yasya

18 [tāṁ sī]rassu | dhārānīpāda-ja[nit]aś-āśrījāṁ12 pravahair-yuddhē

19 sūdha-mūrttīḥ kalārān | parava[ba] laḍalana-ōgrō-nagra-chakhaṇaḥ pratāpi

Parava[ba] itī putrās-tasya [sāst]-iha bhū [mi]n [18]*

[10] The original possibly has "daññaka teṣa maññitaḥ.
[11] Originally vihāred or vihāsdā was engraved.
[12] Metro: Śrīkṣa (Anuṣṭḥāb).—I am unable to restore the first half of this verse with any confidence, but the meaning probably is that the king’s hand in battle took away fortune from his adversary. Compare Gāpta
Inscr. p. 203, l. 7.
[14] The water of the sword-blade (asidhrd-jala, asidhrd-payas, asidhrd-kṣilmaḥ) is often spoken
of by poets; compare e.g. Ekdeś, pp. 64 and 168, and above Vol. II p. 307, v. 21.
[15] The phrase of asrīj is similarly used in Śitāpavanādā xvii, 56 (asrījī).
[16] I have little doubt that this is the correct reading; in the original a medial ī was originally engraved
before the asrākara which I read as prō, but it has clearly been struck out.
[18] This word, being repeated at the commencement of the next line, is superfluous here. Śrīpala is used in
the double sense of ‘the fruit of his prosperity’ and ‘Sīla fruits’.
20 śrīphalāṇya-sasya suhrīdō vidvihō-py-salaṃ ||[19]∗|| 1 Makarakāntutala[hṛta]-
  suṇḍarījana-vilō[liṭa]ōchana-mā[layā]a[ ] [sava]-śuchibhū[aha]-va[raḥmaṇi]-
  īna-yā[ma]raprīndra-samā bhuvi yō-bha[vat l] ||[20]∗||
21 Prabhaṃjanā vaiṛ-mahārūpāṃ samāśri[śri]-tānāṃ dhanadō [janā]ānaṃ
  iva samya[g-maṇtra]ma[kt-ā]ḥ vadhā[na]ḥ sura-patir-iva hēlādārit-ārātigōтраḥ |
  sura-gaja iva ni[tyaṃ]aṃ śāṃ[dra-dā]-
23 n[ā] pravṛtiṣṭa sura-girir-iva bhūḥritamāndal-ōkṛṣṭahāṭaḥ ||[23]∗|| 5 Yārāvahāṣṭān
  yāh akāmukāmakṣānā-vaṇḍànāḥ bhūmita bhūmita hēlādārit-ārātigōтраḥ |
  Śauriśrī-śaniḥ Hi[mō]cīvīdharṣāra[ṛīṅga]-t[ula-yān ] | [śubhrā?]gra[vinyasta]a-
  kān charapaṇa-trivikramā-kṛteḥ stambhāk-ākṛteḥ vṛtā vaphū
tēśāṃ[ṛā]-
24 syājīgāya raṇa-mūrdhāṇi rāja-lakṣaṃhi ||[24]∗|| 8 Āchikaraṇa-dēvaknlāṇaḥ sa
  Śauriśrī-śaniḥ Hi[mō]cīvīdharṣāra[ṛīṅga]-t[ula-yān ] | [śubhrā?]gra[vinyasta]a-
  kān charapaṇa-trivikramā-kṛteḥ stambhāk-ākṛteḥ vṛtā vaphū
tēśāṃ[ṛā]-
  puraś-tāḍaś[ṛa] ṃ[ṛa] | tēma stambhāḥ samutābhēta ēṣa rājāḥ ||[26]∗|| 7 Viśhūṭa
  kān charapaṇa-trivikramā-kṛteḥ stambhāk-ākṛteḥ vṛtā vaphū
26 t-phaṇḍindra-ripuṇā Śeṣāḥ-thāvā prōdbhṛtāḥ | itthāṃ bhūri vi[chārā]yaḥbhiḥ-
  amarair-ālōkya ni[śchī]yaḥ ivaḥ-stambhāḥ śuddhāsilāṃyahi
  [Kah ṭ] i | o | o | o
27 iti yāḥ sarvavadharmm-ādhikāri hēmabhāḥ satyavādaḥ Parava[ba]la-nirapatār-
  Vainātēy-ōpalakṣhyaḥ stambhāḥ samutābhitēt-ārāc
  [upaha ṭ] |
28 [sita ṭ] yugāḥ stambhāḥ uttaṁbhī-yaḥ ||[26]∗|| 11 Prakrīṣṭha-varṇāḥ o o o o
  rachitā prabhāṣṭir-mmūktāphalālī-śṛyām-ātāntō ||[29]∗|| 11 Prav[ṛtā]
  nādurjāna[hṛdiyā] | [prabhāṣṭir-māṁḍhāraya]prabhāṣṭir-ṣapta-sam{nō]h[ra]-ruchirā
  suraṁ-īvābhātī śṛṣṭikavimālambāh-bhī[liktēt] ||[30]∗||
30 Uttarāḍa śūtraṭhārīc Pāhilā śāhīnta sṛṣṭa-kṣaṭhāḥ | chitrānṛg[avvy a]gra-varṇāḥ
cēta[ba]ḥ Lakṣmī sthit-ōraṣṭhaḥ dōhārdhdha Gīrī[śasya]

1 Metre: Deutuvālambita. 3 Metre: Upājīti.
2 Metre: Śākṣā (Aṃhūṭthuḥ).—Instead of viśhūṭhēbhyaḥ I should have expected the accusative viśhūṭa,
but this would not have suited the metre.
4 Metre: Māṅla.—I am somewhat doubtful about the correctness of the first Pāda, and I miss a relative
pronoun in the verse.
5 Metre: Viśhūṭa.
6 Metre: Vasantaśilaka.
7 Metre: Of verses 25 and 26: Upājīti.
8 Originally dhamjaḍāri was engraved, but the sign for i has been struck out or altered to a. I am not sure
about the exact meaning of the first half of the verse.
9 Metre: Śārdūlavārīkāṇa. 7 Metre: Śrīgīrā.
10 Compare Śītāpadavākā I II. 78, utvaṇgā-taraṇgaṇādāv.
11 Metre: Upājīti. 12 Metre: Śīkharīgī. 13 Metre: Śākṣā (Aṃhūṭthuḥ). I am doubtful about the second half of this verse.
14 Metre: Śārdūlavārīkāṇa.
Abridged Translation.

(Verse 5.) There was formerly a king whose hands were marked with auspicious discs, who was endowed with fortune, and who, harassing haughty foes and powerful adversaries, was the support of the earth; who with his arm overthrew princes, who warded off hell and destroyed huge elephants, and who, although thus like Karna's enemy (Krishna) whose hand bears a choice disc, who is united with Lakshmi, who harassed haughty foes and powerful adversaries, and supported the earth; who lifted up with his arms the mountain (Góvardhana), slew (the demon) Naraka, and destroyed (Karna's) huge elephant, did not bear Krishna's body—the glorious Jójja, praised by the noble.

(V. 6.) While he was king this glorious Rāshtrakūṭa family was prosperous, a family in which there is pleasing progeny, which is without blemish, noble, large, and free from trouble being like the bamboo, which has pleasing shoots, is free from flaws, high, broad, and without thorns.

(V. 7.) His elder brother, having defeated in battle thousands of Karna soldiers whose might was increased by arrays of enormous elephants, obtained the broad Lāța kingdom.

(V. 11.) Jójja's son was the glorious Karkarāja, who, . . . (causing) the destruction of the forces of adversaries, acquired fame in battle; who removed trouble [and was therefore] like (Yudhishthira) the foremost of Pritha's sons [who annihilated Śalya]; and whose armies were terrible in chastising the forces of enemies difficult to be chastised [so that he was like Bālmacena subduing the strength of his enemy Dhūśāsana].

(V. 14.) In a battle which was terrible by the collision with the multitude of the close arrays of the furious elephants of the irresistible enemy, where warriors rejoiced and the circuit of the regions was hidden by the dust from the hoofs of horses, where rows of pālīdhūaja banners were fluttering and the crowd of feudatories was inundated with streams of blood issuing from wounds, he at . . . caused Nágávalōka quickly to turn back.

(V. 15.) The blade of his sword, with rows of spotless teeth formed on it by the mass of pearls that were shed by the frontal globes of the choice elephants of the irresistible adversary, exultingly laughs as it were in the devastated home of king Nágávalōka.

1 Read sabhānt.
2 Denoted by a symbol.
3 On the second part of the inscription, lines 32-33, see above, p. 246.
4 I consider it sufficient to translate here those verses of the original text only which refer to historical events. The other verses will interest Sanskrit scholars only, to whom they will present no more difficulties than any ordinary classical text. A brief summary of the contents of the inscription has been given above.
5 In the case of the king the words tuṅga-dvipa might possibly have to be translated by "the elephants of (king) Tuṅga," where the name Tuṅga would perhaps have reference to one of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkāhā who had bhūras ending in tuṅga (Sāhasrāṅgā, Subhātāṅgā, Jagattāṅgā, etc.).
6 For the figure wīrdā or wīrdhātā, 'seeming contradiction,' used here by the poet, see above Vol. VI. p. 246, note 13.
7 The original has 'his (i.e. Jójja's) son.'
8 The word Bālmacenas is similarly used in a double sense, e.g. in the Pāñcatāntarpā, p. 122, l. 5.
9 For this word which occurs also in verse 24, see e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 170 and Vol. VII. p. 227.
10 Here the original probably has the name of a place containing four syllables and ending with lavana or lavana.
11 Compare in Journ. Bo. As. Soc. Vol. X. p. 107, l. 6; nistriṃśatārāvidalalat-karimbhus-mukta-
mukāḍamukāṣṭhaprakaraḥ; also e.g. Śākapālavartha V. 12.
(V. 18.) Now his son Parabala rules here the land, he who has discarded addiction to sin and is therefore like the sun which has severed its connection with the night; who is born of pure body and is versed in all arts, and is therefore like the moon when she has risen with a bright form and with all her digits; who, terrible in cutting up the forces of adversaries, is gentle-looking, and full of prowess.

(V. 24.) At the head of battle the fortune of royalty—her garland of pearls covered with the blood streaming from the temples of elephants that were split by the round-pointed shafts of her strong bow drawn with a twang of the string, and with rows of arrows resting on her creeper-like arms—conquered for him pulikavaja banners.

(V. 25.) He caused to be built this temple of Sauri, resembling the peak of the mountain of snow, the white flag on the bright top of which bears the lustre of the river of the gods.

(V. 26.) And like the pillar which was formerly (erected?) on the mountain of Garuda-praja(?), exactly so was this large Garuda-banneled pillar caused to be erected by that king before (the temple of) Hari.

(V. 27.) Repeatedly deliberating whether this is Vishnu’s foot making three strides, or the body of Shiva shaped like a post, or (the serpent) Śesha pulled out of a hole in the ground by the enemy of the serpent-king, the gods on viewing it find out that it is a pillar of pure stone proclaiming the fame of king Parabala.

(V. 28.) His prime minister was [Kah?]i . . . , administrator of all laws, bright like gold and true of speech, to be saluted with (bowing of) the head by king Parabala. He set up before (the temple of) the destroyer of Madhu this Garuda-marked pillar, which with its stone arm raised aloft defies all ages—a pillar of him who has paralyzed his foes.

(Line 31.) The year 917, Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra.

No. 35.—ANMAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF PROLA;
The Chalukya-Vikrama year Forty-Two,
By H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

On a hillock to the south of Hanumkonda (Anmakonda) near Warangal in the Nizam’s State, stands the small temple of Padmākshi which, unlike other buildings attributable to the Kākatiya period, is devoid of any architectural pretensions. The rock close to which the temple stands, bears on a portion of its dressed surface, sculptures of

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1 I.e. Vishnu.
2 I am not sure about the meaning of these words, the text of which is doubtful in the original. Garuda-
3 hrudardhi might be equivalent to Krişna-sīri.
4 I.e. Śiva.
5 These words clearly indicate that there was a figure of Garuda on the top of the pillar.
6 I.e. Vishnu.
7 In my opinion, this might refer either to the king or to the god Vishnu.
8 This is the form given in Mr. Cousens’ Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam’s Territories, p. 46.
9 The thousand-pillared temple in the middle of the village of Anmakonda was built by Prada’s son Rudra in or about A.D. 1162-63 (Ind. Antiq. Vol. XI. p. 9 f.) and contains some excellently sculptured door-posts. The four gateways which now stand in the open air at Warangal might have belonged to the palace of the Kākatiya kings at that place (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1901-2, p. 4). Mr. Cousens, however, thinks that the gateways must have belonged to a great temple in the centre of Warangal (Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the
some Jaina images seated in a row. In front of the temple is an inscribed quadrangular pillar of black granite bearing in relief within a countersunk square, at the top of each of its four faces, the figure of a squatting Jaina ascetic with his arms folded over his lap crosswise. On the east face of the pillar this figure is flanked by a cow and calf on one side and a dagger and shield (?) on the other. The north face of the pillar bears representations of the sun and moon on the right and left sides, respectively, of the squatting Jaina figure. From these sculptures and from the inscription on the pillar, which is published below, it appears that the Padmākshi temple was originally dedicated to the Jaina goddess Kadālalāya and that the pillar was set up there by the lady who built the basadi (Jaina temple). At present the Brähmanas of Ammakoḍa, who have somehow got possession of the temple, worship the goddess in it under the name Padmākshi, which they believe to be synonymous with Durgā.

It is not clear how or when the ownership of the temple passed from the Jainas to the Brähmanas.

Ammakoḍa, or, as it is called in the subjoined inscription, Ammankudā (I. 16) or Ammakanđe (I. 75), was originally the capital of the Kākatya kings and was situated in the Andhra country. The neighbouring town of Warangal (Orungallu in Telugu or Ėkašilānagara in Sanskrit) became the seat of government about the end of Gaṇapati's reign and continued as such until the collapse of the Kākatya family. Ammakoḍa and Warangal are now stations.

Nizam's Territories, p. 47). The temples near the Rāmpapp Lake in the Warangal district are (ibid. p. 49) of the same type as the great temple at Hanumakonda, but more profusely sculptured. The principal temple of this group appears to have been built in A.D. 1213-14 by Rudra of Rācharla, who was a dependant of the Kākatya king Gaṇapati. The village Uparalle in the Yelgandha district is also reported to contain some ruined temples attributable to the Kākatya period (ibid. p. 74). The vihāra of the Tripurānukūṭaśvara temple at Tripurānukūṭa in the Kurnool district was constructed in A.D. 1254-55 under the orders of the Kākatya king Gaṇapati (Epigraphical collection for 1905, No. 169). The Padmākshi temple at Ammakoḍa is the earliest known structural monument of the Kākatya period and this may account for its being plain and devoid of the display of art which is quite characteristic of the later structures of the dynasty.

Jaina remains are mostly to be seen in the western portion of the Nizam's Dominions, which borders on the Bombay Presidency. Ammakoḍa is almost on the eastern border; see the map accompanying Mr. Census' Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories.

Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1901-2, paragraph 7. The goddess Padmākshi to whom the temple is dedicated must be one of the twenty-four Śādānaddēs of the Jaina mythology. Ambā or Ambikā, the Śādānaddē of the 22nd Tirthankara Nāmikātha, is supposed to be a form of Durgā. Padmāvati was the Śādānaddē of Pārvānatī (Dr. Burgess' Archæol. Sars. of Western India, Vol. V. p. 45 f. and p. 46, note 2). It might, therefore, be supposed that the goddess consecrated by Mailama in the basadi at Ammakoḍa was either Ambikā or Padmāvati—called, in Kanarese, Kadālalāya, the meaning of which I have not been able to trace.

Above, Vol. III., p. 82, and footnote 4.

The Gaṇapatiyaśrama inscription of the time of Gaṇapati states (v. 9) that Rudra, son of Prōla, destroyed many towns and founded quarters named in these towns in the city of Orungallu and peopled them with their respective inhabitants; while in the devastated towns he built celebrated temples of Rudrasvāra and settled fresh inhabitants. If there be any truth in this statement, it may be inferred that Warangal, which was already an important city (see I. 95 of the subjoined inscription also), was greatly improved by Rudra, existence as an important city (see above, p. 236, note 8) is said to have put to flight king Nāgati Rācharla Rudra, a general of Gaṇapati (see above, p. 236, note 9) is said to have put to flight king Nāgati. The temple of Rudrasvāra at the city of Orungallu (Warangal)—perhaps after his own name, was thus improved by the Kākatya king Rudra, appears to have occupied only a subordinate position. In the time of Prōla, Rudra and Gaṇapati, while Ammakoḍa was the capital. No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905-06 which belongs to the time of Rudra and is dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 1107, Viśvāvasu (= A.D. 1185-86) states that the māóriaśrama Kākatya Rudradēva-Mahārāja was "the lord of all the temples, the best of towns," Nos. 199 and 223 of the same collection belong to Gaṇapati and are dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 1174, Pariśvāvī (= A.D. 1253-54). The former refers to Gaṇapati as "the lord of all the temples, the best of towns." In Śaka-Saṅvat 1175 Gaṇapati still called himself the lord of Ammakoḍa (Mr. Butterworth's Nāllās Inscriptions, O. 28). But No. 231 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905, dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 1176, Anurāhā, distinctly states that Gaṇapati was ruling with Orungallu as his capital. Whether his successor Rudrasvāra (or, as she is called in inscriptions, Rudradēva-Mahārāja) reigned from the newly established capital Orungallu or not, it is difficult to say. Her successor Prataparudra ruled over almost the whole of the Telugu country and portions even of the Tami country from his throne at Orungallu. He is generally known as Orungasī Prataparudrasīva, i.e. Prataparudrasīva of Orungallu.
on the Hyderabad-Bezvada section of the Nizam's State Railway and seem to have been included about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. in the district of Sabbi-sāyira 'the Sabbi one thousand,' which formed part of the Western Chālukya empire, and to have been conferred by Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI. on his feudatory the Kākatiya chief Tribhuvanamalla-Bēta.  

Sabbi-sāyira is not mentioned in other published records and, consequently, its extent cannot be defined until more lithic records from that part of the Nizam's Dominions are published.

The subjoined inscription3 engraved on the four faces of the pillar above referred to, is written in bold and clear Kanarese characters of the twelfth century A.D. The written surface measures roughly in breadth 1' 3½" on the east and west faces and 1' 2½" on the north and south faces, while in height it is 3' 6½", 3' 5½", 3' 7½", and 3' 3½" respectively, on the east, north, west and south faces. The sculptures which the four faces of the pillar bear have been noted already. Verse 1, which contains the invocation, and the imperative verses (11 and 12) are in the Sanskrit language. Lines 89 to 91 contain an incomplete Sanskrit verse which is evidently meant to be a quotation. The rest of the inscription is in Kanaresse prose (ll. 6 to 24, 70 to 88, 91 to 99, and 111 and 112) and poetry (verses 2 to 10). The writing calls for very few remarks. The amūvāra is sometimes, as in ancient records, written at the top of the right side of the letter (ll. 1, 3, and 4), and sometimes, as at present, written on the right side of the letter (ll. 86, 88, 100 and 102). The virīma occurs once in l. 62 where it is marked by a wavy vertical line added to the top of the letter. The e-sign, which is almost similar in form to the virīma, is also attached to the top of the letter, but is horizontal. In II. 40 and 55, however, the e of de in the word perygato and e of ye in the word hridayévarī, are marked differently by a curved line attached to the left bottom corner of the letter and drawn horizontally to its right. In other cases this sign along with the e-sign first described, marks the ai-sign. An attempt is made to distinguish the long i from the short i but it is not throughout kept up. Among consonants it may be noted, that the length of the horizontal stroke in the middle, which in the case of pa ought to be shorter than in that of sha, is in some instances lengthened so far as to make pa look almost like sha. The forms krimd for kramd in l. 20 and yejāa for yajāa in l. 103 are due to the peculiarities of Kanarese pronunciation.

The record begins with an invocation addressed to the feet of Jīnendrā (v. 1) and refers in II. 6 to 28 to the reign of the mahārājādhirāja, paramādīvara and paramabhattāraka, the [Western] Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalladēva [Vikramāditya VI.] and his feudatory the mahāmanḍalēvara Kākati Bēta (l. 19), who had acquired the five great sounds (paśchamadātaba) and who was the lord of Anakundā (l. 16), the best of towns. The hereditary minister of Kākati Bētaras (l. 30) was the daṇḍādīnāṭha Vaiya (v. 2). Verse 3 states that Vaiya brought his master the maṇḍalika Kākati Bēta (ll. 32 and 37) to the feet of the Chajukya (l. 33) emperor(4) (chakrīn) (via. Vikramāditya VI.) and made him rule the district of

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1 See verse 3 below.
2 Sabbi or Chelbbi thirty, a small district over which the Western Gaṅga king Paśchadalēva was ruling in A.D. 971, and which took its name from the village of Chobl or Chabbī in the Hubli taluka of the Dhawar district (Dr. Fleet's Kanarese Dynasties, p. 397) seems to be different from the Sabbi-sāyira district which was ruled by the Kākatiya chief Bēta.
3 No. 106 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902. Mr. Consonn refers to this as No. 4 of the inscriptions at Hanumkondē and Warangal (Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories, p. 48).
4 In footnote 7 on p. 91 of Vol. VI. above, Professor Lüders propounds the propriety of the title chakrīn (chakravarthi) as applied to Vikramāditya VI. in an inscription at Srvana-Belgola, dated in Saka-Samvat 1081. He presumes that the title chakrīn is based on the analogy of the epithets caṇḍyachakravarthi, pratdcaṇḍyachakravarthi and Chālukyachakravarthi assumed respectively by three of Vikramāditya's successors, viz. Sūnedēvarī III., Jagdēkamalla II. and Tāla III. The title Chajukya-chakrīn applied to Vikramāditya VI. in the subjoined inscription leaves no doubt that this imperial biruda originated with him;
Sabb[a]yira (l. 34 f.) as a feudatory of that monarch. According to verses 4 and 5 Vaija's son by Yākamabbe (l. 38 f.) was the pergaḍe Bēta, who became the minister of Kākati Prōla (l. 43). The only act of this Bēta which the inscription records, is that he constructed ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his native village (v. 5). The wife of this minister Bēta—the son of Yākamambikā (l. 53 f.)—was Mālama (vv. 6, 7 and 8). Lines 70 to 87 state that she built the Kadalalaya-baesi on the top of the hill (v. 9) and that—in the Chājukya-Vikrama (l. 76) year forty-two, which corresponded to the cyclic year Hāmilamba, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti, which fell on Monday, the 15th day of the dark half of Paushya, while the king Kākatiya Pojalarasa (l. 78), son of the manḍalīka Tribhuvananamalla (l. 72) was ruling at Ammakunde (l. 75),—she gave for the benefit of that temple six mattar (l. 86) of land below the tank built and named after herself, by her husband Bēta—pergaḍe (l. 81). The pillar that bears the inscription was also set up by Mālama on the same occasion (l. 87). Lines 88 to 99 register a gift of ten mattar (l. 98 f.) of land to the same temple by the mahāmanḍalīkā Mājarasa of Ugravādi (ll. 92 to 94), a member of the family of Mādhava-vajram (l. 91) (who possessed a fabulous army) of eight thousand elephants, ten crores of horses and innumerable foot-soldiers. The land which Mājarasa granted was situated below the Kūchikere tank, which belonged to Orungallu (l. 95). This town was under the control of Mājarasa at the time of the grant. Lines 111 to 112 record the assignment of a pāga (hāga) coin to the temple sweeper Bōya-Padda, to be paid, apparently from the proceeds of either of the two grants mentioned above.

The late Professor Kisshorn kindly contributed the following remarks on the date of the inscription:—Ch. V. 42 = Ś. 1039 exp. = Hāmilamba. The date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 24th December A.D. 1117. On this day the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place 14 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise, during the 15th tithi of the dark half of Pausha, which commenced 0 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 0 h. 13 m. before mean sunrise of the following day.

Seven inscriptions of the Kākatiya dynasty have been published so far. The earliest of these belongs to the time of Ananda, 5 five to that of Gaṣapatī, 1 and one to that of Pratāparudra. The first of these and the Kānchi inscription of Gaṣapatī 2 supplement one another in supplying the full name of the first historical person of the Kākatiya dynasty, viz. Tribhuvananamalla Beṣma. The Chēbrōlu inscription of Gaṣapatī 3 and the subjoined inscription give, instead of Beṣma, the form Bēta. The former of these two records and the unpublished Pākhāl inscription of about the time of Gaṣapatī 4 mention a certain Durjaya in the Kākatiya ancestry—the one, as the father of Bēta and the other as the father of Prōla. The Pākhāl inscription further states that

chakrā is also used in the sense of 'provincial chief;' above, Vol. IV., p. 96.

1 This tank is, perhaps, to be identified with the one at the foot of the hillock on which the Padmākāhī temple is situated.

2 Nos. 24 to 259 and No. 1066 of Appendix to Vol. VII. above.

3 This is his Anakondā inscription of Sāka-Saṅvat 1084, published in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI. pp. 9 ff.

4 An unpublished record at Tripārāntakam in the Kurnool district (No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) gives him the date Sāka-Saṅvat 1107. The initial date of the next king Gaṣapatī being now fixed at Sāka-Saṅvat 1121 (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II., paragraph 43) it follows that Rudra must have ruled from at least Sāka 1084 to 1121. However, the events recorded in the Anakondā inscription of Rudra presume a much earlier date for his accession than Sāka 1084.

5 These range in date between Sāka 1135 and Sāka 1172. The earliest inscription of Gaṣapatī found at Tripārāntakam is dated in Sāka-Saṅvat 1131 which was probably his 10th year. He must have been ruling the country round Bevāṛā already in Sāka 1123; see below, p. 322, note 2.


7 No. 82 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902-03. This is not dated, but records the construction of the (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummadji, son of Bayanna-Nyāka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṣapatī. One is (Pākhāl) tank by Jagadāla-M...
Karikāla-Chōja of the solar race was one of the predecessors of Durjaya. The Kāñchi epigraph quoted above, which also traces the Kākatiyas, as the Chēbrōlu and the Pākhāl inscriptions do, to the Sun, Manu, Ikshvākku, and other mythical kings of the Raghu family, does not give the names of either Karikāla-Chōja or of Durjaya. The appearance of these two names in the Kākatiya genealogy is at present difficult to explain satisfactorily. But two facts which may be of some use in this connection have to be registered before passing on to the historical portion of the genealogy. As regards the mention of the mythical king Karikāla-Chōja as an ancestor of the Kākatiyas, attention may be drawn to the fact that the Telugu-Chōdas who invariably claim connection with this mythical Chōla king, became feudatories of the Kākatiyas in the time of Gaṇapati.1 With regard to Durjaya, the name occurs among the ancestors of two of the contemporary local families of the Telugu country.2 The first historical ancestor of the Kākatiya family was Tribhuvanamallu-Bēta. He appears to have been a powerful chief who held sway over some portions of the Andhra country before he became a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas and the governor of the Sabhi one thousand district. The surname Tribhuvanamalla which occurs here as well as in the Kāñchi and Anmaikoḍḍa inscriptions, was probably borrowed from his overlord Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI.

Bēta’s son and successor was Prōla, Prōlerāja, Prōḍāraja or Pojalarana, whose surname Jagatikāsanar is known to us from the Kāñchi inscription of his grandson Gaṇapati. The importance of the subjoined epigraph consists in its being the earliest Kākatiya record and the only one of Prōla found so far. Like his father Bēta, Prōla appears to have continued as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI.3 The Anmaikoḍḍa inscription of his son4 Rudra and the Gaṇapāvaram record of his grandson Gaṇapati, mention in detail the military exploits of Prōla. These have been fully discussed by Dr. Fleet and Professor Hultzsch.5 One of the opponents of Prōla was Tailapadēva called “the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas” in the Anmaikoḍḍa inscription. Dr. Fleet has identified him with the Western Chālukya king Taila III. (A.D. 1150-51 to 1162-63). This implies a pretty long reign for Prōla from at least the Chālukya-Vikrama year 42 (= A.D. 1117), the date of the present record, to at least A.D. 1150-51, the first year of Taila III., unless we suppose that Prōla fought with Taila while the latter was yet a prince.6 That Rudra, son of Prōla, successfully averted a usurpation of the Chālukya throne after the death of Taila III., by a certain Bhima

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1 See Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900, p. 18, Genealogical Table of the Chōjas of the Telugu country, remarks under Upilisădhi II and paragraph 58.
2 The Kōṇḍapaṇḍati chief Buddhāraja and the mahāmāndalāvāra Nambaya—two petty chieftains of the Telugu country on the southern side of the Kṛṣṇā river—bore the surname ‘the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family’ (above, Vol. VI. p. 265 and footnote 6, and p. 269). We know from Telugu records that a family of chiefs known by the name Chāgi was contemporaneous with the Kōṇḍapaṇḍati. Nos. 253 and 271 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897 give two or three names in the ancestry of this family and call it the Durjaya-kula born from the feet of Vaiṣṇava. No. 256 of the same collection, which is dated in Śaka-Saṅvatsara 1148 and which belongs to the time of Chāgi Gaṇapaya-Mahārāja who was probably a member of this Chāgi Durjaya-kula, quotes a verse at the beginning in praise of the king which is almost identical with verse 7 of the Yenamadala inscription describing the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati (above, Vol. III. p. 97 f., text II. 31 to 36). Unfortunately the inscription is seriously damaged; otherwise, it might, perhaps, have been possible to prove that the local chiefs of the Chāgi Durjaya-kula were borrowing from the royal Kākatiya family of Warangal not only names, but sometimes even the description of the members of its family.
3 This may be inferred from the use of the Chālukya-Vikrama era in the date portion of the subjoined record.
4 The Pākhāl inscription referred to above, states that Rudra was born in the family of Prōla, which is quite against the testimony of other Kākatiya inscriptions.
6 The second alternative seems to be the more probable one, for Prōla is actually stated to have captured Tālla in battle and to have released him out of ‘loyalty and love’ (bhāktya-durāgaṇā). This may imply the existence of a sovereign on the Chālukya throne different from Taila. Chālukya-chāhānaṇi seems to have been a title of Western Chālukya princes who, before succeeding to the throne, generally served as governors of provinces.
whose capital was at Vardhamanagari, shows the extent of the power wielded by this feudatory family in the last days of the Chālukyas. Prōla's other enemies referred to in the Anmakonda inscription were Jagaddēva, Gōvinda (or Gōvindandēsa, as he is called in the Ganapēsāram inscription), Gunda and Udaya or Chōdōdaya. Jagaddēva has been identified with Tribhuvanamalla Jagaddēva, the Sāntara chief of Paṭṭi-Pombauchhapura, who was a feudatory, first of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. and then of his grandson Jagadēkamalla II. He must have "stool encompassing the city of Anmakonda" on behalf of the Chālukya emperor in order to avenge himself upon Prōla, who, it may be supposed, was trying to throw off his allegiance to the Chālukyas. It was, probably, as the first step in this direction, that Prōla inflicted the defeat on prince Taila III. as stated above. Indeed, Prōla appears to have extended his military operations into the modern Kistna district as well. For, the next opponent of his was Gunda, the lord of the city of Mantana or Mantrakūṭa which is probably identical with the village of Mantana in the Naxvid Zamindari of the Godavari district. Gōvinda or Gōvindandēsa, I would identify with the Gōvindakatya of the Ablīr inscriptions, who was the nephew of Anantapāla, the general of Vikramāditya VI.—and with the dandāyaka Gōvindarana, who in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, corresponding to A.D. 1126-27 was ruling the Kondapalli three hundred district according to an unpublished inscription at Tripurāntakam. Here we are told that this dandāyaka Gōvindarana "burnt Bhūgipura (Vēndi?)" and conquered Gōkana. This Gōkana is apparently identical with the Velanāṇḍu chief Gōkana II. father of Bājendra-Chōda, Udaya or Chōdōdaya, whom Prōla first defeated and then reinstated in his dominions, is according to Professor Hultzsch perhaps "to be connected with Kūlōttunga-Chōda-Gōkana.

Vira Nolamba Pallava Permāṇaṭi Jayataṅgadēva, younger brother of Tribhuwanunalla-Vikramāditya VI, had such a biruda. Perhaps Taila's defeat by Prōla took place while the former was yet a prince, somewhere in the latter part of the reign of Jagadēkamalla II. \(^1\) *Jat. Jat. Vol. XI. p. 11.* Vardhamanagari is said to have been burnt by Rudra after marching 'a few steps' from his capital Anmakonda. \(^1\) Ir. Fleet suggests, accordingly, that it should be looked for somewhere in the Nizam's dominions not far from Anmakonda. There are two places with either of which Vardhamanagari may be identified. One is Varthana, about 20 miles south-west of Anmakonda and the other is Waddamarri, about 60 miles south-west of Anmakonda in the direction of Kalī. A later chief of Vardhamanagari is mentioned in an inscription engraved on the fort wall at Bīlān, as a feudatory of Pratēparāda. The record is dated in A.D. 1294 which is the earliest date for Pratēparāda derived from inscriptions. \(^1\) *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-07, Part II., paragraph 44.* I quote this from a brief note on the inscription made by the Officer in charge of Archaeological Researches in Myoro in his Annual Report for the year ending 30th June 1907, paragraph 55.

\(^1\) There is a place called Mantana in the Telagand or the Nizam's State which is about 60 miles north of Anmakonda.

\(^2\) Above, Vol. V. p. 213 ff.

\(^3\) No. 238 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.

\(^4\) *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06, paragraph 40.*

\(^5\) Above, Vol. IV. p. 55. On p. 38 of the same volume, Professor Hultzsch refers to the birtha Chālukya-raja-bharana-mallastambhā of Gōkana II. and states that he was a tributary to one of the two branches of the Chālukya dynasty. I think that, in spite of the fact that the Velanāṇḍu chiefs became the feudatories of the Chālukya dynasty, Western Chālukyas subsequent to the death of Kūlōttunga-Chōda I. (ibid. p. 37), the title borne by Gōkana II. was a formal hereditary title and did refer only to the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. No. 227 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district records a gift by Vēnaṭi-Gōkana in Saka-Sarvavat 1028 (≈A.D. 1106-07). This Gōkana is identical with Gōkana I. in the Genealogical Table of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs. The inscription states that he bore the title Chālukya-raja-bharana-mallastambha, but does not mention the overlord to whom he was subordinate. No. 151 of 1897, however, which is dated in Saka-Sarvavat 998, the cyclic year Nalā, corresponding to the 7th year of Vishvavardhana-Mahārāja [Kūlōttunga-Chōda I.] registers a grant by Velanāṇḍi-Gōkana, (i.e. Gōkana I.), the commander of all forces (namastā-dvīdhipati) of the king. This shews that the title Chālukya-raja-bharana-mallastambha assumed by Gōkana I. when he had become more or less independent in the Telugu country, meant that he was a supporter of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom. We also learn from No. 151 of 1897 that Gōkana I. was the son of Gōndāmbhāt. He was a tritāṭtātra-sahasanāt-adhikāra 'the lord of the one thousand and three hundred country' (No. 277 of 1905), while his grandson Gōkana II. was a tritāṭtātra-sahasanāt-adhikāra 'the lord of the six thousand and three hundred country' (No. 274 of 1893),
of Velanāṇḍu. Thus Prāla, who, in his early career, was a Chālukya feudatory, appears to have gradually grown powerful and to have thrown off the imperial yoke in the latter part of the reiga of the Western Chālukya king Jagadekamalla II., preparing, thereby, the way for Rudra's extensive conquests, which according to the Annakonḍa inscription, reached in the east to the shore of the salt sea and in the south as far as Śrīśaila.

The other facts mentioned in the subjoined inscription do not call for any remarks. Mējarasa of Ugravāḍi who belonged to the family of Mādhavavarman, is not known from other inscriptions. A feudatory family of the time of the Vijayanagara king Krishnapāya, whose members claim to have been lords of Bészvāḍa and were ruling a portion of the Udyan-giri-rāja, traces its origin to a certain Mādhavavarman of the Solar race and the Vaiśikha-gōta. It is doubtful if this Mādhavavarman could be connected with the mythical Mādhavavarman referred to in the subjoined inscription as an ancestor of Mējarasa of Ugravāḍi.

TEXT.

East Face.

1 Śrīmāj-Jinēndra-pada-padmapa-
2 sēṣa-havyān-savyāt-trilōka-nra-
3 patīndra-munīndra-vandyaṁ | niḥ-
4 śēṣa-dōsha-parīkhaṇḍama-chānda-kā-
5 udāma ratna-traya-prabhavam-udgha-

1 Above, Vol. III. p. 83. If this surmise of Professor Hultzsch is granted, Chōḍḍolaya may be identified with the Velanāṇḍu chief Kulaṭūṅga-Chōḍa-Goṅka III (No. 17 of the Genealogical Table of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs on p. 35 of above, Vol. IV.), whose inscriptions range between A.D. 1138 and A.D. 1157. And the word Chōḍḍolaya, which literally means ' (one who is) born of Chōḍa' may very aptly be applied to Kulōtaṅga-Chōḍa-Goṅka III., whose father Velanāṇḍu-Bajēndra-Chōḍa is called Chōḍa of Velanāṇḍu in one of his inscriptions at Paḷakōli, dated in A.D. 1136 (No. 524 of the Epigraphical collection for 1893) and is referred to as king Chōḍi in an inscription at Niǰubollu, dated in A.D. 1132 (No. 163 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897, text line 27 f.), and probably also in the Goṅpāvaṁ inscription as king Chōḍi, the overlord of the Ayya chief Nārāyaṇa I, who was the grandfather of Jayaṇa, the general of Goṅpāvi. This identification of Chōḍḍolaya with Goṅka III., whose latest date as stated above, is A.D. 1157; if correct, would render probable the statement made in the Annakonḍa inscription that Chōḍḍolaya died out of fear of Prāla’s successor Rudra, who burnt his city.

2 This is no boast so far as the southern boundary of Rudra’s dominions is concerned. The existence of an inscription of his time at Trīpurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No. 237 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) clearly shows that the actual southern boundary of his kingdom extended even beyond Śrīśaila. Rudra appears to have strengthened his position in the Teungu country by a political intermarriage in the race of Kandūrāla-Chōḍa (above, Vol. III. p. 83). Goṅpāvi did likewise by taking to wives Nārāmā and Pērmā, the two sisters of his general Jayaṇa (ibid. p. 84). A Tripūrantakam inscription (No. 206 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) states that Goṅpāvi’s sister Mālāmā married Vakkaṇḍalla Rudra, the second son of Buddha ‘lord of Nātavāḍi-vishaya.’ The same relationship is established by an inscription at Bészvāḍa which is dated in Śaka-Saṅvat 1123 (above, Vol. VI. p. 150, text line 8) where Nātavāḍi Rudra (not his father Buddha as Professor Hultzsch takes it) is called the maṃadī ‘brother-in-law’ of Goṅpāvi. Goṅpāvi’s daughter Goṅpāmbi was given in marriage to the Kōṭa chief Bēta of Amārāvati (above, Vol. III. p. 94). The Kōṭa chief Bēta II., whose mother Sambāi was the sister of the Velanāṇḍu chief Goṅka III. (above, Vol. VI. p. 148), had five queens who were selected from the several petty families which at that time appear to have divided among themselves the country south of the Krishnā river. Two unpublished inscriptions from Amārāvati in the Guntur district (Nos. 262 and 263 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897) give the names of these five queens as Viśjāma of the family of the chief of Oṅgūnirāma (perhaps identical with Oṅgūneraṁa over which Nambara of the Durgāya family was ruling; see above, Vol. VI. p. 324); Sambāi of the family ruling the country “to the west of the hill,” i.e. the Koḍaṇḍapuṇā; Pāravati of the family of the chief of Koḍa-Kaṅṭiravāki; Nāgama of the family of the chiefs of Kākati and Komaram, another princess of the Koḍaṇḍapuṇā family. It is doubtful if the Kākati family here mentioned has to be connected with the Kākatiyas of Warangal or if it has to be distinguished as a purely local family which adopted the name Kākati in consequence of its relationship with the Kākatiyas either directly or indirectly.


4 From two ink-impressions prepared by me in 1902.
Anmakonda inscription of Prola. — Chalukya Vikrama 42.

East face.

North face.

Sten Konow.

Scale 15

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.
gun-aikaśānam || [1*] Svasti samasta-
7 bhuvanāśraya śṛi-pri(pri)i-thvivallabha
8 mahārājādhirājya paramēšvara
9 paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāśraya-ku-
10 la-tilakāṁ Chāḷuky-abharaṇaṁ śrīma-
11 t-Tribhuvanamalladēvare vijaya-rā-
12 jyam-uttar-ottar-ābhivriddhī-pravarddh-
13 mānam-ā-chandr-ārkka-tāraṁ salutta-
14 m-ire [1*] Tat-pādāpadm-ōpajīvi samadhi-
15 gatapāṇchamahāsabda mahāmaṁ[da]-
16 lēśvaran-Anmakunda-puravar-ēśvaram
17 parama-Mahēśvaram pāti-hita-cha-
18 ritaṁ vin[a]-vibhulapaṇaṁ śrīma-
19 n-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara[m] Kākati-Bēta-[bhû]-
20 pāla-kula-kri(kra)māgataṁ tadiya-rā-
21 jya-bhara-nirūpita-mahāmātya-ja-
22 davi-virājamāna māṇ-ōmnata pra-
23 bhu-maṁtr-ō[t]āhā-śakti-traya-sam-
25 māntanada mahimeyin chāru-chāri-
26 tradiṁ[di-o]piṇa telpin sat-kālā-kanṣa-
27 ladi[n-o]david-āśchariya-[ṣaʊ]m-

North Faces.
28 dāryāvadiṁda-[a]ṛtthi)nikāya-prārtthit-āṛttha-
29 [pṛa]da-vitaraṇa-[vi]khyaṭan-ādaṁ dharitri-
30 [vi]nutam śṛi-Kākati-Bētaraśana sachi-
31 vaṁ Vaija-danūḍādhaṁtha [2*] Aganita-sauryya-
32 diṁ nagaṁ[da] Kākati-Bēta-marōḥdranaṁ jagaṁ
33 poṁga[e] Chāḷukya-chakri-chaṛaṇaṁ sale kā-
34 nisī tat-prasādadiṁ baggegoj Sābbi-sā-
35 yiraman-ālisa[di-u]gha-yaśo-
36 dhinnāthanam pogaḷadārāro maṇḍa[ji]-
37 ka-Kākati-Bētaṇa maṇtri Vaijana [3*] Ā-
38 taṅgāṁ vikasita-kahjāt-ānane Yā-
39 kambegam janjīṣidaṁ khyatam
40 dharyoḷu pṛṛgaḍe Bētāṇ maṇ-
41 tri-jana-makuṭa-chedārataṁ [4*]
42 Ātami Māṁ[di]ṟāṁ-ḍopama-
43 n-enisida śṛi-Kākati-Proḷa-bhū-
44 pa-khyat-āmātyaṁ vivēk-āgraṇī
tāka-kaḷa-śavidariṇi saха-charitra-
46 pṛtaṁ śāhitya-vidyā-nil[di] bu-
47 da[di-ha]-vibudh-brvivraṇaṁ satya-dharmm-ō-
48 pētaṁ vya-grāmādi-ṃćidanaṣ-ti-mu-
49 ddidīḥ hattu dēvālayaṁga[j]u [5*]
50 Atiṣaya-Jaina-dharmma-samay-ōcīta-
51 Śāsanaṅḍī Vihārati-sati śasi(śi)-bihba-vā[ktra]-

1 Read pogaḷa.
2 In the translation I have taken this word to be synonymous with vīṛēkhy-agṛṇi.
3 About the s here and ll. 55, 68, and 69, which Dr. Fleet thinks to be a form of the vēṛma, see above,
West Face.

56 Padadinid-ā-lulit-ālaṁaṁ barega[m-iȝu]g-ō-
57 pāṅgamanī plīndaśrīnamāṁ-g-ōchitam-āṅg-
58 nirnmiśī sura-strī-bh[ā]gya-saubhāgya-
59 samma[da]-sauṁ[da]rryaman-āyu ṽīvī
60 padedaṁ Kāiṁāta-sarījatāṁ i s[atu]-
61 ratnaman-eṇdu Mallaṁan-anār-ār-bha[ru]i(yi)sa-
62 r-llōkado) || [7*] Nuta-rūpavati kalā[va]ṁ-
63 ti rat-Rati śrī-satī Ghaṭātinak-satī Vā-
64 qī-saty-eṇdu-amāya-Bētana satiyanān
65 kāhītīy-ellam-cye yeutiisut-ırkk[ā] [n l] [8*]
66 Mūdadiniṇḍ-eṇe negaldā [Ra]m-āspade Māi-
67 lama bhaktiyind mādīsī tanag-abhyyad-
68 yakaram-agirala beṭṭada [me]gana
69 Kādaḷāya-basadiyan-essyala[ll] [9*]
70 Adarke niya-pājegāṁ dhūpā-ḍipa-[ni]vēdyā-
71 kkaṁ pūjārīg-āhā[r)a] vastraḍigalgaṁ
72 śrīmaṭ-T[r]ihuvanamsallama-maṇḍalika-bhū[pa]-
73 ka-putran-appa Kākatiya-Poḷālarasana rā-
74 jyam-ṇṛta[r]-ottar-ā[bhī]vṛi(vṛī)dhi-pravardhamānam-ā-
75 g-ṛommakundayāl-āchandrār[ka]-tārāṁ sa-
76 luttum-ire śrīmaṭ. Chaḷukya-Vikrama-v[ra]ja-
77 da nāḷvatt-emē[b]ad[da]nēya Hēmājamī-[saṁ]-
78 vatsara Paushya-bahula 15 Sōmavā-
79 rad-āṁdīn-Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti-nim-
80 ttaṁ dhārā-pūrvvakam-āgī tan[za] vallabha-appa
81 Bētana-perggade tanna pesariṇḍāṁ mādī-
82 sida kegy-śría yelag-eṇḍu
83 hās-āge-ga[1*]ulagala naḍu(ḍu)vana garhde(rdde)[ya]
84 māṭtā-ṇāḍuṁ māṭṭam-ā-kegya pa-
85 ḍu(ḍu)vana nela doṛēya temtul-eṇya
86 māṭṭā-nāḷakun karabhām m[a]tt[r]-ālu(ru)
87 māṁ koṭṭu nrisidal-i-sā[sa]na-gaṁbha ||

South Face.

88 Māṭṭam-ā ṭharmmakke tellatiy-āge[1*]
89 A[śṭaṭ] daṇ-śahasrāṇi daśā-kō-
90 tī cha vājīnām-[1*] anantaṁ pāda-saṁ-
91 ghatam-īty-ṛtip Māṭṭha[va*]vasma-
92 vāṁś-ōdhavarp-atma śrīmaṇ-maḥā-
93 maṇḍalōvāna-Ugrave[ṇa]-
94 ya Meḷaḷasaṁ tan[a]ga[ll]ke-

1 In the original the syllables ṭhātra look like ṭkhaṭa.
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) May the lotus-foot of the blessed Jinaendra, which (like the lotus) is worthy of being raised by the lords of kings and the lords of ascetics (residing) in the three worlds, whose powerful doctrine completely destroys (all) sins (just as the powerful stem of the lotus completely cures the patient of his disease), which is the origin of the ratnā-traya (as the lotus is the birthplace of gem) and which has its attention fixed on excellent virtues (gusa) only (as the stock of the lotus is made up entirely of delicate fibre), protect all Bhavyas!

(Line 6 f.) Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvana-malladeva, the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Priteivallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the front ornament of the Satyāśraya family, the jewel of the Chājurikyas, was flourishing with perpetual increase (to last) as long as the moon, sun, and stars.

(L. 14 f.) A dependent on his lotus-feet (was) the prosperous mahāmaṇḍālēvara, the chief Kākati Bēṭaraṇa who had acquired the five great sounds, (who was) a mahāmaṇḍālēvaru, the lord of Anmakunda—the best of towns, a great devotee of Mahēvara (Śiva), (one) whose actions were (directed) for the good of (his) master (and) whose ornament was modesty.

(L. 20 f.) Resplendent in (his) position as the hereditary prime minister (mahāmātya) entrusted with the administration of the kingdom of that king (i.e. Bēta), great of self-respect (and) possessing the triple qualifications of pre-eminence, counsel and energy,

(V. 2.) the dandaṭṭhā Vaij, minister of the glorious king Kākati Bēta, worshipped by (all the people) of the world for (his) liberality which bestowed desired objects on crowds

1 Dōka is a medical term and means, according to Dr. Kittel, 'black or red spots on the tongue foreboding death.' It may be that according to Indian medical science, the lotus-stem is a powerful agent in removing this dōka.
3 These are the lotus seeds which as sacred beads are worn round the neck and are called tāvatā-mañji (lotus-gems) in Kannarese.
4 Ḫa the Jain community; see Mr. Bice's Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. II, p. 99, paragraph 6.
5 The original appears to have visīyā in which case the phrase may be translated 'the jewel among the well-behaved;" but as viṣāyā-viśādēkāya is the form which generally occurs in inscriptions, I prefer to read va instead of vi.
of suppliants, for (his) surpassing beauty which amazed (those who saw him), for his high proficiency in the sciences, for (his) refined goodness, for (his) charming behaviour, for the greatness of (his) pride¹ (and) for the display of (his) dauntless heroism,—became famous.

(V. 3.) Who does not extol the minister of the maṇḍalika Kākāti Bēta, Vaija, that master of prodigious fame, who by (his) immeasurable prowess made, amidst the applause of the world, the renowned king Kākāti Bēta to successfully visit the feet of the Chājukya emperor (chakrīm), (and) to rule by the favour of that (emperor) the Sabbi (one) thousand (district) (in such a way) as to attract the attention (of the world).

(V. 4.) To him and to (his wife) the blooming lotus-faced Yākāmabbhe was born pergaṭe Bēta who, famous (as he was) in the world, was a head-jewel in the diadems of the minister-class.

(V. 5.) He (Bēta), the exalted minister of the prosperous king Kākāti-Prōla, who was counted as equal to Māṇḍhāta and Rāma, the foremost among the wise, proficient in all sciences, an admirer of good behaviour, a mine of literary lore, a celestial tree to learned men possessing truth and virtue, built, with great delight, ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his own village.

(V. 6.) The wife of the minister Bēta, the son of [Yā]kamāmbikā, (was) Mailama, whose face was (as pleasant as) the moon (and) whose lips were (red like) the bimba (fruit), the colour of whose body was praised as being fair (and her) full breasts as being golden pots, (who was) the (veritable) lady Bhāratī, a Śāsanādevī (par excellence) acceptable to the doctrines of the Jaina religion (and) decidedly, (the goddess) Lakṣāmlī (but) without (the latter’s) fickleness.

(V. 7.) Who, who in this world does not extol Mailama saying: "The lotus-born (Brahman) having produced, out of the five gems (such) as best suited the portion of the body (under creation), the (several) limbs with (their) adjuments from the feet right up to those tremulous carils, (and) having filled (them) with happiness, grace, joy (and) beauty (which he) culled from among the celestial nymphs,— (he) loved (to see) this gem of womankind (—his own creation)."

(V. 8.) The whole world would praise deservedly the wife of the minister Bēta saying: "She possesses praiseworthy beauty; she is full of luster; (she) is a Rati in dalliance; (she) is the lady Śī (i.e. Lakṣāmlī), (she) is the lady Ghaṭāntakī,² (she) is the lady Vāṇī (i.e. Sarasvatī)."

(V. 9.) The thus-praised abode of Ramā (i.e. Lakṣāmlī)— Mailama— having caused to be built with delight and devotion the resplendent Kadālāśā-vasada (temple) on the top of the hill in order that it may bring prosperity to her—

(L. 70.) for the daily worship, incense, lights (and) oblations (in the temple) (and) for food, clothing, etc., of the temple priest,—

(L. 72.) while the reign of Kākātiya Poḷalarasa, son of the glorious king, the Maṇḍalika Triṇhuvanaṃalla, was continuously prosperous and successful, at Ammakunde, (to last) as long as the moon, sun and stars,— in the forty-second year of the prosperous Chājukya-Vikrama years, corresponding to the Hemajambī-saṃvatsaṁ ; on account of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti

¹ The word saṇatana is not found in Dr. Kittel’s Kannada-English Dictionary. Perhaps it is a poetical form for saṇatana.

² The Jaina saint Akulaśika is said in the Mallihaṇṭa epigraph (above, Vol. III. p. 200) to have overcome, along with the Beṇḍhaṇa, the Buddhist goddess Tāra who had secretly descended into a pot as dwelling place. According to the Raṭāṭi-kāthā (Mr. Rice’s Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. II. p. 43) Akulaśika was helped in his disputation against the Beṇḍhaṇa by the Jaina goddess Kṣhāmāḍī and eventually kicked over the pot with his left foot and smashed it. In the present inscription Mailama is apparently compared to the goddess Kṣhāmāḍī who helped Akulaśika to smash the pot in which the goddess Tāra had taken her abode.
(which happened) on Monday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Paushya (of that year)—

(L. 80.) gave to that (temple), with libations of water, two māttar of wet land (lying) between two flat slabs below the bands of the tank built in her name by her husband Bētana-pāyage, and four māttar of black-soil land (lying) south of the pond (doṣa) on the west side of the same tank and six māttar of uncultivated land,¹ (and) set up this inscribed pillar.

(L. 88 f.) And as a (subsidiary) gift to this charity the prosperous māha-mañgala-deva Mējārasa of Ugravāḍi, who was born in the family of Mādha[va]jāraṇa, (whose army consisted) of “eight thousand elephants, eight crores of horses and endless crowds of foot (soldiers) etc.” gave one māttar of wet-land at the head of the canal below the band of Kūcikēre (tank) which belonged to Oraṇgallu (included) within his rule, (and) ten māttar of miscellaneous land close to the same (land).

(V. 10.) He that destroys this (charity) shall always incur the sin of having killed thousand tawny cows; (and) he that carefully protects it, shall ever enjoy (that) happiness (which is) acquired as the fruit of a thousand sacrifices (yajñā).

[Li. 104 to 110 contain two of the usual imprecatory verses.]

(L. 111 f.) One pāga² (is assigned) to Bōya-Pāda who removes the sweepings in that temple.

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No. 36.—BALAGHAT PLATES OF PRITHIVISHENA II.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

These plates were sent in May 1893 by the Deputy Commissioner of Bālāghat, a district in the Nāgpur Division of the Central Provinces, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to which they now belong. In the letter which accompanied them, it was stated that they had been found in the district, “some time ago, hanging to a tree in the jungle.” They were entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle in 1905, with the request that I should edit the inscription which is engraved on them. Other work has prevented my doing so before now.

The plates are five in number, each between 6½” and 6½” long by between 3½” and 4” high; two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates i, ii and iii) the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only. Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about 1¼” distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate. This ring is circular, about ½” thick and between 3” and 3½” in diameter. The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands. On the ring described there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about 2¾” in diameter. Undoubtedly this disc was meant to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it.³

The plates clearly were intended to record a grant of the Vākṣṭaka king Prithivishēna II., but they actually give only the genealogy of the king and break off at the point where his order

¹ I have taken karambā to be synonymous with Tamil karambā, which, according to Dr. Winslow, means hard and sterile ground.
² This small coin, more popularly pronounced kāga, is equal to “one-fourth of a kasa.”
commences. The four inscribed sides contain 35 lines of well-engraved writing. The size of the letters is between \( \frac{1}{4} \)" and \( \frac{3}{4} \)". The characters belong to the 'box-headed' variety of the southern class of alphabets and are similar to, but less angular than, those of the Duddia plates of the Vākātaka Pravarasena II., published with a facsimile above, Vol. III. p. 260. They include the subscript sign of the rare jh, in Ajītā, I, 31, the sign of the jilēṣṇāliya, in sūnā-kūntalä, I, 30, and forms of the final t, in sāṃṛī, I, 4, and of the final t (which does not show in the facsimile), in vāchānīt, I, 35.2 The conjunct ūn is everywhere written by a sign which is really the sign for ū (in sāṃṛīṃśita-, I, 6, utpunaṃśya, I, 23, and elsewhere); visarga is denoted by two hook-shaped lines (e. g. in sūnh, II, 11 and 20); the signs for d and g are well distinguished, e. g. inṇākaḥd, I, 1, and ṣhādāya-, I, 2; and there are two forms of the letter v, e. g. inṇākālā, I, 1, and vāchāṅīt, I, 35.—The language is somewhat ungrammatical Sanskrit, and the text is all in prose. In line 10 a passage of no less than 27 akṣaras has through carelessness been omitted by the writer. As regards orthography, the rules for saṅkīrti are constantly neglected (as in the three cognate grants); the (long) d is several times written where the vowel should be short, and (the short) i is throughout employed for both i and ī; the vowel ṛi is used instead of ri in pāṇtiṛiṇaḥ, I, 16, and sīriṇaḥ, I, 27, and instead of ri in sīri-, I, 17 and 25. Besides, the dental and lingual nasals are confounded in kūṛuna-, I, 12, maṇi-, I, 13, and sūṣṇiṛiṇaḥ, I, 20; the word aṃśa is written as aṃśa in line 6, and vāmśa as vāṃśa in lines 8, 24, 27 and 33; sh is doubled after r in vārṣha-, I, 14, and dh before y in addhṛyaṃśa, I, 35. With paṭiṛ-abhyāya for paṭuṛ-abhyāya in line 28, where the r of paṭiṛ looks like a saṅkha-consonant, we may compare -bbalam-āsāvyṛa- for -bbalasāvyṛa- in line 15 of the Duddia plates, above, Vol. III. p. 261, where m is used in a similar way.3

With two exceptions, the text down to the word Pravarasena in line 26 is practically identical with that of the three published grants of the Vākātaka king Pravarasena II.; like those grants, it gives the genealogy of this king, commencing with Pravarasena I., and enumerating after his son's son Rudrasena I., his son Prithivishēna I., his son Rudrasena II., and his son (from Prabhāvatigupta, the daughter of the Mahārājaśiṁsāna Dēgavāpta) Pravarasena II. Of the exceptions referred to, one is that our inscription commences with Vāṃbūravāṭa-kīt, 'from (his) residence Vāṃbūra,' in the place of which the Chānmat and Duddia plates of Pravarasena II. have Pravarapūruḍ, 'from Pravarapura.' Our grant therefore was to have been issued from Vāṃbūra, a place which I have not been able to identify. The other point of difference is that, while the grants of Pravarasena II. commence with drishtam, or drishtaṃ svasti, or drishtam siddham, this inscription contains no such expression, but at the beginning of line 1, before the word Vāṃbāra-, leaves an empty space just where one would have expected something like drishtam. The omission and the vacant space, in my opinion, are rather significant. Contrary to what I have said in my remarks on the Duddia plates, above, Vol. III. p. 259, I am convinced now that drishtam (and the Prākrit diṭham of the Mayādvēla and Hīma-ḥaḷaṃ all plates) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen,' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' or official letters or Government orders.4 Such a remark

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1 In preparing the accompanying facsimile, the last line on the first side of the second plate unfortunately was at first overlooked; it is really line 18, and the lines marked in the facsimile as lines 18–34 are really lines 19–35.
2 There is a final ū in line 27 (line 26 of the facsimile), but it seems to be out of place where it stands.
3 Other passages where ū looks distinctly like a saṅkha-consonant are tēna manēka- for tēmēka- in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX, p. 309, line 10, and prāctiṣṭayāṃ maṇyaḥkī for prāctiṣṭayāṃ maṇyaḥkī in Gupta Inscri. p. 257, line 18.
4 See above, p. 267, note 2.
5 Nos. 817 and 819 of my Southern List.
6 Compare the remarks of the late Prof. Bühler, above Vol. I, pp. 9 and 10, and of Prof. Hultzsch above, Vol. VI, p. 88. Sir W. H. Sleeman, speaking of certain kings of Osaka, in his Journey through the Kingdom of Osaka, Vol. I, p. 179, says that to their orders a seal was affixed in their presence bearing the inscription mokalāsaḥ, 'it has been seen.' Like drishtam, jātām is used in the body of an inscription in Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. LXIX, Part I, p. 92, l. 21 (jāṭam-mahāmaṇtri-śri-Mahākṣap).
could of course have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished, and it is missing here because our grant was not completed. The engraver apparently acted just as a writer or copyist of the grant would have done.

After Pravarasena II. our inscription in lines 26-35 mentions his son, the Mahârâja Nârendrâsena, and after him his son — born from the queen (mahâli'iti) Ajñhitâ-bhañjatârikâ, 1 a daughter of the lord of Kuntala — the Mahârâja Prithivishêna [II.], a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (Vishnu). Nârendrâsena, 'from confidence' in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune; his commands were honoured by the lords of Kûsâla, Mêkala and Mâlava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess. Prithivishêna II. is described as 'being a receptacle of splendour and forbearance, who raised (his) sunken family.' The name Prithivishêna, in line 35, is followed by vachamit, 'at his command'; but of the king's order only the words 'all superintendents' are given by these plates.

In the Vâkâtaka stone inscription published in Archæol. Survey of W. India, Vol. IV., p. 124 ff., the verses 10 and 11, which would have given the names of the successors of Pravarasena II., are unfortunately much mutilated. The name of Pravarasena's son and successor, 'who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years of age, ruled well,' has quite disappeared, and the son of that unknown king according to the published text was Kârâsena. As has been stated above, according to our grant Pravarasena's son Nârendrâsena took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother), married a daughter of the king of Kuntala, and was succeeded by his son Prithivishêna II. The stone inscription in verse 8 records the defeat of a lord of Kuntala by apparently Prithivishêna I., and in verse 18 speaks of Kûnâla, Avanti, Kâlînga, Kûsâla, Trîkûta, Leta, Andhra . . . [as having been subjected by one of the later Vâkâtakas]. According to the present inscription Nârendrâsena had his commands honoured (or obeyed) by the lords of Kûsâla, Mêkala and Mâlava. The first and last of these three countries are well known. The situation of Mêkala (according to the Topographical List of the Brijhañsîhitâ in Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. p. 185, a mountain or a people) is indicated by the fact that the river Narmalâ is called Mêkala-kansâ, 'the daughter of Mêkala, and that that river springs from the hill Amarâkañṭak (in Long. 81° 45' and Lat. 22° 40') in the ancient Chêli country. 2

Here and in the cognate plates the Vâkâtaka kings have the title mahârâja followed by the word śri prefixed to their names, and before the title there stands in each case the genitive Vâkâtakâdinâ; e.g. Vâkâtakâdinâ mahârâja-śri-Pravarasenasya. Such passages have been hitherto translated as if the genitive Vâkâtakâdinâ were governed by the title mahârâja: 'the illustrious Pravarasena, the great king of the Vâkâtakas,' or 'the Mahârâja of the Vâkâtakas, the illustrious Pravarasena.' The matter is not of great importance, but it may be as well to state that from the grammarian's point of view such a construction would be objectionable. In my opinion, the genitive must be taken to qualify, not the title mahârâja, but the whole phrase mahârâja-śri-Pravarasena, and more especially the word Pravarasena, the chief component of the phrase, so that the meaning would be 'the Mahârâja, the illustrious Pravarasena of the Vâkâtakas,' i.e. 'of the family of the Vâkâtakas.' 3 I have already had occasion to point out that we similarly have the genitive Maitrakâdinâ in the Valabhi plates, where there is no title by which this genitive could be governed; Vîshnu-kunsâd in line 10 of the inscription.

1 The name Ajñhitâtârikâ we also find in the Kârâsela plates of the Mahârâja Jayânañtha; Gupta Inscr. p. 118.
2 The reading of the original text is not absolutely certain here.
4 The same remark applies to the genitive Bhûtrasâla in line 10 of the inscription.

The inscription, not having been finished, contains no date of any kind, but it may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the 8th century A.D.

TEXT.1

First Plate.

1 . . . 8Vëmbāra-vāsakād-agnīṣṭōm-āptōryām-ākthya-
2 shōdašy-ātirātra-vājapēya-hrihaspatīsava-sādy-a
3 skra-chaturāsvamēha-hūjinaḥ8 Vishnūpriddha-sagōtra-
4 sva samrāṭ4 Vākāṭakānām-mahārāja-śri-Śravasē-
5 nasya 8sūnōḥ sūnōḥ atyanta-Svāmi-Mahā-
6 bhairava-bhaktasya7 anas-8bhāra-sannivēśita.9Śiva-
7 līṅg-ūdvahana-Śiva-sūparītva-hū Śiva-śamutpādita-
8 rāja-prasādānām10 parākram-ādhyagata-Bhīgiratthāyānala-
9 jala.12mūrdhābhishhiktānān-indāśvamēha-śva-

Second Plate: First Side.

10 bhṛtha-samānām-Bhūraśivānām13 mahārāja-śri-Śravasē-
11 nasya sūnōḥ atyanta-māhēśvaraya saty-ārjya-
12 kāruna(ny)-saurya-vikrama-savya-māhā-
13 tmya-dhimatva-pātragatabhaktitva-dharmāvijayitva.15map[ō].16
14 naimūmyā-ādir.17gūpa-samudātasa varshahā-sata-
15 mabhivardhāmāna-kōṣa-daṇḍa-sadhana-santāna-putra-
16 paurītri(vri)raḥ Yudhishtīra-vṛttir.18VVākāṭakānām-mahā-
17 rāja-śriḥ Śravasē Prithivīśēnasaya sūnō.[h*] bhagavata-
18 ś-Ścakrapāḍē[ś] prasadā-pārijita-śri-19

Second Plate: Second Side.

19 samudayasya Vākāṭakānām-mahārāja-śri-Śravasē-
20 sēnasaya sūnōḥ 1pūrvvarāj-anuvṛtta-m[a]*gg-āṇu(mm)sā-

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1 From the original plates.
2 At the commencement of this line there is an empty space sufficient for about three akhāras. One would have expected here the word drśīkṣam, with which the three grants of Pravaraśēna II. begin.
3 This sign of visarga is clearly visible in the original. Here and in other places below the rules of sandhi have not been observed.
4 The plates of Pravaraśēna II. have samrāṭ(?) saṣkṛtaḥ and samrāṭḥ. Read saṃrāṭḥ (or saṃrāṭ). Read -śrī.
5 The akhāra saḥ is clear in the original.
6 Here is a mark in the original which looks like the upper half of a visarga.
7 Read -āsā-
8 In this word and everywhere below the conjunct as is denoted by a sign which is really the sign for saḥ.
9 Read -cāddānaṃ-
10 Read -Bṛgūṣṭhīravahana-
11 Read -mūrdhābhishānām; compare Gupta Inscr. p. 237, l. 6.
12 Here the words mahārāja-śri-Bhavasāgā-Śravasēna Gautamiputraya putraya Vākāṭakānām of the cognate plates have erroneously been omitted.
13 Read -śrī-
14 Read -śrī-
15 Read -āśīkṣitamabhartakaśa-dharmavijayitā-. Read -maṇḍ-
16 Read naṁrāmalyā-ātī.
17 Read -śrī-
18 One would have expected praśadāduvyā-. Read -śrī-
19 Originally en* was engraved.
20 Read -śrī-
21 Of the three grants of Pravaraśēna II., only the Siwaul grant has the passage from here to “drśīkṣaḥ; see Gupta Inscr., p. 246, lines 14 and 15.
Oriissa Plates of VidyadharaBhanjadeva.

By the late Professor F. Kielhorn, C.I.E.; Göttlingen.

There is no information as to where or when these plates were first obtained. In 1887 they belonged to Mr. C. T. Motonal, Commissioner of the Oriissa Division, and the inscription which is engraved on them was published in that year, with a facsimile, by the late Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra, in the Journ. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 154 ff. In November 1895 the plates were presented by the Commissioner of Oriissa, through Mr. C. L. Griesbach, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and they have now been entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle, with the request to re-edit the inscription.

There are three substantial copper-plates, the edges of which are slightly raised, and of which each measures between 6 1/4" and 6 1/2" long by between 3 1/2" and 3 1/2" high. They slide on a copper ring, which passes through a hole, which is about 3/4" distant from the middle of

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1 Read 'dekhâhina-
2 Read 'fîr-
3 Read 'kâsir-

4 Instead of this to the Chaunak and Siwa grants of Pravarsena II. have 66, which seems to be preferable.
5 Here some akhara (perhaps the initial i) was engraved, but has been erased.
6 The reading is doubtful. The first akhara of the line is ei, the superscript i of which, though faint, is distinctly visible in the original; and the second appears to be sô. The third akhara looks more like yd than ed, and is followed by a sign which looks like a form of final e, and has probably been struck out. The 26 and what follows is clear.
7 Read 'sohâsiriyâh.
8 Read Kôsîla-
9 Perhaps Mekalâ- has actually been engraved; read Mekala-
10 Read 'pâty-abhyarchhîta-
11 Read 'prapâtîrîtisanasa (f).
12 Read 'fîr-
13 Read 'bîdî
d
14 Here again there is a mark which looks like part of the visarga.
15 Read si (m)agnas-uhâyasya.
16 Read 'fîr-
17 This final i, the sign for which is very small, is really visible in the original plate. In Gupta Insers. p. 327, l. 17, the text has cokhand (cf.).
18 Read 'sohôkide, and compare above, Vol. III. p. 261, l. 18.
the proper right margin of each plate. The ring, which had already been cut when the plates came into my hands, is between \( \frac{3}{4} \)" and \( \frac{1}{2} \)" thick and about 3" in diameter, and on it is soldered a roughly circular metal seal, between 1\( \frac{1}{4} \)" and 1\( \frac{3}{8} \)" in diameter. The seal contains in relief on a countersunk surface, in the upper half, a couching lion facing to the proper right, and in the lower half the legend

\[ \text{śrī-Vidyādhara-}
\text{bhāṣājātāvayā} \]

in northern characters which are between \( \frac{3}{8} \)" and \( \frac{1}{4} \)" high.

Before the plates were used for the grant now engraved on them, they had already served for another grant, the four last lines of which, though faint, are almost completely legible on the first side of the first plate, and of the writing of which more or less distinct traces remain also on the other sides of the plates. The characters of this earlier grant belong to what I have elsewhere called the Gaṅgājām variety of the northern alphabet; and the lines with which it ended, compared with the end of the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭriḥbāīja, published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. VI. p. 669 f. and Plate xxxiii., would seem to show that the grant was issued by a chief of the same family. The four lines (on the first side of the first plate), so far as I am able to read them, are:

1. Sva\( \text{ya\-mā
dā\-hī\-trā} \]
2. grāhika-Arkka[dē\-vē\-nā]\;
3. vyā || Utkīrṇam chakṣa[pā\-li]-Kumāra[dattē\-na] || samvat ... ...
4. di" ...

The grant now recorded on these plates is engraved on the second side of the first plate and on both sides of the two others. The engraving is deep and well done, and in a perfect state of preservation. In three places (in lines 10, 22 and 35) there is some doubt about the actual wording of the text, either because the engraver altered what he had originally engraved, or because portions of the letters of the earlier grant spoken of above are mixed up with the new writing; the rest may be read without any difficulty. The size of the letters is about \( \frac{3}{8} \)". The characters belong to that variety of the northern alphabet which we find, e.g. on the Bagūḍā plates of Mādhavavarman, treated of above, *Vol. VII.* p. 101 f. Of the consonants the most characteristic are those for \( h \) (e.g. in *Harṣyā Sēshākśa*, l. 4), \( t \) and \( ṭ \) (e.g. in *prākāśa*, l. 9, and -eṣhīṭād, l. 6), and \( n \) (e.g. in *śvā-sū-prāpa*, l. 1), of which the last, in combination with palatalals, also serves for the palatal nasal (e.g. in *Bhājīṇḍama*, l. 14, *uktaḥ-cha*, l. 27, and *Iśāčitāk*, l. 35). Among other conjuncts attention may be drawn to the signs for *kas, ga, gha*,

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2 The published text, which was furnished to Mr. Prinsep by Kamalākānta Vidyālasākṣa, is quite untrustworthy. According to Mr. Prinsep’s lithograph of Lieutenant Kitto’s copy, the passage with which we are concerned here, so far as I can make it out, would be *svayam-adhadhārā dātakō-stra bhaṣṭa-ṛt Śambhadēva likhitātmā cha sanādhivagrihyā Ka[kkha]kena utkīrṇam[ā] chakṣa[pā]-Durgāyudhēna Iśāčitāk [...]

3 Read *likhitātmā*.
4 Read *grāhika-Ārka*.
5 Read *samvat*; the three aṣṭharas by which this word is followed are illegible.
6 This ā is followed by a sign which possibly is a letter-numeral for 10; and before the sign of punctuation there is another sign which looks like the symbol for ḍa. The two signs show fairly well in the accompanying facsimile. I may add that there are letter-numerals also in the last line of the Bāmangāḥī grant of Rāpabhaḍya, published with a facsimile in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XL Part I. p. 165 f., and in lines 35 and 36 of one of the Gaṅgājām grants of Daṇḍilimahādevī, above, *Vol. VI.* p. 139 and Plate.
7 The same sign for ā (which is not given by our palaeographic Tables) we find in the Bagūḍā plates of Mādhavavarman, in the Gumsūr plates of Nēṭriḥbāīja, and on the second side of the plate of Daṇḍilimahādevī, above, *Vol. VI.* p. 138. It was also used in the grant originally engraved on these plates. A similar form of ā we find in several varieties of the southern alphabet.
dbh and mbh (e.g. in -vikshôbha-daksha, l. 1, 9vargya, l. 10, -Digbhañjadôvanya, l. 12, -uddbhåt at the commencement of line 4, and -Stambhâdêva, l. 36). There is a special sign for final t, in -dnyat, l. 18, nyat, at the commencement of line 19, -dvet, l. 21, and 9vôdhit for 9vôdhit, l. 22. Of initial vowels the text contains only a (for à), ë, ëu and ëi, in achañdë, l. 21, isu, l. 5 and 6, ëtô, l. 33, Upamanyu[n], l. 23, arthikyô, l. 33, and étêdô, l. 19. As regards medial vowels, â is sometimes denoted by a short superscript stroke or by a small hook on the right of the consonant-sign, as in ‘îdëbhañjô’ at the commencement of line 13, and in Bhañjâmala, l. 14; and there are two signs1 of the subscript u, one of which may be seen e.g. in Jayata, l. 1, and bhuvana, l. 2, and the other in -sura, l. 7, -sîpu, l. 10, Vañjulañà, l. 8, and -vañjuhîra, l. 27, etc.; the former of the two signs is used also to denote medial ë, for which there is no separate sign in these plates. Two forms of medial ë may be seen e.g. in Śêrahôrômôva yô, l. 4, and prô próbôlyôdchala, l. 5; and similarly two forms of medial ì, e.g. in kirtiyô vilô, l. 35. The sign of anusvarta is sometimes placed after the consonant-sign, as in "padâm yathârâhân, l. 17. The signs of vîrëmna and apana do not occur, and a sign of punctuation is found only in lines 20 and 25 (where in either case it is out of place) and at the end of the grant. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are two verses in lines 1-8, and four imprecatory verses in lines 27-35; the rest of the text is in prose. As regards orthography, the sign for v denotes both v and b; visarga at the end of a word is ten times omitted; and single consonants are used instead of double ones in chatusmîdh for chatusmîdh, l. 19, -anuãôdhit cha for -anuôrdhit-cha, l. 26, and five or six times in the words datta and dattö for datta and datti (lines 25, 28, 29, 31, 32 and perhaps 23). There is besides some confusion of the short and long vowels, especially in the case of ì and â, where â is used instead of ì no less than nine times (e.g. in viôkasha, l. 3, rûpu, l. 10, sañila, l. 21, etc.) and ì, as has been already stated, is everywhere written by the sign for u. A few times the writer or engraver has omitted an aksara, as in Vidôyôdhañjô for Vidôyôdharabhañjô, l. 15, the chief name of the inscription which is correctly given on the seal; and altogether the grant has been written rather carelessly.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Mahâvâra (Siva), the ornament of the spotless family of the Bhâñjas, the Mahârâjya Vidyôdhara-ôbhañjôdeva, also called king Dharmalakalaså (P), who was a son of Silâbhañjôdeva, grandson of Dîgbhañjôdeva, and great-grandson of Rañôbahajôdeva; and its object is to record a grant which was issued by the king from Vañjulañâ. Like the Gunaör grant of Nôtibhañjôdeva Kalyânakañâ, it opens with two verses which glorify the (third) eye of Hara (Siva) and invoke the protection of the waves of the divine Gaṅgâ. In lines 15-27 the king informs the Sâmantas, Bhôgina and others, the [lords of] víshayas, and the people generally who dwell in the Ramalava, víshaya, that with pouring out of water he gave the village of Tûndûra in that district,

1 Of which the two signs is used, depends on the consonant to which the sign is attached; thus, k and s always take the curve-shaped sign and p and s always the straight or hook-shaped sign. In line 17, where the curve-shaped s is attached to p, the aksara intended to be denoted is pu (of pâyâtati), not ps; the same remark applies to the s of nirddhâta (for nirddhāta) in line 11. But in the case of bhô and dhô, s and ì are both denoted by the same (curve-shaped) sign.
2 Compare e.g. Gañgâmâlakalaså, above, Vol. III. p. 18, l. 13, and Kâmâmed(mbh)mañlakalaså, ibid. p. 225, l. 22.
3 In line 5 of the Gañjâm plates mentioned in Mr. Sowell’s Lists of Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 33, No. 218 (and of which Dr. Fleet has given me an impression), the name is spelt Sulâbhañjôdeva. Above, Vol. III. p. 353, l. 33, a place Sulâbhañjôpâti, which was in Oôra-dêta (Orissa), is mentioned.
4 The name Dîgbhañjô also occurs in the Bâmanghât plates of Rañôbhañjô, where there can be no doubt about the reading of it.
5 The original has vîjôya-Vañjulañâ.
6 Compare e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 298, l. 18: -sâmantas-hôgika-vîshyapati; ibid. p. 142, l. 25 (in one of Dâqîmabhôt’s grants) we have the term bhûkâdôhôp.
rent-free,

1 to the bhṛṣṭa Dārukhana—son of Śūridēva (?) and grandson of Gaunrichandra—
of the Upamanyu gṛha and Bahuricha śāhā (of the Rigveda); and he enjoins future kings (rājakas) to protect this gift, and (in lines 27–33) quotes four imprecatory verses from the dharmaśāstras.

The inscription (in lines 35–38) ends with four statements, introduced severally by the participles lāśchhitam, praveśitam, likhitam, and uktirnām. About the meaning of the two last there can be no doubt: the grant was written by the śāhīvīgrihaśka (or minister of peace and war) Kambha, and engraved by the akṣhādālī (or goldsmith) Kumārachandra. The term praveśitam I have not found in similar surroundings in any other grant; but since this word takes the place here of the phrase svayam-dāśhī ṛōjāṅ ḍatākṣa-trā of the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭrībhaṇja and of the earlier grant on these very plates⁵ (where that phrase in both cases appears in company with lāśchhitam, likhitam and uktirnām), I think that it must likewise be taken to refer to the business of the ḍatāka and that the words praveśitam Kēdvēna must be translated 'brought (to the donee's) home by (the messenger) Kēsāva.' The passage commencing with lāśchhitam I am unable to explain properly. According to Dr. Fleet, above, Vol. VII, p. 227, lāśchhiṇa denotes the device used on the seals of copper-plate charters, etc., and lāśchhiṇa therefore probably means 'furnished with such a device' or 'marked with a seal' (muḍrāyā muḍrītam).⁶ We find the word in the Bugnā plates of Mādhavavarman, above, Vol. III, p. 46, l. 50, lāśchhitam Jayavarāhēna; in the Gaṅjā plates of Prithviravamadēva, above, Vol. IV, p. 201, l. 35, lāśchhitam ṣaya-rājmaḥādēvāya; in the grant which was originally engraved on these plates, above, p. 272, lāśchhitam [rājma]-maṇīka-maḥādēvāya, 'marked with a seal by the queen, the glorious Maṇīka-maḥādēvi,' and it occurs also in the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭrībhaṇja, where the words by which it is followed cannot be made out with confidence.⁷ In the present case our text appears to give us lāśchhitam śri-Trikāla-raḥmaḥādēvāya, 'marked with a seal by the glorious Trikalinga-maḥādēvi,' which would be similar to what we find in the earlier grant on these plates; but these words are followed by tējādikānē, which may be corrupt, and the meaning of which is quite obscure, and after that again we have the instrumental śrībhṛṣṭa-Stambhadēva-maṇtriṇā, 'by the minister, the bhṛṣṭa Stambhadēva,' which, for want of the meaning of the obscure word, I see no way of connecting with what precedes. It is curious that in at least two of the passages where the word lāśchhitam occurs the marking with the seal is stated to have been performed by a queen.

Our inscription contains no date of any kind, and for the present it seems impossible to fix its age even approximately, because we know nothing that is certain about the chiefs of the Bhaṇja family during the Middle Ages,⁸ and possess no dated inscriptions with the same alphabet. With all due reserve I would say that the inscription may perhaps be assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

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1 In the wording of the grant the expressions which are characteristic of the locality to which the grant belongs are sambhadha (in line 19, used in the sense of sambhaddha), vaśīma-parṣadhśa viśīhind, and akaratēna (for which by mistake karatēna has been engraved). Compare e.g., above, Vol. III, p. 45, l. 36, and Vol. VII, p. 101.
2 On this word, which in Sanskrit is generally spelt akṣhatā (e.g., in Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, p. 276, l. 24, and Vol. XVIII, p. 145, l. 29), see now Prof. Hultzsch, above, Vol. VII, p. 107, note 4.
3 See above, p. 272, and note 2.
4 According to Yājñavalkya I, 31, 9, the name of a king should be rssudrōparichhitam (i.e., rssu-muḍrāyā Gauḍa-nārāldādē-dvipa-jāti-vaśīmaḥ-śribhṛṣṭa-maḥādēvā). And above, Vol. III, p. 303, l. 74, there is a verse according to which a charter becomes faulty when it is muḍrā-suddha, 'faultless as regards the seal,' etc.
5 See above, p. 272, note 2.
6 Similar names are Chāja-maḥādēvā and Gauḍa-maḥādēvā.
7 In the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭrībhaṇja the bhṛṣṭa, the illustrious Stambhadēva, is mentioned as ḍatāka.
8 A traditional date in the Saka year 754 (A.D. 833) is given for one of the Bhaṇja (Bhunsi) chiefs in Mr. Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 3.
TEXT.

First Plate; Second Side.

1. Öha\(^{[1]}\) jaya\(^{[2]}\) Kusumavâ(ha) na-prâga-vikshobha-daksha(ha) svaki-
2. \("ragaparivēśhōrijitya\) jirṇaṇondalokha(ha) [\(^{[1]}\)] tribhuvanabhavan-ā-
3. ntar-dyotabhabhavat-pradipani\(^{[6]}\) kanakan(i) kaisha-gauram vihru\(^{[7]}\) nētra(n)
4. Harasa\(^{[i]}\) Śeṣahār-avaha\(^{[a]}\) yē paṇa(ha)\(^{[b]}\) praviśa-sant-udbhā-
5. savāndu-tvāsna(ha)\(^{[b]}\) pr(a) prālāyāhala-śringakōṭṭha\(^{[a]}\) ya ima tva-
6. agantu ya(ya)-tyummat\(^{[b]}\) [\(^{[*]}\)] nītītāpa-vīghaṭṭita ima bhujā rā-
7. jantu yē Ša[\(^{[5]}\)] bhavās-tē sarvāvahā vihāṭha(ha)\(^{[b]}\) surasa-
8. rīt\(^{[t]}\) oy-dīrmma(ha) pānt\(^{[n]}\) vaḥ \([\!*]\) Svasti \([\!*]\) Vija(ha)-Vaṇjulvaka-\(^{[10]}\)

Second Plate; First Side.

9. d-ast\(^{[1]}\) śri-vija(ha)-nīlayaha prakaṭaṇagpaṇa-gra-
10. stasamastari(rī) pawarga(ha)\(^{[b]}\) \([\!*]\) śrī-Dharmma \(?)\) kalasa-nāmā rā-
11. jā nirdhanti\(^{[14]}\) kalakalshakalma(ha)\(^{[b]}\) śri-Raṇabhaṇja(ha)\(^{[12]}\)
12. aṣya praputra\(^{[b]}\)\(^{[1]}\) śri-Dīghaṇja(ha)devi\(^{[a]}\) naṭā śri-Sī-
13. lābhāja(ha)devi śitaḥ paramamāhēśvaro mātā(pī)
14. tri-pādānudhyātō Bhāṇa-jāmalakula-\(?)\)-tikā mahārā-
15. ja-ṣri-Vidyādha\(^{[8]}\) bhaṇa-jādevi\(^{[12]}\) kuśali Ramalavha\(^{[19]}\).

\(^{[1]}\) From the original plates.  \(^{[2]}\) Denoted by a symbol.  \(^{[3]}\) Metre: Mālin.  
\(^{[4]}\) Originally ránapāri was engraved, but the i of pi has been struck out.
\(^{[5]}\) Read "shacijita."—Compare Raṇhavānta v. 74: sukhraparivēśhōjodhā-tānyāh pradipā.  
\(^{[6]}\) Read -pradipā.
\(^{[7]}\) Read bhāma; this word is synonymous with piyāma, and Śiva is piyāpākha. Compare also above, Vol. VI. p. 200, l. 1 of the text.—The Gumsr grant has ekā." [In a letter which never reached the author I suggested that vihāra is correct and should be translated "brow less."—S. K.]
\(^{[8]}\) Metre: Śārdūlabhikṛjita.  
\(^{[9]}\) These four akṣaras are quite clear in the original. Dr. Rājendralal's text has Valyaṃkakā. The Gumsh grant appears to have Vāljaṃkakā, which by Ramalākānta was misread Vāljaṃkakā.  
\(^{[10]}\) Read tr i: Astī trī.  
\(^{[11]}\) The viṣaya which I have added here and below before trī is not absolutely necessary.  
\(^{[12]}\) The words in these brackets are conjectural. As will be seen from the facsimile, four akṣaras were originally engraved here, but they were partly struck out or altered; and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that remnants of letters which were originally engraved on these plates are mixed up with the new letters. I consider it certain that the first akṣara is intended to be trī (for trī), and that the last contained the conjunct mm.—The corresponding passage of the Gumsh grant is: Astī jaya-asti-nīlayaha prakaṭaṇagpaṇa-grasta-nearapiṇgāva(ha) trī-Kalāpakalkata-nāmā rījī.  
\(^{[13]}\) Read nirādākā.  
\(^{[14]}\) In the facsimile the first akṣara (ra) of this name might be read rav (and was read so by Dr. Rājendralal), but in the original it is distinctly ra, and what looks like e is a remnant of what was originally engraved on the plate.  
\(^{[15]}\) This name is clear in the original; and so is the next. Dr. Rājendralal read the two names Dīnākāṇā and Śīlākāṇā.  
\(^{[16]}\) Dr. Rājendralal reads Bhaṇjaṇaya-bala.  
\(^{[17]}\) Read "dvarasa."  
\(^{[18]}\) The first three akṣaras of this name are clear in the original; the last might be read dā. Dr. Rājendralal read Pamanabhāṇa(ha), but regarded the letters as doubtful.
Second Plate; Second Side.

16 vishny-ē yathānivāsā-sāmanta-bhūgī-bhūgīyādi1-vi-
17 ahaya-janapadaṁ yathārhum mānayati pun(pū)jayaṁ vō(bō)-
18 dhayatādāsītā 1ch-ānyat sarvataḥ 2sīvan-sāmākam-a-
19 nyat4 etu(ū) jāhaya-samudraḥ-2tundaya-vṛggrāma6 chatunmā-
20 paryantah7 grāmam-yain || mātpititrātmanā-sa puṣy-ā-
21 bhıyuddhayē 8achandrarka-samaṁ kālāṁ yāvast sall(ī)laddhā-
22 rāk-purāṣaṁraṇa vidhīna guṇ-ānurādbhā9 karatvēṇa10bhögāya12 karatvēṇa10[bhogyā ?]
23 Upamanya.-1¹gōtrāya datē-pravarāya15 Bā( ba)hūriḥsa-jaẏākha-13

Third Plate; First Side.

24 ya'Gorichandraḥ14 naptā Śūridēvasya suta bhāṭṭa-Ḍāru-
25 khaṇḍi || nāmā pratiścādā-śāmbheś-tad-ēlahā ātīt-dūha-16
26 rmma-gauravād-āsamkam-anurādhā16 cha bhavahyad-rājakaṅ[ī]7
27 pratiścādā- ety-17uktān-cha dharmma-dāstraṁ vahubhir-vva-
28 sudhā dātā18 rājabhī[ī]18 Sagar-ādibhir-yasya yasya yadā
29 bhu(bh)umīs-tasya tasya tadā phalam [1[1]]* Svā-dattāṁ para-datā19 vā
30 yō hariṁ vasuḥdharām [1[*]] sa visiṁhāyā[īn[*]] krim20 bhutvā pi-

Third Plate; Second Side.

31 tribhi[ī]19 saha pachyaṁ [1[*]] Mā bhu(bh))d-āphala-śaṁkā vaḥ para-dat-ē.31
32 ti pārthivaṁ [1[1] ] svā-dhānāb-āphalām-āntyāh19 parasat-ānāpā-

1 The ekāha bhō of bhōgddi has not come out well in the facsimile, but is quite clear in the original.
In my opinion, the word bhōgddi before bhōgddi is superfluous and has been engraved by mistake; and for the
following visiḥya-janapadaṁ I should have expected something like visiḥya-pattī-janapadānti-cha.
2 Read chā: Anyat.—The Gumsūr grant apparently has:—āśiṁati cha sarvataḥ śīvan-śāmākam-ānyat
visiṁhāya[īn[*]] bhavahyad[ī]-dūha-vsiḥhaya-ya.
3 Originally śīveṁ was engraved, but the i of vi has been struck out.
4 This second sanyat is superfluous.
5 Read -sambaddha- (for -sambaddha-).
6 Read -gromas-cakataśṭad-.
7 Read paryantō. The following grām-d-yāṁ and the sign of punctuation are superfluous.
8 Read “dūha-d-ekandrākka-sama-kalāṁ ; the following gōdā is superfluous.
9 Read “rōddhi-.
10 Instead of karatvēṇa, we require akaratvēṇa, which (like akartrātya) occurs often in other inscriptions
and is quite distinct in the lithograph of the Gumsūr grant (though Kamalākānta's text gives dkararataṇa). The
following two akaras are conjectural. In the Gumsūr grant akaratvēṇa is possibly followed by
śīvaśvarēḍī (for which the text has bhavṛddī).
11 Read Upamanyu.
12 As the word dattā below is several times written datta, this might stand for dattī (or perhaps datta-)
pravardya ; but I am unable to explain the expression. In Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 256, l. 43, we have
Aṣamān(point)-syogōṛīya : Āṭēya-savahmahāchāriyaḥ bhassavpravarā-Vībhādhanamātrīya, where bhassavpravarā is
equally obscure. The Upamanyusavas had three pravaras — Vāsiṁhā, Ābhavadvat and Indrapradasa ; compare
M. Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit., p. 355.
13 Read -dākō-. 14 Read Upamanyu-
15 As the word datta below is several times written datta, this might stand for dattī (or perhaps datta-)
pravardya ; but I am unable to explain the expression. In Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 256, l. 43, we have
Aṣamān(point)-syogōṛīya : Āṭēya-savahmahāchāriyaḥ bhassavpravarā-Vībhādhanamātrīya, where bhassavpravarā is
equally obscure. The Upamanyusavas had three pravaras — Vāsiṁhā, Ābhavadvat and Indrapradasa ; compare
M. Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit., p. 355.
16 Read -dākō-. 17 Read -dākō-.
18 Read -dākō-. 19 Read -dākō-.
20 Read -dākō-. 21 Read -dākō-.
Orissa plates of Vidyadharabhanjadeva.
No. 37.—GHATIYALA INSCRIPTIONS OF KAKKUKA; SAMVAT 918.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

The subjoined inscriptions are all engraved on a column standing in situ in Ghatiylā, twenty-two miles west-north-west of Jōdhpur. The column is not far distant from an old ruined Jaina structure, now called Māṭi-kī-sālī, which contains an inscription edited by Prof. Kielhorn in the Journ. R. A. Soc. 1895, p. 516. Further particulars in connection with these ruins will be found in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1907. Inscription No. I is engraved on the eastern, and the remaining ones on the western, face of the pillar. The inscriptions are so weather-worn that it is not possible to take good impressions. With patience and perseverance, however, almost the whole of the inscriptions can be deciphered with certainty on the original stone itself.

Inscription No. I contains 20 lines of writing, which covers a space of 2' 3½" high by 1' 6" broad. The characters agree with those of the inscription found in the Māṭi-kī-sālī. The language is Sanskrit. The first seven lines are in prose. Lines 8—16 contain five verses. Then the date is given in prose in l. 17. Then a verse occurs which is followed by a line in prose. As regards orthography, the letter ḍ is only once denoted by the sign v, in kūtumakām, l. 8; consonants are doubled after r; visarga followed by ṣ has been once changed to that letter in dvīyā-sūlō, l. 7; the dental nasal has been used instead of an anusvāra before ṭ in 'vamā', l. 1; ū is doubled in conjunction with a following r; and visarga has been omitted once before the following sā in ayam-uṣambhita stambhō, l. 16.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Viśnu (Gaṇapati). Then is set forth in prose a genealogical list of the feudatory Prathārā family which is brought down to Kakkuuka, to whose reign the inscription belongs. It agrees with the lists furnished by the inscription in the Māṭi-kī-sālī and the epigraph of Bānka found in the Jōdhpur city wall. It is followed up by five verses, the first two of which merely contain conventional praise of Kakkuuka without giving any historical information. The third verse says that Kakkuuka obtained great renown in the countries of Travanṭ, Vaḷa and Māda, amongst (the people known as) Ārya, in Gurjara-trāṭra, and in Parvata in the Lāṭa country. Most of these names are repeated in verses 16 in the other

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1. Metre : Pushpitāgrā. 2. Read -jñita cha. 3. Read śrī. 4. Read śrī-Tričā. 5. The sign of the medial ī, which was prefixed to the akṣara śrī, has been struck out. 6. In the place of ke (?), another letter was originally engraved. 7. With the exception of the ḍ in brackets, the nine akṣaras at the beginning of the line are clear in the original. 8. The ṭ at the end of the line and the ṭ at the commencement of the next line, which show in the facsimile seem to be remnants of the inscription which was previously engraved on these plates. 9. The akṣaras sā of this word contain certain marks which were not engraved by the engraver of the present inscription and which were struck out by him. 10. Read uṣambhita. 11. For this mark, which is distinctly ṭa, compare e.g. Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII., p. 140, note 4a.
inscription of Kakkuka in the Mātā-ki-sāl. Thus, Travants is the same as Tamaṇṭ there, and also occurs in this unaltered form in verse 18 of the Jodhpur inscription of Bānka. Similarly, Vallā is mentioned in both these inscriptions. Māḍa is given in the Mātā-ki-sāl inscription in conjunction with Mari (Mari-Māṭḍa). Jēşalmē is still called Māḍa, and Mari proper can only be the Sheo, Mallāṇḍ and Pāchpadā districts of the Jodhpur State. Ārya and Gurtarātrā are doubtless the Ajja and Gujjarattā of the Mātā-ki-sāl inscription. Ārya is unidentifiable, but is perhaps the same as that mentioned in Varahamihira’s Brīhat-saṅhitā, Cap. V, v. 42. Gurtarātrā, as has been shown by me elsewhere, 1 comprised the districts of Dīwāṇā and Parbatsar of the Jodhpur State. Lāṭa, as was also pointed out by me, embraced about this time the larger portion of the present Gurtar of the Bombay Presidency. 2 Parvata, which is apparently said to be in Lāṭa, is unknown to me. Does Parvata, however, here simply mean a mountain and refer to some such inroad of Kakkuka as that mentioned in the expression gahīṣa gōhaṇātaṇ giriimmi in verse 17 of the Mātā-ki-sāl record? Or perhaps Parvata may be taken to be a distinct country, and connected with the Pārvatīyas of the Brīhat-saṅhitā, Cap. XVII, v. 16.

Verse 4 of our inscription tells us that Kakkuka erected two columns, one at Rōhīṃsaka and the other at Maḍḍōḍara. Exactly the same information is conveyed by verse 21 of the Mātā-ki-sāl record, excepting that for Rōhīṃsaka we have there Rōhīṃsakūpa. Rōhīṃsaka is undoubtedly the same as this Rōhīṃsakūpa or the Rōhīṃsakūpa of our inscription No. 2, and is to be identified with Ghaṭijyā. Maḍḍōḍara, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is Maṇḍor, five miles north of Jodhpur, which is locally believed to have been a seat of Pratihāra power and is full of very ancient ruins, and where a fragment of a Pratihāra inscription was discovered by me last season. 3 The next verse informs us that the column on which the inscription has been incised was erected by Kakkuka. Precisely the same information is given by verse 21 of the Mātā-ki-sāl inscription. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra-sudi 2 budhē Hastā-nakhastrē, the same as that mentioned in the latter inscription. And further we are told that here a market was established, and the village peopled with maḥājana, i.e. big folk. The very same thing is alluded to in verse 20 of the Mātā-ki-sāl record. The inscription really ends here so far as the purport of it is concerned, but a verse follows which has something of the character of a subḥāṣita. Its chief interest, however, lies in the fact that it was composed by Śrī-Kakkuka himself, as the line in prose at the end informs us.

Inscription No. II contains 11 lines of writing covering a space of 1' 3' high by 1' 2' 4" broad. Excepting the opening words Ōṁ siddhāt, it is in verse up to l. 9, and the rest in prose. The paleography and orthography do not call for any remarks other than those made in connection with inscription No. I. The first verse invokes the blessings of Vināyaka (Gaṇapati) who, we are told, was placed on the column to ensure prosperity, and, as a matter of fact, the

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2 Ibid., pp. 412-414.
3 *Another ancient name of Maṇḍor is Maṇḍayavpara mentioned in verse 10 of the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bānka. In the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1907, p. 30, I have said that though this inscription stone was found in the city wall of Jodhpur, it must originally have been at Maṇḍor, as all stones for the fortification of the fort had been brought from the latter place. This conclusion is confirmed by the first part of the verse just referred to, which is Maṇḍayavpa-
4 *durgaharmin. The word aum shows that the stone originally was at Maṇḍayavpara, i.e. Maṇḍor. Maṇḍayavpara, again, is spoken of both as a city and fort, and Maṇḍor remained so till the prince Jodh removed his capital from there to Jodhpur. Even to this day some of the portions of the ramparts of Maṇḍor have been preserved. As the verse in question states that certain Pratihāra brother princes erected ramparts round Maṇḍayavpara fort, it is plain that it was in the possession of the feudatory Pratihāra princes. This is also corroborated by the fact mentioned in the text that last season I found a part of a stone inscription belonging to the Pratihāras. In the name of Kakka could be distinctly read, and some reference to his son made therein could also be traced. But who that son was—whether Kakkuka or Bānka—is not certain. The name Maṇḍayavpara occurs even so late as V. E. 1319 in the Sāndhā hill inscription of Chāchigudēva (above, Vol. IX, p. 79, l. 90).
pillar is surmounted at the top by a quadruple image of Gaṇapati, facing the cardinal directions. The next verse informs us that the village of Röhinsakūpaka (Ghaṭiyāḷā) had formerly become unsafe on account of the Ābhiris (Ahirs), and had consequently not been a place of residence for good people. Verses 3 and 4 tell us that Kakkuka, the favourite son of Kakka, of the Pratihāra race, constructed a market place decorated with variegated streets, went to the houses of Brahmans, Kṣatriyas (prakṛiti) and Vaiśyas, and, promising them means of livelihood, established the mahājana, the big folk there. We thus fully understand what the Mitāki-sād epigraph and our inscription No. I mean by saying that Kakkuka established a haṭṭa and mahājana at Rōhinsaka or Rōhinsakūpa. Owing to its being infested by the Ābhiris, whose predatory instincts even to the present day are not quite extinct, the place must have become deserted, but it was re-peopled by Kakkuka by inducing men of the three principal castes to come and reside there, after he had defeated and ousted the Ahirs. The verse following expresses a wish for the permanence of the prosperity of the mahājana, and of the fame of Kakkuka. Then follows the date Śaṃvat 916 Chaitra Sudi 2 which, though the further details of it are not given, is, it will be seen, identical with that specified in our inscription No. I and the Mitāki-sād epigraph. Next, we are informed that the inscription was written by a Maga, called Māṭiravi, and was engraved by the goldsmith Krīṣṇēśvarā, doubtless the same who incised the Jōhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bānika. It is followed up by the name of the śātrabhāva or mason who probably dressed the stone and erected the column, but the name is lost.

The fact that Māṭiravi is called a Maga is very interesting. On the original stone the letters ma and gd are quite distinct, and, though na is not so distinct, it is clear enough. No reasonable doubt need therefore, be entertained as to Māṭiravi being spoken of as a Maga. Maga is another name for the Śākadvipa Brahmans, about whom the late Professor Weber wrote a very learned and exhaustive paper. Round about Jōhpur there is a class of Brahmans known as Śēvakas, most of whom are religious dependants of the Śavāḷ Śrāvaka. They call themselves Śākadvipa Brahmans, and know that their story is told in the Nāmagrantha of the Śūrā-purāṇa and also in the Bhavishya-purāṇa. That the Śākadvipyas were originally foreigners has been clearly shown by Professor Weber. But it is only our inscription that furnishes a specific date, viz. V. E. 918, when we can positively assert that Magas lived and were known by this very name in Rājputānā at least.

Inscription No. III is of two lines containing nothing but verse 5 of Inscription No. I. Inscription No. IV consists of four lines containing two verses. They possess the flavour of subhāshitas, and have each one and the same last pdda, saying that six things are dear to Kakkuka. What those six things are has been specified in the verses themselves.

No. I.

TEXT.3

1 चौ विनायकाय नमः || यात्रीवतीश्वरण्यगुणः.4

2 समस्या: [i] चोटी धर्मिवन्दनः [i] चन्द्र राजगोसियम्बद्या जा-

3 त: बीमामुक्त: बीरजिनि: [i] प्रमाक्षीनरस्त: [i] च.

1 For some remarks on Ahirs, see Jour. As. Soc. Vol. XXI. pp. 430-433; for fuller information still, see my monograph contributed to the Ethnographical Survey of Bombay.

2 Prakṛiti, which is the same as pyaḷū in verse 20 of the Mitāki-sād inscription, here doubtless signifies the Kṣatriya class, as it is distinguished both from the vēpa (Brahmān) and upaḷ (Vaiśya) classes. This is rather an unusual sense of the word, and so far I have not seen it used in this sense anywhere else.

From the original stone.

4 Read "षमः."

5 Read "विनायकायः"
No. II.

TEXT:

1 श्री सिद्ध: [१] दिया राजी च संद्याया — — — — —
2 — संकुल । सिद्ध करोठु संवेल संभावना विना
3 यक: " [१] रोहिणकुपकलाम: पृथ्वमार्गदना
4 यक: । बश्य: "साधुलोकान्तां ब्रविभीमार्दमात: । [२]
5 विविधविधविधिपुष्पम् हरे कूला गुणार्थति च । विनय
6 जिग्रास्तोभो गृहं गत्वा प्रयेर्गच च । [१] श्रीमलाकी पुस्तेन
7 सप्तीशाराष्टिना । काकुलन स्वितं दला स्पार्थिते सम्भा
8 जन: [४] महाजनश्व सछुवि: लाम: । पूजा सुमला भूति: । श्री
9 काकुलत्व कुटामा कीर्तितहतु भावती । [४] संवृत यदि ७१८ छे

1 Read कुकुलव.
2 Read "मुगुसिमत.
3 I do not understand the position of पूजा here.
4 Read समूह यान; the omadara of "yam" must have been inadvertently placed over "यात्री".
5 From the original stone.
6 Read श्रीभागामामीति.
7 Read यहिमिति.
No. 39.—SARANGARH COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

By Hira Lal, B.A., Nagpur.

Sarangarh is the capital of a feudatory State of the same name in the Chhattisgarh division of the Central Provinces. 32 miles south of Raigarh, the capital of another State and a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The chiefs of these two States are Raj-Gopda. The plates in question are in the possession of the Raj family and first came to my notice in the beginning of the year 1903 at my last visit to Sarangarh. As they were locked up and the keys were not available at the time, the then Superintendent of the State, Rai Sahib Alam Chand, promised to send them to me when I asked for them, but my reversion to the executive duties before I could return to head-quarters, followed by Paqdit Alam Chand's retirement from service, left them where they were, until the present Superintendent Munshi Akbar Khan, took active steps in the matter at the instance of Rai Bahadur Pandit Baijnath, B.A., Diwan of the Bastar State, and sent them on to me on the 7th January 1903. Thus the recovery of the plates first discovered over forty years ago is as much due to the interest of the above gentlemen as to the readiness of Raiya Jawahar Singh to lend them for examination.

The exact date and the details of the first discovery are not now forthcoming, but the plates are said to have reached the Bengal Asiatic Society on the 7th December 1864. Dr. Rajaendra Lal Mitra published them in that Society's Journal in 1866, where he stated that they were presented to the Society by Lieutenant G. Bowie of the Sambalpur Police Corps, but when Dr. Fleet wrote his Gupta inscriptions about 1888, and searched for the plates, he could not

1 From the original stone.
2 Read स्त्रांश।
3 Read स्त्रांश।
4 Read स्त्रांश।
find them. He then recorded that as the published version was not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced he was unable to include this inscription in his volume.1

The fact appears to be that the plates were never presented to the Society. They were simply lent by and finally returned to the owner, the Sārṅgarh family, whose State was in those days included in the Sambalpur district, now transferred to Bengal.

These facts combined with the absence of a facsimile copy of the record in Dr. Rājendranā Lāl’s notice, together with certain misreadings of the text, afford, I venture to think, sufficient reasons for re-editing this inscription.

There are two copper plates, each measuring 6¾" × 3½", and the weight of the two together is 12 ozs. 5½ drs. About 1" from the proper right margin each plate has a hole, roundish on one side and squarish on the other, the diameter being about ⅛". These were intended for stringing the plates on the ring, the loss of which has deprived our inscription of its last portion, which must have been engraved on a third plate. The lost plate must have contained about 5 or 6 lines 2 which can almost be restored from other inscriptions of the same king, and of Mahā-Jayārāja, all of which are composed in exactly the same wordings, the names of villages granted and the donees being of course different. In our inscription only some of the imprecatory verses are lost as also the date at the end, which of course cannot be restored. Judging from other inscriptions of this king the date must have been in regnal years, so that it could not have been of much help beyond fixing the priority or otherwise of our inscription as compared with others.

The plates recovered are in an excellent state of preservation. One is inscribed on one side and the other on both in characters of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The letters are very neatly and well formed, their average size being about ⅛".

The accompanying plate gives a facsimile copy, from impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The language is Sanskrit prose except the usual imprecatory verses, here attributed to Vyāsa. As regards orthography, there is very little to be noticed beyond what has been already done by Dr. Konow with regard to another inscription of the same king recently found at Khariar.3 As the composition is almost identical, the peculiarities are common to both. The upadānāyīna occurs in line 3 in -pradāh-para-ma-. The same sign, viz. 2 dots, has been used for vīṣyasga and a pause. Ordinarily mātrās of s, ū, and ī alone are attached at the foot of letters, but in this inscription there is a curious example in line 12 where the sign for ī in anumādiṭāḥ is partly exhibited by a top and partly by a foot stroke, all other ī’s being represented by the top strokes for ī and ī; compare ekākramāpana- of line 1.

The inscription was issued from the town of Śarābhaspurā and records the grant of a village named Chullāndāraka situated in the bhūkti or subdivision of Tūndāraka by the Queen and the royal family of Rāja Mahā-Sudēva and assented to by him, to a number of learned priests, viz. Bhāskarasvāmi, Prabhākarasvāmi, Bṛghuśvāmi, Bṛṣārvāmi, Dattāsvāmi, Viśnusvāmi, Phalgusvāmi, Śvāmikṛttīsvāmi and Śaṅkaraśvāmi, all of the Kauśika gōtra. One of these, Viṣṇusvāmi, is apparently identical with the donee of the Khariar plates. He also belonged to the Kauśika gōtra and received a village in the Khariar samūdhārī from this king. Neither these two nor the third charter of this king, which was obtained from Raipur, throw any light on the dynasty to which he belonged or on

1 Gupta Inscriptions, p. 106, footnote 2.
2 Eighteen lines of our inscription remain; the Khariar plates have 23 lines, the Arang plates of Jayārāja 24, and the Raipur plates of Sudēva 23, but these last ones are much smaller in size than the others. Our plates are slightly bigger than all the three sets.
3 See above, pp. 170 and ff.
Sarangarh plates of Maha-Sudeva.
his date. Dr. Konow has conjectured that the Śarabhapura kings might have been Rāṣṭrakūtas. They were ascendant in the Central Provinces about the 8th century to which period the characters of our inscription belong. But Dr. Konow, for reasons pointed out by him, regards the identification as yet very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura, which recurs in the other two grants of Mahā-Sudēva, and in the Āranga plates of Mahā-Jayarakṣa, has not yet been identified. I identify Tuṇḍaraka with the present Tūndrā, about 6 miles south of Seori Nārāyan on the Mahānadi and about 35 miles west of Sāranga. It is now included in the Balodā Bazār tahsīl of the Raipur district. The village Chullanda raka must have been somewhere close to Tūndrā, but I am at present unable to trace it. If it exists we would now find the name in a form like Chulandra, a characteristic Chattisgarhi name, some similar ones which I remember being Māchānūr, Pālānūr, Kachānūr, etc. It appears to me that another village granted by Mahā-Sudēva in his Raipur charter was not very far away from Tūndrā. It is called Śrīśāhikā, which I take to be the present Sirāhī, also included in the Balodā Bazār tahsīl, and situated about 25 miles south-west of Tūndrā. Mahā-Jayarakṣa of the Āranga plates, who belonged to the same dynasty, also seems to have granted a village in the same part of his kingdom, viz. Paṅvā, which I identify with Pāmarū, about 21 miles north of Tūndrā and included in the Jānjigir tahsīl of the Bilāspur district. Paṅvā and Śrīśāhikā are stated to be included in the Pārvatadētra or Eastern country, and we know from the Khariar plates that to the south the kingdom extended at least up to Khariar. This leads to the inference that the territories of Mahā-Sudēva included a large portion of Mahā-Kōsala, or roughly speaking Chattisgarh division.

TEXT.4

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ svasti [†]
Śarabhapurāṇa-vikram-pūrṇa-sāmanta-makhata-chudamaṇi-
prabhā-pra-
2 aśāmba-dhāta-pādayugalō ripu-vāsinī-sīmanta-b İstanbul-bhētur-vvasu-
3 vasudhāgo-pradah-paramabhagavato mātā-pitri-bhīnā-anudhyāta-ārā-Mahā-Sudē-
4 va-rāja Tuṇḍaraka-bhūktiyā-Chullanda raka pratīvī-suṣṭlbhūta-vas-
5 māṅjāpayati [||*] Viditam-astu vo yathāya yram grāmā śrīśāhikā-pratihata-sadana-
sukha-
6 pratisthitākara āyavār-nīsā-tārā-kīraṇa-pratihata-gbhandhakāraṇa ja-

Second Plate; First Side.

7 gad-aṁśatīh thata tāvad-upabhōgyas saṁvidhih saṁpandhīr-aṁśatīh-aṁśatīh-pravāśya-
8 sarvva-kara-visarjitaḥ rājya-mahādevī-srōjakulaṁ mātā-pitro-ātmanāṁ cha pu-
9 ṣy-abhivrvidhāya udakapūrvaṁ 20 Kōsā-saṁga-trīṣasravīdyā-Bhāsacakṣaṁ-
10 Prabhaftaṁravāṁi-Barbaraṁravāṁi-Bōṣavāṁi-Dattaṁravāṁi-Viṣṇuvāṁi-
11 Phalgunsāṁvāimate-Svāmikirtitvāṁi-Śaṅkaravāṁi[ʌ] tāmbrāśaṁanē-ātisī-
12 ahāḥ bhūtvāśaṁbhir-anumāditaḥ [||*] Tō yūyam-śvam-palabhya-aṁśhāṁ-ahāṁśrāva-

1 Gupta Inscriptions, p. 197. 2 ibid., p. 192.
3 The appendix pura seems to have been added when a mud fort, which still exists, was built there.
4 From the original plates.
5 Read ādasa.5 [It is possible that the sign read as ā here and in kōśa, l. 9, should be read as ac. The two akṣaras are separated by an interval, which is not the case where ā is intended. This remark also applies to the other plates of this king.—S. K.]
6 Read pitri.
7 Read ātmanāṁ.
8 Read ātmanāṁ.
Second Plate; Second Side.

13 pu-vidhóya bhútvá yathóchitam bhóga-bhágam-úpanayantas-sukha[rn*]
   prativatyaśatha ([n*] 14 Bhavishyataś-cha bhúmi-pán-anudarśaya || 1 Dánád-vasishṭham-anúpálasena[rn*] pu-
   rāpah[²] dharmadhéhu niśchitadbhuyā-pravadantí dharmam || (l) tasmā[ḍ*] dvijaya suv-
   16 śuddha-kura-śruttaya dattām bhuvam bhavatu vód matir-eva gótptum ||
   Tad-bhavadbhí- 
   17 r-apy-śah dattir-anúplayitavyā ([n*] Vyāsa-gítam-śah-ātra ślokān-udáhara-
   18 ni || ²Agnér-apatyam prathamam suvarṇaṁ (l) bhúr-vvaishñavī súryasutā

TRANSLATION.⁵

Om! Hail! From Sarabhapura, The illustrious Mahá-Sudéva Rája, whose two feet are 
sashed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre from the crest jewels in the tiaras 
of the chiefs who have been subjugated by his prowess; who is the cause for the doing away with 
the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies; who is the giver of riches, of land 
and of cows; who is a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of his 
mother and father—issues a command to the householders living in Chullandaráka in the 
territorial sub-division (bhukti)⁶ of Túṇḍaraká:

Be it known to you that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of (our) 
prosperity, the abode of (Indra), the lord of the gods—which has been conveyed by 
a copper charter accompanied with (pouring) of water, by the Royal Consort² and the Royal 
Family to Bhásakarasvámi, who knows the three thousand (verses?) Prabhákasvámi, 
Barbhárasvámi, Bótasvámi, Dattasvámi, Vihañsúvámi, Phalgamsúvámi, Sámiáktiśávámi,⁹ 
(and) Sánkasvámi (all) of the Kausika gótra, to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, 
having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, 
together with its treasures and deposits, not to be entered by the district officer¹⁰ and soldiers; 
(and), free

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¹ Metre Vasantātikā.
² Read pūraṇaḥ.
³ Metre Indravajrā.
⁴ The remaining portion of the verse is: s-vah | dattá-drayas-táya bhavaná lók ká yáh káuchanah vám cha mahá cha dāyé it.
⁵ I have freely adopted the language of other translators of similar inscriptions, especially of Drs. Konow and Fleet.
⁶ Bhukti was an old territorial division, the exact meaning of which has not yet been ascertained. It occurs in other inscriptions (see Gupta Inscriptions, p. 218, note 6) and sometimes becomes permanently attached to names such as Jñábhukti, the ancient name of Bundelkhand, which was corrupted into Jñáhauti in Al Berani's times (see above Vol. I, p. 218, and Sachau's Al Berani's India, Vol. I, p. 202).
⁷ Mr. Venkaya suggests to take Rájyamahádávi as the name of the queen.
⁸ The original is drisakasa-vídya, which Dr. Rájendaral has taken to be a part of the proper name Bhásakarasvámi, but I think it is an adjectival phrase enfusing his learning which extended to the knowledge of three thousand of—what is not stated. Probably he knew three thousand sókas of some very important and difficult work, considered as a great achievement in those times.
⁹ [The proper form of the name is certainly Kritisudháma, but the second part of the preceding name has been repeated by mistake.—S. K.]
¹⁰ The word is chátra, usually translated 'irregular troops,' which translation I adopted in my Betal and Raghholi plates. Dr. Vogel, some time ago, kindly drew my attention to this point giving a more plausible explanation of the word. He wrote to me:
   'On my first visit to the ancient Hill State of Chamba (Punjab) I learnt that the head of a pargana there has the title of chátra, which is evidently derived from Sanskrit chátra. The chátra collects the villagers who have to do work (forced labour) on behalf of the State; he arranges for load carriers and supplies in case the Raja or some traveller visits his district. I have little doubt that the chátra of the copper plates is the same as the chátra of the Chamba State. In the Chamba copper plates published in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey (1902-03) I have therefore rendered the word by 'district officer.' It was clearly a
from all taxes,—has been sanctioned by us, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourself. Being aware of this you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness rendering in proper manner (their) share of the enjoyment.

And he enjoins upon future kings.—The ancients whose minds are fixed upon religion say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from making a grant); therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brahmaṇ of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.

And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa:—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to the God Vishnu and (cows are) the daughters of the sun: (therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow and land).1

No. 40.—PATIAKELLA GRANT OF MAHARAJA SIVARAJA
[GUPTA] SAMVAT 283.
BY R. D. BANERJI.

This inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was discovered several years ago by a peasant in a cornfield in the samidāri of Patiakele in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. It is the property of the Orijā Brahmaṇ, who, I hear, regularly worships it. The Raja of Patiakele made it over to Bābu Nagendra Nātha Vasu, the Honorary Archaeological Surveyor to the Mayurbhāṇia Estate. Nagendra Bābu made it over to me some six or seven months ago for decipherment.

The inscription is engraved on a single plate of copper, measuring 7½" by 2½". To the left there is an oval projection, 1½" long, to which a lump of brass or bell metal is attached. On the top of this lump there is an oval cavity, showing traces of the seal. But no letters or symbols are discernible at present. Both sides of the plate are inscribed. Altogether there are eighteen lines of writing in this grant. The writing was fairly well-executed, but its preservation is not very good. One corner of the plate is missing and has carried away portions of the dates with it. Fortunately the date can be made out correctly from the portions still remaining. In this grant the date was given twice. First of all we read in the second line tryabhikirittyuttara . . . and secondly at the end of the eighteenth line Samvat 200 . . . Thus tens and hundreds are all fairly certain. I am indebted to Dr. Konow for the reading of the symbol for two hundred.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and are in every respect similar to those of the Muncēśvarī inscription of Udyaśena, from the Shāhābūd district. The Muncēśvarī inscription is dated in the [Harsha] year 30 (635 A.D.). The peculiarities of the characters of our grant are as follows:

(a) Among the ligatures the only noticeable feature is to be found in the mark, which is expressed in two different ways while attached to the same letter ma. Cf.

1 These words which must have been engraved in the third plate have been supplied to make sense.
2 The Muncēśvarī inscription has been found in two pieces. The second portion was presented to the Indian Museum so far back as 1891. The first portion containing the date was found among the debris around the temple and sent to the Indian Museum in 1904. For the Muncēśvarī temple, see List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal (1905), p. 370. Dr. Bloch has referred to this inscription twice. See Annual Report of the Archaelogical Survey, Bengal Circle, 1902-03, p. 20, and Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1901-03, pp. 43-44. The inscription will be published below, pp. 289 and ff.
(b) It is interesting to note that this Cuttack grant shows a greater affinity to the Munḍēśvari inscription than does the Gaṅjām grant of Śaśāṅka, while the latter shows a marked affinity to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269. Thus the a in the Bōdh Gayā inscription and the Gaṅjām plate is bipartite, while in the Munḍēśvari inscription and the present grant it is of the usual early Gupta type, i.e., tripartite. Similarly the lingual ha in our grant and the Munḍēśvari inscription shows a cursive base line unlike the acute angle type of the Bōdh Gayā and Gaṅjām inscriptions. This form of ha is also to be found in the Nepal inscription of the year 316.

(c) The presence of the acute angle is noticeable only in the dental sa and ma, as is also the case in the Munḍēśvari inscription. But some letters show a well-defined acute angle at their lower extremities in alternative cases; cf. the ha in -kārāvāma- (1. 5) with that in -dāhūti- in 1. 3, and vrīhādhāgikāddhikaraṇa- in 1. 7.

(d) The characters of our grant differ from those of the Munḍēśvari inscription in so far as the lingual a in the latter is exactly similar to the sa of the early Gupta type, while the a in our grant has larger space between the right and left curves.

(e) The characters of this grant show a greater affinity to the Gōlmādhijī inscription of the Gupta year 316 than to the contemporary Nepal inscriptions. The paleography of the epoch beginning with the last half of the 6th and ending with the first half of the 7th century A.D. can nowhere be studied with greater advantage than in Nepal. The inscriptions of the Harṣa year 34, the Gupta year 316, the Harṣa years 39 and 45 show very clearly the change which came over later Gupta characters in the last half of the 6th century and the 50 years following that. Thus the Gōlmādhijī inscription of the year 316 shows in its characters very little departure from those of the Mandsor inscription of Yaśōdharman. The Patan inscription of the year 34th exhibits a further step onwards, as it is more allied to the Gaṅjām grant of Śaśāṅka than our grant or the Gōlmādhijī inscription. The next inscription, that of the Harṣa year 39th and the short record of the year 45 of the same era, are inscribed in characters which are very much akin to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman and the Madhuban and Banakhēra grants of Harshavarman.

(f) The letters da and ta resemble each other very closely. Thus, vrīhādhāgikāddhikaraṇa-, 1. 7, looks like vrīhādhāgikāddhikaraṇa-.

(g) There is little difference between va and aha. Thus, -cāla-taraṅga-, 1. 1, looks like -cāla-taraṅga-, while Śivarāja, 1. 5, looks like Śivarājā.

As regards orthography two or three departures are noticeable, such as -maṅgura-, 1. 1, -vaśa- and -dālity-, 1. 2, gōhattā, 1. 8.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant made by a feudatory chief named Śivarāja to a number of Brāhmaṇas during the reign of his suzerain Sāgguyayana of southern Tōsali. Sāgguyayana is styled Paramadēśevara-Paramabhatāraka-Paramadēśevasātādhisācācara, which clearly shows his imperial position. The title of the suzerain and the name of the

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1 Above, Vol. VI., p. 143.
2 Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 274, pl. XLIA.
3 Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 274, pl. XLIA.
4 Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 150, pl. XXII.
6 Ind. Ant. Vol. IX., p. 170, and Bendall's Journey to Nepal, p. 77, pl. X.
Patiakella Plate of Sivaraja.—[Gupta] Samvat [283].

Scale 0'57
From a Photograph.
Patiakella Plate of Sivaraja.—[Gupta] Samvat [283].

First Side

Second Side

Full Size. W. Griggs, Photo-Lith.
donor points to Śaivism, but the names of several donors such as Vīshnuvāmī, Rāvatsvāmī, Gopālasvāmī, etc., show a Vaishāvāva taint. The document was issued from Vörtnākā, which was the Imperial capital (1. 4) as well as the residence of the feudatory chief (1. 8). The grant consisted in the village Ṭaḍḍrvalu. It was given to several Brāhmaṇs belonging to separate gōtras and charaṇas. The date has already been discussed. There can be little doubt about the fact that it is a Gupta year. Thus our grant was issued after the Bōdh Gāyā inscription and before the Gaḍijām grant, the Nepal inscription of the year 316, and the Maṇḍēśvarī inscription. The second line mentions the kings of the Māṇa race, Māṇavāṇa-rajyakālē. This dynasty has been mentioned in two 12th century inscriptions only, viz. the Nawādā inscription of the Śaka year 1050, which has been recently purchased by the Archaeological Survey and brought to the Indian Museum, and in the Duddhānī rock inscription.

I am afraid it is beyond my power to identify the geographical position of the village mentioned in the Paṭākellā grant. Neither the vishaya nor the bhukti or the maṇḍala has been mentioned in the grant, but in lines 5-6, we find asminnā eva vishayā, which probably indicates that the name of the vishaya was also Vörtnākā. I now edit the inscription from the original plate:—

**TEXT.**

**First Side.**

1 Ōṁ svasti | salila-nidhi-vēlā-vala[yita-cha]la-taraṅg-ābharaṇa-ruchira-maṅgura

2 paṭṭanavatya[m] vasumati[m] pravarttamāna-Māṇa-vaṅga-rājya-kālē tryadhik-āśitty-utta[ra]

3 Maṇḍgal-āmala-kuḷē gagana-tala-śitadīḍhisti-nivātē sita-charitē Paramamāhēśvara-śri-Saṅguyayanē

4 Śasati daksīṇa-Tosāya[th] Vörtnāṅkēṭ-paramadēv-atadhidivaś-āśīl-paramabhatṭā-raka-charaṇa-kaṇāla-āmala-kahan-

5 nī-ḥār-ādhikāma-pratiḥata(ḥ)-kaliyug-āgata-darta-nīchayaḥ(yō) mahārāja-

Śivarāja kuśāl asminnā eva

6 vishayā samupagat-ābhavishayat-sāmanta-rāja-rājasthānyo-āparīka-kumāramātya-

tadāyukta-kaccha-mahāmahattara-

7 vrīhadhūgīkāḍākharāyaṇa-āṃva rājapādpajīvi yathāra[ṃ] śrāvayati mānayati cha

viditam-a[stu] bhavatān ya-th-ā-

8 ttra vishayā sambaddha-Taḍḍrvalu[ḥ]grāma(mō) Vörtnāṅk[āvāsā-

gō(ʔ)]hṛtā-maṃbhī mārpatitrīc-ātmangā cha puny-ā-

9 bhivriddhyā | salila-dhārā-pūrvvakāy-sahandr-ārka-sama-kāliy-ākshayanīvī(ṇivi)-

dharmāṇḍa[ṛa]-

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1 Above, Vol. II., p. 333.
2 [The locality cannot be far from Tōsāl, which we know from Aōka’s Dhasli edicta, and which must be located in the neighbourhood of Dhasli. It seems more likely to explain asminnā eva vishayā as Tōsālī-vishayā than as Vörtnāṅkōvishayā.—S. K.]
3 [It has proved impossible to get good impressions of the plate. The subjoined reproductions are the best that could be obtained.—S. K.]
4 Expresed by a symbol.
5 [I am unable to see Saṅguyayanē, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading; I think I see Śambhāya-

sya-yu.-S. K.]
6 [I read -aḍalā-ṛṣṇī.-S. K.]
7 [I read -aḍalā-ṛṣṇī.-S. K.]
8 [I read Vörtnāṅke achedeṇa . . . but cannot make out the rest.—S. K.]
Second Side.

charapābbhya Anuruddhasvāmi-Gomīdāvasvāmi-Śūrasvāmi-Voppavāmi-Pitrīsvāmi-
11 Harunāgasvāmi-Charandravāmi-Bhdrasvāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Pushyasvāmi-...karasvāmi-Rōhiṃ-
svāmi-
12 Vu(Bu)dhasvāmi-Mahāsēgasvāmi-Vishhūsvāmi-Yadusvāmi-Mātrađasvāmi-Nāgasvāmi-
Bhōgasvāmi-
13 Ana(nte)svāmi-Prabhākarasvāmi-Nāva...rasvāmi-Dipavāmi-Jam[va]svāmi-Gōmisvāmi-
Valkasvāmi-
14 Jēśhṭhasvāmi-Adarśanādeva-Dhahadeva-Kumārasvāmi-Jēśhṭhasvāmi-Rēvatisvāmi-
Prāya(?svāmi-
15 Pushyasvāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Vappavāmi-Śravasyāmi-Gōpalasvāmi-Gōmisvāmi-ḥ yas =
tāmra-
16 -paṭṭi-kṛtya saṭpradattaḥ [*] Pūrvvarajakrito dharmaḥ[6] =nupalanyaiti(ya iti)
matvā bhavadbhiḥ[*] Dharmasāstrēsvah-api śrutiyo ([*])
17 Va(ba)hubhir-vaṣudhā dattā rājabhiḥ-Sagarādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadda
bhūmī-satyas tasya [tadā phalam] [*] [Shaśṭiṇ] varta-
18 sahasraṇī svagge tiśittāth bhūmīdaḥ [*] ākhēptā cha-anumantā cha tany-
ēva narakv vasaḥ [*] Samvat1 200

TRANSLATION.

In the [two hundred] and eighty-third year of the rule of the Māṇa family on the earth,
full of cities, which has the shores of the ocean as its bracelet, the moving waves as its trinkets and
the radiant māyura fishes as its . . . In the spotless family of Mudgala, when the great
worshipper of Mahēvara (Śiva), the illustrious Saguṇayana, whose character was white and
who was undisturbed like the moon in the sky, was ruling in southern Tōsali, Mahārāja
Śivarāja, whom the accumulation of sins could not approach on account of his obtaining from
the lotus-like feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the God of Gods, the spotless position of a ruler of the
earth, being in good health, from Vorttanāka honors all present and future feudatory chiefs.
Rājasthānis, Uparikas, officers of the heir-apparent, Tāddyakutas, great nobles, tax-collectors
and other dependents of the king in this viśhaya in due form and proclamations:—"Be it
known to you that the village Tāḍrāvala, belonging to this viśhaya, from (the residence)
house at ?) Vorttanāka, for the increase of the merit of my father and mother and myself,
after having poured out water, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon subsists, everlastingly,
as a permanent endowment, is given by writing on copper plates to Anuruddhasvāmi,
Gomīdāvasvāmi, Śūrasvāmi, Voppavāmi, Pitrīsvāmi, Harunāgasvāmi, Chandrasvāmi,
Bhdrasvāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Pushyasvāmi,...karasvāmi, Rōhiṃsvāmi, Vu(Bu)dhasvāmi,
Mahēgasvāmi, Vishhūsvāmi, Yadusvāmi, Mātrađasvāmi, Nāgasvāmi, Bhōgasvāmi, Ana(nte)
svāmi, Prabhākarasvāmi, Nāvarasvāmi, Dipavāmi, Jam,vavāmi, Gōmisvāmi, Valkasvāmi,
Jēśhṭasvāmi, Adarśanādeva, Dhahadeva, Kumārasvāmi, Jēśhṭhasvāmi, Rēvatisvāmi,
Prāyasvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Vappavāmi, Śravasvāmi, Gōpalasvāmi, Gōmisvāmi,
belonging to various gōtras and charas. A law laid down by former kings should be
observed, thinking so (you should observe my gift). It is heard in the laws (two of the
ordinary benedictory verses follow). Samvat 200.

1 Read Saṃvat.
No. 41.—MUNDESvari inscripTion OF Udayasena.


By R. D. BANSJI.

This inscription was discovered among the débris which had accumulated around the temple of Munḍesvari in the Bhābū subdivision of the Shāhābād district. It seems that sometime after the inscription some ignorant person sawed it lengthwise in halves. The two halves of the inscription were discovered and brought to the Indian Museum at different dates. The second half seems to have been discovered by the late Babu Purna Chandra Mukhārji so far back as 1891-92. The first half, which is the more important part of the inscription, as it contains the date, was discovered in 1902. Impressions on tin foils were then sent to Dr. Bloch. The inscription was finally brought to the Indian Museum in the beginning of 1904. The two halves have now been joined together and placed on a masonry pedestal in the Inscription gallery of the Museum.

The stone measures 2 8" by 1 1" and contains eighteen lines of well-executed writing. In the first half of the inscription the first fifteen lines are clear, but the sixteenth line has been much damaged and the seventeenth and eighteenth lines have been lost altogether. With the exception of the last two lines, which contain one of the usual imprecatory verses, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

In a previous paper I have fully discussed the palæography of this inscription. The only orthographical peculiarities are the substitution of ba for va in sanskrita, and the use of a instead of i before i. Letters with a superscribed rōpha have been doubled. Final forms of m are to be found in ll. 2, 4 and 18, and of i in l. 15. The sign of aśvagraha has not been used at all, though it would have been in its place in ll. 14 and 18. Note also the form kāritakam in l. 6.

The inscription records a grant of two prasthas of rice and a pala of oil to the god Manjulaśvāra by a kulapati named Bhāgudalana. It is dated in the year 30 in the reign of the Mahāśāmanta, Mahāpratihāra, Mahārāja Tādayasena, who is not known from other sources. Judging from the affinity of the characters of this inscription with those of the years 34 and 39 from Nepal, the era is most probably that established by Harshavardhana. The mutilation of the central portion of the inscription by saving the stone into two halves has caused a series of gaps. Some of these can be filled up, but lines 11 and 15 are quite unintelligible. I now edit the inscription from the original stone.

TEXT.

1 Om Śamba(diva)tsara triṇāsati[ tamē] Kārttika-divasē dvāviṃśatīmē
2 asmini-samba(diva)tsara-māsa-[diva]sa-pūrvvāyām śrī-Mahāśāmanta-
3 Mahāpratihāra-Mahārāja-[Tādayasena-rājyō kulapati]-Bhāgudalana-7
4 s-sa dāvanikāyam daṅga[n]yaka-Gomibhāṣena prakṛthyitvā
5 mātāpītrīr-ātmanas-cha pu[nyā]bhīvvidhayē Vinitēśvara-maṭhasamā-
6 vēṣām maṭham=stāt=kāritakām [śrī]-Nārāyaṇa-dēvakunlāsya

1 List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal (published by the Public Works Department, 1895) pp. 370–371.
4 See above, p. 285 f.
5 A teacher who mainstains ten thousand pupilis at his own cost is termed a kulapati. See Vīchāropatī.
6 Ebdhānām.
7 Bāndhal's Journey to Nepal, pp. 72-73.
Hail. In the year 30, on the twenty-second day of Kārttika, on the above-mentioned year, month and day, in the reign of the great feudatory, the Mahāpratihāra, the Mahārāja [Udayasena, the kalapati Bhāgudalana, having applied to the Council of gods (?Brāhmaṇas) through the daṇḍadvaka Gomibaṭha built this maṭha of the devakula of Nārāyanas, to increase the merit of his father and mother and of his own self, near the temple of Visnuṭāvara. For the lord Maṇḍalēvara provision has been made every day, as long as the Sun and the Moon last, everlastingingly, to provide two prasthas of rice for the votive offering and a palā of oil for the lamp from the treasury. Fifty āṇḍas current up to the frontiers of the Lord Maṇḍalēvara— with rice and other ingredients. Knowing it to be a gift of the Council of gods, the merchants who trade on the waters (?) and who arrive at the proper time 5 should not hinder this arrangement. Having heard this, whoever acts to the contrary shall live in hell with great sins. O! Yudhishṭhira, preserve with care preservation is preferable to gifts.

No. 42.—INSCRIPTION ON THE UMBRELLA STAFF OF THE BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM SAHET MAHET.

By T. Bloch, Ph.D.

The stone bearing this inscription was discovered by Rākhali Dāsi Banerji in April, 1906, in the Lucknow Museum. As Dr. Vogel tells me, it is a red sandstone slab, 3' 1" high, 11½" wide, and 4½" thick. "It is broken off at the top, just where the octagonal portion begins. Here the four corners are provided with an ornament in the Mathurā style. The lower portion of the slab is carved with a seated female figure, apparently unfinished. The back of the column is cut off straight." The photograph of the stone, supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, shows that this carving has been done at a later time, perhaps when the stone was intended to be used for some building. It has destroyed a good many letters in the second half of the inscription, while the first half has become almost entirely obliterated by sharpening knives on it.

However, enough remains to make it absolutely clear that the inscription was identical with the dedicatory epigraph on the pedestal of the large standing Bōdhisattva from Sahēt.
Buddhist inscription from Set Mahet.

Scale 35

From an impression supplied by Dr. J. P. Vogel.
Mahét, which has been edited by me, above, Vol. VIII. pp. 180-181. This fact is of considerable interest. First it shows that I was right in explaining the word ḏāṇḍas-cha in line 2 of the Sahét Mahét image inscription as "a staff for supporting the umbrella over the head of the Bódhisattva" (l.c. p. 180). Secondly, and this is by far the most important point connected with this inscription,—we now know for certain that the Sahét Mahét statue was found by Cunningham in situ, or, in other words, that no possible doubt can be raised against the correctness of Cunningham's identification of Sahét Mahét with Śrāvasti. For although the records of the Lucknow Museum are not as clear as one would have expected them to be in regard to the provenance of the stone, Dr. Vogel has pointed out to me some very conclusive evidence, which in my opinion makes it certain that the stone was found by Dr. Hoey during his excavations at Sahét Mahét in 1885. The only possible doubt that could be, and has been, raised against the bearing of the Sahét Mahét, now Calcutta Museum, statue upon the question of the identity of Sahét Mahét with Śrāvasti, turned around this point: did Cunningham find the Bódhisattva image at Sahét Mahét in its original position, or had it been shifted to this place from somewhere else? Strange though such a transportation would appear to us prium facie, it still has been, as far as I know, an assumption that seemed to recommend itself to certain scholars. I am afraid their position has now become definitely weakened by the discoveries above referred to.

Unfortunately no further help is given to us by the new inscription for restoring the missing words in the beginning of the inscription on the pedestal of the Bódhisattva statue in the Calcutta Museum. Only the two letters va in the beginning of line 2 show that I was right in restoring the second word in the Calcutta inscription as ḍvāraputraṃ, and further in ascribing the Calcutta statue to the time of either Kaśyapa or Huvishka. However, this is a very small matter, for which hardly any additional proof was required owing to the occurrence of the name of the Trāpiṭaka Bala, the donor of the Calcutta image, in a Mathurā inscription of the year 33 of Huvishka.

I now edit the inscription from impressions and a photograph, kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel.

**TEXT.**

1. ......................... [dē]
2. vapi[ṛasya] ..............[[y]iḥār[i]-
3. .................................... [bhikṣaḥu]-
4. [sya] ............................... [bhikṣaḥu]-
5. sva[Balṣayya ṛṭeṇṭa]kasya
7. Śaṭvaṭiṣyā[ḥ] Bhagavatō chaṭna[k]a[m]e Kōṣaṭhā-
8. [kuṭiṇaḥ] acha[r]yyā[naḥ Sarvavā]s[t]ivāliṇa[m]

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**No. 43.—TWO BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM SARNATH.**

**By STEN KONOW.**

During the excavations in Sārnāth in February 1907, I found a fragment of a stone umbrella lying between the bases of two small brick stūpas to the west of the main shrine exca-

1 Dr. Vogel informs me that Paṇḍit Dayā Rāma Sahni has discovered additional proof, that even in the days of Gāvindachandra of Kanauj, the traditional identity of the two places was still alive. See Jour. R. As. Soc. 1908, pp. 971 and ff.
2 See above, Vol. VIII., p. 182.
3 It is doubtful, if the word was written ekāḥ, as in the inscription on the pedestal. However, the next word clearly is daṇḍas-cha, and not ṃḍas-cha, as it is spelt on the pedestal of the statue.
vated by Mr. Oertel in 1905. On the inner cavity of the fragment a Brāhmī inscription was engraved in four lines, the fourth running along the rim. The inscription, which is complete, covers the whole inner surface of the fragment, and the umbrella had therefore probably been roken when it was engraved.

The fragment is 17.5" long and 5.5" broad, and the umbrella to which it belongs must have had a diameter of nearly six feet. The letters are deeply cut, and their height varies from ½ to ¾ inches.

The characters are Brāhmī of the second or third century A.D. The forms of sa and sa are ancient, and the same is the case with ya. The shape of individual letters is not, however, constant. Thus the sa of imāni, l. 1, differs from the sa in gāmini, l. 1; 4; the da in dukkha in lines 2, 3 and 4 has different shapes; the dha of nirūdhā, l. 3, is angular, while it has been rounded in l. 4, etc. The form of the compound kkha is of some interest, the kha being open at the bottom. In bhikkha, l. 1, however, the bottom line has apparently been added by mistake under the following vā. The two kkhas in l. 2 differ from each other, and, on the whole, the form of this liguature is not the same in any two places.

The language is the Pāli of Buddhist literature, but with several misspellings, and other mistakes. Thus in l. 2, we find dikkha instead of bhikkha, and ariyasachchaṁ, l. 3 ariyasachchaṁ, and in l. 4 arisachchaṁ, all instead of ariyasachchaṁ. These slips, taken together with the uncertainty in the formation of the individual letters, can only be accounted for by the supposition that the inscription was cut by an engraver who did not understand the original. The occasional introduction of the Sanskrit saṁdhi in samudaya ariyaya(sa)chchaṁ, l. 3, points in the same direction.

The inscription contains a short enumeration of the four ariyasachchas, the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhas. These four truths form the essence of the famous Benares sermon, and our inscription is accordingly very appropriate in the spot where the Buddha first "turned the wheel of the law." In this connection it is of interest to note that the great majority of the statues unearthed in Sārnāth represent the Buddha in the Dharmasachakramadā, delivering his first sermon. The enumeration of the four noble truths or axioms is of the same conventional kind which is so common in Pāli literature, and though I have not found the exact quotation, I do not doubt that the passage cut on the stone is meant as a quotation from the Canon. Our inscription, therefore, furnishes a valuable epigraphical proof for the existence of a Pāli Canon in the second or third century A.D. It is also of interest as the first old Pāli inscription found in North India. I here take the word Pāli to mean the language of the Southern Canon, the only use of the word which I consider as justified.

TEXT.1

1 Chattā[ā]rīmāni bhikkhavā ar[i*]yassachchaṁ
2 katamāni chhattāri dukkha[m] di(bhi)kkhavā arā(ri)yassachcha[m]
3 dukkhasamudaya ariyaya(sa)chchaṁ dukkanirūdhā ariyasachchaṁ
4 dukkanirūdhha-gāmini cha paṭipadā ar[iya*]sachchaṁ

TRANSLATION.

Four, ye monks, are the noble axioms. And which are these four? The axiom (about) suffering, ye monks; the axiom (about) the cause of suffering; the axiom (about) the suppression of suffering; and the axiom (about) the path leading to suppression of suffering.

1 The stone perhaps has nirudha.
2 The actual rendering seems to be echeha.
Sarnath stone umbrella inscription.
Sarnath Buddhist inscription.
Another inscription written in Pāli was discovered during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in the winter of 1908, on the back of a slab containing conventional representations of scenes of the Buddha's life. I publish it here from impressions prepared in my office. The writing covers a space of 12' x 9', and the height of the individual letters is ¾"-1'.

The characters belong to the 4th, or, perhaps, the 3rd century A.D. The tripartite ya is almost identical with the ya of the Allahábád prázasti, while the sa has the older form with a hook, and not with a loop. The date of the inscription is of interest for the history of Buddhist iconography.

The language is mixed Pāli, the forms -prabhavā with line I, and -śramaṇā, I. 5, not belonging to the dialect. The inscription contains the common formula yē dhammā, etc.

**TEXT.**

1 Yē dhammā hēta-prabhavā
2 tēsān hētaṁ tathāga-
3 tō avōcha tēsān cha
4 yō nirôdhō ē-
5 varā víddā mahā-
6 śramaṇā.

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No. 44.—**SPURIOUS LAPHA PLATE OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA.**

**SAMVAT 806.**

**BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.**

At the request of Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., Zamindāri Settlement Officer, Bīlāspur District, I have examined a copper plate in the possession of a Zamindār at Lāphā, named Dahirāj Singh, who is over sixty years of age and whom I had the pleasure to meet. He was good enough to lend it to me for taking an impression to accompany this note. He informed me that the plate was given to one of his ancestors, who first came from Delhi and took service at Ratapur as one of the gate-keepers of the Rattipur Fort and also as a guard of the Rānī's palace. He used to live in the Bhāgāndālāpārā, one of the quarters of Ratapur town. This portion of the town was eventually given to him as a maṭī, and afterwards the present copper plate grant is said to have been given bestowing on him 120 villages belonging to the Lāphā Fort. The present Zamindār contains only 75 villages and the Zamindār informed me that before Mr. Chisholm's settlement in the year 1868, there were only 60 villages in it.

The plate is rectangular, measuring 9 ¼" x 4 ½", having a smooth surface, inscribed on one side only. There are two small holes on the top. The writing covers 7 ¼" x 3 ½", leaving out the Śrī at the top.

The record consists of 8 lines surmounted by a prefatory one, the middle portion of which is spaced down, apparently for ornamental purposes. This line and the word Śrī at the top together with Śrī 5 at the commencement and subhaṁ-caitu and the date in figures at the end are in prose. The rest is in verse, consisting of 5 aṣṭaḥśat kālās which are numbered, except the last. There are altogether 206 letters including 9 figures.

The style of writing is Oṛiyā, and there are not less than 25 letters which are distinctly borrowed from the alphabet of that language. All the maṭrī or vowel signs have been marked according to what is in vogue in the present Oṛiyā writing. The letters ja, da and ca have been invariably written in the Oṛiyā form. The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes. Thus in verse 3 we find śuraśāmana- instead of śurasāmana-.
The inscription purports to record the gift of 120 villages appertaining to the Lāmphā (Lāphā) fort to a noble named Lūṅgā, who had come from Delhi, by the Haihayas king Prithvivirā, on the 1st day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in Saṁvat 808. For what services the gift was made and on what conditions, is not stated, but it was to be hereditary and it was given because the king's "mind was pleased with the Kaunrawiya" 1 which apparently means that he was pleased with the Kawar tribe, to which the donor belonged, presumably for their military services. What strikes one most at the first glance is the freshness of the metal, the clean cut and the modern characters, and this rouses suspicion. The intermixture of Ośiśa letters is in itself suspicious. They might, however, be old and indicate that the plate is an old one. On looking for the date such an idea gets partially confirmed, but the suspicion again revives as soon as we learn from the Zamindār that, since the grant was made, only 27 generations have supervened. The Zamindār thinks the date to be of the Vikrama era, so that the plate would be about 1,159 years old. This would give, on the average, 43 years to a generation, which is absurd. A critical examination of the record affords as easy an evidence of its being spurious. The characters are in reality all modern, having been taken from the Hindi and Ośiśa alphabets. The inscriptional alphabet of the Chhattīsgarh Haihayas has a peculiarity of its own, not easily describable, but which distinguishes it from the modern alphabet. The most distinctive letters are cha, ja, dhu, bha and sa, but in all instances where these letters occur in the present plate, they have no such distinctive features. The style of the record is also modern. I have not come across any Haihayas inscription with a śri at the top, which modern writers usually put in. Again the word śri Krishnachandra, which is apparently meant as an invocation, is a modernism, similar phrases being śri-Dāma, śri- Gandha, etc. In all Haihayas inscriptions, the invocation is Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya, i.e. I bow down to Śiva. The forger, who, I believe, had seen many of the Haihayas inscriptions, forgot the distinctive Haihayas invocation owing to the story of Śri-Krishna being uppermost in his mind, and he thought that as Krishna was so well pleased with Mayūradvaja, the supposed ancestor of the Haihayas, an invocation to that deity would be most appropriate. The next phrase, calling the record vijaya-lākh or the victorious writ, meaning royal record, is another novelty of the Ośiśa type, in which, as in Dravidian languages, the addition of vijaya or victory to every act done by a high personage is a matter of etiquette. A Rāja does not go, he conquers vijaya karubhanti, he does not eat, he conquers the kitchen, he does not answer the call of nature, he conquers the latrine, and so on. I have not come across any other grant being distinguished as vijaya-lākh. The next phrase refers to a seal, which is nowhere to be found. The prefatory phrases done, the record proper again begins with a modernism, vis. śri 5. This reminds one of a Hindi letter-writer which was used in schools, some years ago, in which there was a couplet to the effect that 5 śris should be recorded for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or son. This must have occurred to the writer's mind, more particularly because he was, as I suppose, a school-master himself and was probably teaching the Patrakhitaśiṣi to his pupils.

Now with regard to the date, the Vikrama year 806 or 749 A.D. is impossible. It goes back to a period when probably the Haihayas had not at all come to Chhattīsgarh. From inscriptions we have a date 1114 of Jājalladēva 2 I, who was fifth in descent from Kālīgarāja, the first Haihayas, who is said to have conquered Dakshinakōśala. Taking then the date of Kālīgarāja to be 1000 A.D., the present grant would have been made by the Haihayas 250 years before they began to rule in Chhattīsgarh. Even if we suppose that it refers to the Kalachuri era, it would be equivalent to 1054 A.D., i.e. almost contemporaneous with the commencement of Haihayas rule. Prithvirāja was fourth in descent from Kālīgarāja and was the father of Jājalladēva I. The date of this plate would place a difference of 60 years between

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1 [Perhaps Kaunrawiya is intended.—S. K.]
Lapha spurious plate of Prithvideva.—Samvat 806.
father and son, if we suppose that both records were written in the first year of their reigns. This is again improbable. These kings moreover had not then gone to Ratnapur.

On the whole, I come to the conclusion for reasons stated above that this grant to Luṅgā is a luṅga affair and was perpetrated somewhere between 1860 and 1870 by a Sanskritist of Ratnapur, whom I do not desire to name out of respect for his Sanskrit learning. I suppose 'chill penury' induced him to undertake a work which he would not have otherwise done. The record does not show any adequate cause for the grant being made, and it is noteworthy that exactly double the number of villages of those which the Zamindāri contained before Mr. Chisholm's settlement were recorded as granted by the Haihaya Rāja. It may be noted that when this record was written the change of the tribal name of the dunes or his descendants from Kawar to Tawar had not been mooted or at least had not been seriously taken up, otherwise we should not have had the phrase Kai̇raviya-prasannadāth in verse 3. There is a family genealogy of the Lāphā Zamindār, written in the year 1927 or 1870 A.D., which shows that the tribal name had then been changed to Tawar.

**TEXT.**

Śrī Kṛishṇapanchandra

śrī-lēkha-nudrā chaṭuraśrā.

śrī-lēkha-mudrā chaṭuraśrā.

vijayalēkha

Śrī 5 || Svasti śrīmaṇa-mahārājādhirājaḥ kahiti-nīkaraṇaḥ (I) Prithividēva ma-
hodārśi-maulyudhāśi-padmāmva(hu)jab || 1 || Haihayāmnaśa-savitā sūra-sāmanta-

sēviṭā (I) mahābhāta-bhaṭākiraṇa-asinyo vairigaṇaprahā || 2 || Dīly-āgata-
susūrīya (I) Luṅgā-ākhyāya mahatmanu (I) dadā vritthi vaniṣaparān

Kauraviya-prasama-

dhāb || 3 || Lāmphi-ādurgam-asī(π) grāma-vimśottaraśatōṃmitām (I) samvatsarē
ras-āśhr-ashtātītē Māgh-āsīt-ādikē || 4 || yē bhavishaṃti bhūpālāḥ pā-
lānyā sad-śī tiabh (I) maddattā likhitā tāmra-patāre Mādavaśūri-

vā || Śubham-saṭū || Māghē vadi || 1 || Sāṃmānsarē ś 86.

**TRANSLATION.**

Śrī

The illustrious Kṛishṇapanchandra.

The illustrious writer's regular seal.

Śrī 5. Hail.

(Verse 1.) The illustrious Mahārājādhirāja Prithividēva, the king of many countries (is) very intelligent. (His) lotus feet are shining with the diadems (of kings prostrating before him).

(V. 2.) (He is as it were) the son amongst the descendants of the Haihayas and is served by his brave feudatories. His army is full of very extraordinary soldiers. He is the destroyer of his enemies.

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1 The word in Hindi means "mischievous."
2 Read kshity-anśkarīṭ.
3 Read śrīra-śdāṣṭaṇa.
4 Read vritthi.
5 Read .āṭṣa.
6 From the original plate.
7 Read Haihayāṃbhājīu.
8 Read suṭāyā.
9 Read Subham-sāṭu.
(V. 3-4.) His mind being pleased with the Kauravīyas (Kawars) he gave to the very brave noble named Lūṅgā, who had come from Delhi, 120 villages with the Lāmphā fort, for maintenance from generation to generation, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the Māgha month in the expired year (symbolically expressed by) flavour (6) sky (0) and eight (8).

Future kings should always respect my gift written on the copper-plate by Maṭhava Sūri. Let good fortune attend. The first day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 806.

No. 45.—ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA. KALACHURI SAMVAT 347.

By K. B. Pathak, Professor of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Poona.

These two plates belong to a Rajput family residing at Abhōna, a village in the Kalavana taluka of the Nasik district. I obtained them on loan through my friend Mr. N. C. Kelkar. They are inscribed on one side only, and measure 9 4/8 x 7. The writing is carefully engraved and is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from the Sarsavṛi plates of Buddhārāja edited by Dr. Kielhorn in this Journal, Vol. VI, pp. 294 and ff. They include numerical symbols for 300, 40, 7, 10 and 5 in line 34. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five imprecatory and beneficent verses in lines 28-33, the text is in prose.

The inscription is one of Śankaragana, the son of Krishnarāja, of the family of the Kāṭañchhūrī. It records an order of Śankaragana, issued from his camp at Ujjayinti, to the effect that he granted a hundred mivarītan of land in the village of Vallisikā situated in the district of Bhogavardhana to a Brahmana named Āhmapavāmin, of the Gautama jītra, belonging to the Taittīrīya śākhā, who was a resident of Kallāvana, at the request of Gogga. The inscription is dated, in words and numerical symbols, on the 15th day of the bright half of Śravāṇa of the year 347, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, so that the date corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 595.

The Kāṭañchhūri Śankaragana is identical with the father of Buddhārāja, who issued the Sarsavṛi grant. The wording of the two inscriptions is practically identical, with the exception of the portion referring to the grants themselves. There is, of course, nothing in our inscription to correspond to lines 14-17 of the Sarsavṛi plates, which refer to Buddhārāja.

Of the localities occurring in our inscription, Kallāvana is the modern Kalavana in the Nasik district. Vallisikā and Bhogavardhana I cannot identify.

In line 20 of the present inscription we find the technical expression a-chāṭa-bhāṣa-prācīṇam, which so frequently occurs in other inscriptions, and which has usually been rendered “not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers.” I invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars to the following passage, in which Śankarachārya uses it:—

\[
\text{tasmā tārkika-chāṭa-bhāṣa-rāj-āprācīṇam abhayaṁ durgam ādām alpabuddhāya-agamyanān āstura-gura-pradīpa-rahitāi cha. Ānandajāna gives the following explanation,—}
\]

\[
adānatē vīrañcāntar-abhād-pi tārkika-samaya-virōḍha-sti-ity-adākhy-aṁbha tasmād itī | pramāṇa-virōḍha-abhāvās tache-chhaṅda-dṛṣṭah | ādyamāryādāṁ bhindā.}
\]

1 Or, if we read Kauravīya, “he gave to the very brave and noble Kaurava (Kawar) named Lūṅgā.”
2 [In the photo-lithograph 347 has been wrongly printed instead of 347—S. K.]
3 Bhikaḍḍalyasādha-sukhoḍḍahāsyaṣṭha, Anandajāna edition, pp. 311 and ff.
nāh chāṭa vívakahyante | bhaṭa tu śēkā mithyā-bhūśanās teśhāṁ nari-rūhiṁ rājīnaṁ tāṁkikās tair apraśīyaṁ anākramaṇiyaṁ idāṁ brahmaikotraṁ u ti yate.

TEXT.
First Plate; Second Side.

1 भोिं सशी[१०] विजयस्मावाराजयवीरकार्करुपसमस्मार्गमंगनसत्विबिल-विच्छ.
2 विशिष्यवर्षकश्रुतिकारणिकारभासनि महालापावयवद्वृत्ति माझीयंवति चिथाल.
3 तुपालपेरे महोद्वशिव कटबरीणांमवे सकलनमनोनरया चन्द्रे-कवेव कीलाः.
4 सुनमवाभवाभवाभवावन एव प्रपतिस्मावाभयनक्षिप्तरहितकुकुलकुरु.
5 वनकारवीविशिष्यवथान्त्र्य एव बीजसाराणी यक्ष्यविशिष्यविभासितव सम्प्रे-रामगमाने.
6 विरैक शुरुंगप्रस्माल्प्रक्षिप्तन्मणि यज्ञदासामाल्प्रक्षिप्तसियं स ख्रियवने.
7 श्रीभमिन नियतस्माल्लितदानानार्थत दिवस स्थापितररुणा वनवारणुयुपेनवाप्रि.
8 महिविचरा वनराजेश्वावमिति दिशे यष्ट याश्मापवाया-शाय विश्रां पपरा.
9 भिमानमभाव शिचिनिविशिवाविशिवन बिभाषाँ प्रदात्र एवाय भावि
10 यथेवासि पुष्य-प्रवायमपरिवधिवालिताद्वयया घनद्रसुशोऽशः
11 समप्रस्ताव: गणपुरायोपारीज्ञिताज्ञानी-प्रतावा(प)निभेिगमार्गममधं.
12 मण्डल: परस्परावहितधभावावान्तिनयवि प्रपतिमासुपपतीगम्बोविनति.
13 इद्यस्माबवाभवाभवाभवावनानधिविशिष्यविभाषानामसमिक्षविविएरियवशा.
14 नाव नूपरितिङ्गानाव प्रतिधापविलायकुकतानामंचुयताकी एवीक-श्रीयमादिसामिति.
15 वित्तमीलकाविकाणिकाफः पूवपरस्मुद्रावावदिमस्मात्छत्रपदु.
16 पदातुधातेन: पश्चामयः वीश्वदण्ड: स्वान्तिव रागामामोगविविश्व.
17 पत्राधिसामसमतारिविकर्माव्ययाभवक्षय वो विद्वितमश्चामि.

1 Expressed by a symbol.
Second Plate; First Side.

18 भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति विहितिनिविवालम्बायं (नेन)
19 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
20 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
21 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
22 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
23 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
24 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
25 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
26 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
27 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
28 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
29 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
30 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
31 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
32 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
33 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)
34 धूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं दन्ययतयति निविवनिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं (भूमिकांवतिनिविवालम्बायं)

The Sarnacap plates read adhaya-bhaga-bhag-.
TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Ὄμ! Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Újjain. In the lineage of the Kāsaḥchhūra, which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the firmament, clear on the approach of autumn, illumined by the mass of the rays of the excellences of many jewels of men (as the ocean is adorned by the rays of its gems); which is difficult to be crossed, because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals), full of gravity and desirous of keeping within the bounds of what is proper (just as the ocean is full of depth and desirous of keeping within its shores), there was the glorious Krishnarāja, who illumined the world with his fame, as the moon with light, agreeable to all men; who was from his birth solely devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), just as the moon solely rests on Śiva; who (though) free from defects, yet like the moon (who has a spot) revives the beauty (prosperity) of his family resembling a forest of night lotuses; who was resorted to by all virtues which attract men to a king and by other qualities, as if through a desire to obtain a very suitable abode; who was endowed with all the constituent parts of royalty; who had properly enjoyed the fruits of his regal powers; who resplendent with his illustrious family, the flow of his liberality being ceaseless and the majesty of his power well-known, roaming fearlessly, subdued the regions, as the chief in a herd of wild elephants, with the ceaseless flow of its rutting juice, displaying the greatness of its strength, roaming about fearlessly breaks down rows of forests; whose sword was used to protect the helpless; whose wars were made to humble the pride of his enemies; whose learning aimed at modesty; who acquired wealth to make gifts; who made gifts in order to acquire religious merit, and acquired religious merit in order to obtain final bliss.

(L. 10.) His son, the glorious Śaṅkaragāna, a great devotee of Śiva, the lord of countries bounded by the eastern and western ocean, and other lands, who meditated on the feet of his parents; who had no rival in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; whose might was equal to that of Kubēra, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama; who acquired the fortune of great kings by the strength of his arm; to whom, by reason of the excess of his prowess, the circle of all feudatory kings bowed; who enjoyed religious merit, wealth and pleasure without allowing them to encroach upon one another; whose profound and lofty mind was satisfied with mere submission; who performed religious acts by giving away, in charity, the immense wealth acquired by properly protecting his subjects; who re-instated families of kings who had long been dethroned; who uprooted those that were too proud; who granted to the afflicted, the blind and the poor, the object of their desires which exceeded their sanguine expectations,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, bhūgikas, heads of provinces, districts, and villages, officers and others:

Be it known to you. For the increase of the religious merit and fame of our parents and ourselves we have granted, at the request of Gōgga, with pouring out of water, a hundred sicartanas of land,—by a sicartana measuring forty on both sides,—in the village of Valtistikā situated in the province of Bhōga-varddhana, together with all receipts, free from all dītya, forced labour, and prātiḥdaskū, according to the maxim of bhūmichhidra, not to be encroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lies, to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons for as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure,—to Ahmanavāmin, a resident of Kallāvanī belonging to the Gautama gātra, and a student of the Taittiriya śākhā, for the maintenance of bali, charu, vaiśvādeśa, agnibhūtra and other rites,—wherefore future kings and governors, whether of our own family or others, reflecting that this world of living beings is as unstable as a wave of the waters of the ocean, moved by a strong gale, that

1 [Compare the translation of the Sarasvati plates and the notes accompanying it, above, Vol. VI pp. 290 and 291.—S. K.]
Kāmaṇḍukya nītisāra, chap. IV. verses 6-8.
2 Gōgga was probably the name of the queen of Śaṅkaragana.
3 See the introductory remarks.
riches are perishable and unsubstantial, and that virtues endure for a long time,—wishing to participate in the fruit of a gift of land, which is an object of enjoyment by all, and desiring to accumulate fame as bright as the rays of the moon for a long time, should consent to this our gift of land and preserve it. Whoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance should take it away, or allow it to be taken away, shall be guilty of the five great sins. And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—[Here follow five well-known imprecatory verses.]

(L. 33) In three hundred years increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth day of the bright half of Śrāvāṇa, this edict, the dātaka of which is the Mahāpīrāpati Pāṣupata, was written by the Mahāsaṃhītivṛhadhīkaraṇānādhiṅka Vāchālina. Sam 300 40 7 Śrāvāṇa śū 10 5.

No. 46.—ARIGOM SARĀDA INSCRIPTION.

LAUKIKA SAMVAT 73.

By STEN KONOW.

Årgōm is a village in the Nāgām pargana, 74° 45′ long., 33° 56′ lat., about 15 miles southwest of Śrīnagar, as the crow flies. Dr. Stein, in his note on the Rājatarāsālgīt I. 340, identifies Årgōm with Hāḍigrāma, where Gobāditya is said to have established an agraṅkāra, and states that some remains of temples were traced there by Paṇḍit Kāśi Rām in 1891. Hāḍigrāma is further mentioned by Kalhaṇa (VIII, 672) as one of the strongholds of the Dāmaru Prithvikara. In the troubled times following on the accession of Jayasinhā in A.D. 1128, "Hāḍigrāma, where King Sussala and those of his side had lost their renown, was burned by Sajji, whose valour was mighty" (VIII, 1586), and the place is further mentioned in connexion with the incursion of king Lōṭhana during the same period (VIII, 2195).

In June 1903, Paṇḍit Mukund Rām, who had with great courtesy been placed at my disposal by the Kashmir Darbar, was informed by a friend of the existence of an inscribed stone in the house of a Brāhmaṇ in Årgōm, and at my request he went up to inspect it. According to information gathered by him on the spot, the stone in question was found about twelve years ago in a piece of uncultivated land near the Māṣijī Malik Sahib by a cultivator, who was digging there, and sold to a Brāhmaṇ for some corn. The Brāhmaṇ kept the stone for some time and did pājā to it. But people who saw it, told him that the writing probably contained information about hidden treasure, and that the stone therefore properly belonged to the Mahārāja. He got frightened, and first hid the stone under the wall of his house, but later on he threw it into a pit at the entrance of his gōsālī and covered it up with cow-dung. Paṇḍit Mukund Rām further informs me that images, pedestals, stones and bricks are found all over the place, and it is probable that excavations would yield interesting results.

The stone mentioned above is square, measuring 20' each way, and being 4½" high. On the top is a raised circle, apparently the base of an image. One of the four faces of the stone is inscribed with five lines in Śāradā letters.

The writing covers a space of 17½" x 3', and the height of the letters averages ½". They are distributed over five lines, the fifth of which contains the date. The beginning of the first two lines and the last letter in lines 1-3 and the three last letters in line 4 have disappeared.

The characters are Śāradā, and they are very well cut. Ja has the older form as in the Bajnāth praśasti. The final form of s occurs in line 3. The diphthong e has been marked in two different ways, by means of a horizontal line above, as in bhagavatē, l. 1, or by a vertical before the consonant as in ṛc, l. 2. Similarly i is sometimes marked by adding a horizontal above, sometimes by prefixing a vertical to the consonant accompanied by the sign for d. Compare
ARIGOM' SARADA INSCRIPTION.

Aryadevalokiteswaraya, l. 1, and lokanathaya, l. 2. A third method occurs in lokā .... at the end of line 1, where a wavy line has been added above the sign for la. Of initial vowels only d occurs in dyā-, l. 1. Among ligatures I may note kya, l. 1, kka, l. 3, ksa, l. 4; sga, l. 2; sya, l. 3; rya, l. 1; and perhaps thsa, l. 3. The numeral symbols for 7, 3 and 5 occur in line 5.

The language of this inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation of Avalokitēśvara in l. 1, and the date in l. 5, the whole is in verse. There are altogether two verses. The first is apparently a sloka. The second padā, however, contains three syllables too much, but these aksaras are probably simply a repetition of part of padā 1. The second verse is a bardhavikritidita. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a vihāra built of pakka bricks, by Rāma-deva, the son of Kulladēva, in order to replace a wooden structure which had been burnt down by a vaidya, whose name I read Uthna, and which had been burnt down by king Simha. This Simha must be identical with Jayasimha (from A.D. 1126), in whose reign Hāḍigrama was burnt down by Sujji.1 It then becomes highly probable that the vaidya Uthna is identical with Uthna, the son of Sahadeva, who was a supporter of Sujji.2 Sahadeva is described as a Rājaputra,3 which fact can of course be well reconciled with his son Uthna's being a vaidya. The constructor of the brick vihāra was Rāma-deva, whom I cannot identify. His father Kulladēva was perhaps in charge of the old wooden vihāra, if, I am right in interpreting tad-rata (l. 4) as "devoted to, attached to him, viz., Avalokitēśvara."

The word vihāra is used with more than one meaning. In our inscription, however, there cannot be much doubt that it signifies a shrine, as it has been characterized as "the abode of Lokanātha." The stone upon which this epigraph has been incised is most probably the actual base of the statue of Lokanātha here alluded to. Lokanātha is, of course, identical with Avalokitēśvara, who is invoked in lines 1-2. Our inscription thus furnishes valuable proof of the fact that Buddhism was still lingering in Kashmir in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The mention of the materials used in building the old and the new shrines, is also of interest. We learn that the former was constructed from wood, while the latter was built from pakka bricks.

The old vihāra is stated to have been built in the vicinity of Gānēśvara. This is now called Gānēśvara, and is the place where the present inscription was dug out. The modern corruption of the name is not of very old date. The old name was at least remembered about 40 years ago. This is proved by a janmapattra, which Paṇḍit Mukund Rām found in Ārgōm, and which was written by Paṇḍit Ganēśa Khasrāo in Laukika Samvat 4939, i.e. A.D. 1862-63. It speaks of a person as Gānēśvara-pādānumālī Ārigrāmē vāstavya residing in Ārgōm at the feet of Gānēśvara. Gānēśvara was originally probably a Śiva temple, and it is not unlikely that it could be identified by means of excavations.

The inscription is dated Samvat 73, Mārga śuti 5. This date must be subsequent to the burning of Ārgōm during the reign of Jayasimha. Now Jayasimha's father was murdered in the Laukika year 4203, and the burning of Ārgōm took place in the first part of his reign. It is therefore as good as certain that we have to understand the date of our inscription as 4373 on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha, corresponding to Sunday, the 16th November 1197.

TEXT.

1 ..., 2 ..., 3 ..., 4 ..., 5 ..., 6 .... [Śloka] -


4 I cannot restore the beginning. The aksara preceding ṉṛni looks like ṛ. Paṇḍit Mukund Rām suggests to read ṛ. 5 Metre: Śloka. There is something wrong in the second padā.
2 [ल]...[म]भविष्ये [१०] अमदानन्दचन्द्राय चोकनाथाय ते नमः [२०]
'प्राणाशयस्य'[ब]-
3 धी [हुम]तिमाल्लाचैयःदुर्मिधारिनः दशस्मय विहारमलक सहीकनायायाः-
दम [१०] तिश्री[वा]-
4 हत्येश्व वाक्यवपते दशेश्व प्रकृष्टिकारेण तदनुगीतस्वतन्त्रोमुः राज्वर्जे
[व्याहार् २] [२०]
5 सं ७२ माघ मः प्रति ५

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Salutation to the exalted noble Avalokitesvara.

(Verse 1). Salutation to thee, the Lord of the World, who hast become a light to the three worlds, ...... who destroys transmigration, the moon of delight to the world.

(V. 2). Formerly the suidya Ulhapādēva by name made a spotless vāhāra of wood, an abode for the Lord of the World, in the vicinity of the Gaṅgēśvara (temple). After this, by the will of fate, had been burned by king Śīra, Bāmadēva, the son of Kullādeva, who was devoted to him (Avalokitesvara), made yonder (vāhāra) excellent with burnt bricks.

Line 5. Samvat 73, the 5th day of the bright (half) of Mārga(śirsha).

No. 47.—CHANDRAVATI PLATE OF CHANDRADEVA.

SAMVAT 1148.

By STEN KONOW.

The plate containing this inscription was found on the inner slope of the left bank of the Ganges, near the water's edge, under the fort at Chandravati, in the Benares District. Mr. Chhote Lal, the District Engineer of Benares, informs me that, owing to the erosive action of the river, portions of the fort were undermined and fell down from time to time. The plate fell into the river along with the walls of the fort, and was seen and picked up by the Public Works Department's boatman, who deposited it in the District Engineer's office at Benares. In March 1908 it was then finally handed over to the Director General of Archaeology in India.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures 15\frac{3}{8}^\circ \times 11\frac{3}{8}^\circ. The edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims. In the upper part of the plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about \frac{1}{2}^\circ thick and 3\frac{1}{2}^\circ in diameter. On the ring slides a bâl-shaped seal, 2\frac{3}{4}^\circ from top to bottom. The surface of the seal is circular and 2\frac{1}{4}^\circ in diameter. It represents in relief, on a slightly countersunk surface, a Garuda, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling and facing the proper right. Across the centre is the legend trisad-āch-trimach-Chandrādeva, and at the bottom a conch shell.

The plate contains 23 lines of writing. Parts of it are much worn, and the portion containing the date cannot be made out with certainty. The characters are Nāgari, and the language is Sanskrit. With regard to orthography I shall only note that sa is used both for sa and for b, and that the dental sibilant is often used instead of the palatal one; thus, \textit{sastra}.
for \(a\)\(\ddot{u}\)\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{a}\)-, l. 1, \(-\text{va\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{a}\)\(\ddot{a}\)-, l. 2. There are several other misspellings and slips, especially towards the end.

After the invocation to Śrī common in other plates of the same family, our inscription proceeds to give the genealogy of the donor in four verses, which are well known from other inscriptions. We are told that Yasōvīrgraha had the son Mahāchandra, whose son again was Chandrādeva, the issuer of the present grant. The inscription then goes on in prose, stating that the victorious king Chandrādeva issues the following order to all the people assembled, residing in the Vādhana-village in the Vānasa-pattāla, and also to the Rājas, Rājātas, Yuvārājas, councillors, chaplains, warders of the gate, generals, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynaeceums, messengers, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, towns, mines, sthānas and gōkulas:

"Be it known to you that the aforesaid village, with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fishing places, with its ravines and saline soil, with and including its groves of madhubha and mango, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abuttals, up to its proper boundaries, has today, on the . . . day of the bright fortnight of Kārttiika, Sanvat 1148, been given by us as long a time as moon and sun endure, with the pouring out of water from the palm of our hand, purified with gōkura\(^1\) and kuśa-grass, to the Brāhmaṇa Varunāvakṣyaraman (ṣa-vaṇa-saryaram), the son of Varunāvakṣyarn, the grandson of Anuradha, of the Vasiṣṭha gōtra, and whose only prāvara is Vasiṣṭha, for the increase of the merit and fame of our parents and ourselves, after having today bathed here in the neighbourhood of Sauri (Sauri)-Nārāyaṇa, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings, and groups of ancestors,\(^2\) after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is skilled in rending the veil of darkness, after having worshipped Vānasa, the savour of the three worlds, and after having sacrificed to the Fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar."

The first point here that is worthy of notice is the date, which is the earliest known for Chandrādeva, the other copper plate of his time being dated in Sanvat 1154.\(^3\) It will be seen that the portion of it containing the tithi and the week day is illegible. Mr. Chhote Lal, who has examined the original, writes about this point,—

"Ordinarily, it might be thought that the excessive corrosion and incrustation of rust at this particular part of the plate was purely accidental, but from a minute examination of the imperfect and damaged letters which are still discernible, I am led to conclude that the excessive incrustation at this point was due to the fact that the surface of the plate was already damaged by somebody in his endeavour to make a correction in the date. It is remarkable that the name of the place or that of the stream in which the donor took his bath, is not mentioned in the inscription. Nor is there any mention of the occasion (eclipse, saṣākrānti, etc.) at which the gift was made. It would appear that Sauri-Nārāyaṇa was in those days a very well-known place of pilgrimage requiring no further details to localise it, that the occasion presumably was the ordinary Kārttiika-rāmaṇa, and that the date originally entered on the plate was paśchadaśīyāṁ gurau, but was afterwards attempted to be corrected into ekādaśīyāṁ ravan. The e of the latter just overlaps the paś of the former; the ka of the latter being rather large has been so formed as to include the ca and to cover the space occupied by da of the former; while the space occupied by śyāṁ of the former has been utilised for the rather clumsily large da of the latter. It will thus be seen that the space originally occupied by the word paśchadaśīyāṁ, which was of normal size, was subsequently occupied by the much larger letters, e, ka and da, and there being no more space available for the final syllable śyāṁ, it was omitted. Similarly, the ra of

\(^1\) Compare Kielhorn, Ind. Ant. XV. p. 10, Note 67.
\(^2\) See ibidem, note 65.
\(^3\) Ind. Ant. XVIII. pp. 9 and 12.
racaus overlaps the gu of guras and rau of the latter has been deformed into something like van of the former. Now the question arises, "Why was the date corrected?" The reason may be that the grant was originally intended to be made on the paśchadaśi, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which was expected to take place on that date. A little calculation will show that the eclipse did actually occur on the specified date (corresponding to Thursday, the 7th of November, 1090 A.D.), but as the time of its occurrence was early in the following morning (according to calculation), it must have been very doubtful whether it would be visible at the place visited by Chandradēva. This circumstance may have been anticipated, and it may have been decided to make the donation on the preceding Praboddhini Ekaḍaśi (Sunday, the 3rd of November, 1090 A.D.) which was a most suitable day for the purpose, being the day on which Vishnū—the deity worshipped by Chandradēva—rises from his four months' sleep. I say all this may have been the cause of the alteration in the date, for there is no a priori reason against this supposition. But I consider it very unlikely that a Mahārāja, who changed his mind about the actual day of performing a religious ceremony, could have allowed a correction—and a clumsy correction at the best—to be made in the copper plate inscription recording the gift of a whole village, when the entire inscription could have been cut on a new plate in a day or two. The fact seems to be that it is no honour to a Brāhmaṇ to receive a gift on the occasion of an eclipse, and there are certain sects of Brāhmaṇs, e.g. Sarjuparins and Kanaṇujīvas, who would promptly excommunicate any member of their community who was known to have received a gift on account of an eclipse. The Brāhmaṇ who received the munificent gift from Chandradēva probably belonged to one of these sects, and, after the king had made the gift and departed, he seems to have thought of concealing his disgraceful conduct and to have caused the original and genuine date to be altered as explained above."

Mr. Chhote Lal further identifies Vaḍagavā with the present Baragaon, a village 14 miles north-west of Benares. He thinks it, however, also possible that it was the old name of Chandravati, which was afterwards changed in honour of king Chandradēva.

After the mention of the grant, we find some of the usual imprecatory verses, and, at the end, the name of the writer, the ōdakura Mahaṇṇḍa.

**TEXT.**

8 ja-prãchita-pratihãra-śudda-pati-bhãhãgãrik-äkãhãpaṭalika-bhãhãsakha(shag)-naimi-
9 lâdhikâripurushân-sûjjyâ(ya)ya śīdûsâti cha yathâ vidhitam-astu bhavatâṁ
yathâp[a rikhil]a-grîma[h] sa-jâla-sthalaṁ sa-lôha-lavap-âkaraṁ sa-ma-
10 [t]₁s[e]-âkaraṁ sa-gartâs-sahâraṁ sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâtikâ-trîqâ-yûti-gôchara-
paryantabh s-ôrdh[b]₁v[â]ś-adhâcchâ-âghâta-âsirvâ(sû)ddhâva sva-śimâ-paryantaḥ
[satvat]
11 11â8 Kârttika su di . . . . . . adya-çah Saú(Sau)tri-nârâyana-sampâ
snâtvâ vidhivan-mañitras-dèvâ-pu[m]nu-ânujâ-bhûta-pitrikâvânum-starpayitvâ tî
12 mira-pâtala-pâñjara-âsana(sam) [uâh[a]-rîch]i [h]smâm samabhârychya tribhuv-
âna-îtrûcôr-Vâsudâvasya pîjâmân vidhâya prachura-pâyasaṁa havishâ
hâvibrûjan[â]h[trvā]
Vasishṭhâ-aika-prârâya ² Aparudha-paurâya Var[â]hâsâvâ-pûtrâya ²
Varûpâsvay[â]v[râ]-
âcâhãdrârâkãnâ yâvav[ç]h[ç]h[ç]a-ânâkãtya pradattâḥ | matvâ yathâdhiyamânâ-
bhãgabhô-
15 gakara-prâraçîkara-turâshkâdâna-kumâragadipakâ-prabhrît-i samastâ [n Ô] nîya-tâ ś
nîyâ-dôyânâ[â]h[â]dôyâtyâ bhûtyâ dâyasthe
16 ñitî bhavanî châtra pau[â]rânjita[h] alokâh[â] || ³bhûmîn yâb pratiçâhâthi
yà-çâ bhûmîn prâyachchhathâ nhunh tâu punyâkarmâmâsan ni-
(vâ) varavâra[nâ]bh bhûmi-dânâyâ chîhnâni phalam-² a[â]Ô tat-Puraândara ||
shaâ[â]h[ç]îâi varasa-sahâsram
18 ñî svargâcvasati bhûmida[â]h [¹] achôhãyçâ châ-anûmantâ cha tân[y Ô]êvâ
narakâm[kó] vàcêt || svadattâm paurâ[â]m vâ yô harêc[ã]-vâsûmdharâñ â
sa vîryôhyanâ krîmir-bhûtvâ
19 pîtrbhîh saha majâsthâ || vârîhnaçhâsârayšeÅu śuÅhka-kôtâra-vâsâñ[â]h || krishnâ-
sarpâs-râ[ç]h[ç]aç jâyâçet dêvâ-vra(brâ)hra-saâhâriçhâ || na vishân vî[ç]h[a]m=
ityâ-â-
vras[brâ]hra-saâvân purnâpantriâkâm[putrampantrîkã]n || ⁶ñgâm-akâm svañrcem- è
êkâm bhûmîr-sap[y]êkâm-angula[ñ] | harun[hn]r narakâm-êpnoti yâvad-â-
gavân kâ(kó)jî-pradâmânan[n]a bhûmi-harçtâ na suyati[çudhyastî] || vâ[ba]hubhir=
vâsadâ bhûkta râjâhîh Cha(Sa)ga-
22 râdibh[h] || (1) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmîs-tasya tasya tâda phalaz || ⁸yãn-
îha dattâni purâ narô[â]drâ[rî]n || dâmânî ⁹varmâpiyasaâkarâ[î] [¹] ni-
[rmâlyuvaânti-praçî]-
23 mãni tânî kô nàma sâdhû[ç] punar-ôdâdhatâ || ¹⁰Likhita[âm]-idâni

¹ The engraver originally wrote trîkâm, but corrected it.
² Metre of this and the following verses: Anushtub.
³ The ñ-stroke has been put over the ñ of Purañdara.
⁴ Read châhâsttram.
⁵ Read gomâdhrakâm vrsam-êkâm cha.
⁶ Metre: Indrâvajrâ.
⁷ Read avamadhâstotâni.
⁸ Read dharmadhayastar.
No. 48.—BURHANPUR SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAH.
SAMVAT 1646.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Burhanpur in the Nimar district of the Central Provinces is an ancient historical site. It was the chief seat of the Faruqi kings. They ruled over Khândesh, which name the Muhammadans derived from their title of Khan. Their rule lasted from 1370 to 1600 A.D., when it was displaced by the Moghals. One of these Faruqi kings built the Jam'a Masjid, in which besides Arabic inscriptions he had one carved in Sanskrit, which gives his genealogy and the date of the construction of the mosque. This inscription is in the northern corner and is written within an arch, so that the lines, which are 6 in number, are of unequal length. They contain five verses, besides the invocation Sri virahṣikatvā rimsaḥ in the commencement and the date in the end, both of which are in prose.

The letters are Nagari and are raised, not incised, in the same fashion as Persian letters are usually found carved. Orthography hardly calls for any remarks. The sign of avagraha has been omitted throughout. Over the sa of -kāna- (l. 3) we find the Arabic sign of tashdid or double consonant.

The date is recorded in great detail, giving both the Vikrama and Śaka years, which are stated to be 1449 and 1511 respectively, the cyclic year being Virōdhi. The mosque is stated to have been completed on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of the month Pauha, the exact moment in ghatsi and the saksatra, lagna, yóga, karana, etc., being added most precisely. The date in the Hijra era is given as 997 in Arabic above the inscription. Its English equivalent was kindly calculated for me by the late Professor Kelhorn, C.I.E., who found it to be Monday, the 8th January 1590. The astrological details are unique in a Muhammadan mosque and show the religious tendency of the later Faruqi kings. In Burhanpur much of the beliefs of the two religions (Hinduism and Islam) got mixed up, traces of which are still conspicuously present there. As an instance may be cited the prechings of the Pūrāṇas, who are Musalmans and who say that God will now become incarnate as Niṃbalaśākṣī. The Faruqi undoubtedly believed in astrology, as this inscription shows, and although the builder of the mosque took every care to erect it in the most auspicious moment completing it exactly in one year (as an Arabic inscription carved in the middle of the Masjid discloses) and wished by his pious act to ensure the long continuance of his dynasty, yet uncompromising destiny snatched away the crown from them, only ten years after the construction of the edifice. In fact Bahādur Khan, the builder's son, was so much infatuated with superstition, that, in spite of his possessing the impregnable Asirgarh fort with ten years' provisions, enormous treasures and numerous horses and cattle, he felt convinced that he could not hold his own against Akbar, of whom he believed that he was a necromancer and that magicians accompanied him to reduce the fort. A pestilence which broke out among the animals, was attributed to the black art, and he saw no way but to surrender to the mighty wizard. This mosque was thus destined to receive another inscription, which Akbar triumphantly caused to be carved recording his victory of Khándesh in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600), annihilating the glory of the mosque builder's dynasty for ever. This inscription is in Arabic and is conspicuously inscribed on the outside wall of the left hand minār.

1 It was here that the famous Mumtāz Mahāl (Arjumand Bāna Begam) breathed her last.
2 For details see translation at the end.
3 I have seen some Sanskrit manuscripts in Persian character in the possession of some Manvila of Burhanpur, preserved as heirlooms from their ancestors, who apparently studied them under State encouragement. Unfortunately most of these valuable records have been destroyed by the fires of 1897 and 1900 which caused damage to the extent of about 57 lakhs besides loss of life.
The chief interest of our inscription lies in the genealogy of the Fāruqīs given in it. According to it the first king was Rāja Malik, whose son was Ghazni (Khān). His son was Kaisar Khān, whose son was Hasan, from whom was born Ādil Shāh, whose son was Mubārak Khān. Ādil Shāh, the constructor of the mosque, was the son of this Mubārak Khān. This genealogy differs from those given by Firishta and Abul Fasl. According to the former Ādil Shāh was the 6th descendant from Malik Rāja, and according to the latter the 8th, while according to our inscription he was the 7th. The tables given below will show at a glance how matters stand:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kaisar Khān.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miran Shāh alias Ādil Shāh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādil Shāh.</td>
<td>Ādil Khān.</td>
<td>Ādil Shāh Aynā alias Ahsan Khān.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *Āin-i-Akbart* states that "Bahādur Khān (who was the son of Rāja Ali Khān) was 9th in descent from Malik Rāji." This has led Colonel Jarrett,¹ as it would indeed lead others, to suppose that the list given there is genealogical and that Ahsan Khān, the fifth king, was identical with Hasan Khān, who, as a matter of fact, was never a king. Hasan Khān belonged to a collateral branch of the family, whose son became king on the failure of male issue in the main line.

The *Āin-i-Akbart* has mixed up the succession list with the genealogical table. Miran Shāh, the third descendant, was really a grandson of Malik Rāja, but the point missed is that he was not the direct descendant of the last Ādil Shāh or Rāja Ali Khān. The crown first went in Miran Shāh’s line up to Ādil Shāh Aynā, who was succeeded by his brother Dāwūd Khān, and the latter by his son Ghazni Khān, who was poisoned two days after ascending the throne. Abul Fasl does not mention Ghazni Khān at all, probably because his succession to the throne was only nominal. Ghazni Khān left no son,² and hence the crown went to Rāja Ali Khān’s grandfather Ādil Shāh or Ādil Khān. The three kings Miran Shāh, Mubārak Shāh and Ādil Shāh Aynā were not thus direct descendants of Rāja Ali Khān. The *Āin-i-Akbart* list should therefore be left out of consideration, and the question must be decided between our inscription and Firishta’s list. Briggs³ takes Hasan to be the son of Nasīr Khān, relying on Firishta’s assertion that "Ādil was the son of Hasan and grandson of Nasīr Khān." If Hasan were the son of Nasīr Khān, he would be the brother of Miran Shāh, who was crowned king after his father’s death. We would, therefore, have to suppose that Miran’s nephew came to the throne after the expiry of three years.

³ *Loc. cit.*
generations, which is an unlikely supposition. There is nothing to show that Ādil Khān (Hasan's son) was extraordinarily long-lived. It, therefore, seems very probable that there was an intervening generation between Naṣr Khān and Hasan Khān, and the missing link is supplied by the Sanskrit inscription in the person of Kāsir Khān, son of Naṣr and father of Hasan Khān. In the inscription Kāsir Khān is merely called a vīra or hero and not a king, and although Hasan was also never a king, the epithet of khaṭṭāa was apparently added to his name by way of courtesy, to tickle the ruling prince. Regarding the sources of his information Fīrishta records that when he visited Būrhanpur in A.H. 1013 (A.D. 1604), he asked Mīrzā Ali Isfahānī if any history existed of the Fārūqī family. The Mīrzā replied that he knew of none, but said that he once saw a genealogy of the family down to Mālik Rāja, which he copied and took along with him. It would thus appear that no history of the kings later than Mālik Rāja existed at all. So the information he collected was apparently from traditions or other casual records, while the writer of the Sanskrit inscription must certainly have been supplied with information from the royal family, as it was intended to be a permanent record in one of the greatest works the king built. It is, therefore, more reliable than Fīrishta and leaves no room for doubt as to its authenticity. A revised genealogy of the Fārūqī kings will be found below on p. 310.

TEXT.

1. The average for a generation in the line of which Ghaz̄l Khān was the last, is 23 years, while in the line of Rāja Ali Khān it is 29 years. According to the Sanskrit inscription the average for the latter is reduced to less than 26, taking the reckoning up to the death of Mīr Mūhammād in 1576, but for the minority of whose son Husain Khān, Rāja Ali Khān would have had no opportunity to sit on his brother’s throne.

2. It may be noted that the visit was paid 14 years after our inscription was carved.

3. Fīrishta gives this as follows—

Mālik Rāja, the son of Kāsir Khān, the son of Ali Khān, the son of Uthmān Khān, the son of Sīmān Shāh, the son of Aṣḥāb Shāh, the son of Armān Shāh, the son of Ibrāhīm Shāh of Balkh, the son of Ādam Shāh, the son of Mahmūd Shāh, the son of Muhammad Shāh, the son of Aṣīm Shāh, the son of Aṣghār, the son of Muhammad Ahmad, the son of the Imam Naṣr Abūl-Jullāl, the son of Omar-al-Farūq entitled Khaliṣa or representative of the last of the propheta.

If anybody would assert that the Sanskrit composer might have made a mistake in understanding the genealogy, all doubts would vanish by reading the Arabic inscription on the top of the Sanskrit one reproduced in the accompanying plate. Line 3 as deciphered by Muns̄ī Ḥamīd-Ulla, Manager of the Mosque, reads as follows—‘Ādil Shāh bin Mubārakī Shāh bin ‘Ādil Shāh bin Husain Khān bin Qaṣīr Khān bin Ghaz̄l Khān bin Mālik Khān al-Fārūqī al-Adl.”

From my personal transcript from the original and two subsequent ones kindly supplied by Mr. R. Bākrkrisna Bāke, Headmaster, Middle School, Būrhanpur, and a photograph.

Read “पयू” नमः;

This and the next verse are in the Anushtubh metre.

Two and the next are in the Upajāti metre.
4 तहनुः चितपालसौसलनिकानुवाप्रायस्थपदांुः क्षीनितकविविशसयतपवमानी-रिवृये: चितीश्वर: ]* यन्हाःिन्माननित्यस्मावाती परे ब्रह्माणि वीसानिदेशमूतमसि।

5 विकारे: भूपालविदारणीः १२० ख्रिस्टी शक ५ ३११ वर्ष खाने। ११२१ दौरा विरोधितिवरी पौषपालक श्रीपाल ११ घटी २३ सहैकारा- दश्मा मिथी ब्यों [ख]निकायती २१ राशि रोहि।

6 ख्रिस्टी शम घटी १२ वीं विश्वासरणीय दिन राशिवर्गतए १२ समूह कप्तान श्रीमान अरोशाखाका-रायेस ० एडलशाहराजी मकीतिरिय निमित्ता झंझंझा पालनार।

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Salutation to the glorious Creator of the world.

(Verse 1). I bow down to the Imperceptible, the (All-)pervading, eternal (one who is) past (all) qualities, whose essence is mind, who is the cause of what is manifest—to that God who is both manifest and non-manifest.

(V. 2). As long as the moon, the sun and the stars, etc., exist in the firmament, so long may this फ़ारुकी family live happily on the face of the earth.

(V. 3). In that family there was first the lord of Fārūkīs by name Bāja Malik, whose son was king Ghaziāl (Khān) who was of an exalted mind, the diadem of the family.

(V. 4). From him was (born) the hero Kaisar Khān whose son was Hasan (Khān), the lord of the earth. From him was born king Adil Shāh, whose son was lord Mubārakah.

(V. 5). Victorious is his son, the illustrious king Adil, the crest jewel of (other) kings, whose lotus feet are rubbed by the diadems in the crowns of kings (prostrating themselves before him), (who is) of good reputation, and whose enemies have submitted to his prowess, (who is) the lord of kings (and) who bows day and night to the Supreme Being who is past all qualities.

(Ll. 5–6). Hail! Prosperity! This mosque was built by the king Śrī 76 Adil Shāh, son of the illustrious Mubārakah Shāh, for fostering his own religion, in the Saka year 1048, Śaka 1611, in the Vīrōḍhi naktānsara, in the month of Pauṣa, in the bright fortnight, on the 10th tithi (last for) 23 ghāṣṭis, followed by the eleventh tithi, on Monday, in the Kṛīttikā (naktānsara lasting for) 38 ghāṣṭis with (i.e. followed by) Rōhini in the Śubha śūna last for 43, in the Vaṭāja karana, at the time when 11 ghāṣṭis of the night on this day had passed and in the Kanyā lagna.

1 Read धर्मिनकते।
2 Read वृहि।
3 Read वृहि।
4 Read सूच।
5 This king is well-known by the name of Naṣr Khān, the title which he adopted on ascending the throne, General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113), General Cunningham erroneously took Ghaziāl naṣrāt to mean King of Ghazni (see his Reports, Vol. IX., p. 113).
Genealogy of the Fürūqi Kings of Khândesh.

1
Malik Râja
(1370—1380).

2
Ghazni Khân alias Nasir Khân
(1390—1437).

Iftikhâr.

3
Mirân Adil Khân alias Mirân Shâh
(1437—1441).

4
Mirân Mubârik Khân alias Mubârik Shâh Chaukhandji
(1441—1457).

5
Mirân Ghani alias Adil Khân,
Adil Shâh Ayânî or Ahsan Khân
(1457—1503).

6
Dâwûd Khân
(1508—1510).

7
Ghazni Khân
(1510 for 2 days).

8
Ádîl Khân or
Ádîl Shâh Akim-ê-Humâyûn
(1510—1520).

9
Mirân Muhammad Khân
or Mirân Muhammad Shâh
(1520—1535*).

10
Mirân Mubârak Shâh
(*1536—1556).

11
Mirân Muhammad Khân
(1566—1576).

12
Râja Ali Khân alias Ádîl Shâh
(1576—1586).

13
Khizr Khân alias Bahâdur Khân
(1596—1600).

N.B.—Figures on the top of names indicate the order of succession, and those within brackets the periods of their rule.

* This date is doubtful, Firishta being inconsistent. See Briggs' translation Vol. IV., p. 142, which gives the date of his death as A.H. 943, whereas on p. 312 A.H. 942 is given. As Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât died on 14th Feb. 1537 (ibid. p. 141)—Mirân Muhammad Shâh, who succeeded him also in Gujarât, was evidently living in 1537, and Mubârak could not have become king before that date.
No. 49.—NARAYANPAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF GUNDA MAHADEVI.

THE SAKA YEAR 1033.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Nārāyanpāl is a village 23 miles north-west of Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar feudatory state attached to the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is situated on the right bank of the "splendidly picturesque" Indrāvatī, one of those minor rivers of India than which none is more interesting. It "traverses the most untraveled regions of the peninsula. Here in the deepest recesses of the wild forests which cover the Mardian hills, is the home of the Gōpād races—one of the aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whose origin is indistinct; a people who still erect rude stone monuments and use stone implements, unwitting of the procession of the centuries and the advance of civilization to their borders." And yet the very place which has today all the signs of a primeval forest, may a thousand years back have compared favourably with any of the civilized provinces of those times. At least such seems to be the irresistible conclusion from the discovery of the antiquarian remains left by the forgotten Nāgavānśi kings of that little known state. Nārāyanpāl is one of those places which enjoyed celebrity in their times, a place to which "people of various countries resorted," and which instead of having a long row of wooden peg gods, which now adorn the village turf, possessed the temple of Nārāyaṇa, "the basket of the gems of knowledge" which no doubt the residents duly picked up.

The Indrāvatī was to Bastar what the Narmada has been to India, the separating boundary between the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples. It is therefore no surprise to find all the inscriptions to the north of the Indrāvatī written in Nāgarī characters, while all to the south are written in Telugu. It appears that the Nāgavānśi kings, though ruling on both sides of the Indrāvatī, had fixed that river as the ethnographic or at least the linguistic boundary for the convenience of the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples under their sway. Our inscription being found in Nārāyanpāl on the north bank of the river is therefore in Sanskrit characters. Its discovery is due to the efforts of Rai Bahādur Pandā Baijnāth, B.A., who kindly sent me five impressions. Another impression has since been prepared by Mr. Venkoba Rao of the Madras Archaeological Survey. I have made use of all these materials for my edition. The inscription is engraved on a stone slab, standing near the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which it belongs. In this temple there is still an exquisite image of Nārāyaṇa, 2' high. Above the ground the slab measures 7' 4" × 2' 3', and the writing covers a space 5' 9" × 2' 2", including the imprecatory figures and the additions to be referred to presently, but leaving out the top Śrī maha. The original inscription apparently contained only 35 lines, beginning with Svasti sahajra phanāmāṇi and ending with mahāyula mahā-śrī, underneath which the usual imprecatory figures of a cow and a calf, the dagger and shield, the sun and moon and the Śiva linga, the meanings of which I have elsewhere explained, were carved. The additional 11 lines, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d) by me, appear to be later additions, and are either interpolations or were inserted when the ownership of the land changed hands either by succession or otherwise. They generally give the names of persons to whom the land was apparently transferred. The lines marked (a), (b), (c) have been inserted in the blank spaces between or on the sides of the imprecatory figures. Under all these a straight line has been drawn, and the four lines marked (d) have been inserted. These give the name of a queen different from the donor of the inscription proper. This may have been done when the land changed hands after the death of the original donor, when, in the ordinary course, the successor of the donor would be shown as the transferor or grantor.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, except the two imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, and the characters as stated before are Nagarī. They are boldly written but the size is not uniform throughout. While in the top line Śrī-mahā, they are as big as 2\(\frac{1}{2}\), the average size in the first four lines is 1\(\frac{1}{4}\). The engraver apparently finding them too big reduced them to 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) in line 5, but in subsequent lines he again began to increase the size maintaining an average of 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) throughout the rest, which forms the major portion of the inscription. In the later additions also, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d), the size varies. In (a) it is less than an inch and in (d) it is 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) and in (b) and (c) midway between these two.

As regards orthography, b is not distinguished from v and there is a confusion in the use of s and ś; for instance, we have on the one hand Kāsyapa (ll. 3, 13), sarasvatīgata (ll. 6, 10, 16), sāsana (ll. 7, 37 (b) and 46 (d), Saka- (1.19), -samāna (1.34), avamādha- (1.34), sudhyasti (1.35); on the other hand we have śavgarat (1.17) and sahastra (ll. 1 and 34). The anusvāra is usually preferred to the class nasals, though the latter are sufficiently represented throughout. Letters with a superscribed ṛ̱pha have been invariably doubled. The letters keṣa, ḍha, ru, and in most places, ḍha appear in their antiquated form, and the top mātra for ē, ē and u is sometimes placed vertically before the letter to which it is attached, as in dhanata- (1.8), pavitra- kritāmṛta- (1.3), ... ṛ̱khā (ll. 8-9), ... saṅ'jana- (1.10), ... saurīndy-ē (1.11), etc. In Śomēśvarādeva (1.17) mū has the top stroke, while ṍē has the vertical stroke preceding da. In line 23 in -śtithyadāra the mātra of u is peculiarly attached in the middle of the letter as we at present attach it to the letter ṛ alone.

The inscription records the grant of the village Nārāyana pura to the god Nārāyana and some land near the Kharjuri tank to the god Lākṣāyana, and it is dated in the Saka year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon day of the Kārttika month in the Khara samvatasa, corresponding to the 18th October 1111 A.D. The donor was Gunda Mahādevi, the chief queen of the Maharāja Dhārāvarsha, the mother of Śomēśvarādeva and the grandmother of Kanharadēva, who was then ruling after the death of his father, as stated in line 17. The dynasty claims to be Nāgavānśi of the Kāsyapa gōra and to have a tāgir with a cāl as their crest and to be the lords of Bhūgāvati, the best of cities. There can be little doubt that it was connected with the Sinda family of Yelburga. The bīrūdas of the two are strikingly similar. The Sindas also claim to be Nāgavānšhādhvāna, born of the race of the Nāga (cobra), and the lords of Bhūgāvati, which city is a mythical place in the nether world. The discovery hitherto made show the existence of the rule of the family at the diagonally opposite corners of this state, viz. south-west and north-east. I feel confident that if we could "explore the serpent city well," we should find at least a replica of it somewhere in the Nisām's dominions in a position intermediate between these two points. The Rāmāyana seems to confirm this, for Rāma's route to Lākses lay between the two and passed through Bhūgāvati.

As Dr. Fleet says, there appear to have been more branches than one of the Sinda family, and it appears to me that they were distinguished from each other by some variations in their crests (lāchhanas) and banners (dāvajas, patikas or kētanas). The vyāghra-lāchhana (tiger-crest) seems to have been common to all, probably because the original ancestor of the dynasty which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.\(^1\) The Bāgalkot branch had simply the tiger crest and the pāṣa-kētana, or banner of hooded serpents. The Bastar branch, or more properly the branch represented by our inscription, had a savatasa-vyāghra-lāchhana, or a tiger with a calf or child, thus depicting probably the story of their origin in a clearer way. The banner is not mentioned. In Bastar there were apparently two branches, the other one being that of Bhāramarakōtya-maṇi-

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\(^{2}\) Mysore Inscriptions, p. 69, and above, Vol. III., p. 231.
 Nicholson, whose ḍālāchhāna was dhanur-vyāghra (bow and tiger) and whose dhvaja was kamala-kadalī, or lotus flower and plantain leaf. The Halavar branch of the Banavasi tract had the vyāghra-mūrya-ładāchhāna, or crest of a tiger and a deer, and the niladhvaja, or blue banner. To judge from their titles Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārāja, the Bastar branch appears to have been more independent than the other branches of this dynasty. But more light is likely to be thrown on the history of the family when all the inscriptions found in Bastar have been deciphered. It would therefore be premature to discuss the subject here.

There is one phrase in this inscription, which to my mind appears so interesting that it should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It is incidentally mentioned in line 32 where the land is said to be given grāma-nilaya-nāḍa-savara-ṛddha-purīhārāga, which apparently means “free from the interference of the dwelling-group and territorial assemblies, and all other molestations.” This throws a sidelight on the village communities of those days. With regard to nāḍa, Mr. Baden-Powell⁴ says, “All over the south of India we have traces of the nāḍa, which was often a sort of county, and in some places there is a clearly surviving tradition of the purpose of this division. Thus in part of Madras known as the Tondaimandalam, we find first a number of kuṭṭam—the name probably indicating the fort which was the seat of the territorial chief; each of these primitive territories was afterwards reorganised into nāḍa and each nāḍa contained a number of villages (called nattam, i.e. the village site). The name of the nāḍa was called nāṭhan.⁵ In Malabar we have evidence of how these nāḍa divisions were governed by the nāḍa-kuṭṭam or assembly of representative elders out of the family groups of tara, of the ruling class, in each nāḍa.” It appears from our inscription that this nāḍa system was prevalent in Bastar and the word nilaya apparently stands for tara, the original local term for “the family aggregate” of dwellings, consisting of the houses occupied by the members with a few humbler abodes for servants and artisans.” Tara is said to mean street or hamlet. The grāma or village was also recognised, but apparently had no fiscal significance, beyond being a physical aggregate of clan areas with an exotic population. It will be noticed that Narayanapura is described as full of outsiders, who had come from different countries. These apparently contributed nothing to the income of the village, and in the business portion of the charter (ll. 25 to 33) we therefore find no mention of the village, but only of the land given. The names of the owners of plots occupied by the family groups have been duly enumerated, and it is they who have been enjoined to pay the rents to the temple. The transaction has been ratified by eight persons, which was probably considered a requisite number for such business. These probably formed the executive committee of the nāḍa-kuṭṭam or territorial assembly. As would appear from the inscription, it consisted of the pregaḍa or minister, the karapa-kuṭṭam or Secretary of the assembly, the bhujaḍi or treasurer, the ṛddha or priest, and four nāḍakas, who, as has been already shown, were chief of nāḍas. One of these nāḍakas is styled bhaṭṭaṇḍyaka, perhaps a superior title to that of ordinary nāḍakas. The mention of his name immediately after that of the minister indicates his superior position.

Our inscription mentions only one territorial name, viz. the Nārāyanapura village, which is certainly the present Nārāyanpūr, where the inscription has been found, and where the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which the village was dedicated, still exists. The tank Kharjuribandha, which was apparently named after the kharjadī or wild date trees on its banks, is difficult to locate at this distance of time, as these trees live for about fifty years only.

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2 The Indian Village Community, p. 231. ⁵ Also naḍakas; see ibid., p. 167.
4 See above, p. 168 ff. ⁶ Dr. Watt in his Economic Dictionary, Vol. VI., Part I., p. 311, says “The age of a tree (wild date) can of course be at once counted by enumerating the notches and adding six or seven, the number of years passed before the first year’s notch.”
TEXT.

సూటమహా.

ఓం 1 సవసూటా (సా) పానామావి కురా నికారా ఫావాహ [సు] –
రా నాగవావాధ్యిత ప్రారంభారు –
వత్స వోహ్షా లాంచు కనడా (సా) ప్యా గోటా ప్రకాషి క్రింద గుండయ వోహ్షా ప్రముఖ పారమేశారా
మహాండి మహాండి మహాండి మహాండి మహాండి –
డ్రాంగ ఆగత వారి ప్రముఖ రాజా నామసున్నా తరుపు –
వామప్పడ మాండ వామప్పడ మాండ వామప్పడ మాండ వామప్పడ –
గాజా – (డ్రాంగ) పారమేశారా పారమేశారా పారమేశారా పారమేశారా –
12 సాం ప్రంమా సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
13 ప్రారంభారు ప్రముఖ పారమేశారా ప్రముఖ పారమేశారా ప్రముఖ పారమేశారా –
14 ప్రారంభారు ప్రంమా సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
15 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
16 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
17 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
18 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
19 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
20 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
21 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
22 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
23 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
24 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
25 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
26 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –
27 సాందర్శా (సా) మాని కురా నికారా బారా నాగవావాధ్యి –

1 Expressed by a symbol.
2 Perhaps kaundas.
3 Read Saka-nippa-kal-attite dasa-sata-trayastrī.
4 Perhaps Adityamapena.
5 Perhaps Prayagrī.
6 Perhaps Ketürapamurama.
7 Perhaps Edgarametti.
TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—6). Hail. The patta-mahâdevi of the Mahârâja Dhârâvarshadêva, who was born of the Nâgavainâsa, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood-jewels; who was the lord of Bhûgavati, the best of towns; whose crest was a tiger with a calf; who was of the Kâs巴黎ya gotra; who had made his shout of victory (universally) known; who had acquired the whole earth; the Paramâvâra, Paramabhâtâraka; who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of Mahâvâra; who was a Hariâchandra in truthfulness; who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, a glorious ornament among kings;

(II. 7—11) (she who was) the only mother of the world, called the turbaned queen consort (chief consort); whose head was wholly sanctified by being washed in the water of the Ganges; who was (as it were) half the body of Dhârâvarsha (just as Pârvati is half the body

1 Perhaps Chhâdd brâhmana.
2 Probably Góvindaputra [or Góvindaputra.—S. K.]
3 This perhaps stands for dattâ akarêga śrî-śânam-dêyâ disc.
of Mahēśvara; a noble lady of royal birth; resplendent (like) Pārvati; beautiful (like) the Ganges; who was exceedingly devoted to her husband; a lovely Arundhati, a Sarasvati of goodness; an amulet for those who sought her protection; a magical gem to her relatives; a new Sāvitrī of good breeding; capable of liberal support like the earth (was) Gunḍa-mahādevī.

(Ll. 12—17). After the Mahārajā Somēśvaradēva, who was known as her son; who was born of the Nāgavāni, resplendent in the mass of rays of thousand hood jewels; who was the lord of Bhogavati, the best of towns; whose crest was a tiger with a calf; who was of the Kāyapa gātra; who had made his abode of victory universally known; who had acquired the whole earth; the Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka; who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lota feet of Mahēśvara; who was a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection; who was terrible to the refractory (or, rivals), a glorious ornament amongst kings,

(Ll. 17—24) had gone to heaven; in the auspicious and victorious reign of his son, and her grandson, the illustrious hero Kanharadēva, resplendent in the row of all kings, when (the year) ten hundred increased by thirty-three of the era of the Śaka king had expired, in the Kharacārakāra, on the day of full moon of Kārtti, on Wednesday, the village of Nārāyaṇapura, full of people come from various countries, was given by the illustrious Gunḍa-mahādevī for so long as the moon, the sun, the earth, and the ocean endure, to the glorious god Nārāyaṇa, who is a ferry for crossing the ocean of transmigration, who is a basket (full) of the gems of knowledge, who opens the bolt of heaven’s (door), seeing that everything is transient, unsteady and inconstant, in order to open the bolt of heaven’s (door). Likewise the land near the Kharajurībandha-tank was given to the glorious god Lōkēśvara.

(Ll. 25—33). The illustrious minister Ādityama Penna, the bhaṭṭāṇayaka Prōṭīyō, the karaṇa Kushriyama Virama1, the nāyaka Śoman, the nāyaka Rāmanākāsana, the nāyaka Māraya, the bhaṇḍāri Aitana, the sādhu Vakomārā. The land of these was given revenue free. The śreṣṭhī Samara, the brahmaṇa Chhādrā, the śreṣṭhī Ghnghi, the sādhu Šri-dhara, the kūṣajā (cocoon producer) Nānū, the mātī Pālāsu Padmāsinivirā, the oilman Gōvinda-pātra, the bāṅā Jassadhavala, Mālāpi . . . . . . . . the glorious Vāsudēva: these should always remain at the feet of the glorious Nārāyaṇa as grihavesakas, and the tribute should be paid to the illustrious paṇḍī Purushottama. The land has been given free from all obstructions incumbent on the village, the vīlāya, and the nāṭa, for so long a time as moon and sun endure. (Here follow two imprecatory verses.)

(Ll. 35). (Let) great happiness (attend). Hail.

(Ll. 362—371). Land is given to the sūtraśhāra Rasāṃvira, free from taxes.

(Ll. 362—422). The land of the adhikārīn Chhādrāka is given, free from taxes. (Also) that of Brahmaṇjāaka as a grant, free from taxes. The land of Mahaṇḍaka, Kanharasā, and Nāgakulaṇḍhavara, given, free from taxes.

(Ll. 392—422). To bhaṭṭāraka Bhāvadēva land is given free from taxes.

(Ll. 436—461). Hail. The illustrious Dhāraṇa-Mahādevī gave land for the sake of the god, the illustrious Nārāyaṇa free from all obstructions, and free from taxes. (Witnesses are) Mahaṇaṅka, Devadāsi, Jaggati, the sādhu Himasutta . . . . Lakṣmaṇa, Chaḍhārī. The land was given by the illustrious Dhāraṇa-Mahādevī free from taxes. The land was given by the queen consort free from taxes.

1 We should perhaps read karaṇa-kaśṭigama Virama, Virama, the writer of the Kusuma. Compare Baden Powell, Indian Village Community, p. 107.
No. 50.—Timmapuram Plates of Vishnuvardhana I. Vishamasiddhi.

By Professor E. Hultesb, Ph.D.; Halle (Saa).

This short inscription is on three copper-plates which were “discovered in the ground in October 1907 by one Sukuru Ramasvami while digging a hole in his vacant house-site in the village of Timmapuram in the Sarvasiddhi taluka” and were sent by the Collector of the Vizagapatnam district to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who describes them as follows:—

“The plates measure 2½ by 7½ inches and are strung on an oval ring, the diameters of which are 2½ and 3 inches. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a nearly circular seal which measures between 1½ and 1½ inches in diameter. In the centre of this seal is the legend [sic] which is in the same alphabet in which the plates themselves are engraved. The third plate of the inscription is blank, and the grant itself ends in line 2 of the second side of the second plate.”

The alphabet and orthography do not call for any special remarks. The final t occurs in line 1,3 the upadhamayya in l. 5, and the Dravidian letter 4a in l. 11. The language is Sanskrit prose. The panegyric portion (l. 1—11) is comparatively correct—probably because it was copied from a form preserved at the royal secretariat. The grant portion, however, must have been drafted by a person who knew very little Sanskrit. It contains a Prakrit word: chattalitsa (l. 12) = Sanskrit chatdivBradat, and several grave grammatical blunders which I have corrected in the footnotes.

The inscription records a grant by Vishnuvardhana-Mahärjä surnamed Vishamasiddhi,4 who was the younger brother of Satyärsya-Vallabha-Mahärjä, the son of Kirtivarman, the grandson of Raçavikrama, and the great-grandson of Raçaraja of the Chalukya family. This short pedigree establishes the identity of the donor of this grant with Vishnuvardhana I. Vishamasiddhi, the founder of the eastern branch of the Chalukya dynasty. That he was the younger brother of Satyärsya, i.e. the Western Chalukya king Pulakésin II., and the son of Kirtivarman (L.), is stated in many Eastern Chalukya inscriptions; and his grandfather Raçavikrama, i.e. Pulakésin I., is mentioned also in his Sátrá plates.5 The reference to his great-grandfather Raçaraja is of some interest, because this name is known only from a few records of the Western Chalukyas.

Both Vishnuvardhana I. and his elder brother receive the title Mahärjä; but the second is stated to have “subdued the circle of the whole earth” (l. 5 f.), while the former claims only to have “humbled the circle of all the vassals” (l. 6 f.). This distinction implies that, at the time of this grant, Vishnuvardhana I. was still a dependant of his elder brother, the Western Chalukya king Pulakésin II. He professed to be a worshipper of Bhagavat (l. 10), i.e. Vishnu, and resided at Pishṭapura (l. 1.), the modern Pitäpuram in the Godavari district. In the Aihoje inscription6 the capture of this fortress is ascribed to his elder brother and sovereign Pulakésin II.

The grant portion differs from that of other records in two respects. It lacks at the end the usual imprecations and other particulars, and the donees are not mentioned by name, but simply stated to have been forty Brähmana of the Chhandoga school. The object of the grant was some land at Kumültura—a village which I am unable to identify—in the Palaki-vishaya.

1 See note 6 on p. 318.
2 This surname occurs both in line 8 and on the seal of the present grant. It forms also the legend of certain copper coins discovered in the Vizagapatnam district; see Ind. Ant. Vol. XXIV, p. 322 f.
4 Above, Vol. VI, p. 11, verse 27.
The same district seems to be referred to in the Chippurupalle plates of Vishnuvardhana I., where the name has been read doubtfully as 'Pāki-vishaya'; but, if the facsimile can be trusted, the engraver has written in reality Plaki-vishayā, which may be meant for Pañjaki-vishayā.

**TEXT.**

**First Plate.**

睑[1]

1. "श्रीमतुपुरुसाकान्तः सरस्वतिदतुलनयम्(1)हायेन स(1)हा-
2. संन्यासिनिलोकतामातुनिम्नतामातुदित्वाति" मानवः[गो]-
3. वाणा [चा]रितिपुनाणा चक्षुनवःवग्नसविद्वसदुः[भु]-
4. "तत्तत्रत्रपरमपरस्य 10नास्पाध्यक्षस्य रणविक्रमस्य धी[मो]-
5. गुप्तकृत्य: कौशिकार्यः धीसुः सशक्तिविशिष्टकृतकलसयि-11

**Second Plate; First Side.**

7. महाशामक्ष्यः: श्रीपुण्यावीनर्निवयतः12 दूरतिमिर[विव]-
8. समाब्रजः: श्रीजाजिद्रितनिम्नविवेकपि जाधिकृतशिवायमित[विव]-
9. जन(1)[मन]लम्बभुतकामिनः: कौशिकिश्वमित्वपुत्रिता लम्बः[विव]

11. म(1)हा[र]ाः: (11) पश्चिकविचये (14) कुमुरुरावमाप्ति पूर्वविंदम्16 चेने च-

ch[1]कोश

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3. From two sets of ink-impressions received from Rai Bahadur Venkayya.
4. This word is entered on the left margin of plate i., opposite the beginning of line 4. The sign of punctuation after it runs into the following aksara न; it resembles in shape the symbol called in Tamil Pīḻaiydr-śu-li.
5. The त of मै is obliterated.
6. The final 1 of वास्तविक is entered at the top of the next aksara ख. Another final 1 is entered at the top of the 1 of the preceding word "पुरः"; perhaps the writer wanted us to read "पुरः".
7. The three aksaras घातित ग्निः are engraved over नमित, which was evidently done because they had been originally omitted through an oversight of the engraver.
8. Read "चुयोः"
9. See note 8 above.
10. The न is engraved over नः; compare note 7 above.
11. Read "पण्डितः"
12. Read "क्रियना."
13. Read "विद्विन."
14. Read "विशिष्टसाधकमात्र."
15. Read "सरस्वतिदतुलनयम्: कौशिकार्यः धीसुः सशक्तिविशिष्टकृतकलसयि-विविधमानित्वपरेभ: विविधमानित्वपरेभ:"

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This is a scanned page of a document written in Sanskrit and Latin, discussing a historical context and a preserved inscription. The text is a study of a particular script and its usage in historical records.
Timmapuram plates of Vishnuvardhana I. Vishamasiddhi.
Hail! (Line 1.) From (his) residence in the prosperous Pishtapura,—the great-grandson of Banarāga, who repeatedly indulged in the passion of fighting in order to elevate the family of the Cha[lu]kyas, who were Hāritiputras, who belonged to the отметил of the Māṇavas, who were protected by the Mātris, the mothers of the three worlds, (and) who were rendered prosperous by Mahāśeṇa,² who by his own arm had defeated the great army of the sons of Dana;³

(L. 4.)—the grandson of Rasavikrama, whose valour was insuperable; the dear son of Kirtivarman, whose renown was extensive; (and) the dear younger brother of Satyādraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja, who had subdued the circle of the whole earth by the triad of (regal) powers;

(L. 6.)—the devout worshipper of Bhagavat, the very pious one, who meditated at the feet of (his) mother and father,—Sri-Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja, who by the edge of his own sword humbled the circle of all the vassals, who by the splendour of his own beauty, virtues and youthfulness far surpassed Cupid,⁴ who (was surnamed) Vishamaśiddhi because he had obtained success (śiddhi) in impassable straits (vishama) on land, on sea, etc., who was a cow of plenty (kāmādhēna) constantly yielding milk to suppliants, (and) who was the [Tri]vikrama (Vishnu) of the world of men because his valour surpassed (that of all) mankind;

(L. 11.)—has granted four thousand私自的s in the fields on the eastern side of the village named Kumulāra in the Pājakī district (vishaya), having portioned (them) off, to forty Brāhmaṇas of various отметил, residing in [Poṭunūka], belonging to the school of the Chhandogas observing the greater and smaller rules, engaged in the six duties, (and) familiar with the Veda.

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No. 51.—Sarnath Inscription of Kumara Devi.

By Sten Konow.

The slab on which the inscription published below is incised was found during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in Sarnāth, in March 1908. It was dug out to the north of the Dhamēkā stūpa, to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period. The writing covers almost the whole of the surface of the stone, viz. 21⅜ × 15¾, and it is in a perfect state of preservation. The average size of the letters is ⅛.

The characters are Nāgarī, of a very ornamental type, and the engraving has been done with considerable skill. Of individual letters, the form of the cerebral ā in -bhaṭṭā and kāndappatiḥ in line 8 is worthy of notice. There are comparatively few orthographical peculiarities. V is used for ś throughout, and ā is used instead of the anusvāra in sudhāśā, line 11. There are some few miswritings such as harrmā- for dharmā-, 1. 6; prakāṭṭī for prakāṭṭī, 1. 8; vishmayakarō for viṣmayā- and vasmāḍdīrīṣā for vasmāḍdīrīṣaḥ, 1. 13; -nārābhārāma- for -rā-, 1. 15; -ri- for tri-, 1. 22; mahihbaṭṭa for mahihbaṭṭa, 1. 19, etc. The forms Kumarahādi,

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1 For other instances in which nāprī has this meaning, see above, Vol. IV. p. 329 and note 2.
2 I.e. the god of war.
3 I.e. the Dānavas or demons.
4 Literally, 'the bearer of the mahaka-banner.'
ll. 11 and 22, and vihāra in ll. 23 and 26, on the other hand, are vouched for by the metre Kumara instead of Kumāra is common in Māhārāṣṭrī Prākrit, and a form Kumarrāvala for the usual Kumārāvala occurs in Hāmacandra's Dēśināmālā, I. 104, 88. And vihāra instead of vihāra is justified by Pāṇini VI, 3, 122.

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation to Vasudhārā in I. 1, the whole of the inscription is in verse. There are altogether twenty-six verses. Of these thirteen (Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23 and 24) are in the Śārdulavikrīḍita, five (Nos. 1, 10, 14, 15 and 20) in the Mālinī, four (Nos. 4, 16, 22 and 25) in the Vasantarilaka; three (Nos. 8, 9 and 26) in the Annāṣṭhūbh, and one (No. 2) in the Sragdharā metre.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a vihāra by Kumaradēvi, one of the queens of Gōvindachandra of Kanauj. The wording of verses 21-23, in which her gift is mentioned, is not quite clear. We are first told, in verse 21, that a vihāra was constructed, which apparently contained an image of the goddess Vasudhārā. The following verses are not quite clear. Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has suggested the following explanation, which I think is a very plausible one. Jambukī drew up a copper-plate, in which she represented to Kumaradēvi that the Dharmachakra-Jina originally set up by Dharmāsoka required to be repaired or set up again. This copper-plate must have contained information about the original setting up of the Dharmachakra-Jina and further details about its maintenance and repairs. Kumaradēvi, who was apparently a stranger to the country round Benares, accepted her representation and raised her to the rank of “the foremost of pāṭalikās.” Moreover, she restored the Jina or set up a new one and placed it in the vihāra built for Vasudhārā, or in another one constructed for the purpose, and the wish is expressed that, after having been placed there, he may remain there for ever. It seems necessary to infer that the Śrīdharmachakra-Jina, which is said to have existed in Dharmāsoka’s time, was an image of the Buddha, and that the vihāra built by the orders of Queen Kumaradēvi for him, was a shrine, a gaudhakūṭi. It is difficult to explain the wish that he, i.e. the image, may reside there for ever, under any other supposition.

The inscription can be divided into four parts. After an invocation of Vasudhārā (v. 1) and the moon (v. 2) vv. 3-6 give some information about some rulers or generals of Pīḍha or Pīḍhikā. We learn that, in the lunar race, there arose a chief called Vallabharāja, the lord of broad Pīḍhikā (v. 3). The following verse introduces the lord of Pīḍha Dēvarakshita, without saying anything about his relationship to Vallabharāja. He is described as the full moon of the lotus of the Chhīkkhāra-cāmīla, and we are told that he even surpassed Gajapati in splendour. Dēvarakshita is again referred to as the lord of Pīḍha in the second part of the inscription, and it therefore seems necessary to interpret vv. 5-6, which apparently refer to a son of his (tasmāt-āsams) as an explanation of his relationship to Vallabharāja, who would then be his father.

The second part of the inscription, vv. 7-13, contains the information that Dēvarakshita was defeated by Mahaṅga, the maternal uncle of the Gauḍa king, who thus firmly established the throne of Rāmapāla, and subsequently bestowed his daughter Śaṅkaradēvi on the Pīḍha lord. Their daughter was Kumarradēvi, in whose praise the present inscription was written.

The third part, vv. 14-20, then contains the genealogy of the Gahaḍavāla family, to which Kumarradēvi’s husband Gōvindachandra belonged. It agrees with the list given in most inscriptions of this latter king, but does not carry us further back than to his grandfather. We are first introduced to Chandra, the Chandrādeva of Gōvindachandra’s inscriptions. His son

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1 See Pachel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen § 81.
2 Pāṭalikā is the feminine form of pāṭalakā, which occurs in the Bugḍa plates of Māhānagavarmman, above, Vol. III, p. 44, 1, 53, in connexion with vaiśeṣikā.
was Madanachandra, elsewhere known as Madampala, who again was the father of Gōvinda-
chandra. He is said to have saved Benares from the wicked Turushka-soldier.

The fourth part of the inscription (verses 21–23) specifies the gifts of Kumaradēvi, and her
praise is sung in verse 24. Verses 25–26 then inform us that the inscription, which is here
called a praśasti, was composed by the post-śri-Kunda, and engraved by Vāmana.

Gōvinda-chandra is the well-known king of Kanauj, whose inscriptions are dated between
A.D. 1114 and 1154. Our inscription teaches us that he guarded Benares against the Turushkas,
is. the Muhammadans. We do not know of any Muhammadan expedition against Benares in
Gōvinda-chandra's time. In A.D. 1033 a Muhammadan army under Ahmad Nāūtigīn arrived at
the town, but only stayed there for a day,¹ and there is no indication of a permanent settlement.
We know, on the other hand, that Musalmān settlers remained in the country about the
Jamna from the days of Mahommed and down to the end of the 12th century.² It seems probable
that Gōvinda-chandra took some action against such settlers, and the term turushka-danda,
which occurs in many of his and his predecessors' inscriptions, gives us a hint as to the nature
of this action. The word turushka-danda has been variously translated as "tax on aromatic
reeds" and "Muhammadan amercements."³ The information furnished by our inscription seems
to show that it was in reality a tax on Muhammadans, the exact nature of which cannot,
however, be determined.

Our inscription introduces us to a new queen of Gōvinda-chandra, Kumaradēvi, the grand-
daughter of Mahāpa. Three other queens are already known from inscriptions, viz. Nayanakīl-
dēvi,⁴ Gōsaldēvi⁵ and Dālanadēvi.⁶ While Gōvinda-chandra was himself an orthodox Hindū,
his fourth wife Kumaradēvi was a Buddhist. According to information kindly supplied by Māhā-
maḥāpādhyāya Hara Prasad Śāstri, the king had still another Buddhist wife Vāsanta-śādi, who
is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of the Ashfāsāhāsikā in the Nepal Darbar Library
(No. 383 of the third collection). The colophon runs:—śri-śri-Kālayukñj-ābhīṣkāt-āśmipati-
gajapati-mahapati-rajya-trayādhipati-śrimad-Gōvinda-chandradēvāsya pratīpavatātaḥ riśmi-śri-
pravara-Mahāyāna-yājyamāḥ paramāpādāyād-riśād-Vāsanta-śādi dīyadharmā-vyāyam...

It is possible that Vāsanta-śādi and Kumaradēvi are one and the same person, one of the mean-
ings of vāsanta being "youth" =kumāra. It is, however, more probable that they are two
different persons.

Some information about Mahāpa, the father of Kumaradēvi's mother, and about the lord of
Pṛthi, her father, can be gleaned from Sandhyākara Nandi's Rāmācharitam, which work has been
brought to light by Mahāmaḥāpādhyāya Hara Prasad Śāstri.⁷ We are there told that Mahāpa
was the maternal uncle of the Gauda king Rāmapāla. Vīrghapāla, the father of Rāmapāla,
made a successful war against the Chāli king Karnā of Dāhāla, of whom we possess an
inscription dated Kalachuri Sainvāt 493=A.D. 1042.⁸ Karnā's reign probably extended over a
long period.⁹ We cannot, therefore, determine when the war against Vīrghapāla took
place. We have an inscription of the time of Vīrghapāla's grandfather Mahipāla, dated
A.D. 1026,¹⁰ and Mahipāla's son Naya-pāla reigned at least 15 years.¹¹ Vīrghapāla's accession
cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than A.D. 1041. His son Rāmapāla, who was
preceeded on the throne by two brothers Mahipāla II. and Sūrapāla, was a contemporary of

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¹ See H. M. Elliot, The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. II. 1869, pp. 112 and ff.
² Ibid., pp. 250 and ff.
⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 108.
⁵ See Führer, loc. cit. p. 115, I. 19.
⁶ Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1900, pp. 70 and ff.
⁷ Kielhorn, Northern List, No. 407.
⁸ See Kielhorn, above, Vol. II. pp. 302 and ff.
⁹ Kielhorn, Northern List, No. 59.
¹⁰ Ibid, No. 642.
Śāṅkaradēvi, the mother of Gōvindachandra's queen Kumaraśvēti. It therefore seems probable that Vīgrahapāla's accession should be placed about A.D. 1050, and Rāmapāla's reign in the last part of the eleventh century. Mahāśaṅkaradēvi's father, would then be a contemporary of both of them. The Rāmacarita, which calls him Mathana or Mahana, states that he was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa, and the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. It therefore becomes probable that Vīgrahapāla married a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess in addition to the daughter of the Chādi king Karṣā who was, according to the Rāmacarita, given to him after the war alluded to above. Mahāśaṅk was Rāmapāla's right hand, and was of great assistance in the war against Būlma. Among the feudatories of the Pāla king in that war, the Rāmacarita mentions Vīragūḍa, the rājā of Pithi who is described as the lord of the south. Dēvarakṣhita of Pithi is also mentioned, but not as a feudatory. He must be identical with the Dēvarakṣhita of our inscription, and it becomes probable that the Pithi ruler Vīragūḍa had originally stood on Rāmapāla's side, while Dēvarakṣhita later on rose against him. He hailed from Pithi or Pithikā, which according to the Rāmacarita was situated in the south. Now pithi or pithikā is synonymous with pitha, and it is therefore possible that Pithi is identical with Pithāpuram.1 We know that a branch of the Eastern Chalukyas reigned in Pithāpuram in the second half of the twelfth century, and that the town had already been conquered by Pulikēśin II. No historical information is forthcoming about the earlier Chalukya princess of the Pithāpuram branch. The real history of the family only seems to begin with Vijayāditya III, whose coronation took place A.D. 1158.2 It should also be noted that the genealogy given in the Pithāpuram inscriptions hardly can be correct. Mr. Sewell has drawn my attention to the fact that only four generations are enumerated between Bēṣa, who reigned in A.D. 925, and Vijayāditya III., who was crowned in A.D. 1158.

Before this branch became established in Pithāpuram, the place was one of the strongholds of the Vēngi province of the Eastern Chalukyas. In the last part of the 11th century, the reigning king was Kūlottūrgā Chāḍādaśa, who first was ruler in Vēngi but who in A.D. 1070 was anointed to the Chōḍa kingdom. Vēngi was then ruled by viceroys, first by his uncle Vijayāditya VII. then by his sons Rājaraśa (1077-78) and Vīra Chōḍa (from 1078). Mr. Venkayya suggests that this latter viceroy may be identical with the Vīragūḍa of the Rāmapālacharita. Dēvarakṣhita was then probably a general under the viceroy of Vēngi. He is said to have surpassed even the glory of Gajapati. As this epithet is used by some of the Eastern Gaṅgas, it is possible that it here refers to Anantavarman Chāḍagaṅga. The Kālūgattu Parass3 describes an expedition undertaken by Kūlottūrga I. against this king, and Dēvarakṣhita may have played a rôle in it. We do not know anything about the Chhipkōra family, to which Dēvarakṣhita belonged.

The marriage of Dēvarakṣhita's daughter to king Gōvindachandra perhaps accounts for the relationship between the Chōḍas and the Gaṅgaḍavālas commented on by Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report for 1907-08, para. 58 and ff. An incomplete Gaṅgaḍavāla inscription has recently been found immediately after a record of Kūlottūrga-daśa of A.D. 1110-11, in Gaṅgāikaḍa-chōḍa-puram, which it is tempting to bring into connexion with Gōvindachandra's marriage. Mr. Venkayya carries the acquaintance of the Gaṅgaḍavālas with the Chōḍa kings farther back to the expedition of Rājendrā Chōḍa towards the kings on the banks of the Gaṅgas, mentioned in the Tīrvāḷāṅgāda plates, and it seems very probable that this expedition led to the establishment of friendly relations with the north. Among the princes conquered by Rājendrā Chōḍa was Dharmapāla of Daḍabhukti, and the lord of Daḍabhukti figures amongst the feudatory kings who, according to the Rāmapālacharita, assisted Rāmapāla in his war against Būlma.

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1 Compare the forms Pithāpura and Pithāpur, above, Vol. IV. p. 87, 357. Note 4.
The relationship between the various persons mentioned in our inscription will be seen from the table which follows:

Vallabharaja of Pithi | Mahasa, of the Rashtarkuta family. | Chandra, of the Gahaadavala family.

| Dvarakshita, married | Saikhandevi. | Madanachandra.

| Kumaradevi, married | Goidinachandra.

According to verse 25, the inscription was composed by Kunda, who describes himself as a lion to the tirthika-elephants, a Roha mountain, full of the splendid gems of poetical composition, a poet in eight bhashas, and an intimate friend of the king of Vaiga. He is not elsewhere known. His name does not occur in the Saduktikarapamita, nor, so far as I know, in any other anthology. The engraver was the telpin Vamana.

**TEXT.**

1 ची नमो भगवानी शारावुक्षाराय। ॥ समवतु वसुधारा घमपीयुष्काराय—

2 खिलननदीनाश्चारायं जग्निता ॥ [१४] "नैवेशीलपिततानां चरणामुपत्तयां

3 चन्द्राकान्ताचारणचारण पर्वतमदकरीविंतियां हि कुसुमदनीसुद्द्रया: मालिनीमानम्।

4 दमिद्यरसेष्यां ॠषां। [२०] "वस्तु तथा नमस्यवैरपुरुष विभाष्यात्रालोकितीप्रवतियामिनियान्तिविपाकम्। त्राकू

5 श्रीवीरेष्यां श्रीवीरेष्यां श्रीवीरेष्यां। ॥ [२४] "तत्संबंध पवित्रिनियान्तिविपाकम्।

6 श्रीवीरेष्यां श्रीवीरेष्यां श्रीवीरेष्यां। ॥ [२४] "तत्संबंध पवित्रिनियान्तिविपाकम्।

7 निषिद्ध श्रीवीरेष्यां ॥ [२४] "द्वारानामविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविविवিভিন

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2. Expressed by a symbol.
4. Read चक्र:
9. Read चक्रविरेष्यां.
8 नक्ष्यरीयमें सिद्धायित्वाक्षर पाण्डुभाष्य भूतमुखानवधिकारण:।

9 महाशाय: \textit{चित्रितभुजायामीश्वरमुखः।} \textit{त} (ते) \textit{जिला युधि देवरि-}

10 देवेश्वर सक्त जातेव भूमित्। सा \textit{पीठोपतिना तैन तांत्रिक।}

11 जीव कुमार इति देवेश्वर भूमि श्रीदलनमुझागढ़ भूमि रथः।

12 \textit{द्रितरथ: (अ)कौशिकज्ञाकामुक्षिन भूमि कांशतित्तारिणिवादिः।}

13 यहा: \textit{सुकु (सुं)सिंह स विश्वयमकरो वाचः।}

14 \textit{विग्रह: जिंदनवाच चतुष्णायाम भूमि चित्रितस्वरूपः।}

15 इति \lbrack १७९२०\rbrack \textit{द्राक्षरेश्वरमूर्तिनंतजनिनत:।}

16 इति \lbrack १७९२०\rbrack \textit{प्रभुस्वरूपार्जुनानंतर:।}

17 \textit{प्रतियाचन्दनवाणिज्ञानवधिकारण: स तस्मानमाध्यवेदकालपालः।}

18 \textit{प्रथमां नरण: कामदुशमु काणेः।}

\footnotesize

1 Metro: \textit{Śārdūlaśākṣiśākṣiśākṣiśākṣiśākṣiśākṣiśākṣiśākṣiśाक्षिक्रियाः।}

2 Metro: \textit{व्रतायां।}

3 Metro: \textit{अनुष्ठानः।}

4 Metro: \textit{द्राक्षरेश्वरमूर्तिनंतजनिनताः।}

5 Metro: \textit{प्रभुस्वरूपार्जुनानंतरः।}

6 Metro: \textit{कामदुशमु काणेः।}

7 Metro: \textit{स्वरूपमधुर:।}

8 Metro: \textit{प्रतियाचन्दनवाणिज्ञानवधिकारणः।}

9 Metro: \textit{विग्रहायाम:।}

10 Metro: \textit{सुकु (सुं)सिंह स विश्वयमकरो वाचः।}

11 Metro: \textit{कामदुशमु काणेः।}

12Metro: \textit{प्रभुस्वरूपार्जुनानंतरः।}

13 Metro: \textit{प्रतियाचन्दनवाणिज्ञानवधिकारणः।}

14 Metro: \textit{विग्रहायाम:।}

15 Metro: \textit{सुकु (सुं)सिंह स विश्वयमकरो वाचः।}

16 The sign of interpolation has been engraved in the beginning of next line.

17 Metro: \textit{प्रभुस्वरूपार्जुनानंतरः।}

18 Metro: \textit{प्रथमां नरण: कामदुशमु काणेः।}
Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi.

Sten Konow.

Scale : 5
19 नेप पद्यपुराण ¹ पातु न ते चिवं प्रागतम हस्यकमणं सन्तोषितयतिक यथात।
लहारेस्वर ² महीभुजा: प्रसुदिणि तयाचकानायाये सच्चं दाहितिललिनिकेरपयः।
20 पानीन्द्रयासेते ल [[१४]]³ यत्विंविषमधुरासुरूपं पुरवरे प्रवक्तसारानौर्वाचासामूः
पायुष्मनम्नां ग्रहणं नैव भसमातु। अथा: सक्तसुवधुकृष्णमणिः
भक्तिः।
21 तदल्यकदेक्षितार्यसयं ध्वनि भयोपकालिक्षिकालजः। [[१५]]⁴ यस्यकंपविरोधिवृत्तेदश्वमात्यसादद्रोहपरि प्रवक्तसुहुद्वमणिवक्तवल्लोकवाौजः।
22 व्रजः। चाद्वलसमबस्य मंगलयक्ष्मनरीपि मनोवेद्वत् दातव्यासविशृद्धनोभिौजः,
रचनं पतनसततम्। [[१६]] ⁵ उहह कुमदवेदी तेन र[[१]]⁶ या प्रशिवा निः
(वि)जमली।
23 परिवस्ता शौरविहाचुङ्गे। प्रविलमदवरीक्षे तत्य राजस्वक्षनां नियतममुः
रमेंविक्षा तारकाम्। [[२०]]⁷ वीरयो नवश्चाकेशमणिहरो: कतोरीऽ
न्याय।
24 ततर्थ्या वनवधारया नन्तु युषिविभाषायायांज्ञत। य दृश्य धिर्विचित्रकिरकम्
नातात्मायीकामयं गोपाली: सुधुःचः [[२१]] विचारयमात्रादमुक्मामिः र।
25 मामानसिबिंह शा जामुकी ¹⁰ सकलपतनसिवाथ्वुता। तत्तामगानवर(र)।
प्रविचाय नष्टे दला तया शासिरबी भवि यावदास्ततम्। [[२२]]
¹⁰ धर्मशोकश्चायानायिन समये वीधः।
26 ममचको जिनो यादुक् तदवरादित: पुनरयात्रेण ततोष्ठमुः। वीरयः
वितिर्गुष मयु च तया बनवद्वारारतसंक्षेपे समविदृष्ट वस्तुदाः
चन्द्रवणुमुः। [[२३]]¹¹ तलोस्चित्यः।
27 रिपालविशिष्ट जनो यय: काहुदुर्दिते ल स तयादिगुणमणयमपरत्ययुः जिना:
साविषयं। तथा: काहुदिविन्यसं यति याहोव्यालोपकारी राखः। तं
पापोवसमः।
28 शयाः मधुसूदनसक्षेपः कुधा। [[२४]]¹² एकाधिपिकादिवारणिणिभता
सहंकाष्टितौ: साहिलो व्यालोरोपणियियः श्रवणायाकं:। भाषाधारिकं:।
¹² रूपः। the final visarga has been engraved in the beginning of line 29.
29 प्रणयम्: शीक्षनामा कर्ती तथा: सुन्दरवाण्यकृतनारायणं प्रश्नति अव्यात्
II [२५*] 'एवा प्रगस्तिक्षुविश् वामनेन तु मिष्यना। राजार्तक्ष
सापत्यावधानं प्रस्तरोतमे।' II [२५*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail. Obeisance to the exalted noble Vasudhâra.

(V. 1.) May Vasudhâra protect the worlds, who abates the broad stream of unlimited misery in the manifold universe by the nectar stream of Iśkarma; who pours out riches of wealth and gold over earth, skies and heaven, and who conquers all the misery of man in them.

(V. 2.) Victorious be that lover of the lotuses, the flashing torch for the illumination of the world, who causes oozing of the lovely moon-gems and (brings tears into) the eyes of longing people; who opens the knot of pride in haughty damsels and also the closed lotuses; who with his nectar-filled beams revives the god of love, who was burnt to ashes by Iśvara, (who had been) smitten (by him).

(V. 3.) In his (the moon's) lineage, which enjoys a valour worthy of homage; which is resplendent with shining fame; which speedily annihilates the pride of the river of the gods by its purity; which destroys the splendour of its adversaries, was a hero, known by the name of Vallabhâraja, honoured among princes, the victorious lord of broad Piṭhikâ, of increasing mighty prowess.

(Vv. 4-5.) The full moon expanding the lotuses of the Chhikkôra family, known on earth as śri-Dêvarakshita, the lord of Piṭhî (who) surpassed even the splendour of Gaṇapatī by his splendour whose glory alone ravished the hearts of the world, was descended from him (Vallabhâraja), as the moon from the ocean, a (veritable) Viṣṇu (Vidhu), to the Lakshmi of beauty; a (veritable) moon in causing the rise of the ocean, viz. ocular pleasure (as the moon raises the ocean); a second moon, the lustre of whose light was his fame (or, a second Viṣṇu with Śri in the shape of the lustre of his fame); an incomparable treasure of goodness; a treasure of resplendent virtues; an ocean of profundity; a peerless store of religion; a store of energy, the only repository of the lore of arms;—

(V. 6.) Who was the veritable celestial tree in bestowing desired objects on suppliants; who was an irresistible thunderbolt in accomplishing the splitting of the mighty mountains, viz. his haughty foes; a marvellous man, whose arm was like a sprout of a marvellous herb in healing the fever of Cupid in enamoured women, and death to kings.

(V. 7.) In the Gaṇḍa country there was a peerless warrior, with his quiver this incomparable diadem of kshatryâs, the Āga king Mahânu, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered Dêvarakshita in war and maintained the glory of Râmapâla, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed.

(V. 8.) The daughter of this Mahâpadêva was like the daughter of the mountain (i.e. Pârvati); she was married to the lord of Piṭhî as (Pârvati) to Svayambhu.;

(V. 9.) She was known as Śaṅkaradévi, full of mercy like Târâ, and she excelled the creepers of the wishing tree in her efforts to make gifts.

(V. 10.) To them, forsooth, was born Kumaradévi, like a dêvi, lovely like the charming streak of the spotless autumnal moon, as if Târîpi herself, prompted by compassion, had descended to earth with a wish to free the world from the ocean of misery.

1 Metre : Anashtubh.
2 Mr. Venkayya suggests to read dainyâdi-tâdyâgâyânti.
3 The meaning of kṣapâśâka is uncertain. The word is usually translated 'screen.' But this meaning does not suit the context.
(V. 11.) After having created her, Brahmā was filled with pride at his own cleverness in applying his art; excelled by her face the moon, being ashamed, remains in the air; rises at night, becomes impure and subsequently full of spots; how can this her marvellous beauty be described by people like us?

(V. 12.) She, who in a wonderful way possesses a beautiful body, which is a glittering net for entrapping female antelopes, is the moving eyes, and which robs the wealth of beauty of the dense waves of the playful milky ocean by her brilliant charm of lovely splendour; who does away with the infatuation of the daughter of the mountain (i.e., Parvatī) by her proud grace.

(V. 13.) Her mind was set on religion alone; her desire was bent on virtues; she had undertaken to lay in a store of merit; she found a noble satisfaction in bestowing gifts; her gait was like that of an elephant; her appearance charming to the eye; she bowed down to the Buddha, an. the people sang her praise; she took her stand in the play of commiseration, was the permanent abode of luck, annihilated sin, and took her pride in abundant virtue.

(V. 14.) In the royal Gahadavāla lineage, famous in the world, was born a king, Chandras by name, a moon (chandra) among rulers. By the streams of tears of the wives of the kings who could not resist him, the water of the Yamunā forsooth became darker.

(V. 15.) The king Madanachandra, a crest jewel amongst impetuous kings, was born from him, the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valor being great and mighty, and who even lowered the glory of Maghāvan by his glory.

(V. 16.) Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Vārānasī from the wicked Tarunaka warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renounced as Gīvindachandra.

(V. 17.) Wonderful, the calves of the celestial cows could not formerly get even drops of the milk stream to drink, on account of its continuous use for satisfying the hearts of supplicants; but after the multitude of these suppliants had been gladdened through the liberality of that king, they sat down to the feast of drinking the milk which is always plentiful and applied according to their wishes.

(V. 18.) In the excellent cities of his adversaries, hunters by mistake do not pick up fallen necklaces, thinking them to be nooses for the deer in it, and hunters quickly remove the fallen gold ear-ring with sticks, the garlands in their hands shaking with fear, mistaking it for a saaka on account of its large size.

(V. 19.) The chariot of the sun was delayed because its span of horses were greedy after the mouthful of fresh, shining, thick grass on the roofs of the palaces in the towns of his uprooted foes; and also the moon became slow, because he had to protect the gazelle (in his orb), which was falling down, having become covetous after the grass.

(V. 20.) Kumaradēvi, forsooth, was famous with that king, like Śrī with Viṣṇu, and her praises were sung in the three worlds, and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

(V. 21.) This vihāra, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments, was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasundhāra herself in the shape of Tārīṇī, and even the Creator himself was taken with wonder when he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of) gods.

(V. 22.) Having prepared that copper-plate grant, which recorded the gift to Śrī-Dharmachakra Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her, that Jambuki was made (?) the foremost of all pattakīdīs by her (Kumaradēvi).
(V. 23.) This Lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmāśoka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully, and this vihāra for that athavirā was elaborately erected by her, and might he placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (endure).

(V. 24.) If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet. You Jinas shall be witnesses. But if any fool robs her fame, then those lokaśālas will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath.

(V. 25.) The poet in eight bhāshās known as the trusted friend of the Bārga-king, Šrī-Kunda by name, the learned, who was the only lion to attack the crowds of the elephant-like heretics, who was a Rāhāṇa mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her, charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

(V. 26.) This prakāśī has been engraved by the šilpi Vāmana on this excellent stone which rivals the rājāvarta (i.e. Lapis Lazuli).

No. 52.—KRISHNAPURAM PLATES OF SADASIVARAYA.

SAKA SAMVAT 1489.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., MADRAS, AND RAO SABH T. RAGHAVIAN, B.A., REVENUE OFFICER, MADRAS CORPORATION.

The temple of Šrī Vēkāṭāchalampati to which this set of copper-plates belongs, is situated in the middle of Krishnāpuram, a village six miles south-east of Tinevally. The temple has some fine sculptures and a few inscriptions of later times. The copper-plates were kindly secured for us by Mr. N. Gopālasvāmi Ayyangār, B.A., B.L., Deputy Collector, Kollāgal, and we now edit them from impressions prepared under our supervision.

The plates are five in number, bound together by a ring, which has also a seal loosely strung to it. The upper half of the surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing boar facing the proper right; near its face is a dagger placed with its point downwards, and over it are cut out the figures of sun and moon. The lower half has a design not uncommon to the Vijayanagara seals. On the top of the first plate and immediately above the inscription is engraved the Šrīvīrāsava nāman (of the Tengalai sect) flanked on either side with the conch and the discus (of Viṣṇu). The plates (except the first) are numbered in Kannada-Telugu numerals engraved on the right-hand corner of the first side of each plate. The rims of the plates are raised; and the first and last plates are engraved on one side only.

The characters are Nandināgari, and the language, excepting the obeisance to Gaṇapati at the beginning, is Sanskrit verse. The signature at the end is, as usual, the name of the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings, Šrī Viṇyākha, and is written in the Kannada alphabet. There are a few orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The long vowel ē is represented by the usual sign for ē with a secondary ē-stroke on the top. This new long ē, as employed in our record, is the same as the vowel at as written at the present day; but in the present inscription, this latter sound is represented by an ordinary short ē with two secondary ē symbols on it: e.g. Aṭāvatipura- occurring in line 114, Aṭākṣa- in line 145, Ēbirudārāyava-, in line 191, and Ēkṣvā in line 210. The Dravidian rough r is represented, as in other Vijayanagara plates written in the Nandināgari alphabet, with a secondary r on the top of a common r; e.g. Māra- occurring in line 94, -Sāvatākṛdaraḥ- in line 141, -pāra- in line 146, Śriyā- in line 150, and -Āraśṭṭi- in line 159. There are several minor errors in the inscription.
such as omissions of letters, and of the anusāra and the visarga, wrong repetitions of the same words and phrases, etc.; these are noticed in footnotes under the text. The birudas of the king and of the chiefs are known from other sources.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Sadāśivāya of Vidyānagarī. It records that at the request of Tirumala, who was in his turn requested by Krishṇappa Nayaka or Krishṇaprabhupati as he is called in the inscription, Sadāśivāya granted a number of villages to the god Tiruvēṇkaṭanātha set up at Krishnapuram by Krishṇappa Nayaka. The first part of the inscription gives in detail the genealogy of king Sadāśiva which is identical with that given in the British Museum plates of the same king published by Prof. Kielhorn1 and No. 58 of the Nāgamāṅgala tāluk of the Mysore District, published by Mr. Rice.2 Herein also Sadāśivāya is described as being installed on the throne by the chief ministers at the instance of Rāmarāja, who is here, as in the other plates,3 called his sister's husband. Later on (vv. 84-95) the inscription details the pedigrees of the family to which Tirumala belonged.

The genealogy begins with Nanda, who is said to have been born in the race of the moon. In his race was born Chālīkkā and in the latter's Bijjalēndra. Sōmidēva, who captured seven forts, was born in his line. His grandson was Pinnama "lord of Āravītipura." His son was Āraviṭi-Bukka, whose wife was Ballāmbikā. Their son was Rāmarāja who married Lakkāmbikā. To them was born Śrīrāṅgarāja (I.) and his wife was Tirumalāmbikā. Their sons were Rāmarāja (II.), Tirumala (I.) and Vēṅkaṭādri. Tirumala is styled in the plates a Bhōja in poetry. Appended below is a genealogical tree of Tirumala's family:

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  Sōmidēva
     
     Pinnama (II.)
     Āravītipura-pati.

    Āraviṭi Bukka, married Ballāmbikā.

    Rāmarāja (I.)
    married Lakkāmbikā.

    Śrīrāṅgarāja (I.)
    married Tirumalāmbikā.

  Rāmarāja (II.)

    Tirumala

    Vēṅkaṭādri.
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We learn from the British Museum plates that Rāmarāja II., Tirumala and Vēṅkaṭādri belonged to the same family, from which Koḍḍarāja of that grant was descended (see table above, Vol. IV., p. 4). Tirumala bears (vv. 98-101) the family birudas of aṁbābavaraṁgaṇḍa,

At the time at which the present grant was made, Rāmarāja, the powerful general and minister of Sadāśiva, and his brother Vēṭakaṭāḍri had both been dead two years, they having fallen in the famous battle of Tālikōṭa on the 23rd January A.D. 1566. Tirumala, the second brother of Rāmarāja, now became the minister and commander and was the de facto king. In the course of the same or the beginning of the next year he was to become eventually the de jure king and founded the third dynasty of Vijayanagara.

Krishṇappa Nāyaka, at whose request the present grant was made, is described as the grandson of Nāgama Nāyaka and the son by Nāgama of Viśvanātha Nāyaka. He has the birudas, Kālīṣṭhānavarādhiśēvara, Māṇḍalipattavardhana, Saṃyādrāvaḥ, Saṃyādāvaḥ, Aṭṭavikalpavardhiśēvara, Pāḍḍyakulasthāpanāḥkārya and Daśanīpamudrādhikārya (vv. 49-52).

In connection with the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country by the kings of Vijayanagara, we might notice that Narasa or Narasā Nāyaka, as he is more commonly called, is said to have subdued Mānabhūṣa, the king of Madra. We know that Narasā Nāyaka lived about the last quarter of the 15th century and that Mānabhūṣa or Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya began his reign in 1422 A.D. and ruled for at least 42 years, i.e. till about 1466 A.D. It is quite likely that this Pāṇḍya king was the one referred to as defeated by Narasā Nāyaka.

Our inscription is dated (vv. 44-45) in the Śaka year 1489, computed by the nīdhis (9), vārasas (8), vidas (4), and indus (1), in the year Prabhava, on the Makara samkrānti corresponding to the new moon tithi of the month Pushya, on a Monday. Sadāśivārāya was then encamped on the island of Śrīraṅgam and made the grant in the presence of the god Raṅgamātha. The last known date for Sadāśivārāya is 1567 A.D., some ten months earlier than that of our record, and hence it is likely that the king, after the disaster that befell him at Tālikōṭa two years previously, was spending his last years, Śrīvaishnavas as he was, at the sacred shrine of Śrīraṅgam. Of all Śrīvaishnava places of pilgrimage, Śrīraṅgam is the most sacred, and the Tuluva kings of Vijayanagara, at least those beginning with Krishṇadēvarāya, were very stanch Śrīvaishnavas. Achyutadēvarāya, during his expedition against the Tiruvadai kingdom, is described, in the Achaṭuryadēbhuddayam of Raṅnāthakavi, as having halted at Śrīraṅgam and sent the son of one Saṅgharāja to conquer the Tiruvadai rāja. Hence it might not be wrong to suppose that Sadāśivārāya ended his days in Śrīraṅgam, but we have not any positive proofs to support our surmise.

1 Compare verses 144-146 of the British Museum plates, where Koniḍarāja of this family wears similar birudas; above, Vol. IV, p. 21.
2 Verses 53-54.
3 Verses 11. The word has been treated as an ordinary noun by Prof. Hultsch and Kielhorn.
4 The Dēvalapalli plates give S. 1427 as a date falling in the reign of Immaḍi-Nrisinha; hence Narasā must have lived prior to this. See also footnote 7, above, Vol. VII, p. 79. [It should be noted that Immaḍi Nrisinha was a Śājuva, and not a Tuluva like Narasa. — S. K.]
6 Scondam, Vol. IV., p. 117.
8 The Śājuva kings were the disciples of Tāṭēchārya. See Praposasudrastam. Krishnadēva wrote Amuktraṇa, Viś的积极性, works relating to the life incidents of the Śrīvaishnava saint Periyāyāvar and his daughter Anjili.
9 This Saṅgharāja was the father-in-law of Achyutadēva and father of his wife Varadāvē. See Achaṭuryadēbhuddayam. Canto III, verse 48. The printed copy of this work reads the name as Salagarakarā; see p. 77, but Mr. T. S. Kuppusami Śastri reads it as Saṅgharāja, and we follow him in calling the father-in-law of Achyuta, Saṅgharāja.
10 See Achaṭuryadēbhuddayam, Canto V., verse 64.
Krishnappa Nāyaka constructed a temple in the village of Krishnapuram and built a prākāra round it and a tower as high as the Mandara mountain over its entrance. In front of the shrine he erected a raṅgamandapa, standing on pillars containing exquisite sculptures and decorated with rows of beautiful creepers. In this newly constructed temple he set up the image of the god Tiravākparaśātha. He built a big car for the deity and surrounded the temple with broad streets with a view to provide an easy circuit for the car. It was for the conduct of the daily pājds, for offerings, lighting, for incense, flower-garlands, etc., and for the annual celebration of the car and the floating festivals, that he requested and got from Sadāśivārya the villages mentioned in the grant.

Though the Nāyakas are believed to have usurped the throne of the Pāṇḍyas, they still call themselves 'the establishers of the Pāṇḍya dynasty.' In corroboration of the claim of the Nāyakas of Mādura to the title of Pāṇḍyaśrīvallānandārāhavādi, we see several hundreds of inscriptions belonging to the later Pāṇḍyas, scattered over the country believed to have been ruled over by the Nāyakas, showing that they were also ruling simultaneously with the Nāyakas. One of the later Pāṇḍyas, named Śrīvallabhā, is described, in the Pudukkottai plates of Ativirarāma Pāṇḍya, as having established the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This Śrīvallabhā must have been a contemporary of Narasiṣa Nāyaka, for he is the brother of Mānabhūsha defeated by Narasiṣa. How he established the Pāṇḍya kingdom and under what circumstances, is not apparent. But we see as a matter of fact the Pāṇḍyas ruling in a semi-independent condition over their ancestral kingdom till at least 1585 A.D.; what political relationship existed between them and the Nāyakas, we do not know.

At the end of the inscription, it is mentioned that Sabhāpati Svatambhū was the composer of the śāsana, and Vīraṇāhārya, son of Vīrana, was the engraver.

The places mentioned in the record are:—

Kilavēmbo nāṇu in the Pāṇḍya maṇḍalam; Śrīvallānamandārāradā in the above nāṇu; Ardhatintri (Arappuli ?), Villamarayaṉ Nōḍiṅguḷam, Śavaḷkkāraṇ kuḷam, Puliyāṅguḷa-ōjaī, Pirāyankulam, Bhūravarāṭaṅka (Parpagulam, a corruption perhaps of Pāppāṅkuḷam), Kaḷiṅkuḷam, Vēḷaiṅkuḷam Sundarapāṇḍyaṅ pudukkāl, Ai yanśjāṅkuḷam, Śriṅkuḷam, Sēṟāru Peryāṅguḷam, Kokkantāmpāraī (modern Kongandāmpāraī), Paṇṇayāṅguḷam, Mutṭuṟ hill; Puttāṅpuṟu, Āriyakulam, Kōḍikulam, Kuttukkāl, Mutṭuṟ, Rāmaṇguḷam, Iṟṟampāṭṭu, Sīriyāṅguḷam, Pāṭāṅkuḷam, Murapparṇāṇu, Āṭiṅkuḷu and Śri-Krishnapuram.

Of these Vēmbo-nāṇu comprises the northern portions of the Native State of Travancore and of the District of Timevelly, and in the former state there is a large backwater lake known by the name of Vēmbo-nāṇu kūḷaśāṁ indicating the ancient name of the country where it is situated. We find the following names in the list of villages belonging to the Timevelly tāluka of the same district and situated near Krishnapuram:—Piraiyāṅkuḷam, Pāppāṅkuḷam, Vēḷaiṅkuḷam, Sundarapāṇḍyaṅ kūḷa, Kongandāmpāraī, Paṇṇayāṅguḷam, Mutṭuṟ, Āriyakulam, Murappanāṇu, and Krishnapuram. The other places we are unable to identify.

**TEXT.**

*First Plate.*

1. **प्राचीनविवेचनसमर्थ नामः** | **नमःसुविवेचनसमर्थवर्गः**

2. **चारवेश देवलीकृतादिनां**

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1 Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1906, p. 72.
2 The Pudukkottai grant mentions Mānabhūsha as the brother of Śrīvallabha, and, besides, Mānakavachcha, whom Mr. Venkaya identifies with Arikkarā Varākrama Pāṇḍya. The identification of Mānabhūsha with any of these two is far from being certain.—S. K.
3 It now goes popularly by the name Pāppāṅkuḷam. This name means "the Brāhmaṇ's tank," and it has been translated into Sanskrit in the record.

From inked impressions prepared by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.
3 राष्ट्र दंडांकर वाति वी। हेमादिकालम यत धानी चषण(च)नि।  4 यं देवी (॥)[२०] कव्याखितात तदमस प्रत्युतितिमिरपस। यहवज्ञ।  5 गजोहृत देवांरपि व पूजनेत। (॥)[१४] भ्रमी हरिमंगावेश्वरमना।  6 बाहुविधु:। नवनीतगौडकालौनिततमी मद्व: (॥)[२४] तस्मातः  7 'नुववापोभिरलावर्षनामा बुध गुप्पेरन पुरावा भुजब।  8 [१०]रावस्वरी निन्दन्त:। तस्मातुवन्युक्तसंस्कार तस्म प्रतल सुबे स्वायातः  9 रितः (॥) चिति। ख्यातलाख्यु हु तुर्वसुर्वस्विन चोदेववानीपाये। (॥)[४] तदमः  10 देवकीजातिमद्रीप तिमिमुपितः। बाहुविधु तुहेरेण यदी। कात सतः  11 द्वाल्ल्ब्रे (॥)[६] रामेश्वरमाजानीरिशिचितफलक।। चचासमुः  12 गांवमं सीतिरिक्रम संहोमणां (॥१३) सरसादुब्रमातेसारसायिन्या।  13 लकः। देवकीनंदननामादी सक्रावकीनंदनादिव। (॥)[५] विविधमुः  14 तोहमेसम रामेश्वरपुरुषे 'सुहुम्नितकदय स्कारे स्कारे व्यक्त य-  15 धातिरिक्तः (॥) बुधपरिभौ नानादानातः। यो ब्रह्म होडङ्ग विचवनजः  16 नीलोत्पत सुरेत स्या:। पुनन्तक (॥५) वाविरवाय वाचा (दु) वहकजः  17 रया तात बिलांतवेय श्रुं जीववापे गुरेला सति भुजवला-  18 तंवरायं तदीय मरितः (॥) कवा श्रीरंगपूरे तदनि निजवेन पहुँचः  19 यो ब्रह्मेस (१) कीर्तिसकम सम्बन्ध विच्छन्नभववन्यागापदा।  20 न:। (॥)[१०] चरे चोरे च पांड तत्व च मधुरारवल मानमुर्य वीरव-  21 दम तुष्टकर्म धारणेन निपुषितिवर्ष चापि जला तदमान।। पाये।  22 मानीरस्ताप्रथमम्बुक्तस्तटात नितांत ख्यात:। चौरी-  23 तीताय संविनम गिराया शास्त्र यो व्यतातीः (॥)[१५] तिपालोपाना।  24 गलादेशी:। कीवाध्विसेविषम्यो:। देवविद्वान नृसिंहद्रास्तिमाः  25 तंकंतर्यादिव। (॥)[१२] चरे:। बिववेन नाम स्मलकाणावव नानान।  26 जाती नरसिंहद्रास्तिस्ताप्रथमाजीकोपली। (॥)[१३] रंगिनितिरस्त्राकुलि।  27 बाडायी रवादुरणािविवार नंदसी ।। चोवांविकाया नरसिव।  

Second Plate; First Side.

28 तीलाहुमहमृतमोर्जारेन्द्रसूतः। (॥)[१५] वीरवीरायित्रिस्कं।  29 विजयगरे राजसिंहासनः। कीला नीला निरहळूः।

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1 Read २वसः।  2 Read २रक्षुच्चिमाः।  3 इब लैं इंलेक्टेड फ्रॉम इति।  4 Read नीचेंगे यो व्यक्तित्व स्वातः, with the previous यै।  5 Read ४वसिता।  6 Read वनस्पतिनी रामसच्चारिव।  7 Read २वसिता।  8 Read २वसिता।  9 The British Museum plates read २भूष्णम राजपतः, which Prof. Kielhorn proposes to correct into २भूषण गरम्बः।  

[१ would suggest २भूषणगरम्बः।—S. K.]
Second Plate; Second Side.
57 वमासे (I)([२१]) कतकति सुरतोऽस् कणाराय निःनायः नद्नु सदूजः
58 भा पुष्पमाल्यवनिङ्गः हंशमोहनारिजः
59 वि[ल]सति चिरिचेति विहरितप्रिदा ((I)([२४]) चमोदेन निपीयसामानः
60 सतिलोंगेन सतीभेत्ताला । राजसायकानामक्षिया संदा ।
61 तद्यामानः सदा । श्रीसंदेवताः (वा)निीनालनिकाणैवालिेगुणोऽ
62 ([२५]) (२) वहनानुवनानुवननुविषयः पृष्ठः समुद्रोऽस्ते । (I)([२४]) समजः
63 नि नरपाल्यायवायानिनित्यो विजयनगरराजंद्रविंदाः
64 सना् : (I)* नुगकंवहसंदेवोच्यास्वनीवाला निवशसुमसेनः
65 वीरविधाराय्यायुःतः : (I)([२६]) विनिधरितिपायितिकीसंदे प्रांते पदः
66 वैद्यवनुवुनीः । बधाविय निरास्वतमसेन चूनवरीरो भोगे वंकतः
67 देवरायः (I)([२३]) प्रशास्त राज्यां ग्रहावलक्ष्यः विलियविही बंकताः
68 यभुरी (I) श्रीमाधवायास्वायायास्वायमाः निरास्वतमसेनां समसामायविचृः
69 वे (I)([२८]) सिमाबारसर्वभूमिक्रमणी रघुवित्तिठाराजः: चवार्षः
70 करणेन वालित्तमसासाहित्याच्य्योऽ । सीयार्द्धविद्यावतः
71 श्रीविमीलासैं बम,[मा]विना (I) रामभाषापतिनायमाल्यानित्यसैः
72 कुमारिवेकमः (I)([२८]) श्रीगुस्यालकेशरामानिन महासाहस्वीलिनिः
73 श्रास्तः (I) सतानुवुनीः व महासुरमिरी वंशः नाशः निजामासारामाः पालवः
74 तेरिप साहित्याः राज्यानुवाच निजामासारामाः पालवः
75 ने सदास्मारास्वायायाचरायर चरमः (I)([२०]) विश्वासाविख्यातिः
76 यथा यथा पावोधयेर्के नियन्त्रत्वाः । प्रांतवालेयभिमिरः
77 चन्द्राना देवीपदद्वयां धर्मनी च चर्चीरी (I)([२१]) धीनोहयांविशार्दः कुरः
78 लाजापीपासारीवर्धः स्वयासाहित्याः समस्तसेनः [२]उसामायः
79 कालयः । संजात्मृत्तिनुसैनविभीं संविभी संजातान्तिमिरः (I) यथा
80 श्रमिक यथोदयाच्यविनिगणः कणारायारं बुधः । (I)([२२]) विश्वासन्त बुधः

Third Plate; First Side.

81 भोगरेवदेवभाषासायामदानोऽहराम अवमान भूनिमानां
82 द्विभूवहे द्विन प्रजाज्ञानः । प्रांतां यथा भूजः भूमारमाहिः
83 विन्दुस्मृतिभीमः (I) पातिवियवताकिरिकेति वरणीः चानातु संहः
84 ये जानः : (I)([२१]) यथेनाच्यिकाके ग्रामकारसबूताने भूमिरिखः

¹ Read "विँहिष्ठा" instead of "विँहिष्ठः".
² Read समुद्रीः.
³ से री is corrected from शः.
⁴ Read द्वृपः.
⁵ Read विन्दुस्मृतिभीमः.
⁶ Read नुस्मृतिभीमः.
⁷ Read समुद्रीः.
⁸ Read बुधः.
⁹ Read चानातु संहः.
355

85 रोमाती कौतिष्ठा द्रव मुखवमिः सयंतवेंद्रव्यः: । [वे]-
86 की नाथगीयिव प्रकालविषेदवर्तत्रलक्ष्यम् रथाचे (1) शान- 
87 सबे नामात्मीत्। ििल "शरकरोणस्तोमाववार्ततानां [118*] तुंग- 
88 में दयां पदारुपुरुषं शोषणं च ज्ञानं तनु रक्ताकता) नौलिगिता" 
89 विविधमयं व्याप्तं नििरं महंते [19] तीव्रानीतिः [ह]माधवः-
90 वयाः: वेदान्तवन वित्वम्: प्रायो गयस मित्रविविषिकामुदित.
91 पदार्थवेश्वरिः (1)(1)[19*] "रोमात्यितमालक्ष्माक्षितगंडमालक- 
92 निष्कासकाणः [19] "भाष्यमालपगुरायरसः: पौष्यकामार्मभु: 
93 नवनिः: (1)(1)[19*] राजाधिराजविविभी राजाजयसाखिणी: । ख्य- 
94 राजाजयसाखिणीः [19] चोराधिपरमेश्वर: (1)(1)[19*] सुन्दराधिपरमेश्वरको 
95 मेंतुनियेिमिः। महानामस्त्रादः "पर(1)जययकः: (1)(1)[19*] 
96 करदाकिलमूर्ताः: परदाकिलमूर्ताः। खंत्राधिकसराकिलें:- 
97 दुहारजातकिले। [19] विलुप्ताचिकिलें ठडारविलमलेन:। 
98 चरोमालसमहस्ती चरितसमहावधिः: (1)(1)[19*] दर्शमालंपदानवीः 
99 दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकिले। दुहारजातकि
112 भिना। मौकालिपुवं निव्ययातनिविष्ट्विद्यार्थी त (१)ः [४८]* समयद्रेष्
113 रंगड़खीतिना महत्त्वविश्वा प्राप्तमयिनोहिनावलिपिशेष
114 भाषिता (२)ः [५४]* एलालाकीलीवसरायीखि प्रारंभिने धीमता। मा[वा]निति
115 विषियवापसांग्रहकरोज्जा (२)ः [५१]* ग्रामसिनामः पालिकारकुः*.
116 यनासवेश्वरिना। सामीनः (वेश)ः चिनमध्याकहुः धेरवे च (२)ः [५२]*
117 नागमार्गप्रेषण नकनामार्गकरिना। श्रीघुनाधेशना
118 जस्तिवणीकीतावतुना (२)ः [५३]* शुग्रुणामागमा: युगुः गुणालिका
119 न। कष्टहृदतिना कुष्कीतिना कस्ता। भिना। (२)ः [४८]* परितः ग्राम-
वाकृच्छ्यः
120 कारवायार्विन्न। कम्भीयसिनासमकेनीसंख्यार्विन्न (४)ः [५५]* विशिष्ट
121 कटवियाकिवराजसंगोंवसूक्त। विशाय विपुवीलोः। गुप्तोः।
122 रेतीविद्विर (२)ः [५६]* विशाला र्थविविन्न। व खंडसं मंडरीविन्न। तथा प्रिति
123 छाताय्यीतिकरकरान्वयिनी (२)ः [५७]* करणार्कसंतोलवलवणावच्छसि
124 कृत्वा। गर्भयोगमें (वेश)ः धर्मराजे देवथितमें (२)ः [५८]* कालकृत्वार्विचारकर
125 जस्तिवणीकरिना। वेशविणाकरतिकांकेन्द्रिकप्रेषणस्त्रीः (२)ः [५८]* श्रीकृत्वा
126 नागमार्गप्रेषण (वेश)ः कीन्तिमोक्या। वन्नामाध्यकथाः चारवाहं चसि
127 चारवाहं चसि (२)ः [५०]* दृढ़त्वादरः चारवासुमन्द्रविद्वीतवच्छसि। खंडमातिकांकर्त्याः
128 चंगवृत्तिवासः (वेश)ः (२)ः [५१]* श्रीणाम वितामिन्दृतिरवासकरिना
129 चिरवाया
130 यस्य संसारसारीवाय पुष्करावलमतां सातां (२)ः [५२]* गवन्नतुष्वः तंद्र
131 मात्रविष्णुविन्नात। अभिनेतववे श्रवणपीनीवन्तात्तवे। (२)ः [४८]* निर्लो
कच्छः।
132 सूर्यमुखीसः। तरंगीकुण्डः मोपेराकियोलीवालवरुचः। (२)ः [५५]* अग
133 चारवातोर्वतिकरकरान्वयिनी (वेश)ः निबिंदा समुपववृ। तिस्तेक्तनावय विशायेव प्रभ
134 विशाय (२)ः [५६]* पुष्करीमध्याकहरसामान्यालनास्तिकनिवेशः। नागमार्गप्रेषण नै
135 कारवायार्विन्न। (२)ः [५६]* कारणार्कसिनासमवात्सः चारवाहे चसि। नित्यामातिकाः

1 Read याखोः।
2 Read जीवीः।
3 Read कहीः।
4 Read दृढ़त्वादरः।
5 यथा।
6 यथा।
7 Read निबिंदा।
8 Read यथा।
9 Read तिस्तेक्तनावया।
10 Read यथा।
11 Read कहरसामान्यालनाः।
12 Read यथा।
Fourth Plate ; First Side.

१३८ शामकळिवा (ता) ब्रमणीतीले पायण वासमानत : (२) [२०"] खर- १३९ श्रमगतान्तातावापित विश्रुत । ख्यातां निकानिधिकाल- १४० दिनांकाळांत विष्टं (२) [२१"] धमाभिधारणमयस्य ख्यातांतिप चिन्द- १४१ कुलात । प्राचे निराकारकालकाळाचं विश्रुत (२) [२२"] पुनिधि- १४२ युक्तिकृतेऽक्तिरायकुमारातिप च। मृदुक्तां गांधीमानं- १४३ लालनापेयत विष्टं (२) [२३"] नर्मदके कुमारस्याकाळाचं विश्रुत दिवं (२) [२४"] । १४४ शासनात्याकरणमानिषि ख्यातांतिप च। मृदुक्तांविश्रुत (२) [२५"] । १४५ कुलातिकालिक विष्टिं । ऐतरूकारकाळाचं विश्रुत (२) [२६"] । १४६ युक्तिकृतेऽक्तिरायकुमारातिप च। कौशीरापरंपराद्वारः १४७ क्षेत्रार्घहरुप (२) [२७"] चपित । सुभूमानामिषि शासनात्याकरण (२) च। १४८ तन्त्रयाक्षेत्र कुलात कुरुन कुरुन (२) [२८"] कोटिकृताभिधारणं कुरु- १४९ कुलातिकालिक विष्टिं । मृदुक्तां विश्रुत (२) [२९"] । १५० शासनात्याकरणकुरुन कुरुन (२) [३०"] । १५१ शासनात्याकरणकुरुन कुरुन (२) [३१"] । १५२ नामां । प्राचे ब्रमणियां बाससूमान (२) [३२"] । १५३ मासवंत च संस्कृत । निविदेशयापाणियांसिद्धान्तानां । १५४ तं (२) [३३"] भविष्यांगियां बाससूमान । वारीकृतां- १५५ कृष्ण कालार्गारेश सुमुह । (२) [३४"] । १५६ रंज । दनातिकालिकाक्षेत्रं विश्रुत (२) [३५"] । १५७ विश्रुत (२) [३६"] । १५८ शासनात्याकरणकुरुन कुरुन (२) [३७"] । १५९ संबरं विश्रुताचारकाळाचं विश्रुत (२) [३८"] । १६० शासनात्याकरणकुरुन कुरुन (२) [३९"] । १६१ मययात्र चतुः । वर्णालिका तथा ब्रमण रंजान चार्यो नामेरनामायु ।

¹ Read "समुद्रे।" ² Read "निष्परम्।" ³ The metre demands one more letter in this foot and hence we propose to read the name of this village as शैवकारं। [I would prefer to scan आविष्ट।—S. K.] ⁴ Read "विशरूम।" ⁵ Read "समुद्र।।" ⁶ Read "वारीकृत च।।" ⁷ Read "कालार्गारेश सुमुह।।" ⁸ Read "संबरं।।" ⁹ Read "संबरं।।" ¹⁰ Read "विशरूम।।" ¹¹ Read "मययात्र।।"
162 या (िि) [८६*] सङ्काराधामंसुध्वनवनावरिजाचार्चें (चुव्व)गाराज्यवदन्ताय
163 त रामाराजः। लक्ष्मीस्मानमचर्या लक्ष्मीमत्तअलि कर्णविकरा रति-
164 रिताधिन तथा देवी (िि) [८६*] 'तथापशकमसमभवसतन्यस्यस्मिनिणीः':* श्रीरंगराज-
165 'कुण्डकमियमियांगद्रीयः। वाणिज्यवत्तू मुरधामसु वस्थ चिंबं नेत्राणि दे-
166 रिताधिन' ७ च निरंजनानि (िि) [८६*] चतुर्विकस्मानिकाः(कको) चरितकल्यायं-
167 धार्मिकप्राप्ति लितिस्वयं वसुमनीयायियो संख्ये। । श्रीमान्यातिश
168 रौढ़विप्छितदारीमें सहार्ददोदत सर्वविमोचनयमवाय
169 श्रीरामाराजः। (िि) [८६*] शैर शूद्रमस्मात्स्तिकियांतविश्वासुः । शालोकविद्यतितमा-
170 सङ्काराधामातुर्दितुवानुक्ता या(ऽ)रामाराज-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

171 नरपालविविरें (िि) [८६*] वर्षिन् प्रसादसिं मण्डी रजेऽ(वे)ः
172 कविरे भंगी नोगुङू पांगुङू च पांपणाः।। बकोङगुङण-पांपण-
173 लम्बीनितरेसंू नीरीपिविशचनसम्भित्र्यं प्रजानां (िि) [८६*] स-
174 लानुसरकेरिदिराच्छिन्ता। संख्ये।' समुठातवाणिकाओऽ। (श्रीरा)
175 श्रीरामाराजः। वितकवलविविरें शैरे। पदं शालकसम्पूते (िि) [८६*] त-
176 तु भुवमेश्वरं जायणवाणालोका तपन्तनयवेता द्रा-
177 शूद्र श्रीकामूङमाणाली महाकाली भवति तथानुजः। व-
178 रत्रविमाणाराजसत्तिहोजराजः। (िि) [८५*] शैर० 'सम्भवः।कांटकी-
179 य शुभारामाहें; विखायाविलयं सुखादासुद्वादीकाणिदिकाः।
180 शांतिसम्पूर्यः (चं) संवादानव(कोलिणे)कोकोकसहनववधाय
181 तवालिकाः विक्रमवेरिकाटो भुवकायमानवाृद्धिपर्वं धत्ये-
182 दी यस्तेसा (िि) [८५*] यस्त्यानुजः॥ विजयेन्तरां सचामारामवर्ती-
183 तुलवाहुष्माः। शैरी विवेच्छः शूद्र वेंकटादिराजः। श्याम्यी-
184 या वित्त्विजीराजः। (िि) [८५*] धर्मसम्पर्विख्याय। धर्मीक-
185 श्राणाचिन्ता।। सोमवाणातपवाय। स्थाईनन्तक्यायं।। (िि) [८५*]
186 विमाणायभुवारायाचिन्तासंपवाणायमाणाः।। क्षणाधरणीनात-
187 न (चर्म) कुपारात्मध्या। (िि) [८५*] विवाहमत्य विनयाधिवस्तर्वातः।
Fifth Plate.

197 परीत: प्रयोऽ[४] सिंहः। पुरीसिन्धुरागः। । विविधः.
198 विविधः: श्यूः(मु)तपियायिन्यः(चित्र)कैविगिरा।(२)[१०२] चदाणिकाम्बारा।
199 यी माननीयो मनक्रिया । सििरययोधारारुपेण्यं दसवा।
200 श्मुदा।(२)१०४।
201 सरससदाणिकाराणितितपितावध बीतिसुवध बीतिसुवध [४] माम।
202 नसद्व "सरासन्दराणितितपितावधानसरतु।"(२)[१०४] मुदुपटिति
203 तांस(ताम)शामनाः। सििसदाणिकाराणिकाम्बारा। । श्मुदारः
204 गुण वृंचिन्द्री चारसतमुण समापिकफळमु:।(२)[१०४] सदाणिकाम्बारा।
205 रामणानागः। । श्मेतरः। बीतिसुवधां।
206 समाधन।(२)[१०४] दानपालनयोऽसैः। दान(चित्र)योऽपुः।। दानाकः।
207 समावृति पालनावृति पद।(२)[१०४] सदसारिगुः। पुपः। परदातापालन।
208 परदातापरशः। सदाः।। निश्चलं भवेत।(२)[१०४] सदाः। परदाताः
209 वा यो इत्यतः।। सवुंद्राः।। विश्वेस्वसंताणि। विद्वांशो भयं। किं(कि)
210 सिद्धषः(२)[१०४] ऐ(ऐ)कैवः।। नागीनीयो कोके। सवालसातः।। न भोज्या।
211 सवुंद्राः।। सवालसातः।। सवालसातः।। शामाकृतः।। काले।
212 पालनीयी। भवेकिः।। सवालसातः।। पालनीयी।। काले।
213 से रामवंशः।(२)[१०४]
214 श्मेतरः।

1 Read असि।
2 Read वृंचिन्द्री।
3 Read माम।
4 त is corrected from the secondary त of the letter that follows, which was begun wrongly in the place of त।
5 Read बिबिधः।
6 Read बिबिधः।
7 Read बिबिधः।
8 Read बिबिधः।
9 Read बिबिधः।
10 Read बिबिधः।
11 Read बिबिधः।
12 Read बिबिधः।
13 Read बिबिधः।
14 Read बिबिधः।
15 Read बिबिधः।
16 Read बिबिधः।
17 Read बिबिधः।
18 Read बिबिधः।
19 In Kannada characters.
ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes Śambhu, v. 2 the boar incarnation of Viśnū, and v. 3 Gāndāśa.

Vv. 4-5 trace the genealogy of the family from the Moon.

(Vv. 6-7.) In his (i.e. Turvasu’s) line was born the husband of Dēvaki, king Timma, as famous among the Taḻuvas as Kṛishṇa was among the Yadus. To him was born king Īśvara, a jewelled crown of virtues to kings, (and) the husband of Bukkamā.

V. 8.) To him, the son of Dēvaki, was born king Narasa, as Kāma (was born) from the son of Dēvaki (Kṛishṇa).

Vv. 9-10 describe his generosity and his conquest of the kingdom of Taḻich (i.e. the Chōla country) and Śrīraṅgapatnā.

(V. 11.) Conquering the Chēra and the Chōla, Māṇabhūsha, the Pāṇḍya king of Madura, also the fierce Turushka, king Gajapati and others from the Ganges to Rāṅgakshethrā, from the Eastern to the Western mountains, he made all kings bear his commands on their heads as flowers on their crowns.

(Vv. 12-14.) Of Tippāḷḷ and Nāgalāḷḷ, like Rāma and Lakṣmana of Kaṇakāya and Sumitṛā to Daśaratha, were born to him two sons Vira-Nṛsiṁha and Kṛishṇāraṇa who were brave and modest. To him were also born of Oṁabhikā two (more) sons able in protecting (the subject), Rāṅgakshethrā and Aćhyutādēvāraṇa.

(V. 15.) Vira-Nṛsiṁha, seated on the jewelled throne at Vījayanagarā, eclipsing by fame and policy Nṛsiṁha, Nala, Nāhusha and others of the world, praised by the Bhārata from Śētā to Mēru, from the Eastern to the Western mountains, ruled the kingdom pleasing the hearts of all people.

(Vv. 16-18.) His praises.

(V. 19.) Having ruled his large kingdom without obstacles, the king of the earth, famous for his virtues, went to heaven as if to rule the kingdom of heaven.

(V. 20.) After him, king Kṛishṇāraṇa, of unabated valour, bore the whole of the earth on his shoulders with as much ease as a jewelled bracelet.

(Vv. 21-23.) Praises of Kṛishṇāraṇa.

(V. 24.) When Kṛishṇāraṇa had taken for his part the world of the dēvas (i.e. had died) his younger brother Aćhyutendrā, doer of good deeds, conqueror of foes, worshipper of Viṣṇu, who made gifts satisfying the desires of the learned, got for his share the whole of this earth.

(Vv. 25-26.) Praises of Aćhyutendrā.

(V. 27.) When, having set up on earth a body in the form of his fame, Aćhyutendrā reached Viṣṇu’s abode, his brave son Vēṅkaṭarāṇa ascended the throne.

(Vv. 28-30.) He who was like the flower-arrowed Kāma, and was ruling his kingdom (well), owing to the bad luck of his subjects, soon went to the city of Indra. The son of Rāṅgakshethrā and the precious pearl of the sacred womb of Timmānbā, king Sādāsivāraṇa, who was like the saṅvat tree on the hill of dēvas, was daily installed on the throne of the town which was the jewel of the prosperous town, Śrī-Vīyānagarī, by king Rāma, his sister’s husband, the protector of the goddess Śrī of the great kingdom of Kaṟṇa, who was an ornament to all Kaḷṭhriyana, who was endowed with valour, nobility and kindness, and by the chief ministers.

(Vv. 31-43.) Praises of Sādāsivāraṇa.

(Vv. 44-45.) On Monday, the new moon tīthi of the dark half of the month Pauṣha, during the Makara-saṅkṛramaṇa, in the year Frābhava, (corresponding to) the Śaka year counted by the mānas (9), the vīraṇas (8), the vēdas (4), and īḍu (1) (i.e. Śaka 1459) on the banks of the sacred river Kāvērī, in the presence of (the god) Rāṅganaṭha, (this grant is made).
(Vv. 46-57.) By Krishṇabhūpati, of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy; who was the jewel of the family of Kāryapa; on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Viśvanātha, who was pleased with his devotion; who knew the truth about duty; who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified by truthfulness; who shone by his desire to do good actions; who possessed great wealth; who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man; who bore the title 'the lord of Kāśchīpura,' who was also the recipient of the famous title 'Mokālipatīvardhana'; who was also known as the 'Samayadrōhara-gana'; whose policy was like that of Manu; who also shone by the celebrated distinction 'Samayakōḷāhala'; who was also entitled 'the lord of Ailāvalīpura,' who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvadī-rāja of the seven (component) parts (of his kingdom); who was famous as the 'Pāḍyakulasthāpanāchārya,' who was the revered lord of the great Southern ocean; who was the grandson of king Nāgama; who was equal to Nāla and Nābhāga in fame; who was the cool moon of the ocean named king Viśvanātha; who was the pearl of the oyster, viṣ, the womb of the virtuous Nāgama,—was built a temple at Krishṇapura, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the prasāra and a broad and lofty tower. It has a large rāja-malāpa raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts (?). He built a car like the Māndara mountain and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Viṣṇu set up there (i.e. in the temple).

[Vv. 58-66.] Praises of the god set up in the temple of Krishṇapuram.

(Vv. 67-69.) (For the worship of the god Viṣṇu) who shone in this place under the name of Tiruvēṅkataṇātha, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, etc., by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, chauris, on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year, for the floating festival during the hot season, and for the gātrāvara.

(Vv. 70-82.) The excellent village known by the name of Śrī Krishṇapura, resplendent with cereals,—including the villages known as Pattanā, Āriyakulam, Kōṭikkulam, Kuttukkal, Muttur Rāmakulam, Itampāṭu, Sīriyālāṅgulam, Pāḍaikkulam together with thirteen bād in Muṟṟapunādu (and) Āliḳuḍi, which is situated in the Kilaivaṇu-nādu belonging to the Pāḍyamāṇḍala, on the banks of the pure river Tāmraparāśi, in the ṍekāṇi known as Śrivallamāṇgalam, and which is situated to the north-east of the road commencing with the Arudhātintriṭi tree, etc.; east of Villamāṇiy’s charity and the famous Nēnduṇgam and of the extreme limits of Śrī-Savālākkāṇkulam; south-east of Puliyaṅgalla-ōḍai, Kulappiryāṅkalam and of the extreme limits of Bhūsura-taṣāka; south of the extreme limits of Kāliṅkalam; south-west of the Vēḻaṅgula, channel; west of Śrī-Sundara-Pāḍy’s new channel; north-west of the extreme limits of Aṇākulam; north of the extreme limits of Śrīkulam, Śrīyaru-Peḻalāṅgulam and of Kokkantāmpāra and Panayaṅkulam; and north-east of the hill known as Mutturmala—is to be enjoyed by (this god) Viṣṇuṭēṅkaṭēm as a nārīmanāyakha.

(Vv. 96 and 102 to 104.) Having been requested by Krishṇabhūpati, the fruit of the long penance of Viśvanātha, whose eyes are the ocean of mercy, Tirumala Rāja respectfully requested Sādāśivayya, the respected of the learned men, who, surrounded by his staunch friends, priests, followers, all kinds of learned men, and ambassadors and by their advice, made this gift joyously with gold and pouring of water.

Vv. 105-106 mention that Saḥbhāpati Swayamī wrote the śāsana.

V. 107 mentions that Virāpačhārya, son of Viraṇa, engraved the document.

Vv. 108-112 : the usual imprecatory verses.

Line 214. The signature ‘Śrī Virāpaṇa’ in the Kannada alphabet
No. 53.—ARANG COPPER-PLATE OF BHIMASENA II.
GUPTA-SAMVAT 232.

By HIRA LAL, B.A.; NAOPUR.

This copper-plate was found by me with Śri Krishna Mālguzār of Arāṅg on my visit to that place on the 31st May 1908. Arāṅg is 22 miles east of Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattisgarh Division in the Central Provinces. It contains several ancient remains1 and it was there that another plate in box-headed characters belonging to Mahā-Jayādeva2 was found. There is also another mutilated inscription at the place on a stone in characters like those in which the inscriptions of Sirpur,3 which is 15 miles from Arāṅg, are engraved. The details as to the exact find-spot of our inscription are not available, as Śri Krishna told me that it was found long ago by one of his ancestors, and as no Paņḍita could read it, it was stowed away, so that being out of sight, it got out of mind. He, however, assured me he had heard from his ancestors that it was dug up in Arāṅg itself and that it was not brought from any other place. There is only one plate with an uncut ring passing through a round hole, its ends being soldered to a round seal. The plate measures 10½" × 4" and has irregular edges and an uneven surface, partly corroded. In spite of this, the letters are all visible except two or three (ll. 6 and 11) which have been much worn out and are difficult to decipher. The seal is a little brittle and has in bas-relief a lion in a sitting posture as the family crest, beneath which are inscribed in raised letters Śri-mahārāja-Bhimāśena-ya.

The inscription contains 13 lines, 9 on the obverse and 4 on the reverse side. The average size of letters is 3". The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets of the type, which, according to Dr. Flett, "may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India from towards the end of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century A.D." There are also numerical symbols for 200, 80, 2, 10 and 8, the last being doubtful. The language of the record is Sanskrit prose except the imperative verse in ll. 11 and 12. In respect of orthography, we have to notice that the use of the dental nasal instead of the anusvāra before i in viṣṇuṁ (l. 10) and instead of the class nasal before a guttural in pāḍu(k)sur (ll. 5, 6, 11, 12). Final forms of m occur in ll. 6, 7 and 11.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village named Vaṭapallikā in the district of Dūndā by the Mahārāja Bhimāśena II. to two Brāhmaṇs Hārisvāmī and Bappasvāmin, both of the Bharadvāja-gōtra and students of the R̄gveda. The charter was issued from the Suvarṇāpanadi (river), where apparently the donor had gone to bathe on some festival. The genealogy of Bhimāśena is given for six generations, thus:—Bhimāśena (II.), son of Dayita-varmman (II.), son of Bhimāśena (I.), son of Vibhishana, son of Dayita (I.), son of Śūra; but it is not clear to which particular dynasty they belonged. They are stated to have been born of a family celebrated for its dignity like that of royal ascetics (rājarṣhitulyakula).5 From this it

1 Cunningham’s Reports, Vol. XVII. p. 20 et seq.
2 Cunningham’s Reports, Vol. XVII. p. 23 et seq.
3 Guptā Inscriptions, p. 191.
4 Guptā Inscriptions, p. 117.
5 This probably refers to the Gupta family. In the Udayagiri cave inscription (vide Guptā Inscriptions, p. 35) Chandragupta II. is called “rajarṣhitrājārṣhi,” which implies that he combined in him both regal and religious qualifications, an ideal to which the feudatory chief would be prone to liken their own families. In reference to his sovereign lord, Bhimāśena could not arrogate the title of rājarṣhi to his family and that seems to be the reason why he inserts the word tātā (like). For similar reasons it appears their northern feudatories called themselves Parivṛddha, which means ‘a religious mendicant.’
may be inferred that they were something like the Parivrajaka Mahārājas of Dahhāla (Jubbulpore country) and were like them vassals of the Early (or Imperial) Guptas in whose era our inscription is dated.¹ The Parivrajaka inscriptions range from 475 to 528 A.D., and ours belongs to the Gupta year 282 or A.D. 601. Our inscription introduces us to another similar family under the overlordship of the Guptas, which apparently continued to be acknowledged, at least in Chhattīlghar, up to so late a date as the commencement of the 7th century A.D. It was in the middle of the 4th century that Samudra-Gupta conquered the Mahākāśa (Chhattīlghar) country, by defeating the then ruling king Mahēndra, of whom we know nothing beyond his name and so have no materials to establish any connection between him and the dynasty of our inscription. We know that Mahēndra was not a Vaisya. He was a Brahmin,² and his dynasty must have continued to rule for about 100 years, if Bhīmasena's family was a different one. The first king Śūra of the latter line must have flourished in the middle of the 5th century, to judge from the number of generations which intervened between the two. In Chhattīlghar several dynasties have ruled and many inscriptions have been found, but ours is the only one among them which is dated in the Gupta era. In other parts of India, too, inscriptions referring to the Guptas have been discovered, and their era remained in use even after their imperial power had come to an end. That is, in the words of Dr. Fleet, though the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty itself may have become extinct, Gupta dominion still continued, and the name of the Gupta kings was still considered as a power down to A.D. 601. Prior to the discovery of our inscription, the latest date expressly given in the Gupta era was only 528 A.D.³ It is true that the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings show that the Gupta era continued in use in Kāśīwād and some neighbouring parts of Gujarāt, at least as late as A.D. 766,⁴ but the era has not been specifically named after the Guptas in them.

The exact date of our inscription appears to be the 18th of the Bhādara month of the Gupta year 282. It does not admit of verification, as the week day is not mentioned. Its English equivalent, as calculated by Mr. Golul Prasad, Tahsildar of Dhamtari, is Tuesday, the 22nd August 601, on the assumption that the Gupta era began on 26th February 320 A.D. which was taken as the coronation day of Chandra Gupta I.⁵ The accuracy of the above calculation cannot, however, be relied on, owing to the uncertainty as to whether the date is really the 18th, the figure for 8 being doubtful. Again, there is the question of intercalation⁶ and the alteration of the commencement of the year by the Valabhi kings who put it back 7 months, which may also interfere with the reckoning. So much, however, is certain that our inscription was recorded in the year 601 A.D. With regard to geographical names, Suvarṇapanaḍi is apparently the Sūn, which rises from the Amarkantak hills and after a course of about 40 miles in Chhattīlghar finally joins the Ganges. It has been identified with the Sonas of Arrian as also with his Ernanobas, the other Sanskrit name of the Sūn being Hiranyavāhā or Hiranyavāhin. The Sūn is frequently mentioned in Hindī literature, in the Rāmāyana of Vālmikī and Tulsīdās,

¹ [Cunningham describes (Reports, Vol. IX, p. 26) two silver coins of a certain Bhīmasena, who must have belonged to a dynasty which succeeded the Guptas. The peacock device of the Guptas is continued on these coins, but the faces of the obverse are turned to the left as if to denote a change of dynasty.—Ed.]
² Gupta Inscriptions, p. 12.
⁴ Ibid., p. 18. The Verkal inscription is dated in Valabhi-Sanskrit 945 or 1264 A.D., thus extending its use to a period 300 years still later (see Indian Antiquary, 1881, p. 285).
⁶ For a discussion on this subject, see Dr. Kielhorn’s postscript to my article on the ‘Bedi’ plates (above, Vol. VIII, p. 288).
⁷ See Indian Antiquary, 1902, p. 257.
the Bhāgavata and other works. There are numerous legends about it, one of the most picturesque assigning the origin of the Sōn and Narmadā to two tears dropped by Brahmā, one on either side of the Amarkantak range. Its waters possess great sanctity, the performance of sandhyā on its banks ensuring absolution and the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brāhmaṇa.¹ This must therefore be the river, the third in India, as recorded by Arrian, whence Bhimaśeṇa issued his charter, and not another Sōn flowing in the south of the Bilāspur district, falling into the Borai which joins the Mahānadi. As for Dōṅḍa and Vaṭapallikā, the latter of which must be looked for in a form such as Badapāli or Barapāli, there are so many places in Chhattisgarh bearing these names that it is difficult to say which particular ones were meant. The nearest Dōṅḍa or Dūṅḍa, as we now find it, is one situated 25 miles west of Āraṅg, where the plate was found, and the nearest Barapāli is 30 miles east of Āraṅg and about 50 miles east of Dūṅḍa. It is included in the present Kaudī Zamindāri on the other side of the Mahānadi. It would then appear that Āraṅg also was in those days included in the Dōṅḍa district, and the dones, if they were residents of Āraṅg, lived half-way between the headquarters of the district and the village granted to them.

TEXT.²

Seal.

Śrī-mahārāja-Bhimaśeṇasya.

First Side.

1 Om³ svasti [||] Suvarṇapānadyāḥ [sa]rvva₄-sadrājarah-tulya-kula-prabhāva-kirttēḥ śrī-mahārāja-Śūrasya praptarāṇ prajā-
2 dayitasya śrī-[ma]hārāja-Dayitasya paurāṇa pranata-sāmantasya-ārāti-vibhishaṇasya śrī-mahārāja-Vibhishaṇa-
3 ṇasya putraḥ śakti-siddhi-sāṁpanno dharmma-vijayaḥ nyāy-āpārijit-anēka-ratnam-gō-bhūmi-suvarṇa-hiraṇya-ādi-pradaḥ śrī-
4 mahārāja-Bhimaśeṇaḥ taṣya putraḥ ta[çh-char]t-ānukāri sadbhir-mahadbhiḥ-ch-ādhdhunātadadah² śrī-mahārāja-Dayitavarmā
5 taṣya pu[tra]ḥ tat-pāḍ-ānuddhyātō-tya[uta]ḥ-dēva-guru-brāhmaṇa-bhaktah śrī-mahārāja-Bhimaśeṇaḥ kuṣali Dōṅḍa-
7 bhadra-bhogōn-aiva mātāpitrō-ātmanah cha punyā-bhivriddhayaḥ Bharadvāja-sagotrābhyāḥ Bahūricha-Hariharāmi-Bappaśvāminibhyām
8 sarva-pratyayāvān mahāpralaya-kā[1-ā]vastḥā[py-ā]gharāḥ dattas-tad-bhavadbhir-anayōr-ājū-lāravā-vidyāṣrā-bhūtvā samuchita-
9 m-tyāḥ suvarṇapā-hiraṇya-ādi-pratyay-ōpānyah karttavyaḥ [||] yaṣ-ah-ātra [ka]schid-ubhaya-lōka-nirāpekṣaḥ samādana-

¹ See article on Sōn in the new Imperial Gazetteer.
² From the original plate.
³ [I read ydreso.—S. K.]
⁴ Read "chuddāsāṭita".
⁵ Read -vecha [or -veda] as in l. 15 of the Broach copper-plate of Saṅgamasinha (J. Bo. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX. p. 214, text-line 8.)—S. K.]
Arang plate of Bhimasena II.—Gupta Samvat 282.
Second Side.

10 bhū-sthitām-āgāmābhivyāḥ cha-aśāvādābhir svavaṁy[ai]ḥ saḥ-ādihō [y]jyānāḥ svalpām-anpi pīḍan-ku[ryyā]ḥ kāraye d-anumanyeta va sa pāścha-
11 bhū-mahāṣṭakte-va-papāṭkaiś cha sa[m]i jyuktaḥ [s]yat punaś-chā] jeminni earthe bhagavatā Vyāsān-ābhihitam shasaṁeśvar svāha-sahasrāṇi
12 svargyā mōdāti bhūmidaḥ [i] śeṣeṣhīṭā ch-anumanta cha tāny-eva narakō vasak-ity-swamādhi-lokāh Guptānaṁ samyavata-
13 raṣṭē 200 80 2 Bhādra dū takaś-cha rājapatra-Subhadraḥ utkirtān cha Lakshmanēṇe-eti || ||

TRANSLATION.

(Li. 1 to 4.) Om! Hail! From Suvarṇanand; the illustrious Mahārāja Bhīmaśena, possessed of power and success, triumphant with virtue (and) giver of many lawfully acquired jewels, cows, land, gold, precious metals, etc. (was) the great grandson of the illustrious Mahārāja Śūra, (who was) equal to all virtuous royal sages in lineage, power and fame, the grandson of the illustrious Mahārāja Dayita, beloved of his subjects, the son of the illustrious Mahārāja Vībhishaṇa to whom feudatory kings bowed (and who was) terrific to his enemies.

(Li. 4 to 6.) His son (was) the illustrious Mahārāja Dayitavarmam, the follower of his (father’s) conduct, whose court was attended by great and good (personages). His son (is) the illustrious Mahārāja Bhīmaśena, who meditates on his (father’s) feet and is extremely devoted to the gods, preceptors and Brāhmaṇa. (He) being in good health (and) wishing good luck to Brāhmaṇa and other (inhabitants) of Vaṭapaliṅga in the district of Dōṇḍa, orders (as follows):

(Li. 6 to 8.) This village is given by me, while ruling prosperously, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (my) mother, father and myself, to Harivāmin and Bappāsvāmin (both) of the Bharadvāja gōtra, (students) of the Rigveda, as an agrahāra, with all taxes, and lasting up to the time of the great dissolution of the universe.

(Li. 8 to 13.) Therefore, being obedient to their commands, you should render (to them) in proper manner the taxes such as gold and bullion, etc. If anybody, being regardless of the two worlds and wishing to go to hell with ten past and (a similar number of) future (generations) of his family, does, causes to be done, or assents to even a small harm to this (charity), he would become joined with five great sins and also minor sins. Moreover, in this matter it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa: “the giver of land enjoys in heaven for sixty thousand years, (but) the confiscator (of a grant) and he who assents (to an act of confiscation) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell,” and so forth (in other) verses. In the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80 2 (in the month of) Bhādra on the day 10 8(?). Prince Subhadra was the dūtaka (officer carrying the king’s orders). Engraved by Lakshmana.

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1 Read *caṃgaṇiḥ.*
2 Read pīḍan-ku[ryyā]ḥ.
3 I am indebted to Dr. Kenow in helping me to elucidate these somewhat curiously formed figures.
4 A grant made in favour of a god or a Brāhmaṇa.
5 I.e. regardless of the consequences which may follow in this and the next world.
6 For these see Yajñākavya-parāśī, verse 227 of the Prayāchittādhyāya. They are: killing a Brāhmaṇa, drinking, theft, visiting a preceptor’s wife, and association with any of these offences. The minor offences are enumerated further on from verses 234 to 242.
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By H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

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1 The figures refer to pages; ‘n’ after a figure, to footnotes; and ‘add.’ to the Additions and Corrections on pp. vii and viii. The following other abbreviations are used: – ch. = chief; cis. = country; âd. = district or division; do. = do. ; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; f. = female; k. = king; m. = male; mo. = mountain; ri. = river; s. a. = same as; sur. = surname; to. = temple; vi. = village or town; W. = Western.
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