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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 2, l. 23.—For Bōl read Bōl.
" 6, l. 30.—For ellaínnum read ellaínnum.
" 10, text l. 11.—For ēndam read ēndam.
" 13, translation of v. 10.—For toir ght read to right.
" 16, l. 2 in para. beginning with "The Palæography":—For Shāh-jī-ki-dhērī read Shāh-jī-ki-dhērī.
" 17, l. 2 of translation.—For (Utterasena ?) read (Utterasena ?).
" 18, l. 4 of Notes.—For -dheri, read -dhērī.
" 21, l. 3.—For Komarei read Komar.
" ,, l. 7 from bottom.—For (prāsas) read (anuprāsas).
" 22, l. 1.—For am aturer read a maturer.
" 23, l. 13.—For been read born.
" 26, l. 16.—For Śāṅkara- read Śāṅkara-.
" 27, l. 4 from bottom.—For Gāṅgavāṭi read Gāṅgavāṭi.
" 28, item 29.—For Kaṭavāṭi read Kaṭavāṭi.
" 29, item 22.—For Kaṭāra read Kaṭāra.
" 30, l. 7 from bottom.—For inscription read inscription.
" ,, item 27.—For Paraṇi read -p Paraṇi.
" 32, f. n. 1.—Omit the first 'and'.
" 33, f. n. 11.—For नव; read नविन.
" 35, text l. 84.—For पुरूषामन्त्रम वे च read पुरूषामन्त्रम.
" 36, " l. 116.—Insert "(a)" after य.
" 40, f. n. 8.—Insert "?" at the end.
" 49, translation of v. 12.—For king read kings.
" ,, f. n. 1.—Omit the hyphen between Rāja and pārampariyam and for Sōlaṇ read Sōlaṇ.
" 51, f. n. 6.—For Kalinga read Kalinga.
" 59, text l. 2.—For -gu- read -ga-.
" 61, l. 13 from the bottom.—For Mayurabhāja read Mayurabhāja.
" ,, l. 10 " " " For ākshayaṇi read ākshayaṇi.
" 62, l. 16.—For Amala- read Āmala-.
" 64, L. 3.—For Bhāra read Bhāra.
" ,, f. n. 1.—For amil read Tamil.
" 67, l. 15 from the bottom.—For Chhandas-śāstra read Chhandas-śāstra.
" ,, l. 7 " " For village and Milalalai read village and Milalai.
Page 194, f. n. 2.—For ‘th’ read ‘the’.

198, f. n. 3.—For Kālidāsa read Kālidāsa.

199, f. n. 3, l. 3.—For ‘stem’ read ‘stem’.

206, l. 1 of translation of J.—For ‘he’ read ‘the’.

217, f. n. 4.—For appaya- read Appaya-.

218, l. 5.—For Bijjanadēva read Bijjanadēva.

translation of ll. 38-43.—For dharmēta read dharmēta

219, f. n. 1.—For ‘f’ read ‘n’.

222, f. n. 4.—For Kamaulī read Kamauli.

223, f. n. 1.—Insert [ at the beginning.

228, ll. 14 and 17.—For Andeki read Andēki.

234, l. 20.—

235, l. 6 from bottom.—For Gōvinda III. read Gōvinda III,

240, l. 4 from the bottom.—For Amōgh varsha read Amōghavarsha

244, text l. 12.—For राज्याविदेश read राज्याविदेश.

250, text l. 64.—For दिनिरं read दिनिरं.

253, translation of v. 24.—For Kōsala read Kōsala.

" " v. 29.—For Jgattuṅga read Jagattuṅga.

275, l. 8 from the bottom.—For full read fall.

285, f. n. 3.—For , read , and commence a new sentence with ‘The’.

287, l. 9.—For Amōghakalāśa read Amōghakalāśa.

" f. n. line 5 from the bottom.—For भान read भान.

289, ll. 14 and 42.—For Baripada and Binka read Baripadā and Binkā respectively.

291, f. n. 2.—For Bhanja and Daspalla read Bhaṇja and Daspallā respectively.

292, para. 1.—Close the quotation at the end of the penultimate sentence and omit the quotation mark at the end of the para.

293, ll. 1 and 12.—For स read स.

294, text l. 21.—For भूमि read भूमि. (भूमिः) and for भयानक read भयानक.[*]भयानक.

" l. 23.—For घृणा; (घ) घृणा read घृणा; (घ) घृणा.

" f. n. 4.—For Auchiḍāva read Auchiḍāva.

297, f. n. 10.—For Matre read Metre.

305, text l. 8.—For sva-dharmam | read sva-dharmam |.

314, f. n. 5.—For Bōlu read Bōl and omit ‘Vel XVIII‘.

318, f. n. 4.—For Hāthigumpha read Hāthigumpha.

321, l. 6 from bottom.—For Delha read Delha.

322, l. 4.—For , read , and omit the rest of the paragraph.

324, l. 4 from bottom.—For Delha read Delha.

325, text l. 2.—For Viṭasa[sa][g]a read Chiṭasa Ga° [N. G. Majumdār].
Page 326, translation of No. I.—For 'Vitasamgata' read 'Chita of the Gatas' [N. G. Majumdar].

"text of No. V.—For Chul[la]pētuṇaka read Chulapitukasa.

327, l. 2.—After 'clear' add [Chulapitukasa means 'of the father's younger brother, i.e., uncle'.—Ed.]

"translation of No. V.—For "Agila, a resident of Chulapētu (I)" read "his uncle (Prakrit Chula—Sanskrit Kashdra) Agila" [N. P. Chakavarti].

VI.—For Chulayakha read "Yakha (Yaksha) the Junior (Kahudra-Yaksha)."

328, No. XI, text and translation.—For "Mahamatā" read "Mahamita (Mahāmitra)".—Ed.

"translation of No. XII.—For "Dhrmaḍāvī" read "Dharmadevā (Dharmaḍēva)".—Ed.

336, l. 24.—For Poionnaruva read Polonnaruva.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOLUME XVIII

No. 1.—KONDANAGURU GRANT OF INDRAVARMAN.

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

Ink impressions of this inscription were sent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastrl, along with the following description of the original plates:

"This set of five copper-plates was received from Pendiyl Subrahmanya Sastri, National College, Masulipatam, through the President, District Board, Godavari, in June 1921. The plates are held together by a circular ring riveted into the back of a circular seal, on the countersunk surface of which are cut, in relief, a crescent, the word ári-Tyāgadhēnu, and an expanding lotus-flower of six petals. The plates bear writing on eight faces in all, the first and last plates having writing only on their inner sides, and have no raised rims. They measure about 7" in breadth, and a little less than 2" in height. The ring-hole is bored at a distance of about 3/4" from the left margin of the plates and measures about 3/4" in diameter. The ring has a diameter of about 4", and the seal is a little more than 2" in diameter. The plates, with the ring and seal, weigh 100 toleras. The ring was cut in this office."

The writing on the plates is on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of other early Eastern Chalukya inscriptions. The secondary forms of ā and ū are not always clearly distinguished. The Jihvāmāliya occurs in yā, kālā (l. 30). A final form of κ is frequently used; one of t is found in praṇa (l. 18) and caśi (l. 34), one of n in rāja[r] (l. 26), and one of ṭ in -Bo (four times in l. 29, and once in l. 37).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose; but three verses of Veda-Vyasa are quoted in lines 31-35. The Telugu plural -Bo occurs four times in line 28 f., and once in line 37. Lingual ṭ is used also in Chajukyaṇām (l. 6), -yuga (l. 16), and in the Telugu villages name Veṣekki (l. 29). The Telugu r occurs in the two village-names Čherupuru (l. 20) and Irrala[r] (l. 22). The vowel ri after consonants is generally expressed by the syllable ri. After r, consonants (except sibilants) are doubled, and ā is doubled before ṣ in maddhyā (l. 21). In -vaksha-sthalasya (l. 9 f.) s is elided before ṣṭh. In line 28 the group āj is employed instead of jā in viṭṭa-papaya and ājāpti (for āja-pāpti). In line 21 the adjective niv[ṣa]ṣṭā seems to be used in the sense of 'lying, situated.'

The inscription records the grant of the village of Kondanaguru to the Brāhmaṇa Chandikaśarman by the Mahārāja Indravarman, surnamed āri-Tyāgadhēnu, i.e. 'the (celestial) cow in liberality,' who was a son of the Mahārāja Visnupardhana and a grandson of the Mahārāja Kirtivarman, and who belonged to the family of the Chajukyaś. The donor's father, Visnupardhana, has to be identified with Visnupardhana I, the founder of the

1. (The inscription has been reviewed in the Epigraphical Report for 1922; App. A, No. 2, and p. 96. —Ed.)
2. The same surname forms the legend on the seal of this grant which is reproduced on the back of Plate of the Nidānapuru grant of Jayasimha I, infra.
Eastern Chalukya dynasty, who is known to have been the younger son of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman. Consequently, Indravarman must be the actual name of the younger son of Vishnuvardhana I, who is called Indra-Bhāṣṭāraṇa or Indrāraja in the inscriptions of his successors, and who, according to later tradition, reigned only for seven days. The grant seems to have been made at the request of a chief named Kondivarman, and the executor of the grant seems to have been Indravarman’s eldest son, who likewise bore the name Indravarman. From other inscriptions we know only of a single son of Indra-Bhāṣṭāraṇa or Indrāraja, who succeeded to the throne as Vishnuvardhana II.

Line 28 f. contains four signatures of witnesses of the grant, each of which consists of the name of some village, followed by the word Bōj. In the opinion of Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, Bōj (for Boyāla) is the Telugu plural of Bōya. In the Chandelār plates of A.D. 673, Bōya occurs five times, and is once replaced by the Sanskrit word vāstavaya, ‘a resident, inhabitant.’ The same must be the meaning of the word Bōya in a grant of Vishnuvardhana II, where a large number of donees are mentioned by name and are stated to have been Bōyas, i.e. ‘residents, ’ of certain villages. In the Chandelār plates of A.D. 673 the actual names of the donees are omitted, and the expression ‘resident of such and such a village’ is employed in the place of the donee’s proper name. Similarly, the donee’s grandfather, Durγaśarman, receives in the subjoined grant the epithet ‘Iraḷūḷ[ṛ]-Bōya by name’ (l. 22). It might be concluded from this that Bōya is the designation of a village-clerk (Karpam). But this possibility is excluded by the fact that in the above-mentioned grant of Vishnuvardhana II two different individuals, Veṇuśarman and Chaṃiyaśarman, are stated to have been Māśa-Bōya, i.e. ‘a resident of Māśa.’ In a grant of Bhima I the donee (or his grandfather) is styled Ummaraṅṭhi-Bōl, i.e. ‘a resident of Ummaraṅṭhi.’ This use of the plural Bō suggests that the term Bōl in Ālapāki-Bol, etc. (l. 28 f.), and in Chōda-Bol (l. 37) will have to be explained as the honorific plural of Bōya, ‘a resident, inhabitant.’

Lines 19-21 contain the names of four villages which formed the boundaries of the village granted, Kondāṇgūru. The boundary in the South was Cērupūra (l. 20). This village is perhaps identical with Cērupūra in the Pākiś district, which, according to Dr. Fleet, was probably an older form of Chipurupalle in the present Vizagapatam District. The remaining village-names I am unable to identify.

TEXT.

First Plate ; Second Side.

1 Svaṣṭi?[[*]] Srīmatām(tām) sakala-bhuvana-samstāyaamānā-Ma[[na]] vya-sagā-
2 tr[ā*]nām(nām), Hārti-purānām(nām), svāmi-Mahāsena-p[ā*]d-anudhāy-
3 tān|m|ā(nām) Kauśi-ka-saras-labdha-tājy[a*]nām bhagvan-Nārāyana-pra-
4 sāda-samśādita-varaḥ-lārgha-tākṣha-kaśana-vaśikri(krī) t-sāsāha.

1 See above, Vol. VIII, Appendix, p. 10 and note 9.
5 Above, Vol. V, p. 139, text line 25 f.
6 This is the actual reading of the Chiparopalle-plates of Vishnuvardhana I; see above, Vol. IX, p. 318, and cf. Vol. XI, p. 133.
7 Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 15, 96.
8 From ink impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri.
9 This word is entered by the writer on the left side of line 2.
Second Plate; First Side.
5 mahibhrītāṁ[=\*]āsavamādh-āvabhṛēṣa-sāmaṇa-paviṭēkri(kṛī)ta-mānasa-[śaṅkā]-
6 nām(ṇāṁ) svap-yāṣī-śvaiyākri(kṛī)ta-tra-ālokyēnām(ṇāṁ) Chaṭākyāēnām(ṇāṁ) ku-
7 lam-sa[=\*]ṁ(kṛī)tya niñ-jaṁmañāḥ(ṇāḥ?) virājaṁmañāḥ(ṇāḥ?) śrī-Kī[r=\*]ttivarmma-
8 mahā-
9 rājasya naptā śrī-Vishnuvardhana-mahārājāḥ¹ raṇa-mukha-ga(śa)ta-ripu-

Second Plate; Second Side.
9 vijaya-samupalahī-Rśi-vadī-h-nivāśyāmāna-vipula-vaksha-sthala-
10 sva putraḥ śakti-traya-samadhīgata-mahā-khṛṣṭi-viḥbūti[ḥ] tri-³
11 varga-sāv-a-nipunāḥ Purānpuruṣaḥ iva bahu-lōka-stu-
12 taḥ Purāṣṭīr-iva bhūta-gaṇa-priyāḥ dvītīya iva Makaradhvajaḥ

Third Plate; First Side.
13 pañchama iva lōkāpalāḥ Prīdhagrasuta³ iva satya-sandhaḥ śarā(ṛa)t-kālā iva
14 kṛita-bandhrūṭ-vātesvāḥ pūrvv-āchalendrā¹ iva mitr-ōday-ānukāla-
15 mahīmā mahāpati-maṅkūta-śaṅkā-ghaṭita-mahārātmā-mārici-ma-
16 ūjāṛī-majjita-charaṇ-āraṇvīda-yugalaḥ śrī-Indra[r=\*]ma-mahārājāḥ Tyā-
17 gadhēṇy-āpara-namadēyaḥ udaka-pūrvvakaḥ sarvva-karā(ṛa)-parīhār-opētam

Third Plate; Second Side.
18 brahm[ā=\*]yikṛitya Kōṇḍaṇagūrū-nāma-grāma-grāmam prādāt [\*] Taṣya grāmasya
19 dig-vibhāga[h=\*] | Uttarataḥ Muṇiṣṭāṭrū-nāma-grāma[h |]* Pūrvvataḥ Pagumīru-
20 nāma-grā- mahā [\*] Ēkā Dzięki-mā-vibhāga-[ā=\*]vasthitāḥ Āṣṭaḥpuṭa-nāma-gtāma[ṛ |]* Paśchimataḥ
21 [l=\*]-nāma-gr[ā=\*]mahā [\*] Ēṭēśauṁ grām[ā=\*]nāṁ maddhyēni=sv[ā=\*]st kṛitaḥ [\*]
22 Vaiṣṇavēya-enga-
24 Bōya-nāma-

Fourth Plate; First Side.
23 [brahmā=\*)]aya pautraya² abhijana-vidyā-vri(vṛ)ttavataḥ(ta) Bhāravāja-sagōtra-
24 sva Vīṣṇuṣarmmanāḥ pūtrāya vēḍavīd-vīra-sainśēyānāma-charitēya
25 Cēṇḍēṣarṇmmapē māṭīpērē-āttanaśa-cha punyō(ay-a)vātaya(ya) iti cha [\*]
26 Bhāvīnā rāja[r=\*]ahin yathōpachāra-purāṣṭaram(ṛaṁ) samāmānayati [\*] Āṛyē-
27 hū-va[=\*)]sa-gagana-tīlaka-bhūta-Kō[=\*]dā] varmaṇā mahārājasyā-āgra-suta I-

¹ Read -mahārājasya.
² Read -vībhūti-ṛē.
³ Read -Prīthī-āgra-suta (i.e. Yudhiṣhtīra).
⁴ The syllable i is corrected by the writer from iō.
⁵ Read -mahārājasyā-Tyāganāśa-apara-namadēyaḥ.
⁶ Cancel this transcript.
⁷ Read pautṛya-śvēḥējana.
Fourth Plate; Second Side.

28 ndravarmamna namadhyā1 viṣṇupanāya tasya-ājñaptirōvam2 Ālapāka-Bol
29 . . ppi-Bol[]] Sōmayājula-Vellekki-Bol Mārāta-Bol [][*] Api cha mokāl-lōbhā-
30 devā yah-kaścida-vighna-kartārāśa sa paṇccha-mahāpātaka-yuktō bhaviṣhyati
   iti3 cha [][*]
31 Vēda-Vyāṣesajaya ślok[a][*]-ād-ātra [][*] Nighnatō bha[x][*]tri(tri)-go-vipra-bāla-
   yōhit-ta-
32 pavinaḥ [][*] yā gatis-sā bhavēt-vrittīṁ4 harata[h][*] āsān-āṅkitām [1][*]
   Shaśṭhitimma5 varsha-sa-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

33 bā(ha)erāni svarggā tīvraṣti bhāmi-da[h][*] ākshēpā ch-anumant[a][*] cha
tāny-eva na-
34 rakē vasēt [2][*] Bahubhir-vv[a][su][*]dhā dattā bahubhiś-ch-anupātāta [][*]
yasya-ya-
35 sya yadā bhāmī[ ]-tasya-tya tadā phalam[3][*] Iti Kanakārāma-līkhi-
36 tē sā (ra) nē chatushaśthya-sā[ ] [][*] Ėtēśā nāmānām ēkaik-āśah6
37 . . [pālvāk u][*]-ek-āṃśa-re[is][*] [][*] Ĉoḍa-Bol9 tri(tri)-ty-t-ā[ri][*]ṣaṁ [][*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

The Mahārāja Indravaran, whose other name was Tyāgadhēnu (L 16 f.), adorned the
family of the Chaḷuŋkās (L 6 f.); was a grandson of the Mahārāja Kirtivarman (L 7 f.); and
was a son of the Mahārāja Vishṇuvardhana10 (L 8-10). He granted the village11 of Kondpaima-
gūr (L 18) to Chaṇḍīsvarman (L 25), son of Vishṇuśarman of the Bhāravāja gōtra (L 23 f.)
and grandson of Durgāsarman, (also) called Īrula[r]-Bōya, of the Vājasaneyā charaṇa
(L 21-23). The boundaries of the village granted were: in the North, Muṇnuṇūru; in the
East, Paṅunūru; in the South, Cherupūru; and in the West, Irbbāḷī (L 18-21).

The grant seems to have been made at the instance of a chief named Kondivarman, who
belonged to the family of Āryya[h]u(?), and at whose request the Mahārāja’s (viz. Indravaran’s)
eldest son, who, (like his father), bore the name Indravaran, was appointed executor (ājñapti)
of this (grant).12 Line 28 f. seems to contain the names of four witnesses of the grant, preceded
by the particle ētām, ‘thus,’ viz. Ālapāka-Bol,13 . . ppi-Bol, Sōmayājula-Velkekki-Bol, and
Mārāta-Bol.14

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1 Read perhaps Indravaramma-nāmadhyā. 2 Read viṣṇupanāya tasya-ājñaptiḥ 1 Īvam-
3 Read kartā. 4 Read bhavēt-vrittīṁ. 5 Read chatushaśṭhy-āṅśaḥ.
6 A point or dash is engraved between bō and ḭ.
7 The genitive -rakṣha-sthalya in line 9 f. proves that the nominative -mahārājaḥ in line 8 must be
   a mistake of the clerk who drafted the grant, for -mahārājasya.
8 The text reads grāma-grāma, ‘village of villages,’ i.e. ‘a large village’ (?) or ‘a chief village’ (?). The
   same expression occurs in another Eastern Chaḷuṅkāya grant; see Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 138, text line 18.
9 The purpose of the passage from which I derive these statements (L 26-28) is uncertain. If my correction
   Indravaramma-nāmadhyā is accepted, it would still be necessary either to supply after Kondivarmanā the word
   kṛtyād qualifying the instrumental viṣṇupanāya, or to read Kondivarmanā.
10 Bōya is the honorific plural of Bōya, ‘a resident, inhabitant’; see my remarks on p. 2 above.
11 The epithet Mārātya-Bōya is applied to two of the donors in a grant of Vishṇuvardhana II; see Ind. Ant.,
   VII, p. 188, text lines 41 and 50. In l. 60 of that grant, saṃgrāma must be corrected into saṃprastā.
(This) edict (ādāna) was written by Kanakarāma (l. 35 f.). The village granted was divided into 64 shares, of which each of the donees received one share (l. 36). The last line (37) contains the names of two further recipients of shares, of whom the first, whose name is doubtful, received one share, and the other, named Chōda-Böl, one-third share.

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No. 2.—BAHUR PLATES OF NRIPATUNGAVARMAN.

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

As stated by M. Julien Vinson, this inscription is engraved on five copper-plates which were discovered by M. Jules Delafon in 1879 at a depth of about one metre, in the middle of a structure of bricks, at six metres south of the pagoda of Bāhūr, an important locality on the south of Pondicherry, from which it is 23-5 kilometres distant. The plates are now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. They measure about 91·5 millimetres in height, 20·1·9 mm. in breadth, and 4·1 mm. in thickness, and weigh altogether 3106 grammes. There is the usual ring-hole, 18·5 mm. in diameter, at a distance of 9·10 mm. from the left margin of each plate; but the ring which must have been originally passed through the holes and borne the royal seal, has not been recovered. It had surely been broken a long ago; for the first side of the third plate and the second side of the second one are in worse condition than the other sides. They were no doubt on the outside of the set. This allows us to conclude that the document has been buried with carelessness or in impatience hâte. I am deriving all these details from M. Vinson's article "Le collège de Bahour au IXe siècle," in which he furnished a tentative transcript and translation of the inscription. Years ago I had published a few remarks on it, based on a transcript which had been prepared by a Tamil pandit and supplied to me by M. Delafon. This transcript has been recently printed in full, with some additional remarks, by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastrī. The historical importance of the record now induces me to re-edit it from a set of photographs which M. Vinson had good enough to send me in 1905. The photographs are not quite perfect and distinct, but nearly every detail of the text can be made out from them with certainty.

The languages of the inscription are Sanskrit and Tamil, and the alphabets are Grantha and Tamil, respectively. There are 32 Sanskrit verses (ll. 1-45 and 74-77); the rest of the text is in Tamil prose (ll. 45-74 and 78 f.). Grantha letters are occasionally used also in the Tamil portion (Nri, l. 45; rma, l. 46; brahmadeya, l. 50; viyyathā, l. 51, 71; viyyabhāga, ll. 52, 71 f.; hā and evamude(sthai), l. 72; saruvaparihā, brahma, and datti, l. 73; Uditiṣaya and dē, l. 78; Nripatunga, l. 79), and the Tamil syllable rāj occurs in a Sanskrit verse (l. 34), while the purely Tamil name Nilaitiṣyāi is written in Grantha letters (Nilaitiṣyāī, l. 30). In the Sanskrit portion, the secondary form of ṯ is not distinguished from that of s, nor that of ri from that of ra, nor p from v. In the Tamil portion, the length of initial ē and o is not marked in ēri (l. 72) and oṣai (l. 69). The secondary forms of i, ē, o are the same as those of i, e, o. The length of the vowel ē is marked in ēr, Vāyār, Uṣatiṣār, ērūr, ērūr, and pēi; but the mā of ṯaṃmarānu (l. 50) does not differ in shape from mu, and from the lu of -pāruśa (l. 68).

1 The names of the 64 shareholders are not specified, but the latter are alluded to by the pronoun ētā, 'those,' which implies that they were assembled in the king's presence when he made the grant. For similar instances of the use of the pronoun ētipū see above, Vol. IX, p. 59, note 6. The unnamed donee perhaps consisted of the chief donee Cheṇḍīsvarman and his relatives, and of the four persons who were mentioned as witnesses of the grant in line 28 f.

2 To the same gentleman we owe the discovery of the Kāśākiḍi plates of Nandivarman (S. I. l., Vol. II, No. 73).


All these defective spellings are well known from many other Tamil inscriptions. They were not intended to imply actual differences of pronunciation, but are only due to the yet imperfect development of the old Tamil alphabet. In my transcript, I have, therefore, substituted the long vowels wherever they are required. In the Sanskrit portion, a final form of न is frequently employed (ll. 11, 12, 13, etc.). Virāma is expressed by a vertical dash after न (ll. 10, 29 (?) , 35 (?), 40, 41), but seems to be omitted generally after final त (ll. 4, 5, 26, 29, 30, 45), where I have tacitly supplied it. Superscribed र has the same shape as Virāma, but is represented by a point in nirbhakau (l. 16) and पवसक [m] (l. 33). In the Tamil portion, Virāma is expressed only in two instances: by a vertical dash in ṭas (l. 48), and by a point (puṇa) in īm (l. 50). In the Sanskrit portion, the end of a verse is marked indiscriminately by various signs of punctuation, consisting of one or more of five different elements ([,] , ।, ।, ।, ।), but which I have in every case replaced by the usual mark (|)|. The end of the first half of a verse is marked by a horizontal line (—) only in five instances (ll. 13, 15, 17, 26, 30). At the end of the two Tamil passages, two other signs of punctuation are employed; viz.: |0— (l. 74) and :न— (l. 79).

The orthography of the Sanskrit portion calls for a few remarks. Tamil pronunciation is responsible for the forms Tantivarman (ll. 14, 18) for Dantivarman, and ṛṛha (l. 33) for ṛṛpha, and āgatha (l. 37) is meant for āgāthā. The group कḥ is replaced by ṭḥ in ṭatras (l. 9 f.), tahmāpāla (l. 14 f.), -didṛṭhāya (l. 17), and Latshmēr (l. 20). The Sandhi rules are disregarded in pālanāḥ-bhāmīna (l. 15), kriyatañ-śastra (l. 45), svargam-vināṇēna (l. 13), and labdhām-vidyā (l. 33). Visarga is dropped, not only as optionally permitted, in -ध्या sthitī (l. 3) and dēva sthānasya (l. 44), but also in ca śrīyam (l. 1) and rājā śrī (l. 21, 42). Consomants are doubled after v, with four exceptions (Śri-bhartva, l. 3, nirbhakau, l. 16, and Dha[ṛ]stāta-jāta (l. 36).) Double t is simplified before v in datē (l. 39) and tātā (l. 45). The Tamil of the grant portion is on the whole correct. The only mistakes in it are: pākamūm (l. 49) for pākkamūm, nāṭjī and viṭukha (l. 53) for nāṭjī and viṭukka, viḍūnda (l. 56) for viṭukka, āman (l. 67) for ārum, vyavasteyum (l. 72 f.) for vyavasthayum, and a few other slips in the two last lines of the inscription. The genitive suffix of is joined to elalac, 'a boundary,' without Sandhi in elalac (ll. 58, 63, 64 f., 65, 66), and its final न is doubled before the conjunctive affix is in elalac (ll. 58, 59, 60, 61). Similarly, the past relative participle ējaga is spelt ājaga (l. 62). For the past gerund Ṛwe we have ēyi (l. 72, and twice in l. 73), which is an archaic form; mēyi (l. 68) for mēy, 'to graze'; and Neltēyēppakam (l. 59 f.) for Neltēyēppakam.

The metres of the Sanskrit portion are: Drutavilambita (verses 1, 7), Āvantaśilakā (15, 31), Ārya (32), and Anushtubh (3-6, 8-14, 16-30). The metre of verse 2 is Praharṣiṇī; but its fourth Pāda is Anushtubh, and in each of the two first Pādas the tenth and eleventh syllables of the Praharṣiṇī metre are missing. I am unable to correct and translate this verse in a satisfactory manner.

The Tamil portion of the inscription records a grant of three villages, and the Sanskrit portion preceding it professes to be an eulogy (prasasti, l. 45) celebrating the donor. The Tamil and the Sanskrit versions supplement and corroborate each other, and have both to be considered together. The grant was made in the eighth year (ll. 46, 51) of the reign of king (क) Viśyā-Nṛpataṅgavarmā (l. 45 f.), or simply Nṛpataṅgavarmā (l. 74 f.), Nṛpataṅga (ll. 24, 25, 32), or Tūngavarman (l. 42), who boasted of the title 'lord of the three worlds' (ll. 22 f., 41 f.). Verses 2-15 contain the following genealogical account of this king: From the lotus-flower arising from Vishnu's navel was produced Brahma; from him, Aṅgiras; from him, Bṛhaspati; from him, Saumya; from him, Bhāradvāja; from him, Drutac; from him, Aśvatthāman; and from him, king Pallava (verse 6). The same mythical pedigree is found at the begin-
king of several inscriptions of the Pallava kings of Kāñchi. Next we are told that from the family of Pallava ‘arose a group (of kings) commencing with Vimala and Koṅkanika’ (verse 7), and that, ‘after Vimala, etc., had gone to heaven’ (verse 8), there was Daṇḍivarman (verse 9), whose son was Naṇḍivarman (verse 12). As I have suggested on a former occasion, the ‘group (of kings) commencing with Vimala and Koṅkanika’, which is sandwiched between the mythical king Pallava and the historical king Daṇḍivarman, probably owes its mention to the desire of claiming for the latter connection with the Western Gāṇḍī kings, whose ancestor is believed to have been Koṅkanika. The queen of Naṇḍivarman, Saṅkhā by name, was born in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family (verse 13) and bore to him the donor of this grant, Naṇḍivarman (verse 15). Of him verse 16 tells us that he supplied a Pāṇḍya king, whose proper name is not disclosed, with an army, and that he defeated some enemies, who are not specified either, on the further bank of the Aricīt river. The name of this river must be a Sanskritized form of Ariśālī, a branch of the Kāvērī which enters the sea at Kāraikkāl (Kārikāl). It may be concluded from verse 16 that Naṇḍivarman allied himself with a Pāṇḍya king and undertook an expedition into the dominions of the Chōla king. The two names Daṇḍivarman and Naṇḍivarman occur also among the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, with whom Naṇḍivarman became actually connected through his queen Saṅkhā, and Daṇḍivarman is perhaps identical with Daṇḍīkā, the ruler of Kāñchi who was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III in A.D. 804. Rao Bahādur Krishnā Sastri has shown quite recently that the Vēḻupāḷiṇi plates of Viḻya-Naṇḍivarman and the Tāṇḍāṇṭīam plates of Viḻya-Naṇḍivarman probably belong to the reign of Naṇḍivarman’s father Naṇḍivarman.

According to the Tamīḷ portion, the grant was made at the request of Vēḻali-pērāraiyān (l. 46), i.e., ‘the great chief of Vēḻali.’ The Sanskrit portion supplies his proper name, Mārtanḍa (l. 27 f.), and his surname, Nilaṭṭiṅga (l. 30), and calls him, with a play on his name Mārtanḍa, ‘the sun of the Vēḻali family’ (l. 27 f.). From other inscriptions we learn that Vēḻali-pērāraiyān was the name of a prince, of which Vāgūṛ-nādu, i.e., the country round Bāhūr, formed a subdivision. Evidently Mārtanḍa was a hereditary chief of this province. He claimed descent from the family of Kuru (ll. 27, 31 f., 43), the mythical ancestor of the heroes of the Mahābhārata. At his own request (ll. 32, 46 f.), he had received three villages in his own province (Rāṣṭra) from king Naṇḍivarman (verse 21). This probably means nothing but that his sovereign accorded him permission to give away these three villages, and explains two apparently conflicting statements, viz. that, in verses 23, 26, and 29, Mārtanḍa is represented as the actual donor, while, in verse 31, Naṇḍivarman claims the merit of having made the grant himself.

The executor (aṉāṉṭi in Sanskrit, ll. 32, 39, and 41, or aṉāṭṭi in Tamīḷ, l. 47) of the grant was Uṭṭamaṉaḷa (l. 41), the minister (manṭrin) of king Tūṅgavēḷaṁ (l. 42), i.e., of Naṇḍivarman. He had the title ViṭṭelviḍuṆṟu-KaṭuṆaiṭi-Tamīḷa-pērārīyā (l. 47), i.e., ‘the great chief of the Tamilians of ViṭṭelviḍuṆṟu-KaṭuṆaiṭi.’ As KaṭuṆaiṭi is a synonym of Pallava, Uṭṭamaṉaḷa’s titles suggest that ViṭṭelviḍuṆṟu, i.e., ‘the crashing thunderbolt,’ was a surname of the Pallava king Naṇḍivarman. The same word ViṭṭelviḍuṆṟu seems to have been a surname of his father Naṇḍivarman. For an inscription of king Viḻya-Naṇḍivarmanavaram and of his feudatory, the Bāṇa chief Viḷkramāṭiyāṉ at Taruvallam records the grant of a village named ViṭṭelviḍuṆṟu-Viṭṭkiramāṭiyāṉaṅgalam. The first member of this compound word

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3 S. I., Vol. II, pp. 82, n. 3.
6 This Tamīḷ name is paraphrased in Sanskrit by roiṆ̄gūṅ nilavai (l. 29).
9 S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 44.
must refer to Nripatuniga’s father Nandivarman,\(^1\) and the second one to the Bana chief Vikramaditya. The executor (apatti) of the Tiruvallam grant was Kadupasti-Tamilla-pera[r]ajyana which may be taken as a title either of UttamaSila himself, or of another minister who preceded him in office during the reign of Nandivarman.

The recipients of the grant were the residents of a ‘seat of learning’ (vidya-sthana), or college, at Vagur (ll. 51 f., 71; see also ll. 35, 37 f., 38 f., and 44 of the Sanskrit portion), i.e. Bhur, where the plates were discovered by M. Delafon. As M. Vinson remarks,\(^2\) the modern form looks like a learned corruption, deriving the ancient name Vagur from the Sanskrit bahu, ‘an arm,’ instead of the Tamil sahu, ‘beauty.’ The grant was to be a vidya-bhoga (ll. 52, 71 f.), i.e. a source of revenue for the promotion of learning. This is perhaps the earliest case on record of a university scholarship or educational endowment.

As in the Leyden plates (a scholarly transcript, translation, and analysis of which still remain a desideratum), the official routine observed in this grant was as follows. The three villages having been granted to the Vagur college, an order (tirumagam, l. 54) communicating this fact and calling for a report (arasolai, ll. 53, 55, 56) was issued to the headmen of Kiliyil-Vagur-naaju, (a subdivision of the district) of Aruvu-naaju\(^3\) (l. 48). Having read the order, the headmen of the naaju reverently placed it on their heads and circumambulated the limits of the villages granted. Line 40 of the Sanskrit portion suggests that, as in the case of the Leyden plates, they were accompanied by an elephant whose hoofprints marked the boundaries, on which they raised stones and planted milk-bush (ll. 53, 55). The names of the three villages were Setuppakkam,\(^4\) Vilangattanaduvar, and Iraippuasicheri (ll. 48-50). According to the report submitted by the headmen of the naaju, their boundaries were as shown in the two subjoined diagrams (ll. 56-66).

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{N} & \text{a forest} \\
\hline
\text{Vilangattanaduvar} & \text{Setuppakkam} \\
\text{Mambakkam} & \text{Neppakkam} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^1\) Just as his name is given here and in other inscriptions in the fuller form of ko Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, his son Nripatungvarman calls himself also ko Vijaya-Nripatunagavikramavarman; see above, Vol. IV, p. 180 \& and Vol. VII, p. 140.

\(^2\) See his article, p. 236.

\(^3\) Cf. Venkayya’s Preface to S. I. L., Vol. II, p. 27. According to the Tamil dictionaries, Aruvu-naaju is one of the two districts in which common Tamil (Kojun-Tami) is spoken, the second being Aruvu-vaadatalai-naaju.

\(^4\) Spelt Cheppakkam in Grantha (l. 32 f.).
Nerunjikunam

M. Vinson has consulted a local map and tells us that, besides Vagur (Bahur), two of these village-names survive to the present day: Kirimangitti is now represented by Kirimambakkam, 6 kilometres north-east of Bahur, and Vilajsangtaangaduvar is perhaps connected with Kaduvaiur, 5 kilometres west of Bahur. I hope my Brahmin friends in Madras will find an opportunity for making enquiries on the spot, and will succeed in identifying a few more of the village-names which are registered in the detailed description of the boundaries of the grant.

In verse 30 we are told that the Sanskrit praist, which forms the first portion of the inscription, was composed by Nagaya, a servant of the Vagur college. At the end of the whole document, its writer informs us of his name and parentage in a Sanskrit verse (32) and in Tamil prose, (l. 78 f.). He was a goldsmith (svaragakrit or, in Tamil, tat), named Nripatunga (ll. 77, 79);—evidently after his sovereign,—a hereditary servant of the Pallava family, the son of Madavi-perundttoy, and the grandson of Uditodaya-perund-tyan of Kilpaisaram near Kachchiprodu (Conjeeveram). The name, or rather the title, of his father means ‘the great goldsmith (by appointment) to the chief queen.’ Similarly, the name of his grandfather would mean ‘the great’ goldsmith (by appointment) to (king) Uditodaya,’ and Uditodaya (l. 78) or Uditojita (l. 76) may have been a surname of one of the immediate predecessors of king Nripatungavarmar. Uditojita is actually known to have been one of the numerous birudas of Rajasimha, an earlier Pallava king of Kanchi. From this king it may be supposed to have descended to one of the predecessors of Nripatungavarmar.

TEXT.

First Plate; First Side.

1 Swasti shri[h ||] Diisatu va[h •] ariyam-ambuja-lochanas-tridaas-mauli-nighri=
2 asha-pada-ambujah [h] sakah-loka-bhayakammed-rakshasa-prasamam-ntur-n-
to[ha[h ]] sthitthi-laya-a-

1 See his article, p. 235 f.
3 From a set of photographs supplied by M. Julien Vinson.
4 Read perhaps abhitojita.
First Plate; Second Side.

 ratesha(ksha) nava-khaṭa-sthān-bhūpatin-sa-kriṣṭivalān [6 [*] Vimala-Komkaṇṭa-ādi ta-
 d-anvayād-aṣṭi brindam-ari-pramad-ānata [6 [*] nikan-tāsōsam-ananya-nripēshv-apī-
 priyamata-maṇḍa-gaṅgā stauncha [5 [*] bhaktā bhuvām sva-vṛtṛyēpā chaṭus-[aṣ]-
 guṇa-mekhalām [tata[6 [*] svargaṃ-vimāṇēnā gataṣa Vimal-ādīṣhu [56 [*] ā-
 sit-Purandara-samā vṛtaśa dīpa(ṣha) bhaktir-mmura-dvipi(shib) [[*] Ta(Da)ntivarman
 mahā-[b]jānuh tehmā(kshma)-
 pān-makut-ānata [9 [*] Dharmāpā pānāt[d]-bhūmīn Kalav-apī yugū
 nripāh va-
 rāṇava-apī dānasya parijanā iva nirbhāvau [10 [*] Ātmānu bandi-yukt-
 ā[ānā]m Ya-
 mālāya-dikriṣṭa(kṣa)ya[ā] pāthēyam-iva kritvā-gām-pāṇḍāni vīṣa[sa*][r]īja yaḥ
 [11 [*] Nandi-
 varmā mahā-bahus-sa jātō Ta(Da)ntiva[ra*]mmagā [[*] samarē viṣjita
 bhūmīr-ashāyē-

Second Plate; First Side.

 na yeṇa saḥ [12 [*] Āsich-Chhāṇk-āhavyā ḍēvī tanv-amgī Nandivarmanagā
 [[*] Raṣṭra-
 kūṭa-[ku*]bā jātā Latashmi(kshmi)-iva Mura-dvishaḥ [13 [*] Kāhamāvati
 dhariṁ-[mā[tr*-]vaj-jagatāb
 priyā [1[*] babhau Śāṃk-āhavyā ḍēvī rāja[6 [*] śrīr-iva ṛpīṣo [14 [*]
 Taṣyām
 [ba]bhūva maṭi-kānti-kal-ādimat̄yām-mañhā kulēna guṇavān-bhuvana-tray-ē-
 saḥ [[*] utpādyamāna-tapanādhīpa-tulya-tējā jahohuḥ kalvān-samaḥ
 Nripatumaśāvah [16 [*] Yat-prasād-[r*-]jījē śeṇā Sāṇḍyēnā samāre purā [[*]
 pārō-Richit-sa rāj-āgnir-ddādaḥ ripa-saṅhātim [16 [*] Nripatuma ga iti khyātō
 bhālo-pi bhuvana-śvāraḥ | khyāto na kēvalam-bhūmā-gaṃpūsaṃnām-apī Rāma-vat
 [17 [*] Taṣy-ōpākāra-saṃyukto rājānaḥ Kurukul-ōdpatāvah [[*] Vēṣāli-vanaśa-Me-

1 Read svargaṃ vimāṇēnā.
2 To satisfy the metre, this word must be cancelled.
3 Read pāñcagī yukt-arpana-.
4 Read perhaps -kāṇđāntā.
5 Read naṇījītī.  
6 Instead of the last syllable of kālānā, the metre requires a short syllable, read perhaps kālāpa-saṃrāb.
Second Plate; Second Side.

26 rttāpāh prajāñāṁ sarasā rataḥ || [18 || *] Śaśī-vat-tālakārā lokā gāmbhīrya-ādu
29 samudra-vat [*] sṛ[r]*ya-vaid-rakshaśālā-lokān lokān-vānilaya nripaḥ || [19 || *]
30 Tasmāt-tasy-āchāra-nāma Nilaitāṅg-itī dēva-vat | athavā sutarāḥ-nāma-pra-
31 tyakṣhavād-viśām-patēḥ || [20 || *] Grāma-trayanā svā-rāshaṭre saḥ
32 nāḥ [*] vijñ[a] Nripaṭung-ēśā-laṁdham-ājñāpi-pātṛvaka[m] || [21 || *] Cēṣṭup-
33 pāśkam-ahārānām grāmam-ekṣam-āsthāparam [*] grāmak(mam). Vidya-vijāṅg-ādi-śeṭh(ph)-ā-
34 nta-pada-nāmak[ma] || [22 || *] Tasmād-Īrappuṇaiochērēṁ-trittyaṁ sarvya-[sampa]daṁ
35 grāma-trayanā labdham-vidyā-sthānāya4 dattavān || [23 || *] Mandakintān
36 vēga-samākulaṁ [*] sa [ba]bhāra yathā dēvo Dhū[r]*jaṭhar-jaṭay-ākaiyā || [24 || *]

Third Plate; First Side.

38 sthānam, vyāpya yamamad-vyavasthātā || [25 || *] Tat-sthānam-ēvaṁ vidushāṁ, vyidyā-
39 sthānam-prachakṣhatē [*] tēbhāyō datvā(tivā) sa bhūpalo grāmān-ājñāpi-pātṛvakaṃ || [26 || *] Hasti-saṭāhi-ārāmān-ā Kumānam-bahu-manyāte [*] yuktīn-sa
40 ky-ēvra-pājitaḥ [*] mantri Bhāṣapati-prakhyō rāja[h] [*] Ār-Tuṅce-
41 va[r]*] mantra || [28 || *]
42 Āgaminaḥ prajāpālaṇ-yāchate Kuru-mandanaḥ [*] dha[cm]*] satya[sa] su[ma]nyāya
43 t-pālantya iti svayam || [29 || *] Dāsa[h] [*] sthānasya vidyāyā Vāgūr-grāma-
44 jushhaṁ-sa-
45 yam[*] kriyavan(ḥ) śāstra-tatvam(tivā)-jñā praśastini-Nagaye-sus[kri]*] t || [30 || *]
Ko Viśaḷya-Nri-

Third Plate; Second Side.

46 patongavarmakau yanḍu eṭṭāvadu Viśāli-pāparatryam viṇṣap-
47 pattāl Vidvāda Kāṇḍapātī-Tamīla-pāparatryam-āppati āga
48 Aruva-nāṭṭa-Kh[ya]-Vāgūr-nāṭṭu nāṭṭh-kāṅga [*] Tam-sāṛṭu Sēṭu-
49 ppā[k]*] thirdum Vīḷāṇḍaṭṭhaṇḍūvaṇḍūṛum Īrappuṇaiochērīyū-
50 m-āga inmaṭpāramum palayavaṇ-jamum brahmanda-yamum-nikkī mu-
51 u perṣirāmā mārī yanḍu eṭṭāvadu Vāgūr vidyāsthapat-
52 tākkv vaṇyāḥgam-āga-ppāṇītōm [*] Tāṅgalum padāgai naṇān-
53 du kalum kalijum [k][k]*] tī aṇīyolai sēdyā ?vidūṭka(kka)veṇyā
54 nāṭṭkku-ṭtirumagam viḍa [*] Nāṭṭk trīrughaa gaṇḍu toḷuḍu talai-
55 [k]ku vaittum-paadāgai naṇanda kalim-galiyau-nāṭṭi aṇī(ī)ölai]

1 The second part of the cv of -śadu is engraved at the beginning of the next line.
2 Read "lokāṁa".
3 Read sa.
4 Read labdhaṁvidyā.
5 [Read chaṭṭaḥ—E.D.]
6 The reading = śāma would be more suitable.
7 [This word may be read as vidūṭka—E.D.]
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

Fourth Plate; First Side.

56 śeyu nāṭṭār vidūnda(tta) aṇāyōlai-paḍi nilattukk-ellai [(*)] Viṣṇu
57 ṣāṭṭānangd̐vanāvr̥kku-Jeṭṭuppakkattukkum-āga irandu ṝkkñ̥-ga-
58 l-poř-kellai kāṭṭu ellaingum Ne毨malipākkattu ellaing
59 m̥ṛkun-dep-paṛk-ellai Neṇmalipākkatt-ellaingum-Nelvā-
60 yippakkatt-ellaippm Uṛattūr-ellaikk vuḍakkum mél-paṛ-
61 k-ellai Mambākkatt-ellaingum iv-Viṣṇaṭtānangd̐vanā-
62 r-poṛ-piramad̐yam-aṅga arubadu ṛguvukku-kkilaikk vuḍa-paṛk-ellai Viṣ-
63 gur-ellaing-ṛgkum [(*)] Iraippuṇaḥchērikk-ellai kīl-paṛk-ellai natta-
64 m uṭṭiṭta kāṭṭukku mṛkun-dep-paṛk-ellai Neṛūḍjikurumbhit ellai-
65 īṇ vuḍakkum-mel-paṛk-ellai Viṣṇu-ellaing kilakkum vuḍa-paṛk-ellai

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

66 Kīrīmānppāṭti ellaing-ṛgkum-āga. irv-ṇesătta-peru-nāṅg-ellai-
67 galilum-agappāṭṭa nilag ntr-nilānum puṣēyyum ūm̥ma 1 ur-irukkaiyūm
68 maṇṇiyan-maṇṇi-paḍappa-maṇṇi-gaṇu-mayi-pāluṇ-gaḷanunā-gottagā[ra]-
69 muṇa-gīḍāṅgā-gēṇīyan-gaḍāṅ-garūṃ adaiyum udaiyum uṭṭiṭṭu mt[ra]-
70 pāi neḍum paramb-giṇdu udumb-ōdi āmai tavāndad-[ella]-
71 m uṇ-ṇilap-oḷi-nilī Viṣṇu vidūṭṭhāpatārōkk vidūṭṭ bhō]-
72 bhōgam-āyi Viṣṇuṛōdē ərī Viṣṇu pera pariḥāramum vyavates(ethai)[yu]-
73 m pera sarvaa-pariḥāram-āyi brahmaṇyam-āyi-paṇḍātati ṣeṇa-
74 du || Pusyaṁ samaḥ kṛtavaśām pariṇakṣatāḥ cha tad-rakṣat-ēti niṣpatīr-Nṛṣ-
75 patuṇgavarmā [(*)] āgāmināḥ kṣhitiṇiḥ pariṇapatm-āyaṇṣarām mūrdhna
Mukunda-chara[ṇ-ām].

Fifth Plate; First Side.

76 buja-kākherōça || [31 [(*)] Uditodita-kula-tilaka[(*)] suvarṇapakṛt-sarvva-[ṭāstra]-
77 niṃṣṭāḥ [(*)] alikhan-Nṛṣpatuṇṅ-ākhyāḥ Pallava-kula-māla-bhṛiti-ūcitra || [32 [(*)
78 Kachōhipēṭu Kīl-Paiṣārattu Uditodaya-peru[n]dastā(n)[(*)] magaṇ Madēvī-
79 o magan[p] Nṛṣpatuṅga[n] eluttu ||

TRANSLATION.

(Liine 1.) Hail! Prosperity!
(Verse 1.) Let Madhuv's destroyer (Viṣṇu) grant you prosperity, the lotus-eyed one, whose lotus-feet are rubbed by the diadems of the gods (bowing to him), the unborn one, (who became) the means of the destruction of demons that terrified the whole world!
(Verse 2.) In the eye of the sleeping husband of Śrī (Viṣṇu) was produced the luminary (i.e. the Sun ?), (which is) the means of duration, destruction, and production. From his

1 Read ōmu.
2 Cancel the bracketed syllable.
(Vishṇu's) navel arose a lotus-flower, the germ of all. From this (flower) the self-born one (Brahmā) was produced.

(Verse 3.) From this four-mouthed lord of the world, Āṅgiras was born, (and) from the latter, Bṛhaspati, the minister of Śakra (Indra), the splitter of (the demon) Vāla.

(Verse 4.) From him was born Śānyu; from him, he who was named Bharadvāja; from him, the great archer Drōṇa, whose valour equalled that of Śakra in battle.

(Verse 5.) From this Drōṇa was produced, it is said, by a portion of Pīnākin (Śiva) the long-armed Aśvatthāman, who was skilled in all fights.

(Verse 6.) From this Aśvatthāman was born a king named Pallava, who ruled the kings residing in the nine continents, together with the ploughmen.

(Verse 7.) From his family arose a group (of kings) commencing with Vimala and Kōkāṇika, which was bowed to by the wives of enemies; which imposed commands even on other rulers of men; which was much beloved; (and) which continually shouted 'victory'.

(Verse 8.) Then, after Vimala, etc., having enjoyed by their own valour the earth girt by the four oceans, had gone to heaven on aerial cars, there was the long-armed (king) Dantivarman, who resembled Purandara (Indra), showed firm devotion to Mura's foe (Vishṇu), (and) was bowed to by the diadems of the rulers of the earth.

(Verse 9.) By ruling the earth according to ght even in the Kali age, and by showering gifts, (this) ruler of men shone like a rain-cloud.

(Verse 10.) He dispatched arrows, furnishing (them) with provisions for (their) visit of the nether world under the guise of (the blood of those of his) enemies who were not (already) confined in his own prisons.

(Verse 12.) From Dantivarman was born that long-armed Nandivarman who subdued the earth unabated in battle.

(Verse 13.) Just as Lakshmi (is the consort) of Mura's foe (Vishṇu), (the wife) of Nandivarman was the slender queen named Śaṅkha, who was born in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.

(Verse 14.) Full of patience like the earth, beloved by the people like a mother, the queen named Śaṅkha shone as if she were the embodied fortune of the king.

(Verse 15.) By her who possessed intelligence, beauty, arts, etc., was born the virtuous Nripatungadēva, the lord of the three worlds, noble by birth, resembling the rising sun in splendour, (and) victorious in fights with arrows.

(Verse 16.) Resembling fire, this king, by whose favour the Pāṇḍya had obtained an army formerly, burnt a confederation of enemies in a battle on the further bank of the Arichit (river).

(Verse 17.) Even in his youth (this) lord of the world (was) renowned (by the name) of Nripatunga (i.e. 'the high one among rulers of men'). (He was) renowned not only on earth, (but) even in the other (world), like Rāma.

(Verse 18.) Provided by this king with benefits (was) Mārtanda of the family of Vēsāli, a descendant of the family of Kuru, (and) intent on (affording) refuge to (his) subjects.

(Verse 19.) An ornament to the world like the moon, (and) resembling the ocean in profundity, etc., (this) ruler of men (became) the resort of the people by protecting the people as if (he were) the sun.

1 i.e. he either imprisoned or shot his enemies.
2 Verses 19 and 20 suggest that the word Mārtanda (i.e. the sun) is not a mere metaphor (rūpa-karma), but has to be taken here as a proper name.
(Verse 20.) Therefore the (sur)name Nilatāñgai (i.e. 'the support of the world') was (as) suitable to this ruler of men as (unto) a god, or because (his real) name (Māriāndja, i.e. the sun) was quite manifest (to all).

(verse 21-23.) This promoter of the family of Kuru gave to a seat of learning (vidyāsthāna) three villages in his own province (jàthi), which, at (his) request, (he had) received, provided with an executor (açārapati), from that lord Nripatunga, viz. the village of Cheppupākkan, rich in fruit, then another village whose name (consisted of) a word ending in an r and beginning with Vidyāvilāngai, and (and) thirdly the very prosperous (village of) Traippuṇaichchēri.

(Verse 24-26.) Just as the god Dhūrjaḻi (Śiva) carried on the single lock of (his) hair the approaching Mandākini (Gaṅgā), agitated by the velocity of waves, thus the deep river of learning, filled with troops (of scholars) from the four directions, stayed after it had filled the seat of the residents of the village of Vāgūr. Therefore they call this seat of scholars a seat of learning,

(Verse 26 f.) This ruler of land thinks highly of himself after he has given to those (scholars) the (three) villages, provided with an executor, their limits having been circumambulated by an elephant, accompanied by all immunities, (and) protected from taxes.

(Verse 28.) The executor (was) Uttaṃśilā, worshipped by the lord of the three worlds, the minister, resembling Brihaspati, of the glorious king Tūṅgavarian.

(Verse 29.) The descendant of Kuru, himself entreats future kings:—'As this charity is common (to all kings), it must be preserved (by you as well) !'

(Verse 30.) The servant of the seat of learning of the residents of the village of Vāgūr, the pious Nāgya, who knew the truth of sciences, composed this eulogy (prasasti).

(Line 45.) In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Vijaya-Nripatunga varman, at the request of Vēšāli-pērānaiyan; Viḍēśi-vidugu-Kādupāṭṭi-Tamila-pērānaiyan being the executor (aṇṭṭi). Let the headmen of Kivai-Vāgūr-nāḍu, (a subdivision) of Aruvā-nāḍu, see (this order) !

(Line 48.) In the eighth year of (our reign), we have granted three villages of your nāḍu, viz. Seppupākkam, Vīḷāṅgattangāduvaṇṭu, and Traippuṇaichchēri,—dispossessing the former tenants, (and) excluding ancient charities and Brahmadāyas,—to the residents of the seat of learning at Vāgūr as a source of revenue for the promotion of learning (vidyā-bhoga).

(Line 52.) And issued an order (ṭirumagam) to the headmen of the nāḍu, telling them to circumambulate the limits, to plant stones and milk-bush (along the boundaries), and to draw up and submit a report (araṇyolai) !

1 According to the Tamil portion, the full name of this village was Vīḷāṅgattangāduvaṇṭu, to which the word vidyā is still prefixed here because it was granted for the promotion of learning.
2 With chaturdīśa-gaṇa, cf. the expression chāṭrindama bāhīka-ti[ṣṭa]pahā at Nāsik, above, Vol. VIII, p. 73, text line 5.
3 The local authorities fixed the boundaries by letting an elephant walk round the limits. Cf. pidi nāḍappittu or pidi śālu in the Leyden plates, passim; kriśṇiparikramaṇa-virupaṣṭa-vimā-chauṭahāyaṇam... grāmaṇam, ibid., l. 88 f.; kāṭi-pāṭha-simānām, above, Vol. XV, p. 63, text line 106 f. 1 pidi śālu, ibid., l. 84, text lines 134-136, and p. 65, text line 106; pidi nāḍattu, Travancore Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 79.
4 i.e. king Nripatunga; see verse 15.
5 Cf. line 106 of the Kāṭukudi plates.
6 Paddāgai nāḍandu corresponds to paddāgai valaṇjeyidu in line 110 of the Kāṭukudi plates; piddāgai valaṇjeyidu in a Travancore inscription of Nandivikramavaran, S. I. I., Vol. III p. 91, l. 11; piddāgai nāḍandu in the Leyden plates, passim; and pradakshipam-kritya in Sanskrit.
BAHUR PLATES OF NRIPATUNGAVARMAN. 15

(Line 54.) When the headmen of the nādu saw the order, they raised (their) joined hands (before it), placed (it) on (their) heads, circumambulated the limits, planted stones and milk-bush, and drew up a report.

(Line 56.) According to the report submitted by the headmen of the nādu, the boundaries of the land (granted are as follows):—Of the two villages of Vilāṅgattāṅgaṇaduvāṉ and Āḷṭippakkam, the eastern boundary is to the west of the boundary of a forest and of the boundary of Neṇmalippakkam; the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of Neṇmalippakkam; of the boundary of Nolavippakkam, and of the boundary of Urattār; the western boundary is to the east of the boundary of Māṁakam and of sixty rice-fields (jeroam) which form a Brahmadēya near this Vilāṅgattāṅgaṇaduvāṉ; and the northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of Vāgūr.

(Line 63.) The boundaries of ĪṟippūṆacchērē (area):—The eastern boundary is to the west of a forest surrounding the village (nattam); the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of Neṇiñjikurumbu; the western boundary is to the east of the boundary of Vāgūr; and the northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of Kīṟimāṟāṭti.

(Line 66.) Altogether, the land enclosed by the four great boundaries specified here, including wet land and dry land, villages and village-buildings, houses and house-gardens, clearings and young trees, waste grounds for grazing,2 tanks, store-houses,3 ditches, wells, forests, brackish ground, water-courses and breaches,4 wherever water is conducted (?), long harrows are applied,5 ignamas run, and tortoises creep, not excluding the cultivated land,6 being joined7 to Vāgūr itself as a source of revenue for the promotion of learning to the residents of the seat of learning at Vāgūr, enjoying the immunities and agreements8 enjoyed by Vāgūr, possessing all immunities, (and) being a Brahmadēya,—the grant was made.9

(Verse 31.) 'The good works of those who perform (them) and of those who preserve (them) are equally (meritorious). Therefore preserve you (this gift)!" Thus (requesting them), king Nripatungavarman perpetually bows (his) head, which bears on its crest the lotus feet of Mukunda (Vishnu), to future kings.

(Verse 32.) The ornament of the family of Uditōdita, the goldsmith named Nripatunga, who was skilled in all sciences (and) a hereditary servant of the Pallava family, wrote (this).

(Line 78.) The writing of Nripatunga, the son of Māḍēvi-perundattān (who was) the son of Uditōdaiva-perundattāpy, (a resident) of Kīḷ-Paisāram near Kachchipēdu.

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1. In two other instances (II. 49, 56 f.), the a of āṟē is represented by a short a.
2. These three doubtful terms occur also in line 281 of the Leyden plates, and in the Anbil plates, above, Vol. XV, p. 65, text line 167 f., where they are translated by 'halls, wastes in which the calves graze.' I adopt M. Vinton's renderings of nāṟgum and kēṟgum (as the Leyden plates read for kaṟgum).
5. The expression nāṟ pūḷ occurs also in line 234 of the Leyden plates, and nāṟum parambarēnāḍu in line 308 (which ought to have been numbered 388) of the same. Both terms are used in line 344 of the Tiruvāḷaṅgīdent plates, S. I., Vol. III, p. 410.
7. Āṟṟē may be the intrusive form of āṟṟē, 'having joined.'
9. The two words parattāṟi teganu occur also in line 133 of the Kāsākudi plates, and in line 63 of the Vēṟṟaṟāḷisīyam plates (S. I., Vol. II, p. 509), where I would read parattāṟi (with Grausha ĉś) instead of parattāṟi and cancel the note on p. xii of the Addenda and Corrigenda. The Anbil plates (above, Vol. XV, p. 65, text line 130 f.) read parottāṟi for parattāṟi.
No. 3.—An Inscribed Relic Casket from Kurram.

By the late Pandit V. Natesa Aitkar, B.A., Patna.

This casket was brought to my notice in the year 1917, when I was Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Frontier Circle, Peshawar, by Khan Sahib Mian Wasi Uddin, my Assistant. On enquiry I learnt that its exact find-spot was unknown, but that it was given as a present by a villager to one of the sons of the Nawab of Landi Yâghzao, while he was Tahsildar of Kurram. The casket is now in the possession of his younger brother, a student of the Edwardes College, Peshawar, from whom I tried to acquire it for the local Museum, of which I was the ex-officio Curator; but I could not succeed until the moment of my departure from Peshawar in January, 1919.

The casket is made of copper and measures 18' in height. Its base is square and is attached to the drum by means of a fillet and groove joint. The harmikâ is of the conventional shape and loosely threaded on to a central shaft, also of copper.

The casket is almost perfect in every detail and has the appearance of a miniature stûpa with its harmikâ and umbrellas. (Pl. I, a.)

The relics which the casket was meant to enshrine are no longer traceable. Likewise, as I have observed already, the exact find-spot of the casket is unknown. Neither could I, owing to the unsettled state of the Kurram valley, visit the spot and obtain any local information.

The inscription on the casket consists of four lines of Kharoshthi script punctured, as in the case of the Kanishka casket from Shâh-jti-két, on the four sides of its square base. The writing covers a space of 4½ x 2" on each side and seems to be in fairly good preservation, except as regards the lowermost line on two of the sides, which, unfortunately, has disappeared altogether. (Pl. I, b, and Pl. II.)

The paleography of the record presents the same peculiarities as the silver scroll inscription from Taxila,1 the Kanishka casket from Shâh-jti-két2 and the Mânikâla casket.3 The letters are of the elongated and cursive variety and belong, undoubtedly, to the Kushân period.4 It is noteworthy that in the case of some of the letters in the present record, such as ka, dha, yâ, ja and va, the shape is not uniform throughout, but differs slightly in different places. This I attribute more to the carelessness of the engraver than to the transitional nature of the script at the time. This is borne out also by nearly the same symbol being used to represent to, ra, qa and similarly of a and va.

The language is Prâkrit and of the variety peculiar to the Western Punjab and the North-Western Frontier of India, which constituted the ancient kingdom of Gandhânâ. Among the orthographical peculiarities may be mentioned that cha is invariably used for ta, va for pa and qa for ya. Besides, double consonants are always represented by single consonants, as in avi for avi, prachaga for prachaga, viñana for viñana, phasha for phassa, tusha for tusqa and dukha-khandhassa for dukhâ-khandhassa.

The inscription records the enshrinement of the bodily relics (śarira) of the Holy Śâkya-muni in a shrine (gaha?) belonging to the Sârvâstivâdin sect, in the year 81 (?), on the twentieth day of the tenth month, Āsvina.5 Then follows the anusolma portion of the text of the Pratîtiya-samutpāda or Viñâna-Sâtra, which the Lord Buddha revealed soon after.

2 A. S. R. for 1908-9, p. 50 ff.
4 Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, Plate facing p. 299.
5 [With the spelling and translation as given by me below, some of these details will be modified.—W. T.]
his enlightenment under the Bodhi tree at Bodh-Gaya. The inscription ends with the prayer that these sacred relics, as well as the Sūtra propounded by the Lord, may be honoured by all sentient beings.

**TEXT.**


4 śarīra mahiphat[e]nasvā-satvāna puyae

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

esa cha [pra]tichasamasa cha

sa[rva] sa[tva]na puyae

**TRANSLATION.**

In the year 21, of the tenth month Āśvina, on the 20th day, at this moment, in the territory of Varmayāsas' son, the king of Ruubhumī, in ... Ucharśāna (Uttarāśeṇa?) [consecrated], in the sacred shrine of the Sarvāstivādaṃs, the bodily relics of the divine Śākya-muni. Says the holy acion of the Śakas:

"From Ignorance spring Impressions, from Impressions springs Consciousness, from Consciousness spring Name-and-Form, from Name-and-Form spring the Six Provinces (of the six senses), from the Six Provinces spring Contact, from Contact springs Sensation, from Sensation springs Thirst (or desire), from Thirst springs Attachment, from Attachment springs Existence, from Existence springs Birth, from Birth spring Old Age and Death, Grief, Lamentation, Suffering, Dejection and Despair. [Such is] the origin of [this] whole (or unique) Mass of suffering. [May these] relics of the Lord of the Universe [be] honoured by all sentient beings and [likewise] this summary [doctrine] of causes and effects."

[Dr. Thomas's revised text and translation (inserting marks of vowel length).]

1 S. 21 māsa Avadānakasa... di 20 iše chhunam Tūtra-Varmayāsa-putrasa navakammi[asa Saṅghārī]mami āchāryāna[m] Sarvāstivādanā[m gaha]mi thīṭhaṃmi Bhagavatasa Śaka-munisa

1 In the Brahmī inscriptions of this period (cf. Lüders' List Nos. 32, 34) the corresponding expression is asmi ākṣune or asma ākṣune, while the Taxila silver scroll inscription has āsma divasa. [The e-mark is not seen. The etter may be read ya.—Ed.]

2 Read "rajasāni.

3 The formation of this word does not seem to be quite clear.

4 The usual form is bhagava (nom.) or bhagavato (gen.).

5 The other versions have paridesa.

6 Read "khaṁ".

7 Read "manasāni."

8 Read "samudae."

9 Read mahiphatanam.
TRANSLATION.

Year 21, month Avadhâna (Andânsios), day 20—on this date, in the monastery of the navakarmika, son of Tâstra (kanyakas) Varmayâsa (?), in the abode of the reverend Sarvâśtrivâdins, in a stâpa, was deposited a relic of the Holy Sâkya-muni . . . . . . . . . [This casket is given by . . .] for the honouring of all beings, and also for the honouring of all beings this pratiyâ-samamtyâ [formula] is engraved.

NOTES.

The record is of great importance for many reasons. To begin with, the inscription says in so many words that the relics to the consecration of which it refers are those of the Buddha himself. We know of very few instances of this kind so far. Even the epigraph on the Kanishka relic casket discovered at Shah-ji-ki-dhert, in Peshawar, fails to supply us with anything but circumstantial evidence as to the authenticity of the deposit. It follows, therefore, that the monument in which the present casket was enshrined must have been regarded originally as among the most important in the country.

Secondly, there have been discovered in India only two other inscriptions containing the text of the Nidâna-Sûtra. The one comes from the village of Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces, and the other from Kasi, the ancient Kuśinagara, also in the same district. But, in both cases, we have only the Sanskrit recension of the Sûtra. The Gopalpur inscription is carved on both sides of one of 5 inscribed bricks which were dug out from a brick relic chamber in the centre of the Mahâvihâra mound, and coins of Woma Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka, and one of Ayunitri are said to have been found along with the bricks. The script employed is the northern variety of the Gupta Brâhmi, and the text of the Sûtra is given as follows:

INSCRIPTION ON BRICK I.

(Obverse.)

1 Evarî mayî śrutamācaksmin samayâ Bhagavān-Chhrâvastyâm viharati Jētavânâ.

2 (Ā)nâthapiçâdasay-ārâme tatra Bhagavân bhikshûn-âmantrayati sma dharmâpâthi vo hhi.

3 kahava śchâyam cha dēśâjâhāmy-apachhayaî cha tach-chhrînta [sâdhu- ch-śanâhva cha].

1 The text of the inscription is quoted here, because it gives a complete version of the Sûtra in Sanskrit, which even the Kasi copper-plate does not.

Inscribed Relic-Casket from Kurram: the 21st (?) year.
4 manasik karita bhikshasya dharmaparamastaya, katamaḥ yad-ut-aśmin saṁsāraṁ
5 daṁ bhaṣṭasya-ātphādaḥ idam-utpadayo yad-ut-aśīṣyā-pratyayaḥ saṁskāraṁ
6 pratyayam viṣṭānaḥ viṣṭānaḥ-pratyayam nāma-rūpaṁ nāma-rūpa-pratyayaḥ
7 sparṣaḥ pratyayam vṛddhaḥ vṛddhāṇam aparīṇām-aparīṇām-pratyayam upādānaṁ
8 pādāṇa pratyayaḥ bhavaḥ bhavaḥ-pratyayā jāti-jāti-pratyayā jāra-maranaṁ
9 śoka-paridvā-dukhkha-āderā (c'a-dō) manasya-opāyaṁ sambhavaṁ (m)ty-ōvam-sasya māhāto

(Reverso.)
1 duḥkha-sāndhyasvam adhivāyam uchayaṁ dharmaparamastaya udrasam
2 m-apachayah katamaḥ yad-ut-alīyā maraṇāḥ saṁskāraṁ maraṇāḥ saṁskāraṁ maraṇāḥ vi-
3 jñāna-marāṇāḥ viṣṭānaḥ maraṇāḥ nāma-rūpa-marāṇāḥ nāma-rūpa-marāṇāḥ saṁskāraṁ-
4 maraṇāḥ saha-śayaṁ maraṇāḥ viṣṭānaḥ maraṇāḥ viṣṭānaḥ maraṇāḥ viṣṭānaḥ maraṇāḥ
5 triṣṇā-marāṇāḥ upādāna maraṇāḥ upādāna maraṇāḥ bhava maraṇāḥ bhava maraṇāḥ jāti-
6 maraṇāḥ jāti-marāṇāḥ jāra-maranaśoka-paridvā-dukhkha-āderā (c'a-dō) manasya-opāyaṁ
7 nirvāhadhyataṁ ovaṁ-asya [Kvāla]saṁ māhāto duḥkha-sāndhyasvam maraṇāḥ
8 dharmaparamastaya apachayam dharmaparamastaya bhiṣhakha śāchayam cha dhāryasyāmy-
9 itimā yad-uktam-idam-ētāt pratuyktam idam-avaḥṣad-bhaṣṭaya-ūttama [nasa-sta]
10 bhiṣhakha bhagavatō bhāṣitaṁ [bhaya]nanda[m] nanda[m]

The other inscription which contains the text of this Sūtra comes, as I have said, from Kasi. It is partly carved and partly written in ink on a copper-plate which was recovered from the relic chamber of the large stūpa behind the Nirvāṇa temple.1 The language and the wording of the record are identically the same as those of the Gopalpur inscription, but the date is about two centuries later.

Again, the present epigraph is of considerable value from the philological standpoint. That its language is local Prākrit goes without saying. In this the dedicators seem to have faithfully followed the injunction laid down in the Buddhist scriptures, for it is stated in the Chullavagga2

"aṇiveśanām bhiṣhakhaḥ saṅgāya niruttīya Buddhārcahaṁni paṇiṣṭhāṁ "

that is, 'that the Buddha had allowed that every one should learn the sacred texts in his own language.' The same remark holds good in the case of the inscriptions discovered at Taxila, Peshawar, and other places on the North-West Frontier. The literary Pāli version of the Sūtra is contained in the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya-piṭaka, and this version is prefaced by an account of the incidents which led up to the propounding of the doctrine of causes and effects by the Holy Sākya-muni. From this and from the fact that the only record bearing the complete text of the Sūtra, of which the provenance is definitely known,3 comes

1 A.S.E., 1910-11, pp. 73 ff.
2 Oldenberg, Introduction to Vinaya-piṭaka, p. XLVIII.
3 [Full text of the Sūtra and its riśēṣya in Sanskrit are inscribed on some bricks which Mr. Page unearthed at Nālandā in 1924. I am editing them in the Ep. Ind.—H. S.]
from the Mahā-parinirvāṇa-Chaitya of the Buddha, it is easy to see how much importance the Buddhists attached to the same. It is for this reason that I remarked above that the monument in which the present casket was enshrined must have been considered in olden days as one of the chief places of worship.

Let us now see if the places and persons mentioned in the inscription afford any clue to the identity of the monument. The only names available for this purpose are (1) Varmaya-śa-patrasa, i.e., the son of Varmayaśas, (2) Ruubhumi-raña, i.e., the king of Ruubhūmi, and (3) Ucharaśana, which I take to be the name of an individual. Who this Varmayaśas was and where he reigned—as, undoubtedly, he seems to have been a king—I have not been able to ascertain from the materials at my command. On the other hand, Ucharaśana or Uttarasaśa, if supposing I am right in my equation, though not a historical personage, yet seems somewhat capable of identification. In the itinerary of the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Thsang it is said: “About sixty li south-west from Mangšil city and on the east side of a great river was the tope erected by Uttarasaśa, king of this country, to enclose his share of the relics of the Buddha’s body, and near this was the tope which that king built to mark the spot at which his large white elephant bearing the precious relics had suddenly died and become a rock.”

Commenting on this passage Watters remarks: “There does not seem to be any mention either of Udyāna or of Uttarasaśa in the various accounts given in the various Nirvāṇa treatises of the division of the Buddha’s relics. But other authorities relate how a female elephant named Mo-tu (or Māta) bearing relics of Buddha died suddenly on the way, was afterwards reborn as a human creature and became an Arhat with an enormous appetite.” Major Deane identifies the monument mentioned by Hiuen Thsang with the remains of a stūpa which are said still to exist between the villages of Ghaligai and Shankardar on the Swat river in what used to be the ancient kingdom of Udyāna. It may be asked, however, how, inasmuch as the casket is reputed to have come from Kurram, it could be associated with any monument in the Swat valley, which lies in quite the opposite direction and in a different region. This objection can be met, in my opinion, by the fact that, as I have observed at the very outset, the exact provenance of the casket is not known even to its present owner and that, therefore, there would not be any inherent impossibility, if we were to suppose that the object gradually found its way from the place of its origin to the locality where it eventually came to light, because both the places are situated in the same province and are inhabited by almost kindred races or tribes, who are not too far removed to have constant intercourse with one another.

Lastly, we come to the date of the inscription. It is given merely as Sāh. or Sāmak 21 without reference to any particular era. We are, therefore, left to conjecture what the era could be. For this purpose our only guides are the paleography and the language of the record. The former, as I have noted above, shows the cursive variety of the Kharoṣṭhī script of the middle period. And this, we know from other records found in that region, has been attributed to the early Kusāna period. I am, therefore, inclined to refer the date of the present inscription to the era of Kanishka which, according to the latest authorities, commenced in or about the year 150 A.D. If this supposition is correct the date under discussion would work out as A.D 171.

From the language, it seems to me difficult in the present state of our knowledge to draw any definite conclusions with respect to date. And this difficulty is all the more pronounced, because we are not yet in a position to trace the development of the different varieties of Prākrit which once prevailed in different parts of the country.

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1 Watters, On Yuen Chwang, Vol. I, p. 236. [With the reading and translation as inserted by me above the names Ruubhumi and Ucharaśana disappear. -F. W. T.]
KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-RAJENDRA-DEVA.

By the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., Trivandrum.

The village of Kany̍kumāri, as everyone knows, is situated in the extreme south of India and is a very ancient place of great reputation. It was known to early Greek writers under the names of Komaria Akros, or Cape Komaria, as Ptolemy calls it, or simply Komarei, as described by the author of the Periplus. The latter says: “After Bakare occurs the mountain Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl-fisheries are which belong to king Pandion), and a city of the name of Kolkhai . . . . . Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the Cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed.” Paralia mentioned in this extract is the name of the river Paraliyãrû, which waters a portion of S. Travancore and empties itself into the Kuljutuñari river. I have shown elsewhere that the land watered by the Paraliyãrû was the country belonging to the powerful dynasty of Ay kings, who had their capital at Koṭṭãrû, which is mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of Kotiar Metropolis’ and Kottara’ by Pliny. From time immemorial, the Pândyas were the guardians of Kanyakumari and the temple in it; one of their distinguishing titles being Kaṇṭi-kāvâlaṇ, the guardian of Kaṇṭi (i.e. Kanyakumāri).

The temple of the goddess Kany̍kumāri is situated on the very brink of the Indian Ocean. Opposite to the central shrine is a maṇḍapa locally known as the maṇimāṇḍapa, which contains six cylindrical stone pillars covered with writing in Grantha (l. 1 to 419) and Tamil (l. 420 to 444) characters. Kanyakumāri was visited by the Madras Government Epigraphist in 1896, when an attempt was made by his staff to obtain a mechanical copy of the inscriptions contained on these pillars, but the task was given up as impossible. I tried to copy the inscription in 1910; the result was not at all satisfactory. Since then I have visited the place more than once; every time I saw the inscription on the pillars, which is clearly legible in some places, but more or less completely worn out in others, I was impelled to make a fresh attempt to copy it; and what was to be the last, a serious and determined effort to secure a good impression of the writing on all the pillars, was made in 1916. The first and foremost difficulty experienced by all up till then was that of removing the thick crust of oil and dirt which from a long time past had accumulated on the pillars. This was completely removed after one or two unsuccessful attempts, and the inscription was found in some places defaced, being corroded by the action of the sea-air. Though these parts did not appear legibly on the impression, it was still possible with great difficulty to read the writing on those parts directly from the stone. After straining every nerve to obtain a set of good stamnages, with lamp in hand, letter by letter, word by word, the record was deciphered from the original stone itself. The success is largely due to the indomitable perseverance of my Paḍīṭ, Mr. V. Srinivasia Sastri, Smrīḷvīśāradā; he and I worked at the epigraph, on the spot, for nearly one month. Most of the verses employ r̆hymes (prāsas), which also came in handy by suggesting conjectural readings which in almost all the cases proved, upon reference to the original stone inscription, to be quite correct. Thus the text was at last nearly completely recovered from the worn surface of the pillars.

The inscription may fitly be called the “Chóla-raṃkā-paṭasti.” It is extremely important for the history of the Chólas as it contains many pieces of information hitherto unknown to history. As I think that it is not right to defer the publication of this very important document

1Caldwell’s History of Tírúceṣu, p. 19.
any longer, I am giving in this article what may be considered a preliminary notice, an aturer edition being reserved for my own publication, in the Truneore Archeological Series.¹

As has been already remarked, the six pillars are covered with writing from the top to the bottom. At first I conceived that the writing went round the pillar in a spiral; but on closer examination it was discovered that each pillar consisted of two sections, one on the back face and another on the front. The inscription is continued from pillar to pillar in the following systematic order Ia, Ib, Ia, IIa, IIb, and so on, where I represents the first pillar and a and b represent the back and front faces of the pillar. The language is mostly Sanskrit. At the end of the record occurs the grant portion beginning with the birudas of king Virarajendra, and giving his regnal year. The birudas and names of the king in this section are written in the Grantha alphabet, while the rest is in the Tamil alphabet and language. The Sanskrit portion of the record, giving the genealogy of the Cholas, is entirely in verse, whereas the Tamil portion is in prose. On the whole the epigraph consists of 444 lines.

In the first two verses the god Śiva, and in the third Vishnu, are praised. The god of the Universe first created the Brahmāṇḍa, and then Brahmā was ushered into existence for the purpose of creating all other things. Brahmā, in his turn, created several Rishis to assist him in his task. One of them was Marici. The son of Marici was Kaśyapa; his son was Vivasvan: the son of the latter was Manu; Manu's son was Ikshvāku; his son, Vikuṣṭha-śrava; Puranajaya, who obtained the title Kakustha, was the son of the latter. In the lineage of Kakustha was born king Pritu; in the same race arose Kuvalāśva, Mandhātrī, Muchukunda, Harisendra, Sagara, Bhagiratha, Rituparna and Dīlīpa. In this illustrious family was born the Lord (bhagavān) in the four aspects of Raṅga, Lakṣmīnāra, Bharata and Śrīṇivāsa, purposely to teach the world how each one has to conduct oneself towards others; that is, a son towards a father and mother, a younger brother towards his elder brother and so on. The verses describing Raṅga (vv. 25-26) are very beautiful. Up to this the genealogy is purely paurāṇic. Next follows what might be considered as legendary and semi-historic.

In the solar race was born a king named Chōla. To this king, who ruled over the whole earth, the forests served as a sort of artificial garden. Once upon a time this king was sporting for some time in the forests inhabited by Rishis; with a small army he once proceeded on a hunting excursion in the adjoining forests. Then a Rakṣasa who had assumed the shape of a deer appeared before him. Pursuing the animal he and his followers reached another forest, where he killed that deer.² By this time he had reached the bank of the river Kāverī; he went along its course, bathed in its water, which was as sweet as amṛta; he looked all round for Brāhmaṇas and found none about the place. He then brought several Brāhmaṇas from the Aryavarta and settled them comfortably on the banks of the river Kāverī. Cutting down the forests on either bank of the Kāverī, he planted gardens containing creepers of betel leaves and areca palms.

Rājakēśari, the son of Chōla, succeeded him after his death. The son of Rājakēśari was Parakēśari. The prasasti does not mention the fact that in the Chōla dynasty the titles Rājakēśari and Parakēśari were assumed by alternate kings, as is stated in the Leiden and the Tiruvāḷāṅgaḍu grants.³ In this dynasty were born Mṛityuṣṭ, who conquered Mṛityu, the god of

¹ [This has since been done by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar in Volume III of that series, pp. 85 to 158 Ed.]
² This is evidently an imitation of a similar occurrence in the life of Rāma.
death; Virasena; and Chitra, frightened at the power of whose arrows Devendra (Indra) accepted the tiger-banner, in which he also took refuge. From that time the tiger became the crest of the Cholas just in the same manner as a pair of carp fish and the bow were respectively the crests of the Pandya and the Cheras; then came Pushpakavata, Kuttanai, Samudrajit and Paichapa. The last mentioned king cut open five arteries in his body and fed with the blood issuing out of them five Yakshas who came to him as his guests and demanded of him this curious and cruel food. For feeding the Yakshas in the manner described he obtained the name Paichapa. The king Nirmida sprang in this race, and by the grace of Paramesvara conquered Mrityu, the god of death; then appeared Manoratha, and the illustrious Parunatki (Perunatki) and others. Karikala, who was born in this family, seeing that the river Kaveri by its irregular flow was destroying the crops, caused embankments to be constructed on both its sides, the kings conquered by him carrying earth on their heads for that purpose. Valabha, Jagadekamalla and Vyshahayaikara were also been in this dynasty.

Here commences the genuine history of the Cholas. Vijayalaya is said to have been born in this lineage. He was worshipped by all kings; he is here stated to have constructed anew the city of Tañjapuri in the Chola country; but the Tiruvallagamdu grant distinctly mentions the fact that Vijayalaya took Tañjapuri by force and set up in it the goddess Nisumbhasudan (Durgā). Evidently, the composer of the Kanyakumari prasasti did not know exactly how Tañjapuri came to be the seat of the Cholas in the time of Vijayalaya. The true fact seems to have been remembered by the composer of the Tiruvallagamdu document. It has been stated elsewhere that Tañjapuri must have been seized from the Muttainiyars, the vasalas of the Pallavas, by Vijayalaya. The son of Vijayalaya was Adityavarman alias Kōdanḍarāma. In the village of Tondamanaḍ near Kālahasti there is a temple of the Chola period. One of its inscriptions belonging to the 34th year of the reign of Madraikonda Parakṣarivarman, i.e. Parantaka I, calls the temple by the name Kōdanḍarāmaśvara alias Adityēśvara. Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1905, wrote about it thus:—"No. 318 of 1904 mentions the king’s son śri-Kōdanḍarāmaṇaḥ while No. 347 of 1904 refers to prince Kōdanḍaṇaḥ. Even at the present day Kōdanḍaṇaḥ is a familiar abbreviation of Kōdanḍarāmaṇaḥ, and we may therefore suppose that both Nos. 318 and 347 of 1904 refer to the same prince, who was the son of Parantaka I. In the same village of Tondamanaḍ is another inscription of Parantaka I, dated in his 34th year (about A.D. 939), which mentions the temple of Kōdanḍarāmaśvara alias Adityēśvara. It is not impossible that this temple was called after the Chola prince Kōdanḍarāmaṇaḥ. If this surmise proves correct, it may be concluded from the other name Adityēśvara given to the Tondamanaḍ temple that Kōdanḍaṇaṁaḥ was the surname either of the king’s eldest son Rājarājita or of his second son Gaṇḍarāditya."

Subsequently, while reviewing No. 286 of the Collection of the Madras Epigraphist for the year 1906, found in Tirumāl puram which stated that the village of Śrīrīyāḷpur had been granted as a dēvadāna and as a brahmādēya in the 21st year of Tondaimāgaṇṇur-taiypa-Udaiyar, Mr. Venkayya changed his opinion and said that Tondaimāgaṇṇur-taiypa-Udaiyar, i.e. ‘the lord who died at Tondaimāgaṇṇur,’ must refer to Āditiya I, that Tondaimāgaṇṇur is probably Tondamanāḍ near Kālahasti in the North Arcot District which in a record of Parantaka I found at the place, is called Tondaimāgaṇṇur,

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1 The Tamil word Pañcaṣ, which later on came to signify, like the word Chola, any Chola king, is converted here into Valabha.


and that the temple of Kodandaramesvara at the village, which is also called Adityeshvara in the inscription of Parantaka I must have been called after Aditya I. This latter conclusion is now proved by the explicit statement found in the Kanyakumari inscription that Aditya I, father of Parantaka I, was known by the name Kodandarama. The Kanyakumari inscription adds that Aditya I alias Kodandarama killed the Pallava king seated on his elephant. The opponent of Aditya I was Aparajita.

The next king of the dynasty was Parantaka, son of Aditya. He destroyed the Pandyas together with his whole army, took the whole of his treasure and burnt Madura, his capital. From these military exploits he was known as Madhurantaka, that is, "death to Madura." Because he defeated the unconquered Krishna-Raja he came to be known as Vir-Chola. It is only in this inscription that we hear that the Rashtra-kotiya king Krishna III was defeated in battle by Parantaka I. Krishna ascended the throne about A.D. 940, a year which falls within the reign of Parantaka I (A.D. 907-948). It is quite probable that Krishna III was defeated by Parantaka I, and it was perhaps in vengeance thereof that the former invaded the Chola country soon after the death of the latter and early in the reign of Rajaditya, Parantaka's son and successor.

In all his Tamil inscriptions Parantaka I is described as Madurai-konda Paraksharivarman, that is, 'Paraksharivarman who took Madura.' Sometimes the word "Ihamum" occurs after 'Maduraiyum' in the inscriptions of this king. We shall see presently that he conquered also Iham or Ceylon as reported in the Tiruvallangadu grant.

The Kanyakumari inscription states that Parantaka caused his army to cross the sea and conquer Sindhaja; by killing the lords of Sindhaja and subjugating the country he obtained the surname Sindhalantaka. As it is stated that it was only his army that crossed the sea we have to infer that Parantaka I himself did not lead the army to Sindhaja, but, entrusting the invasion to his generals, stopped to the mainland. He is further stated to have constructed several agraharas like Viranarayapatrapura and granted them for the enjoyment of Brahma. This Viranarayapatrapura seems to be the same as the modern Katunimputkuri, a suburb of Gangaikondasolapuram which was the native place of the great Srivaisnavavas Skmavas Nathamunigaal and Yamanaras alias Ajavandar.

The son of Parantaka (I) was Arindama. To Arindama was born a son named Parantaka (II). Anticipating trouble from this valiant king, the Pandyas king fled across the mountains, evidently to the Kerala country. Parantaka II fought several battles and imprisoned a large number of kings.

The son of Parantaka II was Rajaraja. He caused a number of yagas to be performed. It was the custom with Rajaraja never to kill those enemies who surrendered to him; in spite of this well-known fact the Chalukya king Satyashraya senselessly ran away from the battlefield.

Rajaraja had a son named Madhurantaka. He conquered the Kuntala king, that is, the Chalukya, and made Manyakheta, his capital, a camping and sporting ground for his army. Sending his generals at the head of his powerful army northwards, he caused them to defeat successively the kings of the Kuluta and the Utkala countries and to kill the kings of

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2 Ibid., 1906, p. 65.
3 [It has been shown in Archi. Survey Report for 1906-09, p. 122, that Rajaditya died before his father and did not succeed to the Chola throne.—Ed.]
5 An inscription found at Mahendragiri (No. 897 of the Madras Epigraphist's Collection for 1897) states that a general of Rajendrachola (named in Tamil, Rajendra-Chola-Pallavasirayan Rajarajasirayan) overcame the Kuluta king named Vimaladitya and set up a pillar of victory. The general is called Dattakara in another epigraph found in the same place.
Kalinga and Vimshendra; and to bring the water of the Ganges filled in pots carried on the heads of the conquered kings. The latter statement regarding the conquest of Rajendra-Chola of the countries as far as the Ganges is in close agreement with that found in the Tiruvallur grant. In both the records it is distinctly mentioned that Rajendra-Chola alias Madhuranataka himself did not proceed against the northern kings and did not extend his arms as far as the Ganges by leading the army in person, but got the credit of having 'taken the Ganges river' (Gangai-konda) by the victories achieved by his generals. The inscription states further, that he sent his army across the sea to the Kaṭṭha country and set fire to it; and that there was nothing impossible for this monarch to achieve.

This king, Madhuranataka (that is, Rajendra-Chola I), had three sons, named (respectively) Rajadhiraṇa, Rajendra-dēva and Vira-Rajendra-dēva. Of these, Rajadhiraṇa was the eldest. For the first time we have the very explicit statement in the inscription under notice that Rajendra-Chola had three sons. Up till now the relationship existing between Rajendra-Chola and the three brothers, Rajadhiraṇa, Rajendra-dēva and Vira-Rajendra-dēva, was vaguely conjectured.

The Kanyakumāri inscription states that Rajadhiraṇa destroyed the city of Kalyanapura and conquered the lord of that place, Āhavamalla. These facts are well known to students of Indian history by the inscriptions of this king. Kalyanapura was the capital of the Chāḷukyas and Āhavamalla was the Chāḷukya contemporary of Rajadhiraṇa.

After the death of Rajadhiraṇa, his next younger brother Rajendra-dēva ascended the throne, and the latter in his turn was succeeded by his younger brother Vira-Rajendra-dēva. He killed the Manuṣṭha (Karṇaṭa?) kings in the battle at Kudal-sangama. This king, Valla-bhavallabha, took possession of Vengi and Kalinga, left unacquired for his elder brothers and consequently overran by enemies; Vira-Rajendra, who is also known by the names Karikila and Vira-Chola, set up several dharmasūnas (that is, engraved deeds of grants). He presented an invaluable ruby, known as trailokyā-vara, to the god Dabhra-Sabhāpati (the god of Chidambaram), and it was set up in the crown of that god. He established a number of agrahāras in the Chola, Pandya, Gaṅgavāṭi and Kullāta countries and colonised them with forty thousand Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vedas. From the other inscriptions of this monarch we know that he won a victory over the Chāḷukya Āhavamalla at Kudalsangama and Koppa and captured all the treasures belonging to his opponent, as also

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1 [The note on Text 1. 360 below reads ॥]—[Ed.]
3 Ibid., v. 123.

The conquest of Kaṭāram also is described in the historical introduction prefixed to his Tamil inscriptions.

4 The Kaḷingatupparasi seems to indicate that Rajendra-Chola I, seeing that he had no sons to succeed him, resolved on electing Kulottunga-Chola I, a grandson by his daughter, as his successor. This information is not of much value as it is not based on actual facts. Inscriptions of Rajadhiraṇa I and Rajendradēva enumerate a number of Chola princes who stood in the relation of uncle, brother, and sons to the kings. Besides, the Tiruvallur Plates state that a certain Sundara-Chola-Pandy was Rajendra-Chola I's son; see S. I. L., Vol. III, p. 423, v. 93 and 99.

5 The following is the passage in S. I. L., Vol. III, Part I, pp. 69-70, which describes this event:—

"(L. 28.) Having moved (his camp), he declared:—'(We) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vengai, which (we had formerly) subdued. You, (who are) strong, come and defend (it), if (you) are able!' That army which was chosen (for this expedition) drove into the jungle that big army, which consisted of its enemies) on the great river close to Visāyavāḍi (and) which had for its chiefs Jamanātham, the Dāmpāṇa the Rājāmayaṇ, whose most elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparasaṇ.

"(L. 29.) His elephants drank the water of the Gōlāvari. (Hia) crossed even Kalingam and, beyond (it), dispatched (for) battle (his) invincible army as far as the further end of Sakkara-kōṭam (Chakran-kōṭa).

"(L. 30.) (He) re-conquered the good country of Vengai and bestowed (it) on Vijayaśīlīyan, whose broad hand (held) weapons of war, (and) who had taken refuge at his lotus-feet."
his women. The fact of his presenting the god Sabhāpati with a jewel is quite new. That he established a number of agrahāras does not appear to be a mere boast; we have even now several of them, such as Viraṇajāmānagalam, Viraṇacholapuram, etc.

The Tamil portion of the inscription begins afresh with the phrase Suasti Śri and states that the king Rājakēśarivarman Vira-Rājēndra, who bore the birudas and surnames Māhāraja-jirirajā, Rājārāya, Rāja-Rājēndra, Vira-Chōla, Karikāla-Chōla, etc., seems to have made a grant of land to the temple of Kanyā-Pidāriyār (Bhagavati) at Kumari (i.e. Kanyākumāri). This portion of the inscription is damaged and cannot be easily deciphered.

On the whole the Kanyākumāri inscription is a valuable document for the construction of the history of the Chōla dynasty. With the Aṣṭī grant, the Leiden grant, the Tiruvālangādu grant and the Kanyākumāri inscription, the four most important documents, the history of the Chōlas could be written completely and satisfactorily. The Tamil works Kaliṅgatupparaṇi, etc. may also be of great interest in the study of Chōla history.

The following table gives the genealogy of the Chōlas as found in the Kanyākumāri inscription; and the genealogies derived from the Tamil works, the Vīkrama-Soḷaṇ-ulā, the Kulottuṅga-Soḷaṇ-ulā and the Sāṅkara-Soḷaṇ-ulā, are also added for purposes of comparison.

The Kanyākumāri inscription.

1. Viśvāchinnātha.
2. Brahmu.
3. Marichi.
5. Viśvāvan.
7. Ikāvāku.
8. Viṅkakshārava.
11. Kuvalāva.
12. Māndhāṭri.
15. Sēgarā.
16. Bhagiratha.
17. Rītuparna.
18. Dīlīpa.
20. Chōla, who first came to the south and settled down there; brought several families of Brāhmaṇas from Āryāvarta and populated the new kingdom.
22. Parakēśari.

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1 The following is the passage referring to the several titles of Vira-Rājēndra which occurs in No. 161, Chintāmani Tk., Kolar Districts of the Mysore province:—


The Kanyakumāri inscription.

23 Mrityujit, who conquered Death.
24 Virasāna.
25 Chitra, who made Indra seek refuge in his tiger banner.
26 Pushpakētu.
27 Kēnūmala.
28 Samudraisit.
29 Pañchaspe, who cut his veins and fed with his blood five Yakshas who came to him as guests.
30 Nirmāda, with the help of Paramōvara conquered Death.
31 Mantraśāna.
32 Perumakilī.
33 Karikāla, who built the embankments of the Kāvērī, which was destroying the crops by its excessive flow.
34 Vālābhā.
35 Jagadēkamalla.
36 Vyūshabhayānakāra.
37 Viṣṇuṣayāla, who made Taṅjāpuri the capital of the Chōla country.
38 Āditya aśiś Kōdanaśrama, who killed the Pallava that was seated on his elephant, in battle.
39 Parāntaka, who killed the Pāṇḍya king, extinguished his army, took all his treasure, and set fire to Madura, his capital. Hence he was called Modhurāntaka. He conquered the unconquered Krishnārāja and was therefore called Vira-Chōla. He crossed the sea and defeated the kings of Sinhala and was hence styled Śrīkālāntaka. He established Vīravariyāna-puṣpa and other famous agrahāras.
40 Arindama.
41 Parāntaka.

The Pāṇḍya was driven away and several kings defeated in battle.

42 Rājarāja, who defeating several kings in battle, performed several yāgas. Satyārāya ran away from him in battle.
43 Rājendrā or Madhurāntaka; he conquered the king of the Kuntala country; made Mānyakētā the playground for his army; his general defeated the kings of Kōḷātā and Uktā and killed those of Kaliga and Vaṅga and made the defeated kings carry the water of the river Gaṅga on their heads for his lord. His army crossed the sea, defeated the king of Kaṭāla and set fire to it.
44 Rādhirāja destroyed with fire. Kālīpapura, defeated and dealt with Abhavamalla and his generals.
45 Rājendra-dāva.
46 Vira-Rājendra (Rāja-Rājendra). He conquered in the battle of Kuḍalaisāgama the kings of the Kañcā family. He took the countries of Vēṅgi and Kaliga which were neglected by his brothers and had, therefore, been seized by enemy kings. He was called Vira-Chōla and Karikāla. He set a famous ruby called the trisūlākṣyaśāla in the crown of the lord of Chidambaram. He established agrahāras in the Chōla, Tandira, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāti, Kūlā and other countries and caused lands to be granted to 40,000 learned Brāhmaṇas.
### The Kaliśgattupparaṇi.

| 1. Vishnu. | 23. He who gave his blood to be drunk by a demon. |
| 2. Brahmā. | 24. He who commanded the wind. |
| 3. Marichi. | 25. He who destroyed the flying forts. |
| 5. Arka. | 27. He who helped Dharmarāja in the Mahābhārata war. |
| 7. Ikshvāku. | 29. He who, being pleased with the poem Kālarāja of the poet Puyai, liberated the Chēra. |
| 8. He who drove his chariot over his own son. | 30. He who made kings (conquered by him) build the embankment of the Kēvērī. |
| 9. Purandara. | 31. He who received in his praise the poem called Pūttaṇappāla. |
| 10. He who made the tiger and the deer to drink water in the same stream. | 32. He who destroyed the kings of the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra countries and took Kūḍai (i.e. Madura) and Ijam. |
| 11. Moheukunḍa. | 33. He who celebrated the festival of his birthday (Śadaga-nakṣatra) in the Chēra country. |
| 12. He who made it possible for the gods to drink ambrosia. | 34. The king who made his horses drink water from the river Ganges and took Kūḍai situated beyond the sea. |
| 13. He who weighed himself against a dove (Śhīli). | 35. He who set up a pillar of victory at Kampli, took Kāḷāgaṇa and caused the tiger emblem to be engraved on the eight chief mountains. |
| 14. Surādhirāja. | 36. He who, seated upon an elephant, came out victorious at the battle of Koppa and received the anointment of heroes (etū-kēṭā). |
| 15. Chōḷa. | 37. He who enforced the Laws of Manu and was thrice (or four times) superior to Manu himself. |
| 16. Raṅgaṇari. | 38. Abhaya, who was victorious at Kūḍaiṣaṅgama. |
| 17. Parakēri. |  |  |
| 18. He who explained the law to Death. |  |  |
| 19. He who brought the river Kāvērī from the west. |  |  |
| 20. He who took the higher worlds and ruled the whole of this world. |  |  |
| 21. He who made Indra reside in his flag. |  |  |
| 22. He who made the western ocean mix with the eastern one. |  |  |

### The Vikrama-Śejaŋ-ula.

| 1. Vishnu. | 7. He who made the tiger and the deer to drink from the same stream. |
| 2. Brahmā. | 8. He who drove in his aerial chariot. |
| 4. Marichi. | 10. He who explained the law to Death. |
| 5. The wheeled charioteer (Sun). | 11. He who. . . . . . . |
| 6. He who drove his chariot over the body of his son. | 12. He who destroyed the flying forts. |
### KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-RAJENDRA-DEVĀ.

#### The Vikrama-Sōjan-ulā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>He who made the water of the western ocean join with that of the eastern ocean.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>He who married the Nāga princess.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>He who got into the scale-pan against the weight of a dove.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>He who brought the Kāverī river to the Chōl country.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>He who built the banks of the Kāverī.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>He who, being pleased with the poem of Poygai, liberated the Chērā king.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>He who was adorned with 96 scars on his chest, received in battle-wounds.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>He who covered the hall (Chidambaram temple) with gold.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>He who took in a day the kingdom of the Malai-nāga.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>He who took the Gaṅgā and Kaśāra and was pleased to be seated on śīdhaśana.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>He who conquered the city of Kalyāna after attacking it thrice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>He who fought the battle at Koppam.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>He who presented the god Raṅgavanātha with a serpent couch.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>He who defeated his enemies at Kūdalaśāgamam and killed several elephants.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>He who twice destroyed the kaḷas at Sālai, who took the western ocean, defeated the Pāndya, Chērā, took Kūdalaśāgamam and Kāmpaṇa, killed the Māraṭṭā king, and who is known by the name of Abhaya.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### The Kulottuṇga-Sōjan-ulā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Sun (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>He who drove his chariot over his son.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>He who</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>He who protected the castles of the gods.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>He who sat on the throne of the lord of gods (Indra) along with him.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kīlii, who explained the law to Death.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Māndhāṭri, who made the tiger and the deer to drink water from the same stream.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The king of kings who brought down Mandakinī (gaṅgā) to send his ancestors to heaven by basking their bones with the holy water.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>He who fought against the Kauravas in the Mahābhārata war.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>He who took the head of a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>He who destroyed the flying fortas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>He who joined the western ocean with the eastern.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>He who broke the rock that stood in the way of the Kāverī river and brought her into his country.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>He who ascended the scale-pan against the weight of a dove.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Karikāla, who made kings carry earth to build the embankment of the Kāverī.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kīlii, who married (the Nāga) damsel.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>He who liberated the Chērā king, being pleased with the poem Kaśāram of Poygai.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>He who was adorned with 96 scars on his chest, received in battle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>He who tore to pieces a Brahmarākahasas and repaired the Chidambaram temple: who took Ṡam and Madura.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>He who took and destroyed the fort of Udāgai in one day.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>He who took the river Gaṅgā and the country Kaṇḍāram and was pleased to be seated on the śīdhaśana.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Śūngandavirāṭyog.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Akalakṣaṇa, who received in his praise the Kaliagati-upparasī.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Kulottuṇga-Chōlā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vishnu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Manu (7).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Sun.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>He who drove his chariot over his own son.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>He who made the tiger and the deer to drink from the same stream.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>He who drove in a celestial chariot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Purandara.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>He who explained the law to Death.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>He who . . . .</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>He who destroyed the flying forts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>He who joined the western ocean with the eastern.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>He who married the Naga princess whose ancestors possessed the seven worlds.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The king who presented 11,000 pongs for one verse.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Another who gave 16 crores of pongs for a verse.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>He who ascended the scale-pan against the weight of a dove.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>He who conducted the Kavēri from the west to his country.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>He who built the embankments on both sides of the river Kavēri.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The king who liberated the Chēra, being pleased with the poem Kalavali sung by Poygai.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>He who bore on his chest 96 scars received in battle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>The king who covered the Hall with gold.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>He who took the Kērala country in one day.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>He who took Gangā and Kaḍāram.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>He who fought three against the city of Kalṇa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>He who took 1,000 elephants at Koppam.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>He who gave to Vishnu in Kāyil (Ṣri-Rangam) a jewel couch in the shape of a serpent.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>He who defeated his enemy at Kūṭalasangam.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>He who received the Kaliṇigattu-Parṇa in praise of himself.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Vikrama-Chōla, who received the ulā in his praise from the pen of Kūṭan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>He who was praised in a Valṣai-kollai-nilai and a Piṭṭai-Tamil.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>He who presented for each verse of an ulā praising him 1,000 pongs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Śaṅkara-Rāja.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have to mention here two Chōla kings, viz. Adhirājendra and Rājamahendra, who seem to have reigned as co-regents with Rājendra-dēva and Virārajendra.

Dr. Hultzsch believes that Rājamahendra must be the son of Rājendra-dēva and the predecessor of Viṣṇu-Rājendra-dēva. He writes about these kings thus:—"As regards Rājamahendra, his reign seems to be covered altogether by those of Rājendra-dēva and Viṣṇu-Rājendra I. Perhaps he was a son and temporary co-regent of Rājendra-dēva. This was suggested already by an inscription of the 9th year of Rājendra which mentions among the boundaries of a village 'the road of Rājamahendra.' A further confirmation is furnished by the fact that his successor Viṣṇu-Rājendra adopted the surname Rājakēśari. If he had recognised Rājamahendra Rājakēśarivarman as his rightful predecessor, he would, in accordance with all precedents, have assumed the title Parākēśari."

The Kalinīgattupparrṇa, the Viṣṇu-Solaj-ula and the Saṅkara-Solaj-ulā refer to a king who is stated in the two latter works to have given to the god Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam...
a golden serpent couch. The Kölöjōgā proceeds to state that the king Rājamahāndra was a devotee of the god Rāngānāyaka and that he constructed one of the prākāras of that god's temple. Putting together the statements of the two sets of literary evidences, I think it is possible for us to infer that the king who presented to the Śrīrāmāgam temple a golden serpent couch must be identical with Rājamahāndra. Since the Koliṅgattupparāpī, etc., place him before Vira-Rājendra, the finding of Dr. Hultsch receives further strength. It is quite likely that he was made a yuvrajā with the title Rājakēsari, that, when his father and uncle were engaged in war with the Chalukyas, he was administering the kingdom in the capacity of the yuvrajā, but that he died before his father and therefore never ascended the throne. As a consequence, when Vira-Rājendra ascended the throne, in regular succession to Rājendarā-deva, he also called himself a Rājakēsari.

The Kanyakumāri inscription, which traces the descent of the Cholas down to Vira-Rājendra, is silent about Rājamahāndra, his immediate predecessor. This silence about him is significant and corroborates further the hypothesis of Dr. Hultsch.

TEXT

[Metres: vv. 1, 10-12, 18, 21, 24, 26, 44, 47, 52, 56, 73, 76, 77, 79, Śāndīlawikṣijita; vv. 2-9, 15, 20, 60, Srāgdrā; v. 13, Vaśākṣṭha; vv. 14, 49, 71, Śikharā; vv. 16, 48, 50, 57, 67, 72, 74, Vasantatilakā; vv. 17, 23, 25, 41, 62, 65, 69, Mālinī; vv. 19, 27, 28, 40, 75, Mandakrāntā; vv. 22, 53, 78, Sēgata; vv. 29, 45, Auyachhhandasika; vv. 30-31, 61, Pūrṇa; vv. 32, 46, 59, Praharshini; vv. 33, 38, 39, 42, Śalini; vv. 34-35, Haripri; vv. 36-37, 58, 63, 66, 68, Ratīddhatā; vv. 43, 54, 55, Upajati; vv. 51, 64, 70, Upāndravajrā; vv. 80 and 81, Anuruddhabhājana.]

First Pillar: First Side.

1 स्नित्वां य: कर्तारं जगदुः
2 न्यूवनिकव्यानुवनमूलया कों
3 लया वी वाचामिषिनायकः
4 यति वं स्वर्गलक्षकाया [ि]
5 यात्समविस्मश्रप्तियवि
6 सम्भाषणो भवमोहिनिविद्या:
7 लुः वस्त्र विभूतिमिनियकलापीपो
8 भवानोपि: \(=\) [1°] माणमाया[मिः]नै
9 यो वहाँति जगदिं दक्षिणोऽ
10 जयति \(=\) ब्राह्मणोपि:
11 ति \(=\) क्षुद्रकृष्णपुष्या योगमणिः
12 गमच्छा \(=\) सलामलातुकृष्णो वि:
13 तस्मिदतमात्ता[ता]पण्डनाम[म] पण्ड:
14 नाम\(=\) शब्दश्रयस्मुमधुपोपपति:
15 क्षति \(=\) भवेत्सक ध्रुपातृतु
16 प्रापः \(=\) [2°] \(=\) \(=\) चक्षूण देखः
17 प्रकर्मिकलः यथास्वत्त समस्ताः
18 [म] \(=\) पाता पातांसूक्लात्मित्वः लिङ्गः
19 म \(=\) भाषुराण्याः सुराणिः \(=\) [1°] सदास्य धा
20 तपस्य ध्याः चरित्रनिपातः
21 न \(=\) चित्त ध्याः निर्माणः
22 \(=\) [विन ध]रणितः अध्यवस्तु[भूमिविष्]\(=\)
23 \(=\) [1°] \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) देवसिङ्गराः सुपनः
24 \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) [पति वा]मदभ्राम्बः विभवतूः
25 विशालिनायः सुविचारजगदारम्
26 ममास्यः भास्याः \(=\) [1°] तस्मिदविचित्र
27 विशालिनायः सुविचारजगदारम्
28 भास्याः \(=\) [1°] तस्मिदविचित्र
29 कोकरतम् \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) तन \[विन] \(=\)
30 स्या \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) 
31 जमानिः \(=\) \(=\) अन्तः समस्य विभिता
32 खः \(=\) \(=\) \(=\) तस्मार वीर्य विजयमोपराः

1 The \(=\) समाधि symbol is entered twice and once at the end of this line and again at the beginning of the next.
2 Read: प्रमृति.
3 Read: पुनः.
4 Read: दुराकालम्.
5 Read: विचारकालम्.
6 Read: विविधान.
7 Read: श्रवणाम्.
8 Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar who has studied the inscription and edited it in the Tr. Arch. Series.
9 The correct reading seems to be भास्यः.
10 The inscription seems to read विजयम्, the sign being at the end of l. 29 and ख at the commencement of l. 30.
11 The correct reading is श्रवणाम्.
33 ब्रह्म: [तान् सुगोष्ठ]भाष्मक: [स् ॥]
34 श्रेयोपि: वि विभसत् तत्तानिवः

First Pillar : Second Side.

35 ... वि[व]शर्मेष्टीयशिश्वनाम:-
36 (म)[बवमात्] सत्यमात्रारात्मकाः
37 [[४]] तद्वा[वि]केदरपकासनानय:-
38 चरवस्तोत्सरोजित्याँस्त्रे:-
39 यथार्थस्वपवानं[च]पुरिण गनितमु:-
40 द: काम्य: पाय्यकस्तूः [४] च:-
41 अन्योब्राह्मेन विशास्य रध:-
42 तै यथास्तुक्तामाय निभाय:-
43 विज्ञान्तिः प्रवुद्धस्वपनितांशु:-
44 राघुसरायानं [[६]] तद्वावात:-
45 लोकानं [समयन्त]सम् [क्षे:] प्र:-
46 भावेशद्रेष्ट्वाश्रयाप्रयो:-
47 शैश्वातस्मिन्तरां निर्माणी [क्षे]
48 विविधम् [४] निद्राकुद्रविभेद्य पथ:-
49 मम[तु]भवन्तस्यायामाहमश्चावात:-
50 वि[क्षे]रविबेद्याह सकुद्गुरी:-
51 [नौभिऻस्व]कारो [[५]] यथोदस्यात:-
52 भिरारावव[तमस्य]तत्ततिः व्यात्तीरंग:-
53 जालेंस्तत्तकामाल्याय[क्षे]सम
54 प्रयामनमिश्रतेषुकामेवाम(व)भ:-
55 भाषा [[४]] यत्तिश्चैः [११] काणिकाः[लिङ्ग]
56 चति किरीते: सेताराहिः:-
57 तथानुपु[१०]माघेविक्षेकोऽवे:-
58 सुप[१०]चिन्तकस्तो आयमपूर्व:-

1 Read सुगोष्ठ | Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar has काम्यस्तुक्तामायेनेमसिव | Perhaps the actual reading is काम्यस्तुक्तामायेनेमसिव[४]
2 [The reading of this line, in the Tras. Arch. Series, by Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar is equally doubtful and defective.]
3 Read प्रपाणस.
4 Read वि.
5 Read वि.
6 Read सम्यकचम.
7 The anuvāra is in the next line; read ब्रह्म.
8 [च्छ थी seems to be the correct reading.]
9 Read वि.
10 Read गिर्दि.
11 Read रधि.
12 Read द्रष्टा.
13 Read प्राधः.
59 रक्षक् ॥—[०८] एकाधार्मिकसनाती
60 मनुरक्षसतत्तमेंसमास्ये बीजमात्राः
61 वैवा ’कालाने योगाभिनिमितिकाः
62 दिता मानवीय प्रजाति [१०] लाओ-
63 नामकायिक: प्रविद्धदत्तुल शरस-
64 धर्मास्त्रेयसुर्भविन्ध भृगा
65 "... पितामहसुतं यम् प्र-
66 काशीचक्तिः ॥—[०८] तस्यावुक्तमुञ्जे-
67 भिरस्माः हृत्चात्मात्मेमोभिन्नकाः
68 तु ... भृगुताः सुरणायवत्कक
69 सिद्धिनाशते [१०] यस्यभन्नादिप्रबीजि-

Second Pillar : First Side.

70 रक्षाचरिताः(इ)खिेति [हृ spy-
71 तिः]परः एको बलका[वि वि]-
72 ए तेजः परां ॥—[१०] तस्यभृतनवयः-
73 सुधये। प्रेमी विक्रमवे
74 रक्षारक्षणमस्मस्मकरीत
75 ऋषामण्डलाः य: [१०] भविष्यं-
76 प्रविद्धात्मन सहस्तो या पालिवे
77 लेखने तत् [हृ]ते निर्माणसम वि-
78 निमुखता यथापदयोरायति[:१०] ॥—[१९] यजुर्वाण
79 पुरुषाधिकारादर्षकता संपादिमात्राः
80 जेता भृसुमुखाज्ञानिगुरुसारः
81 श्रेय स मानस्ततम् ! [भारतं] श्रेयमन्विन-10
82 धार्म ककुः[दे] कृलेखा यथास्तत-
83 [कुले]वर्तिकव्रिकमोदाः[वि]तास्

1 Read मारस्.
2 Read बैर.
3 [The gap may be filled up with the word सुरजाद्.]
4 [The text reads स्या which has to be corrected into श्या.]
5 Read नाथे.
6 Read नाथेनी.
7 Read बस्मुक्तां. The accent स्र is in the next line.
8 Read क्षारा.
9 Read दासुन.
10 Read द्विदीताः.
11 [The correct reading is मार।]
Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra: the 7th year.

First Pillar: Front.

First Pillar: Back.
84 कक्कुल्ले[ले] खामिनाधाम । [१२] पूर्ववेंकिम । कुलि
85 [कुन्नादिघ] सामसायमक्षमिप्पानवानविध: । [१]
86 [विवे.कुकुल्लेङ] सना जंदुवृंथ वे[ण]—
87 'दुर्भष्प हे याचुः[चन्ने]—
88 [कर]भूमिक्षति कुलालिं नरपति: स्तु—
89 [कर]वेणकुकुल्लेवतिनिम्यङ्गसतमसचि
90 ततः [५] स दुर्भोऽविण्यः वहमः
91 कालानित्यमुपिनियं श्रियं चैवायाया.
92 चै विद्वस्तवहीदृष्टत्व: । [१४] दंगे—
93 च्य्युःकुरमुरात्भुतसंविश्वमर्याजितन्त्राः
94 महारेरणी विश्वभरातिनिक्षममनमनि—
95 यं कहुःकुलककिति: [५] मानयन्ति
96 नाम राजा अनन्यमनमनन्द—
97 स[दृष्टो] दुर्भष्प हे याचुः श्वानित्यचायय वचः
98 पदिवा वालरक्षा वारखाकारुः । [१५] तः
99 च्य्युः परमात्मांस शास्तीमार्याः भुः
100 भमत्वर चरित्वा विष्णुस्वादिप [५]
101 सर्वं भमत्वरक्षमन्दकरा[रा]परो:
102 भमत्वरक्षमन्दिरश्वाख तथा चरिता । [१६] तः
103 दद्यमिष्ट द्वारनित्यसंगमातुः सदैववजाति
104 भमत्वरक्षमन्दिर व्रजमल्यायाय [५] ददजानि
105 [कल्लुः] कुन्नादिर्यांशोऽपि: परिपालित
106 त नीङ्चचन्द्र: शीर्णमाम्मीयेः । [१७] परीः
Second Pillar: Second Side.

107 . . . . . . . . . .
108 . . . . . . . . . .
109 . . . . . . . . . .
110 . . . . . . . . . .
111 . . . . . . . . . .
112 . . . . रुपः[लोकं धर्मं] नामो दुर्भवे—
113 सक्रियुपेश्च [उत्ता] नामार्पण ॥—[१८५] चतुर्वेदः
114 श्रवणविभववीणेशा राजः—
115 वृंदं जम्बानन्दक्षमित पञ्चरथ—
116 नमः नरसेनः [१८] दिनवासिमकं दशदपि
117 गयान् कौशिकायाम्बाय खं बहु—
118 कृष्णुल्लकित तथा यज्ञपुर्ण कर्ता—
119 चमु ॥—[१६८] भानीद्राचार्येव सागर धति [४]—
120 पस्तनिर्मितिवृत्तार वेवरेण[४]
121 धृ कामने कथमभिन्नकरे चान्ति
122 देवराजः [१८] यतुपुर्णासु मन्वावः
123 वक्रणजनाविवी सागरलं मन्य—
124 सं शेयारायं वारिधिनामार्पण [४]क—
125 . . . खंगरालवर्कर ॥—[२०८] चासी—
126 च [मैं]गो[५]ब: चितापरिविवें खंबः
127 [ते]जयवत्तेन कपिलप्रकोपः
128 द्रंंकवालक्षरोभिष्टान [१८] खं[स्थि]—
129 मुं मुं चक्रवर्तिनविवंधकान्ति
130 य भागवतवरी महानम्बरविष्टायावः
131 दुर्गारित्वा शृंगारवावशुभः ॥—[२१८] चम्ब—
132 तेष तेष तेषवतीश्च[७] [खंब]भूपतियुः
133 श्री: परिपृणः [१८] महान्तसुतिवर—
134 ज्ञानवी: वामयुद्धद्वितापूतः
135 यमः ॥—[२२८] इह समस्मिन भूपे: शृङ्खले—

1 The assamatra is in the next line.
2 [The correct reading would be चीतित्वा विवें खंबः—द।]
3 [The श sign of मैं is at the end of the previous line.]
4 Read श्रीवर्तिनाः.
5 Read ररशारे
136 कैथकी:  
137 रिताम: [1*] विष्णु[वतिविवाह]बारि.  
138 ‘तोष्णधर्मक्रोधः’[वास्तवतः विजयशा[प*] प्राप्त|तको--  
139 शिरिकीयः II—[21*] श्रीम[श्रीम]तुष्टैःनन  
140 मृगानाहं वनेष्ठ[वन] भवतः: [वन]दाता  
141 [को] वदनमरामतिवसे[ँ]ढ़े-  
142 ‘[को] वदनमरामतिवसे[ँ]ढ़े-  
143 रामायन भरतमा[भु] रुष्टः: भरतमा[भु]  
144 विष्णु[विष्णु] युध्यमान[युध्यमान] [राम] य¬  
145 चर्मो II—[24*] पितारित तनयवलं भारि[ँ] भारि¬  

Third Pillar : First Side.

146 इसं बुद्धि विलहलं शान्  
147 वेषुज्ञ[वेषुज्ञ] [1*] सुनिष्ठ वषंपितहलं  
148 भू [भू] मेवे वेषुज्ञं स्वर्गमं  
149 खिल[खिल] [10*] शिवायमास 11 लोकम् II—[25*]  
150 [वेषु] कोमलं 13 वाचन रच[रच]पितरीं का  
151 भिन्न[भिन्न] न प्रेयसीं ल प्रवाल्पदव[प*] म्  
152 शीर्षखरितं कालवृन्दं चक्रं परम् [1*]  
153 नी कैंतकालपिलं खिंतं स म्  
154 बरे शूदृं जानानिस्ता खिं  
155 वान्यवानिमित्त[वान्यवानिमित्त] [वान्य*]  
156 ज शोभा [शोभा] [26*] शेरु नेतुं कत्  
157 प्रभासभू व[व] भयायकाम्  
158 ली चक्रेन वक्षीरायुष्मितिहे[ँ]*  
159 शंगनीयेयात्र [1*] शेतु चेतुं [वि]—

1 Read कैथकी.  
8 Read शारिरी. [I would suggest शारिरीसेवी as the more probable one.—Ed.] 
9 The š symbol of म् is at the end of the previous line.  
10 [The correct reading is मृगाना.]  
11 Read कीर्तिकोपिया.  
12 [भारि] is the actual reading in the inscription.]  
13 Read कीर्तिकोपीया.  
14 The š symbol of म् is in the previous line.
160 तुमःविपदं यापदानंयोगं रामं
161 कामं कावयतं जनवरतुष्ण[१]मानविग्नं[२] ॥—२६॥
162 चिन्तनं[३]जन्नि विदक्षयोजिसं[४]जः
163 म[५]को नाम विविधतिरतिस्विकीर्तिराजः
164 स्वकालं: [६] यस्मात्सिवमविनवमते
165 राजवधानीसिव सं चीतले या
166 'अद्घुलिनमवस्यं नाना[७]कामन[८] ॥—२६॥
167 विवधरतं सं हर्षगमं कवाचमुदगुवं
168 त्रिषु[७] काननेषु [८] अनन्यहिथु
169 चाव्ये विशार्धप्रतिलब्धाः
170 सरस[९] वाससर[९] ॥—२६॥ कदाचन धुम
171 वर्जनामधयं [१०]बुद्धद्रव्यवार
172 [वि]पिपान्तरेवननिधूर्सैुयः [११]
173 मी [१२] तदा स ख्रुणःपिणाभविन्तः पैः
174 चिन्द्रशा [१३] चर्ममववगचार
175 प्रकटिरवस्यो देविज्ञाम् ॥—२६॥ स्वम
176 नामलु[१४]खःता प्रजविज्ञा श्रेणिविः
177 जिना पुश्यद्रश्मसमाकलं विपि
178 नमस्थदारिति [१५] नत्तमवृद्धमानसं प्रां
179 वितवतीयणीमुखार्ज्ज्ञेन र
180 भोवियण्यतुदुनवधिरिनीमा[१६]
181 यक्षा: ॥—२६॥ तं वलय रजनिचयं स तथ
182 भूप: काविरोत्सु विचार्य भुविचा
183 र: [१७] चोरीस्निधिनिधिमथगतं तुरे
184 रवासस्म पीयुगस्स्ववरि सिक्कलचक्करा
185 [हक्कलीम] ॥—२६॥ तथ खर्लवा . . . . दिबे

1 रैद साप्तायां विचित्रान।
2 त्यसं क्रममेति।
3 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
4 त्यसं कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
5 त्यसं कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
6 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
7 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
8 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
9 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
10 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
11 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
12 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
13 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
14 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
15 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
16 द्वितीय कृत्यां श्रृष्टिकर्या।
Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra: the 7th year.
Third Pillar: Second Side.

186 [भण्] नाप्यश्वतात्मकशिविनः
187 स्तदानम् [८] थायवताःतीतिप्रवर्या-
188 [निनका]नानीयास्वासयामा-
189 [अ] तीरे [२१४] विपिनमधिक्षिन लिङ्का
190 पूर्वत्कार वनविद्धि वि-
191 [द्वे बी]रफार सनातनात्ताकृत्य-
192 [स] [८] उपवनचर्यानि: काशरूः
193 सुतात्तवेच्छसतीमिक्ष्यायाः.
194 मनोकालाः भागात || [२१४] भागस-
195 तितम् धामस भृगुस्तपररस्मान
196 विदवत तते तवः काश्चान्विश्यप्
197 काम्याः [८] इह विचित्रं स्तानं [द्वीर]
198 तपषु सुराज्ञेद्वितीयैं शम्तरे [२१२]
199 से व|संस द्वैरस्यं स्वास्यम || [२१४] चक्ष्माः
200 समस्तु राजसेवो वासाराधयं द्वया-
201 समवृतम् || [८] चोक्क्रूपतयो नयात्
202 [विनः] चोंदिमाखवि वारःताहित: || [२१४]
203 न[मुन्]सु परलेत्तरो नयो मख-
204 री [तम]निवार्यामासन: [८] सत्सखः
205 ........................................ तावारिकाः
206 रमाधम: [२१४] चक्षुस्वंगिच लब्धिज्या:
207 मर राजा शुरोज्जाता पारिताराति-
208 [अः अः] [२१४] वर्गराजश्वा च प्रवासा-
209 म[स्तेवा]च[३९]स्तोतरययः अश्वथ-
210 [च] || [२१४] चक्षुस्वंचरशिरसाविष्ठता-
211 [ते जा]की तौ नितागशोकीकावित-
212 [ख] [८] रेखे राजा तेजसा भालुः-

1 Read तितम.
2 Between रुमो and कवर two long syllables are wanting. [Perhaps सरसौरे might be suggested—[M.]
3 Read मवाह.
4 [This word may also be read च "स.
5 The secondary ० symbol is in the next line.
6 Read चाङ्गालीपयम्.
213 ख्: कृष्णानन्दश्च चुड़राङ्ग: II—[६८५]
214 दि [को]क्षायै वित्तिजितवृत्तव वंशे-
215 विकाशित्सिस्त्राध्यात्मकारिविनिविवाहाः-
216 विविधकेयम्: [१४] द्वारारितेणान्तित्तिि स-
217 मर तर्कितो यथा वालेविहितोसे-
218 भृत्यान्तमदमद्यायः कृत्यत्थानल-  
219 म् II—[६०४] धवनिमिन्नपारारावतीराभि-
220 आ मात्: परतवर्तवतीवशाः स्विवन्तामणि-
221 [तारित्: [१४] निष्मुखवयोजशिक्षाराजः-
222 लक्ष्मीरिह समजनि वंशे भृपति: पु*]यथे।  
223 तु: II—[६९४] परिवर्त्यो केतुमालाभि-

Fourth Pillar: First Side.

224 धानो जानो राजा जातमपाराय-
225 कामः [१४] हल्ला सर्वक्षारात: [केतु]-
226 माराण वैनावाण स्त्रीमालाभि-
227 धानम् II—[६२४] ससुड्रधिबाह नरा[विराजो]।
228 [सूर्या]* ଉँ...... बोध्यः [१४] भृत्याराय-
229 समोनिधिमिथिपेन [पश्चिम]न......
231 विभूत महाको: पश्चात्तो तृत्यो
232 नियोक्तिविपुर्जनोक्तिनये व[मा]-९
233 नू स पञ्चारिठियां [१४] विषुज पञ्च[विर]रा-
234 स्त्रियोक्तिसेवै तैयारिचित्त[स्त्राद]—
235 रं कोषान्त् सक्कानायाप[२२६]त वृजा[४]तस्वी-
236 [र*]तु पञ्चप: II[४४४] चमवन्विभवैः।१० 
237 [व]न्द्रियोमिनिन वंशे तृतिक्षुयांशः-
238 कामः: [१४] नरहुक्ष वृद्धश सममहादाँदां-

* Read चिको गायजः.
* Read “स्विलिन्ति।”
* Read चिको गायजः.
* [रे मै निमिन्तित्ति] appears to be the actual reading.
* The द symbol of की अलग आन्तर्गत.
* The secondary ठ of the letter ठू is in the next line. [Perhaps निरार्थ्य is the actual reading. Ed.]
* [वरेंज वहां are seen before तोरे: — Ed.]
* Could the passage read तु यथे?—Ed.
* The secondary ठ symbol is in the next line.
* Read चमवन्विभवैः।
Fourth Pillar: Second Side.

261 भिंजाल[गुण[संहिति ... शी: [१०]
262 [जा] जस्नवेत्तृत्वोग्निज्ञवा [जा] प्रतिपादः.
263 ताप(सल्लाजपीरिशिलमो) [व].
264 लम्बो (महावी: [१० ४०.] दहान्यके.
265 भूद्मरेशुन्तुः पराशविव.

1 Read संहिति.
2 Read संहिति.
3 Could the reading here be दीना?  
4 The assasseto of श् is in the next line.
5 Read निष्पाद.
6 Read निष्पाद.
7 Read निष्पाद.
8 Read निष्पाद.
9 Read निष्पाद.
10 Read निष्पाद.
266 जनाधिपतिः [१०] कर्मकर्माणि।
267 नकुलभिः[भि]ः \textsuperscript{2} कर्माधिनायोऽि।
268 जगदेकमा: \textsuperscript{\[४२\] वंधी।}
269 धिसिंहरङ्गीवन्द्यतदहरारवि।
270 स्नेहसिं राजा [वाण]वर्यकार।
271 स्नेहसिं रक्त \textsuperscript{६} रक्तौऽि।[१०] दी।
272 दैवत्तिष्ठत्वं धर्मशास्तिरिप्प।\textsuperscript{४}
273 दैवत्तिष्ठत्वं धर्मशास्तिरिप्प।\textsuperscript{४}
274 पावनः\textsuperscript{१०} विसिंहवनानसिंहः।\textsuperscript{११}
275 लिङ्गः\textsuperscript{१२} परं शायकै वर॥-\textsuperscript{४२] चन्द्र-}
276 \textsuperscript{१२}देव विसिंहवनानसिंह दिव।
277 भुवा सकलिनिनाव: [१०] यतुप-\textsuperscript{२}
278 दैवत्तिष्ठत्वं धर्मशास्तिरिप्प।\textsuperscript{३}
279 तमसरमा: [\textsuperscript{६}] तमसरमा:॥-\textsuperscript{४२] चन्द्र-}
280 [वा]मास स चोकैश नवीनं।\textsuperscript{१४}
281 मेघुप्रकाशः [१०] कष्ठाः।
282 नाय्यरसेः म [वी]तालिकापुः।\textsuperscript{१५}
283 री० राजम पुरैः नरेन्द्रः॥-\textsuperscript{४२] चालिद्वरमा।\textsuperscript{१६}
284 सवदाच पुत्र: कोदन्दरामामभिः।
285 धया विनिः [१०] उत्सुः\textsuperscript{१७} सत्तविः।
286 [घु]\textsuperscript{१८}संक्षम्वाद य: पक्षवराणमा।\textsuperscript{१९}
287 लोः॥-\textsuperscript{४२] कस्यभूतनाय: पराण-\textsuperscript{२०}
288 सत्तवंबाविष्ठः क्रामुर्जः वोर-\textsuperscript{२१}
289 भोगिलं: पराल्पक शति व्यासः श।
Fifth Pillar: First Side.

297 रिष्ठेिः तताया मधुराल...
298 कनाधिबयम् II—[९०४] यक्षगाय
299 जविज्ञोपसदुः: क्षमाराजमानि...
300 तत्रार्यी: [४] भूरिविज्ञमिः[विष]...
301 दित्युपतितार्योऽद्वी ते...
302 न तोशःते II—[४८४] यशोवर्णी...
303 काळविश्वसतेवैः...
304 धार्मिकसां सामिति जाय[न]
305 सिंहक्रमम् [४] तत्त्व संविद्धते...
306 प्रतिवंदनामपाददीनितिः...
307 मजजत सिंहकालाञ्चक्ष्य[३]स् [२—[४५४]
308 दूष्टान्त: कोष्ठ राजस्वकलयु...
309 जनिन्य[अवस्थान]कोष्ठ[रक्ष]...
310 म् 'भूरिव[४]िःक्षाण्ययूनावर[०] ब्रह्म]
311 सामितीर्थिर्प्रेमिकोक्तासादत्थ [४]
312 ऋष्य विष्णुमविमाननपम...
313 विभवानीरतारायणशा[नलय]...
314 श्मायनानारायणविषित [विष]िविव खर...
315 मांसक्षारिवम् II—[४५०] चतुसुचतनवो...
316 मांसविभुरिन्दनाचकी श्रुप, १०

1 The os symbols are in this line and ४ is in the next line.
2 Read रिष्ठेिः.
3 The secondary os symbols are in the previous line and द् in l. 304.
4 Read 'भूरिविज्ञम'.
5 The secondary ४ symbol is in the next line.
6 Read भूमि.
7 Read जनिन्य[अवस्थान].
8 Read दूष्टान्त.
9 The ४ symbol alone of the letter श्री is in this line.
10 The श्रुप is in the next line.
317 चापकरसमयुत: त्विघित—
318 वैशिष्ट्यकार: [४] वर्णमुज—
319 विस्मयवागत:संभवायज—
320 चेनेरविनिमित्तवुपा—
321 राक्षिनासुमित:[५] झीयते ॥—[६१] च[घ]—
322 [५]जत[ष] राण:[६] बैरसमाविष्यि[य]—
323 श्विषित विविसमानसम्पूर्ण स—
324 जनानाय [७] भतुतुत तुस्मीयोः [या]—
325 यद्य शास्वासानसुवदयुज—
326 चीतन्तकायित समास्तलय: ॥—[६२] चश्च
327 चूतरस[८]धध प्रान्तकाश्यतचपि—
328 त्वारिणिति: [८] विमायवदुस्वर्ण स—
329 साधस: पाश्चपुप्पुतिरस्थलय—
330 स्वर्गिनिः [८२] चक्षुर ताराक रिपूनः—
331 चाभुस्तारः भूरिकायवामुराधीन [८]—
332 जवहर तारं अससंविकी[७]ताः—
333 [७] सन्तापसम्पन्न[न]म् ॥—[६४] भक्षिन्
334 विशिष्यनाति भूमिपालासुष्फा—

Fifth Pillar: Second Side.

335 दुर्गाणि नरगणि शान्ताराजाक्षि—
336 धान: [९] [मदन*]विचिदेश: कामि—
337 [९]जोरविन्द्रो [चन्द्र धति] परे [घच्छा]—
338 जराजन तुलय: ॥—[६५] संस्कार स—
339 जरे स पालिकानितत्त्वाद विप—
340 दक्ष सत्तकात् [९] शाबाज़र च मन्धान—
341 "नक्षोऽवाज़र च [व] [व*] चुतुत् ॥ त ॥—[६६] चः
342 सलाववयु सिंहर[त]रे वल राजसा—
343 जे सलाववय: किसन पलायत सन्दद—

¹ Read विघित.
² One of the secondary श symbols is in the next line: Read चापत.
³ Read चरुवा.
⁴ Read चन्द्राक.
⁵ Reading चन्द्राक.
⁶ Read चन्द्राक.
⁷ The श of शः is in the preceding line.
⁸ Could the passage here be read as मानतः दुर्गाः?
Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra: the 7th year.

Fifth Pillar: Front.

Fifth Pillar: Back.

F. W. THOMAS

SCALE THREE-FIFTHS

WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS, COLL.
Sixth Pillar: First Side.

374 मह
375...
376 न गतेन क्षितिधमसु[२]ग्न तारीकोर्योऽ
377 कस्तपामात्तुजः क्षितममामामखि
378 महावाकु [२] राजमेदेवजअरतिशः
379 निपुष्यापनू द्विवयस्मोऽ
380 निममधुजः प्रक्यं त्यनेः
381 नेतु ||—[३४] तत्समाचारे क्षितिधमजः
382 [२] नर्तीन्तिमारि: प्रजायं रग्राज
383 क्षिति विष्णुकता बीरराज्येऽ
384 देव [२] पञ्चुर्मूलः समविकाशः
385 राजराजेन्द्रयोर्यो: बुध्रामायं वयं
386 जयत ज्ञातूः बाणमहामायरचं ||—[३५]
387 चल्ला कृत्तसंगः क्षिति
388 त: मणायात्तिश्चत्वाः ११ सेनयः
389 वपसुजान प्रवच्छिष्ट यस्ते—१३
390 हंसमूः गते: [२] शेने
391 लेन...
392 क्षितिनेः [२]लाभां सरितृः

1 Read एवः. 8 Read तुः क्षिति.
2 The secondary ए symbol is in the next line.
3 The secondary ए symbol of the letter शी is in the next line.
4 Read प्रवच्छिष्टः. 9 Read त्रि.
5 Read उस्मानाः. 10 Read त्रि.
6 Read नीयति and वारी. 11 Read त्रि.
7 Read यथः. 12 Read छेने.
13 Read त्रि. 14 Read त्रि.
14 The sentence is in the next line.
393 समुद्रस्थित तंत्रिकात
394 दारि[चित्] ||-[१४*] भाष्यति सुमुपे-
395 जिन्द्र जनविदं वाकामावामा-
396 गते [कृ]नम् वैरिक्षिप्यरे-1
397 रत्नकोटेन मीनकालिंगा-
398 निप [ऱ] जिन्द्र गुप्तप्रम्परापरमितेव-
399 जा पिता च भोजनः बहुद्वीमान-
400 नामभवमोऽचितिपति:
401 जेयसन्ते न सीवपासः ||-[७७*]
402 धर्मोऽहृदपति: करिकाशा: का-
403 जऱ[च]नु सलिबंव सकान्त स: [१*]
404 परभ्यासा[न*]सुभःसुभं वा-
405 तनोति [हित]सारसेतम् ||-[७८*]
406 देवसादिसुताधिपयामि मः[चित्]-
407 [चः]सोकसारसरिष्य जीम्मुद-
408 जऱ[सम]नत्स भक्तेन माणिक्या-
409 "[कृ]रीविदम् [१*] सम्य वैरिक्षिपा-

Sixth Pillar: Second Side.

410 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
411 . . . . . शृ . . . . . . . . [स्थः] . . निववम-
412 कल्प ||-स्मालसारायोगो:-
413 पित: ||-[७८*] चिरज्ञेयशीरपणा-
414 भोजु गुणवातिक्कूतिवोः [१*]
415 वेषराजेन्द्रम[ऱ]सौ प्रभा-
416 देवान[क*]चयशु ||-[७८*] चलाकिंग-
417 शरसार्विकु ब्रजशानागा-
418 कुरैविद्वेद" [१*] बालिपयः१० भुमि-
419 दानेशायन्यमेविसरम् ||-[७९*]

1 Read सहीशरे; the स्र symbols of र alone are in this line and र in the next line.
2 The secondary च of च is in the previous line.
3 Read शीवपासः.
4 Read श्र.
5 Read श्र.
6 Read श्र.
7 [The reading seems to be भावु.--Ed.]
8 The secondary श and the visarga of श, are in the next line.
9 Read शमीविद्वेदः.
10 Read शमीविद्वेदः.
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Line 1. Be it well: Prosperity!

Verse 1. May the moon-crested Bhavānti (i.e. Śiva), who is the sportive author of creation, protection and destruction, who is the master of speech, the only abode of omniscience (sārva-jñāta) and by whose grace his devotees are enabled to cross the dangerous ocean of saṃsāra (metempsychosis), grant you good fortune.

V. 2. May Śambhu, who is full of grace towards moveable and immoveable objects, who holds one with his own body,—which is situated on the mountain (Kailāsa) and is effulgent with light,—that of the great Māya, who cheers the Universe, who establishes science and necience (jiśva and ajīśva) and who is pleased with the happiness and distressed with the unhappiness of souls (jīva-dīśana),—may He save you easily from sin and protect you from downfall.

V. 3. He, who killed with his discus the hordes of the army of Asuras, who drove to the nether regions (pātala) the emperor Bali and who is ever the protector of the Dēvas, may that Hari wipe off your sins by protecting the world through you who are so many portions of His own Self existing on earth.

V. 4. The Lord of all (Saṃsāra), with a view to procreate the Universe, first ushered into existence water, which (is the primordial matter and which) is the fittest object for that purpose. Therein He sowed His eternal seed and raised from it the Mundane Egg, which envelopes the three worlds. He also created Brahmā for bringing into existence all other things.

1 [The actual reading is stānti.—Ed.]
2 The rest of the inscription cannot be traced.
3 [Who swells with the pleasures and pains of creatures willingly borne.—Ed.]
V. 5. This Brahmā who was thus begotten, having created all the worlds, containing every kind of thing, produced other Brahmās. One among such was Marichi who shone with a light which spread on all sides.

V. 6. Kāśyapa, who, with his omniscience, could perceive the subtlest things (pasyaka) was born of Marichi. His great beauty (Srī) was noticed by the eyes of Brahmā. He is reckoned as the first among the men of pre-eminence (śrīyas-sampatti). The constant fight among the Devas and others born of Kāśyapa, to own Prosperity appeared like the dashing against each other of the waves of the ocean (which bore Lakshmi).

V. 7. From him (Kāśyapa) was born the transcendent Vivasvān,1 who is the father of time, who by his generous light or power (prabhāva) which is capable of affording protection to the world, subordinates the planets, and by the contact with whose rays the lotus issuing from the navel of the Lord of all (Vishnu) as also the lotuses, the faces of Brahmā, renounced sleep for the first time.

V. 8. When the rays of the sun began to dispel darkness from every quarter, the shining golden Brahmāṇḍa appeared as though (the gold) was emitting the flaws (kalima) in it; and the disc of the sun looked like the pericarp of the Sky-lotus of which the petals were the directions of the compass, and the filaments the solar rays.

V. 9. The patriarch of all kings (who ruled over the earth later on) was Manu, the son of Vivasvān; from whose connection the human race received the name Mānava. Manu was worthy of being praised by the world; he created and promulgated laws and made humanity happy. Vivasvān made his son Manu as resplendent as he did his father (Kāśyapa).

V. 10. To Manu was born Ikṣvāku,2 who had unblemished fame spreading in all quarters and sung by the hosts of Devas. The all-pervading prowess of this conquering king, having had no enemies (āmitras) to conquer, vanquished the sun (Mitra, a word which means also “a friend”.)

V. 11. Vikukshīrava of high ideals of justice and of great intelligence was the son of Ikṣvāku.3 This powerful king afforded protection to this earth. Kings used to acquire wealth by warring against each other, and they have now the easy method to attain it, namely to worship the feet of this king.

V. 12. The son of Vikukshīrava was Purāṇjaya who subdued those kings who offered him battle.4 Having transformed Indra into a bull, he stood on its high hump to conquer the Asuras; the gods in great joy addressed him as Kakutatha (he who stands on the kakud, hump of a bull), and this became thenceforth his name.5

V. 13. Prithu, who was comparable to the great mountains (kula-parvatas) and who was respected by all other kings, was born in this family.6 During his regime all the people were wise and pleased. There did not exist then trembling (for fear) or beggary.

V. 14. In this great dynasty appeared the king Kuvvalāśva. He was famous for his powerful horses. This powerful sovereign, in order to afford protection to the world, killed the Asura named Dhundhu, who had taken refuge in the sandy river Sindhu.7

Vv. 15-16. Of astounding greatness, the incarnation of Asura (Vishnu), the king Māndhātṛi was born in this race8 to remove the distress of humanity residing on this earth.

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2 See Kalingatuparaṇa, v. 10, Vikkiraṇa-Śūlag-ulū, ll. 6-8 and Kalūttāga-Śūlag-ulū, ll. 2-4.
5 Ibid, v. 7.
6 Ibid., v. 12.
7 Ibid., v. 14.
He afforded pleasure to the eyes of his subjects (by his personal appearance, perhaps). To drive off unrighteousness (adharma) his discus (chakra) travelled as far as the Chakravīśa mountain. While this famous monarch ruled the earth, the lion and deer lived together amicably. All objects renounced their mutual hostility (that is, became friends); but dharma alone became an exception to this statement, for adharma did not exist (that is, it could not become a friend of adharma).

V. 17. The king Muchakunda of many good qualities was born of this race, which is never exposed to danger and which is ever prospering; this sovereign shone bright like the moon with his fame, which was white (unblemished) as the ḫuda (jasmine) flowers.¹

V. 18. . . . . . . . . . . The king made it impossible for even those who fell in battle to enter heaven.

V. 19. In this family was born Harichandra, who subdued by his prowess host of kings and who delighted in war. Valuing them as a mere straw, he sold his own body and his wife and son to pay the money of Kaushika (Viśvāmitra).

V. 20. In this dynasty was a king named Sagaras, who was dreaded by all other kings. When this monarch began to perform a number of āsanaṅha-yāgas, Indra began to tremble (lest his position be lost to Sagaras by the virtue which he was going to acquire by his meritorious deeds). Owing to the greatness of the sons of Sagaras, the salt oceans obtained the name sāgaṇa, and this name began to apply to other seas also.

V. 21. Bhagiratha was born in this race. Having brought down from heaven the river Ganga to raise his ancestors (the sons of Sagaras) to heaven from the ashes to which they were reduced by the fire of the anger of the sage Kapila, he caused the celestial river to flow in three regions (that is, heaven, earth and hell) and the men who touched its waters to become immortal.

V. 22. Rituparṇa, who was full of kingly virtues and who possessed a fame which was praised by all good men, sprang from this dynasty and protected the earth.

V. 23. In this family was born king Dilipa; he was like a lamp to the universe; he had removed from the world misery and had destroyed the power of his enemies; his anger drew tears from the eyes of the queens of hostile kings (that is, if any hostile king excited his wrath, that king was sure to meet with his death at the hands of Dilipa). He was a famous sovereign whose bow was ever destined to be crowned with success.

V. 24. Seeing that the earth was groaning under the evil deeds of the powerful and wicked Rākshasas, the Lord of the Universe, Bhagavān, became incarnate in four different aspects as Rāma, Lakshmana, Bharata and Saūrughna. The two first and last pairs of brothers resembled the right and the left pairs of arms of Viṣṇu.

V. 25. This universal Lord taught the world the modes in which a son should conduct himself towards his father, a brother towards his brother, a young man towards his wife, an enemy towards his enemy, kings towards Rishis and relations towards relations.

V. 26. It was not out of anger that he killed the king of the Rākshasas (Rāvana); nor was it out of his (carnal) love for his wife that he rescued her (from her captivity under Rāvana); he only discharged his duty, which as a sovereign he was bound to do. If it were not so, why then should he have killed a Śadra who was doing penance on the Malay mountain or soon after (rescue), abandoned his wife, Śīsā, of resplendent beauty and rare courage?

V. 27. Śrī-Rāma, of straight (uncrooked) virtues, had a bridge constructed across the sea for the army of monkeys to march over. (By his act of killing Rāvana, a monster having evil ways), he firmly established all dharmas (dharma-śātu) on the earth. This Rāma, full of good qualities, is praised by men as the dhanaṅkaśītu (comet) to the misery of the gods (caused by the Rākshasas) and the source of chagrin to the Asuras.

Vv. 28-35. In this race there was a king named Chōla.¹ To this king, by whom the world was governed as though it was but his capital city, the forests appeared like so many pleasure-gardens. Once upon a time this king, who was resplendent as Hara, was spending his time in sport within the forests inhabited by hosts of sages. At another time he strayed into other forests, with a band of his army, for the purpose of hunting deer; then was he allured by a Rakṣasa, who had assumed the shape of a deer, and was beguiled into the southern regions. In the pursuit of this (pseudo-) deer the horse of Chōla took him gradually into another forest thickly studded with trees. The commanders of his rapidly marching army, who were prepared to accompany their sovereign to distant lands, kept pace with his swift horse. Having killed the deer-asura, the king began to march along the bank of the river Kaveri. It seemed from the sweetness of her water that the river Kaveri was carrying the very ambrosia (āmrīta) which the Dēyas churned (with great effort) out of the ocean. After bathing in her water, the king (looked for) Brāhmaṇas . . . . . . . but found none in that region. Therefore, he brought a large number of Brāhmaṇas of superior virtues from the Ayavarta and settled them down there (on the banks of the Kaveri). He cleared the jungle and planted betel-vines and areca trees in large numbers. He created several other kinds of gardens, whereby the country was rendered shady (and cool) and also productive of fruits. People bathe in the river Gaṅgā and do penance in order to obtain svarga; but the bath in the Kaveri and penance on her bank would take those who do them to regions higher than svarga.

V. 36. After him (Chōla) his son Rajakēsari,² who was bright as the sun and who drove his enemies to the brink of the ocean, ruled the earth.

V. 37. . . . . . . Rajakēsari’s son was Paramēsari³ . . . . . .

V. 38. In this family there shone the king Mrityuṣya,⁴ who conquered Mrityu (Death). He felled the hosts of his enemies, pleased the Dēyas by the yūgas performed by him and made his foes tremble.

V. 39. The king Virasēna, who removed the sufferings of his subjects, who was resplendent as the sun, who was the abode of all auspicious qualities and who possessed beautiful limbs, was born in this race.

V. 40. There was born in this dynasty a king named Chitra,⁵ whose anger would disappear if his enemies prostrated themselves before him. Being terrified in battle by the arrows of this king, Indra forthwith made friends with him and adopted Vyāghrakētu’s [i.e. Chitra’s] banner of tiger.

V. 41. Puskapātā, who by the spell of his prowess playfully drew towards himself the wealth of all other kings, was born in this family to rule the earth as far as the borders of the seas.

V. 42. Kētumāla, who shone as bright as the lightning, was born in this race. Having seized the rows of standards (kētu-māla) of other kings he came to be known by the name of Kētumāla.

V. 43. In this race was born a king named Samudrajit. He made the eastern ocean join the western one and as a prize for it obtained the hand of the daughter of a king in marriage.⁶

V. 44. Pañchapa, who delighted in treating guests, belonged to this family.⁷ Having been requested by five Yakaṇhas, who came to him as guests, he cut open five arteries in his body

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⁵ Ibid, v. 37.
⁶ Kalingatupparāṇī, V. 18.
and offered the blood issuing from them with great tenderness to the Yakahhas to drink. From this act of hospitality he came to be known as Pañchapa.

V. 45. Surpassing the ḍik-palas in greatness and similar to the moon in his splendour, king Nṛśimha was a member of this family. This king of undying fame conquered death by the grace of the god Paramēsvāra.

V. 46. King Mānōrathā of unblemished character and of incomparable wealth was born in this dynasty; he was powerful in war; through having been able to destroy the desires of the enemies and fulfil those of his (friends and dependants) he was dubbed Mānōrathā.

V. 47. Perunakṣīti and other kings who surpassed Indra in strength, wealth and reputation, were born in this family. Their fame extended to the very borders of the earth and sea, and reached even the sun and the Brahmāṇḍa and was ever shining.

Vv. 48—49. Karikāla-Chōla, who was firm as the kula-parvatas, who possessed great fame, as white and unblemished as the flowers of the kāśa plant and who was Death to the hostile kings who met him in battle-field, was born in this family. Seeing that the river Kāverī was overflowing its banks and not allowing crops to flourish, this monarch, who curbed the haughtiness of insubordinate kings, caused the embankment of this river to be constructed with the earth carried by (such insubordinate) kings in baskets on their hands, and afforded protection to cultivation.

V. 50. In this dynasty was born the king Vālabha, who possessed good qualities, wealth and prowess which compelled other kings to prostrate themselves before his feet; he burnt with the flames of his admirable valour the insects (śalabha), his enemies.

V. 51. Jagadākamalla, who was comparable to Indra, drove off poverty from learned men, and wielded the weapon called the bhalla (spear), which was Death to other kings, was born in this family.

V. 52. The king Vyāla (or Vairi?)-bhayaṅkara was born in this family. The hostile kings prostrated themselves before his feet. The fire of the anger of this powerful king, who fought with the sword held in his long arm, could be quenched only by the tears flowing from the eyes of the queens of hostile kings.

Vv. 53-54. The lord of all the earth, the king Vijayāśaya, was born in this family. All kings bowed before his feet. He established in the Chōla country the city of Tahājāpuri, which was praised even by Brahmā and other gods. Being a newly founded town, it flourished with all good qualities.

V. 55. The son of this Vijayāśaya was Ādityavarman, better known by the name of Kōdaṇḍa-Rāma. He fell on the Pallava monarch, who was seated upon a maddened elephant, and killed him in battle.

Vv. 56-60. To him (Āditya) was born a son named Parāntaka, who was the abode of the goddess of valor (vīra-ēṭi). By the water flowing from the temples of the most elephants of this king, which were sporting in the gardens adjoining the shores of the seas, the water of the seas became scented. Parāntaka destroyed the Pāṇḍya king with his whole army, took all his

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1 South-Ind. Inscriptions, Vol. III, p. 395, r. 44.
2 Ibid., v. 49.
4दुर्योधनवार्तित तर्पनवर्षी वर्मणि विलितातिशालिविनवनी भाष्यम्

Leiden Grant.

wealth and burnt (his capital) Madhrurā; for this achievement he received the title of Madhurāntaka. 1 This king, who was as bright as Arjuna, conquered in battle the thitherto unconquered king Krīshṇurāja, and thereby augmented his own glory. In recognition of this feat he was entitled Vira-Chōja. Parāntaka, who is respected by all kings, caused his army to cross the sea and defeat the king of Simhāja, who was waiting on the shore to give him battle, and thereby received the true surname of Simhahāṃtaka. 3 Who could stand comparison with this king, the abode of all good qualities? Who can describe the traits of this monarch, who conquered his enemies in battle and who was the only residence for prowess? The destroyer of the enemies, Parāntaka, brought into existence superior villages of great wealth like Viranāraṇyaṁ, just as Brahmā created svarga, and caused them to be enjoyed by learned Brāhmaṇas.

Vv. 61-62. The son of this king (Parāntaka) was Arindama, 4 of glory similar to that of the moon. He destroyed the power of his enemies. Many a king, who had heard of the valour of this sovereign, took refuge in mountain caves. He brought all other kings under his sway; like Vidhi (Brahma), he conferred riches upon good men; this king of reputed prowess caused grief to hostile kings. This sovereign of unparalleled beauty made the lustre of the moon comparable to his own splendour.

Vv. 63-64. Parāntaka, who always destroyed the hosts of his enemies, was born to Arindama. Taking into consideration the advent of this sovereign, the Pāṇḍya king crossed the mountain and fled away. Parāntaka imprisoned all his enemies and fought successfully several battles. He satisfied the needs of learned men and was a terror to bad ones.

Vv. 65-67. To this monarch (Parāntaka), the abode of all virtues, was born the lord of men, Rājarāja. 6 This king, who had a body as beautiful as that of Cupid and handsome lotus-like eyes, was comparable to Kuvēra (otherwise known as Rājarāja) only in his munificence. 7 He killed in battle the enemy kings and rooted out evil from the earth. He celebrated several yāgas and was ever voracious. Satyārāyaṇa, when he could have obtained strong support in Rājarāja, ran away senselessly from the battle-field. 8 In fact, the terrified enemies of Rājarāja win him over in battle by quietly bowing before him; nor will he deprive such suppliants of their life or property.

Vv. 68-72. The king Madhrāntaka, who punishes those who do not submit to him, who chastises his enemies and who possesses a body as handsome as that of Cupid himself, was born as the son of Rājarāja. This monarch, as powerful as Arjuna, defeated all the kings of Kuntala (Kuntalajñāna-adhikān). This king, who wore a hāra on his neck, abstracted the glory of the moon (that is, caused the glory of the moon to wane before his own). Conquering hostile kings by the power of his arms, he made Manyakhēta a sporting ground for his army. He caused the kings of the Kulūta and Utkala countries to be defeated by his generals; the

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1 & 8 His achievements are described in South-Ind. Insers. Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 61-52 & Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 61, V. 21. See also Kāliyattupparaṇi, Rājarām, Vv. 22 and 23.
2 Compare: शाशविषयेन विविधावलीयस्य गीतिनिर्मितस्तवार्यः कर्णमुद्यनुभवसाय।
3 Leiden Grant.
6 He is said to have been born under the asterism, Śādāyam, to have captured Udugai (Kalingat, v. 26 and Kulott, II, 46-48) and to have taken Malai-nādu (Vikkiram, II, 33-34).
7 King Rājarāja was a great giver of wealth (dhanā + da), and in this respect resembled Kuvēra, who bore the name Dhanaka. But Kuvēra was, as his name indicates, ill-shaped in body while king Rājarāja was not. One of Kuvēra’s eyes was yellow. Rājarāja, the king, had none of these drawbacks.
8 His conquests of Maṇṇal, Kīḻāram and Gaṅgai are mentioned in the Kalingat, v. 26, Vikkiram, I, 34-36 and Kulott, II, 49-50.
kings of Kalinga and the Vindhāndera (?) were also vanquished by his generals, who reached the Ganges, whose banks slipped down the river through the battering of his elephant brigade; the water of the (holy) Ganga was carried in pots on the heads of kings (to his capital city). He made his powerful army, which uprooted several hostile kings, cross the sea and set fire to Kaṭāhā, which it was possible for other kings to conquer. What act was impossible for this monarch Rājendra-Chōla?

V. 73. This king had three sons, comparable with the three fires in a yāga. Of these, the preeminent Rājadhīraja was his first son. He set fire to Kalyānāpurā, defeated its king [and did something to king Āhavamalla, ..................................................].

V. 74. When this king went to heaven, his younger brother who removed the sorrow of the world, ascended the throne. Rājendrā-devā, the monarch, who had arms resembling in shape the snake Ādī-Śēṣa, killed all his enemies.

Vv. 75-81. When this sovereign also went to heaven, his younger brother Vīra-Rājendrā who caused the valour of his enemies to wane, succeeded to the throne with due formality. He conquered not only his outside enemies, but also his own five senses. He killed the kings of the Māṇḍā family (?) at Kūḍalsangama; these kings augmented the army of the Dēvas (in the celestial world). The ocean was gratified by this king, who by killing hosts of men in battlefields created a new river of blood, and made her join her lord, the sea. The countries of Vēṅgi and Kalinga, which had been in his family for a long time, but, being abandoned by his elder brothers, were then in the occupation of his enemies, were recovered by Vallabha-vallabha by driving off some of those enemies and defeating others by the power of his arms, and were ruled over by him. Vīra-Chōla (that is, Vīra-Rājendrā), also known as Kārikāla-Chōla, having deprived the world of the evils of the Kali age, established several dharmamūsanas which afforded succour, were full of substance and were lofty in their aims. To the Lord of Pārvatī, who is dancing in Chītrapalalam (Dabhra-sabhā), he made a gift of the valuable ruby known by the name of trilokasvēra. He created several brahmādēya villages in the Chōla, the Tuṇḍira, the Pāṇḍya, the Gāṅgaviṣṭi and the Kūlāṭa countries. He also furnished forty thousand Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the Vedas, with gifts of lands.

Li. 420-445. In the seventh year (of the reign) of Rājakūśarīvarman—who bore the birudas and surnames the 'Asylum of the whole world,' 'Lord of the Earth,' Mahārājadhīraja, .................................. Asṭakulasimha, Rājakula (?), [Kā]vikaṭalāśēkhura, Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, Āhavamallakula-Kāla, he who defeated Āhavamalla

1 [See note 9 above, p. 46, Ed.]
3 His conquest of Kalyāṇa and the planting of a pillar of victory are mentioned in the Kāliyāvanuparāṣṭi, v. 26, and Vīkrama-Sūrya-śalā, II. 36-38.
4 "The outside and the inside enemies" is the expression employed in the text. The senses of sight, smell etc., are always considered the enemies of man, which reside in his own body.
5 Kāliyāvanuparāṣṭi, Kāliyāvanu, v. 29 and Vīkrama, II. 42-44.
6 It is a belief that one who dies on the battle-field goes to heaven. The number of warrior kings who were despatched to the other world by Vīra-Rājendrā-deva being great, the army of the Dēvas must have been greatly strengthened by these new recruits.
7 The sea is considered to be the husband of all rivers. Vīra-Rājendrā caused a river of blood to flow from the multitude of human beings he killed in battles, and gave her in marriage to the sea, which pleased the latter very much.
8 So named because he subdued the Vallabha (Chālukya) king.
five times, Rājaśekhara, Rājaśraya, Rāja-Rājendra, Vira-Chōja and Karihala-Chōja, in Purattāya-nādu, a sub-division of Uttama-Sōla-valanādu in Rājarāja-Pāṇḍi-nādu, to the Kanyā-bhaṭārakī the land, two hundred and seventy-one and three-quarters and two mā (in extent) comprised in the village of Nārrarākūḍi in Puratāya-nādu in Uttama-Sōla-valanādu, together with Perūngudi-Kīlkombu in the same nādu, containing fifty-nine and nine mā of land by the emperor (chakrarattī) Śrī-Rājendra-deva.

No. 5.—Niḍuparu Grant of Jayasimha I.

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

A set of ink-impressions of this inscription was sent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, who had received the original plates for examination from Mr. M. Ramakrishnamoorthy, M.A., Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The inscription is engraved on three oblong copper-plates, the second of which bears writing on both sides. The margins of the four inscribed sides are only very slightly raised into rims. The plates measure 2' in height. The two first are 7' in breadth, while the third is cut on the right margin and hence measures only 6'. The plates are strung on a ring which is 2' in diameter, and which is passed through a hole of about ½' in diameter. The two ends of the ring are fixed in the base of a circular seal of about 1½' in diameter which bears, in relief, the legend Śrī-Sarvasvātthā, with a crescent at the top and an expanded lotus-flower of nine petals at the bottom. The weight of the plates, with ring and seal, is 70 tolas.

The writing is in a tolerably good state of preservation; but some akṣaras, aṇuśāsas, and vowel-marks are indistinct, and at the end of the first five lines of the third plate, two or three letters are lost. The alphabet resembles that of other early Eastern Chalukya grants. A final form of t occurs in -vāsakāti (l. 1) and vasāti (l. 24). The syllable ru is used in the Telugu proper names Gaṇḍāra (l. 9 f. and 10), Vannāru (l. 10), Niḍuparu (l. 18 f.) and Niḍubaru (l. 11).

The language is Sanskrit prose as far as line 19. The last plate contains four Sanskrit verses. Consonants are not doubled after r, except in ārati (l. 3), pravarādha (l. 6), mantrārtha (l. 16), sārtya (l. 19), bhūr-vivasvāna (l. 22). As the notes on the text will show, the rules of Sandhi are frequently neglected. For -kalāpa (l. 8) the sense requires the instrumental -kalāpēna.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Niḍuparu or Niḍubaru to the learned Brāhmaṇa Kāṭihārman (read Kāṭiśarman?) by Jayasimha (I) Vallabha, son of Vishṇuvardhana (I) and grandson of Kirtivarman (I) of the Chalukya family. Vishṇuvardhana I bore the surname Makarasavajja, i.e., Cupid, whom he is stated to have surpassed in beauty (l. 5). The donor, Jayasimha I, had the surname Sarvasvātthā,² by which he is designated on the seals of his two grants.³

The king’s order was issued from Asanapura (l. 1), and the donor’s grandfather was an inhabitant of the same town (l. 12).⁴ The village granted was included in Gaṇḍārapurā and

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¹ [Mr. K. V. S. Aliyar reads in l. 426 maaṃṣaa and translates: ‘who saw the back of Khāvanalla three times’ —Ed.]
⁴ See the first paragraph of this article, and Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 197.
⁵ The grandfather of the donor of a grant of Vishṇuvardhana II also resided in Asanapura; Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 192.
was situated on the river Vannērū, north of the Vyāghra river, and two gavēṭīs east of the royal residence of Gandērū. The district of Gandērvāṭī is evidently the same as Kandērvāḍi or Kaṅḍravāḍi in other inscriptions from the Telugu country.1 Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has identified Gandērū, the chief town of this district and the residence of Jayasimha I, with the village of Kantērū in the Gunṭūr Taluk of the Gunṭūr District, and the village granted, Niḍūraṭu or Niḍūbraṭu, with the modern Nidamarru, which is actually about two gavēṭīs (i.e., eight miles) to the east of Kantērū.2 Mr. Sewell informs me that Kantērū is a few miles N. E. of Gunṭūr near the main road leading to Bezvāda, and that Nidamarru is a few miles N. E. of it. He is unable to trace the Vyāghra and Vannērū rivers, and the town of Asanapura.

TEXT.3

First Plate; Second Side.

1 Svasi Śrīmad-Asanapura-vāsakāt svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānudhyātānāṁ Hāritti-puṭrānāṁ Mānava-?

2 saṅgō[...]nāṁ Māṭri-gaṇa-paripātānāṁ aśvamēdha-yājiniāṁ Chulukyōnāṁ vi[s]uddha-vaṁ[ā]n[ā]ṁ-ōda-

3 yagiri-śikhar-ōdita-kahitipaty-ahimadīdhīteś sakala-jagad-ā[ṛ]ṭṭiti-hara-karmanā[b]

4 Śrī-Kīrtivarmapaḥ priya-naptā śāsalaṅkhanasya-ēva sakala-jagan-ma[n]ō-nayan-āna-

5 ndana-karasya sva-rāpā-lāvany-śvajīta-Makarathva(dhva)jasya Makaradhva-jāpara-

dāṁmakā śrīmad-āda[m]āḥ yugīna-

6 Viṣṇuḥ Viṣṇu-vedhaka-mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ pravardhamānōdaya-pratāp-

ōpanata-sama-

Second Plate; First Side.

7 sta-sāṁanta-makuta-taṭa-gaṭhita-mahī-mayākha-mañjari-puṁja-piṇjarita-charaṇ-āravindade-

yugalāh(lo) ni já-

8 gūṇa-didhiti-kālaṣa Kaliyuga-dhvāntāṁ nirākariṣhṇuḥ Ākhaṇḍalā iv-ākhaṇḍitē-

pura(ru)shah pa-

9 rama-brahmanyā mātāpri-pāt-ānudhyātāḥ śrī-Jayasimha-Vallabha-mahārājaḥ(jo)

Gandē-

10 ruvāṭya[m]a Viṣṇu-nadvāśa-vottarakāḥ(vō) Vannēre-nadvāśa-tīrē Gandērū-

rājadhīnāḥ-

11 pārva-dig-vibhāgē gavēṭān(tti)-dvāyē Niḍūraṭu-nāma-grāmam-ahivasataḥ

kuṇḍum(tum)binaḥ samavētā-

12 n-ājñāpayati ][*] Viditam-aṣṭu yath-Asanapura-sthāna-nīvāsinō ghaṭikā-sāṁyā-

2 Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1916-17, p. 115. According to Mr. Sewell’s Lists, Vol. I, pp. 37 and 39, there is a pair of other villages of the same name (Kapṭēru and Niḍūmaru) in the Tanuku and Bhimavaram Taluks of the Gōḍavari District. At my request Mr. Sewell has kindly looked up the Tālk maps in the British Museum, and he quite agrees with Mr. Krishna Sastri’s identification, because the village of Kangūr in the Gunṭūr District is a far more important place than the little out-of-the-way village of the same name in the Tanuku Taluk of the Gōḍavari District, and because the two villages of Kapṭēru and Niḍūmaru in this last district are not very close together, and seemingly quite small places.
3 Read “śrīmad-Asanapura-vāsakāt svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānudhyātānāṁ Hāritti-puṭrānāṁ Mānava-.”
4 Read “śrīmad-āda[m]āḥ yugīna-.”
5 Read “Viṣṇu-vedhaka-mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ pravardhamānōdaya-pratāp-ōpanata-sama-.”
6 From the ink-impressions.
7 Read “viṣṇuḥ.”
8 Read “śrī-Kīrtivarmapaḥ.”
9 As there was no room for the group eṣu of Viṣṇu at the bottom of the plate, the engraver placed a dash (eṣu) above Ṛ and added Ṛ after it.
10 Read “śrī-Kīrtivarmapaḥ.”
11 Read “śrī-Kīrtivarmapaḥ.”
12 Read “Viṣṇu-nadvāśa-vottarakāḥ(vō) Vannēre-nadvāśa-tīrē Gandērū-rājadhīnāḥ.”
NIDUPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA I.

i.

ii.a.

ii.b.

iii.
Seal of the Niduparu Grant of Jayasimha I.

Seal of the Kondanaguru Grant of Indravarman.
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Hail! From (his) residence in the prosperous Asanspura (l. 1), Jayasimha-Vallabhr-Mahara[C]ja (l. 9),—the dear son of Vi[shnuvardhana-Mahara[C]ja (l. 6) whose other name was Makaradhvaja (l. 5), and the dear grandson of Kirtiwar[C]men (l. 4) of the family of the Chalukyas (l. 2),—commands (as follows) the assembled ryots inhabiting the village named Nidupuru (which lay) in the (district of) Gandh[e[r]vati, northern of the Vysag[i]ra river and on the bank of the Vann[er]u river, at (a distance of) two gosyanis on the eastern side of the royal residence (rajadh[ani]) of Gand[e[r]u (ll. 9-12).

'Be it known to you that, on the full-moon (tithi) of Karttik[a], (I have) given this village named Nidupuru (l. 18 f.) to Katisarman of the Harita gotra and of the Ta[ttir]iyra (charana) (l. 17), son of Si[v]arudra[war]man (l. 15), and grandson of Ma[ta]sarman (l. 14) who resided in the town (at[asa]) of Asanspura and was a member of (its) college (l. 12). Ma[ta]sarman is stated to have 'studied two Vedas together with their Pads, Krama, and Anukrama' and to have 'known many law-books, together with Kalpa, Up[an]ishad, Pur[a], and Itiha[a];' Si[v]arudra[war]man, to have performed Agnishomas; and Katisarman, to have 'studied two Vedas' and to have 'purified and trained his mind by sacrificial lore, Up[an]ishad, the meaning of Mantras, Itiha[a], Pur[a], and Dharma[stra].'
The executor (ājānapīta) of this (grant) was ........ who knew royal politics, the Vedāṅgas, and all arts! (verse 1, l. 19 f.). The record ends with three verses ‘sung’ by Vyāsa? (l. 20).

No. 6.—IPUR PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA III.

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

I am editing the inscription on these plates from a set of ink-pressions supplied to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates were found while digging in an unspecified village of the Kistna District and now belong to the collection of Mr. Brindavanam Gopalacharlu at Īpur, a village in the Tenali Taluk of the Guṇṭūr District. These are three oblong copper-plates, the second of which bears writing on both sides. The margins of the four inscribed sides are slightly raised into rims. The three plates have a slight inward curvature in the middle of the long edges and measure 6½ by 2½”. They are strung on a ring of about 3½” in diameter, which passes through a hole of about ½” in diameter and bears a circular seal of 1½” in diameter. The seal bears, on a countersunk surface, the legend Śri-Viṣhakaśiddha in Telugu characters, with an expanded lotus-flower of seven petals at the bottom and a crescent enclosing a star (or the sun?) at the top. The weight of the plates, with ring and seal, is 38 tolas.

The writing is in a state of good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of other Eastern Chalukya grants of the same period. The language is barbarous Sanskrit prose, and two verses are quoted in lines 21-24 of the last plate. Owing to the dense ignorance of the drafting clerk, orthography, Sandhi rules, and grammar are disregarded in every line. Still the inscription is an interesting historical document and can be made out almost completely. It records an order issued in the twenty-third year of his reign by Vishnuvardhana, son of Vijayasiddhi, and grandson of Vishnuvardhana of the Chalukya family. As Vijayasiddhi is known to have been a surname of Maṅgi-yuvarāja, his father has to be identified with Vishnuvardhana II, and his son with Vishnuvardhana III. From the seal of the subjoined grant we learn that the latter—like his two ancestors Vishnuvardhana I and II—bore the surname Viṣhakāśīdha.

The king’s order refers to a grant of a field and of a house-site with a flower-garden to a Brāhmaṇa residing at Kommarā. The field granted formed part of the village of Jalavuru in the district of Pählenḍu and was situated to the west of the Elīyuru river and to the east of Kākaṇḍivada. None of these local names I am able to identify. But the district of Pählenḍu is evidently the same as Prōḷāṇḍu or Prōḷunāḍu near Pithāpuraṃ.6

The grant was made by the daughter of Maṅgoḍavarāja, Prithivipōṭhī, who seems to have been one of the queens of Vishnuvardhana III. The second member of the queen’s name cannot have anything to do with Hindi pōṭhī, ‘a book.’ Perhaps it is a misspelling of pōṭī, a feminine derivative of pōṭa which is known to have formed part of the names of Pallava kings.6 I hope I am not considered too bold if I further propose to identify the name of Prithivipōṭhī’s father, Maṅgoḍavarāja, with Mahendravarman III, the Pallava king of Kaṇḍiḥ.7

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1 Perhaps he was a Brāhmaṇa minister of the king. His proper name is uncertain because of the break at the end of line 19 of the text. It may have been Sarvaṣāṅkārya.
3 Note the spelling pāṇḍarāya for pāṇḍraṣa (l. 19), and ṣa for ṣa in ṣaṅaṅpāṇa (l. 12) and ṣaṅaṅpāṇa (l. 24).
The period of the reign of Vishnuvardhana III (A.D. 709-746)\(^1\) would suit this identification. A close connection between both dynasties might be gathered also from the fact that the panegyrical descriptions of kings in the Eastern Chalukya grants remind of those of some Pallava grants.\(^2\)

**TEXT.**

First Plate; Second Side.

1. Svasti \(\text{[\text{\textendash}]}\) Śrīmatā[m\(\text{\textendash}\)] sakala-bhuvana-saṁstū(tā)yamāna-Mānavya-sagātārā-
2. \(\text{[\text{\textendash}]}\) Hārīti-pṛthap[ām\(\text{\textendash}\)] Kauśikī-vara-praśāda-labhā-raja[y\(\text{\textendash}\)]nāṁ Mātrī(ṛ)gu-
3. \(\text{[\text{\textendash}]}\) bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-praśāda-sam[ā\(\text{\textendash}\)]sādīta-
4. \(\text{[\text{\textendash}]}\) ha-lāčha(fūchha)nāna[m\(\text{\textendash}\)] aśvamētā(dhū)Avahri(hṛ)tha-sāna-pav[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)]kri(ṛ)ta-vapuṣāhām
5. Chhajākhyānā[n\(\text{\textendash}\)] kulam-alā[ṛn\(\text{\textendash}\)]karaḥ[pō\(\text{\textendash}\)] Śrī-Vishnuvardhāna-mahārāja-
6. sya sūnār-anēka-samāra-sa[m\(\text{\textendash}\)]ghaṭ-āpalabha-yudha(ddha)-vijaya-yu-
7. sah-prasaun[ō\(\text{\textendash}\)]mōda-gandha-śādi(dhū)vāśita-sakala-dig-ṇāpālaya[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)] Śrī-

Second Plate; First Side.

8. Vijayaśiddhi(dddhaḥ) priya-tanaya[ḥ\(\text{\textendash}\)] sva-vikram-[ā]krānte-mahi[ḥ\(\text{\textendash}\)]maṇḍalaya[ṛ-
9. timīra-pral[a\(\text{\textendash}\)] diṣṭa(tū) yuvati-jana-Makha[ka\(\text{\textendash}\)]rādhya[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)] vidvaktavi[ṛ-vi-pra-
10. taka\(=\)a[ṛn\(\text{\textendash}\)]Kamadhēnuni|m\(\text{\textendash}\)] mahāchāya[\(=\)a\(\text{\textendash}\)]lasya-naisīḍhurjyaarāhāya[=\)paśu[ś\(\text{\textendash}\)]nyan-
11. rahita stṛ-bbās[ā\(\text{\textendash}\)] vṝi(ddha-buddha-praha[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)]haṃ[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)]ya-tu-rū[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)]pa[h\(\text{\textendash}\)]śrī-Vishnu-
12. harājaya[ō] ē[va\(\text{\textendash}\)]m-āśya[jō\(\text{\textendash}\)]payati [[\text{\textendash}]] Komnara-v[ā\(\text{\textendash}\)]stavy[ā\(\text{\textendash}\)]ya[\(\text{\textendash}\)] Ātrī(ṛ)tra[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)]ga-
13. traya [ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)]rai[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)]nyakṣet-sūrāya[\(\text{\textendash}\)] Agnīsārmmanas[ḥ\(\text{\textendash}\)] pavutraya[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)] Tālīṣa[\(\text{\textendash}\)]

Second Plate; Second Side.

14. rma[m\(\text{\textendash}\)] putrāya Kēśavārma[m\(\text{\textendash}\)] Plōṇaṇḍu-vishaya Jala[ṛyū-r[u\(\text{\textendash}\)]ma-
15. grām[ā\(\text{\textendash}\)] paśchima-diṣṭa[m\(\text{\textendash}\)] Emīyṛn-nadi(dī)-pa[ēh]tmata[h\(\text{\textendash}\)] Prabhākara-
16. u\(=\)a[i\(\text{\textendash}\)]ka[ra\(\text{\textendash}\)] [a\(\text{\textendash}\)] Kākāṇḍivada-kahētra-pō[r\(\text{\textendash}\)]vanta[to\(\text{\textendash}\)] vahm[ka\(\text{\textendash}\)]dahinmata āstā(ch-ha-
17. tur-avadhvi vi[m\(\text{\textendash}\)]s[t\(\text{\textendash}\)]ka[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)]khaṇḍikā-ḥrī[vṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)]hi-bja-pariprāmāṇa[m\(\text{\textendash}\)] kahē-
18. tra[m\(\text{\textendash}\)] sākṣaṁntim-śnimat[ū]m o[u]daka-pō[r\(\text{\textendash}\)]v[va\(\text{\textendash}\)]m[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)] [da\(\text{\textendash}\)]tta[m\(\text{\textendash}\)] ghriṃ[ṛ\(\text{\textendash}\)]ha-
19. kṣa-sahita[m\(\text{\textendash}\)] sarvva-kara-paṭhrārē[ṇa\(\text{\textendash}\)] prava[r\(\text{\textendash}\)]ddhamāna-vijaya-rā-

\(^1\) Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 99.
\(^2\) From the ink-impressions.
\(^3\) Read "mahāmānām.
\(^4\) Read "pariprāmāṇa.
\(^5\) Read "bhāsikārī." 
\(^6\) Read "praśādha." 
\(^7\) Read "āhāration.
\(^8\) Read "śrīvatsa." 
\(^9\) Read "vānū." 
\(^10\) Read "bhāṣā." 
\(^11\) Read "yādgā." 
\(^12\) Read "sūrāgā." 
\(^13\) Read "rāja." 
\(^14\) Read "dīsāgā." 
\(^15\) Read "āśvāvā." 
\(^16\) The syllable ū was corrected by the engraver from rūma. 
\(^17\) Read "parimāna." 
\(^18\) Read "mahāmāna-nāmānāmā." 
\(^19\) Read "mahāmāna-nāmānāmā." 
\(^20\) Read "mahāmāna-nāmānāmā." 
\(^21\) Read "mahāmāna-nāmānāmā." 
\(^22\) Read "mahāmāna-nāmānāmā."
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Vishnuvardhana-Mahârâja (l. ii f.),—the dear son of Vijayasiddhi (l. 8), the son of Vishnuvardhana-Mahârâja who adorned the family of the Chalukyas (l. 5 f.),—orders as follows:—

'On the occasion of a Saṅkrânti (l. 18) in the year twenty-three of (my) reign (l. 19 f.), a field (and) a house-site accompanied by a flower-garden were given to Kâsava-sarman of the Átreyâ-gôtra and Hiranyakâśi-sûtra, who resided at Komnara (l. 12) and was a son of Taḷîśarman and a grandson of Agniśarman, by Prithivipôthi, the beloved daughter of Maghînduruvarâja (l. 20 f.).' The field granted lay in the western part of the village named Jâjyûru in the district (tiṣhaya) of Pōlnându (l. 14 f.). Its four boundaries were to the west of the Elîyûru river, to the north of the field of Prabhâkara, to the east of the fields of Kaśândivaça, and to the south of an anthill (l. 15-17). It required as seed twenty khâṇḍikas of paddy (l. 17).

The executor (dânapati) was the chief of the camp, Vâtattâ (f) by name. By him the house-site was given to the (donee) (l. 24 f.).

No. 7.—VAPPAGHOSHAVATA GRANT OF JAYANAGA.

By Lionel D. Barnett.

The record belongs to the Museum of Perth, to the authorities of which I am indebted for permission to edit and reproduce it. It was presented to the Museum some time ago by Mr. J. Greig of Calcutta. The Museum possesses a paper signed by him and containing a copy of a

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1 This curious expression is meant for trâgâcinâ varaḥ.
2 The ti of pôtâ slightly differs in shape from the ti of Prithi and of ascândhâ (dähr)-bhârâ in ti 4; but it cannot be r, as it has been read in the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1919-20, p. 99 ff. Cf. the r of Khêryâ- (l. 15) and Kêtâ (l. 24).
3 Instead of -dâhitâ (l. 20) and -nâma we would have expected -dahitrâ and -nâmayâ. The next word is a superfluous repetition of dattâ in line 18.
4 Read -bhómita.
5 Read -attâminâd.
6 Read -bheṣiha.
7 Read shâhâtîma.
8 Read perhaps Tânevaṅga.
10 As suggested in the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1919-20, p. 100, kada-egya is the same as kaśakrâja, the chief of the royal camp," for which see above, Vol. VII, p. 154 f., and Vol. IX, p. 49 f. According to Kâtipâla's Kosânda-English Dictionary, s. v. egea, I, the Kâpârâse noun egeya (Tâmâle ēyivon) is a synonym of the Sanskrit râja,
somewhat unsuccessful attempt to translate and annotate the plate, which bears the subscription: “R. Mittoo, Asiatic Society, 6th December 1854,” and to which Mr. Greig has prefixed the note “Translation of a Copper Plate found in the Indigo Estate at Mallia—by one of Mr. James Smith’s’ villagers, and presented to me by that gentleman in January 1855.”

It consists of a single rectangular plate of copper, slightly irregular in shape, about 7½ in. in width and 5½ in. in height, with a circular seal about 3 in. in diameter soldered on the proper left side. The seal, which is very much worn, shews traces of an upright female figure, apparently Lakshmi, with either one or two elephants performing the kumbhādhiśēkha over her, while in the exergue below there are the remains of a now illegible inscription. The plate itself, which is inscribed on one side only, is in very good preservation, except for a crack running down it, which has been repaired by a small rivet. Two or three letters at the end of l. 14 and a whole line of writing immediately following the latter have been deliberately erased.—The characters, which have been picked out comparatively recently with white paint, are of a well-formed upright Gupta type, apparently of the latter half of the sixth century, and average in height a little less than ½ in. In most respects they are archaic enough to justify an ascription to the fifth century; but the forms of the initial । (‘iṭī, l. 11) and the bipartite ॥ (paśīn), make the latter date more probable. The conjunct nasals and consonants are used in preference to the simple consonants with preceding anusvāra (e.g. -sambhoga-, l. 3). न and श are confused (e.g. -sambhatasā, l. 2, Audumari[ka-], l. 3, but sa-vaśāmchārīś, l. 5, -svāmopaśā, l. 8, etc.). Internal अ is denoted either by a doubly waving line curving upwards towards the right from the top of the shaft (cf. the 8th and 18th syllables of l. 1), or by a short upward tick at the right corner of the top (cf. the 14th syllable of l. 1), or by a downward loop from the right corner of the top (cf. the 15th syllable of l. 2). Internal । is represented usually by a waving line similar to the first type of अ but in the opposite direction (e.g. the 18th syllable of l. 2), rarely by a perpendicular tick on the left corner of the top (-svāmin, l. 5) Internal । is made with the waving । combined with either the ticked or the downward, looped ।. The curve of internal इ is sometimes single (e.g. śrī, l. 2, -śimā, l. 9), sometimes double (e.g. grāmīṇa-, l. 14). The angularity of the base of the th (dāṣyaṭh-ḥi, l. 7) is note worthy; so also is the combination of the syllable ल with a following danda, in which the curving line denoting त is carried around the ण and upwards to that of it, terminating there in a small horizontal tick on a level with the top of the त (see ll. 4, 7, 13), a peculiarity which seems to have been affected by Eastern scripts, as we find it again even as late as the Talchār plates of Gayāda-Tuṅgadōyā (see Nagendra Nath Vasu’s Archaeol. Survey of Māyurabhanja, plate to face p. 154. and J. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XII, 1916, No. 6, pl. 4, last line).—The cursive rya in Sārya-(l. 3) is also significant. The language is Sanskrit prose, becoming in parts loose and almost dialectal. As already remarked न and य are confused. Lexically we may note the words śākhasāl-, dharman (l. 6); gāgīnā (l. 9 bia), the modern gāgīna, which possibly may be used here as a common noun meaning “dry river-bed” (see above, Vol. XII, p. 66, n. 3, and p. 78, n. 5), but more probably is the name of a particular river (see below); and tāmra-pattā (ll. 8, 11, 13, bia), which here, instead of its primary meaning of “copper-plate” (as above, Vol. VII, pp. 87, 95, 98, Vol. VIII, pp. 152, 157-59), signifies an estate granted under a warrant engraved on a copper-plate.¹

The object of the document is to specify the bounds of a certain village named Vappaghoshavāṭa granted to the Brāhmaṇ Bhaṭṭa Brahmavīra Svāmin by the Śāṃta Nārayana-bhadra, and is dated in the reign (the word qualifying the svāmavāca is unfortunately effaced)

¹ As I am unable to locate “Mallia” with certainty, I have judged it advisable to designate this charter by the name of the village granted in it.

of King Jayanāga, who was at the time residing in Karnasuvapraka, and who, to judge from his title of Mahārajādhīrāja, must have been a ruler of considerable importance. The document was drawn up in accordance with Narayanaabhadra's instructions by his commissioner (vyanavārtha) Sūryasena. On the principles of this administrative hierarchy the student may profitably compare the observations of Mr. Radhagovinda Basak in his paper on the Dāmodarpur Plates (above, Vol. XV, pp. 116 ff).

Of Jayanāga we know nothing from other sources. But Mr. John Allan has suggested to me that he may be the same as the king whose coins, described in his Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties (Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum), pp. lix., civ., civi., cxxiii, 150-51, and pl. xxiv, bear on the reverse the abbreviated name Jayas and on the reverse a seated Lakshmi with an elephant sprinkling her. This connection seems highly probable. In any case, the present document furnishes an important fact concerning the early history of Karnasuvarga, which, taken in connection with the Nidhanpur grant of Bāsakvarman (above, Vol. XII, p. 65), supplies material for interesting speculation.

The names of places mentioned, besides Karnasuvapraka (I. 1), are the Audumvarikavishaya (1. 3); the villages of Vappaghośavāta (1. 6), Kutkutagrāma (II. S. 14), and Amalapaukti-grāma (1. 10). Gaṅgikā (I. 9, bis.), literally "river," which here is perhaps used as a proper name; the Sīrshapāyaṇaka or "mustard-channel" (1. 10); and the pool of Vakhṣa-Sūmālīka (II. 13-14). On the geographical position of Karnasuvapraka, the ancient capital of the kingdom of the same name, see T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, pp. 191-93, and H. Beveridge, The Site of Karnasuvarga, in J. A. S. B., 1893, pp. 315 ff., the latter of whom identifies it with Bāgāmati, near Murshidābād, which is said to have been formerly known as Kaṅsā or Kaṅsā, a name which phonetically corresponds perfectly to Karnasuvapraka, through an intermediate Prakrit form Kaṅsāpuram. On the other names I am indebted to Mr. S. K. Chattorji, M. A., D. Lit., for the following observations. The Gaṅgikā seems to be the river Jālangt, a branch of the Ganges or Padma which unites with the Bhāğratthī near Nadiā, the classical Narasimha. The Bengali poet Bharatachandra Ray (c. 1740 A.D.) in his Anandā-maṅgala (pp. 136 and 151 of Mukti Rama Vidyāvīśa's edition, Calcutta, 1857) speaks of the ancestors of the Rajās of Nadiā as living in the puraṇa of Bāgdwān (Bāgoān) at a village called Andulīya: "Gaṅgā herself i.e. the Bhāğratthī to the west, to the east the Gaṅgī; there is the village of Bādagāči; at a village called Andulīya: "Gaṅgā herself i.e. the Bhāğerathī to the west, to the east the Gaṅgī; there is the village of Bādagāči; opposite to it, on the other side of the river, is Andulīya." In the Survey map of Nadiā District Bāgdwān is a village in the Meherpur sub-division, and close to it, on the two sides of the Jālangt, are the villages of Bādagāči ("Burgachey") and Andulīya ("Andoolées"), as stated by Bharatachandra. It seems likely that this river Jālangt is the Gaṅgikā of the present record. North of Bāgdwān, at some distance from the Jālangt, is an important village named Gāṇgant, which may possibly preserve the name of the Gaṅgikā. Rivers in the plains often change their courses. None of the other place-names can be located. But it may be noted that Vappaghośavāta (vappa is the Bengali bāp, "father," and gaṅgā-cāta = "dwelling of herdsmen") would be a likely village-name in Southern Murshidābād and Nadiā, where there was much cattle-breeding. A Gaṅgāpāḍa exists in the south, on the Bhāğerathī, and is well known as the home of the founder of the Kartabhasā sect; cf. Gūtas (i.e. Gō-vāsa or Gōpā-vāsa) in Nadiā and Murshidābād, Gāḍī (i.e. Gōpa-vātikā), a suburb of Krishnagar, near Nadiā town, etc. An extended stem Vakhaṇā is apparently the origin of the Middle Bengali place-name Bahaḍra or Bahāra, in Modern Bengali Bāy(a)da or Bāy(a)ra, which is found in the names of e.g. Jōt-Bāyra, a suburb of Krishnagar, near the town of Jōt, Bāyra, and Bāyra, I am indebted to Mr. Mamomon Chakravartī, J. A. S. B., 1905, p. 280 ff. But he admits that in quite recent times a suburb of Murshidābād was named Karnasuvarga (see v. 2 of the preface to Rādhākiṅta's Saṅkha-kalpa-tantra).
in the Kushtiyā sub-division of Nadiś; Bayrā on the Kabadāk or Kabatāk, in the Bongong (Vanagrāma) sub-division of Nadiś; Hēt-Bayrā (i.e. Haṭṭa-Vakhaṭaka), and elsewhere.

**TEXT**

1. Svasti Karna[a]juvaraṅkāyasvasthitasya mahārājādhirajah(ja)-parama-bhāgavatā
d Śrī-Jayanāgā-[d]ēvasya

2. [bh]yudaya-sambatsares tat-pād-anuddhyata-ārti-sāmaṇa-‌


4. sēnē vyavaharati | tad-asē-ājīnā ārti-sāmaṇa-pādaiḥ pradattāḥ (ttā) Kāyapa-sagottīrya Chhē-‌

5. ndōga-savra(brā)hmachārinē bhaṭṭa-Vra(brā)hmsvar-svāminē mayā mātā-pitrār-‌

6. ś-cha puny-ābhivṛddhayē Vappaghōṣhavatā-grāma ākṣaya-ān-dharmmanā pradattāḥ viśe‌‌

7. ya-mudr-ālaakri(ākri)ta-tāmra-sāsanam sīm-āghāṭa-pariechhinma[ra] dāsayath-ēti |‌

attra sīmē‌‌

8. liṅgāni yattara paśchimasyān-diśi Kutkuṭa-grāmīṇa-vrā(brā)hmapanāḥ satka-tāmra-‌

paṭṭa-‌

9. sīmā utta[va]yaṁ gaṅginiikā pūrvvasyāṁ-iyam-eva gaṅginiikā tato nissritō‌‌

10. Āmalapautika-grāma-paśchimā(śa)-sīmāmāngatās-Sarshapa-yānakaḥ tēn-ai[va]a[li]-‌‌

11. [mn]a[sa]mpariechhinma yāva-Bhaṭṭ- Omnīla-svāmi-tāmra-paṭṭa iti taamēch-‌

cha dakhśa-dua(Ś)-bhāgē-‌‌

12. dBhāyas-tēn-aiva sīmē uttarān-diśam-anuvalamānas-tāvad-ṣagot ūva[d*]‌‌

Bhārani-svāmi‌‌

13. tāmra-paṭṭa-sim-ēti | tato-pi praduṣṭaṇa Bhaṭṭ- Omnīla-svāmi-tāmra-paṭṭa-‌

simi Vakhaṭa-[Ś]amē‌‌

14. likā-śeṣa-kaṭam-praviṣṭya tāva[d*] gato yāva[t*] sa ēva Kutkuṭa-grāmīṇa-‌

vrā(brā)hmapa-sim-ēti . .‌‌

15. (Effaced)

**TRANSLATION.**

Hail! In the year of the rise ... of the Great Emperor, the supreme worshipper of the Lord, the fortunate king Jayanāgā, when he is resident at Karna[s]ūvarṇakā, at the time that the Baron Nārāyānapadbhradra, who meditates upon his feet, is in the enjoyment of the Audumbarika province, his commissioner the Mahāpratihāra Sūryasēna acting as administrator; the command given to him by the noble Baron is as follows: “The village of Vappaghōṣhavatā has been given by me to Bhaṭṭa Brahmasvar Sāvāmin, a member of the Kāyapa gotra and colleague of the Chhāndogas, for the increase of the merit of my mother, my father, and myself, as a perpetual endowment: you are to give (a deed engraved on) a copper-plate adorned with the seal of the province and specifying the boundaries.” The signs of the boundary therein are: on the west, the boundary of the grant belonging to the Brahmas of Kutkuṭa-grāma; on the north, the river-bed; on the east, the same river-bed; issuing thence and running along the western boundary of Āmalapautika-grāma, (the boundary) is the Sarshapa-yānaka; it is limited by

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1 From the plate.
2 Read svāmī.
3 Apparently akṣaya-ān denotes the same form of tenure as akṣaya-nīsi or nīsi - dharmas, on which see Mr. Radhagovinda Basak's note above, Vol. XV, p. 191, n. 8.
the same [boundary], as far as Bhāṣṭa Unmilana-svāmin's grant; from the south thereof, (the boundary), turning along farther by the same boundary to the north, proceeds as far as the boundary of Bhārsanī-svāmin's grant, thence in a straight line enters the pond of Vakhaṭa-Śrālikā on the boundary of Bhāṣṭa Unmilana-svāmin's grant, and goes as far as the same boundary of the Brāhmaṇas of Kutkuṭa-grāma.

No. 8.—NIDUR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

The subjoined two inscriptions are engraved on the south wall of the Śiva temple at Niḍur, a village situated on the north bank of the Kāvēri in the Mayāvaram taluk of the Tanjore district. This temple is one on which the Śiva saint Sundaramūrti-Nāyapār of the 8th century has composed hymns. Though the preservation of the records is not good, there are enough traces left in them to make out the inscriptions almost completely. It would have been certainly much better if they had not suffered damage. I am editing the inscriptions from impressions secured during the field season of 1921-22 by Mr. A. S. Ramanather of the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and registered as Nos. 536 and 535 of Appendix B of the Annual Report on Epigraphy for that year, where, however, the importance of these metrical records has not been noted.

The two inscriptions are dated in the reign of Kulottuṇga-Chōla. The king bears no distinguishing epithets; but to judge from the characters employed, the records appear to be of the time of Kulottuṇga I, who reigned from A.D. 1070 to 1119. The high regnal years 46 and 38 given to the king in these records also point to the same conclusion. As will be shown below, the inscriptions are of great value to students of Tamiḻ literature as they almost fix the time of one of the most important works on Tamiḻ Prosody.

Inscription A is dated in the 46th year of the reign of Kulottuṇga-Chōla and registers that a certain Kanḍān Mādavaṇ —called also Miḻalai-nāṭṭu-Vēl, Tōṇḍai-Kavaḷ, and chief of Kulaṭṭur (Kārigai-Kulaṭṭur in B)—caused to be made of stone the shrine of Šoṇṇavarārivar and constructed a pavilion for expounding the Purāṇas in the temple at Tiḷai, i.e. Chidambaram. Incidentally reference is made to the Tamiḻ Prosodist Amudasāgara and his work Kārigai, which was begun and completed at Kulaṭṭur as well as to the construction of the temple at Niḍur with stone, by the same chief, in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of the Chōla king (Nēriyai). ¹

Inscription B, which is dated in the 38th year of the king's reign, states that this same Kanḍān Mādavaṇ—who receives here also the epithets Miḻalai-nāṭṭu-Vēl and Tōṇḍai-Kavaḷ—is stated to have built the excellent stone simāṇa at Niḍur. This inscription further tells us that Kanḍān Mādavaṇ was the marumagā (i.e. nephew or son-in-law) of an un-named person at whose instance Amudasāgara-Munī of Tamiḻ fame composed the work called Kārigai, and was the chief of Kārigai-Kulaṭṭur in Śrī-Kūra-naṉdu in Jayaṉgoḍa-śoḷa-maṇḍalam (i.e. the ancient Tōṇḍai-maṇḍalam).

The mention of the name of the Jaina teacher Amudasāgara-Munī and of his composing the work Kārigai, by which there is no doubt meant the well known Tamiḻ work on Prosody Yapparungalakkarigai, is of great interest inasmuch as it enables us to determine the age when that author flourished. The fact that Amudasāgara was a contemporary of the uncle or father-in-law of Kanḍān Mādavaṇ shows that he lived in the 12th century A.D., the date of the subjoined epigraphs.

¹ Nēriyai, Śeṇi, Pōṇi-ṭhānaiyaṇ and Nēri-verpaṇ are some of the synonyms of “Chōla,” according to the amil lexicon Chēḍamaṇi-Naṅgaṉu. (See Makkaṉeḻer-ṭoṇdī, r. 1, 19.)
² By simāṇa is meant 'the temple’ for the other inscription uses the word kuruṇḍi in its place.
Yapparungalakkārīgai is generally believed to be a much earlier work. In discussing the date of Chāḷamaṇi, one of the five smaller kāyas of Tamil, the late Mr. C. W. Damodaram Pillai wrote the following: ¹—

"Several stanzas from the Chāḷamaṇi have been cited as examples in the Yapparungalakārīgai and in the commentary² written in the interval between Śaka 200 and 300 by Guṇasāgarā on the Yapparungalakārīgai of Amudāsāgarā which was based on Yapparungalakārīgai. As it is known from the introductory verse of the Chāḷamaṇi that that work was composed during the reign of Vijayarāja who ruled from the city of Kārvēṭināgar in Cholamandalam and as that city was earlier than Uṟandai, the work must be not less than 1,500 years old."

It is not possible to ascertain whence Mr. Damodaram Pillai obtained the date "between Śaka 200 and 300" for Guṇasāgarā's commentary and what his authority was for the statement that "Kārvēṭināgar in Śolamaṇḍalam was earlier than Uṟandai (i.e. Uraitūr)." There are literary evidences to show that Uraitūr in the Trichinopoly district and Kāvīripūriṇāṁ in the Shiyali taluk of the Tanjore district were the capitals of the Cholās prior to Tanjore. But there is none so far to the effect that Kārvēṭināgar was even a famous city. Neither was this situation in Cholā-maṇḍalam. Evidences, both literary and epigraphical, would point to Kārvēṭināgar having been included in Tondai-maṇḍalam. We shall discuss the upper limit of Guṇasāgarā's age after citing the opinion of Paṇḍit M. Raghava Aiyangar on the date of Yapparungalakārīgai. Writing on the age of Mandālapurūsha, the author of the Tamil Nīguṇḍu, he says that "there are ample reasons that confirm that Amudāsāgarā could not have lived before the 10th century A.D.³" and it is pretty certain that he must have with him materials to prove his point. These are the only two definite pronouncements that we know of regarding the date of Yapparungalakārīgai, besides the statement of Mr. Narasimhacharya which will be referred to later on.

It is interesting to note here the account preserved in the Tamil literature respecting Amudāsāgarā and his work. From the invocatory stanza of his work it is learnt that the author was a Jain, for it is addressed to the Arhat under the shade of the Aśoka tree.⁴ Guṇasāgarā, the Jain commentator on Yapparungalakārīgai, has the following say on the name of the work and the method adopted in its composition: —

"Like the Prakṛit grammar Paṭīṭiyam and Piṅgalaḥ otherwise called Chhandopīṣitam,⁵ this work (i.e. Yapparungalakārīgai) is made of Kārīgai⁶ verses; and like the Karnāṭaka Chhandas Gupakōśa, each stanza is addressed to a female and is concise. It cites examples like the Mahāyāna-Yāppu; like the Śeyyuttaraiṅkōvai of Tamil music; like the Vargakkōvai⁷ of the Ashtakas in the Vēdas and like the Nītaka-ślokas of the Rgvedāṭara, it gives the commencing portions of the verses cited as examples. As the Niruttii

¹ See his introduction to the work.
² For citations of the Chāḷamaṇi stanzas in the Yapparungalakārīgai, see the comment on verse 13 of Uruppiyal, v. 13 of Śeyyuttīyai and v. 6 of Olībiyal.
⁴ Nandamaṇi kādi-malar-ppiṇḍi-kkaṇḍ-ār-nilai-śiṣṭi
andam-adigai-riṇiy-adigai-ṭittu elutatāi ʾīr
pandamadi tōṇai-pai-nilai-kāvānañi pallavatāi
samadadigai-adigai maruṭṭiya tāl-kaḷalē.
⁵ [Perhaps Chhandośichi.—Ed.]
⁶ The word Kārīgai means beauty, woman, the metre called Kattalikkalittuṟai and the work on prosody known as Yapparungalakārīgai. It is here used in the sense of the last. According to the Amara, Kārīkā means Vṛtti. In Sanskrit it means the concise statement in verse of any certain doctrine.
⁷ Though this work is not now extant, stray stanzas from it are found quoted by Guṇasāgarā himself in his commentary, e.g. see his comment on v. 17.
⁸ Kērai is a short verse indicating the commencement or end of a passage; or sometimes the number and order of words or sentences in the Vēdas and Upanishadas. It is both an aid to memory and a measure of the contents.
From the extract given above, it will be observed that Guṇasāgara, the commentator on Yāpparunugalākkūrīgai, was acquainted with Pīngala’s Chhandovichiti, the Rāṣṭrātāra and the Gaukāṣikiya, a work on Kanarese Prosody. By Pīngala² may be meant either the earlier Sanskrit Pīngala or the Prākrit Pīngala³ on which was based Nāgavarma’s Chhandas.⁴ There were more works than one bearing the name Rāṣṭrātāra. The author of one of them was Dharmakīrti, who has been identified by Prof. M. Rangacharya with the Buddhist bhikku of that name who flourished in the court of Prasākramabahu I of Ceylon, and who, as such, belonged to the 10th century A.D. It is worth pointing out that a lithic record found at Ēruṣiyāram in the South Arcot District, detailing a boarding educational institution maintained in the temple at that place, states that as many as forty students were learning the Rāṣṭrātāra⁵ and this must refer to an earlier work bearing that name and cannot refer to Dharmakīrti’s treatise mentioned above. The best way to take it is that Rāṣṭrātāra was the name of a subject taught and that there were some treatises written bearing the name of the subject, one of which being earlier than the middle of the 11th century A.D. and another belonging to the 13th century A.D. It is not certain which work Guṇasāgara alludes to in his commentary. If it is to the latter, he should have lived after the 13th century A.D. As regards Gaukāṣikiya, Mr. R. Narasimhacharya has shown that Nāgavarma, called also Nākiga, the author of the Kannada work Chhandombudhi, flourished during the reign of the Western Gaṅga kinga Hāchamalla and his younger brother Rakkasa-Gaṅga; and that his patron was Chāmanuḍa-Rāja, his own elder brother. He, therefore, belongs to the end of the 10th century A.D. when also lived Bhojarāja of Dhārā, who is said to have made a present of horses admiring the author’s other work Kādambari. It appears to me that the most relevant say on the authorship and time of the Kannāṭaka chhandas Gaukāṣikiya is what has been made by Mr. Narasimhacharya who in his introduction to Kāvyavaliṅka identifies its author with Nāgavarma, the earliest writer on Kanarese Prosody, and the work Gaukāṣikiya with Chhandombudhi, equating Gaukāṣika (guṇagāna) with Rakkasa-Gaṅga (Intr., pp. 5 f.). He has also shown from internal evidence that Nāgavarma was a resident of Śaiyadi, a village in the Western Gaṅga territory, though his grandfather is stated to have belonged to a village in the Veṅga country. It may be noted also that this chhandas of Nāgavarma bears the description given above by Guṇasāgara.

¹This mode of noting the contents of a work is not common to Tamil writers but is peculiar only to Sanskrit. The commentator’s knowledge of Sanskrit and Prākrit chhandas shows that he was a good Sanskrit scholar.
³Kittel is of opinion that this work is later than the Sanskrit Pīngala but not later than the 6th century A.D., i.e. the time of Varahamihira.
⁴See Kittel’s introduction to the work.
In any case, from internal evidence alone, it might be said that Gunaśigara could not have written his commentary on *Yāpparuvālaṅkārikā* in the interval between Śaka 200 and 300 as stated by the late Mr. C. W. Damodaram Pillai. Now that we have definite information that Amudaśigara wrote his work in the reign of Kulottunga-Cholla I (A.D. 1070—1119), it is clear that Gunaśigara should have commented on it in still later times, i.e. after the beginning of the 12th century A.D. An earlier Gunaśigara-Bhaṭāra, also a Jain by religion, is known from inscriptions. He figures as a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Māraṇaḍaiyaṇ in two inscriptions1 of Kaḷuṅgumalai in the Tinnevelly district, dated in the 3rd year of the king’s reign. This Gunaśigara,2 who flourished long before his namesake—the commentator on the *Yāpparuvālaṅkārikā*—seems to have made a gift of land for meeting the expenses of feeding certain Vairāgīyas (?) who were required to expound the Siddhaṇaṭa. From paleographical grounds as well as from references made in those epigraphs to the tank Vīravāraṇaṇaṇi evidently called after Paṇḍitaka I and the field called Utamaṇḍalas it might be inferred that this Māraṇaḍaiyaṇ must have been a successor of the Pāṇḍya king Rajasimha III in whose reign the bigger Śīvamaṇḍłat copper-plates were issued.

Besides settling the date of the Tamil work *Yāpparuvālaṅkārikā*, the extract given above from the commentary of Gunaśigara enables us to know definitely the authorship of the Sanskrit work *Ochandōvīchitti* which is referred to by Daṇḍin in his Kaḷuṅgumalai (First Parich. v. 12) and which has been considered by some to be one of Daṇḍin’s own works, while others regard it to be an earlier treatise. As Gunaśigara states that *Ochandōvīchitti* (Ochandōvīchitti) is otherwise called Piṅgalam, it is clear that the latter name must have been derived from the name of its author who must have been no other than Piṅgal and by Ochandōvīchitti must be meant Piṅgal’s Ochandas-Sāstra, if there was not a different work of the name Ochandōvīchitti by the same author.

Of the places mentioned in the two inscriptions, Niḍūr, as stated already, is in the Mānyaḷaram Taluk, and is reputed as the birth-place of one of the 63 Śaiva saints called Mūṇaiṇḍavaṇḍ who gave away all the wealth acquired by him to Śiva temples and Śaiva devotees.3 Tiṟumandaḷūr, the district in which Niḍūr was situated, is a village near Niḍūr. It is very likely that the epithet Kāriṇai was applied to Kuṭattūr in commemoration of the composition of the work at the place or by the fact of its gift to the author. I am not sure if we can identify this place with Kuṭattūr, a village near Niḍūr. Mīḷalalai-nāḍū is stated to be a sub-division of Viruddhavālayānarkar-Onlaṇāḍu and an inscription of Vēppattūr.4 Śīrūkupra-nāḍu is perhaps identical with Kuṇṭattūr-nāḍu, whence Sēkkilār, the author of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*, hailed.5

In connection with the construction of the pavilion at Tillai for expounding the Purāṇas it is interesting to note that according to the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* the thousand-pillared maṇḍapa in the temple at Chidambaram was the place where originally that work was first expounded by

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1 No. 116 and 117 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894.
2 No. 45 of the same collection refers probably to a female disciple of this Gunaśigara-Bhaṭāra.
3 See the life of Mūṇaiṇḍavaṇḍ in the *Periyapurāṇam*.
4 No. 47 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.
5 Kuṭattūr-periyōr per-paṭalita guṇattūr-periyōr kaḷai-periyōr taḷattūr-periyōr Annapīḷai-raṭalita-samaganaṁ taṇī-ṭep-
paṭalit-peru-paṭalikāra all-ṛj-clīr-Periyapurāṇappattai
valaṭṭikāvar-arṇāṭ-ṛj-vṛttha Śēja-mañḍalamē. v. 76, Śēja-mañḍalamē.

Vipaṭṭī-ṭirppakkuṇ paḷal-kūṇṭa-nāḍaṟ vīḷaṇg-Śaiva-Tamil-paṭṭar-piṟṟakkuṇ
Periyapurāṇam paṟṟappadapparaṇ.

v. 19, Tendaimañḍalamē.


v. 66, Tendaimañḍalamē.
Šēkkiḻar in the time of the Chōla king Anāpāya,\(^1\) identified with Kulottunga II.\(^2\) It is very likely that the *maṇḍapa* referred to in A is the same as this thousand-pillared *maṇḍapa*, though we cannot be sure that the *puraṇa* expounded in it was the *Periyapurāṇam*. If the identity of Anāpāya with Kulottunga I instead of with Kulottunga II could be conceded, then the *puraṇa* referred to in our inscriptions might be the *Periyapurāṇam* itself. In this connection it may be pointed out that the titles or surnames Abhayya and Anāpāya are found applied to the Chōla king who was the contemporary of Šēkkiḻar.\(^3\) We have references to gifts made by the author of the *Periyapurāṇam* and his brother Pālārvaiyar in two inscriptions\(^4\) which come from Tirukkaṇṭaiyur and Kārappāli (Mannargudi Taluk), where the full names of the donors are given as Šēkkiḻar Ammāiyappāṇa Parantakaṇṭaṇavaijan alias Karikālaḷa-Pallavaraiyan of Kuṇrattur in Kuṇrattur-nādu, a district of Puliyār-kōṭṭam alias Kulōttagaṇḍa-vaḷanānu and Šēkkiḻar Pālarvaṇaiy Karapāḷārāyan of Kuṇrattur in Kuṇrattur-nādu. The shrine of *Śoṇḍavaṟṟivar* in the temple at Chidambaram referred to in inscription A may have been built in honour of the visit of the Saiva saint Śērāmāḷuṟur-nāṇaḷ who was also called Kālarvaiyar of which *Śoṇḍavaṟṟivar* is only a synonym. It is recorded in the *Periyapurāṇam* that the Chēra king visited Chidambaram, Tiruvērur and many other Saiva places in company with Sundaramūrti-Nāṇaḷ.\(^5\) From the Tamil work *Tiruppāṭippuliyur-Kalambagam*, we learn that there was a shrine of Gauvāpati called *Śoṇḍavaṟṟivar* in the Śiva temple at Pādiripullyur\(^6\) (Cuddalore). But there could not be a reference to this shrine in our inscription as the phrase *Tillaiy-ambalattē vaṇṭīppal* (i.e. on the north-east side of the temple at Chidambaram) clearly shows that the shrine referred to in our epigraph was situated in the Chidambaram temple.

**TEXT OF A.\(^7\)**

1 Svasti ārī [\[^*\]][Kūrī]ya[v-u]lag-anatutaya-kuḻai-kkik-ā-
2 [kkiya] Kulōttungasōjarkk-āṇṭ-oro-nā[p]patt-āram-āi-Tillai-ambalatt-
3 tē\(^8\) vaṇṭak[p*]pāl pōr-īyad-amattadu *Śoṇḍavaṟṟivār-kēyilum purāṇa-nāl-virikkuṃ
dūriśai-mālįgaimūrya varāḷiyāl viṣṭāṇgā-mmuppirappināl viruppiṇa-chochēduṇ Nēṟiyarkāṇ-
5 d-ēl-aṅi[v-u][d]u-maṇṭippu-nilgir-ili-kaḷiṟṟal Nīṟru-nilai-nilīnu-nilai-nilvēng-
6 Amudaśaṟṟi-nilvēng eṭutta toğutta Kāṟiṟṟk Kkulattur Maṇṇaḷaṉ Tōṇḍai-
kāvalan Siṉukuṟṟa-nilū ḏuṟṟivappam Miṟṟala-nilūtu Vēḻ-sṭiṟṟava-
7 kuṉāṟṟ Mādavē[\[^*\]][[^*\]]

**TEXT OF B.\(^11\)**

1 Svasti ārī — Eṇ-dīśai-ulagai oru-kuḻai-nilvēnt[ ]irūṭtiya Kulōtt-
tungasōjark-īyand-oro-muppir-ecṭiṟṟ-Chōṇṭai-iṟai
3 vaḷaṭ Tiruvindaiḷ-nilṭt-uv . . . . dāi niṭṭaṇa Nīṟru Umāiyā-
cū-nilai-nilīnu-Perumāṟṟk-uvandu . . . . lai mali[’av*[ ]ēpaa-chuchhilai-nilvēnt-

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1 See *Periyapurāṇam* where it is stated that it took one full year to read the work in the *maṇḍapa*.
4 No. 39 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1900 from Tirukkaṇṭaiyur and No. 445 of the same collection for 1912.
5 See the life of Śērāmaruṟumāḷ-Nāṇaḷ in the *Periyapurāṇam*.
6 See verse 1 of this book where Šōṇḍavaṟṟivāryum-ṉāṇai means the elephant-(faced god called) Šōṇḍavaṟṟivar.
7 This inscription is registered as No. 535 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.
8 These two letters are almost completely worn out in the original; but as it ought to rhyme with pōriŋu, Nēṟiyag and Kāṟiṟṟi and alliterate with ku, they have been pretty surely filled in.
9 The ʻ sign is in the previous line.
10 This is a *vīṟṟattam* in fourteen śīr, the measure being viṣṭam-mā-viṣṭam-mā-viṣṭam-mā repeated twice in each foot.
11 This inscription is registered as No. 534 of Appendix B of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22.
No. 8. NIDUR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA. 69

5 ma-vimāṇam-śing-amaitān [tan-Ḍa]’jmil-Amīdāsāgara-Muniyai Jayaśāgo-
6 śṣaśōla-maṇḍalattu-tan-Śūkṣuṭra-[nāṭṭu]3 tiruttii . . . . 3
7 nār-Kārīgai avanār-kāṇḍavaṇ-marumān Kārīgai-Kulat[tur]ē-
8 kkāval-nilāvinā evarkkuṇ-karaṇaiyun-ē[yaṉmāṉa]2-kāṭṭiya Mila-
9 lai-nāṭṭu-Vē| Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇē [11*]

TRANSLATION.

A.

Hail! Prosperity! In the forty-sixth year (of the reign) of Kulottunga-Chola, who had brought under (his) parasol all the known worlds, Kaṇṭaṇ Mādavaṇ, the Vēḷ of Mīlai-māṇḍru, and the ruler of Toṇḍai, who had earned fame by constructing in the year seven times five added to three (i.e., 38) (of the reign) of the Nāiṇīyai (i.e., the Chola king), the incomparable stone temple of the resplendent god of Niḍūr, who was the chief of Kuḷattūr, where Amudāsāgara began [and] completed (his work) Kārīgai, and who was (as it were) the kalpaka (wish-giving tree) to the people (?) of Śūkṣuṭra-māṇḍru, was pleased to construct of stone the shrine of Śūḍavāśāivarīr in the great . . . . . on the north-eastern side of the hall (ambal-łam) at Tīlai and the walled pavilion (in it) where works on Purāṇas were expounded and which were thus made to appear extensively splendid.

B.

Hail! Prosperity! In the thirty-eighth year (of the reign) of Kulottunga-Chola, who had brought the world with its eight quarters under the shade of his single (i.e., incomparable) parasol, Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavaṇ the Vēḷ of Mīlai-māṇḍru, who was the nephew (or son-in-law) of him that caused the fine work Kārīgai-[Yappu] (prosody), to be composed by Amudāsāgaramuni of Tāmīl fame, who was the chief of Kārīgai-Kulattūr . . . Śūkṣuṭra-māṇḍru (a sub-division) of Jayaṅgondasōla-maṇḍalam and who showed mercy and generosity to all, was pleased to construct an excellent stone vimāṇa as high as a mountain to the god who was resplendent with (his consort) Umā at Niḍūr of high (mansions) and . . . . (situated) in Tiruvindaḷu-rāṇḍu (a sub-division) of Śoṇḍu).

No. 9.—A NOTE ON MANIGRAMATTAR OCCURRING IN TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE LATE MR. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

The word Maṇigramaṇam was first met with in some copper-plates belonging to the West Coast of the Madras Presidency. It is found, for instance, in the plates of Schāṇu Ravi and of Vīrā-Rāghava-Chakravarti preserved in the Seminary at Kōṭṭayam. The meaning of this word was discussed by the Rev. Dr. H. Gundert in his article on the plates mentioned above, in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XIII, Part II. In it he takes the word to mean what he believes to be one of the four immigrant merchant tribes and quotes in support of it the following extract from the Payyanūr-pāṭṭa, an old Malayālam poem:—

Chāvālar-e-ppōlē ni agala-ppōvūm
chāṇṭātam vēṇpam perigay-ippōl
Kōvāṭalachcheṭṭi Aśjuvaṇṭam
kōṭṭam Maṇikkariramattar-makkaḷ
nammalāl nānu naganattilum
nālar-e-kkoḷka-kkuḍiḷku chōrmānōr.

1 The letters in brackets are much worn out and the traces would admit the reading given.
2 Nāṭṭu has been filled in with references to inscription A.
3 This gap may be filled up with the syllables yūppu. 4 The traces for yaṉmāṉa are very faint and doubtful.
4 ū is explicative. The metre is the same as in A.
which he translated thus:—“* * * * Strong guards (or companions) are now required (to) take the children of the Góvatala-Chetti, of Añjunañam and of the Manigráman people, who, together with ourselves, are the four (classes of) colonists in the four towns.” The later view of Dr. Gundert regarding the meaning of the terms Manigráman and Añjunañam is that they are two different trading communities of foreign merchants. Drs. Gundert and Burnell later on took the persons denoted by the term Añjunañam as the colony of the Jews and that denoted by Manigráman as that of the Christians. It was Mr. Venkayya who first rejected the idea. But he has not expressed his opinion as regards the religion of the members of the Manigráman; nor are we able to infer from his comments on the plate of Vira-Raghava-Chakrabarti whether he took them for Christians or Hindus. Some time after the interpretation given to the term Manigráman by Dr. Gundert, the Rev. Peet made the following observation on it:—

“Manigráman is the name of a class of Christians who relapsed into heathenism through the influence of a sorcerer (Māṇikkavāchakar). Some of that class are still found near Quilon. Each individual is called a mani (in native books), a jewel, on account of his apostacy and the whole of them constitutes now a sub-division of the Śūdras.” On this the Rev. Taylor comments “I venture the conjecture that they were disciples of Mani, a colony of Manichaens, such as the Arabian travellers found in Ceylon.”

Some years ago I copied the inscriptions in the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tiruvelḷaḷai and gave them to the late Pandit S. M. Națţașa Śastri for publication in the Indian Antiquary. In one of them belonging to the reign of a Rājakēśarivarman the following passage occurs—

Tiruvelḷaḷai Tiruvaṇṇakkal-Perumāṇḍigal-ūchham-bodhu anudvāyam-bodhu Vēdam-valān ora Brahmaṇamāṉ ūttavīḍäga Uṇiyūr
Manigrāmattu Nārāyaṇaṇ Āḷchanaṁ ivv-ēr-kkalāl vaschca poṇ poṇ epuṇ paliśśiyantī . . . .

Here Nārāyaṇaṇ Āḷchana is said to belong to the community of Manigrāman of Uṇiyūr.

The next reference to Manigrāman is in a stone inscription in Śiam; this inscription has been published by Dr. Hultzsch in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1913, and states that (the tank) Śri-Nārāyanam was placed under the supervision of the Manigrāmattar and the Śēnāmukthattar. Thus far are the references in inscriptions to the words Manigrāman and Manigrāmattar.

The word caṇīṇigaramattar (a clear mislection of Manigrāmattar) is given, as an instance of kūrvin pevar (the name denoting a community), by Nachhiṇārkkiṇiyār in his commentary on the Tolkāppiyam (śatra 11, Peyriyai)

In medieval Tamil literature, the word Manigrāmattar occurs in the grammar called Nēmīnādam. In the commentary on verse 31 of that work we find the words avvēyāgattar, attikēmattar and manigrāmattar given as instances of kūṭiyappēr, that is, of the common appellation of groups of men or communities. This grammar was composed in the reign of the king Tribhuvanandēva, that is, Kūṭīttuṅga-Chōḷa III (A.D. 1178 to 1216).

1 I would prefer to translate the passage thus: “You are going a long distance like the tēkkāler and you (therefore) necessarily want escort; the chief Chettī of Kōva, Anjuvaṇnām-kutta, the children of Manigrāman and ourselves—we of the four nagaram—are the only four communities esteemed as Kōkkudi (families held in high esteem by the king).”

2 Nārāyaṇaṇ Āḷchana, a member of the Manigrāman community of Uṇiyūr, gave (to the temple) fifty kulaṇju of gold for feeding a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vedas at the time the god of the Tiruvaiṇṇakkal is offered the mid-day offerings; the gold was weighed by the standard stone of the town of Tiruvelḷaḷai in which the temple is situated.

3 These are the very examples given also by Nachhiṇārkkiṇiyār in his commentary on the Tolkāppiyam.

4 [We know of Tribhuvaṇavirēśa—another name for Kūṭīttuṅga III—but not of Tribhuvaṇandēva.—Ed.]
From the above extracts the chief points to be noted are:—

1. That the Payyanur pattola does not name the four communities mentioned in it as professing Christianity or any other religion; it simply implies that there resided four communities closely allied to each other by similarity of interests, namely, trade, etc.

2. That the Manigrāmam community is not peculiar to the Malabar Coast alone and that it was found in the interior also, as evidenced by the Tiruvelḷarai inscription.

3. That Hindu institutions were placed under their protection, which would not be possible if they belonged to the Christian community; and

4. That it is simply the name of a certain corporation or community, perhaps engaged in trading, like the Valaḷiḷiyars, as Mr. Venkaya suggested.

The Rev. Mr. Peet opined, as already referred to, that the Manigrāmakkāras were originally Christians and that a sorcerer, Māṇikakavāchakar, converted them to Hinduism. It is hard to believe that the conservative Hindus, who in these days of free thought refuse to take back even converted Hindus into Hinduism, would in those ancient times have consented to take wholesale communities of entirely alien religionists into their fold. Again, it is well known, that Māṇikakavāchakar never visited the Malabar Coast; the religious discussion in which he took part was with the Baudhās of Ceylon, and that was at Chidambaram, according to the Vaiṣṇavamūrapurāṇam.

If Manigrāmatār in the Tiruvelḷarai inscription, were to be taken as the name of a Christian trading community of the Malabar Coast, how was it possible for Nārāyana Āchchan, who, from his name, may certainly be taken to be a Hindu and not at all a Christian, to belong to the Christian community of traders of the Malabar Coast, but living then in Uṇaiyur? Again, how could the tank mentioned in the Siam inscription bearing the distinctly Vaishnava name of Śrī-Nārāyan, meant evidently for the use of the Hindus, be placed under the protection of the Christian traders of Malabar then residing in Siam?

In dealing incidentally with the Siam inscription I beg to differ from the interpretation of Dr. Hultzsch, and offer the following fresh reading of it as I am able to make out from the impression reproduced by Dr. Hultzsch in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

1. . . . . . . . [ya]varmaṭk[i] [y]
2. . . . [m]ān tān mah[gu] rayai .
3. . . . [t]ōṭa kulam [†] pēr Śrī-
4. Nārapam [†] Manikkkirāmatār-
5. [k]ūma Śeṣṣumugattārkkum
6. [ku]la[†]tārkkum aṭṭikkalam [†

Dr. Hultzsch's remark, that the remnant of the Sanskrit name rāmaṇas in the first line of the record might perhaps be that of Bhāskaravarman, is evidently due to his conviction that the Manigrāmatār were members of a trading community belonging to the Malabar Coast of the time of the Malabar king Bhāskara Varivarman. That this notion of his was the cause of the mistake is corroborated by the following extract from his paper: “Manigrāmam occurs in Tamil inscriptions of the Malabar Coast; as shown by Rāj Bahadur Venkayya, it is the designation of a trading corporation.” Later on he adds: “We may thus conclude that in the eighth or ninth century there existed in distant Siam a colony of traders from the Western Coast of Southern India, who had built themselves a temple of Vishnu.” Again, he remarks: “If the words which I have given are correct, they would imply that at the beginning of the inscription a lengthy passage is lost, which, if it had been preserved, might have completed and explained

1 [The fact that some persons or a body of men were required to protect a certain gift or charity made to an institution of a particular nationality cannot by itself argue that the men belonged to that nationality. If this wrong premise is allowed to stand, Manigrāmatār can well be said to be Christians because they were required to protect the gift made to the Christian church of Taruṣaṇapāḷḷi in the Stāṇa Ravi plates.—Ed.].
the remaining portion." This statement appears to me to be doubtful, for the inscription, as in the case of many others, begins with the name and regnal year of the king, and at the most, a few words such as roati śrī and yādga and the numeral expressing the regnal year and the first portion of the name of the benefactor, the capitalist who dug the tank, all amounting to about five or six words could be supposed to have been lost. Dr. Hultsch interprets Śaṅkunukha according to Winslow's Tamil Dictionary, by (1) 'the front of an army', and (2) 'a division of an army'. Its meaning may be settled, however, from the following quotations, to be the name of a military cantonment. The Mayamata says:—

संभेजेश्वरीणां नूपवनबुलुं तदेव तव।
बहुरापितं यत् शेषामुखस्वरेति संभेजः।

And the Kālikāgama defines it thus:—

राजारकृषिनाय शेषाजातिसमविनम्।
गुजरापदमस्वरुं शेषामुखस्वरेति॥

Consequently, the place where the tank was dug was perhaps a military cantonment, consisting of a large Hindu population, and this latter was exorted to protect the charitable institution, viz., the tank Śrī Nāraṇām. Dr. Hultsch says that "Nāraṇam is a neuter formed of Nāraṇa, a laddhaka of the Sanskrit Nārāyaṇa, and means a temple of Vishnu", but Śrī Nāraṇām is distinctly stated to be a tank and not a Vishnu temple.

The translation of the record must be "(The year) ...... of (the reign of the king) ...... yaśavāman ...... man ...... dug a tank in our ...... Its name is Śrī-Nāraṇām. This is placed under the protection of the Manigrāmatārā, the Śeṣāṅgattārā (and his own) descendants".

We thus see that there is no ground for taking the Manigrāmatārā to be exclusively the merchants of the West Coast of Southern India; they were found wherever trade flourished. No were they Christian, since Hindu institutions were placed under their protection.

From the foregoing discussion, we arrive at the conclusion that Manigrāman never meant or implied a community of immigrated Christian merchants who were received and settled by a Malabar king in his country and that they were peculiar only to the Malabar Coast.

Regarding the Manigrāmatārā Mr. Vincent A. Smith, collecting facts from the articles of a number of writers on the subject, adds an appendix (M) to chapter IX of his Early History of India. In it he summarises his opinion on the word thus:—

"Historical traditions of India and Ceylon, when read together, seem to carry the evidence for the existence of the Church in Malabar back to the third century. We learn from the Ceylonese chronicle the Mahāvamsa (ch. xxxvi), composed about the beginning of the sixth century, that in the reign of king Gōthaka-bhaya or Mēghavarāṇa-bhaya whom Geiger places in A. D. 302-15, a learned Tamil heretic overcame an orthodox Buddhist theologian in controversy and gained the favour of the king, who placed his son under his tuition. The Mahāvamsa represents the victor in the disputation as being a monk named Saṅghamitra, 'versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and so forth'. Mr. K. G. Seshā-Ayyar interprets this statement as meaning really that the successful controversialist was a Hindu, and identifies him with the famous Śaiva saint Māpikka (or Maṇi-) Vāsaṅga.1 The Tamil account of that personage affirms that the saint actually converted the king of Ceylon towards the end of his career. That king may be identified with Gōthaka-bhaya, and it is possible that the author of the Mahāvamsa may have misrepresented the Śaiva Hindu Māpikkavāsaṅga as Saṅghamitra, a Buddhist heretic.

1 Tamilian Antiquary, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 54. The writer does not cite the statement in the Mahāvamsa correctly. The Tamil legend is given ibid, p. 66, and in Pope, Tiruvādavāgam, p. xxi.
"However little credit we may be disposed to give to the story about the conversion of the king of Ceylon, or to the identification of that king with the Góthakábhaya of the Mahāvaṁśa, I see no reason for hesitating to believe the Indian tradition that Māṇikkavāsagar visited Malabar and reconverted two families of Christians to Hinduism. The descendents of those families, who are still known as Maṇigrāmakārs, are not admitted to full privileges as caste Hindus. Some traditions place the reconversion as having occurred about A.D. 270. If that date be at all nearly correct, the Malabar Church must be considerably older. So far as I can appreciate the value of the arguments from the history of Tamil literature, there seem to be good independent reasons for believing that Māṇikkavāsagar may have lived in the third century. Some authors even place him about the beginning of the second century.\(^1\) If he really lived so early, his relation with the Church in Malabar would confirm the belief in its apostolic origin."

Evidently the name Saṅghamitra, occurring in the Mahāvaṁśa, could not belong to the Jain or Hindu community; but since he is called a Tamil heretic therein, we must take him to be a Mahāyānist, who, to the Hinayānist, is a heretic. There is nothing against his being a Tamil Buddhist, but it is impossible to identify him with a Tamil Hindu, as was attempted by Mr. K. G. Seshā Ayyar. The description of Saṅghamitra as "versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and so forth" clearly evidences his mastery of the Buddhist Tantrism and never points to a Hindu. Māṇikkavāsagar refers to Varagūṇa-Pāṇḍya twice in his Tiruchchirārambalakāvam and this Varagūṇa is the same as the Varagūṇa-Mahārāja who was crowned in A.D. 862; and I have long ago arrived at the conclusion that Māṇikkavāsagar lived in the first half of the 10th century.\(^2\)

No Tamil work dealing with the life of Māṇikkavāsagar states that he went to the West Coast of the Madras Presidency. They are uniform in asserting that he went to Tiruppurun-durai, or the modern Avadaiyār-kōyil, in the eastern part of the Presidency. He must have gone to purchase horses brought down from Pegu and other places in the east—places which were familiar to the Tamils. It is only when the Arabs came to the West Coast in mediæval times that horses were imported from Arabia. Till then the chief sources of the supply of horses must have been the Eastern Archipelago and Burma.

No. 10.—INSCRIBED BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM GOPALPUR.

By the late Pandit V. Natesa Aiyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The village of Gopalpur is situated some three miles to the south-east of Bherāghāṭ popularly known as "The Marble Rocks," in the Jubbulpore District: it lies on the right bank of the Narmadā. The village contains only a few scattered houses: owing to its secluded position the place is seldom visited by travellers or tourists. Sir Alexander Cunningham, the pioneer archaeologist, however, seems to have visited the spot in the winter of 1874; for in one of his reports he gives an account of an inscribed stone tablet of the Chēḍī dynasty which, he says, was discovered there previously by Professor Hall.\(^3\) It was this fact alone which induced me to explore the place while I was encamped at Bherāghāṭ some eight years ago. Although, unfortunately, the inscription in question could no longer be traced, I was lucky enough to discover within a fortified enclosure, which, I learnt, was then in the occupation of a certain Sadhu, named Vindhyā-sūri, five elegantly carved stone images of the mediæval period. At

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\(^1\) Ibib. pp. 73—79, and pp. 53—55; and Mackenzie, p. 138. The late Dr. Pope, shortly before his death, expressed his acceptance of the opinion that Māṇikkavāsagar lived not later than the fourth century (Tuns. Ant., ut. supra, p. 54).

\(^2\) See my article on the "Age of Māṇikkavāchakar" in the Madras Christian College Magazine for 1906.

the time when I noticed these images they were almost completely buried under the ground. However, sufficient remained visible to prove that they possessed great archaeological value and were worth acquiring for the Central Museum at Nāgāpur, which contained scarcely any Buddhist specimens of this period. I, therefore, had them extricated from the earth and carefully cleaned. And my trouble was more than repaid by the discovery of dedicatory records on three of them.

Four of these images represent the Boddhisattva Avalokiteśvara, while the fifth is that of his consort Tārā. They all wear elaborate ornaments and are seated in an easy posture under a richly decorated canopy, consisting of seven umbrellas rising one above the other like the familiar hū Indian Buddhist stūpas. Numerous attendant figures are ranged on all sides and portrayed as paying devotion to the main deity in the centre. From their technique and the scheme of decoration it appears that they are products of the “Magadha school.”

As I have already remarked, only three of the sculptures bear dedicatory inscriptions, and of these latter, two contain barely the Buddhist formula “ye dharmā hētuprabhava,” etc. The remaining one is more detailed and, therefore, more important. The characters are Nāgārī and belong to the 11th or 12th century A.D. Subjoined are a transcript and translation of this record.

TEXT.

Line 1 Yē dharmā hētuprabhava hētu[m] tēshāṁ Tathāga[t]o hy-avadat [ "*]
tēshā[m] cha yō nīrō[tha] ēva[m] vādī Mahārava(ma)[t]ah ||
[De]yadha[r]moyam pravara-mahājānujāyī[naḥ]\n
2 param-opāsaka-kāyastha-sī-Subhakta[sya]suta-sī-Satka[kta]-daṁvā(dauvā)rikā(ka)
Dēnuvāya [Ya]d-datt(a)-cuṇa[m] [ta]d-bhavatv-a[ch]āry-opā[dhyā]ya-
mātāpawari(yi)-pārva[āgā]mān [kṛ]-

3 tvā sakal-satva-rā[śe]-anu[tta]-ra-jū[ā]-vāpta[yē-stu]\n
TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Whichever phenomena are cause-born, of them the cause the Tathāgata (Buddha) alone has said, and what annihilation also there is of them. Such is the lore of the Great Śramaṇa (Buddha).

L1. 1-3. This [i] the pious gift of the follower of the renowned Mahāyāna school, the gate-keeper Dēnuvā, devoted to the illustrious Satka, son of the great lay-worshipper, the famous Subhakta, king. Whatever merit there is herein, let it be for the attainment of supreme wisdom by all classes of sentient beings, particularly, beginning with my spiritual guide, my preceptor and my parents.

No.11.—THE GHUGRAHATI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMACHARA-DEVA.

BY NALINKANTA BHATTASALI, M.A., CURATOR, DACCA MUSEUM.

An article on this plate by Mr. R. D. Banerji, under the title ‘Kotwālipārā spurious grant of Samāhora-Dēva’, with a prefatory note from Mr. H. E. Stapleton, appeared with a facsimile plate in the August, 1910, number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, wherein Mr. Banerji upheld Dr. Böckh's opinion (Arch. Surv. Rep. for 1907-8, p. 256) that the plate was a forgery.

1 Read yēn-ānujāyinaḥ.
2 One of the two verbs arū or bhānata (l. 2) must be cancelled.
3 Possibly Satka or Śri-Satka was the name of the master under whom Dēnuvā served as a gate-keeper.
Three other copper-plates of a similar nature had, however, been found in the Faridpur district in 1891 and 1892 and been purchased for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr. Hoernle. These, after various vicissitudes, were taken in hand by Mr. Pargiter and published in the *Indian Antiquary* of July, 1910, in a very able and critical article. The publication of these plates necessitated reconsideration of Mr. Banerji's propositions, which he did in an article published in the *J. A. S. B.*, June, 1911. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Pargiter published an article in the August, 1911 number of the *J. A. S. B.*, which was based on the first article of Mr. Banerji and was evidently written before Mr. Pargiter had occasion to see Mr. Banerji's second article. In it, Mr. Pargiter very ably defended the genuineness of the Faridpur plates and published a revised reading of the *Ghugrahāti* plate, which went a long way towards clearing it from the aspersion of ambiguity and unintelligibility cast on it by Mr. Banerji. Mr. Pargiter also showed, by discussing the paleography of the grant, that it was not spurious, but a perfectly genuine one. Mr. Banerji answered this article in his paper entitled "Four forged grants from Faridpur," in *J. A. S. B.*, Dec., 1914, but had no better success than before in maintaining his ground. The recent discovery of five plates from the village of Damodarpur in the Dinajpur district of Bengal, and their publication by Prof. R. G. Basak in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, must perhaps induce Mr. Banerji now to reconsider his decision, as these plates bear close family resemblance to the Faridpur plates both as regards paleography and documentary form. In this article I shall not only try to furnish additional reasons, if any are at all required, for the recognition of the Faridpur plates as genuine, but also hope to identify the Mahārājādhirāja Samāchāra-deva as one of the kings who took the place of the Guptas in Eastern India towards the end of the 6th Century A.D. It will be seen that in the presentation of the text and translation also, I have been able to improve upon Mr. Pargiter's reading of the plate in several important points.

I refrain from giving the usual description of the plates, its orthography, etc., since these have been completely dealt with by Messrs. Banerji and Pargiter, but proceed at once to give the text which I have read from the original plate, now in the Dacca Museum. Before doing so, I give, in brief, the contents of the inscription. It refers itself to the 14th year of the reign of a hitherto unknown emperor Samāchāra-deva who is styled Mahārājādhirāja. In that year, Jivadatta was the viceroy or governor in Nāvyavakṣākā, which appears to have been the Divisional head-quarters. The District Officer in the district of Vārakāmanḍala approved by Jivadatta was Pavitruka. The latter was assisted in his administration by a District Court presided over by the Judge Dāmuka. The affairs of the village or locality to which this refers, were in the joint care of a number of Elders (*Vishaya-Mahattarāk)*, of whom six are mentioned as in the second plate of Dharmmāditya (*Ind. Ant.*, July, 1910 p. 200). Other men of experience in the village had also a say in village affairs. These represented the villagers and like the Panchayets of the present day, transacted the ordinary civil and criminal affairs of the village.

Supratikā Svāmi, a Brahman, approached the District Court presided over by Dāmuka as well as the Elders* and men of experience of the locality and applied for a piece of waste land of that locality for settling himself on it. The Elders and the men of experience decided to give him the piece of land free of any consideration, and after authorising Kāśava, Nayanāga and

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1 All my attempts at determining the exact find-spot of these three plates have hitherto been unavailing.

Dr. Christie, Honorary Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in his letter No. 2234 of the 26th September, 1919, informed me that the plates had originally belonged to one Fohiluddin and were purchased from Abdul Kak Abid, but he could not tell me in which particular village the plates were found.

* It deserves to be noted, as already noted by Mr. Pargiter, that the name-endings of these Elders were Kūṇḍa, Pasita, Ghūhās, Datta and Dīṣa, all of which are to be met with in the surnames of the present day Kāyasikas and Navadākkas of Bengal.
others to mature the transaction on their behalf gave the piece of land to Supratikā Svāmi. The transaction was ratified by the District Court by the issue of a copper-plate deed. The measurement of the land, which was situated in the village of Vyāghrachóra, is not given; but it included the whole of that place, minus three küliaśadás, which had already been granted to some one else and which were, therefore, separated before the present grant was made.

TEXT. 1

Obverse.

1 श्रावक्षार्थशिविष्यामप्रतिवेच सूनमुन्यायाखायरीपणम- 2 धृती महाराजाधिराज्योपासवस्थापितथे प्रतपलेभवस्वरकर- 3 युगलाराधीनपत्तननावासारामविश- 4 खेकपरिवर्त्तनसुदर्दनमोहितसार- 5 वाराकामध्ये विशय- 6 पारिशु: विश्वास्वरत: सुपनसिलामिना खेकाचिच- 7 खेकमहाराजभिभाषितबलकरतव्रस्यामहत्वक- 8 महाराजपियाधा समदर्वजनाईककृत्यादय: चाहे च 9 वैद्यवधाना वायवलोचनः विढासिका इवश्यामस्माध्यायमानी 10 प्रशा- 11 दार्शितरावसबिंतल्यास्वरकर विभ्रमनात्मकवयमानानी 12 भाषणोपयोगां च तापस्योहलौ तद्येव प्रमादस्यातुः 13 निर्देश यता 15गवावर्षीयामयमभ शंकोऽपरिशिष्टिता- 14

1 From the original plate.
2 Read कुमाला.
3 The second श looks like a त and is probably a sign for doubling.
4 Mr. Pargiter read शैवसा, but on a comparison with the other श and श marks used in this inscription, it would appear that the correct reading is शैयसा.
5 Read नारिक
6 [Read: राजभिभाषि—Ed]
7 The omission of the adjective महाभराचार्य before the name श्रीर-कर्त्ता, is probably due to carelessness. The श mark is indicated by the sign for श accompanied by a short horizontal stroke or dot below, to the right. Here, the left limb of the श mark is curtailed for want of space, and of the two dots to the right, one is probably a natural depression.
8 The engraver originally inscribed त्रीगदाशा, which was subsequently emended to त्रिगदात्त, with the result that the word now appears like त्रीगदात्ता.
9 Read वायवस्थाचेक भिषणसा। [Rather, we must read शीलापि as in the Damodarapur Plate—Ed.]
10 Read शा। 11 Only the left half of the letter शा is seen. The other half was not engraved on the plate for want of space.
12 Read शाः। 13 The letter शा at first sight appears to शाः, but it is in reality शा as it should be. Compare the other long letters in the inscription, especially शाः in I. I.
14 Read मवादाः। 15 Read शाः। [This correction is unnecessary—Ed.]
16 Mr. Pargiter had much trouble with this word which cannot be anything else than शहतो. The left loop of शा is clearly visible in the original plate, but is incised much shallower than the other letters.
Reverses.

13 वायुवायिरिमः सम्रृतः सावटः खापैअर्ती राजस्वायकः निष्केकः
14 या तु भोयोजातः सूयमण्डलनवायवस्था गहक्षोऽऽषायां यायायामा
15 लववधाक वायवथिकायवस्था लोक वानवस्था वानवस्था
16 लववधाक वानवस्था वानवस्था वानवस्था वानवस्था वानवस्था
17 किर्लिणिंद्र कलाएक दुनीयाकथामिनः तालववस्था ब्रहमपतिदिक 10
18 सैमालिङ्गिन चाचः 11 पुष्पवं विशालवक्षे दिक्षविन विक्षा
19 मर्मिन्द्रका परिमायां चानवस्था 12 कोटकोणः 13 उत्तरेण 14 गोः
20 पेनलरकामकसीमापीति || भविष्य चाच ऋषा: पदिन्यवेषः 16
21 ललीष सामो मदिनी मूर्तिः भाषिया चातुरस्ता वा तान्त्र गरके विसिष्टः
22 रावसिंहा नां नरां खरविशा 13 चाम्फिला 19 निदिमग 20
23 सह धारते || सहस्यः 10 4 कार्यः दिः 21 ||

1 The word, as Mr. Pargiter very reasonably brought out, is undoubtedly सन्मेत्यतः, but the projection of the perpendicular stroke of वच upwards, cannot be taken as an आनुन्तम as the other वच म in this inscription have also this peculiarity. The आनुन्तम over वच seems to have been left out through the engraver's mistakes. [The reading is सन्मेत्यतां and not सन्मेत्यम्. I do not see the प inscription of य on the impression.—Ed.]

2 Mr. Pargiter's suggestion of शोष is here as the irregular instrumental case of the numeral शंक is inadmissible, as it would give शोषक. The second letter of the word looks like शा, but it has also a very close resemblance to शा, occurring in the same line. If it is a शा which has in no other place been used in this plate, it is an incorrect use, as the word शोष, meaning hole, is spelt with श and not श. The letter may, however, be either श or श and should be emended to श.

3 Read द्वारमदिका. The ज mark is left out. Mr. Pargiter's suggestion that the word is शंकप्रस्ताव, cannot stand. The letters clearly read द्वारमदिका, the doubling of श being indicated by a peculiar stroke (vide आनुन्तम in 1, 5). The tube which makes the double श is broken. It is not the sign which is used in doubling व ज for in other cases of double श in the inscription it is not seen.—Ed.)

4 The second letter on this line is clearly तु. The first letter has certainly been ill-formed and the simplest and the most probable emendation is गु.

5 Read ज्युतिः.
6 Read श्रद्धमांद्रा दियकाः
7 Read श्रद्भोगाः
8 Read चौराखः
9 Read श्यामार्दीशकः
10 Read ताम् [18]
11 Omit श.
12 Read गर्भम्. Mad is not मद, as Mr. Pargiter takes it to be. Cf. त्वरम्र्मम on line 16.
13 The word is कोषः and not कोष. The right stroke of क over क is represented by a series of short shallow strokes, which are clearly visible on the original plate. Neither Mr. Banerji nor Mr. Pargiter observed these strokes, and thus missed some very important historical information furnished by the plate.
14 Read उत्तरः.
15 Read शोषक्षयिन वर्षकाः
16 Read शोषक्षयिन वर्षकाः
17 Mr. Pargiter read ग, but there is no justification for it. The right horizontal stroke in the middle, which makes ग, is absent.
18 Read युम.
19 Read चाच.
20 Read श्रीस्वरः.
21 The figure is 2 and not 1. Both Mr. Banerji and Mr. Pargiter have overlooked that there is a symbol like a comma [Possibly it is not intentional.—Ed.] below the usual mark for 1 which makes the figure 2.
TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 5.) May success attend. May welfare accrue. While the Mahārajadhīraja (the supreme lord of kings), Somāchāra-dēva, who is without a rival on this earth and who is equal in prowess to Nṛga, Nahusha, Yāyāti and Ambarisha,—is (ruling) in splendour, Jivadatta, of the intimate class of servants (of his Majesty), master of the bullion market, (founded as governor) in Nāyaviksisika through paying court to the twin lotus-like feet of that monarch (Somāchāra-dēva) and the district officer in the (district of) Vāraka-manḍala, approved of him (Jiva-datta), (was) Pavitrakruka.

(Lines 5 to 11.) While he (Pavitrakruka) was administering, whereas his District Court presided over by the Chief Judge (Jayakhyādhyakṣa) Dēmuka, as well as the Elder Vatsa-Kuṇḍa, the Elder Śuchi-Palita, the Elder Vīhitā Gōshā, the Elder Śūra-Datta, and many other leading gentlemen of the village) skilled in Law were apprised by Supratikā Svāmī (thrusts):—I wish through your honours' favour for a piece of waste land which has long lain neglected, for the establishment of Bali, Charu and Sattru, (thus) getting it to be of use to a Brāhmaṇa; do ye favour me (with it) by issuing a copper-plate deed.

1 For this explanation of the symbol at the beginning see my remarks, above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.
2 This phrase expresses the force of the word evasti better than the usual 'Hail'.
3 Svarunagadhiṣṭita is in all probability a title, honorary or otherwise. Pāṭhī means a market, a stall a shop in the market, and hence I have translated the phrase literally as above. The real title, however, may have been 'Master of the Mint or Treasury'.
4 Nāyaviksiśika was, without doubt, the Divisional head-quarters.
5 The name of the district was Vāraka-manḍala. The expressions such as Vāraka-manḍala vishaya-apati-
Pavitrakruka, Vārakamanḍala vishaya-dhikaraśana indicate that the name of the vishaya itself was Vāraka-
manḍala. From a study of the Bengal plates, it appears that mukti was the largest territorial division of a
kingdom; it was divided into a number of vishayas or districts. These were again divided into manḍalas or
cirles, which were again sometimes sub-divided into kāndalas or parts.
6 Mahattarā is a title, something like the 'Honourable' of the present day. It is of frequent use in the
epigraphs of this period and survives in the term Mahaśand to apply to village Elders down to the present day. It
coincides with the idea of dignity and superior worth and may adequately be translated by the term Elder. [In Tamil
Chola inscriptions of the 11th Century, we have the corresponding title perumānan or perumārām conferred on
officers and other private persons (S. I. Insere]. Vol. II, p. 98, 141, etc.—Ed.]
7 Vishaya-Mahattara has nothing to do with the territorial division Vishaya. Vishaya here means affairs.
8 Compare the phraseology of the present deed with the second plate of Dharmāditya, viz. Jayabha-śyakṣu-śrāvaṇapramukhañānām Mahattara Śūrakhaṇa-purañārās-cha Vishayāṇān Mahattarā viñjāpatāḥ. These deeds were the issues of a District Court, namely that of the district of Vāraka-manḍala, and the Mahattaras cannot reasonably be supposed to have jurisdiction in districts other than the district of Vāraka-manḍala as vishayaṁ, used in the plural number, would indicate, if, vishaya were to mean, —a district, here. Thus vishaya here becomes a plain word meaning 'affairs'. [In the first plate of Dharmāditya a very large number of vishaya-mahattarās the leading men of the district are mentioned in connection with a grant in the very same Vāraka-manḍala. Perhaps vishaya-mahattara like mahattara was a title without any particular reference to a function. In our inscription Vatsa-Kuṇḍa may have been a District Elder (Vishaya-Mahattara) in this sense, while the others were only ordinary Mahattaras (Elders) that formed a sābhā for the occasion, being the leading men, of the village, they were not necessarily men of law (vishayāhāraṇī).—Ed.]
9 The technical term vishayāhāraṇī is ordinarily used to mean law, and Vysavahārinis are those who are experts
in law and legal procedure.
10 Manus (Chap. III, verses 67ff.) enjoins on all householders the performance of the five great sacrifices (Paśca-mahā-yajña, viz. :—(1) Study and teaching, which together is called Brahmajayya or Rishiyajñā; (ii) offering oblations to departed ancestors = Pitriyajñā; (iii) giving food to all creatures = Bali or Bhūthajñā
to entertain guests = Nṛgajñā; (e) Homa or sacrifice = Dīvasajñā. Of these, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th (which are
equivalent to Charu, Bali and Sattru) appear to have been the most important, and the term Bali-Charu-Satra,
procedurānāna (i.e. establishment of Bali, Charu and Sattru) came to mean the establishment of a householder.
(Lines 12—17.) Wherefore, the above enumerated Elders and others who were skilled in law, receiving this petition and calling to mind (the following sloka):—'The land which is full of pits and which is infested with wild beasts, is unprofitable to the king both as regards revenue and religious merit. That land, if made capable of being used, does bring revenue and merit to the king himself;—and having decided—'Let it be given to this Brahmana'—and having recognised (i.e. constituted) the Karnaikas Naya-Naga, Kśāva and others as the representatives of the public and having separated the three kula sowing areas of land previously granted away by a copper-plate, (the aforesaid gentlemen) established the land that remained in Vyāghra-chōraka by the issue of a copper-plate, after the demarcation of boundaries, as being (henceforward) in the possession of this Suvarṇa Svāmī.

(Lines 18—20.) And the boundary indications are these:—On the east, the goblin haunted Parkaṭṭi tree; on the south, the Vidyādha Bāvī; on the west, the corner of Chandravarmana's foot; on the north, the boundary of the village Gopendra-chōraka.

(Lines 20—23.) And here apply the verses:—The grantor of land delights in heaven for sixty thousand years. The confiscator or one who approves of confiscation resides in hell for an equal number of years. Whoever takes away land granted by himself or others becomes worm in his own ordure and rots there along with his ancestors.

The year 14, the 2nd day of Kārttikeya.

Now, I propose to discuss the various issues raised by the inscription. The first point is the determination of the identity of Samāchārā-dēva.

Mr. Pargiter has pointed out that even if the grant were spurious, no forger would be so foolish as to date it in the reign of a king who never existed (J. A. S. B., August, 1911, p. 499). We can adduce stronger proofs of his existence. I refer to the two gold coins, described as 'Uncertain' on pp. 120 and 122 of the Catalogue of Coins, I. M. C., Vol. I, and illustrated as Nos. 11 and 13 on Plate XVI. They are both of gold (considerably alloyed with silver). One of them, of the Rājallā type, was found near Muhammadpur in the Jessore district of Bengal along with a gold coin of Śaśānika, and another gold coin of the light-weight 'Imitation Gupta' type, as well as silver coins of Chandra-Gupta, Skanda-Gupta and Kumāra-Gupta (Allan, Catalogue of Gupta Coins, Intro., Sec. 171, and J. A. S. B., 1852, Plate XII). The provenance of the other coin is unknown. It is of the common Archer Type of Gupta coins. The king's name occurs below the right arm of the king. A letter occurs between the feet of the king which Dr. Smith recognised as Chā. The reverse legend is recognised as Narendru-Vinata with some hesitation. Of the Rājallā coin, he read the name of the king on the obverse as Yamaḍha written in characters of the close of the sixth century A. D. and the reverse legend as Narendraditya. Mr. Allan, in his Catalogue of Gupta Coins, attributes the 'Archer Type' coin to a period earlier than that of Śaśānika (Intro., p. LIXI), and, from the supplanting of the Gauḍa Standard of the Gupta by the Bull Standard on this coin, surmises that the coin was of a devout Śaiva. The

1 Mr. Pargiter explains Culaśārīḍa as referees or arbitrators. The word is composed of two sections, kula and śārīḍa; the former means the chief, the head; and the latter means the common populace, the public. Hence the meaning 'the chief men of the people'.

2 As much land as could be sown by a kula (winnowing basket) full of seed. The term Kulaśārīḍa, equivalent to Bigha, the most current land-measure in Bengal, appears to be a corruption of the term kulaśārīḍa. The name survives in the form of Kulavāya (कुलवाय), the name of the standard land-measure in the Sylhet District.

3 Mr. Pargiter explains Joṣiṭa as equivalent to Bengali Jot, meaning cultivating tenure. This is hardly defensible, though the word is a derivative form Jota. Jota is most likely derived from the Sanskrit word jatam, which means, one's exclusive private property, any property in general. The word Jota is derived from the root Jota to come together. Jota is still a very common word in Bengali, meaning union or coming together. The term Joṣiṭa, with the shortened form jota, occurs also in the Khallipurna-grant of Dharmaśālādeva (Kp. Iśa, Vol. I, p. 249, text II, 26 ff.). Reference is to the corrected reading of the plate in Gauḍalakhamalā by Mr. A. K. Maitrēya.
king's name he reads hesitatingly (Sec. 165) as Saha or Samacha or Yamacha, and thus wants to connect it with the Rajallla coin on which he reads the king's name as Yamacha. The reverse legend he reads on both the coins as Narendraditya.

In the Archaeological Survey Report for 1913-14, Mr. R. D. Banerji discusses these two coins again. He observes that the name of the king on the obverse of both the coins is the same, viz. Yamā. The reverse legend is read as Narēndravinata.

A careful study of the two coins will convince any scholar that the name of the king is the same on both the coins and it cannot be read as anything else than Samāchā (समाचा) and the reading is confirmed when we come to know of a contemporary king Samāchāra-dēva by name, whose copper-plate inscription was discovered not far from the find-spot of one of these coins (the Rajallla coin) and the lettering of whose name, as written on his copper-plate, closely agrees to the lettering on these coins. The coins may therefore be assigned to Samāchāra-dēva of the Ghugrāhāti plate and they furnish proofs, hitherto wanting, of his existence and reign and of the genuineness of the Ghugrāhāti plate. These coins may be described thus:

No. 1. Coin of Samāchāra-dēva; alloyed gold; provenance unknown; wt. 148.2 gr. Diameter 9 in.

Obv. — The king, in traditional Gupta dress, standing in the Tribhūṅga pose with a halo round the head, to the left of which curls are shown. He has a necklace of pearls. A bow is shown in the left hand, while the right hand is offering incense at an altar. Below the left hand, in characters of the close of the sixth century A.D., is found Samā; between the feet is chā, and above the Bull of the Standard, probably ru. The ā in mā is a superscript angular stroke and the ā in chā is a short perpendicular stroke to the proper left, exactly as found on the Ghugrāhāti plate of Samāchāra-dēva; but in this plate chā has the angular stroke and mā the perpendicular one. These methods of marking ā appear to be indiscriminate.

To the right of the king appears a standard surmounted by a bull. The Bull Standard would indicate that the king was a devout Śaiva and belonged to a line different from the Gupta line so long predominant.

Reverse — A goddess, nimbate, seated on a full-blown lotus with a lotus bud in her left hand and a noose in the right. To the right of the head of the goddess is seen what appears to be an indistinct monogram and on the left margin occurs the legend Narēndravinata.

No. 2. Coin of Samāchāra-dēva; alloyed gold; slightly purer than No. 1; wt. 149 gr. Diameter 8 in.

Obv. — The king, nimbate, sitting on a couch in (for coins) a unique Rajallla pose, and looking to his right. His left hand is raised as if to fondle the female figure standing to the left by touching her chin. The right hand is placed on the hip. Above the left hand occur Sa mā, below the couch chā and beneath the feet of the female figure to the right of the king, ru.

Reverse — Goddess Sarasvatī, nimbate, standing on a lotus bud in Tribhūṅga pose and looking to her right; the left hand rests on a lotus, while the goddess draws another lotus towards her face with her right hand. A lotus bud is on a stalk below the bend of the right hand, below which again is a Hamsa (swan) with neck stretched upwards. On the left margin occurs the legend Narēndravinata. The reverse type is also unique.

Some conclusions force themselves upon the careful observer of these two coins:

(1) The king was certainly not of the Gupta lineage, though he may well have been a successor of the Guptas in the dominions where the Guptas had once held sway.

1 Allā calls the figure Lākeśvarī, but Hamsa (swan) is ordinarily associated only with the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī.
(2) Samachāra must, on paleographic grounds, be placed earlier than Śaśākka in chronology; also because there is no place for Samachāra in chronology after Śaśākka whose immediate successors in Eastern India were first Harsha and then Aditya-Sena and his descendants.

(3) He was a devout Śaiva. The continuance of the Bull Symbol by Śaśākka, as well as the facts (a) that the Rājallā coin was found with a coin of Śaśākka, (b) that Śaśākka's lineage and parentage have never yet been satisfactorily established, make it almost certain that Samachāra was a predecessor of Śaśākka in the kingdom of Gauda and of the same lineage, perhaps his father.

(4) The Rājallā coin may be later than the other coin, as it shows a distinctly greater change from the almost conventional type of the latter.

Two other kings stand connected with Samachāra-deva, viz. Mahārājadhārir Ārā Mahārājadhārir Ārā Gopa-Chandra of the Faridpur plates published by Mr. Pargiter. In order, therefore, to locate the position of these kings in the chronology of the country, it is necessary to clear up, if possible, some doubtful points in the chronology of the Gupta kings and their successors during the sixth century A.D. The publication by Prof. Basak of the five plates of the Gupta kings Kumāra-Gupta, Budha-Gupta and Bāhū (20)-Gupta (Above, Vol. XV., No. 7) has given all students interested, the opportunity of rediscussing the matter.

The evidence of the Bharsar hoard (Allan, Gupta Coins, Intro., 1), in which coins of Samudra-Gupta, Chandra-Gupta II, Kumāra-Gupta I, Skanda-Gupta and Prakāśāditya were found buried together, made possible the natural deduction that Prakāśāditya succeeded Skanda-Gupta and the hoard was buried in Prakāśāditya's reign. No one has yet succeeded in solving the problem who this Prakāśāditya was, and the purity of gold in his gold coins has been a puzzle. It may be now accepted that Kumāra-Gupta II was the son and successor of Skanda-Gupta and so we must see if he can be connected with the coins bearing the legend Prakāśāditya. These coins are all of the 'horseman' type and the letter which signifies the king's name on the obverse has been taken to be an otherwise inexplicable Rās (Allan, pp. 135-36, Plate XXII, Nos. 1-6). I think, however, that this reading will have to be revised. The letter on coin No. 1 is almost certainly Kṛ, the mātra or the top horizontal line being very prominent, though unfortunately mixed up with a band hanging from the saddle of the horse. On coins Nos. 3 and 4, this letter is indistinct, while on coins 2 and 6 the letter certainly looks like rū. The letter on coin No. 5 has been made in one stroke, thus ॐ and it is hardly possible to read it as rū. This, I think, will have to be taken as Kṛ, and the letters on Nos. 2 and 6 also as Kṛ, executed as badly as the horse and the horseman on the coins are.

Several scholars have attempted to identify this Kumāra-Gupta with Kumāra-Gupta, the son and successor of Narasimha-Gupta, and to thrust in the reigns of Nara and Pura between G.E. 148 = 467 A.D., the last known date of Skanda-Gupta, and G.E. 154 = 473 A.D., the first known date of Kumāra-Gupta. By this arrangement, Budha and Bāhū are to be placed after Pura, Nara and Kumāra. This is a rather risky proposal. There is no certainty that 467 A.D. is the last date of Skanda. Similarly 473 A.D. may not be the first date of Kumāra. If these two dates approach each other by even one year, Pura and Nara have barely four years left between them. The find of coins, which presupposes their currency in a locality, is more or less a sure measure of the importance and duration of the reign of kings represented by them and the extent of their kingdom. The British Museum Catalogue describes 12 coins and the Indian Museum Catalogue 6 coins of Nara; 4 and 3 coins respectively of Pura are described in the British Museum Catalogue and in the Lucknow Museum Catalogue. I have seen a number of coins of Nara in the Nāhar Collections of Calcutta and in the collection of the Vaṅgīya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta. Some more coins of Nara are to be found in the possession of Bai Mrityunjay Choudhuri Bahadur of Rangpur. To ascribe a reign of only two or three years
to a king of such widely distributed currency is not reasonable. The next king, Kumāra, who is sought to be thrust in between the years 473 and 477 A.D., has also 18 coins described in the B. M. C. and three in that of the Indian Museum.

Pura and Nara were undoubtedly successors to the Gupta throne, at a time which we have yet to determine, with very much diminished power and territory. Their coins have been found exclusively in Eastern India, and it is hardly reasonable to place a real emperor like Buddha after Pura and Nara who were perhaps only kings of Eastern India.

Narasinha-Gupta Bālāditya is generally credited with standing against Mihirakula in Magadha. The claims of no other Bālāditya have yet been substantiated. Mihirakula cannot be put earlier than the beginning of the sixth century A.D. and the proposition to put Bālāditya between circa 470 and 473 A.D. makes him precede Mihirakula by half-a-century.

From the Haraha inscription (Above, Vol. XIV, No. 5), Sārvavarman and his son Avantivarman’s date can be put as 560 A.D. onwards. In the Deo-Barnark inscription of Jivita-Gupta, the Paramēvara Bālāditya is spoken of as preceding Sārvavarman and Avantivarman. Sārvavarman, the father of Avantivarman, was the immediate predecessor of the latter, and the presumption is that Bālāditya also preceded Sārvavarman closely, say, by not more than a generation. This fits in well if Bālāditya’s date is circa 530 A.D. But Bālāditya becomes too far off from Sārvavarman if he is put at 470 A.D.

Again, the history of the founding of the Nalanda monastery, as recorded by Yuan Chwang is evidently rather confused. But the mention of Buddha-Gupta as a predecessor of Bālāditya is significant, and is, in my opinion, in true chronological order.

Kumāra-Gupta II was succeeded on the imperial throne by Buddha-Gupta probably about G.E. 157 = 478 A.D., as the Sārnath inscription of Buddha-Gupta is dated G.E. 158 = 477 A.D. Here, again, his relationship with his predecessor is not known, but until evidence is produced to the contrary, we may take him as Kumāra-Gupta II’s son.

The latest date on the silver coins of Buddha-Gupta is G.E. 175 = 494 A.D. (Allan, No. 617).

The next king, Bhānu-Gupta, who from his name (Bhānu and Buddha are both names of planets) appears to have been a brother of Buddha-Gupta, may be tentatively taken to have come to the throne in G.E. 177 = 495 A.D.

The Huns under Tōramaṇa were by this time preparing to contest with the Guptas, the sovereignty of India. In G.E. 165 = 484 A.D. the two brothers Mātri-Viśhṇu and Dhanyavīśhṇu, who were local rulers of Eran, had acknowledged the suzerainty of Buddha-Gupta (Fleet’s Gupta Inscriptions, p. 88). But in the Eran Boar inscription of Dhanyavīśhṇu the interval between which and the pillar inscription cannot very well be more than 25 years, the suzerain acknowledged is Tōramaṇa in whose first year the Boar was installed. Tōramaṇa must have ousted the Guptas from these parts in the course of these 25 or 20 years.

The memorial Eran inscription of Goparāja of G.E. 191 = 510 A.D. gives a clue to the situation. The inscription mentions that Goparāja was killed at Eran while fighting a great battle,—probably with the Huns under Tōramaṇa, in the company of the brave Bhānu-Gupta and allies.

1 [This inference based on the names of planets is not satisfactory.—Ed.]
2 The exact year of Tōramaṇa’s accession to the kingship of the Indian dominions of the White Huns is not known, but it was unquestionably later than 484 A.D., the date of the Eran inscription of Buddha-Gupta which mentions Mātri-Viśhṇu as the local king reigning, while Dhanyavīśhṇu was his younger brother. In the Eran Boar inscription of the first year of Tōramaṇa, Dhanyavīśhṇu is the local king and his elder brother Mātri-Viśhṇu is said to have gone to heaven. If Tōramaṇa ascended the throne immediately after 484 A.D., the battle of Eran in 510 A.D., in which Goparāja was killed, will have to be taken as Bhānu-Gupta’s attempt to regain the former possessions of the Guptas from the grasp of Tōramaṇa or of his son Mihirakula.
From the acknowledgment about the same time of the suzerainty of the Guptas in the eastern part of the country (modern Central Provinces) by the Paribhajaka Maharajas and Maharajas of Uchchakalpa, Prof. Basak has been led to suppose (Ep. Ind., XV, 7, p. 125) that Bhānu-Gupta was the victor in the battle in which Goparāja was killed. But I do not think that the supposition is reasonable. The following facts should be considered:—

(i) Goparāja who appears to have been a powerful ally of Bhānu-Gupta was killed in the battle.

(ii) If Bhānu-Gupta were victorious, the fact would certainly have been mentioned. Victory lay on the other side, hence the silence and the consolation of some high-sounding adjectives.

(iii) Bhānu-Gupta had evidently lost his former power; for, had he still been the suzerain, the fact would have been mentioned; and the loss of power can only result from defeat in battle in such a situation.

(iv) The suzerainty of Taramaṇa is acknowledged by Dhanya-Vishnu, king of Erā, while some years previously he and his elder brother Mātri-Vishnu had acknowledged Budha-Gupta as the suzerain.

From these it appears to be clear that the contest between Bhānu-Gupta and the aggressive Taramaṇa took place in Erā about 191 G.E. = 510 A.D., and that the battle resulted in the Gupta Emperor being worsted and having to cede Malwa to the invader. Bhānu-Gupta was probably killed in action, as was his faithful ally Goparāja, and also perhaps Mātri Vishnu; or, if Bhānu-Gupta survived, he is not likely to have survived long.

Thus from Skanda-Gupta to Bhānu-Gupta we have an unbroken line of succession. Where, then, is the place for Puru-Gupta of the Bhitari seal and his line? Mr. Allan and others have assumed that during the latter days of Skanda-Gupta, Puru-Gupta, his brother or half-brother, revolted and established an independent principality (Allan, Intro., Sec. 62). But where was this principality? We find Budha-Gupta implicitly obeyed from Malwa to Paundravardhana. Where is the place in which Puru-Gupta or his successors were obeyed?

Prof. Basak wrote (Ep. Ind., XV, p. 120): “But with our present stock of knowledge, it is not very easy to indicate the place where the branch line headed by Puru-Gupta may have ruled; . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . It may be believed that the rulers of the stronger branch may, by courtesy and in good-will, have suffered the other branch to rule somewhere in the eastern portion of the Gupta empire, perhaps in south Bihār.”

Such courtesy to a branch whose origin was in revolt would be, to say the least, impolitic. The truth seems to be that Puru-Gupta was a child of four or five when Kumara-Gupta I died and Skanda-Gupta succeeded him on the throne, and that the child was brought up in the harem, as his name signifies. When the last king Bhānu-Gupta of the main line died, possibly without leaving any successor, this Gupta prince, the grand-uncle of the last two kings, who must now have reached an age of at least 60 years, was called to fill the vacant throne. If subsequent researches prove my inference to be correct, a tragedy like the crowning of Puru-Gupta has seldom happened in history.

Puru-Gupta cannot have reigned for more than a few years and the accession of his son Narasimhu-Gupta, Bālāditya, may be dated in 198 G.E. = 513 A.D. Mihirakula may have succeeded his father at Sākula about this time.

We know from Yuan Chwang that Mihirakula invaded the kingdom of Bālāditya, who is called king of Magadha. In the war that ensued Mihirakula seems to have been taken

1 [These reasons are not quite convincing.—Ed.]
2 [This does not appear to be a reasonable inference. The author is evidently led to it by Puru, meaning a nara.—Ed.]

2
prisoner and condemned to death, but was saved from death by the intervention of the mother of Bālādityya (Vatsadēvi). This contest may be dated about 525-530 A.D.¹

I leave out of discussion the position of Yaśodharman and Vīshṇu-vardhana in chronology as it has hardly any bearing on the present scheme.

Narasīsa-Gupta Bālādityya did not probably long survive his victory over Mihirakula, and the accession of the next king Kumāra-Gupta III may be dated in G.E. 213=532 A.D. The last Damodarpur plate is dated in 214 G.E. and it was issued during the reign of a Gupta whose name has been broken away. I have reasons to think that he was Kumāra-Gupta III. Prof. Basak supposes that only two letters have been broken away and lost; but the letter ra, the last letter of Kumāra, which is simply a perpendicular stroke, does not occupy much space, and further discoveries will, I think, show that the Gupta king ruling in the East in 214 G.E. =533 A.D. was Kumāra-Gupta III, son of Bālādityya.

On the testimony of the Kalighat hoard² which contained coins of Bālādityya, Kumāra-Gupta III, Chandra-Gupta III and Vīshṇu (Gupta?)-Chandrāditya, we may take the successor of Kumāra-Gupta III as Chandra-Gupta III, who appears to have been succeeded by one whose name began with Vīshṇu and whose title was Chandrāditya.³ We cannot say definitely who this Vīshṇu was. But there cannot be any doubt that he was of the imperial Gupta line, as the Garuda standard on his coins would signify.

For the remaining period, until the first established date of Śaśākha in 606 A.D., Eastern India was ruled, as Mr. Pargiter has demonstrated, by the emperors Dharmāditya, Gopa-Chandra and Samāchāra. It has been already pointed out that Samāchāra was a devotee of Śiva; and it does not seem an impossible conjecture that all these kings were related to one another and formed a dynasty that took the place of the Guptas in Eastern India.

TOPOGRAPHY.

As already pointed out, Vāraka-mañḍala was the name of the district.

About the position of Vāraka-mañḍala I am in substantial agreement with Mr. Pargiter and I think that he is right in thinking that Varendra or Varendra is derived from the same root. The word Vāraka means obstructing, opposing; mañḍala means a collection of small areas. So the word Vāraka-mañḍala should be taken to mean, an area of land consisting of smaller areas lying between and separating rivers; Vāraka may also be taken in the sense of 'the deltaic land that obstructs and alters the current of a river'; Vāraka-mañḍala would then be a group of deltaic areas. Anyway, Vāraka-mañḍala would be the district round Koṭālipāda in the present district of Faridpur, almost in the heart of what was anciently known as Vanga.

Koṭālipāda is at present a Parganah in the district of Faridpur. The old settlement was in and about the old mud fort there, in the vicinity of which the Ghughrāhāti plate of Samāchāra-dēva was found. A number of gold coins of the Gupta emperors have been found outside the western par or embankment of the fort.

¹ Prof. H. Roychoudhuri's objections to identify Narasīsa-Gupta Bālādityya with the conqueror of Mihirakula do not appear to be very sound (J. A. S. B., Vol. XVII, p. 315). Even allowing that Yuan Chwang's statements regarding Bālādityya's predecessors are historically accurate, Tathāgata is not stated to be the father of Bālādityya or Bodha of Tathāgata, and there is no mention of immediate succession. Bālādityya's son is Kumāra-Gupta. Yuan Chwang gives his name as Vajra; but evidently this is a pet name or a family name, and not the royal name.

² See Allan, Intro., Sec. 166-169 and pages 137-146.

³ A sun as well as a moon. A sun of scorching rays to his enemies and a moon of pleasing and cool rays to his friends.
Koṭālipāḍā is at present surrounded on all sides by big marshes; it is inconceivable that any sane man could think of a royal settlement in such a water-logged area. But the big fort is there, and brick constructions very often come up unexpectedly from low water-logged places. As correctly surmised by some scholars, the low level of Koṭālipāḍā appears to be the effect of subsidence due to earthquake. We find a new town Navyāvakāśikā springing up during the reign of Dharmmāditya which does not seem to have existed in the third year of the same king. The presumption is that, about the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Dharmmāditya, owing to an earthquake, marshes began to form round Koṭālipāḍā which had been a flourishing royal settlement for the past two centuries and a half, and necessity was felt for shifting the gubernatorial head-quarters to some new and safer site on more settled land. Koṭālipāḍā continued as a district head-quarters, but the value of its land decreased so much that we find almost a whole village, which is described as having long lain fallow, given away to a Brahmin for no consideration.

Where was Navyāvakāśikā, the new Divisional head-quarters? Nāgadēva had his head-quarters at Navyāvakāśikā, which from the very name appears to have been a recently founded town during the reign of Dharmmāditya, in the interval between the plates A and B published by Mr. Pargiter.

Arakāśa means an opening, an aperture, and its derivative avakāśikā may very well mean a khaṭ, a canal, and the whole name Navyāvakāśikā would mean, the place provided with a new canal. There is a place called Sābhār in the Dacca district which contains imposing ruins of a traditional king called Harisena. Numerous gold coins of the ‘Imitation Gupta’ type have been found exclusively from Sābhār. The Dacca Museum cabinet possesses eight such coins from Sābhār. The place contains a fort, 250 yards by 190 yards in area. A water course breaks off from the river Bagṣai about two miles above the place where the fort stands and after running through the eastern part of the site of the old town, turns to the west and re-enters the river just below the southern face of the fort. The canal, which is undoubtedly in part artificial, is locally called Kāṭgāṇgā—‘the dug-out river’. The ruins of the royal palaces and temples are situated on the south-east corner of this enclosure, outside the Kāṭgāṇgā. This old site appears to answer to the name Navyāvakāśikā very well. The discovery of ‘Imitation Gupta’ gold coins throughout this site distinguishes it from any other old site in Eastern Bengal and also shows that its foundation goes back to the time we are discussing.

It would thus appear that the ruins at Sābhār may be identified with Navyāvakāśikā. The word Sābhār, a corruption of Sambhāra, means fullness, wealth, affluence. A visit to the site will convince anyone that it was a well-planned city of very great affluence surrounded by an artificial water-course. The latter might have been the cause of its name Navyāvakāśikā, while its subsequent opulence and splendour earned for it the name of Sambhāra—‘Wealth and plenty materialised’.

It is easy to prove that Koṭālipāḍā is the older of the two ancient sites. Below we shall show that the fort at Koṭālipāḍā dates from a period previous to the Guptas, but the discovery of the gold coins of the Gupta emperors exclusively from this site and only coins of the ‘Imitation Gupta’ type, which were undoubtedly much later currency, from Sābhār tends to show that the former site is the more ancient of the two. It is needless to notice in detail the gold coins discovered at Koṭālipāḍā or the ‘Imitation Gupta’ coins from Sābhār. This is done in a separate article in the Numismatic Supplement to the J. A. S. B. It may only be stated here
that gold coins of Chandra-Gupta II and Skanda-Gupta and silver coins with the figure of peacocks on them have been found in and about the ramparts of the fort there.

The land granted by the Ghgrahāti plate was in a village called Vṛṣaghrā-chāraka. Three āhuṣa-sowing areas of land were taken away from it and the rest of the hamlet was given to the donee. The boundary indications of the land granted are thus given:—On the east, the goblin-haunted Paunkaṭṭi tree; on the south, Vidyādāra Jotikā; on the west, a corner of Chandra-varman's fort; on the north, the boundary of the village Gopendra-chāraka. Chandra-varman's fort cannot be any other place than the big fort at Koṭālipādā.

About half a mile to the north-west from the north-east corner of this fort, there is a for-saken homestead with a tank, which is called Jṭābādi or Jaṭā's house. It is traditionally remembered to have been the residence of one Vidyādāra and his wife Jaṭā Buḍi. The place is supposed to be haunted. By the north bank of the tank at Jaṭābādi, there run, east-west, two curious parallel embanked roads. The one was, they say, meant for the king and his officers and the other for the common people. This double road appears to have been denoted by the term Jotikā or two roads placed together. The village of Govindapur begins a little north of this place and this was no doubt the Gopendra-chāraka of the plate, the words Gōvinda and Gopendra being synonymous.

Who is this Chandra-varman, who was still remembered in his handiwork—the fort at Koṭālipādā—even in the time of Sāmaksha-dēva? This fort, which measures 2½ x 2½ miles, is the biggest ancient earthwork known in Bengal, the next in size being that at Mahāsthān (the ancient Paunḍravarādhana) which is only 1,000 yards x 1,500 yards. He must have been a powerful king who could construct so large a fort, in this low-lying tract, and the discovery of the gold coins of Gupta emperors from the vicinity show that the founder was at least as old as the Guptas. We are at once reminded of the Chandra of the Meherauli pillar inscription who "when warring in the Vaṅga countries, kneaded and turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him and thus wrote fame on his arms by his sword," (Fleet, C. I. I. p. 141.) Fleet emphasised the early character of the palæography of this inscription which is not dated, and Allan, with his usual insight, rejected the identification of this Chandra with Chandra-Gupta II. Finally M. M. Haraprasad Ṣaṭri has identified this Chandra with Chandra-varman—son of Sinha-varman of Pushkaraṇa, of the Susunia Hill inscription,—who was finally overthrown by Saumuddra-Gupta about the third decade of the fourth century A.D. When we see that a most impressive monument in the shape of a great fort, to which Chandra-varman's name is applied even in the sixth century A.D. turns up in Koṭālipādā near the heart of old Vaṅga, we are finally convinced that these scholars, and particularly M. M. Ṣaṭri, are right in identifying the Chandra of the Meherauli pillar inscription, who came and warred in Vaṅga, as Chandra-varman, of whose advent in Bengal we have now a tangible proof in the shape of the great fort known after him. Chandra-varman's campaigns in Bengal and the foundation of the fortified settlement at Koṭālipādā may be approximately dated about 315 A.D.

[The identification is not convincing.—Ed.]

1 In an attempt to identify Chandra with Chandra-Gupta I, Prof. Basak writes: "Where is the evidence that Bengal had ever been in the possession of Chandra-varman? . . . We have as yet got no such historical evidence nor can we expect to get it in future." (Ind. Ant., June, 1919, p. 101.) This last statement only proves the necessity of caution in our prediction as to what future may bring up.

2 Koṭālipādā means the pāḍā or hamlet founded on the āhuṣ or ramparts of the keṭ or fort.
No. 12.—JODHPUR INSCRIPTION OF PRATIHARA BAUKA; V. S. 894.

BY R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., DACCA.

This inscription was first edited, without any translation and facsimile, by Munshi Deviprasad of Jodhpur in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1894, pp. 1 ff. I re-edit it at the suggestion of, and from an estampe kindly supplied to me by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar. The stone which bears this inscription was discovered about 1892, in the wall surrounding the city of Jodhpur, but, as Professor Bhandarkar suggests, it was probably brought there from Mandor, five miles to the north of the city.¹

The inscription consists of twenty-two lines of writing which cover a space of about 2½'-10½" broad by 2½'-1½" high. It is generally in a good state of preservation, although some letters have peeled off here and there. The engraving is remarkably excellent. The size of the letters is between ½" and ⅙". The characters are of the type used in the inscriptions of the Imperial Pratihara dynasty, but the following peculiarities may be noted:

The triangle at the right lower end of kh is represented by a simple wedge. Both the forms of a illustrated in Bühler’s Chart (V. 24, II, III,) are used. N is formed by a distinct loop, as in the Dighwā-Dubauti plate². The forms of bh and s resemble those of the Pehā Prāśasti³ and are different from those used in the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja ¹⁴.

The language is Sanskrit; and excepting the benedictory formula “Oṃ namō Viṣṇu” at the beginning, and the date and the engraver’s name at the end, the inscription is written in verse. As Munshi Deviprasad remarks, “the language offers some serious blunders.” Thus we have dhimśh and vandajām in v. 3, where the annudra stands for the final n. Similar errors also occur in v. 27. Tyajya for tyaktva, stambhya for stambhitea, and prahata for prahatya occur in ll. 17 and 18, respectively. Other instances will be noticed in their proper places; but it appears that the writer was influenced by the idioms of the Prakrit language, which, as the Gaṭṭayā inscription of Kakkuka⁴ shows, was also used in official documents, about this period. As regards orthography we have to notice (1) the regular use of the proper sign for the letter b; (2) the use of upadāṇiya before p (e.g. in vah-pāyād in l. 1); (3) the doubling of s in place of visarga (e.g. in gata-sarga in l. 1); (4) the use of the guttural nasal instead of annudra before å (e.g. in -vauṣa in l. 2); (5) doubling of k and t in conjunction with a following r (e.g. in -vikramaśi and -bhrātrā in l. 2); (6) the doubling of consonants after r (e.g. in sergya, l. 1); but note the use of single v and y after r (e.g. in prāthāryaṁ in l. 3 and ṛ = virociḥiṁ in l. 10); and (7) the use of “ṛśi for ṛśi (in kṣatirśitaṁ in ll. 3 and 4).

The inscription records in the last five verses (27 to 31) the military exploits of a Pratihāra chief called Bāukā and gives in vv. 4 to 26 an account of the dynasty to which he belonged. The eulogy of Bāukā as described in the record seems to suggest that Bāukā must have been away on a career of conquest when his kingdom was attacked by a confederacy of kings. His own partisans were unable to stand the fight and broke into disorder, when Bāukā suddenly appeared on the scene, rallied his men and gained a complete victory. This heroic feat that saved the country from a great disaster is the main theme of the inscription.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. XV, p. 112.
⁴ Published below as No. 13.
⁵ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 277 ff.
The inscription supplies us with the following genealogy of Bāuka.

Harichandra Rohilladdhi,
a Brāhmaṇa.

By his unnamed Brāhmaṇa wife

The Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas

Bhōgabhaṭa

Kakka

Rajjīla

Dadda

Narabhaṭa

otherwise called Pellapelli.

Nāgabhaṭa

m. Jainjīkādevī.

Tāta

Bhōja

Yaśovardhana

Chanduka

Śiluka

Jhōta

Bhillāditya

Kakka

By queen Padmimī

By queen Durlabhādevī

Bāuka

Kakkuka

The Gaṇḍīḷa Inscriptions of the Pratihāra Kakkuka, dated in the Vikrama year 918, confirm the above genealogy, although in two cases the names are slightly modified such as Śiluka for Śiluka, and Bhilluka for Bhillāditya. As these inscriptions trace only the direct line of descent, they omit the names of the three brothers of Rajjīla and of the brother of Tāta but add a new name to the dynastic list, viz., that of Kakkuka, the son of Kakka and Durlabhādevī. Kakkuka was thus a step-brother of Bāuka.

The foundation of the dynasty is thus ascribed to a Brāhmaṇa who married two wives from two different castes. This is very interesting from a social point of view. His sons are credited with the conquest of Mandavyyapura (modern Mandor) where, as already observed the stone must have been originally put up. The grandson of one of them fixed his capital at the city of Meṇantaka, which, as Munshi Deviprasad remarks, is possibly represented by the town Merta in Marwār. Shortly after this the military ardour of the family gives way to a

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1 The names Durlabhādevī and Kakkuka are taken from the Gaṇḍīḷa inscriptions.
3 [Mauamrīṭa (III. 13) allows a Brāhmaṇa to marry non-Brāhmaṇa women—Ed.]
4 J. R. A. S. 1894, p. 3.
religious one, and the next king Tāta spent his last days in a hermitage. His three successors seem, no doubt, to have been powerful rulers, but his example was followed by the next two kings who spent the last part of their lives on the banks of the Ganges. Kakkua, the successor of the last of them, is described to have fought with the people of Bengal (Gauda) in distant Monghyr, and the full significance of this will be explained later on. His successor, Bāuka who is the hero of the inscription, defeated a king named Mayūra.

The date of the inscription has given rise to much discussion. Munshi Deviprasad who originally edited the inscription read the figures as 940 but Kielhorn held that there is only one numeral figure, which is 4 and read the whole as Samvat 4. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar reads the date as Samv 894. He reads the letter following Saṁ as eṛa and takes it to be a sign for 8.

As regards Kielhorn's view I entirely agree with Professor D. R. Bhandarkar that what the former reads as eṛa is more like era and that the sign which he reads as t denotes the cipher for 9. There is also undoubtedly much force in the learned Professor's contention "that there can be no question that eṛa also is a sign for some integer and that it may be taken as equivalent to 8," although as he himself admits, eṛa has never been so far found to represent the integer 8. Apart from the arguments advanced by him, there is one consideration which is decidedly in favour of his view, and seems to me to be fatal to Munshi Deviprasad's contention. If the date of the record be 940 Samvat, as the latter holds, Bāuka must be looked upon as a younger brother and successor of Kakkua. It is, therefore, inconceivable that his name should have been omitted from the dynastic list of our inscription which retains the names of collateral kings of earlier generations. On the other hand, as Kakkua's inscriptions do not refer to any collateral king at all, it cannot be a matter of surprise that Bāuka's name is not mentioned therein. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to think that Bāuka was the earlier prince and that the date of the inscription is Samvat 894 or 837 A.D. as read by Professor Bhandarkar.

The historical importance of the inscription is very great. It gives us a line of chiefs extending over twelve generations. Taking twenty-five years as average for each generation the total reign-period of the dynasty would be about 300 years.

As the dates of Kakkua and Bāuka, representing the twelfth generation of kings, are respectively 861 and 837 A.D., Harichandra, the founder of the dynasty may be placed at about 550 A.D. The Imperial Prathihāra dynasty, however, cannot be traced back beyond the beginning of the eighth century A.D. So far, therefore, as the available evidence goes, Harichandra must be looked upon as the earliest Prathihāra chief. The verse 5 of our inscrip-

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3 Dr. Hoernle remarks:—"The two half-brothers Kakkua and Bāuka formed the twelfth generation of the Prathihāra dynasty. This fact, at the usual rate of twenty years for a reign, will place Harichandra, the founder of the dynasty, at about 640 A.D." (J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 28). Dr. Hoernle here overlooks the difference between reign and generation. A consideration of the duration of the well known historical dynasties would show that the average duration of a generation may be fairly taken to be at least 25 years. Thus—

(i) Eight generations of Pāla kings from Dharmapāla to Mahipāla I ruled for considerably more than 209 years.
(ii) Seven generations of Chāluksya kings from Kirttivarman I to Kirttivarman II ruled for more than 180 years.
(iii) Nine generations of Rāṣṭrakūta kings from Dantidurgas to Indrarāja IV ruled for more than 229 years.
(iv) Nine generations of Prathihāra kings from Vaṭṭarāja to Trilochanapāla ruled for more than 244 years.

These give 27, 26, 25, and 27 years respectively for the average duration of a generation.

tion says that the sons that were born of Harichandra and Bhadrā were known as Prathīhāras and were wine-drinkers. This might imply a common origin of all the Prathīhāra ruling clans, and it is not impossible that the Imperial Prathīhāras of Kanauj also branched off from this family. The two following grounds may be urged in support of this view, although the question cannot be finally settled till fresh evidence is available:—

(1) The common mythical tradition about the origin of the name Prathīhāra, both tracing it to Lakshmana, the brother and door-keeper of Rāma.1

(2) The community of names in the two families, such as those of Kakkuka, Nāgabhaṭa and Bhoja.

It is not easy to determine the status of the chiefs mentioned in the inscription. Their names are not preceded by titles like mahārājādhīrāja, parama-bhāṣāraka, etc., which often accompany the names of independent and paramount sovereigns in inscriptions. But no conclusions can be based on the absence of these titles in the present instance, for we know that in some inscriptions the Imperial Prathīhāras are mentioned without any of those pompous titles, which are, however, preserved in other inscriptions. Professor Bhandarkar has dealt with this point in detail and his arguments have been fully endorsed by V. A. Smith; and I believe it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, that so far at least as this period is concerned, 'titular formulas, in reality, are of extremely slight significance.'

Our inscription applies the term 'raja' to Bhadrā, the queen of Harichandra, the first chief, and to Jajjikādevī, the queen of Nāgabhaṭa, and the term MahārāJA to Padmīni, the queen of Kakka. It refers to the "rajadham" of Nāgabhaṭa and the "raja" of Tātā, Jhōṭa and Bhilādīya. The sons of Harichandra are called 'Bhō-daḥaraṇa-khamāṭa'; Kakka is styled 'Bhāpatī'; and Bāuka is called Nṛsiṁha. These are the only references, direct or indirect, to the royal power exercised by these chiefs. In this respect it bears a close resemblance to the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I published below. The latter adds no royal epithet to Nāgabhaṭa, the first chief; calls the second and fourth kings respectively as 'Kshmārīḍita' and 'Kṣmārīḍita', while Nāgabhaṭa and Bhoja I, two of the greatest kings of the dynasty are introduced without any royal epithet. Whatever might be the reasons, the close parallel between these two contemporary epigraphic records would preclude any conclusion regarding the subordinate rank of the chiefs of our inscription on the basis of the absence of high sounding royal epithets.4

As we have seen before, the first chief Harichandra must be placed at the beginning of the latter half of the 6th century A.D. This is in full accordance with the fact that the earliest reference to the Gurjara, to which race the Prathīhāras belonged,5 is carried back to the same period by the reference, in the Harsha-Charita, to the wars of Prabhākara varanaḥ against them. The province of Gurjaratru, which was named after them and must, therefore, be looked upon as the province where they gained a firm footing and established themselves,6 was under the sway of this dynasty. This is quite evident not only from the find-spots

1 Cf. verse 4 with verse 8 of the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja published below. (also Arch. Surv. of India, 1908-09, p. 280 ff.)
5 The above discussion shows the inaccuracy of his statement that the Prasastis of the Jodhpur Prathīhāras "give them no territorial titles whatsoever; not even raja". His other contention that the term Mahārājā applied to Padmīni denotes her father's rank rather than that of her husband does not commend itself to me.
6 J. Bo. Br. 1902, 1903, p. 431.
7 Ibid., pp. 414-15.
of inscriptions of this dynasty which have all been found within its area, but also from the express mention in the Ghatigrapha inscriptions, that Kakkuka ruled over Gurjaratrā (v. 10). The inscription also throws some light as to the period when this province was being gradually occupied by the dynasty. Verses 8 and 10 tell us that the four sons of Harichandra built a huge rampart round the fort of Māṇḍavapura which was gained by their own prowess (nīva-bhuj-ārijīti). Māṇḍavapura is evidently Mandor, the ancient capital of Mārvār, near Jodhpur. It is evident, therefore, that the Gurjaras under Harichandra and his sons had occupied the province, known after them, and proceeded up to Mandor, before the end of the sixth century A. D.

The period was indeed a suitable one for such conquest. After the downfall of the short-lived empires of Mihirakula and Yasodharman, northern India must have presented a favourable field for the struggle of nations. The Gurjaras, who probably entered India along with or shortly after the Hāpas found a favourable opportunity to press forward till they advanced as far as the Jodhpur state. Their further advance was checked by the prowess of Prabhākara-vardhana and his son, and they were therefore obliged to establish themselves in the province which was subsequently named after them. Harichandra must have been the leader, or at least one of the principal leaders, of this advanced section of the Gurjaras; in any case his dynasty was ultimately able to establish its supremacy over the entire clan. This seems to be the only reasonable inference from the circumstances stated above, and I do not know of anything which contradicts this view.

Inscriptions testify to the existence of a line of feudatory Gurjara chiefs ruling at Broach. The earliest date of the third chief of this dynasty is 629 A. D. Allowing fifty years for the two generations that preceded him, we get the date c. 580 A. D. for the Sāmanid Dadda, who founded the line. The date corresponds so very well with that of Dadda, the youngest son of Harichandra, that the identity of the two may be at once presumed. It has been already suggested, on general grounds, that the Broach line was feudatory to the main line of the Gurjaras further north, but no link, connecting the two, has been hitherto obtained. The proposed identification would not only supply such a link but would also explain why the Gurjara inscriptions record that Dadda I was of the race of Gurjara Kṣiras (Gurjara-śṛi-pārthava) although he and his descendants are referred to as Sāmanid or feudatories. It further closely fits in with the theory of the Gurjara invasion dealt with above. It would appear that after Harichandra had carved a principality for himself in Gurjaratrā and the neighbouring country, the nomadic habits of the tribe led them further south till they conquered a fair portion of Lāṭa. The necessity of preserving their own against the rising power of the Chāulkāyas probably led to the foundation of a feudatory state in the southern province under Dadda, the younger brother of the ruling king Rajjula. Instances like these are furnished by the history of the Chāulkāyas and the Rāṣṭrakūtaṇas.

The Chinese traveller Huen Tsiang visited a Gurjara kingdom which was about 300 miles north of Valabhi or Surat. It is a noticeable fact that Gurjaratrā or the country round about Mandor exactly answers to this description. As Harichandra's dynasty was certainly ruling in the locality at the time of the pilgrim's visit, we are justified in identifying

1 For the extent of Gurjaratrā as deduced from epigraphical references see Ibid, p. 415.
2 Gurjaratrā is Skr. Gurjaratrā, not Gurjarāt as supposed by the Translator (J. R. A. S. 1895, p. 529).
3 J. R. A. S. 1894, p. 3.
4 For a detailed account of them, see Dynasties of the Kāmarāya Districts, pp. 312 ff.
5 Thus Bühler infers from the title of Sāmanid used by these chiefs that it is not unlikely that they were vassals of the Gurjaras of Bhilamāla "(Ind. Ant. xvii. p. 194).
6 Water's Yuan-Chuang II, p. 249.
their kingdom with the one described by Huen Tsian. Nay, I believe that we are even able to identify the king whose court was visited by the pilgrim. "The king" says he "is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just 20 years old. He is distinguished for wisdom, and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha and highly honours men of distinguished ability." Now, as the pilgrim visited the kingdom about a hundred years after the foundation of the dynasty we may reasonably expect four generations of kings to have passed away during that period and the young king may be looked upon as belonging to the fifth. On referring to the dynastic list we find king Tâta occupying this position. Verses 14-15 inform us that king Tâta, considering the life to be evanescent as lightning, abdicated in favour of his younger brother and himself retired to a hermitage, practising there the rites of true religion. The curious confirmation about the religious fervour of the king, who may be held on other grounds to have been contemporary with the pilgrim, gives rise to a strong presumption about the correctness of our identification.

The Gurjaras, after their settlement in Râjpútânâ and Broach, had to fight for their supremacy with Prabhâkara-avaradvaha of Thanesvar who seems to have headed the native resistance against the invading hordes of the Hāṇas and the Gurjaras. We have already referred to the wars of Prabhâkara-avaradvaha against the Gurjaras. The poetical language of Bāṇābhaṭṭa may be taken to imply that the further advance of the Gurjaras was stayed in the north. The struggle was not, however, a decisive one, and seems to have been continued till the time of Harshavardhana. The feudatory Dadda II of Broach is said to have protected a lord of Valabhi against the Kamauj Emperor, and surprise has justly been expressed how a small state like Broach could withstand the force of the mighty emperor. Everything however appears quite clear if we admit Broach to have been a feudatory state of the dynasty of Harichandra and remember its hereditary enmity with the royal house of Thaneswar. That the Gurjaras were not worsted in their struggle with the kings of Thaneswar appears quite clearly from the fact that they retained their independence, as Huen Tsian informs us, till at least a late period in the reign of Harshavardhana. The struggle between Dadda II and the rulers of Kamauj incidentally referred to in inscriptions, may thus be looked upon as part and parcel of the great and long-drawn battle between the two powers.

The extension of the Gurjara power to the south brought it into conflict with the rising power of the Châlukyas. It is recorded in the Aihole Inscription that the Châlukya hero Pulakeši II (611 to 640 A.D.) defeated the Lâtas, Mâlavas and Gurjaras. The Gurjaras here must be taken to refer to the Pratâhara dynasty under consideration, for it cannot denote the feudatory line founded by Dadda as it is included under the Lâtas. The mention of the Gurjaras along with the Lâtas and the Mâlavas clearly shows that they occupied a territory contiguous to these two provinces and the kingdom of the Pratâhara line under consideration exactly corresponds to this. The struggle between the two powers must have been of long duration; for during the reign of the successor of Pulakeši, a branch of the Châlukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarât, and this was evidently to keep in check the powerful Gurjaras in the north.

1 It has been urged by Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVII, p. 192) and Y. A. Smith (J. R. A. S. 1907, p. 929) that the kingdom visited by Huen Tsian was that of Bhîllamala, ruled over by the Chāpa dynasty. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out several drawbacks in this explanation (J. Bo. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XXI, p. 417). It will suffice here to point out that the identification of Pi-lo-mu-lo with Bhîllamala is far from satisfactory, in view of its distance from Valabhi as given by Huen Tsian. Again, the Chāpe-katâpas or the Chāpas are clearly distinguished from the Gurjaras in the Nâsurâ grant of the Gujarât Châlukya Pulakeśīra (Kielhorn's Northern List No. 404) and the Châpa kingdom cannot, therefore, be identified with the Gurjara kingdom visited by Huen Tsian.

The Gurjara Pratihara line founded by Harichandra thus established itself in Rājputānā and fought successfully against the royal houses of Thaneswar and Bādami: For about two hundred years they ruled in splendour over the greater part of Rājputānā but the Arab invasion of about 725 A.D. brought about a decline. The Nausāri plates of the Gujarāt Chālhukya Pulakeśirāja, dated in October, A.D. 738, tell us that the Gurjaras were destroyed by an invasion of the Tājikas or Arabs, apparently shortly before that time.¹

It seems very likely that the Arab invasions referred to in the Nausāri plates were those undertaken by the officers of Junaid, the general of Khalif Hasham (724-743 A.D.). Bilāduri gives a short account of these expeditions and mentions, among other things, that Junaid sent his officers to Marmad Mandal, Barus and other places and conquered Bailaman and Jurz.² There can be no doubt that Marmad is the same as Maru-mādha which is referred to in the Ghaṭīyāja inscription of Kakkuka and includes Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur State.³ Barus is undoubtedly Broach and Mandal probably denotes Mandor. It is now a well-known fact that Jurz was the Arabic corruption of Gurjara, and Bailaman probably refers to the circle of states mentioned in our inscription as Valla-manḍala. It would thus appear that the Arab army under Junaid conquered the main Gurjara states in the north as well as the feudatory state of Broach in the south.

This catastrophe must have taken place at the beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. According to Bilāduri the Arab expeditions were arranged by Junaid during the Caliphate of Hasham who ruled from 724 to 743 A.D. According to Elliot Junaid was succeeded by Tamin about 726 A.D.⁴ Evidently this last date is far from being definitely known and we may therefore conclude that the expeditions were undertaken shortly after 724 A.D. The Nausāri plates show, however, that the expeditions referred to in them took place between 731 and 738 A.D. For, according to the Balsar plates,⁵ Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśirāja did not come to the throne till the year 731 A.D., and as he himself takes the credit of having repelled the Arabs from Nausāri, the event must be dated after that year.

The Chālhukya prince Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśirāja, who successfully resisted the Arabs, probably took advantage of this opportunity to wrest the Lāṭa province from the Gurjara kingdom. The decline of the Gurjara power thus brought about by the Arab invasion in the north and the Chālhukya aggression in the south favoured the growth of a rival Pratihara dynasty which was ultimately destined to play the imperial role in India. The origin of this dynasty is described in verses 4 and 7 of the Gwaṅor pradāsti of Bhōja published below. It records that Nāgabhāṣa, the first king, defeated the Mēcchhusas, and after him ruled his two nephews Kakkuka and Dēvārāja. Vatsarāja, the son of the latter, became a very powerful king and wrested the empire from the famous Bhāṇḍī clan. Now, our inscription tells us that Śiluka who was the protector of Valla-manḍala (a circle of kingdoms) defeated Bhaṭṭika Dēvārāja (v. 19). As Dēvārāja of the Imperial Pratihara dynasty was the father of Vatsarāja whose known date is 783-4 A.D., he probably flourished about the middle of the eighth century A.D. Śiluka, according to our scheme of chronology must also have been ruling about the same time and the identity of the two kings called Dēvārāja may be at once presumed. A careful study of the two inscriptions seems to show that Nāgabhāṣa, the founder of the Imperial Pratihāras, successfully resisted the Arab invasions which proved so disastrous to the other Pratihāra line. His successors were not slow to take advantage of this favourable situation, and Dēvārāja entered into a contest for supremacy with Śiluka. He was defeated by the latter,

¹ Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Arian Section, p. 231.
³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 278.
but his son Vatsarāja pursued his policy with signal success and wrested the empire from the family of Harichandra.

All these successive changes in the fortune of the dynasty are reflected in our inscription. According to our scheme of chronology Chanduka was on the throne when the Arab invasion took place. It becomes therefore a significant fact that whereas he is passed over with mere conventional praises, tribute is paid to the prowess and heroism of his successor Śiluka. Then, again, the two successors of Śiluka are said to have taken to religious life and not a single act of martial glory is attributed to any of them. This was apparently the time when their rivals gradually established themselves in the position of recognised suzerainty over the entire confederate clans which was so long enjoyed by them. The subsequent kings of the line of Hari-

chandra retained possession of their own kingdom, although they lost their supreme position, and gradually seem to have reconciled themselves to their new situation. Kakka, the great grandson of Śiluka appears to have accompanied the new suzerainy in its wars of conquest. For we are told in verse 24 that he fought with the Gandhas at Mudgapir or Monghyr. Apparently he fought as a feudatory of Nāgarāha II one of whose known dates is 815 A.D., and who is said in the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja (below) to have defeated the king of Vaṅga.

There was, however, a temporary revival of the Prathāra power in the middle of the ninth century A.D. The Dañlatprā copper plate of Bhōja, dated in the year 843 A.D., records the grant of a piece of land situated in Gurjarātrā, but the Ghaṭiyāla inscription of Kakkuka refers to the province as being held by that king. As this inscription is dated in 861 A.D. Bhōja must have lost this province between these dates. In fact a close study of the Dañlatprā plate seems to indicate that the province was held by Vatsarāja and Nāgarāha but lost by Rāmahadra and regained by Bhōja before 843 A.D. For it speaks of the original grant by the first, its continuation by the second and renewal by the fourth king, leading to the evident conclusion that there was a break in the possession of the territory during the reign of the third. This view entirely agrees with what we know of the rival Prathāra dynasty; for Nāgarāha II was crushed by the Rāṣṭrakūta king Govinda III and Rāmahadra’s reign was an inglorious one. The difficulty of the rivals must have presented the requisite opportunity to the Jodhpur Prathāra to regain the power that they had lost. Thus whereas the two successors of Śiluka are described as practising austerities—an unmistakable indication of their political and military inanity—Kakka, the third king after Śiluka is described as a great fighter and his queen consort is called a mahārājī. They son Bāuka was also a great hero and his military exploits are described at great length in our inscription. According to the Ghaṭiyāla inscription Kakkuka also ruled over a vast dominion. Nothing is at present known about his successors but it is likely that with the revival of the Imperial Prathāra under Bhōja during the latter part of Bhōja’s reign, their territory was finally annexed by the latter.

A few words may be said regarding the geographical names contained in the inscription. Maṇḍavya-pura and Meḍantaka-pura (1.7) most probably denote the cities of Mandor and Merka. Line 11 contains the names of Stravanī and Valla-dēśā, two provinces, close to each other. As Śiluka is said in the same line to have been ‘Vallamesḍalā-pālaka’, Valla must denote the region over which these Prathāra chiefs ruled. As Śiluka is also said in verse 18 to have fixed the boundary between Stravanī and Valla, the former would appear to have denoted a neighbouring kingdom. Stravanī is probably the same as Tamani of the Ghaṭiyāla inscription of Prathāra Bāuka as the latter occurs along with Valla in a list of contiguous countries. The locality of this Stravanī or Tamani has not been established so far. It seems to me, however, that it is to be identified with the kingdom of Taban referred to by the Arab geographers of the ninth century A.D. A comparison of the various references to this kingdom
by Arab writers seems to show that it consisted of a part of the Panjab just to the north-west of Rajputana. Reference is twice made (vv. 27, 29) to Mayura, a king defeated by Bauka. We know of no such king, but Huien Tsiang refers to a city called Mo-Yu-lo (or Mayura) situated near Gangavara mentioned in v. 23. Mayura of our inscription may refer to the king of the locality.

Tr̄t̄-tir̄tha (v. 20) and Bhūkūpe (v. 27) cannot be identified. But Gaṅgā-dvāra (v. 23) and Mudgagiri (v. 24) are well known names denoting respectively Haridvār and Monghyr.

TEXT.

[Metres used: vv. 1 to 26, Anushṭabh; vv. 27-28, Sracaḥrā; v. 29, Āryā; v. 30, Śvādānavikṣṭita; v. 31, Mālini.]

1 Oṁ namō Viṣṇu || Ya[śin-viṣa]nti bhūtāni yataḥ-sargga-sthit matē ; sa vah-pahām-Dṝṣṭikāśa nirṛgaṇa-saṛgna-saḥ yaḥ || [1*] Guṇāḥ-puṛvam pu(pu)[p]ahūnāṁ kṝtṝṇayantē tēnā

2 pāṇḍitaṁ h[an]a guṇā-kṝttar-āsanānti svargga-vāsaka karī yataḥ || [2*] Ataṁ śrī-Śva-Baukāḥ dhimāṁśa svā-Prāthārā-vahājāṁ || prāsāstu lēkhaṁāsā śrī-yaśo-vikram-ānvitān || [3*] Sva-bhṝttatā Rā-

3 mahābhāṣya prāthārā-anāṇāṁ kriṭam yataḥ | śrī-Prāthārā-vahājāṁ yam-śatōṣa-chānāṁ-āpyuvatā || [4*] Vipraḥ śrī-Hariachandraḥ-śrīkhyāḥ paṭant Bhadṛā cha khaṭṭirīyā || tāhyăntu [ōy su]tā jātāḥ [Prāthārā]rūmāḥ-cha tān-vi-

4 duḥ | [5*] Bahhūva Rōhiladdhyēnkō Vēda-saṅkṛita-ārttha-pārāṇāḥ | dvijaḥ śrī-Hariachandraḥ-śrīkhyāḥ Prajāpati-saṁo guruḥ || [6*] Tēnā śrī-Hariachandraṁ pariśṭatā dvija-stāmaḥ || [dvi]tīyā khaṭṭi-

5 yā̃ Bhadṛā mahā-kula-guṇā-ānvitā || [7*] Prāthārā dvijaḥ bhūtā Brāhmaṁyāṁ yē-hvaṁ[a]ntāḥ || rājū Bhadṛā cha yṁtē-sūtē tē bhūtā madhu-paṇināḥ || [8*] Chatvāraḥ[ā]ḥ-chāntāṁ-tasyāṁ jātā bhū-dharaṇa-khaṁ-


8 Jajjikā-dēvyās-tō jātā jāh māhā-guṇau | dvan sutaṁ Tātā-Bhūj-ākhyān sau-daryaṁ ripu-marddanāḥ || [13*] Tāteṇa tēnā lokasaṁ vidyvech-cha[n]chala-jīvitaṁ | budhvaḥ rājyaṁ laghōr-bhṛatath | śrī-Bhōja-

2 Walters Yuan Choung i. 333-9.
3 The Stūka-metre here employed is faulty—the sixth syllable in the first pada being short against rule.
4 Read ḍhāmāṁ.
5 The doubling of t in prattāhāra is apparently due to the exigencies of the metre. Read -vahājāṁ.
6 Read -vahājāṁ.
7 Read -khaṭṭirīyā.
8 Read -tīyaṁ.
9 Read Tātā- Bhōj-ākhyān sau-daryaṁ ripu-marddanāṁ. Where Kāli- in this line, as per saṁā vs (VII-3-30) of Pāṇini.
10 Read dēvyās-tō jātā jāh māhā-guṇau | dvan sutaṁ Tātā-Bhōj-ākhyān sau-daryaṁ ripu-marddanāṁ.
11 Read saṁā. 
12 Read dēvyās-tō jātā jāh māhā-guṇau | dvan sutaṁ Tātā-Bhōj-ākhyān sau-daryaṁ ripu-marddanāṁ.
9 sya samarpitāṃ || [14*] Śvayamāḥ-ca saṁsthitās-Tātā[ḥ] śuddham dharmam-
10 bhujajñātāḥ samastā-nākṣatrkā ṛkṣa [16*] Tasmāch-ṣa Chandukāh
ārtmān-puttrō-bhūtā-prīthi-vikkramaḥ | tējasvī tyāga-śilāḥ-ṣa vidvishāṃ yadhi
durdharahā || [17*] Tātāḥ ṣrī-Silukā jātāḥ puttrō dūrvāra-vikkramaḥ
[ ] yena
11 smā kriṣṇā niyām Stravani-Valla-śāposición || [18*] Bhāṣṭikīṃ Dēvarajyaṃ yo
chhattrāḥ-ḥihnakāḥ[ḥ] || [19*] Pushkariṇi kriṣṇā yena Tryāṭa-trīṭḥo cha
pattanaḥ | Śi-
12 dhāśvaro Mahādevāḥ kāritas-tuṅga-māndirāḥ || [20*] Tātāḥ ṣrī-Śługāj-jātāḥ
ārtmān-Jīṅgō vahā sutah | yena rājya-sukhaḥ bhūtāvā Bhāga[thyaṃ]
kriṣṇā gatiḥ | [21*] BBBhāva satvāvān-tasmād-Bhīlādiyās-taḍa-va
13 tiḥ | yena rājaṃ kriṣṇā yena punāḥ putrāya dattava[va]n || [22*] Gaṅgā-
dvārām tatō gatiḥ varhāṇy-vaathāḍāṃ sūtaḥ | anti-chānānuḥ kriyā
svargga-lōkaṃ samāgataḥ || [23*] Tatō-pi śrī-yuṭaḥ Kakkaḥ
14 puttrō jātā mahāmatiḥ | yaḥ Mudgagīrṇ labhāmn yena Gaṁdaiṃ samān
rāpō || [24*] [Chandō] Vyākaraṇam Tarkkō ḍyōtiḥ-gūṭham kal-aṇvitaṃ |
sarvava-blādhā-kavitaḥ-ṣa vijñātaṃ su-viśkhaṇam- | [25*] Bhāṣṭi[?]-va-
15 aśī-vaśūdhyāṃ tād-asmat-Kakka-bhūpatiḥ | ārtmat-Padmānāḥ mahārajyaṃ
jātāḥ śrī-Bhsukā sutā iti || [26*] Nandāvālam prahatvā10 ripu-balama-
atulāṃ Bhūkāpūr-prayātam śrīstva bhā-
16 gnānī11 sva-pakṣ[ā]nā ddvīa-nṛṣa-kulaśāṃ sat-Prattharabhipāṃ | dhū-bhātt-
aṅkōtaṃ tasmin-prakṣita-yāsā śrīmahā Bākēnā 13 | spūrjan-hatvā13 Mayūram
17 [t]ω-nīva || [27*] Kasy-āṇyaṃ prabhagāḥ14 sa-saṭhivām-annjanm tyajya15
rāmaṃ tamārthā ( ) kōṇ śūkṣmā-bhūtā dasa-ḍīś tu val6 stambhya16 ch-
ātnānaṃ śekam | dhārṣṭya-n[ma] muktr-śaha-prīṣṭhāṃ kāhīnta-

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1 There is a redundant anusvāra after ga which may be cancelled.
2 The syllable ks has both the anusvāra and the vīrīga added to it as in pālaka in the same line. Cancel the anusvāra in the latter and the vīrīga in the former.
3 The first pāda of this śloka contains one syllable too many.
4 Read bhūkītāḥ.
5 Read Gaṁdaiṃ.
6 Read samān.
7 Read caṇḍḍhaṃ.
8 Cancel caṇḍḍhaṃ and read Tadmaṇān mahārajyāṃ.
9 Read śrī-Bākaśasvatāḥ iti. Cancel iti. [Perhaps here ended the praśasti which was cancelled to be written by Bākā as mentioned in verse 3 above; the indelible iti indicates it.—Ed.]
10 Read prahatvā. [Read gaḥ śrīḥ which would suit the metre better than gaḥ śrīḥ.—Ed.]
11 Read bhaṇḍaṇān sk-prākṣita-gukṣaśāṃ sat-Prattharabhāpāṃ.
12 Cancel the necessary punctuation.
13 Spūrjan is an adjective qualifying Bākēnā and must therefore be corrected into spūrjataḥ, though this renders the metre in effect.
14 Read prabhagāḥ.
15 Read ityāḥ śa śaḥ sustruṇu tathāṅkāḥ, though this offends against the metre.
16 Corr cited stambhayāḥ.
18 ta-charaṇāṇi-āśi-hastēṇa śattramā
   chhitvā1 bhitvā2 śmaśānāṁ kṛitam-ati-[bha]yadāṁ. Bāuḳ-āṇyēna tasmin ||
   [28*] Nava-mañḍalā-nava-nichāye bhagnē hatyā Mahāram-ati-gahānē | tadas-
   anu
19 bhṛt-āśi-taraṅgā śṛ-ṭ-mad-Bāuḳa-nṛi-sīṁghōna3 || [29*] Sāṛdhāṛ-dṛddhāṁ-praga[l]a-d-
   bhūrakta-susahair-bhā[h]-āṟu-pād-āṅgakair-čṛṇtaisṭhē-čā pari-lamvi(bi)tair-virahitaṁ4
   śava-grihas bhūkāra-suṭv-śukalaiṁ |
20 yach-ehrīt-Bāuḳa-mañḍ[a]ḷa-sāṁghā-śukulē tatt-saṁsārāya
   na kasya samprati bhavēt-trās-ōdgamas-chāṭasī || [30*] Nana sama[ra]a—
   dharāyaṁ Bāuḳe nṛityamānē śava-tanu-
21 śakal-āṛtīśvēva vīnasya-pādē | śamaṁ-iva hi gatēs-tē tiṣṭha-ṭiṣṭṭhō-ṭī
gtēd-bhaya-ɡaṇa-nṛ-[-k[ ]]raṅgēs-chittram-śtat-tadē-ṣtī || [31*] Saṁ 894
   Chaitra śu di 50
22 Utkīrṇā cha hēma-kāra-Viṣṇūravi-s[ū]nunā Krīṣṇēśvārenē ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Oṁ! Salutation to Viṣṇu!

(Verse 1). May Hṛiṇḍēśa, in whom all elements enter and from whom creation and protection are supposed (to proceed), who is both nirguna and saguna (i.e., with and without attribute) protect you.

(Verse 2). The glories of ancestors are first sung by wise men because perpetual recitation of glories (has for its effect) the dwelling in heaven.

(Verse 3). Hence the illustrious wise Bāuḳa caused (the glories of his ancestors), belonging to his own Pratihāra clan, and possessed of wealth, fame and prowess, to be written in (this) prastāta.

(Verse 4). Inasmuch as the very brother of Rāmahadra performed the duty of deekṣā, this illustrious clan came to be known as Pratihāra. May it prosper.

(Verse 5). (There was) an illustrious Brāhmaṇa named Harichandra and his wife (was) Bhādrā, a Kaḥatriyā. The sons born of them are known as Pratihāras.

(Verse 6). There was an illustrious Brāhmaṇa named Harichandra Rāhiliddhī, who was versed in the meaning of the Vedas and the śatras and who was a preceptor like Prajāpatī.

(Verse 7). That illustrious Harichandra married (first) the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa, and, (as) second (wife), the Kaḥatriyā Bhādrā, belonging to a noble family and possessed of good qualities.

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1 Read chhitvā.
2 Read bhitvā.
3 Read * sīṁghōna. Some such phrase as sīṇa hāṭe has to be supplied in order to complete the sense.
4 Read pragalat-virahita. If bhī is retained, we should, grammatically have expected pragaliddhī (Pāṇini, VI. 3, 111).
5 Read śakal-āṛtīśvēva.
6 The word virahitam is redundant since later on occurs also the word nācitaṁ. It may be omitted in order also to set the metre right.
7 Read bhūkāra. Read leme(bi)taiṁ Śara.
8 There is the figure of a ‘wheel’ after this word.
9 There is the figure of a ‘conch’ after this word.
10 The word Pratihāra is variously written as Pratihāra(l. 2) and Pratīhāra (l. 3). I have adopted the first form throughout the translation.
11 The meaning of the word ‘Rāhiliddhīyaka’ in this verse is uncertain. [Harichandra’s surname o: biruds may have been Rāhiliddhī though it sounds rather outlandish.—W.V.]
(Verse 8). Those sons who were born of the Brāhmaṇa wife became Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas. Those who were born of queen Bhadrā became ‘drinkers of wine’.

(Verse 9). Four sons, fit to hold the earth, were born to her, viz., the illustrious Bhōgabhaṭa, Kakka, Rajjila and Dadda.

(Verse 10). In this fort of Māndavapaṇa, conquered by their own arms, they erected a high rampart, (which was) calculated to increase the fear of the enemies.

(Verse 11). From Rajjila among them was born the illustrious son Narabhaṭa. On account of his prowess his second name was ‘Pellāpoli.’

(Verse 12). From Narabhaṭa was born a son, the illustrious Nāgabhata, who had his permanent capital at the great city of Mēdantaka.

(Verse 13). From him, begotten on Jajjikādēvi, were born the two uterine accomplished sons named Tāta and Bhōja, who were oppressors of enemies.

(Verse 14). By Tāta, who realised that the world was evanescent as lightning, the kingdom was conferred on his younger brother, the illustrious Bhōja.

(Verse 15). Tāta himself retired to the pious hermitage of Māndavā, adorned with streams and rivers, and practised there the rites of pure religion.

(Verse 16). From him (Tāta) was born the son, the illustrious Yaśōvardhana renowned for his prowess, (who earned) fame by his own arms and rooted out all the thorns (i.e., enemies).

(Verse 17). From him was born the son, the illustrious Chanduṭa of great valour, (who was) full of splendour, of charitable disposition and invincible to enemies in war.

(Verse 18). From him was born the son, the illustrious Śīluka of irrepressible prowess, who fixed a perpetual boundary between the provinces of Stravanī and Valla.

(Verse 19). Who, the protector of Vallaṇḍala, having knocked down Bhaṭṭika Dēvarāja on the ground, at once obtained from him the ensign of the umbrella.

(Verse 20). Who had a tank excavated, a city established, and the lofty temple of Siddhēśvara Mahādēva constructed, at the holy place called Trēṭā.

(Verse 21). From the illustrious Śīluka was born the excellent son, the illustrious Jhōta, who proceeded to the Bhāgṛatrī (Ganges) after enjoying the bliss of kingdom.

(Verse 22). From him was born Bhilladitya, possessed of sura quality and disposed to austerities (sārpa); he governed the kingdom, while young, and then bestowed it on his son.

(Verse 23). Then proceeding to Ganges-dvāra he stayed for eighteen years and finally went to heaven by practising fast (i.e., dying by abstinence from food).

(Verse 24). From him, too, was born the noble son, the illustrious Kakka, who gained reputation by fighting with the Čauṇas at Mudgagiri.

(Verse 25). (Whose) knowledge of Prosody, Grammar, Logic, Astronomy, with attendant arts, and Poetry in all languages was extraordinary.

(Verse 26). From king Kakka, begotten on the pure illustrious great queen Padmini, of the Bhaṭṭi clan, was born the illustrious son Sāsukā.

(Verse 27). Having found the matchless enemy gone to Bhūkūṣaṇa after killing Nandavalls, while the good Pratihāra princes, born in the family of the Brāhmaṇa king and belonging to his party, had broken in disorder, the illustrious Sāsukā, a single man despaired by the enemy, suddenly burst forth and killed, with his weapons, first Mayūra and then his men who were like deer, and thus was his glory manifest.

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2 It is curious to note that the Arab travellers of the ninth century A. D. have also laid it down as a distinct characteristic of the Brāhmaṇa, that they abstain from wine. (Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, p. 9.)
(Verse 28). What other king but Bāuka, while his authority over other kings was destroyed, his own younger brothers and ministers had left him and his army on all sides was seized with terror, could, unaided, stand firm like a pillar, and, leaving the horse-back and standing on the ground unperturbed, sword in hand, pierce the enemy through and through, causing thereby a terrible burial ground in that battlefield?

(Verse 29). After having dispersed the recent gathering of the newly formed confederation, and killed Mayaṛa, Bāuka, the lion among men, killed the army which was supporting waves of swords.

(Verse 30). Whose mind would not now be filled with terror on remembering the house of dead made by Bāuka’s sword, which ere long was put in confusion by the enemy’s host—the house of dead which was made by the arms, thighs, legs and other limbs, rent in twain, with oozing as well as bloodless cavities, together with the entrails hung above, and which was full of jackals?

(Verse 31). Verily, when Bāuka was dancing in the battle-field, placing his feet on the very entrails and other parts of the dead bodies, the frightened men (enemies) who were like deer, became quiet as it were with strain tishṭha, tishṭha1. This indeed was very strange!

(L. 21). The year 894, (the month of) Chaitra, the fifth day of the bright fortnight.
(L. 22). Engrauged by Krishṇēvarā, son of the gold-smith Vishnurāvi.

No. 13.— THE GWALIOR PRASASTI OF THE GURJARA-PRATIHARA KING BHOJA.

BY R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D.; DACCA.

The stone which bears this inscription was discovered in 1896, about half a mile west of Gwalior town, at Sāgar Tāl in the Gird-Gwalior district. It contains 17 lines of writing covering a space of about 3'4½ broad by 1'2'' high. The first twelve lines are incised with great care and neatness and the letters are so distinct and beautiful that they can be read without hesitation even from a distance. The remaining lines, for some unaccountable reasons, are not so distinctly engraved, but can be read, without any great difficulty, especially from the reverse side of the estampage. The whole inscription is thus clearly legible except two letters at the end of line 5 where the stone surface is damaged.

It was first edited by Pandit Hirnanda in the Arch. Surv. Report for 1903-4 (pp. 277-283), with a facsimile Plate. Then, in March 1905 Dr. Kielhorn gave a short account of the inscription in Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (pp. 300-304) without any reference to the first edition. I re-edit the inscription from fresh impressions kindly procured for me by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A. My excuse in taking up the subject again, is that, in my opinion, the great historical importance of the record requires further scrutiny and comment. I follow the previous Editors as far as possible but give my independent opinion only in cases where I feel it necessary to do so.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and except the benedictory formula om namō Vishnu at the beginning, it is throughout composed in metrical form. The author shows himself to be well versed in the best form of the Kāvyā style, and his chaste dignified verses make one sincerely regret that no further production from his able pen has been preserved for us. Special attention may be drawn to the ease with which śāskas and dhanas have been frequently introduced into this historical poem.

1 [The word tishṭha is onomatopoeic. As one plunges his legs in sticky ground and lifts them up with force, the steps are likely to make the noise tishṭha, tishṭha — Ed.]
The important points to note in the matter of orthography have been already mentioned by Pandit Hirananda in A. S. R. for 1903-04 pp. 277 ff.

The use of dental nasals instead of anusāra, e.g. in hināraṁ (v. 3), and in vanē (v. 4); the different spellings of the same proper name as in Pratihāra (v. 3) and Pratihāra (v. 4); and the change of the visharga followed by s into that letter, e.g. in yasya-aiśā-sampadaśa (v. 6), eśtaiś-samuchita-charitaiś (v. 12), and upayaya-sampadaśa (v. 13) may be noticed.

The characters of the inscription are of the Nagari type current in Northern and Western India during the ninth century A.D. Pandit Hirananda remarks that they resemble most closely those of the Peheva grant of Mahendra-Pāla. But a close examination of the two records shows that the letters i, t, th, dh, n, m, l, and l of our inscription are different from those employed in the Peheva grant. As a matter of fact, the only published inscription to which our record shows the closest resemblance is the Gwalior inscription of Bhôja of the year 933. The only noticeable difference between the two records is to be found in the new forms of bh and i used in the latter, in addition to those employed in our inscription. The close resemblance between these two records is only quite natural as both come from the same locality and belong to the same reign.

It may be noted that the new forms of bh and i which we find in the Gwalior inscription of the year 933 along with those in our record, have alone been used in all the later inscriptions of the dynasty, of which facsimiles are available, with the single exception of the Peheva grant of Mahendra-Pāla. On the other hand, only the forms used in our record are found in the Buchkalā inscription of Nāgabhaṭa, dated V.S. 872, the only known record of the dynasty before the time of king Bhôja. It may thus be presumed that the record is earlier than 933 V. S., although much stress should not be laid on this conclusion in view of the recurrence of the forms in the Peheva grant.

The inscription records the erection of a house in his seraglio, by the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Bhôja in honour of Viśnū, and begins with an invocation to that God. Verse 2 describes the creation of the Sun and names some important kings born in the Solar race. Verse 3 refers to Rāma and his terrible fight with Rāvana. The family to which Bhôja belonged is traced from Lākṣmaṇa, the younger brother of Rāma (v. 3). The genealogy of the family, as furnished by this inscription, may be explained by the following table:

Lakṣmaṇa of the Solar race.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Nāgabhaṭa I.</th>
<th>An unnamed brother.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II. Kakkuka or Kakkutatha.</td>
<td>III. Devarāja.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IV. Vataraṇa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V. Nāgabhaṭa II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VI. Rāma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VII. Bhôja (alias Mihira).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. the plate, above, Vol. I, p. 244.
2 Ibid., p. 180.
3 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 198.
4 Some of these kings had also other appellations; Cf. the genealogical table above, Vol. XIV, p. 179.
Of these, Nāgabhaṭa I defeated a Miśchchha army (v. 4), and Dēvarāja is said to have defeated a host of kings (v. 5). His son Vatsarāja, a famous king, forcibly wrested the empire from the Bhanḍi clan (vv. 6-7) and Nāgabhaṭa II defeated Chakrāyudha and also conquered kings of the Ānarta, Turushka, Malava, Vatsa, Matsya and other countries (vv. 8-11). Bhōja, also called Mihira, is said to have defeated his powerful enemies and verses 16-26 describe his greatness in general terms.

The chronology of the kings mentioned in this inscription may be fixed with a tolerable degree of certainty. We have the dates 756-7 A.D. for Nāgabhaṭa I, 783-4 A.D. for Vatsarāja, 815 A.D. for Nāgabhaṭa II, and dates ranging from 843 to 881 A.D. for Bhōja. Again, we learn from a Jain book, the Prabhāvaka-charita, that king Nāgāvaloka of Kānyakubja, the grand-father of Bhōja died in 890 Vikrama-Saṅvat, and this Nāgāvaloka has been correctly identified with Nāgabhaṭa II.1 Thus the first three kings of the genealogical table may be placed between 725 and 775 A.D., and the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh kings may be taken to have ascended the throne respectively at about 775, 800, 833 and 840 A.D.

Before the discovery of this inscription, our knowledge of the Gurjara-Prathāra kings, who played such an important part in Indian history, was very limited and inaccurate. Although the late A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., I.C.S., and Prof. Bhandarkar2 laid the true foundation of our knowledge about the Gurjara-Prathāra history, a complete understanding of the subject, in all its bearings, was impossible, in consequence of the view held by Dr. Fleet, Dr. Kielhorn and others, that the homonymous kings referred to in the copper-plates lived earlier than, and were thus different from, those mentioned in the stone inscriptions. It was the discovery of this inscription that finally settled the question and facilitated the proper treatment of the Gurjara-Prathāra history.3 Dr. V. A. Smith has clearly pointed out,4 that the express mention of the family name of the kings in this inscription helps us to definitely assign the royal dynasty of Kanauj to the Gurjara-Prathāra clan.

The rise and growth of the great Gurjara empire, which played such a conspicuous part in Indian polity in the ninth century A.D., is clearly traced by our inscription. The names of the early kings of the dynasty, recorded in inscriptions, such as the Daulatpura copper-plate of Bhōjadēva,5 Dīghwā Dubauli plate of Mahendrapāla6 and the Bengal Asiatic Society’s copper-plate of Vinayakapāla7 are but a mere string of names without any details such as are to be found in the present inscription. This invests our record with particular importance, and the data it furnishes may be justly said to have revealed an altogether new chapter of Indian history.

The founder of the royal line is named Nāgabhaṭa, a name not yet found in any other record of the family. He is said to have defeated the Miśchchha army, and the manner in which this solitary fact is mentioned with regard to him, seems to show that it was looked upon

3 This point is fully brought out by Dr. Kielhorn (loc. cit.).
7 Ibid, p. 138.
as of great importance in the history of the family. Now the locality of Nāgabhata's kingdom and the period when he flourished may be gathered from a passage in the Jaina Haricāṇāśa. The passage has been noticed by various scholars, and the following remarks of Dr. Fleet may be taken to represent the earlier views regarding its interpretation. "A passage in the Jain Haricāṇāśa of Jinasena tells us that that work was finished in Śaka-Saṁvat 703 (expired), 783-784 A.D., when there were reigning in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with modern Wadhwan in the Jhālāvid division of Kāthiawār,—in the north, Indrāyudha; in the south, Śrīvallabha; in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avanti (Ujjain); and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas." This seems to have been the accepted view till 1902 when Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar gave a somewhat different interpretation of it. He translated the last portion as follows:—"In the east, the illustrious king of Avanti; in the west, king Vatsarāja; and in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave Varāha." Quite recently Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn my attention to a passage in an unpublished copper-plate grant in his possession, which runs as follows:—

"Hiranyagarbhau rājanyair-Ujjayanyāṁ yade-āṣītam ā
Pratihārīkritiṁ yeṇa Gurjār-eśādi-rājakam ||"

This points to a Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom in Ujjayini; for, the word Pratihāra, apart from its usual meaning, is evidently an allusion to the name of the clan. This is decisive in favour of Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the passage.

It has been unanimously held by scholars that Vatsarāja, referred to in the above passage, is the Pratihāra king of the same name, the grand-nephew of Nāgabhata. As Vatsarāja was reigning in 783-784 A.D., Nāgabhata may be taken to have flourished in about 725 A.D. Again, Avanti must be looked upon as the home-territory of the dynasty, for, although Vatsarāja ruled over a vast kingdom, he is simply called the ruler of Avanti in the passage quoted from the Haricāṇāśa. It may be held, therefore, that Nāgabhata ruled over Avanti about 725 A.D.

As we have seen, in connection with the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, this was the period when the great Arab raid took place. As Bilāduri clearly mentions Ujjain as being attacked by the Arabs, there can scarcely be any doubt that the Gwalior inscription, like the Nāṃsāri plates, refers to the Arab expedition described by Bilāduri.

Our inscription tells us that the Arab forces were defeated by Nāgabhata I, and this is fully in keeping with the account of Bilāduri, who observes:—"They (i.e., the Arabs) made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Bahoramand and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered Aab Balaam and Jurz . . . ." Thus whereas other places were conquered, the Arabs merely sent
incursions against Ujjain, and if we remember that this is from the pen of an Arab historian, it must be looked upon as a tacit admission that the Arabs failed in their expedition against Ujjain. It is also significant, that the Nausāri plates do not include the king of Avanti in the list of those that were defeated by the Arabs. Further, Bilāduri himself admits that Junaid's successor was feeble, and, in his days, the Muslims retired from several parts of India and left some of their possessions.

Thus all the available evidence shows that Nāgabhata I established the greatness of his family by his triumphant success over the Arabs. The Hānśot plates of the Chāhamāna feudatory Bhartṛivaḍha II records a grant that was made at Broach, in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvaloka, in the year 756 A.D. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar upheld the view that this Nāgāvaloka is no other than Nāgabhata I, and Dr. Sten Konow has accepted it. It would then follow that he re-established the Pratihāra sovereignty over Broach which the family of Jodhpur must have lost during the Arab expeditions. A reminiscence of Nāgabhata's struggle with the neighbouring powers seems to have been preserved in the Raghōli plates of Jayavardhana II, a king of the Śaila dynasty, ruling over part of the Central Provinces. We are told that Prithuvardhana, a king of the family, who probably ruled about the middle of the eighth century A.D., conquered the country of the Gurjara.

We have seen above, in connection with the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bānka, how, as an indirect result of the Mlechchha invasion, the suzerainty hitherto enjoyed by the dynasty of Harichandra passed into the family of Nāgabhata. It would appear that shortly after 725 A.D., when the Arab invaders seemed to have carried away everything before them, and, in particular, defeated the Pratihāra clan who had been ruling in Bājpūta for about two centuries, Nāgabhata gained successes over the Mlechchha forces and established his supremacy over the clan. The struggle which thus began between the two Pratihāra families was long and tedious. Śiluka, the king of the Bājpūta family, succeeded in regaining his territory after defeating one Dēvarāja, probably the nephew of Nāgabhata I. Vatsarāja, the son and successor of Dēvarāja, however, continued the struggle and gave the final blow to the tottering rival power. The empire over which it had ruled for well-nigh two hundred years then finally passed into the hands of the family of Nāgabhata.

The data furnished by our inscription, supplemented by a few other known facts, enable us to sketch a brief history of the empire that was thus founded by Vatsarāja. Verses 6 and 7 describe his mighty prowess and splendour, and mention, in particular, that he had subdued the whole world. This statement, allowing for the natural exaggeration of the Praśasti writers, cannot be said to be altogether inaccurate, inasmuch as it is pretty certain that Vatsarāja had conquered the lord of Gauḍa and was thus probably master of by far the greater part of Northern India. This state of prosperity, however, did not continue long. The Rāṣṭrakūta king Dhuṇa inflicted a crushing defeat upon him, overran his territory as far as the Gauges.

1 Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Arian Section, p. 231.
2 Above, Vol. XII, p. 197.
3 Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 240.
4 Above, Vol. XII, p. 209.
5 Above, Vol. IX, p. 41.
and Jumna, and forced him to take shelter in the deserts of Rājputānā. The effects of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa blow seem to have been disastrous. The Pālas took advantage of this opportunity and entered the field as rivals of the Gurjaras. Dharmapāla, the second king of the dynasty, carried a campaign of conquest from one end of northern India to another, and placed his own nominee Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj, apparently as a bulwark against the possible Gurjara invasions. The Gurjara power was, however, merely stunned by the blow for the time being, and Nāgabhaṭa II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja, once more sought to realise the imperial dreams of his father (vv. 8-11). The poet tells us in v. 8, that kings of Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga succumbed to his power like moths unto fire. Now, moths are attracted by the glare of the fire and approach it of their own accord, although it leads to their ultimate destruction. The force of this simile is preserved if we suppose that the kings of these four countries were not conquered by Nāgabhaṭa but joined him of their own accord in the first instance, although, ultimately, they lost their power thereby. The position of these four countries confirms this view. Joined to Mālwā and Rājputānā which were the home-territory of the Gurjaras, the four countries form a central belt right across the country, bounded on the north by the empire of the Pālas, and, on the south, by that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It appears quite likely, therefore, that they formed a confederacy against the two great powers that pressed them from the two sides, although, as so often happens, the most powerful member of the confederacy ultimately reduced the others to a state of absolute dependence. This seems to me to be the real significance of the eighth verse. In the next, the poet describes the first achievements of the confederacy thus successfully launched by the Gurjara king, viz. the defeat inflicted upon Chakrāyudha. War with Chakrāyudha was, however, but a prelude to the war with the Pāla king whose protégé he had been, and this is described in the next verse, in words befitting the occasion. The simile which the poet employs in this connection is, again, significant. We are told that after defeating the dark dense array of the lord of Vaṅga, Nāgabhaṭa revealed himself even as the rising Sun reveals himself by dispelling the dense darkness. This means, in plain language, that the rise of Nāgabhaṭa was possible only if he could defeat the Vaṅga king, and that is why he first turned his arms in this direction. The Sun of Gurjara glory had set with Vatsarāja, and the fortunes of his family, crushed by his powerful enemies, lay enveloped in the darkness of night; as it were, till a defeat inflicted upon them ushered in a new dawn for the Gurjara in the east. Soon the dawn passed away and the Sun reached its noontide height; for, the next verse informs us that Nāgabhaṭa captured the strongholds of the Anarta, Mālavā, Kirāta, Turushka, Vatsa and Matsya countries. The poet leaves his hero in the height of his glory, but we know from other records that the Sun reclined to the west and the dusk set in even in the life-time of Nāgabhaṭa II. We learn from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records that the kings of Gurjara, Mālavā and other countries along the Vindhyā mountains were defeated by Gōvinda

1 Cf. verse 8 of the Rādhapuri plates of Gōvinda III, above, Vol. VI, p. 243. That Dhrūva actually proceeded as far as the Ganges and the Jumna is clear from the following passage of the Barsi plates of Karkarājā:

2 Yā Gaṅgā-Yamunē tarāṅga-sūbhagē gṛihāṃ-parēbhyaḥ samanāḥ | 
sakṣeṣaḥ-chilma-nibbhēṇa ca-ōttama-padaṁ tate-prāptavān-āśvarah ||

dēh-śāmmita-raimhāvar-iva guṇair-yāsya bhramadbhir-dīśoḥ |

evāpās-tasya bābhrvā kirti-purusha Gōvinda-rājaḥ suteḥ ||

Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 159.

Dr. Fleet who edited the above inscription took the first two lines as referring to Gōvinda III (ibid., p. 158), and Mr. R. Chanana also adopted the same view (Mānavi, Vol. VII, p. 539). In my humble opinion this is a mistake and the last line clearly shows that the reference is not to Gōvinda-rāja but to his father Dhrūva.

3 Cf. v. 6 of the Kālidānapura copper-plate (above, Vol. IV, p. 243 L) and v. 3 of the Bhāgalpur copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla (Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, p. 304 f.).
and one inscription specifically refers to the defeat inflicted upon Nàgabhàtha by the same king, and his triumphant march to the Himàlayas. It would thus appear that the Gurjara empire so laboriously rebuilt by Nàgabhàtha II once more fell beneath the crushing blows of the hereditary foes of his family. There are reasons to believe that this was brought about by a confederacy between the two chief enemies of the Gurjaras, viz., the Pàlas of Bengal and the Ràshtrakútas of the south. For the same inscription that records the defeat of Nàgabhàtha II in the hands of Gòvinda III also mentions the fact that Dharmapàla and Chakràyudha visited or submitted to the last named king of their own accord.

The victory of the Ráshtrakútas, although by no means final and decisive, was no doubt disastrous to the Gurjaras. The province of Málwà passed into the hands of the Ráshtrakúta, and Andhra, Vidarbha and Kalinga also possibly shared the same fate. The Pratthàras, however, did not cease to give trouble to the Ráshtrakútas, for we are told in the inscription of the feudatory chief Karkaràja of Gujeràt, that the Ráshtrakúta king had "caused his arm to become an excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjaras."

But ere long the political situation changed. The Ráshtrakútas themselves were torn asunder by internal dissensions. Karkaràja of Làta, the son and successor of Indraràja, was expelled by his younger brother in 872 A.D., and what was worse still, the revolutionary movement, thus set on foot, afterwards developed into an attempt to prevent the accession of Amôghvarshâ I. This unexpected embroglio in the Ráshtrakúta affairs left the Pàlas and the Gurjaras free to fight among themselves. It appears that Nàgabhàtha retained his hold upon Kânauj.

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As it is explicitly stated that Indraràja was placed on the throne of Làta by Gòvinda III, this defeat of the Gurjaras must have taken place during his reign. It was thus different from the expedition undertaken by Dhruva against Vatsaràja, and the word àças distinguishes it from the campaign of Gòvinda III referred to in the Rádhavarspur plate or the Nìgund inscription. Thus the opponent of Indraràja was most likely Nàgabhàtha himself who is represented in the above passage as entering into some alliance, protective or defensive, if not offensive, with the makàsàmanàs of the south against Gòvinda III and actually prepared for war (cf. Fleet's remarks, ibid, p. 158). This fully confirms what I have suggested above on the strength of the eighth verse of our inscription.

The other passage refers to Karkaràja as follows:—

Gand-Indra-Vàghapati-nirjaya-durvivídaghila =
asad-Grjgarévara-dig-aggrgalathÌ ča yaaya ||
âtiva bhujam vihata-Málava-rakshapàrttham ||
sràmì tathà-nyam-api rágya-chha(pha)lämi bhûntaké ||

Dr. V. A. Smith identified the "Lord of Gurjaras" in the above passage with Vatsaràja (J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 252). But this is untenable. As Gòvinda died about 814 A.D., it must be maintained that the Gurjara chief against whom he employed his nephew in 812-3 A.D. could not be any other than Nàgabhàtha who is specifically mentioned as being defeated by him (see f. n. 2 below). As Nàgabhàtha defeated Vàghapati, the phrase "Gand-Indra Vàghapati-nirjaya-durvivídaghila" might well apply to him, and the Bhukkalà inscription (above, Vol. IX, p. 198) shows that he was ruling in 815 A.D.

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1 Cf. Rádhavarspur plates, v. 15 (above, Vol. VI, p. 244), and the Nígund ins., v. 5 (ibid, p. 102). Two passages in the Baroda plates of Karkaràja of Málwà also seem to refer to the conflict between Nàgabhàtha and the Ráshtrakúta. Thus it is said with reference to Indraràja, the brother of Gòvinda III, and the founder of the Gujeràt branch of the Ráshtrakúta:—

"Yam-nikàna cha Gùrjgar-çvara-pati-yyóddhaṁ samabhûndyataḥ
saṁyya-pródhata-kandharà mriga iva kshipraṁ diśo gráhitaḥ ||
bhit-ásanà (b)hata-Dakshipàpata-mahà-sàmanta-cha krama yatô
râkshàm-âpa vinâpâhyamâna-vibhavarâ Śrîvallabhàhô-àdârât ||

Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 160.

3 Svaṁya-śv-àpàsanâ cha yaaya mahâtas-tan Dharmâ-Chakrâyudha || (Ibid.)
4 Barodi plates of Karkaràja; l. 39-40; Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 160.
which he had conquered from Chakrāyudha, transferred his capital there, and probably succeed-
ed in offering an effective resistance to the Pālas till his death in 833-834 A.D.

Of Rāmabhadrā, the son and successor of Nāgabhāṭa II, we know very little, but that the
Gurjara power declined during his reign is quite evident from the scattered notices we possess
about him. The twelfth verse of our inscription seems to imply that Rāmabhadrā freed his
country from the yoke of foreign, soldiers. It seems likely that the band of foreign soldiers
belonged to the Pālas, for the other rival power (the Rāṣṭrakūṭas) is not known to have
advanced as far as the Gurjara kingdom at this period. The Daulatpura plates also lead to
the same conclusion. It renews the grant of a piece of land in Gurjaratras which was originally
made by Vatsarāja, and continued by Nāgabhāṭa, but had fallen into abeyance in the reign of
Bhōja. This seems to indicate that the province was held by Vatsarāja and Nāgabhāṭa II
but lost by Rāmabhadrā and regained by Bhōja, some time before 843 A.D., the date of the
inscription.

Bhōja, the son and successor of Rāmabhadrā, seems to have been a very powerful king
and is described in nine grandiloquent verses. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon his powerful
enemies and the poet seems to imply in verse 18, that the Goddess of Fortune forsook Dēvapāla
and chose Bhōja as her lord. It would thus appear that Bhōja regained the power and
prestige of the family by defeating the Pāla king. Our inscription closes with the resurrection
of the glory of the Gurjara Pratihāra clan under Bhōjadēva. The poem reflects the true
sentiment of the Gurjaras whose revivified enthusiasm, after a long period of stress and
storm, led them once more to embark on that struggle for empire which had been unsuccess
fully waged for four generations.

The hereditary struggle with the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas which seems to be the
cardinal fact in the history of the Gurjaras is also referred to in the inscriptions of the feudato-
ry princes of the latter. Thus the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bānka published above
informs us that Kakka defeated the Gaṅgas at Muddagiri or Monghyr. Most likely he had
accompanied Nāgabhāṭa II in his eastern wars. Another chief that probably accompanied
Nāgabhāṭa II on the same occasion was Vāhuṇkadhavala, the chief of Surashṭra. For,
we learn from an inscription of his great-grandson Avanivarman II, a feudatory of Mahend
德拉paḷadēva, that he defeated king Dharma in battle, and as Kielhorn observes, this king
Dharma may be identified with the Pāla emperor of the same name. We can still trace a
third chief who joined Nāgabhāṭa in his expedition against Bengal. This is Śāṅkararaṇa,
the Guhilot prince, referred to in the Chaṭā inscription of Bālāditya. Again, Harsharāja,

2 Above, Vol. X, p. 3 f. Kielhorn held that Vāhuṇkadhavala lived in the middle of the ninth century A.D.
and was a feudatory of Bhōja (ibid., p. 3). Dr. V. A. Smith (J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 206) and Mr. R. Chanda
(Gaṅga-rāja-mālā, p. 28) have supported this view. But as his great-grandson was a feudatory of Mahendrapāla
at the end of the ninth century A.D. it is more reasonable to hold, as Mr. R. D. Banerji has done (Bāṅgār Itihāsa,
p. 167), that Vāhuṇkadhavala was a feudatory of Nāgabhāṭa at the beginning of the ninth century A.D.
3 Above, Vol. XII, p. 10 f. It contains the following verse with reference to Śāṅkararaṇa:—

"Pratijñāṇa prāk-kṛṣṭvā-dhāhata-kari-gaṅgā-saṅkṣeta-raṇe bhāṭata jīvā Gaṅgā-kahitiṃ-pāvanāh saṅgara-hṛtipā
balād-dāsān chakrā [pra]jāhān-charṣapāya-yah praṇayāmnu tatā bhūpāh sābhuja-jītā-bahu-raṇah Śāṅkarara-
ṇaṇaḥ""

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who edited this inscription concluded from the above that Śāṅkararaṇa conquered
Bhāṭa, the king of the Gaṅga country, and made a present of this kingdom to his overlord. He further suggested
that this Bhāṭa might be Śūlapāla. I beg to differ from these views of the learned scholar. The verse seems to
mean that Śāṅkararaṇa defeated the king of Gaṅga, a great warrior (bhāṭa), and made the whole world, gained by
warfare, subservient to his overlord. Secondly, Śāṅkararaṇa was the great-grandson of Dhanika, one of whose
known dates is 726 A.D. (ibid., p. 11). Śāṅkararaṇa should therefore be taken as a contemporary of Nāgabhāṭa
and Dharmapāla at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The verse thus shows that Śāṅkararaṇa helped his
overlord Nāgabhāṭa to wrest the empire from Dharmapāla by defeating the latter.
the son of Śaṅkaraṇa, is said to have conquered the kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja, who has been rightly identified with the great Pratihāra emperor Bhoja by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. Further Guhila II, the son of Harsahara, is said to have defeated the Gauḍa king and levied tribute from the princes in the east.

**TEXT.**

[Metres: vv. 1, 8, 11, 26, Vasantaśilabha; vv. 2, 4, 7, 18, 19, Śāḍālavikṛīṣita; vv. 3, 5, 6, 12, 27, Sragdarśa; vv. 13, 14, 16, 21-23, 25, Anuṣṭubh; vv. 15, 24, Upajñā; v. 17, Śīkharī; v. 20, Ḫariṣṇa.]

1 Oṁa namō Viṣṇu nav śāh-ahī-talpa-dhavyā-ādhaṇa-bhāgā-bhāsi-
vākṣaṇa-sthal-ollāṣa-kauṣṭhobha-kāni-āroṣaṃ |
śyāmaḥ vapā[b] śaśi-virōchana-vimva(bimba)-chumvi(mbi)-
vṛṣṇa-prakāśam-avatān-Naraka-dvīśaḥ vah 1 1
Āṭm-ārama-phalad-uparīya vijaraṇā dēvēna Daitya-dvīshā
yōti-vijayam-aṅkrītrīṁ

2 guṇavat[1] kahētrē yad-uṃptaḥ purā |
śrēyaḥ-kanda-vapna-tatas-samabhavat-Bhāsvān-atah-chāparē
Mānya-vibhāv-kauṣṭhā-bhūda-śrīhavā kauṣṭhā-pāla-śrīhavā māh 2 1
Teṣāṁ vaṁśe suṣūṁśa krama-nilīita-padē dharmī vair-āśhu-gūrmārārā
Rāmaḥ Paulastya-hinaṁra mahāta-vrīhita-samīt-karmma chakre palāśaṁ |
śālīya-

3 s-tasy-ānujo-sau Mahāvṛtta-mada-muṣho Mēghanādaṁyā saṁkhyē
croumitrīs-tvra-daṇḍaḥ pratihaṇa-vidhēt-sāyaḥ pratihaṇa śatt 1 3
Tad-vanśa Pratihāra-kṛtana-bhrīti ttrailōkya-rakah-āśpade
davō Nāgabhaṇaḥ purātana-ṣaṃhīr-mūtīr-vvā(bba)bhūv-adbhutah 1
yēn-āsaat sukṛita-pramāthi-va(ba)lasvan.[10] Mīśohēhā-ā,

4 -chhip-ākṣhauhhīnā
lokō gītaḥ pratikā-prīya-lvahanatāya Kākkuḥā kauṣṭhā-īśāḥ |
āṃrīmaṇ-a-nājagānā Kauṣṭha-dhara-duhrām-nvahan-Dēvarījā

[yājō[15]-chēhīnam[16]-ǒra-pakṣaḥ-kauṣṭhā-ga-

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1 Above, Vol. XII, p. 12.
3 From the ink-impressions supplied by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.
4 Read -kūṭṭhāna.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
6 Read -kauṣṭhā.
7 Read -kārṇāḥ.
8 Read -vāṇāḥ.
9 Read -vānāḥ.
10 Read -vānāḥ.
11 Read -kauṣṭhā.
12 Read -ṣrēyaḥ.
13 Read -vāntaḥ.
14 Read -sītākā.
15 Read -mēghaṁ.
16 Read -vāntaḥ.
5 ti kulaṁ bhūbhūrataṁ saṁnyanta || 5 ||
Tat-sūnuḥ prāryaṁ rajyaṁ nijam-udayagiri-śarpddhibhāsvat-pratāpaḥ
khma-πālaḥ prādurāśin-nata-sakala-jagad-vaśaḥ = Vatsarājaḥ ||
yasya-sātās-sampadaṁ-cha dviṛade-mada-sur-śevāda-sāndra-pramādaḥ
padmākshiḥ-akṣhipantaṁ praṇayi-jana-parīhvaṅga-kāntiḥ virējuḥ || 6 ||
Khyā[tàd] = Bhāṇḍa].

6 -kulān-mad-ōkaṇa-kari-prākāra-durllāṅghato
yaḥ samrājya-adhyāya-kārmuka-sakhā saṁkhyē haṁhād-agrahit
ekāḥ Khaṭṭariya-puṁgavahu cha yaśo-guru-vīna-dhuraṁ prādyahānam-I
ikshvāk[ō]ḥ kulam-unnatam sucharitaiḥ-chakrō svānāṁ-āṅkitam || 7 ||
Ādyāḥ pumān-punar-epi spuṭa-kṛttir-samajā-
jñatas-āva kila Nāgbhātās-tad-aṅkhyā |
yattr-Ā.

7 -ndhra-Saindhava-Vidarbhā-Kaitāṅga-bhūpāiḥ
Kaumāra-dhāmani pataṅga-samair-apāti || 8 ||
Ttra(tr)a)yasya-spadasya sukritasya samriddhiḥ-ichchhur-
yāḥ Khaṭṭari-dhāma-vīdcī-vaddha-vālī-pravandhaḥ 4 |
jitvā par-āśraya-kṛita-spuṭaṁ-ntōha-bhāvam-Chakrāyudham vinaya-namra-vapur-vyārajaṁ || 9 ||
Duryāva-vairi-va-raṇa-rajī-vāra-
yāṇaṁ-saṅgha-saṅghaṁ-

8 na-gbhōra-ghan-āṅdhahāraṁ |
nirijīya Vāṅgapatim-āviraṅhād-vivasvāṇ-
udyaṁ-iva trirajagad-ekā-vikāsaṁ-yaḥ || 10 ||
Ānarta-Mālava-Kirāta-Turukka-Vaṁ-
Matsy-ādī-rāja-giri-durgga-haṁ-hāpaṁraṁ-
yasya-tatva-vaiḥ-havām-sāndy-aṅkraṁ-
āvīrvabhāvaṁ bhūvi viśvaṁ-dvrīteḥ || 11 ||
Taj-janmā Rāma-

9 nāma pravara-hari-valaṁ-nyasta-bhūbhūit-pravandhāṁ-
asvadhnaṁ-vāhītān prasabham-adhipatnam-udhata-krūra-svāyaṁ-
pāp-āchār-antarāṣṭramathana-ruchiraḥ saṅgataṁ kṛtṛtā-dāraṁ-
trātā dharmasvaya taṁ-taṁ-saṁchuṁa-charitaṁ pūrvavan-nīrvabhāта || 12 ||
Ananya-sādhanā-ādhiṇa-pratāpākramante-

10 ṣrūmkaḥ |
upāyaṁ-sampadaṁ svāṁ yaḥ sa-vṛtēmaṁ-upāṣata || 13 ||
Arthibhirvvmivinikutānam sampadāṁ janma kāvalaiṁ |

1 Read ākṣhipantaḥ.
2 Read sāmrājsam-adāyga ā.
3 Read yaṅa ā.
4 Read bala ā.
5 Read āśadhanām ā.
6 Only the first letter is distinct.
7 Read baddha-bāk-prabhanda."
yasy-ābhūt-krītīnāḥ prityai n-ātm-ēchchhā-viniyōgataḥ || 14 ||
Jagad-vitrāhuḥ sa viśuddha-satvah
prajāpativaḥ viniyōkta kāmaḥ |
sutaṁ rahasya-vrata-suprasannat

Sūryād-svā.

11 -pan-Mihir-ābhidhānaṁ || 15 ||
Uparōdh-aika-saṁuddhua-Vindhyā-vriddhār-Agastyaīaṁ
ākramya bhūḥritāṁ bhoktā yaḥ prabhur-Bhūja ity-ābhāt || 16 ||
Yaśasvī śānt-aṁā jagad-ahita-viśchchēda-nilvauaṁ
parishvaktō Lakṣmyā na cha manda-kañkēna kalitaḥ |
vabhēva1 prēm-ārdro guṇishu viṣhayāḥ sūnīta-

12 girāṁ-

asa Rāmō v-āgrē sva-krīti-gaṇanāyāṁ iha Vīdhē ṇ || 17 ||
Yasy-ābhūt-kula-bhūmi-bhirit-pramathana-vyast-ānyā-saṁyā-āmvudhē2-
vyūdhāṁ cha sphaṭi-ari-lāja-nivahan-hutvā pratā-pānalē |
guptā vriddha-gunaṁ-ananya-gaśibhiḥ sāntais-sudhō-bhāsibhīr-
Dharmā-āpayā-yaśaḥ-prabhūtitar-aperā Lakṣmiḥ punarbhū-

13 r-nnayā || 18 ||
Pritaiḥ pālanayā tapōdhana-kulaḥ snēhād-gurūpanā gaṇair-
bhaktāḥ bhātyāḥ janēna utti-nilvupair-vrindār-arjūnām punah |
viśvē api yadīyam-āyur-amitaṁ kartunā svā-jīva-aśiṁīnā
tan-nighnā vidadhā Vīdhātarī yastā samvat-par-ārdddhy-āśrayā || 19 ||
Avitatham-idaṁ yāvad-vīvahan āśvē-

14 -r-anuśasanād-
bhavitī phala-bhāk-karttā n-ēśaḥ khaṁitndra-satēshv-api |
adharita Kalēḥ kṛttēr-bharttas-satāṁ sukṛitaiḥ-abhūd-
vidhurita-dhiyāṁ sampad-vriddhir-yad-asaṁ tad-adbhutaṁ || 20 ||
Yasya vairi-vrīhad-vaśāṁ-dahataḥ kopa-vahinā |
pratāpa-arupasāṁ rāśin-pātur-vvaitrtishyam-āvahān4 || 21 ||
Kumāraiva vidyānāṁ

15 vrīnḗn-adbhuta-karmmaṇāḥ |
yah śaśas-Āsurān-ghūrān-straipēn-āśt-aika-vrītīnā || 22 ||
Yasya-ākhaṇa-patālē rājāḥ prabhutvād-viśvā-sampadaḥ |
līlēka mukham-ālokya pratiśekhyas karo Vīdhīḥ || 23 ||
Uddāma-tējāḥ-prasara-prasūṭā śīk-ēva kṛttēr-dyumaṇīṁ vijītya
djyā jagad-bhartu-

1 Read bhaśca.
2 Read āmvudhē [Read āmbudhē=vyūdhē - Ed.]
3 Read bārīya.
4 Read vrīhad-vrīhad-
5 Read āvahān.
16 \[ Vijaya yasaya chitra\text{ }tv-ida\text{ }yaj-jaladh\text{ }stat\text{ } \]
Rāj\text{ }tena sva-dvīnaḥ yasāḥ-puṣy-abhivṛiddhayāḥ |
antāḥ-puraṃ-puraṁ nāmā vyadhāyi Narak\text{ }dvīnāḥ \]
Yāvan-nabhaḥ Sura-sarit-pa\text{ }(past) sar-ottariyān |
yāvat-su-duṣchāra-taṇḍ-prabhāvāḥ prabhāvāḥ |
satyāḥ-oha yāvad-uparistha(aḥtha)m-avatya-asēṣaḥ tāvat pu-

17 \[ -nātu jagatim-iyam-ārya\text{ }kirttiḥ \]
Pātur-vvrīṣvasya samyak-parama-muni-mata-śreyāsas-samvidhānād |
antar-vṛttir-vvīvēkaḥ sthitāiva purato Bhūja-dēsva ya rājaḥ |
vividv-vrind-ārjītanāma phalam-iva tapaśam Bhūṭadhanēka-sūnur-|
vVālādityah āśraṃ prastēḥ kaviśvaha jagata sākam-ā-kalpa-vṛttēḥ \]

**TRANSLATION.**

(Line 1.) Oth, adoration to Vishnu!
(Verse 1.) May the dark-blue body of the Enemy of (demon) Naraka protect you,—that body which shines like the sky kissed by the disc of the Sun and the Moon, (inasmuch as) it is illuminated by the white lower part of the serpent Śesha used as a bed, and is made crimson by the brilliancy of the (jewel) Kaustubha glittering on its breast.

(Verse 2.) As from the fresh seed taken from a fruit in a garden, and sown in a natural fertile soil, grows bulbous root of a superior kind, from which again spring forth Kalpa trees; so from the (particle of) light evolved by the Enemy of Demons from self-delightedness (ātmārāma) and sown by him in soil well qualified by nature, was born the Sun, the root of all that is good, and from the Sun, again, a line of kings such as Mānu, Ikshvāku, Kaku(t)ṣṭha and the first Prithu.

(Verse 3.) In their race, in the family in which Vishnu set foot, Rāma, of suspicious birth, carried on a war of destruction and slaughter with the demons—dire on account of the adamanite arrows—which killed Rāvaṇa.

All praise unto his younger brother, Lakshmana (Saumittrī),—a stern rod of chastisement in war with Mōghanāḍa, the destroyer of Indra’s pride,—who served as the door-keeper (of Rāma), owing to (his) commandment not to allow others to enter (lit. to repel others).

(Verse 4.) In that family, which bore the insignia of Pratikāra (door-keeper), and was a shelter of the three worlds, the king Nāgabhaṣṭa I appeared as the image of the old sage (Nārāyaṇa) in a strange manner, inasmuch as, having crushed the large armies of the powerful

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1 Read -jaladh-. 
2 Pandit Hirandama reads aya buṭ ārya is quite clear. 
3 Read -Bālādityaḥ. 
4 There were several kings called Prithu. Cf. e.g. Mahābhārata, (Madras edition), Ādi parva, 201, 18; 206, 11; Yavanaparva, 206, 2. Māla-Prithu may, therefore, be taken to denote the first king of the name, viz., the son of Vēṣa. 
5 The allusion is to the incident described in the Rāmāyana, VII, 116. Kāla in the shape of an ascetic visited Rāma and told him that he was there to talk about something very confidential. He extracted a promise from Rāma that any one who listened to, or observed them, would be put to death. Thereupon Rāma asked Lakshmana to send away the gate-keeper and guard the door himself. The sequel of the story describes how Lakshmana was forced to interrupt the conversation of Rāma with the ascetic owing to the improverities of Durvāśa, and died a voluntary death in fulfilment of the promise of Rāma.
Miśchchha, king, the destroyer of virtue, he shone with four arms brilliant on account of the glittering terrible weapons.1

(Verse 5.) His brother’s son, who added to the renown of the family and had the well-known name Kākusthā (Kākutstha), but who, on account of his (habit of) saying welcome things in an inverted manner, was known in the world as Kakkuka (i.e., one who always laughs), was a paramount king.2

(Then) was born his illustrious younger brother, Dēvarāja who performed the same task as the great Wielder of thunderbolt (Indra); (for) he curbed a multitude of kings (bhūbhrīt) by having destroyed their powerful allies (pakshaḥ) and caused them to cast off their (free) movements (gāti); Indra also curbed a multitude of mountains (bhūbhrīt) by having destroyed their powerful-wings (pakshaḥ) and thus caused them to cast off their movements (gāti)

(Verse 6.) His son, king Vatsarāja, who was compassionate towards the entire world he had subdued, and resembled the Sun in prowess, revealed himself by attaining his own kingdom which rivalled the mountain Udaya.

His riches, too, highly fragrant by reason of the flavour of the wine of elephant ichor, and shining in company of the needy, appeared exceedingly beautiful, having eclipsed the lotus-eyed women, who too became exceedingly merry by having tasted wine which was like ichor of elephants and appeared charming in the fond embrace of their lovers.

(Verse 7.) With strong bows as his companion he forcibly wrested the empire, in battle from the famous Bhaṇḍī clan, hard to be overcome by reason of the rampart made of infuriated elephants.

Having successfully wielded a position weighty with renown, he, the foremost among the most distinguished Kshatriyas, stamped the noble race of Iksvākṣu with his own name by virtue of his blameless conduct.

Both Dr. Kielhorn and Pandit Hirananda take the fourth line of the verse to mean that Lakṣmīna was Rāma’s door-keeper since he repelled the enemies (pratīkharasaridāḥ). This meaning does not seem satisfactory for there is no connection between the repelling of enemies and acting as a door-keeper. One of the well-known meanings of pratīkharasa is ‘to avoid,’ ‘shun,’ etc., and vidit also means a commandment, a precept, which enjoins something for the first time. In the well-known incident of the Rāmāyaṇa quoted above, Rāma enjoined for the first time that all persons should be excluded from his private interview with the ascetic, and appointed Lakṣmīna as the door-keeper to successfully accomplish this purpose. This makes it quite clear why Lakṣmīna is described in the inscription as pratīkharṣa owing to pratīkharasaridāḥ. In other words, the poet implies that Lakṣmīna was not an ordinary door-keeper, but served as such on account of the particular commandment laid down by Rāma.

The fourth verse of the Jodhpur inscription of Pratīkhara Bāhu also traces the origin of the name of the Pratīkhara dynasty to this incident, and it certainly well deserves the dignity, because literally as well as figuratively, it was the last act of self-sacrifice on the part of Lakṣmīna, whose whole life was one of sacrifice for his brother.

[The derivation of the name Pratīkhara which is given here is evidently not the same as that indicated by the word pratīkhara in the Jodhpur Pratasti of Bāhu. Here the poet suggests that the pratīkhara-riddha displayed by Lakṣmīna in his fight with Mēghananda, is the origin of the family name Pratīkhara and not the traditional pratīkharasa-door-keeper’s place. This is a grammatically possible derivative since Ṣaraṇa-hara-depriving or taking away or destroying.—Ed.]

1 The obvious implication is, that the terrible weapons glittering in the two hands of Nāgarhaṇa made it appear as if he had four hands, and he thus resembled, although in a strange manner, the old sage Nārāyaṇa who possessed four hands too.

2 Pandit Hirananda translates “khyāta-Kākusthā-nāma” as “celebrated the names of the descendants of Kākusthā” and gives Kakkuka as the only name of the king. But the two expressions khyāta-Kākusthā-nāma and Kākustha placed side by side seem to indicate that he had the well-known name Kākustha, but was popularly known as Kakkuka. The root kūka means to laugh and Kakkuka was a fit appellation of one who laughed and made people laugh by his inverted way of saying things.
(Verse 8.) The primeval man was again born to him, and, being far-famed, and possessed of elephant hosts, was called Nāgabhāṣa (II).

The kings of Andhra, Sindhu, Vidarbha and Kalinya succumbed to his youthful energy as moths do unto fire.²

(Verse 9.) Who, desirous of the great growth of virtuous acts enjoined in the Vedas, performed a series of religious ceremonies according to the custom of the Kshatriya families; and, after having defeated Chakrāyudha, whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others, he became eminent, although he (lit., his body) was humble through modesty.⁴

(Verse 10.) Having vanquished his enemy, the lord of Vanga, who appeared like a mass of dark, dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty elephants, horses and chariots, Nāgabhāṣa, who alone gladdened (the heart of) the three worlds, revealed himself, even as the rising Sun, the sole source of manifestation of the three worlds, reveals himself by vanquishing dense and terrible darkness.⁵

(Verse 11.) Of him, whose mode of life was beneficial to all mankind, the incomprehensible royal qualities⁶ (like eloquence, statesmanship, etc.) became manifest in the world, even from boyhood, by his forcible seizure of the hill forts of the kings of Anartta, Mālava, Kirata, Turushka, Vata and Mataya.

(Verse 12.) (The great Rāma), the protector of virtue, after having forcibly bridged over the oceans (lit. the lords of rivers), full of exceedingly cruel animals, by means of continuous chain of rocks placed by the best monkey force, looked bright by having killed the evil-doers who served as obstacles and (as he thereby) got (lit., was joined by) his wife and renown. His (Nāgabhāṣa's) son, Rāma by name, also shone forth like tais (homonymous) predecessor, by similar worthy deeds; for he, the defender of religion, too, had the haughty and cruel commanders of armies forcibly bound down by (his subordinate) kings who had the best cavalry under their charge, and looked radiant by having destroyed the obstacles caused by the evil-doers (as he thus) attained the fame which was unto him even as a consort.⁷

(Verse 13.) That lord of prosperity, who had overpowered the points of compass by means of valour (alone), unsupposed by the other expedients (such as sāma, dāna, bheda), was yet

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¹ The phrase puṣar-api denotes either that the primeval man who was once born as Nāgabhāṣa (cf. v. 4) appeared again, or that Nāgabhāṣa, the first man in the family (ādyāḥ pumān), was again born as such.
² There is a pun on the word kaumāra-dhāman. Kumāra means fire as well as youth.
³ In verse 9 bali-prabandha must mean the collection of taxes as Mr. Hiramanda Satra interprets. A king has to collect taxes if he has to perform Vedic sacrifices and protect the Dharma. But of all alankaḥa, the verse means that the King collected taxes only as per prescribed law for increasing Vedic merit; and conquered king Chakrāyudha who had joined the enemy. With alankaḥa it means “he excelled Vishaṇu—though like him he also imprisoned Bali, since he was not low like Vāmana nor proud like Trivikrama, but was full of visaya. —Ed.
⁴ There is an implication in this verse to the effect that Nāgabhāṣa excelled Vishaṇu (Chakrāyudha). Both were Traya-dāpadaya sukritasya samriddhim-vechchhah, but Vishaṇu could not, like Nāgabhāṣa, be said to have been Kshatriya-dhāma-vidhi-bodha-bali-prabandhaḥ as he could not subdue Bali by Kshatriya rites. Then, Vishaṇu was par-dāraya-krita-phuṣṭa-āča dhāvah. This refers to the Vāmana incarnation in which Vishaṇu took the body of a dwarf. Again, whereas Nāgabhāṣa was sasrva-rupah only through visaya, Vishaṇu’s body was actually samra mānadhvam as he was a dwarf.
⁵ There is an implied śūlāka in this verse. The adjective tri-sagad-śa-vikṣānakah-applies both to Nāgabhāṣa and the Sun, and both vanquish darkness, in the one case literally, and in the other, figuratively.
⁶ Pandit Hiramanda translates dīma-rishkharas as “greatness of soul.” It is better to take it, as suggested by my friend Mr. J. C. Ghatak, M.A., as equivalent to the technical term dīma-sampat meaning a group of royal qualities as explained in Kāmardakhyā Nītikā, Ch. IV, vv. 14-18.
⁷ The phrase saṅgaṭha kirti-dāratvah seems to be a significant one. The evident meaning is that as in the case of Rāmacandra, he was joined by his wife after she had been in enemy’s stronghold for some time, Rāmabhadrā, too, regained the fame which was so long in his enemy’s possession. This seems to show that Rāmabhadrā’s power was overshadowed by his enemy till he defeated him and captured his commanders.
demurely waited upon by the other Means (i.e. although he neglected them as not necessary, they were within his beck and call).\(^1\)

(Verse 14.) The production of the wealth of that successful one was merely a source of delight; it was at the disposal of the suppliants, but never a means to satisfy his own desires.

(Verse 15.) A pure soul, averse from the world, he obtained a son, by name Mihira, by (the favour of) the Sun, propitiated by mysterious rites, in order to dispose of the lordship over his subjects.\(^3\)

(Verse 16.) The lord, who ruled over many kings (bhābhrit) after having overcome them, and (being therefore) known as Bhoja, shone more gloriously than Agastya who (merely) checked the rise of (a single bhābhrit, i.e. mountain) Vindhya through favour (and not by his own prowess).\(^5\)

(Verse 17.) Famous, unperturbed, adept in removing the evils of the world, embraced by Lakshmi (sovereign power), but not soiled by the stain of arrogance, he was affectionate towards the meritorious and an asylum of good and pleasant words. Does he or Rāma stand foremost when Brahma counts his own creation?

(Verse 18.) The other Lakshmi, the source of the fame of Dharmma's (Dharmapāla's) son, who was cast out of the ocean of hostile forces, churned by the Kula mountains in the form of kings of his (Bhoja's) own race, who was married by offering (as an oblation) fried grains, which were the destroyed enemies, in the fire of his valour, and who was protected by (his) superior accomplishments, mild, uncommon and pure like nectar, became a fit remarried bride of that king.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) The ancient writers on Hindu polity laid down saha, danā, hādā and daṇḍa as the four upāgas or expedients which a king should adopt towards other kings. (Some add three more, making the total number to be seven cf. the Kāmundakiya Nitisūra, Ch. 18.) Now the poet implies that of these the king followed only one, viz. daṇḍa and did not take resort to the rest. His position was, therefore, similar to one who possesses many wives but cares for only one. But, as in this case the neglected wives, as in duty bound, would still continue to pay their humble devotion to him, so the other political expedients, although not adopted by the king, were always within his beck and call. The poet thus indicates that though in practice the king used only one expedient, it should not be concluded from therefrom that he was ignorant or incapable of handling the rest.

\(^3\) The general meaning conveyed by the verse seems to be that although he was averse to worldly pleasures he wanted a son, not for his own delight, but merely for the reason that he might leave a ruler for his subjects.

\(^5\) The allusion is to the mythical story that the Vindhya mountain once got angry with the Sun and began to rise higher and higher in order to check his daily course. At the request of the gods the sage Agastya approached the mountain and asked it to bow down in order to make room for him on his way to the south, and not to rise up till his return. The Vindhya agreed, and as Agastya never returned, had to remain in the same position. Cf. Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, Chap. 104.

The poet contrasts the deeds of Agastya and Bhoja. The contrast is between (1) Vindhya and bhābhrit (2) sāmruddha-vididdhā and bhōkā (3) uporōda and ākramya. One had to do with only one bhābhrit (mountain), the other dealt with a number of bhābhrit (kings as well as mountains situated within their kingdoms); then in one case the question was merely of checking the growth, in the other, of complete conquest; lastly, one gained his object by request while the other had achieved his purpose by means of prowess.

\(^4\) The principal clause in the sentence Āya-ābhād-oparā Lakshmiḥ punarbhār-asya clearly means that Lakshmi who belonged to another became properly his punarbhār or remarried wife. According to the poet Lakshmi acted properly (asya). A similar sentiment occurs in an almost contemporary record. (Cf. e.g. verse 3 of the Rādhāpani plates of Gūrīnda III, above, Vol. VI, p. 248.)

The expression dhāram-āpattya-gatā pṛadāsti, applied to Lakshmi has been translated by Pandit Hiramand as "source of fame, progeny and virtue." But Lakshmi who is merely a conventional representation of sovereign power can hardly be said to be the source of progeny or virtue. I have, therefore, taken dhāram-āpattya in the sense of "son of Dharma or Dharmapāla, (i.e. Dēvapāla)." This fits in well with the context, implying that Lakshmi who was the consort of Dēvapāla now belonged to Bhoja or in other words, the supreme position passed from the one to the other, and this has been shown to be a historical fact.
(Verse 19.) In order to extend the duration of his life beyond all measure, the ascetics pleased on account of the protection afforded to them, the preceptors, out of affection, the servants, out of devotion, the multitude of foes, out of policy, and mankind in general, for the sake of its livelihood, made their respective services (treasures) subservient to him, who was as worthy a recipient as the Creator Himself.\(^1\)

(Verse 20.) According to the injunction of the Śruti, this is a truism, so long as the world lasts, that he who does a thing enjoys the fruits thereof, and not (another) though he be the lord of even hundred kings. It is strange that the meritorious deeds of honest men, whose intellect was undulled, went to increase the prosperity of this king, who was the conqueror of Kali and the lord of Fame.\(^2\)

(Verse 21.) Of him, who had burnt the powerful hostile races by the fire of his anger, and guarded the oceans by his valour, the absence of greed (for further conquest) shone indeed (even as the satiety of a man who had drunk a large quantity of water).\(^3\)

(Verse 22.) Like Kumāra (Kārtikeya) with his host of Mātrikās who performed wonderful deeds, he subdued the terrible Asuras with the help of a band of women that lived upon arms.\(^4\)

(Verse 23.) Vidhī (Fate), writing anew (the destinies of the world), wrote in the chancery of that king, looking at (i.e., being guided by) his face, since the latter was the master of the world in consequence of his prowess. (In other words the destiny of the world was absolutely at the command of that all-powerful king.)

(Verse 24.) Fame, resulting from the unbounded energy of that lord of the world, was unto him even as a consort, and like a flame, issuing out of a flood of luxuriant lustre, returned after conquering the Sun. It is a wonder that she crossed the oceans.

(Verse 25.) In order to increase the fame and religious merit of his consorts, the king erected a house within his seraglio compound in the name of Narakaśayi (Vishnu).

(Verse 26.) As long as the sky has the flowing celestial stream (Gaṅgā) as its upper garment, as long as there lasts the power originating from severe religious austerities, as long as Truth protects all that is above, so long may this noble and famous work purify the world.

(Verse 27.) Sālsādyā (is) the poet of this pradīṣṭa which would exist along with the world up to the end of the Kalpa; (he,) the son of Bhaṭṭadānāṣaka and the fruit of penances, as it were of a number of learned men, (is) the (personified) inner faculty of discrimination, standing before king Bhūṣāñdēṣa, the protector of the world, inasmuch as he (Sālsādyā) follows the good rules sanctioned by the best of sages.

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1 The verse apparently means that all tried their best to prolong the life of the king. The ascetics, by religious observances on his behalf, the preceptors, by teaching him proper mode of life, the servants, by looking to his comfort, the enemies, by not disturbing him, and the subjects, by loyally carrying out his orders, would all contribute towards the same end, viz. a long and happy life to him.

2 This verse completes the sense of the previous one wherein it was implied that the king enjoyed the fruits of the meritorious deeds of various categories of people.

3 [Pātrīchāyaḥ is, in my opinion, means here the opposite of ‘absence of greed,’ i.e., thirst (for conquest). This thirst, says the poet was evident because the King had burnt the races (races or hordes) of his enemies and had drunk (or protected) on account of that great heat (pratīka), the oceans.—Ed.]

4 The allusion is to the fight between the Dēvas and the Dānavas in which Kumāra was the commander-in-chief of the former, and had in his army a number of Mātrikās. Cf. Mahābhārata, Śāyaparva, Ch. 45 (Madras Edition). Although the female companions of Kumāra are usually called Mātrikās, the use of the word Vidgā is probably to be explained by the fact that it is sometimes used as a synonym of Mātrikā, both meaning Divgā. [Vidgā in the case of the King should be taken to mean ‘Source of Knowledge.’—Ed.]

5 This verse furnishes another instance of the use of the word ‘Kirti’ in the sense of ‘any work of public utility calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it.’ For full discussion on this point, cf. Fleet Gupta inscriptions, p. 212, f. n. 6.

6 I am indebted to Mr. Radhagovinda Banik, M.A., for valuable suggestions regarding the translation of the inscription.
No. 14.—PATTATTALMANGALAM GRANT OF NANDIVARMAN.

By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A., Ootacamund.

In October 1922, when I was in charge of the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, Mr. P. V. Jagadisa Aiyar obtained the following set of copper-plates from Mr. Rm. St. Sivananda Pillai of Kumbakonam and sent it to me for examination. As I had soon after to go away to Ootacamund, I left the plates to be noticed by Mr. Venkoba Rao in the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1922-23. The set is marked as No. 5 Appendix A in the Report for that year and finds a short notice in Part II which will be referred to in the sequel. I edit the inscription on the plates with the help of one set of impressions kindly placed at my disposal by M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. Recently an article entitled “the Kot-ranganḍi plates of Nandivarman II” has appeared in the Mythic Society Journal, Vol. XIV, pp. 125 to 129, under the editorship of Mr. T. N. Subramaniam. There the discovery of the plates has been described in detail.

The set consists of five plates of which the first and last are engraved only on their inner sides. They were originally strung together on a ring bearing a massive seal, 3 inches in diameter. The emblems and legend on the seal are so badly obliterated that they cannot be made out. A couchant bull is all that could be faintly seen. The ring had been cut when the plates reached me and it is not known when and by whom it was cut. The plates measure nearly 10" by 3½" and the ring-hole, bored at the left margin, is ½" in diameter. The five plates with the ring and seal weigh 320 tolas and the plates alone weigh 175 tolas.

The inscription on the plates is neatly executed and is in good preservation. The only places where some damage is done to letters are at the commencement of lines 7 and 8 of IIb, lines 1 and 2 of IIIa, lines 5 and 6 of IIIb and line 8 of IVb. It has been found possible to restore with certainty all the damaged portions except that in line 1 of IIIa. The reading of the damaged portion in line 6 of IIIb is tentative. As is usual with most of the copper-plate charters of South India, this inscription consists of two parts of which the first is in Sanskrit poetry (eleven verses in all) written in Grantha characters and runs from line 1 to line 22, where the second part in Tamil prose commences and runs to the end i.e., line 60. The few Grantha letters and words employed in the Tamil portion are sāmā, saresa-parihāram and brahmādē (l. 37), hāram (l. 38), brahmādē (l. 42), gauta (ll. 43 and 45), nīva and kra (l. 43), bhātta (ll. 44 and 45), jāte (l. 44), Hiranyā (ll. 44 and 48), Agniśarma and godī (l. 47), dē (l. 48), śarmma (ll. 45, 43, 56, 57, and 58) and śri-Dani (l. 60).

A few alphabetical peculiarities deserve notice:—The symbol for secondary long is a concave curve with a commencing loop engraved on the top of the consonant, while in the case of i (short), this loop is absent. The three letters mu, pu and ḫu are almost similar in shape, but can be well distinguished on close examination: while the symbol of mu is written immediately below the horizontal line, it is engraved at the end of a vertical downward stroke drawn from the right end of the horizontal in the case of ḫu. Though ḫu is formed like pu, it is distinguished by having a small indenture at the right end of the horizontal stroke. Two forms of ya occur of which one is a semi-circle with two upward arms on the right side, while the other is a simple loop twice wound round. The shape of va is almost that of a triangle with its base at bottom. La has not got the usual convex curve on the right side; it has only an angle. The repha is invariably marked in this epigraph and in most cases the puli also. The Tamil sāndhi rules have no account for the change of l into r in pērur-brahma (l. 42). But it may be pointed out that the same change noticed in the word vina(prattār occurring before Alappakka (l. 27), in valiyār occurring before manai (l. 31) and in Mayilāppir before Nandi.
(l. 44 f.) is unusual and against the rules of grammar. Among the goda names, Jatvaka-ra-na (l. 44) and Kau-ndinya (l. 54) stand for Jatiuka-ra and Kau-ndinya respectively.

After an invocation to Vishnu (v. 1) and the primeval cause of the Universe (v. 2), the mythological genealogy of the Pallavas is given in verse 3 which states that from the lotus-vehicle of Naraka (i.e., Vishnu) came Brahma; from him came Ang-iras; from him Devaguru (i.e., Brihaspati); from him the renowned sage Sayyu; from his son Bharadwaja was born Droga of established skill in handling the bow in battles; from him Draupi (i.e., Asvatthaman) of unsurpassed valour; and from him Pallava. Prosperity and Earth rested with the Pallavas to the exclusion of other kings (v. 4) and the sovereigns of this family obtained glory by conquering all enemies (v. 5). In the line of kings counting from Virakurcha and others who had obtained svaraga, there was king Hiranayavarman and then came Nandivarman (v. 6). He was a powerful monarch and it is stated of him that he came to rule the kingdom while he was very young; and conquering all enemies, he had his foot-stool adorned with the crowns of the lords of earth who bowed before him (v. 7). The darkness of the world was removed by the splendour of his fame (v. 8). Waiting to get entrance, it is said, there were at his gate the Vallabha, Kalabha, Karaja, Paudiya, Chola, Tulu, Gunga (Korka) and others (v. 9). Verse 10 gives out that the chief officer of his, who was ruling the province of Man-gala-rashtra and who was a great hero, virtuous and respected by the good, having petitioned the king, gave (a brahmadesa) to a number of Brahma-sas. The Tamiḻ portion records that at the request (vippappav) of Mangalanaja and at the sattas of Alappaka-Vijayanalujan, king Vijaya-Nandivaramavarman issued an order in the 61st year of his reign to the nattar of Tepparai-Arvakuram in Solo-nadu granting as brahmadesa 40 velis of land, which included an old brahmadesa of 24 velis, another brahmadesa of 12 velis granted in the 59th year of the same king's reign at the request of Mangalanaja and the sattas of Alappaka-Vijayanalujan and the remaining 4 velis now assigned. The nattar made obeisance to the order, received it on their heads, circumambulated the granted land and planting boundary stones and milk bush, issued their order freeing every kind of land in this grant portion from all the rights of the king—which are here specified—and constituted it as a new village under the name of Patattalmaṅgalam. The names of the donees are then mentioned (see table below). The inscription was engraved by a certain Sri Dandi son of Visőliividugu-Pallava-perundachap of Aimpaḥchhēri (Aimbaḥchhēri) in Kachchippešu.

There were more kings than one of the name Nandivarman or Vijaya-Nandivaramavarman in the Pallava family. The earliest of them is he who issued the Udayandiram copper-plate grant wherein he is stated to be the son of Sandavarman, grandson of Simhavarman and great-grandson of Skandavarman. The Vellurpāiyam plates which say that Simhavishnu was the son of Simhavarman and grandson of Nandivarman, seem to refer to this Nandivarman. The second sovereign of the Pallava family who bore the name Nandivarman was the son of Hiranayavarman and a lineal descendant of Bhima, the younger brother of Simhavishnu. He bore the surnames Khatariyamalla, Pallavamalla and Višöliividugu. The third of the name was the grandson of this Nandivarman Pallavamalla and it was during his reign that the Vellurpāiyam plates were issued.

The first question to determine is to which of the three Nandivarmanas we should ascribe the present inscription. Mr. Venkoba Rao in noticing this inscription in his report for 1922-23

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2 *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. II, p. 508, vv. 9 and 10. The exact relationship between Simhavarman and Nandivarman is not mentioned.
states that it must belong to the reign of Nandivarman III. I consider this conclusion of his to be quite untenable. I would at the outset point out that the Taņántottam plates which are supposed to have been issued in the reign of Nandivarman III should correctly be attributed to his grandfather Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. According to the Taņántottam plates the king bore the surname Ėkadhirā and this was the surname of Nandivarman Pallavamalla as is clear from the fact that the grant made in the Kāśākūḷi plates was constituted into a new village under the name Ėkadhiramangalam which should have been so termed after the king's surname Ėkadhiro. The second point to note is that the Nandivarman of our plates was the successor of Hiranyavarman as was the Nandivarman of the Kāśākūḷi and the Taņántottam plates. The third ground, which is much stronger than all, is furnished in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscriptions explaining the sculptures representing the events that took place immediately after the death of Paramēṣvaravarman II leading to the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. It says:—

After the death of Paramēṣvaravarman II, a deputation consisting of the Mātras, the Mūlaprakṛitiś and the ghatakayār waited on Hiranyavarma-Mahārāja and represented the fact that the country was without a ruler and requested him to grant them a sovereign. Thereupon king Hiranyavarman sent for the chief potentates (kulamallar) and enquired which among them would accept the sovereignty. All of them refusing, he asked his sons Śrimalla, Rāpamalla, Saṅgrāmamalla and Pallavamalla. Pallavamalla humbly offered to go, but king Hiranyavarman was at first unwilling to risk his son, who was then only twelve years of age, in such a perilous undertaking. But Hiranyavarman was soon persuaded by Daraṇikopḍapāsara to give his consent. Receiving the weapons presented to him both by his father and Daraṇikopḍapāsara, Pallavamalla proceeded to Kāśchipuram, crossing on his way several hills, rivers and forests. Hearing of his approach a certain Pallavādi-Araiayar came with a large force, and placed him on an elephant’s back and returned to the city where he was received by the feudatory chiefs, the members of the merchants’ guild, the mūlaprakṛitiś, and Kāḍakka-Muttaraiyar. He was then crowned king under the name Nandivarman and with the insignia of Viḍēḷvīḍugu, Samudraghōṣha, Khaṭveṅga-dhevaḷa and Vrishabha-lāṣchana by the ministers, the feudatories, the ghatakayār and the ubhaiya-gaṇa.

The above facts show that Nandivarman Pallavamalla’s accession to the throne took place without any bloodshed, the whole country being instrumental in getting him as their sovereign. This fact does also find expression in the Kāśākūḷi plates which state that he was chosen by the subjects. The statement that Nandivarman was quite young (i.e., 12 years of age according to the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscription) when he became the ruler of the Pallava dominions is correctly reflected in the present grant which states of him वर्ष शतीभीत ताराष्ठ्रस्त्रा. A further point in favour of our view is that Nandivarman Pallavamalla bore the surname

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2 Ibid., p. 359.
3 Ibid (Texta), Vol. IV, GI. No. 135, pp. 10 ff.
Viṣṇuviṣūgur as stated already, and it is after this title that the father of the engraver of the grant must have been called Viṣṇuviṣūgur-Pallava-perundachchan.1

It is noteworthy that the āśīkōpi of our inscription, viz., Ālappāka (Ālambāka') Vijayanallūgā figures in an inscription of Pallavatiaka-Nandivarman found at Tiruvelḷarai in the Trichinopoly district.2 This chief’s younger brother, Kambaṇ Araiyaḥ by name, figures as the constructor of a big well in the same place as recorded in an inscription of Pallavatiaka-Dantivarman.3 It is now beyond question from the present grant that these kings Pallavatiaka-Nandivarman and Pallavatiaka-Dantivarman, in whose inscriptions figure the two brothers Vijayanallūgā and Kambaṇ Araiyaḥ as donors, are identical with Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son and successor Dantivarman. Thus it becomes clear that the term Pallavatiaka was not the surname of any particular king of the Pallava line which was later on adopted as a title by his successors. In editing the Tiruvelḷarai well inscription4 I was inclined to follow the late Mr. Venkayya in considering the successors of Dantivarman as belonging to the family of Pallavatiaka, that being almost the special designation then known to be of Dantivarman as indicated in the Triplicane inscription of that king.5 The present grant shows that charter-writers did not mean any distinction between Pallavakula and Pallavatiakakula. Therefore, in case we meet with inscriptions of Nandivarman or Dantivarman with the word Pallavatiaka or Pallavatiakakula prefixed to their names, we have to distinguish the king from those who bore similar names, by other evidences than what is furnished by the mere title Pallavatiaka. In this connection, it may be pointed out that Aḍīgala Gaḍan Mārāmbāvai, who figures as donor in a record of the early Chōla king Rājakēśarivarman (Āditya I) and who is stated to be the queen of Pallavatiaka-Nandivarman6 cannot be the queen of Pallavamalla, for Āditya I and Pallavamalla are separated by over a century: in all probability she must have been the queen of Pallavamalla’s grandson Nandivarman III.

As has been noted, the present inscription is dated in the 61st year of the king’s reign. In my Historical Sketches7, I gave my consideration to the question whether or not Nandivarman Pallavamalla could have reigned for a long time, usurper as he was then known to be, and taking only into view the several conquests he effected and the time of rule of his contemporaries, I arrived at the conclusion that he should be credited with a long period of rule. This conclusion is now made certain by a study of the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ label epigraphs and the present copper-plate grant according to both of which the prince was quite young i.e. 12 years of age, when he became king and by the fact of the present inscription being dated in the 61st year. The latest regnal year, however, of Pallavamalla is the 65th which is furnished in a Mahābalipuram inscription recently discovered by me in the courtyard of the Varāha-Perumāḷ cave.8 If this be the last year of his rule, the king should have lived up to his 77th year of age.

1 It may be noted that the titles Ferumbiṣūgur, Viṣṇuviṣūgur and Mārapiṣūgur which had been assumed by the feudatory chiefs of the Muttaraiyaṇs might have been derived from the Pallavas who were their overlords. In the extract given from the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple inscription, it is seen that at the time of Pallavamalla’s coronation he was invested with the new name Viṣṇuviṣūgur while the Tiruvelḷarai well inscription shows that Pallavamalla’s son Dantivarman was called Mārapiṣūgur.

2 No. 63 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.
7 Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkhan, pp. 45 ff.
8 This inscription is under publication in the Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. Department by M. R. R. Rao Bhusudū H. Krishna Sastri, along with 4 other new inscriptions and some sculptures discovered by me at Mahābalipuram in the year 1922.
The object of the inscription is, as stated already, to register the grant of certain lands in the vicinity of a village situated in Árvala-kúṟṟam, a sub-division of Śoḷa-nāḍu, constituted into a new village under the name Paṭṭattālmaṅgalam to a number of Brahmans who are introduced by the collective term nalgūr-narpāppūr. It is worthy of note that in the Tanḍantōṭṭam plates also, the donees are similarly styled. Two possible modes of interpreting the term nalgūr-narpāppūr have been given by Mr. Krishna Sastri viz., “the good Brahmans of Nalgūr” and “the poor good Brahmans.” Since in two instances the donees have been so styled, it does not seem probable that Nalgūr means a village of that name. Accordingly, we may adopt the second interpretation. The grant must have been made on their request which was conveyed to the king by the chief of Maṅgala-nāḍu, and this is perhaps clear from the Sanskrit portion which states विशेषा समाधिवर्षस्य तदनन्तर. If Nalgūr were a village, it might have been mentioned in the Sanskrit portion also. It is to be noted that most of the donees were highly learned men being Kramavitis, Shaḍāṅgavitis and Trivēdīna. Since the villages in Árvala-kúṟṟam are mostly found in the Negapatum taluk of the Tanjore district, we have to look for Paṭṭattālmaṅgalam in that same taluk. Árvalam is at present called Alivalam. Alambakkam, of which Vijayānallur was a native, has already been identified by me with the village of that name in the Trichinopoly District, 12 miles from Lalgūr on the road to Ariyalūr. Maṅgala-nāḍu was a sub-division of Arumoljēvēva-vāḷanāḍu and in it was situated the village of Maṅgalam now called Mangal. It is needless to say that Kachchippūru mentioned in the record is identical with Conjeeveram and Aimpapaichchēri is Aimbupaichchēri, a quarter of it.

We may here add a short note on some of the important words occurring in this inscription. As “arai” means “to beat” and “ōlti” “a (written) palm-leaf,” we may take the compound “araiyōlti” (l.32) to mean “the draft whose contents had to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom.” Tirunugam (I. 33 f.) is only the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word śrīmukha “a sacred order, a royal writ.” Koṭṭāgārum (l. 35) seems to be the Tamil adaptation of the Sanskrit gōshṭha gṛiha “a cow-pen, kraal” it is sometimes mentioned in the sense of a king’s residence, palace. Manrū (l. 38) is a word which is largely met with in Tamil inscriptions e.g., manrūṕāḍu, manrū ṭhēkōry-pāḷum, etc. As such, its meaning deserves to be noted. In Puram 34, occurs the phrase iaradi-nilīya agae-ṭalai-maṅram which, according to the commentator, means “the extensively spacious common ground (podiyil) with the long iarati tree standing on it.” Manrī-ṭalaiṇī “in the jack-tree standing on the common ground (podiyil)” occurs in Puram 128. Again, we meet with this word in the phrase pēriśai-nilūr/manrī-nilūr-kaṇṭē in Puram 220. In all these cases the commentator takes the word maṅrū or maṅram in the sense of “a common meeting ground” (podiyil or podiyil). A distinction is, however, made between podiyil and maṅram in Tirumurugāṛṟṟuppaḷai, one of the ten Tamil idylls known as Pattuppattu. Nachchināṟṟikēḷyēr takes the word podiyil to mean an ambalam,—which, by the way, we may remark, is another term used in inscriptions—and the word maṅram he explains as “the space under a tree in the middle of a village where all people meet (irukkē naṭaṭvej-eḷḷarum irukkē manattējai).” From the reference quoted here, it will be plain that maṅram refers to the place where the village assembly met to transact its business and that this was under a (big) tree (which afforded them shade). Epigraphical references are not wanting to support the fact that in the assembly grounds there were trees and that provisions had been made to have them washed and swept clean. An inscription of the time of Rājādhirāja I states that an assembly of a brahmadeva village met under a tamarind tree that

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1 South-Ind. Insocrs., Vol. II, p. 521, l. 37 f.
2 Ibid., p. 516, note 3.
5 Lice 226
stood on the bank of a channel while making a grant to a temple. From other inscriptions we learn that the ancient practice of convening meetings was by blowing trumpets. The Taḍṭaṇ-toṭṭam plates of Nandivarman (Pallavamsalla) actually provide for the man who had to water the ambalam and we have to take it on the authority of Nachchinárkkiniyár, to refer to keeping clean the meeting ground of the village assembly under the trees.

TEXT.

[Metres: v. 1 Śikharini; vv. 2, 3, 6 and 10 Śārdūlavikṛṣita; vv. 4 and 5 Indravajrā; v. 7 Praharṣini; v. 8 Pushpitāgrā; v. 9 Rathódhata and v. 11 Ārya.]

First Plate.

1. सि सि ॥......................................................॥
2. जयश्रीलकिष्कि ॥..........................॥
3. जयश्रीलकिष्कि ॥..........................॥
4. जयश्रीलकिष्कि ॥..........................॥
5. जयश्रीलकिष्कि ॥..........................॥

Second Plate: first side.

9. कक्कलधाम ॥..........................॥
10. कक्कलधाम ॥..........................॥

2. See my Annual Report on Archaeology of the Travancore State for 1920, pp. 41 and 49, and No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1919. The actual words used in the Suchindiram inscription are "mahā-sabhāyaṁ kēśam-udvivohehā = kēśaṁ āgyaṁ = tīrtha-akramakāyāṁ = kkāṭam niśālaṁ = kēśi-trūka.
4. Read कीर्णस. The first half of this verse reminds us of vv. 10 and 11 of canto X of the Raghuvamsa...
5. See theCompare also with the first verse of Kādambarā which contains the same idea couched in similar words:...
11 लक्ष्मण कृष्णसारां श्री ।[१०] तयां भक्तेऽन ्नृपेः सिंहुरावनं सरस्याक्ष्या
धारियेरियेरोऽ
12 लक्ष्मण सम्पत्तिवें तातिषु जीविसकृतांद्रिय [११] चाष्टतव धिरहुस्वार्जय-
नृपतिष्ठे
13 पालकां तस्तविप्रथमकारोऽट्टूरुपर्णुमदिवमािये ।[६] भाग्य तवितम-
14 बलो त्वमेव राज्यप्रस्तावतस्रुतिरखपाणिये: [११] येज त्वम सकल-
रिपुप्रभु
15 जिद्य भूषणमक्षितपतिरसोऽर्थपायायोऽः[१६] धर्मिष्ठतकुम्भ यदोः[१७]कौशी
भूवनम
16 भूमक्षेत्र नामकारम् [१८] यवितुष्णकरी त सार्वऽको खः कुसुम-
रोकन्द्रियेऽः[२३]

Second Plate : Second Side.

17 प्रसीधा ।[९] यथा वक्तनकक्षरकारणः।[२] पाण्डवचौऽतुकागवशायः: [१७]
हारि वे
18 गणाभिमलकृतिः घोरितुष्णत्वकामासति ।[२१] भवस्वर ।वर्षयोगुनव-
19 निधिकारी विरहसन्नात्माबलो मानमः।[२१] खोरोत्तिसरस्वत्वां ख्लासः नालीराम
ग्रामाः
20 ददात्ताय नितान्त विविहाय स नर्नमिनि यशस्मेमकलाराधभूमिभाष्ट: । ख्लासः नाम
21 "स्ताम्ये ।[१०] संगमनन्दनूऽमोदिरियम्प्रायवेधाभ्यस्त [२०] घरणीया जग
22 वेरावन्दिवाकारी ख्लासः ।[१२] को-
Vijaiya-Nandivikikrama-parumaµku yāŋdu arubat-
23 t-ōŋ[āvaḍu Maṅgalañāḍīvāṅ vinippappāṭāl Ālapākka-Vijaiyeñallañāḷ-ā
24 ṣattā[y-ā]ga Sō[ja-nā]ṭṭu-tTeŋkaraī-Arvala-kkūrattu nāṭṭar kānga tānga-nāṭṭu-

Third Plate : First Side.

25 ttaṇiyāyṛ ।।। liṛ-chuṛṛu nārpadirru-vēliyullum palam-piramādēyam-irubat-
tu-nāṭ-
26 [vēliyum] nikki niro paḍipāru-vēliyullum yāṅdu aymbatt-oppādr-āvadu[६] Maṅgala-
27 nāḍīḷvāṅ vinippappāṭāl[१४] Ālapākka-Vijaiyeñallañāḷ-āṇṭattīy-āga perumpā-
28 paṭigāḷum piramādēyam-āga arulī-čheyya paṇiṇiru-vēliyum yāṅdu arubatt-o-
29 or-āvaḍu Maṅgalañāḍīvāṅ vinippappāṭāl-Ālapākka-Vijaiyeñallañāḷ-

1 Read भागी। 2 Read सम्पत्तिवें। 3 Read धीरयेरियेरोऽ
4 Read घोरितुष्णकरी। 5 Read यवितुष्णकरी। 6 Read तस्तविप्रथमकारोऽट्टूरुपर्णुमदिवमािये। 7 Read धिरहुस्वार्जय-
8 Read धिरहुस्वार्जय
9 Read वक्तनकक्षरकारणः। 10 Read भाग्य तवितम-
11 Read चाष्टतव धिरहुस्वार्जय-
13 Read viṇippappattāl.
Third Plate : Second Side.

30 tinghamašagni-əga arul-i-chheydays nāt-vēhiyum  ullišt tu padii-ar u-vēhiyum ūrkkū-
31 ru pulli-valiyar'-maṣaiyum maṣai-paḍappum oliv-inri-ppiramādēyam-āga-ppaṇi-

Fourth Plate : First Side.

39 yun taranu-kulamum ḫam-puṭchiyum-ṣiḷai-ppuṭchiyum nādu-kāvalum ūdu-pōkkum [m]
40 uppu-kkoccheygaiyum nall-avum-nall-erudum nēr-vāyayum ivaî-uliiṭtu
41 kō-tōt-ṭunappalav-ellam evvaigapṭavum unṣa-pperādār-āga[vu*]m[|| *]
Paṭṭattālmaṅgalam-epūm pērā'-brahmādiyam-āga perā nalgūr nal-
44 ppāpār Gautama-göttirattu Iranyakēśī-sūttirattu Ṛṅkuḷrattu kra-
mavittanā[*] Kūḷabhāṭṭam[|]|—Jatvakaṅraṇa-göttirattu Hīraṇyakēśī-sūttirattu Mayilā-
46 nippir'-Nandisārmma-bhaṭṭa[m]|—Gautama-göttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kummaṅgl
48 Veṇṇaya-ch_OS[a]gaviyum[|]|—Irādhitara-göttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kuravaśiri

Fifth Plate : First Side.

55 paruttu Tēvaṭi-kkiramavitta[um]|—Gōdana-göttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Va-
56 [g]ipparuttu [P]aṇasārmma-chena[a]gaviyum[|]|—Vāḍula-göttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kāra-
57 mbichcheṭṭu Ṣeṇḍaṣārmma paṅgaraiyum[|]|—Āṭṭiraiya-göttirattu Āvattam-
58 ba-sūttirattu Kombaruttu Ṣeṇḍaṣārmma paṅgaraiyum[|]|—Dēvriḥdaṇḍ Aṇṇur-
59 vra[um]|—Iviv-ōluttu veṭṭiṇ[|]|—Ampagai chcheṛi Viḍēḷvi[um]

60 Pallava-ppera[n]chan magaṇ Śri-Daṇḍiyēva−
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Hail! Prosperity! Let that body of the husband of Śī (i.e., Viṣṇu), which is resplendent with the kaustubha jewel on its chest and which with a hundred marakata-like arms is lying on the ocean, resembling a collection of clouds lustrous with the interspersed lightning and settling on the waters of the ocean to imbibe its water, grant you welfare.

(V. 2). That which is the highest place of salvation, is immutable, is omnipresent, is contemplated on by yāgis and that which the Brahmans excessively extol always with firm wisdom and with the chanting of the Vēdas, which though itself undivided, assumes three differentiations by adopting the three qualities in order to accomplish (the work of) protection, destruction and creation—may that all-pervading object protect you.

(V. 3). From the navel-lotus of Narakārī (i.e. Viṣṇu) was born Brahmā; from him was (born) Aṅgiras; from him Dēvguru (i.e., Brahmā); from him (came) Śāhyu the best of sages; from his son Bharadvāja (was born) Draupāṇi, who was renowned as an archer in the battle-field; from him (came) Draupāṇi (i.e., Aśvatthāma) who was of irresistible great power, and from him came Pallava.

(V. 4). Lakshmi and the Goddess of Earth having attained the status of consorts to the kings of this family they could not be appropriated by the assemblage of (other) kings.

(Vv. 5 and 6). In this dynasty of kings, whose family vow was the accumulation of fame by giving largesses to suitors after having made the wealth their own by conquering all the enemy kings, after the illustrious Virakārī and others had gone to Heaven after having enjoyed the sea-girt earth for a long time, there came Hiranyavarman, the foremost of rulers and then Nandi-varman, whose glorious feet were rubbed against by the diadems of all kings.

(V. 7). This king of renowned prowess, whose foot-stool was the crown of prostrate kings, ruled his kingdom even while young, after having killed his enemies and conquered the kingdom single-handed with his unsheathed sword scintillating in his hand.

(V. 8). The entire world was rid of its darkness by his fame with which all the quarters were whitened; and the sun and the moon were (only) useful for awakening (i.e., opening) the lotus and lily ponds respectively.

(V. 9). At his gate there await without (getting) opportunity (to enter) the Vallabhas, the Kajabhras, the Kārajas, the Paṇḍyas, the Chōjas, the Tuḷus, the Kōṇkaṇas and others desirous of obtaining admission to serve (him).

(V. 10). The servant of this (king) who was the storehouse of austerities and virtue, who was heroic, highly distinguished, respected by the good, whose wealth was honour, whose spreading fame enveloped the interior of all the quarters, and in whom, who was the relative of the world, the name Maṅgalarāṣṭra-bhaṛtṛi (the lord of the district called Maṅgaḷa-rāṣṭra) became well-known, gave to a concourse of Brahmans (their) desired object, having repeatedly petitioned the king.

(V. 11). May this gift of the ruler of the country of Maṅgaḷa, the subordinate of the Pallava king, stand as long as the Earth, the Ocean, the Moon and the Sun (exist).

(L1. 22 to 32). In the sixty-first year of (the reign of) king Viḷaiya-Nandivikrama-varman, the following order to the residents (of Aṟvala-kūṟram) was issued at the request of Mangalanāṭjavān and at the command (āṇṭi) of Viḷaiyanallūḷan of Āḷappākam:

"Let the residents of Topkara-Aṟvala-kūṟram in the Chōja country (Ṣōḷa-nādu) observe. Out of the forty-five vēḷi (of land) round about the free village of . . . . . . in your sub-division, after excluding the old brahmādēya of twenty-four vēḷi there remain sixteen vēḷi (of land). These sixteen vēḷi—formed by adding together the twelve vēḷi (of land) which the king (Perumāṉadigal) had been pleased to grant as a brahmādēya in the fifty-ninth year (of his reign) at the request
of Maṅgalanādālvān and at the instance of Vijaiyanallūjan of Aḷappakkan and the four vēli (of land) which (the same) had been pleased to be converted into a brahmadeya (now) in the sixty-first year (of his reign) at the request of Maṅgalanādālvāṇ and at the command of Vijaiyanallūjan of Aḷappakkan,—without excluding the houses of the residents of the persons who settle the village and house-sites (manapiṭāppu)—these we have ordered (to be) a brahmadeya."

(Ll. 32 to 38). The residents of the district made obeisance (to the royal order), placed it on their heads, planted stones and milk-bush, went right round the paṭāgai and issued the order for publication (aṟai-ōlai). According to it, the sixteen vēli (of land) including houses, house-sites, tanks, kraals, uvar, village-waste, forest, streams and all (other) kinds of lands covered with water and ploughed with parambu where inguanas run and tortoises crawl were removed from the exercise of the rights of the king and (his) authorities and were granted all pariḥāras in order; it (then) became a brahmadeya.

(Ll. 38 to 43). The pariḥāras which this village received were:—Inclusive of vaṭṭi-nāji, pūdā-nāji, manṟupādu, urāchi, taregu, kūlam, iḻam-pūchi, nādu-kāval, ūṟupōkku, uppu-kko-chocheppi, nall-ō, nall-erudu, nēr-vēyam and all other kinds of taxes which the king had a right to levy and enjoy shall not (henceforth) be paid (to him); that under the name of Paṭṭattālman-galam, the undermentioned poor Brahmanas received the brahmadeya.

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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Vāḍūla (Vādūla).</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Tiruvēḷi- Pottaśarman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Māḍala (Māṭhara).</td>
<td>Hiranyakēsi</td>
<td>Ėṅūr</td>
<td>Achehavippa- Chaṇḍāṅgavi.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Āṭṭiraiya (Āṭṭēyā)</td>
<td>Āvattamba</td>
<td>Kombaṅu</td>
<td>Kumāraśarman- Chaṇḍāṅgavi.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Urupputṭur</td>
<td>Kāḷimāṇḍai- Chaṇḍāṅgavi.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Kappa (Kāpya)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Sigupuḷuḷil</td>
<td>Sēndaśarman- Chaṇḍāṅgavi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Gōṭama (Gautama)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Vaṅgipparu</td>
<td>Saṇḍāṅgavi- Tāyaśarman.</td>
</tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Koppa (Koppa).</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Tēvaṛi- kramavittap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Gōṭama (Gautama)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Pappaśarman- Chaṇḍāṅgavi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Vāḍūla (Vādūla).</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kārambheṭṭu</td>
<td>Śēndaśarman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Āṭṭiraiya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kombaṅu</td>
<td>Śēndaśarman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Dēvaṭgor- Aṇṭōraḷ.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Ll. 59-60). The inscription was engraved by Sri Daṇḍi, son of Viṭṭelviṭṭu-Pallavaperun-tāchāṇ of Aṉiṉaṇaichchiṟi in Kachchippēṇ.  

¹ The doubtful words kuḍipal sāmāyis kāṟuf are not translated.
No. 15.—DEOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SVAMIBHATA.

By DAYA RAM SARKI, RAI BAHADUR, M.A.

The antiquities of Deogarh situated about 22 miles from Lalitpur in the district of Jhansi are described in Dr. Führer's Monuments of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, pp. 119-121 and 333, Mr. P. C. Mukherjee's Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur and General Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. X, pp. 100-110. The ancient fort at Deogarh is designated Luachchhagira in the Deogarh pillar inscription of Bhôjadéva of Kanauj, Vik. Samvat 913\(^1\) while the Deogarh rock inscription of Kirtivarman of the [Vik.] year 1154 gives it the name of Kirttigiri.\(^2\)

This inscription is engraved on a much-worn rock-cut flight of steps which led down on the south side of the Deogarh Fort to the water of the river Betwá which encloses it on three sides. This flight of steps is locally known as the Nahar or Nár Ghaț and possesses as many as eleven niches all contemporaneous with the Ghaț some of which still contain their images. The panel occurring at the top of the Ghaț, with which we are here concerned, contains a row of nine seated figures which represent, beginning from the left:—(1) A male figure holding a ṛ̣ḍ̄ā between both hands, probably Virabhadra, (2) Brāhma with three faces, (3) Māhēśvarī seated on a lion and holding Gaṇēśa in her left hand, (4) Kaumārī on her peacock, (5) Vaiśnavī on the Garuda, (6) Vārāhi, (7) Indra, (8) four-armed Chāmuṇḍā, seated on a human corpse and (9) two-armed Gaṇapati.

The inscription under description is engraved immediately above this panel of the divine Mothers. The inscribed surface is 1' 11" wide and 1' 1" in height. The inscription consists of seven lines and is in a fairly good condition of preservation though six letters in the beginning of the first line and a few letters in the beginning of each of lines 5—7 are mutilated. The characters which belong to what Dr. Bühler styles the “acute-angled alphabet” of Northern India, are closely allied to the alphabet in which the Bodh-Gaŷā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269\(^2\), the Praṣāṭi\(^3\) of the temple of Lakkhā Maṇḍal at Māḍhā in Jaunār Bāwar Pargana of the Dehra Dun District, the Benares inscription of Pantha\(^4\) and several other documents are written. The striking peculiarities of this alphabet are the highly ornamental kōṇas and mātṛās and these are fully shared by the epigraph under discussion. Dr. Bühler assigns the Lakkhā Maṇḍal prāṣāṭi\(^5\) to about the end of the 6th century A.D. In my paper on the Benares inscription of Pantha referred to above I assigned that document erroneously to the beginning of the 8th century A.D. In reality it must be as early as the other inscriptions referred to. This is obvious, besides other considerations, from the use of the archaic form of y consisting of the loop and two vertical lines. This form of y is also used throughout in the present inscription, and I feel no hesitation in assigning it to the 6th century A.D. The language of the document is Sanskrit and except for the opening words Ōṁ namaḥ at the beginning of line 1, the inscription is in verse throughout. In the matter of spelling and sandhī, only one or two irregularities are observable in our inscription. One of these is the use of prāḍānā-tridāsā instead of prāḍānā-tridāsa in line 5. Similarly although the doubling of consonants in contact with r after vowels is quite regular, the form kramāṅgata (l. 4) in the beginning of the third quarter of v. 4 is objectionable, as the consonant k concerned

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\(^{1}\) Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 309 seq.
\(^{3}\) Fleet. Gupta Inscriptions, Pl. XLI, A.
\(^{5}\) Ibid, Vol. IX, p. 59 and Pl. facing p. 60.
\(^{6}\) Indian Palaeography, edited by Dr. Fleet as an Appendix to the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXIII, p. 49.
is not preceded by a vowel. The word prati in l. 5 is not found in dictionaries. It is probably the engraver's mistake for pathi, locative singular of pathin, meaning 'range', 'reach', etc.

The inscription does not appear so far to have been published anywhere. Its existence is referred to by Mr. P. C. Mukherji but all that he has to tell us about it is that in it "the name of the reigning king is lost." Dr. Führer appears, however, to have deciphered a part of the inscription as he has the following remark about it. "Near the Naharghati, there is a valuable record of Svârâbhoja, dated Sainvat 609, written in characters of the latter Gupta period." Now, though the first part of the remark is quite correct, there is no trace of a date anywhere to be seen in the inscription.

The inscription consists of seven verses. The verses are not numbered. The punctuation is also not regular, for though the ends of the verses are everywhere marked by the usual double vertical stroke (दिः), the half verses are only occasionally indicated by a curved horizontal stroke which in one or two cases has a more complicated form. As to the contents of the document, the first verse invokes the blessing of the divine Mothers. Verses 2 to 4 contain the pedigree of a certain Svârâbhoja whose high qualities are eulogised in verse 5. The next verse states that this Svârâbhoja caused an imperishable abode to be constructed for the divine Mothers on the mountain on which the Deogarh Fort is situated. The Prajâti was composed by a certain Jata, the son of Yācchādatta and engraved by Bhānu, the son of Durqga. The abode of the Mothers whose erection is recorded in this epigraph is probably identical with the niche in which the group of the seven mothers and the inscription are engraved unless we are to suppose that the upper part of the flight of steps was originally covered with a roof and did duty as a temple. The building of temples for the worship of the divine Mothers appears to have been common in ancient times. One such temple was erected by a certain Mayūrakshaka, a minister of Viśvaranma, in the year 480 of the Mâlava era, i.e. the Vikrama era.

Nothing is known about the donor (Svârâbhoja) mentioned in this inscription from any other source. In the inscription he is described as the grandson of Gómâlaka who was an ornament of the Solar race and might therefore have been a man of some consequence.

TEXT.

[Metres : Vv. 1, 4, 6 and 7, Anushâhâ; V. 2, Âryâ; V. 3, Salint; V. 5, Sikkhi śānt.]

1

[श्रीत न]मः ।

.......

तात्र अन्नहारपूजाः

मातृपुर्वोऽऽति(तु)पप्ता भवदल्ल सूतिन्तु वः "[१७]"

प्रसन्नवर्मम् [न]——

2

क दित इति [महृ]धरणादात्तकुलातिकः ।

सुचरितप्रदश्यमि सुवर्णा सादार्या सहुल्या: "[२५]"

संयोगीः


2 The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in North-Western Provinces and Oudh, p. 338.

3 Fruits, Guptâ Inscriptions, p. 74.

4 The letter य is written below the line.
3 केसव: केसवेन तुशी सुभक्ष्यकृति तिरान:[9]
भैरो मायें श्वेयये श्वरिकगम्मा मानिकुंडः सुभक्ष्यम् यस्यतान ||[9]||
4 तस्मा श्रासिन्धो नां श्रीमुक्कुरिखिकुम.[9]
कुactlyकुलाचाराचारेश्वरराजित: ||[9]
5 स्वराय क्षेत्राय क्षेत्रितसक:-
[शालय]चुल्कुपधान्
प्रविष्टाय: प्रसाधिन:[9]सपुरभाजाय पुर: ||[9]
प्रसिद्धाय: सर्वाय द्वा प्रसाधिन करणा:-
6 स्वाति
[गम्याय:गयतिर न तुःशुश्रुगणनाः ||[9]
तेन कारितमुद्राविद्विविधार्थितिरिणा।
प्रेम: प्रयत्नानां
7 मातः चयमचर्य्यार्थम् ||[9]
कामिनाकारार्युपर्यः वयवदत्सुक्करणा
स्वामिभादुस्मृणिः भावना दुर्गिर्मुनना ||[9]

TRANSLATION.

Ovit Salutation!

(Verse 1). May the group of Mothers, the mothers of the universe having their dwelling in . . . . . and having prowess fit for the preservation of the world be for your welfare.

(V. 2). There was (one) Gomilaka, the ornament of the pure race of the thousand-rayed (Sun); whose meritorious conduct is not equalled to this day by righteous men.

(V. 3). From him was born Kesava, equal to Vishnu, whose extensive fame was well-known in the world, and who, of firm righteousness, produced progeny of lofty reputation which was firmly established in the primeval path (of righteousness).

(V. 4). He (Kesava) had a son named Svamibhata of great prowess, adorned with the handsome ornament of his traditional family piety.

(V. 5). The multitude of whose eminent and countless virtues was not obscured by Kali—(the virtues which) encompassed all the directions by their luminous and brilliant lustre, which had found an easy passage (everywhere) and which, in scope, had nearly reached even the cities of the residents of the abode of the gods, just as the rays of the moon are not obscured by the hare though manifestly closely attached to her.

(V. 6). By him (Svamibhata) who honoured his suppliants, desirous as it were of excellent gifts, was caused to be made, here on this hill, a very costly and indestructible abode of the Mothers.

(V. 7). This foremost (prastasti) was composed by Jata, the son of Yakshadatta, and engraved by Bhunu, the son of Durgga of polished intellect.

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1 I had myself read the word as trikha meaning the three regions. The reading sukha has been kindly suggested by Mr. H. Sastri.
2 Read पुय.
3 After the word फु ह one or two syllables were first engraved and then scored out.
4 The expression तुस्कीययुभि may mean ‘who is clever in engraving’—C. R. K.
No. 16.—A KALACHURI STONE INSCRIPTION FROM KASIA.

By Datta Ram Sahini, Rai Bahadur, M.A.

The stone slab on which this inscription is engraved, was discovered by Mr. A. C. L. Carleyel in 1875-76 at the Buddhist ruins near Kasia which has since been proved by successive excavations to represent in all probability the ancient site of Kuśanagara where Gyantaka Buddha breathed his last or entered Mahāparinirvāṇa. The exact spot where this discovery was made was on the south side of the door-way of the brick shrine in which the large blackstone image of the Buddha at the moment of his enlightenment, locally known as the Māthā Kūr, was originally enshrined. This shrine turns out to be the chapel of a monastery of the 11th or 12th century A.D., and not an independent temple as Mr. Carleyle presumably imagined. This monastery was excavated by Pt. Hirananda Sastrī in 1911 and 1912. As the inscription which forms the subject of this paper, was found in this monument, it seems to me likely that this document recorded its erection. The loss of the latter portion of the inscription to be referred to later on is, therefore, much to be regretted.

The slab is the blue stone of Gayā of the same kind as the material of the colossal Boddhi statue, referred to above and must, likewise, have been brought from that District and inscribed and set up in the building where it has been recovered. Mr. Carleyle had rubbings of this inscription made for Professor Kielhorn from which and certain others supplied by the Curator of the Lucknow Museum, the late Professor published a résumé of the contents of the record in his Epigraphic Notes in Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Phil.—historische Classe 1903, pp. 300 to 303. Professor Kielhorn did not edit any portion of the inscription. The text that I edit below was prepared in 1912 when I was Curator of the Provincial Museum at Lucknow and I believe I have succeeded in deciphering the whole of the record as far as it was decipherable. Besides, a fuller treatment of the inscription was necessary as this is the only record, so far known, of the branch of the Kalachuri family to which it belongs. The condition of the inscription is described in Professor Kielhorn's notes referred to and only salient points may be mentioned here. This slab is 36½' wide and 17½' high. The existing portion of the inscription contains 24 lines, but evidently some writing is lost at the end of it. The annexed plate will show the amount of damage that has occurred to the document from the peeling off of the surface, rendering illegible large portions of several lines and making other parts almost unreadable except with difficulty from the original stone. The size of letters ranges from ½' to 1' exclusive of the vowel marks. The smaller size of ½' occurs in the lower lines due evidently to considerations of space that was available on the slab when the engraver had reached a certain stage of his task.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th or 12th century A.D. I agree with Professor Kielhorn that both the writer and the engraver have done their work carefully but, even so, a few mistakes have crept in. In l. 9 we notice Nāghu spelt with gh in place of ṣ. In four cases the anusāra in the body of words is replaced before the sibilants sa and ṣa by the nasal of one or other of the svaras. These are usāsa for usha in l. 10, 11 and 12 and rājahanṣī for rājahanṣī in l. 19. Sandhi is everywhere carried out except once in kalpataḥ tīrīyaṁ in l. 19. As is usual in inscriptions of this period, the final consonants are sometimes written small, with a curved stroke beneath them, and the consonant sa is written in place of ba. I have used the correct form throughout. The inscription is composed throughout in Sanskrit verse with the exception of the invocation of the Buddha in the beginning of l. 1. The metrical portion contains thirty verses and a few syllables of the 31st verse. Professor Kielhorn has published a list of

1 A. S. R. Vol. XVIII, p. 68.
the first 29 stanzas indicating the metre of each and the number of the line of the inscription in which each verse ends or would have ended had the document been better preserved. As to the metres of these stanzas, I agree to Professor Kielhorn’s list, except in regard to the 28th verse, where he doubtfully makes the metre Vāñhastha, though it is more probably Rathaśāḍhata, the space being just enough for 44 syllables and the scheme of the extant last pāda as read by me being that of the Rathaśāḍhata metre.

In respect of its contents the document is divisible into three portions, namely, (1) the invocations of deities (vv. 1-5), (2) the mythical and legendary portion of the genealogy (vv. 6-12), and (3) the historical portion. In connection with verses 4 and 5 it is interesting to observe that the two Nāndi verses of the Buddhist drama, the “Nāgānanda”, also invoke the Buddha under the epithets of Jina and Munindra, the appellations in our inscription being Tathāgata and Munindra. In connection with the second section, it is to be observed that in v. 8 the marriage of Budha with Ila, the daughter of Manu, is also mentioned though it is overlooked in Prof. Kielhorn’s résumé. It is also noteworthy that while the Kahla plate inscription of Sūḍhdāvā of another branch of the Kalachuri dynasty mentions Kritavirya after Hariyana the Harivamśa has as many as seven kings between Hariyana and Kritavirya. The names of these seven kings are (1) Dharmanātra, (2) Kārtta, (3) Sāhañja, (4) Mahishmān, (5) Bhadrāṇāva, (6) Durddana and (7) Kanaka.

The historical portion of the genealogy begins with v. 13 and embraces the rest of the preserved portion of the document. The founder of the branch of the Kalachuri dynasty represented by the present epigraph was Sāhkaragāna as was Lakshañacā-rajā of the other branch referred to in the preceding paragraph. My text of the Kasiñ inscription elucidates two or three obscure points in the summary of Prof. Kielhorn, and furnishes the names of one or two other kings which are omitted by him. In the first place Prof. Kielhorn was doubtful about the relationship of the third king Lakshañacā (I) (v. 16) to his predecessor Nannarāja. My reading of the verse clearly makes him a son of Nanna-rāja. The same remark applies to the next king Śiva-rāja (I) (v. 18) who must have been a son to Lakshañacā (I). Again Prof. Kielhorn’s summary makes Rājaputra (v. 20) the son of Bhimañata (I) mentioned in v. 19. It now appears that the term rājaputra is only a title of Lakshañacā (II) not mentioned in Prof. Kielhorn’s notes, who was in all probability the son of Bhimañata. The last king (v. 27) mentioned in the extant portion of the record is Bhimañata (II), son of Kañchana probably the wife of Lakshañacārāja II or of another king whose name may have disappeared in v. 26. It is impossible to ascertain whether the inscription was set up in the time of this prince (Bhimañata II) or whether the missing portion contained the names of one or more other princes. Nor is it possible, for the same reason, to say what the object of the inscription was.

The only place mentioned in the epigraph is Sāivaya (verse 17) to which Lakshañacā resorted after having entered a fort whose name is missing. The verse mentioned above describes it as a mountainous district (śikhara-vishaya) which was the residence of Sibi the son of Uśīnara. Prof. Kielhorn proposed to identify this locality with Seweys, situated a few miles south or south-east of Kasiñ. I have nothing to say against this suggestion, for the place must have been situated somewhere in the vicinity of Kasiñ where the inscription has been found, though it must be observed that the village Seweys, which I personally inspected, is situated on perfectly level ground and not in a mountainous region. In an interesting article on the Shorkot inscription of the year 83, Dr. Vogel has discussed the history of the Śibi tribe.

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3 Sāivaya appears to be a mistake for Sāivya (= Śiva + the suffix ṣya), i.e., the country or city of the Śibis. [The metre requires such a form which might be rūṣha.—Ed.]
at some length. According to the Mahābhārata, this tribe lived in the western part of India. Dr. Lassen considers the Siboi, one of the tribes subdued by Alexander the Great, to be identical with the Śibis of the ancient Indian literature and Mr. Smith in his Early History of India locates them in the Doab of the Hydaspes and Hydrasotis. The inscription referred to above appears to show that the mound at Shorkot, where the record has been found marks the site of Śibipura which Dr. Vogel believes to have been the capital of the Śibis. It thus becomes evident that the Śibis were at one time masters of the greater part of Northern India.

The name of the king who had this inscription installed is lost in the lower obliterared portion of the record, and we know nothing about him beyond the fact, as we gather from verses 1-5, that though a Buddhist by faith, he revered, along with the Buddha and Tārā, the Brahmanical god Śiva. This is in keeping with the state of the society during the period to which the inscription belongs and we are aware of Ballālasena,1 king of Bengal, who in the beginning of his reign was a Buddhist but turned a Śāiva in his later life. At the Buddhist ruins of Sarnāth and other ancient sites, Brahmanical images have been found side by side with Buddhist ones in the shrines of the late mediæval period. Further proof of the reconciliation of Hinduism and Buddhism during this period is afforded by certain Mōn inscriptions of Burma recording the consecration and dedication of a great religious building or palace.2 The ceremonial lasted a number of days and Brahmán astrologers as well as Buddhist monks took part in it. This process of harmonising the two faiths must, however, have begun much earlier. The drama Nāgāśendu of Harsha, to which a reference has been made above, represents an undoubted attempt in this direction, for do we not find in it the Boddhistava Jīmītāsvāhana worshipping the Brahmanical gods and his father Jīmōtekīta leading the life of an agnihotri after his retirement?

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 7, 15, 29 and 30 Śrugārā; vv. 2, 3, 6, 10 and 12 Śārdulavikrāta; vv. 4 Vamnāsatha; vv. 5, 13, 14 and 17 Mandākraṇṭa; vv. 8, 9, 11, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25 and 27 Vasantatilaka; vv. 18 Śikkhiṣṭa; vv. 21 to 23 and 26 Āryā; v. 28 Rathōdhāta.]

1 [Vmär] 'नमः हन्यः' नमो बुद्धाय
‘यज्ञोति:’ श्वांसे वदितकरणमाणमोहिविवादिष्ठि
यानर्तस्यःस्वागठे गद्विसमतत्समप्रयद्म विवोताते च
व्यक्त्यौपैतिमेददीर्घवित्ति रामपिर्नि च

2 —— 'पारापिष्ठित्रिमभिविविष्ठि: भासतं प्रभरयम ![18]

हृद् कोपपरास्त्रुधिः गिरिसुतो शंकयों श्रवणिसिक्यो ॥

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3 It will be remembered that Mr. A. C. L. Carley read this passage as Oṁ namo Buddhāya namo Buddhāya bhikṣāve. Professor Kielhorn has shown that what Mr. Carley reads as bhikṣāve is really putātā which commences verse 1. He himself read the first Buddhāya as Rudrāya. A close examination of the passage on the original stone leaves no doubt, however, that it is really rudhāya, i.e., who has subjected himself. The subjoined consonant of the second syllable of the word has decisively a closed loop like the doha of Buddhāya (l. 1) and is distinct from dra in ehandramāḥ (l. 3), nāyendra (l. 19) and kalapudrāmāṇā (l. 27). [The word must be Rudrāya as indicated by the first 2 verses in praise of Śākara.—Ed.]

4 Here we must restore the words tad-naṣṭ or tām-naṣṭ.
5 The syllable sam is written below the line.
तबलाका(को)चित्वचाराणागतपृष्ठकुंकुम(क)चत्वरेणृ[1*]
पीलसलोचनानसींं

पायाः: सूचित तथा जलकारखेजः कोल्हः। श्रवण: [2*]
सूतिकाकालमंगिका पारसवः पेटो बिहार बिधवः
नंचे भुक्तुनारायणसः शान्तिमोती करोः।
ध[खे]वं भुगतानुभाष[न]

— — दशत्रिपरिवर्त्तान्तः तत्कालम्
विभाषण कथताः सुदानी तत्तां ताता चित्त्रजोडिकिये (पु)
जयसंबान्तविविधानासः पुष्पा नुरामोचण्या (क) चित्तम्प्रोणमिथिषः।
तत्तांगतः: स्वतिष्ठमारस्मिन् (स)ना: क्ष्यः: बिद्धवपरि[भ]

[हृद्ध:][13*]
वेयः: सत्सी (सत्सी) मत्ति पर[म] प्रथम वै तरं
स्वाते प्रायोगितिविषन्धु छतर वैढितस य[क्ष] बिथः: [1]
[गाौच]ौत्तिन्ध गत्तमुनि संस्तिविष (क्ष)धायावतारानु
कृतिका[ख]काम (रसवर्णः: [बद्र]सो सुन[ँ]ः)

[स्त्रो:][14*]
यहों अक्षम भूखितितिविवी यथैकमालमः
श्रेयो देविनिषुद्ध: स भवान्विनक्षम[चेष्टनः]
[तेनात्] विज्ञापन्नरवनावधनसर्वमिव[विष्णुमाय]
सार्विक[प्रच]खा: [व] जाचिपितांत्यो अन्तः[व]

[पर]: [15*]
तचावितिकः दिच्छाध्यात्त तविकर्माणि [क्ष]कर्मः
स्वारा (स्वारा) (स्वारा) निर्मितिभावको चतुरुस्तनपर्वः।
तहोयमाति देवदिनः दृष्ट्यदिमः ब्राह्मण[स] तिरोऽवः
— — विश्वसमुन्यभावितनिधिवसाम्: रसवर्णः [16*]
तत्त्तांलायत सुविदाणितमहिमाभिनि

1 I originally read these three syllables as 'स̤-डयाः'. I owe the reading in the text to the kindness of Mr. H.
B. Sastrī.

2 Cf. Harīcārīka, Calcutta, 1899, Adhyāya 25, vv. 131-15, where Atī's intense penance is described.

3 नरायण पुण: तरी देवता न कर्मः।
श्रेयो यस्मिन्निर्माणित: प्रेमः: तुबभि
सत्तौधैरयस्य भक्तबधिनिनिजः: प्रेमः
14 — करक्षितव्येवऽयणो नवान्नः क्रृष्णसन्तानीपिकारकान्तीनायायम्।
सुधूरः महाकालासंस्धिद्विश्वासीकिन नवा सुक्षमः
आज्ञेयंक्षणम् स्वतंत्रिनिन्दोधरासाधारान्।

15 [क]क्रमं कर्मशास्त्रम् क्रृष्णसन्तानी।
सत्यात् विषयात् क्रृष्णसन्तानी।
विषेषः चिपिकशास्त्रः प्रतापः
'प्रथमविषयव्यवहारमाधिपतिस्मृति।' ॥१६॥
एकः [क्रृष्ण]दरम्यानः।

16 ◾ मिसुन्त्रीतिनिर्विश्वासः हुमः।
पत्तापः मिसुन्त्रीतिनिर्विश्वासः बन्धे
क्षेत्रां तदर्थिकः द्रिष्टिः 'विषेषः चार्मीशोगरः' ॥१७॥
अतिर्य्कक्षेत्रान्वितव्यवहारस्तु सुविशमः।
प्रतापां'वेक्षोत्तिनिर्विश्वासः ◾ ◾ ◾ ◾ ◾ ◾ [१७]

17 [क्रृष्ण] द्रिष्टिः कोदिन्तितः।
प्रता: सर्वंप्रभुतं तिनेओः तिनेओः ॥१८॥
सत्यात् नारायणेऽभवभूषणम्
अतिर्य्कक्षेत्रान्वितव्यवहारम् च: विषेषः।
इतिम् [क्रृष्ण]ः सुम् [क्रृष्ण]ः ◾ ◾ ◾ ◾ ◾ ◾

1 The syllable सि is written below the line.
2 The reading of the word pratyakṣa has been kindly supplied by Mr. H. Sastri.
3 In verse 17, Mr. H. Sastri suggests sikhari-vishayān and giris in place of sikhari-vishayāna and śī✈ in the original reading as printed. The last akṣara of the first word is damaged, but Mr. H. Sastri's reading gives a better sense and I have adopted it. There is, however, no doubt as to the correctness of my own reading of Śī✈ (see next footnote).
4 According to the Harivaṃśa, Sibi was one of the five sons of Uśīnara of the Pāru branch of the Lunar race. He was the founder of the Śibi tribe.
निवास माजानकलाकृताः काकाशा सिताः

18

[श्री]ज(क्ष[ा])पि: परिवारातिकाः परिवारा राजा (क्रृ)। (19)
पालानारम्भ मुख्य मत्स्य मध्ये
नाम राजानामे नाम गुप्तगृह(स)ः। (II) [20°]
शिवाजीश्वर श्रूत: शिव देव सर्वार्थोक्त: सम्भूतः [1]

...

तक्षपुर(विभासः) वि... [II] [21°]

...

19

[कार्तिक] [1°] विजयदन्दिकोत्तरीसन्नेत्रचुडामणिविही ॥[2°]
तक्षाक धारणार्थी विषयोपचार निःशृङ्गात्मा
भूतिवृत्ताधीन मानसा राजस्वो(ष्टी)ः। (II) [21°]
त[शा] ॥

cकालादशस्तु ॥

...

20

...

जगति लक्षणराजेऽव: ॥[24°]
वेनाभविष्यति निशुरख्ष्यतः
निमित्वयेवज्जुवर्त्तितस्तोत्रविमुक्तः।
शुकामुः: खण्डंकुकुमसंविधाः
स्मिये ॥ ॥ [24°]

...

21

...

सुता ॥ काश्यका नाम ॥ [24°]
तक्षाकानी नरपति: प्रणयारोऽवः
चुडामणिबिचारबालरापादवः।
क्रीष्टोर्तं विक्ष्रातिवा ॥ [शा] सन्धावर्तिः

...

22

...

य[च] अश्वतिस लाल्यः कृ[य] ॥[28°]
कालः कालादशमात्रादिनन्यनमत्याऽरोऽवः

...

1 Like Professor Kellermann, I first interpreted this word as the proper name of a king. I accept Mr. H. Sastri's suggestion that राजपुरा is here only a title.
2 I originally read these letters as सेर्सी, but Mr. H. Sastri's suggestion that it might be सेर्सी, appears to be more plausible.
TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to the Self-controlled, salutation to the Buddha!

Verse 1. May the eternal vision of Śiva, who destroys the threefold fear of (mundane) existence, protect (us or you, the vision) which is subtle and unique, which is luminous after having cut asunder the knot of dense and extensive darkness by the sword of knowledge which is hostile to the assembly of the entire multitude of all the sense-organs; which shines in various superhuman aspects such as the manifest, etc., and which gladdens. . . . . . . .

V. 2. May Śaṅkara defend you for a long time, (Śaṅkara) who is engaged in coaxing entreaties befitting the occasion on seeing Pārvati averse (to him) on account of anger through jealousy due to his salutation to Śaṅkara; (and) who (Śaṅkara) at that very moment obtains the pleasure of a violent embrace (given) by her (Pārvati) frightened (by the Kailāsa mountain being lifted up) by the two mighty arms of Rāvaṇa. 2

V. 3. May Tārā, the mistress of the three worlds, extend enjoyments to you, (Tārā) who bears her body (which is beautified) by the law of the Buddha in this way:—(her) form (is) an embodiment of piety; (her) mind (is) replete with the sentiment of mercy; (her) intellect (is) clear; (her) eyes (are) beautiful with love for the merit of friendship (and her) hands are disposed in a peaceful posture.

V. 4. Victorious is the Buddha, the ascetic, whose intellect is bright on account of the absence of partiality for (the three) qualities and desires of various kinds, who having curbed the triumphant joy of Māra was extolled by the groups of Siddhas.

V. 5. Who, seeing the highest bliss in the welfare of the sentient beings has performed good actions of various kinds for the sake of the needy even at the cost of his own life, which (actions) are eulogised in stories; (and) who, having assumed by (his) power of yōga very many incarnations in the world, was always the sole (repository) of mercy; such is the lord of sages.

V. 6. That God Vīsnu (Bhagavān) the Destroyer of Demons, who is the root cause of the worlds and the sole support in the processes of dissolution and maintenance, created Brahma in the beginning. And by him (Brahman) who is the store-house of the art of skill in the creation

1 See note on the text.—Ed.
2 In the translation, the word tripaścita has been construed with prabhava-bhasya, the three dangers in question being birth, old age and death (cf. Vairāgya-Śaṅkara, verse 7). Or possibly the three miseries Adhōtiṃka, etc., are meant. The word might, however, equally well be rendered as an adjective to yōga like dārvātin in the same line.
3 This episode is frequently cited to in the Purāṇas and other Sanskrit literature. Cf. Śiśupālaśāstra, I, verse 30.
4 This is mere conjecture.
of the threefold universe, were quickly created through meditation the seven lords of creation\(^1\) beginning with Atri.

V. 7. Of them (the Prajāpati) Atri, the leader of the learned, practised the penance known as Anuttara for three thousand divine years with winkless eyes, without cessation. Through his prowess, of his (Atri’s) noble eye was born the moon, who, a mass of light, lit up the ten directions, whose light is pleasing to the whole universe and who is the repository of nectar.

V. 8. From him, the moon of irreplicable resplendence, was born the wise one, brilliant like pure gold, a store-house of fame, who is celebrated as Budha in all the three worlds. He took for his wife Ila, the daughter of Manu.

V. 9. From him (Budha) again was (born) a pious son; who enjoyed a wondrous fame in the world, whose glory extended up to the limits of the quarters; with whom, Purūravas, Urvasī of beautiful eye-brows discarding the entire body of gods lived happily for a long time here (on this earth).

V. 10. His (Purūravas’s) son was Ayuś; from him (Ayus) sprang Nahusha; and from him (Nahusha) the famous Yāyāti. His (Yāyāti’s) sons were five kings Yadu, etc. And the son of Yadu, too, was the king known as Sahaśadra. From him (Sahaśadra) again (sprang) Mahāya whose vast dynasty was honoured by the three worlds.

V. 11. In this dynasty gladdened by kings of . . . . . . . . elements, there was the fortunate one who had the lucky name of Kārttavirya\(^2\) and who governed the earth by virtues excelling those of Prituḥ.

V. 12. During (the reign of) that king the same path (was followed) by (all) sentient beings as (was established) by ancient custom for the universe. What more should be said, during the esteemed rule of that (king), he being equipped with a missile took immediate notice of the approach of misconduct in the very thought of his subjects, and checked it at once.

V. 13. In the family of him (Kārttavirya) of extensive glory . . . there was Sākanraraṇa of prominent appearance; to whom Purajit (Śiva) being pleased instantly granted an emblem of his own.

V. 14. From him (Śaṅkararaṇa), whose fame (spread) up to the ocean which is a garment of the Earth, sprang the illustrious Nannarāja whose rising power which was honoured by the universe shone intensely on account of the absence of faults like the Sun whose glorious rise worshipped by the universe shines violently at the close of the night, (and) who purifies the Earth of . . . .

V. 15. Whose (Nannarāja’s) forces cast longing eyes on the shores of the Lord of the streams adorned with young tilaka (trees) which are exceedingly beautiful on account of the sport of rising (waves) which resemble eye-brows, which have blue lotuses for bright eyes, petals of white lotuses for their smile and reddish (ones) for their fickle lower lips; just as damsels behold eagerly the faces of their husbands which are adorned with fresh tilaka marks, which are extremely handsome on account of the sportive and prominent knitting of brows, which have bright eyes like blue lotuses, smiles like petals of white lotuses and ruddy lower lips like reddish lotuses. [The subject of the verse is चापगानं पञ्चा and the object is चापगानं [स्वराज ईं]]

*The ocean who is the lord of the rivers, saw with surprise the faces of his wives (i.e., rivers) (viz., river cuths) adorned etc. . . . . by the women in his (i.e., Nannarāja’s) forces.*—Ed.]

\(^1\) Prajāpati were the Maharishis whom Brahma created to assist him in the work of creation. According to the *Mama-Sūrīti*, l. 85, these sages were ten in number.

\(^2\) The Kārttavirya of the *Harivamśa* referred to above and the *Harivamśa*, v. 1550, give Arjuna as the name of this king who was the son of Kṛṣṭavirya.
V. 16. He (Nannarāja), the creeper-canopy of whose unrivalled dense fame had covered the entire body of the quarters, had a son (named) the illustrious Lakshmanā (I) who had destroyed the strength of his enemies (and) was, as it were, glory (itself) which had assumed a visible body.

V. 17. . . . having entered a forest . . . . . . . . . afterwards that lord (śri-Lakshmanā) resorted to a mountainous district named Saivāya which was the sum total of the universe and the residence of Śiva Anśina.

V. 18. From him (Lakshmanā) was born the famous lord of this wide world named Śivarāja (I) who . . . . . . . . . brilliant . . . . . . with (his) prowess resembling the light of the flame created by Auruva3 (Rishi), who was more successful even than Kṛtti,4 and was famous in the whole world like Śiva.

V. 19. The son of that king (Śivarāja) was the Lord of the Earth, the illustrious Bhimaśka (I) of fortunate birth, the sole repository of the multitude of qualities and all comparisons . . . . good warriors . . . . a sword dexterous in the art of deceitless destruction (of the wicked)

V. 20. . . . there was the illustrious Lakshmanā (II)5 who had mastered all the feats of bowmanship (and) whom the title, the son of a king, the source of virtues, befitting more appropriately than hundreds of (other) princes.

V. 21. His (Lakshmanā's) son was Śivarāja (II) (who) was conversant with all topics, like Śiva who . . . . . . . . . confusion in the circle of (his) enemies.

V. 22. . . . there was born the crest-jewel of kings, whose fame was sung in the three worlds, who was the desire-granting-tree of . . . . .

V. 23. That prosperous king had a heart-captivating wife named Bhūḍā of noble descent on both sides, whose patronage was beneficial (or who had a clear complexion) like a female goose going to the Mānas lake and casting the shadow of both her white wings.

V. 24. From him (Bhūḍā's husband) was born Lakshmanarājadēva (III) . . . . in the world.

V. 25. By whom (Lakshmanarājadēva) . . . . . . . . . with pearls dropped from the broad temples of the elephants the enemies split asunder by hard strokes of the sword on the battle field, (pearls) which are mixed with tears resembling the trickling saffron.

V. 26. . . . named Kāṇchana,6 the daughter of . . . . .

V. 27. On her (Kāṇchana), that king (Lakshmanarājadēva) whose footstool was illumined by the multitude of the crest-jewels of the circle of prostrating enemies, bogot the illustrious Bhimaśka II who had earned fame by his fierce prowess.

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1 Prof. Kielhorn was doubtful about the relationship of Lakshmanā to Nannarāja.
2 Here, too, Prof. Kielhorn's query about this king being the son of Lakshmanā should be deleted.
3 Auruva was a descendant of Bhīruga. Kārttavirya intent on destroying the children even in the wombs of the women of that family. One of these women secreted her embryo in her thigh. Hence the child that was born was called Auruva. At the very sight of him, the sons of Kārttavirya were struck with blindness and his wrath produced a flame which threatened to destroy the whole world.
4 The reading of this passage is almost certain, but who the Kṛtti was, that is referred to here, cannot be ascertained.
5 This name is not noticed by Prof. Kielhorn.
6 The name of the king in this verse has disappeared in the missing portion of the stanza.
7 Prof. Kielhorn's summary here reads "her son Lakshmanarāja (II)". The first word of the stanza is, however, most probably tasmāt.
8 This lady would appear to have been the wife of Lakshmanarājadēva (III) mentioned in v. 24.
No. 17.—SRIRANGAM COPPER-PLATES OF DEVARAYA II; SAKA-SAMVAT 1356.

By S. V. Viswanathan, M.A., Mannargudi, and the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A.,
Trivandrum.

This is another set of copper-plates of the Vijayanagara king Dēvaraya II in the possession of the authorities of the Śri-Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam (see above, Vol. XVII, No. 8). It was examined by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in his Ep. Rep. for 1906, and noted as No. 19 of App. A. We edit the inscription below from inked stampages kindly supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The description of the plates as noted on his office copy runs as follows: "Three plates in a ring in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam." The following further details may be added:

The inscription is written on three1 copper-plates with a ring hole at the top. The first and third plates are engraved only on their inner sides. They measure 11 3/4" in length including the arch at the top, and 7" in breadth. The hole has a diameter of 7 5/8". The first and second plates are numbered at the left hand top corner with the Kannada numerals 1 and 2 and the word puṣa in Nāgari; the third plate bears the Kannada numeral 3 just below the ring hole. The rims of the plates are slightly raised. The writing runs across the breadth of the plates, is legible and devoid of any erasures. The average height of a letter is 25". The inscription is in the Nandi-Nāgari characters. But the signature Śri-Viṣṇu-pādha at the end is in Kannāda. The Tamil letters ஃ and ஷ have been used in lines 51, 58, 65, the latter being sometimes expressed by a rāpā marked above the letter ra (e.g., in ll. 50, 51, 53). The languages employed are Sanskrit which is largely the language of the inscription and Tamil (Deśabhadā) which is used in describing the details of the property granted. The latter is here and there interspersed with a few Kannada words.

The orthographical peculiarities to notice in this inscription are:—the insertion of an anusvāra before ṇ and ṣ and the labial m, e.g., puṣiyā for puṣya (ll. 4 and 12), saṃsvāya for saṃsvāya (l. 20) and hiraṇāya for hiraṇya (l. 66); the doubling of consonant after an anusvāra, as in bhṛṣṭta (l. 30), śhita for śhita (l. 47), maṅghchal (l. 49); and the omission of the visarga or the consequent doubling of s in chatusmā (l. 38) and prāptai sarvair and ṣvā samancitam (l. 44).

The genealogy of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, given in the inscription, runs thus:

Saṅgama.
Bukka (I).
Harihara (II).
Dēvarāja (or Dēvarāya) I.
Vijayarāya.
Dēvarāya Mahārāja II.

Originally, it appears as if only two villages were granted by these three plates, but after reconsideration the number of villages was changed to five and a revised second plate was added without, however, destroying the original second plate for which this was substituted. Thus there are now five plates in the set, the second of which has to be deleted insomuch as the revised fresh plate has to take its place. Care was taken to begin the revised second plate with the same word as in the old plate and end it similarly with the same word as in the old one, so that the passage might fit in with the context of the first and the third plates, though in the middle a few more verses in praise of Dēvarāya II and some lines regarding the additional villages were added. The odd plate which Mr. Venkayya noted under 'Remarks' in his Ep. Rep. for 1906, App. A., No. 20, was perhaps the original second plate.
The date of the grant is expressed by the chronomegram \textit{rasōhurāmackanda}=1356 of the Śaka era which corresponded to the cyclic year Ānanda, the Paunrima day of Vaśākha. On this day and on the occasion of the \textit{Himālevaratha-mahādāna}, the king granted the five villages of Kulamāgikyanallīr alias Nāchikuruchichi, Tiruvarangalallīr, Rāmānārāyaanallīr, Kumārakkudi, and Rājānārāyaanallīr. These villages were situated in Chōla-māṇḍala and in the Trisirappalli-rāja. The first three villages were on the southern bank of the river Kāvērī, in Rājangambhirā-vajānāḍu. The last two villages were on the northern bank of the Kāvērī.—Kumārakkudi being situated in the western half of Māla-nāḍu and Rājānārāyaanallīr being in the eastern half of the same division. Thus the villages given lay on either bank of the Kāvērī. Of these places, Nāchikuruchichi is the village Nāchikuruchichi in the Trichinopoly Taluk. The donee was \textit{Vaiśyiṇavidaimilaiyīṭṭha-Perumāl-Uttamanambi}, son of Uttamanambi, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōтра Rik-sākhā and the Āsvālīyana-sātra. He was the īṭṭānaiti of the Śrīraṅgam temple and the above said villages were evidently granted to him for conducting the daily worship of the god Śrīraṅganāṭha.

A large number of taxes and incomes accruing from the villages are enumerated in the inscription such as those on nāiḍi (wet-land), puṇḷa (dry-land), kanuku (areca grove), karaṇu, vaippu (Mango-n), tennamaram (coconut trees), koḻuntu, vāḷai (plantain trees), karambu (sugarcane), maṇḍai (turmeric), vēḷi (ginger), senkaṇuṇīr (flower) and other vēḷ-payīr (minor cultivation); vēḷal-vetti, pēr-kēḷamai, tari-kēḷamai (tax on looms), mara-kēḷamai (tax on trees), sēkku-kēḷamai (tax on oil mills), māvaṇḍai, maraṇḍai, kulaṇḍai, īḷaiyvaḷi, pulvai, mandai-kanēḻvarai, oḷugu-nil-paṭṭam, nilāyam, vil-paṭam, maghamai, mallaiy-maghamai, inai-vetti, maṇḍu-kanikai, kuṭṇaṇai, kirukku-suṭṭham, avaṭṭupānu, nalleraṇdu (good bull), naḷ-kiṇḍai (good sheep), naḷ-paṭu (good cow), palalai, arisī-kāṇam, talaiyārkkam, māḍārkkai, vēḷamavarttumai, avanavarttumai, kaṭtiyavarttumai, karaṇikai, jōṭi, nirvēḷtari (water tax), nāṭikaiṇṭhavai akkāṭeḷari, aḷa maṇḍai, uḷīgam (service), etc.

The above list includes taxes and customary dues levied in ancient times. We have not the means of knowing the proportion of the taxes to the produce, the right incidence of taxation, etc. It is clear, however, that no produce from the land or any other property was left untaxed. The various kinds of produce from the villages, as enumerated in our record, disclose how carefully municipal taxes were levied in South India under Vijayanagara kings. The incomes granted to the donee included vari (revenue taxes), magamai and puṇḷa (tolls).

The donee \textit{Vaiśyiṇavidaimilaiyīṭṭha-Perumāl-Uttamanambi}, who, under the name Uttamanambi, has been already referred to in the Śrīraṅgam Plates of Haricharaṇa-Udaiyar III (above, Vol. XVI, page 233), is said in the \textit{Kōṣṭhulug—}the temple history of Śrīraṅgam in Tamil—to have made some additions and repairs to the Raṅganāṭha temple. The same work also refers to him by the names \textit{Meyinalaiyīṭṭha-Uttamanambi} and \textit{Ellainalaiyīṭṭha-Uttamanambi}. Two other relations of his who, like himself, had been the managers of the temple were Periyakriṣṇaḷaṇa-Uttamanambi and Tirumulaiṇaśī-Uttamanambi. The \textit{Lakshmiśāyī}, a Sanskrit poem written by the latter, gives the genealogy of the family as under:

\begin{center}
\textbf{In the Kāśyapa-gōtra.}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Chakrārīya} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Uttamarāya} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Timmanārīya} \\
\textit{(possessed royal insignia and managed the Raṅganāṭha temple)} \hspace{1cm} \textit{(became a saṅgāśīra)}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Uttama-Chakrārīya} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Krishna} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Rāma}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Uttama-Chakrārīya} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{m. Lakshmi}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Tirumalākāśī} \hspace{1cm} \textbf{Kūṭalārāviṇa-Nayīgār}
\end{center}

\textit{a 2}
In the above pedigree, Uttamarāya the brother of Chakrārya must be identical with the
donee of our grant. According to the Kasilolagu,1 he set in an image of Gaurdā in front of
the central shrine of Raṅganātha in Śaka 1337 and replaced the image of Rāma, which was
originally installed by Vikrama-Śalāra but which was destroyed by the Musalmans. It is also
stated that he obtained from Gajavētta Pratāpa-Dēvarayamahārāya for himself the sole manage-
ment of the Raṅganātha temple, and the title Chakrārya for his brother and that he was in
power from Śaka 1340 to 1366.

The inscription states that the verses were composed by Rājakārha. We do not find
mention of the name of Rājakārha in any of the hitherto known grants of the first
Vijayanagara dynasty. We find that some inscriptions of the time of Dēvarāya II were engraved
by one Muddaṇa.

TEXT.2

[Mātrās: vv. 1 and 2, 4 to 36, 42 to 46 and 48 Anuśūthā; vv. 3, 37 and 42 Sārdālārākri-
ṇa; vv. 38 and 47 Sālini; vv. 39, 40 and 41 Aṣṭā-Guṭi.]

First Plate.

1 योगाशिवपत्ते नमः। कल्याणयातो जगताऽ साङ्ख्यःकालमः
2 नमः। चन्द्रदीयोः शिवयोगराजदेहाक्ष[1[1]१]कर्तवे।
3 ततै सायावर्धी ददेन्या यः। जगदाके जलविन्द्राकामसुः
4 ददेविध्रुव्या [2] कालरुद्धिध्यायभिरामुरावान् पुरुष(प) को जगदाङ्ग(अ) वं-
6 भोगश्रेयसे शोभामिश्रीविषये जन्ते यें अष्ट्योत्तमः स अ-
7 भवननारायणः पातु वः। [1]१२] नमस्तेनिषु विविधद्वाधाराम्[2]
8 वे। वै र्वान्कुरासायं [3] र्वास्यायुं श्यामे।[1]४२] भर्ति चोरावियो नाम
9 विद्रायुधकारणः। उस्तकोपवन्त यहोमुखाद[५] तत्प्रभवी के
10 ए। [1]४२] तत्ततुक्तिका[६] शा० ठाठा। पुरुषवनः। मुरणभावनः।
11 मुराबास्यसमापते।[1]४२] तत्ततुक्ति, सोमातो जाता बादाः बादाः
12 निश।। पुरुषवनः। पुरुषवनः [7] बादाः पुरुषवनः। [१]३२] तत्ततुक्तिः
13 लक्षनमित्रदुनास चलोजन।। तद्वे संस्मो जते संगमवः
14 संपदयाः। [१]४२] तत्तस्तीति बद्विपूर्वक[६] शीर्षयायेत्वनिवासवः। सर्वाः

1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XLI, p. 141 ff.
3 Read वै॥विद्रायुध
4 नेत्र of आस is inserted above the line.
5 ए is inserted below the line.
6 नेत्र has in addition the consonantal sign of क.
7 मू is corrected from मत Read मू॥विद्रायुध
Second Plate; First Side.
41 'पर्यंत: चढ़ोपायियो: [१] कुमारकुबड़ित पायका । परिमि चढ़के ततः
[२९] परिति-

42 राजारायणबंधुके च पूंचके [२] एततेषायिय शा(चा)म चतुःकृ-

43 माममित्ति [२९] तत्त्वाययुङ्गकथापायियो चामरफ़ति [२] प्रस-।

44 की(सी) मामविन्न प्रशस्स(सा)रंजविरूप(सा)मित्ति । [३] भ्रातानां नामायनारि
निहितने

45 देणभीपरा [२९] भायककृतव विवरि । भद्दमामां गीरंपाका
कु(स)बा-

46 शिक्षारामं नामेकहुँ तिनवरागनहुँ रामनायणवि-

47 त्वरु कुमारकु(स)ठिनेपि राजारायणबंधुसूरां दृत(व) धरु (सु) । जा[०]-

48 चेवु संबं (से) दुर्(से) काशुक काश्य वेषेव तेनमें कोङुजु वालें। कांजु

49 संभव् । दिच्चि । शेरुजीन चा एक्यरंजविरूप(सा)वायम्यव-

50 रि परकन(व) तरिम(व)कि(से)सः। मरक(स)व(से)। चेवु(स)कडम(से)
माव(व)

51 चेवु(स) कुमारकु(स) सुंक बुड़तारे पुलारि मंदैकां(से) । चेवु[०]

52 कु(स) नोहपार[१२] दुक्कान्य विवाण मधम सम्बानाम विबानाम ।

53 देनदरि [१२] नाना कार्यान्वया (से)। कार्यान्वया किन्तुमववसि(के) चरणामेि न-

54 एवेलु। नलकादा। नवःपुण। अवतिचन। परिमिकाण विवाण ।

55 रिशिकान्य तिथि(कि) यारिक(कि) मादारिक(कि) रायम्यतन(से)। चवसर(व)-

1 \( म \) is entered below the line.
2 \( य \) is inserted below the line.
3 \( य \) is entered below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
4 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
5 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
6 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
7 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
8 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
9 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
10 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
11 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
12 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
13 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
14 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
15 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
16 \( य \) is inserted below the line. In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—
   the passage after चतुःकृतिभयात्मक्ति of line 29, begins with एततेषायिय, and continues with the word
   जा(चा)म्. ।
64 नायकः चन्द्रपुः। एकाधिपत्यां नेवार लघुत्रिकत द्वादशवा वान ििावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां िािावां
Abstract of Contents.

V. 1. Adoration to the Elephant-faced god (Gaṇeśa).
V. 2. Adoration to the Boar avatar of (Viṣṇu).
V. 3. May God Nārāyaṇa, who is pleased to recline on (the serpent) Śeṣa in (the island of) Śrīraṅga, on the bank of the tank Chandra-prakūrīṇi in the sands of the Kāvēri adored by Brahmā, and who is attended by the Goddesses Lākṣmī and the Bhū (Earth), protect you.

V. 4. Adoration to Śambhu.
Vv. 5-8. Describes the descent of the family, as usual, from the Moon through Purūravas and Yadu to Sāṃgama, the first historical king of the dynasty.
Vv. 9-12. Sāṃgama was succeeded by his son Bukka and Bukka by his son Harīhara who was succeeded by his son Dēva-rāja. Vijayarka succeeded Dēva-rāja I.
V. 13. His son, the valiant Dēva-rāya-Mahārāja shines in splendour as sovereign having conquered the whole world by his valour.

1 Verses 39, 40 and 41 are omitted in the original second plate of the duplicate copy.
2 Read "स्वेतसुर".
3 Read "विश्वामिषायाः".
4 Read "विश्वामिषायाः".
5 It is doubtful if the new sentence preceding the sign manu. I of the king form a verse.
6 In Telugu-Kannada characters.
V. 14. He held in his arm, as a bracelet, the earth, which could not be supported even by the primeval Tortoise, the Serpent Lord, the Mountains and the Elephant.

[Vvs. 15-24 describe his exploits and fame, which spread to all the eight quarters of the globe, his beauty and his charity.]

Vv. 25-31. The king granted the three villages of Kulamanikyanallur alias Nachokhi-kuruchchi, comprising 77 vellis (of dry land?) and 1 velli of naalai (wet land), Tiruvaramganallur and Ramanarsayanallur, all situated on the southern bank of the Kaveri, in Rajagambhira-vaishnava of Chola-mandala, and the Trisirappalli-raja together with the new villages of Kumarakudi and Rajaanarayanallur, situated respectively in the western and eastern divisions of Majanado, on the northern bank of the Kaveri.

[Ll. 45 to 49, enumerate in the deabahatha (i.e. Tamil) the taxes and incomes due from the villages granted to the donee.]

Vv. 32-35. The grant was issued in the Saka year counted by the numerical words rasa (8), isha (5), Rama (8), and Chandra (1) (i.e., 1356), corresponding to the cyclic year Ananda. On the full moon day of the month of Vaisakha, king Devaraya, at the time of making the celebrated mahadana gift called Haranavaratha, to Valiyadimai-nilayitthu-Perumal Uttamanambi, son of Uttamanambi, the sthapanathi of the Srirangam temple who belonged to the Kasyapa-gotra, the Aisvalayana-sutra and the Rig-Veda.

[Vv. 36-42 contain the praises of Devaraja (or Devaraya) and a prayer for his long life and increased prosperity and mention the name of the composer Rajasakhara.

[Vv. 43-47. The usual admonitory verses.]

[V. 48. Benediction (by the donee).]

Ll. 91 to 93. Thus was the grant given and signed by the king with his own hand (as) Srirupapa-(pa)ksaka.

No. 18.—THE VAYALUR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF RAJASIMHA II.


Vayalur is a small village on the north bank of the river Pallar at its mouth and is situated three miles south of the historic town of Madras once the chief seat of the powerful Dutch Factory and 22 miles south-west by south of Chingleput on the South-Indian Railway. The village is also reached direct from Madras by the Buckingham Canal and would then be 43 miles due south of it, past Mahabaliparam, the famous 'Seven Pagodas' of Pallava antiquities.

The Siva temple of Vyasagrapurisvara at Vayalur was first examined by the Epigraphical Department, Madras, in 1908 and its lithic records were then completely secured. The earliest of these, from the palæographical and historical points of view, is No. 368 of 1908 which is published for the first time below with a facsimile plate. The other records of Vayalur, which are not quite so interesting as the present one, range in date from the 10th to the 16th Century A.D. and mention the village by its surname Janasthanallur; and the god of the temple also is therein called Tiruppalavayil-udaisya-Nayapar, i.e., 'the lord of Tiruppalavayil,' thus supplying the proper name Tiruppalavayil or Tiruppalavayal, i.e., 'the mouth of the sacred cave' of which

1 The meaning of this Tamil attribute is 'he who established his title as the hereditary servant (of Raghunātha)' and corresponds to the Sanskrit Puṣṭa-krāma-mula-bṛāga which occurs in the Lakāmī-Kāvyam referred to above.
2 From impressions prepared by myself with the help of my friends Messrs. Venkoba Rao and Sri Nīlāmṛta Rao.
3 These are registered as Nos. 362 and 366 in Appendix B to the Epigraphical Report for 1900, p. 39 f.
evidently the present name Váyalur is a relic. The current name Vyághrapurtívara, i.e., 'the lord of Vyághrapurtí,' is a Sanskrit translation from Pilliváyál which was somehow connected by mistaken analogy with Puliváyál.

The importance of the record under publication was first brought to notice in my Annual Report on Epigraphy (Madras) for 1908-9, Part II, paragraphs 16 and 17. Since then Professor Jouveau Dubreuil of Pondicherry has discussed its contents in detail in Chapter II of his work "The Pallavas" published in 1917 and has given there the facsimile of a part of the inscription. The present paper supplying the deficiency by giving a complete facsimile of the record which was examined in situ attempts to discuss certain discrepancies in the readings of Professor Dubreuil and to examine certain other points in the chronology of the Pallavas to which the book of the Professor has given publicity.

The dilapidated temple of Vyághrapurtívara at Váyalur must have had its palmy days when its prákāra wall, subordinate shrines, manḍapas and vimāṇa were in a perfectly good condition. The central shrine, which is now the only standing structure, has the gajapriṣṭhā or the elephant-back form peculiar to many Śiva temples in the Chingleput district and enshrines within it a stone liṅga.¹ On the back side of the liṅga and close to the rear wall is placed a stone panel containing the group of figures Śiva, Pārvati and Kumāra, generally known in iconography by the name Śomāśakanda. The existence of such Śomāśakanda panels is striking characteristic of the Śaiva shrines of Pallava origin; but the panels, in these cases, are invariably cut or fixed into the wall behind the liṅga. What then could the existence of this detached panel in the Vyághrapurtívara shrine signify? Perhaps the original temple which was founded in Pallava times disintegrated in course of time and was rebuilt, as is found to be the case with many other South-Indian temples, in some later period, only to repeat once again a second course of dilapidation, such as it now presents to us. Still another characteristic, if one is required, of the Pallava origin of the temple, consists in the many Pallava pillars with large cubical sections intercepted by an octagonal middle, bearing medallions of lotus decorations on each face of the cube and plain-cut corbels.² These pillars are largely found in the east gopura—the main outer entrance into the temple; and one of them—the one on the right side as one enters—has on it the subjoined record inscribed in 14 lines of writing going round the pillar in the form of a spiral from top to bottom. Line 1 of the inscription begins on the south face of the upper cube and ends on the west. From line 2 which commences on the west, just below the lotus, and by the side of a creeper-device suggesting a branch of sprouts,³ the lines go on regularly descending so that the end of line 2 runs on to meet the commencement of line 3 on the west face until we reach line 14 on this face with which the inscription closes.

The alphabet is the usual Pallava-Grantha of the florid type used in the Rāmānuja-mañḍapa, the Gopāla temple and the Dharmarāja-ratha inscriptions,⁴ of Mahābalipuram, the Balipitha inscription of the Shore Temple in the same village⁵ and the Kailāsaṅkāṭha temple inscription at Conjeeveram.⁶ The writing is for the most part well preserved and could be completely deciphered with the exception of three or four syllables in line 2 and some doubtful letters in line 12. As regards palaeography it may be remarked that the initial vowels a and i

¹ The liṅga of the Vyághrapurtívara temple is plain and does not show the eight or sixteen facets which is one of the special features of the Śiva-liṅgas set up by the Pallava kings after Mahendravarman I.
² See Dubreuil's "Handbook of Dravidian Architecture," p. 33, fig. 25.
³ The name Pallava which happens to occur here is by tradition connected with a bed of sprouts; see South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 355.
⁴ Ep. Ind., Vol X, Plates 2, 3 and 4.
⁵ Annual Report on Epigraphy (Madras) for 1916, Plates I and II, between pages 112 and 113.
occur in II. 1, 2 and 10 and the Dravidian / in II. 3 and 4. The punctuation symbol used in the inscription is a triple vertical joined at the top, the component lines being often of varying lengths. Two other symbols of an ornamental type occur in line 9, evidently also being used as punctuations; but these are not quite distinct. In the matter of orthography, the use of the omuva and its change into the class-nasal in compound letters is generally correctly observed, e.g.—Aśīrāh in l. 1, Koṅkāri in line 3 and Skanda in l. 4. The doubling of consonants after a conjunct r occurs throughout. There is one mistake of spelling in rīta for śrūta (l. 10); and wrong sandhī in jiyā-s-ma for jiyān-s-ma (ibid.) and no sa khalu for nas-sa khalu (if my reading is correct in l. 11). In line 10 the form yuddha for yuddha is apparently a mistake of the scribe.

As stated in the Annual Report on Epigraphy (Madras) for 1909 the record is a very interesting one on account of the long list of Pallava names it supplies. When I drew up the report, I was not able to give the whole list, for want of time and a satisfactory estampage. Also the Vēḻūṟpāḷaiyam plates which give, though summarily, a similar list of names in the ancestry of the Pallavas, had not then been published, and consequently, the big list of the Vēḻūṟḷu record did not attract much attention. Thanks to the scholarly work of Professor Dubrenil in the field of South-Indian Epigraphical research and especially in the study of the Pallava dynasties, we now possess a full statement of the contents of this valuable inscription and its bearing upon Pallava chronology.

The Purānic names in the list from Brahma to Asoka (II. 1 and 2) are found in the Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla; and up to the eponymous Pallava, the-predecessor of Asoka, they are found also in the Kūrām plates of Paramēśvaravarman I and the Udayēndiram Plates. Among the names of other early kings which the Kāśākuḍi plates incidentally mention are those of Viṣṇuśimha and Viṣṇuśirasimha which do not find a place in the Vēḻūṟḷu list. The Vēḻūṟpāḷaiyam plates, which are later, give the Purānic names in the same order up to Asokavarman correctly, but after a gap supply us with the three names Kālabhāṛṣṭi, Chūṭapallava and Viṅkūṟcha in the order of father and son exactly as we find in l. 3 of our inscription. After these comes the name of Skandaśīhīya which does not figure in the Vēḻūṟḷu record. It looks, therefore, as if the authors of the Kāśākuḍi, Udayēndiram, and the Vēḻūṟpāḷaiyam plates, all of which are admittedly later than the Vēḻūṟḷu record, but not very much later, drew these stray names for airing their knowledge of early Pallava chronology purely from memory and were not always correct. The Vēḻūṟḷu record after mentioning Asoka gives eight names, viz., Hariṇjua, Bhūṭadatta, Sūryavarman, Viṣṇuṇgōpā, Dhritaka, Kaḷinda, Jyāmalla and Ripumalla which do not appear in the later grants. After these come the thirty-six names listed by Professor Dubrenil on p. 20 of his "Pallavas" with the small difference that the name Kōṅkaḷa is actually found on the estampage to be Koṅkaḷi.

Monsieur Dubrenil tries to attribute to the Vēḻūṟḷu list the credit of supplying a complete genealogical succession from even the time of the eponymous founder Pallava, including practically all the names mentioned in the Prākrit and the Sanskrit copper-plate grants hitherto discovered and in the later stone inscriptions. In doing this he finds many difficulties in his way but attempts to get over them by finding accidental coincidence in the order of the names. In Viṅkūṟcha, Skandaśīhīya, Kumāravāṣhū and Buddhavarman of the Vēḻūṟpāḷaiyam plates for instance, he finds coincidence with the set of names Nos. 29 to 32 (11 to 14) of the Vēḻūṟḷu.


\[^6\] Professor Dubrenil reads by mistake the two names Jyāmalla and Ripumalla as tyāmalla and Ekmallas, and Sūryavarman as Arvavarman (see his "Pallavas," p. 20).

\[^7\] Here and below, M. Dubrenil’s numbers are given in brackets.
list. Here, however, it has to be observed that Virakūrcha, whom Dubreuil selects as the first of
the ruling Pallava kings, perhaps from a statement made about him in the Vēḷūṟpāḷaiyam plates,
was the son of Chēṭapallava and grandson of Kāḷabhartṛi—thus corresponding to No. 23 (5)
of the Vāyāḷũr list and not to No. 29 (11). Also the three names that succeed this Virakūrcha
are Chandravarman, Karāḷa and Vishṇugōpa and not Skandaśishya, Kumāravishṇu and
Buddhavarman as Dubreuil puts it down. Again, his presumption that the Chendalūr plates
must be a copy of some ancient record, suits his purpose very well; since the inconvenient names
Skandavarman, Kumāravishṇu and Buddhavarman which these plates give, occur in that order
in Nos. 30, 31 and 32 (12, 13 and 14) of the Vāyāḷũr list; but here again he forgets that the
fourth name that occurs in the Chendalūr plates is a second Kumāravishṇu and not as is to be
expected No. 33 (15) Skandavarman of the Vāyāḷũr list. The partial coincidence in the
earlier Pallava names mentioned in the Vāyāḷũr list with those of the Chendalūr and the Vēḷūṟ-
pāḷaiyam plates serves no practical purpose and the agreement, if any, could be attributed only to
an accident by what we may call the kākatalītva-nyāya. It does not, therefore, give to the Vāyāḷũr
list any more completeness than what could be claimed for the Kāśakūḍi or the Vēḷūṟpāḷaiyam
accounts. Perhaps Dubreuil also, though he has not expressed himself clearly on this point,
meant the same thing when he said "we should not rely too much on the order of succession of
the kings given in the Vāyāḷũr inscription after Virakūrcha (11)."\footnote{1}

Passing on after 32 (14) Buddhavarman to eight other kings and in the interim identifying
Vishṇugōpa 37 (19) with Vishṇugōpa of Kāṭchi, the well-known Pallava (?), contemporary of
Samudragupta about the end of the 4th Century A.D., Professor Dubreuil says that from
Viravarman 41 (No. 23) the Vāyāḷũr inscription becomes trustworthy, evidently again in the
sense that it supplies a complete list of kings in the order of succession down to Rājasimha
Narasimhavarman II. This is also extremely doubtful. The Sanskrit grants even though we
may exclude the Chendalūr plates, which according to the Professor must be a copy of an older
inscription giving some early names that have to be placed before the time of Viravarman,
supply us with the names of only six kings whose succession in the order given below may be
taken as certain:—

Mahārāja Skandavarman I.

Virakūrcha or Viravarman.

Skandavarman II.

Simhavarman I.

Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa.

Simhavarman II.

Of these, the Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa may not have ruled. The information obtained
from the Udayēṇdiraṇa\footnote{2} and the Chūra\footnote{3} copper-plates, both of which are decidedly later by
reason of their paleography and are otherwise also untrustworthy, cannot be used, as has been
done by Professor Dubreuil, for the purpose of obtaining a continuous Pallava succession after
Simhavarman I or Simhavarman II. If this could be done, there is no reason why the names
Simhavarman, Nandivarman and Simhavishṇu which occur in the Amāravati pillar inscription
of about the 12th Century A.D.\footnote{4} should not be utilised for a similar purpose. Again, the
assumption, in the first place, of two simultaneously ruling families, one at Kāṭchi and the other
in the Telugu country, and in the second place, the statement that Simhavarman 43 (25) of the

Uruvapalli plates probably resumed possession of Kāṭchi are not founded on any sure ground. We very well know that the early Pallava kings while ruling at their capital Kāṭchi had their Viceroy at Dhāṅnakāḍa (Dhāṅnakāḍa) in the Telugu country. Why the later kings succeeding Skandavarman II should have chosen a different course of administration, dividing the kingdom between two ruling dynasties and why, even if this were so, the Vāyalur inscription whose definite purpose is to describe the ancestry of king Rājasimha-Narasimhavarman II of the Palakkada branch should go out of the way to include the names of the collateral Kāṭchi branch 43 to 46 (Nos. 25 to 28) which according to Professor Dubreuil was altogether unconnected with it, are questions that require to be explained satisfactorily before we could follow the theory of Professor Dubreuil postulating two separate dynasties simultaneously ruling in the Telugu country and in the Tṇḍa-manḍalū. Again, in the set of names enumerated one after the other from Nos. 43 to 50 (25 to 32), what authority does the Professor discover to presume that while the first four ruled in a given order, the second five (omitting the first of them) ruled, not after them as should be expected, but simultaneously with them? Do not these kings possibly stand to each other in the relation of father and son as the first and the last sets of names in the list suggest or again, as the partial coincidence in the order Viraṅkṛkṛ to Buddhavarman (Vēḷurpāḷaiyam plates) and full coincidence in Skandavarman to Nandivarman (Udayēndiram plates), indicate? In fact, therefore, the list of the names given by the Vāyalur inscription remains to be as indefinite as those supplied by the Kāṭchiṉu, Udayēndiram and the Vēḷurpāḷaiyam plates and there is not the least possibility of finding therein a succession list either whole or partial except after No. 49 (31) Simhavishnu, the father of Simhavishnu. Professor Dubreuil’s arguments are thus seen to be vitiated by wrong identifications and gratuitous assumptions and by his acceptance as genuine material of what still remains only tentative and requires further careful examination and scrutiny.

One positive and important result, however, derived from a study of the Vāyalur list, is that certain conclusions arrived at in my contribution on the Vēḷurpāḷaiyam plates require correction. The identification of Kāṭabhartri with Kāṇagopa on page 503 of the South-Indian Inscriptions, Volume II, is now untenable since both these names occur in the Vāyalur list as Nos. 21 and 28 (3 and 10); similarly, the identification of Chūṭapallava with Skandavarman and Viraṅkṛkṛ with Viravarman of the Pākira and the Māṅgaḍar grants cannot any more be upheld. The three kings Kāṭabhartri, Chūṭapallava and Viraṅkṛkṛ mentioned in the Vēḷurpāḷaiyam plates must be some traditionally very early kings of the Pallava family. Skandāśishya (possibly same as Skandavarman), Kumāravishnu and Buddhavarman, who are mentioned in order of succession next in the Vēḷurpāḷaiyam plates, do not find the same place in the Vāyalur list.

There must evidently be a mistake due to the carelessness of the author of the Vēḷurpāḷaiyam plates in describing the relationship of Skandāśishya to Viraṅkṛkṛ. Perhaps these three kings also must have been some forgotten old kings with whom the later genealogy derived from the Sanskrit copper-plate grants cannot be connected. Consequently, the probable period of about the middle of the 4th century or thereabouts for kings Simhavarman and his son Skandavarman, who, one after another, were crowned on their thrones by Āryavarman and Mādhavavarman II of the Western Gaṅga dynasty and the beginning of the 7th century fixed for Mahēndravarman I, the author of the rock-cut shrines of South India, must remain still as the only two milestones in Pallava chronology.

The two verses recorded in lines 9 to 14 of the inscription are respectively in the Vasanatatilakā and the Saṅgharāṣ metres and are rather corrupt. They give the king the already known titles Rājasimha, Kāṭastrasimha, Yuddhārjuna, Ayyantavāma, Śrīmēgha, Mahāmalla, Rānapaya and Śrīndhi. The adjunct परिवालितविविधताज्ञ: which occurs in these verses and which, literally rendered, means ‘one whose diadem shines with the head-jewel, viz. Mahēśvara (Siva),’ is rather perplexing. Comparing this with titles like Śivachūḍāmaṇi etc.
and the verse वस्त्रमारणिकाः, etc. which occurs in the South-Indian Inscriptions, Volume I, Nos. 18 and 19 (v. 3) and चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः, etc. in ibid., Nos. 21 and 22 (v. 2)—all with reference to king Rājasimha—it looks as if the king did actually wear a figure of Śiva or rather his symbol, the linga, on his head. This fact is evidently also hinted in the verse गृहधर्मोम्भोज्यामन्त्रं विद्वीर्याय i.e. (ibid., No. 33, v. 2), which refers to the conversion of the Pallava king Mahendravarma I Gupta from Jainism to Śaivism. Again, v. 4 of No. 34 in the same volume speaks of “Śiva fixed in the mind, being worn on the head.” All these references clearly point to the existence of a linga-cult long before the revival of the Vira-Śaiva faith under the auspices of the famous Kālachuri minister Basava (Chennakesava) in which the wearing of the linga plays a prominent part. Again, the sense of the two verses, particularly that of the second, is such that it suggests the occasion for the engraving of this record to be the accession of king Rājasimha to the throne. This, if it were so meant, would indeed have been a fitting opportunity to eulogise his many acts of heroism, charity and piety, and to proclaim to all subjects his assumption of power over his hereditary dominions.

**TEXT.**

1 बहुमुखी [कृष्ण] मुख्यति: म महर्षिण: म विद्वीर्याय: म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः म गृहधर्मोम्भोज्यामन्त्रं विद्वीर्याय [म]*

2 पवमः म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः म घुंटिम: म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः...

3 [कः] [म] [क] किंवत्: म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः...

4 म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः...

5 म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः...

6 म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः...

7 म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः...

8 म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः...

9 म चित्तवत्सलायुष्यः...

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1 Direct from the stone.

2 This symbol which is evidently intended as a mark of punctuation is followed by another which is rather complicated. It is seen on the facsimile plate thong indistinctly.
THE VAYALUR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF RAJASIMHA II.

10 यत् चतुर्सिद्ध तत् विविभक्तस्य कौशलः \[1\] जीवायते युक्तिनिः शरीरिंहि निःशरीरिः

11 या समीय[1] च शुचः \[2\] लोकनरद्राः सिन्धः \[3\] \[4\] योः पाराशक्रविः

12 नकामः 

13 दोतमहामहासिंहः \[5\] प्रजानां रक्ष[१]देवानिधिकार वर्जः रक्षायः \[6\] निः

14 निहोपलमु

TRANSLATION.

1. Brahman.
2. Aṅgiras.
4. Śānīyā.
5. Bharadvāja.
6. Drāṣṭā.
7. Āsvatthāman.
8. Pallava.
12. Śūryavarman.
13. ... .
15. Dhrītaka.
17. Jyāmalla.
18. Ripumalla.
19. Vimala.
22. Cētāpalava.
23. Viṅkūrcha.
24. Chandravarman.
25. Karāla.
27. Skandamala.
29. Viṅkūrcha.
30. Skandavarman.
31. Kūmaravīshṇu.
32. Buddhavarman.
33. Skandavarman.
34. Kūmaravīshṇu.
35. Buddhavarman.
36. Skandavarman.
37. Viśnu-gopa.
38. Viśnudāsa.
39. Skandavarman.
40. Sīmahavarman.
41. Viṅkūrcha.
42. Skandavarman.
43. Sīmahavarman.
44. Skandavarman.
45. Nandivarman.
46. Sīmahavarman.
47. Sīmahavarman.
48. Viśnu-gopa.
49. Sīmahavarman.
50. Sīmahavīṣṇu.
51. Mahēndravarman.
52. Narasimhavarman.
53. Mahēndravarman.
54. Paramesvara-varman.

1 Read विविधः. 2 Read जीवायते. 3 Read शरीरिः निःशरीरिः.
4 It is difficult to rectify this corrupt passage. जीविः is perhaps a mistake for शरीरिः and निःशरीरिः corrected into शरीरिः
5 perhaps stands for शरीरिः, an ocean. Among the numerous titles of Rājaśīhā given in the Conjeeveram inscriptions the only one which ends in castra is Udayachandра. [Analogy with परिमाणः जामः : and the epithets like अवळयकरः, चांगळापदा and उदयाचंद्राय would suggest that the reading might be जीविः जामः का[न्तिः अवळयकरः चांगळापदा उदयाचंद्राय] — Ed.]
6 This is again corrupt. Metrically one long and one short syllables are wanting.
(Ll. 9 to 11.) Be he victorious, the royal lion (Rājasimha) on the top of the chief mountain of the glorious Pallava race, whose spotless fame as the lion of warriors (Kṣatrasimha) is widely known, whose crown is resplendent with the crest-jewel, viz. Mahēśvara (Śiva), the lion among lords of kings (Narōdrasimha) of the whole earth, and an Arjuna in battle (Yuddhārjuna).

(Ll. 11 to 14.) May he exercise the royal prerogative and take up the vow of administering (his) subjects up to the extremities of his kingdom, as even to include the thousand-islands, he, who is known by the name "the great wrestler" (Mahāmalla) on account of his (skill in) hand-to-hand fight, who is excessively devoted (Atyantakāma) ever to serve at the pair of the lotus-feet of Śambhu (Śiva), who is the blessed cloud (Śrī-Mēgha) that makes the mass of crops, the Brahmins, prosperous, who is the Moon to the ocean of (his) race, "the victorious in battle" (Raṇajaya) and "the storehouse of prosperity" (Śrīnidhi)!

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NO. 19.—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION ON A WOODEN PILLAR FROM KIRARI.

By Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L.

Kirari is a small village in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It lies some ten miles to the west of Chandarpur and about twenty miles to the south-east of Kharsia, which leads to the Jogmarā cave, so well known for its very ancient fresco-paintings as well as early Brāhmi inscriptions. The river Mahānadi flows some four miles to the south of it. Outside this village there lies a large and old tank called Hirābandh which is rather an embankment meant to collect the overflowing rain water at the time of floods. Owing to draught this tank had dried up and in April 1921 the agriculturists of the village began digging its bed to throw the fertilizing silt over their fields. On the 29th or 30th of that month they hit upon a wooden pillar which they removed from the mud and placed in the sun, not knowing the disservice they were doing thereby to the cause of Indian Epigraphy for, the moment the pillar began to dry a good deal of its surface peeled off carrying with it the major portion of the invaluable record which was incised on the pillar. Noticing that the pillar bore some letters on it some of the villagers called their Pandit, named Lakshminarasāḍa Upādhyāya, to see if he could read the writing. Failing to make it out he very carefully took an eye-copy of all the letters which he noticed on the pillar at the time of his arrival, not omitting even the faintest traces of a letter over it. Apparently, he was not aware how the record ran, which side came first or which was the top or bottom of the letters. Like a true copyist he wrote out each line separately on sheets of paper available to him at the time according to the maxim of writers:

यायम् पुरस्कृतं हन्त ताद्यथा लिखितं मया ।
यदि शहस्वं वा मम दौष्टो न विचाते ॥

1 This is a doubtful translation of the word डीपलख. I propose to take it as an aṣayābhara deriving it डीप वर्जने वाधित स्वभावास्य (which H. S.) If this interpretation is correct, it shows that the Pallava rule must have extended in the time of Rājasimha even to the distant islands in the ocean. The word डीपलख may also be corrected into डीपलखाय in which case we may translate "up to the thousand islands."

Could there be a reference by ḍheṣṭci in the word डीपलख to the Laccadive Islands called वसवित्र? The exact relation that might have then existed between the Pallava king Rājasimha and the Laccadive Islands has nowhere been found. In this connection it may not be out of place to point out that Dr. Vogel in his learned contribution on the Yupa inscriptions of king Mūlavarman from Koetzl (Sao-Borneo) (Nederlandsch-Indië, 1918, p. 192) asks:—"Supposed the powerful Pallava princes of Kāśipura had equipped armadas and carried their arms to the remote shores of Champa and Java, may we not assume that their conquests on the far side of the ocean would have been extolled in their prastatis with no less effusion than we find lavished on their victories over the Chalukyas?" Here we have, though not a prastati, at least a significant hint that the Pallava dominion was ambitious enough to extend to the distant islands.
so often found at the end of the manuscript copies of Sanskrit books. How faithful his copy is can be judged from the facsimile of the mechanical impressions of the portions which were copied when I first inspected the pillar in 1921 and which were still intact when I again examined it in 1924 at the Nagpur Museum. Comparison will show that the eye-copy can be taken as quite trustworthy in the case of the portions which are now lost for ever. The fact that the copyist did not even understand which side represented the top and which the bottom of the lettering precludes the suspicion of forgery altogether. How he succeeded in bringing out the shapes of the letters accurately is, I think, due to the little knowledge of drawing which he possessed and to his intelligence. But as the fact remains that those portions of the epigraph do not exist now, we would naturally feel hesitant to draw large conclusions from the hand-copy. The Pandit took a copy of not less than 349 aksharas whereas at the time of my first inspection the pillar had not more than 60 or 70 letters and now not more than 30 or 40 including the traces of vowel marks. The Pandit’s eye-copy was handed over to my draftsman at the time of my visit to Kirāri and I have used it in preparing the comparative facsimile plate as well as in reading the lost portion for which it was the only source now to depend upon.

The find was next brought to the notice of Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya of Balpur, a village attached to the Chandarpur Post Office, not very far off from Kirāri. He promptly brought it to the notice of Sir John Marshall under whose instructions the pillar was immersed in water in a tank at Kirāri where it lay till it was finally removed to the Government Museum at Nagpur after being very carefully treated chemically for the preservation of the writing on it. The Museum authorities have now cut it into two parts, one of which, i.e., the upper portion, they have placed in a glazed case, accommodating the other in an outer verandah of the Museum. The former still shows not less than twenty-two continuous letters more or less distinctly, while the latter retains traces of lettering here and there and some three or four complete aksharas as well. The fate of the lower portion cannot fail to remind us of the all powerful law of nature which permits the survival of the fittest only!

As has been stated above, the pillar is wooden and measures about 13' 9" from top to bottom. It is surmounted by a solid kalaśa which is about 1' 2" high. The kalaśa has a narrow neck, a broad and almost flat mouth, the body being more elliptical than round. I am reproducing here two of the photographs which were taken at the time of my inspection during 1921 to replace further description of this interesting find. The surface of the pillar has badly flaked and I cannot positively say if it was shaped into facets and planed, at least at the middle, for writing the inscription. The lower portion, in all probability, must have been left unshaped, as it was meant for insertion in the ground. I got a few chips of the pillar examined and am told that the tree of which it was made belongs to the order of Leguminosae papilionaceae and its botanical name is Pterocarpus marsupium, the Hindi name being Bijā Sāl. This tree gives a handsome and useful timber of Central India and is almost as good as teak.

This find, I believe, is the first of its kind yet made in India. So far some four sacrificial posts have been found in this country and perhaps a similar number in Koetei in the Indian Archipelago. All these have recently been noticed by Dr. Vogel in his paper on the Yūpa Inscriptions of king Mūlavarmman. They are all of stone and appear to be memorial yūpas for, sacrificial yūpas, as would be shown by the terms yūpa-dru, yūpa-druma or yūpa-dāru, were usually made of wood. Possibly these were put up instead of the wooden pillars or yūpas and were their exact copies in stone. A close comparison of the illustrations of these pillars and of the one represented on the aśvamētha coins of Samudragupta the Great, with the photograph of the Kirāri pillar, herein reproduced, will show that the latter cannot be a yūpa or sacrificial prat. The description given of a yūpa in the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa would point towards the same inference
According to this authority the shaft of a yūpa, except for the lower portion, should be octagona and bent at the top. At the same time a yūpa is distinguished by a head-piece or top-ring (cha. shāla) and marked by a girdle rope (raṣaṇa) which winds round it. The Kirār pillar reveals none of these characteristics. Taking it for granted that all the eight corners and the 17 cloths with which, according to this authority, a sacrificial post is to be wrapped or bound, have disappeared, we cannot account for the absence of the hollow at the top and the disagreement in height which ought to be 17 cubits in the case of a yūpa. But as the Brāhmaṇa gives different heights for different purposes and says that “the sacrificial stake of the (ordinary) animal sacrifice is either three or four cubits long and one above that belongs to the Sōma sacrifice” we cannot depend on the length of the pillar for its identification. That it cannot be a yūpa or pillar connected with animal sacrifice will be shown by a reference to Patañjali who in his Mahābhāṣya clearly puts down that a yūpa must be made of either Bulea (Egle marmelos) or Khadira (Acacia catechu)—

“श्लोकः बांधौ व ग्रुपः स्थात्” इत्युपचितः। गुप्त नाम पशुसूक्तमर्मांस्पोषायते।
शकं च अन्नन्य मक्खिचितेव काष्ठस्मृतानुस्मृत्वा वायुस्वयम्। तद्र नियमः क्रियते।”

As I have already stated, the Kirār pillar is made neither of Egle marmelos nor of Acacia catechu but of Pterocarpus marsupium. In the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, however, it is stated that 21 yūpas were erected at the time when a horse sacrifice or Asvamedha was performed by Daśaratha. Out of these six were made of Bulea (Egle marmelos), six of Khadira (Acacia catechu), six of Palāśa (Butea frondosa), one of Śīśṭhmātaka (Cordia Myxa or Latifolia) and two of Dévadārū (Avaria longifolia and Erythroxylon sideroxylodes or Pinus deodar). Including the one added by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary we find that the pillar under examination cannot come within the category of yūpas as far as the tree of which it is made is concerned. In other words the Kirār pillar cannot be connected with any animal sacrifice (pātu-anubandha) on the authority of Vālmiki and Patañjali at least. The description given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is not free from confusion and if we follow it, I think, the Kirār pillar might be connected with the Vaiśāpīya rites. The top portion does not provide a very convenient seat for the householder to occupy at the time he has to hold a dialogue with his wife in reference to their mounting to heaven. Still, as we learn from the Brāhmaṇa, in

\[\text{Footnotes:}\]
1 Śatapatha Br. S.B.E., Vol. XI, p. 31, and Vol. XXIV, p. 124. The height of a sacrificial stake has to vary, for the Brāhmaṇa says: “When he who is about to perform an animal sacrifice makes a stake one cubit long, he thereby gains this (terrestrial) world; and when he makes one two cubits long, he thereby gains the air world; and when he makes one three cubits long, he thereby gains the heavens; and when he makes one four cubits long, he thereby gains the regions.”

2 Adhyāya I, Pāda I, Āhnika I.
3 I, 14, st. 22—25.
4 Under the word राम्य and in reference to the Rāmāyaṇa he has brought in one yūpa of Udumbha (Ficus glomerata) saying 6 of Bulea, 6 of Khadira, 6 of Palāśa, one of Udumbha, one of Śīśṭhmātaka and one of Dévadārū. The text would not support this division for, it makes no mention of the Udumbha yūpa. It runs as follows:—

\[\text{Prāya pūrṇaśānta prājñā bāndha śānta śāntamakṣa.}

�वन्यविबंधका सुविनुष्ठ तथा वर्षे।

त्वश्च भुक्तवश्च नेवरा संहंकान्तया।

दशीव तत् धृष्टिः वायुस्वयमिव।”

The words drāvēca as explained by the commentator Rāma (drāma dvedrūmasaṇa cintāna) mean two of Lirādār and make no room for Udumbha. Possibly Mon. Williams had another edition before him.

5 See S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 31, and footnotes, etc.; also Barnett’s Antiquities of India, p. 167, and references given above.
Wooden pillar with a Brahmi Inscription from Kirari.
A — complete.

B — Upper portion (detail).

Hirananda Sastri.

Scale three-fourths.  Survey of India, Calcutta.
some cases he has to ascend a yūpa by a ladder, touch the mortar-shaped top-piece made of wheaten dough, rise by the measure of his head over the post and descend after performing certain rites. Our pillar could serve such a purpose very well. But here we should remember that Vājapēya is one of the several Śoma sacrifices which kings or Brāhmaṇas have to offer before celebrating the Rājastūya and the Brihaspatisava. Why should a sacrificer select a thing connected with a rite which is after all a minor one as compared to the principal Yajña and write a large inscription on it giving the names of very high officials such as this pillar bears? To solve such a question satisfactorily one would like to explore the site where the pillar was unearthed and see if any vestiges of some other sacrifice or sacrifices are to be found there.

The association of a reservoir or tank (Hirābandh) might suggest this pillar to be an ordinary tank-pillar, such as we see erected in the midst of tanks in the Central Provinces or elsewhere. But then, we have to remember that such columns are generally of stone. Besides, there would be no reason why such an important record should be incised on it mostly to remain hidden under water. Another likelihood may be that it was a jayastambha or column of victory, but there too, looking at the position of the personage responsible for its setting up and of the officers connected with him, it will be quite reasonable to expect a more permanent and dignified material than an ordinary bija tree of which the pillar is made. The other alternative would be that it was a dhvajastambha or a flagstaff connected with some temple for, that may be made of stone or wood, circular, sixteen- or eight-sided and shaped like a kumbha (pot) at the middle or at the beginning. Its height varies according to its nature. The emblem (vāhana) of the god to whom it is dedicated is to be put on it together with the banner cloth (dhvaja-pata). Such an assumption would naturally suggest the existence of some structure close by and until we find any traces of it we are not in a position to call the pillar a dhvajastambha. Whether it is a post connected with the Vājapēya or similar rites or a dhvajastambha, the fact remains that it is a unique find yet made in India.

The writing on this pillar very closely resembles that of the Nāsik cave inscriptions. Leaving aside other symbols the one for khi is particularly noteworthy. In the two impressions reproduced here this is represented by the fifth letter while in the Nāsik cave inscriptions it is to be seen in the word dhamarakhita though in another word, i.e., in bhikhusanghāsa, it is written in a different manner. Regarding the age, I am to remark that on palaeographic grounds the record is to be assigned to about the second century of the Christian era. The extant portion shows no trace of any date in it. It is chiefly on account of its age that this relic of the past possesses considerable epigraphical value for, early Brāhmaṇi inscriptions are rather very rare. As an historical document, however, one will be sorry to find that whatever importance it had originally is now irretrievably lost with the portion that has peeled off. What we may now surmise from the nature of the contents as they are at present is that the inscription must have been connected with some mighty ruler of a very high rank who had a well-organized staff of officers such as the Commander-in-Chief, the Accountant, the Treasurer, etc., etc.

The language in which the document is couched is Prakrit, or one might call it corrupt Sanskrit prose. It is like the language of the Nāsik inscriptions alluded to above.

As to the nature of its contents I am to observe that the record now mostly consists of official titles or designations and the names of some of the individuals who must have held them.
Such of the designations as are practically certain together with the names of a few of the incumbents as are still intact or can be made out are these: **Nagararakhina** (city-guard or police-inspector) named Virapâlita and Chiragôhaka; **Sênapati** (commander of army) named Bama'déya (l. 1, estampage and eye-copy); **Pratihâra** (door-keeper) named Khipatî; **Gañaka** (accountant) called Hëasi, a Nâga; **Gâhapatîya** (= gâhapatîya, keeper of the household fires) named Gharika; **Bhândâkagârikâ** (store-keeper) called Asahîhî; **Hâthârûha** (= hastyûrûha or? the king’s elephant-driver); **Âsvârûha** (horseman, perhaps Superintendent of horses); **Pâdamûlikâ** (temple attendant); **Rathika** (possibly the Superintendent of chariots); **Mahânasika** (kitchen-officer), (l. ii, estampage and eye-copy); **Hathivaka** (= hastiûpaka, perhaps Superintendent of elephants); **Dhâvaka** (fore-runner); **Saûgandhikâ** (= saûgandhikâ, officer in charge of perfumery ?); **Gômaandilika** (= gômaandilika, or officer in charge of cows or cattle ?); **Yânasâlâyudhagharika** (officer in charge of carriage-shed and armory); **Palavithidaka** (= vâ-pâlilika, Inspector of meat-stalls); **Lêkhabhâraka** (= lêkhabhâraka, letter-carrier); **Kulaputraka** (perhaps chief architect); and **Mahâsênâni** or Commander-in-Chief (l. 4). It is interesting to observe here in passing that these designations do not fail to remind us of the several functionaries like Ûsvâ hyaksha, Hastûdhya-ksha, Rathûdhyaksha mentioned in the **Arthakâstra** of Kaûtyâya. As I have already remarked above the mention of all such persons of rank would show that our pillar must have been set up in connection with some extraordinary ceremony performed by a very high personage who was, in all probability, not less than a great king of renown, whose name is now cast into oblivion but, perhaps, would have been preserved had photographs or mechanical copies been carefully taken the moment this important relic of the hoary past was dug out. In line 4 of the eye-copy there is a name which comes after the title of Mahâsênâni and reads like *Sîtha(dhâ)rajâ*. A few letters after it we have a word which reads *putasa* (putrasya), and then comes a verb which may be taken to be *arpayati*. This might indicate that the pillar was in some way connected with Sîtha or his son. The proper names of some of the officers, which are fully preserved on the pillar, like Khipatî or Hëasi are, apparently, non-Sanskritic. The latter, i.e., Hëasi, is distinctively called a Nâga or a member of the Serpent tribe. Possibly these people were non-Aryan or aboriginal.

The portions of the two lines which were copied at the time of my first inspection and are represented in the facsimiles may be transcribed as follows:—

**No. 1.**
*(Part of Line 1.)*

**Text.**

Nagar[a]rakhino V[i]rapa(ñjita)-Ch[i]ragohaka-[Sênapatidêva].

**Remarks.**—Nagararakhinâ possibly stands for nagara-rakkhinâ and means the two guardians of the city or police-officers. These were named Virapâlita and Chiragôhaka. The first is more an attribute than a proper name. The second looks to be of non-Sanskritic origin. The name of the Sênapati or commander of the army is not certain but might have been Deva.¹

¹ See footnote 2 on page 137.

² *Pâdamûlikâ* is a derivative of *pâdamûla* which occurs both in Sanskrit (see Kielhorn’s note in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVII, p. 232) and Tamil inscriptions (see S. I. L., Vol. III, p. 138 n. and p. 230) apparently in the sense of a temple attendant—one attached to the feet (of the god). It frequently occurs in the Jâtakas. From the *Parantaka Jâtaka* (Jâtaka, Vol. III, p. 417, lines 2 and 3) it would appear that *pâdamûlicas* were associated with *parûhitas* for it says *devi esa parûhitam ca Parntapam nâmâh pâdamûlakâm ca gahišc, etc.* In this inscription the term comes after the word *devatrâhaka*, which reminds us of *deva-thâmis*. So the word seems to signify a priestly attendant or one whose function is to attend to the feet (i.e., worship) god or do such duties.

Brahmi Inscription on a wooden pillar from Kirari.

(From impressions).

Hirananda Sastri.

Scale one-fourth.

Survey of India, Calcutta.
No. 2.

(PART OF LINE 2.)

Text.

P[r]jati[hā]ra-Khipati[t]i-gaṇakā(a)—Nāgō(a)-Hēasi-gāhapātiya-Gharika-bh[a]dak(g)āri[ka].

Remarks.—The first word is certainly prathāra which means door-keeper. The second word may read vaipatti signifying good foot soldier but comparison with the Nāsik cave inscription, referred to above, would show that it must be read as Khipati. The conjunct t is partly visible in the impression but clear on the eye-copy. What follows must be gaṇaka. Had the preceding word been vaipatti one could take it, in reference to the Kirātārjunīya (XV. 16), in the sense of 'an officer whose chief function is to muster the infantry or superior foot-soldiers.' But I prefer to read the first akshara as khi and would take gaṇaka in the sense of 'accountant'. The word that follows, i.e., Nāga, indicates the tribe to which Hēasi belonged. Hēasi is apparently an aboriginal term. Gāhapātiya I would connect with the word Gārhapatya and translate as the keeper of the household or gārhapaty fire. Gharika must have been the name of this officer and is perhaps an apaḥravista of gṛihika (‘) as is gharīṣṭa, the Pāli form of gṛhiṣṭa. The word that follows is certainly the equivalent of Sanskrit bhūdaṇārika and means 'store-keeper.'

Now I give a transcript of the eye-copy, as far as I have been able to make it out, for what it is worth, or rather to satisfy a curiosity. In the facsimiles the impressions of the existing portions of the epigraph and the whole of the eye-copy are reproduced. The paper used by the Pandit was of a small size. So lines could not be brought out in their full length. Taking the entire lines into consideration, the inscribed portion of the pillar measures about 8 feet and the eye-copy appropriately supplies 4 of the actual size of the letters on it. The text given below follows the order in which Pandit Lakshmi Prasad copied the inscription.

Text.

(Line 1.) Naga[rā]-rajkhipo-V[1]rap[ā]llita Chirag[ō]hakē Se[n]āpa[i]-[Dē]va bama[dē]-yādhi...g...naḥavasa[b]hathī bama[dē]yikama...sa paṭalī...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...i...
No. 29.—THREE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM KOSAM.

BY DAYA RAM SAINI, M.A., Rai Bahadur.

The three inscriptions discussed in this paper were discovered by me in the cold weather of 1921-22 when I was engaged on the preliminary operations connected with the re-erection of the ancient pillar in the ruined fort at Kosam, District Allahabad. These inscriptions were found in the villages in the vicinity of Kosam and I am glad to say that at my request the owners have presented all the three records to the Archaeological Department and they have been placed as exhibits on loan in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Along with these inscriptions I was fortunate enough to bring to light a fourth inscription of the time of king Jayachandra of Kanauj which furnishes final corroboration of General Cunningham's identification of the remains at Kosam with the ancient city of Kausambi. This inscription is being dealt with in a separate article.

The impressions reproduced in this paper have been supplied by Mr. Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Inscription No. I.

This epigraph is incised on a stone slab measuring 2' 10$rac{1}{4}$" high, 1' wide and 2$rac{1}{4}$" in thickness. The stone was fixed in the parapet of a well in the village of Masurfa situated about a mile and a half to the north-west of the stone pillar at Kosam. The inscription is engraved on the front face of the slab and consists of fourteen lines. Each line consists of five to seven aksharas except the last line which probably contained only three characters, now mostly defaced. For the rest, the epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation. The inscription is written in Brahmi characters which closely resemble the alphabet used in the inscriptions of the Mahâkshatrapa Śodāsâ, like which it is drawn up throughout in pure Prâkrit. The inscription is not dated, nor does it mention the name of the ruler of the time. The object of the document is to record the erection of a stone railing (vâdiha) by a certain householder named Gotiputâ, son of Kusâpâ and grandson of Vâri who was a caravanserai-merchant and a votary of Mañjibhadra. The inscription begins with a salutation to a certain Bhagavat whose name unfortunately is not given and ends with the wish that "the deity may be pleased". Here too, unfortunately, the name of the deity is not given or, if it was, it has been destroyed in the last line of the inscription. The traces left on the stone, however, seem to favour the reading 'Bhagavâ'. We are thus left to guess the identity of this god. I am inclined to think that it was the Yaksha Mañjibhadra, the favourite deity of the grandfather of the donor. We know from other records that this deity enjoyed extensive worship in ancient times. The inscription is silent as to the purpose for which the stone balustrade mentioned in it was intended. Probably it surrounded some sacred monument such as an image of the deity Mañjibhadra, a pillar, a chaitya or some sacred tree. The stone on

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3 Vide A. S. R., 1915-16, Pt. II, pp. 104 ff. and Mr. Ramprasad Chanda's Paper entitled Four Ancient Yaksha Statues published in the University of Calcutta, Anthropological Papers, No. 3. [For the dhyâana of Mañjibhadra see Vikramadityaśatakam II., 73, 13.—Ed.]

4 Cf. vēśāka yakṣā ca kārītā "the rai pattern and the yakṣā have been ca. H.e. to be made," engraved above the image of a yakṣa in Cave No. 18 at Nasik (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 93, No. 2.)
which the inscription is engraved must have been one of the posts of the railing, the back portion of which was cut away in later times.

TEXT.

1 Namō Bhagavatē
2 satavahāsa
3 Manibhadasa
4 gahapatikasā
5 Ejayati-putasā
6 Vrisas-putō gahapatikō
7 Seliyā-puto
8 Kusapālo nāma
9 taśa putea
10 gahapatikāna
11 ṇgotiputēna
12 aśikāyaṃ kāritā
13 vēdiṃ piyataṃ
14 [Bhaṭava].

TRANSLATION.

"Salutation to the Blessed One! [There was a certain person] named Kusapāla, a householder, the son of Seliyā, (and) the son of Vāri, a caravan-merchant, (and) householder, the son of Ejayati. (and) a votary of Maṇibhadra. By his (Kusapāla's) son ṇgotiputa, a householder, this railing of stone was caused to be made. May [the Blessed One] be pleased!"

Inscription No. II.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab, measuring 2' 3½ × 1' 10½ × 3' in thickness, which is broken into two pieces across the width. The top and the bottom are irregularly broken and it is difficult to say for what purpose the stone was originally intended. The existing portion of the inscription consists of five lines, measuring 17" to 21" in length. The inscription is incomplete. The first line is undoubtedly the beginning of the document but how many lines are lost at the end owing to the peeling off of the surface it is impossible to say. The surviving portion of the record is in a bad state of preservation. The left halves of the first three lines have completely disappeared, while several letters in the beginning of the 4th line are damaged. The characters are Brāhmī of the Gupta period and the language Sanskrit. The document was engraved on the 1st day of the 2nd fortnight of a certain year which is broken off in the beginning of the 2nd line, in the reign of a certain Mahārāja the illustrious Śivamāṭha. This prince is not known from any other source as yet, and it is impossible to say to what dynasty he belonged. Then follow the words "On this occasion" after which we notice the names of certain individuals preceded by their fathers' names. These persons probably did some meritorious work which was recorded in this inscription, but its fragmentary condition prevents our making out what the nature of this work was.

TEXT.

1 [Mahā]ra(a)jasya śri-Śivama(ē)ghasya sa[maṃvatsa]ra...
2 . . . . [varsha pīkasē] 2 divaśe pa(pra)thamē ē[taṃyān]
3 [pūrvvāyān*] . . . kasya Sa[m]karava(ba)la p . . .
4 dāv[isht]haka[sya Śamanaka]-putrasa ḍharakasa [Nam]dava(ba)la-putra . . . na
5 kasya [D]amanaka-putrasa ḍharakasa [Ya]sava(ba)la-putrasa Kukkasā []**

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2 This word is engraved between the 5th and 6th lines.

Gōtiṃtopa (Sanskrit Gōtiṃtopa) is here undoubtedly a proper name. We find the word used in other inscriptions both as a metronymic and as a proper name (cf. Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, Nos. 663, 681 and 682).

Aśikā-āśikā corresponds to the Sanskrit aśmikā, the saddhita form of aśma.
Inscription No. III.

The slab bearing this inscription was secured from the village of Hasanābād close to the ancient remains of Kosam. It was lying near a well and would appear to have been used for sharpening tools and other utilitarian purposes. The slab is rounded at the top and a portion of it is broken off at the bottom. Its present dimensions are 2' 10" in height and the same in width, the thickness being only 3". Only four lines of the inscription now remain in the upper round portion of the stone, but that originally the record covered some more space of the slab is obvious from the traces of aksharas which have survived in the rest of the defaced surface. The characters are similar to those of inscription No. II, like which the record is composed in Sanskrit. The only information of any interest obtainable from the inscription is the name of the ruler which on the analogy of the ruler’s name in the preceding epigraph has been read as Mahārāja Śrī-Bhadram[eśha]. It is gratifying to note that in this inscription it is possible to make out the date with a considerable degree of certainty and it is the 5th day of the 3rd fortnight of the rainy season in the year 88. The era unfortunately is not given but if, as seems likely, it was the Gupta era, the corresponding Christian year would be 407 A.D. This, however, is a mere conjecture. Śivamēgha mentioned in Inscription No. II and Bhadram[eśha] of the present inscription presumably belonged to the same dynasty about which we at present know nothing more.

TEXT.

1 . . Mahārājašya śrī-Bhadram[eśhasya]
2 [Saṃvatsa]rā 80 s varṣa pākṣa 3 divaṣa 5
3 . . . . . . . . sya Śamarasya(? ) putra Him[i]āgana
4 . . . . . ayayādāvardāral.

No. 21.—TWO COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF KRISHNADEVARAYA.

BY THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, AND K. AMRITA RAO, M.A., MADRAS.

The two inscriptions edited below are engraved upon two sets of copper-plates belonging to the Rāmānuja Vaṣiṇī temple at Śrīraṅgam. They are edited for the first time from impressions prepared under the supervision of one of us.

A.—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1436.

This record (No. 23 of the Madras Epigraphist’s Copper-plate Collection for 1905-06) is engraved upon three plates, which are strung together on a ring which bears a circular seal. On the seal are shaped in half relief a boar, the sun and the moon—the usual Vijayanagara emblems. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third are left without writing, and the rims of the plates are raised. The writing is consequently very well preserved. The plates are numbered with the Telugu-Kannada numerals 1, 2 and 3 engraved on the second side of the first, and on the first side of the second and third plates respectively, to the right of the ring-hole.

The alphabet in which the epigraph is written is Nandinīgari, and the language Sanskrit. At the end of the inscription is the word Śrī-Virūpākṣha, the sign-manual of the king, written in the Telugu-Kannada alphabet. The inscription almost always employs the anusvāra, wherever the nasals have to be used. The t in conjunct consonants is usually doubled unnecessarily, as in prattyās in ll. 4 and 52, in kṛttiṣā in ll. 28 and 44, in vajādhīḍē in ll. 45, in avartiṣā in ll. 55, in itiṣuṣṭo in ll. 60, ityādi in ll. 62 and itīṣa in ll. 65. There occur also omissions of letters in some places, due to the carelessness of the engraver, e.g., t in viṇādatt in

1 My attention has been kindly drawn to the existence of the first ḍa in this word by Mr. H. Krishna Sastrī. The meaning of the compound is uncertain. It may perhaps be interpreted as ārṣa-yaḍava-dārāḥ, the wife of the noble Yadava, who ever he was.
Three Brahmi Inscriptions from Kosam.

No. I.

No. II.

No. III.

H. Krishna Sastri

SCALE THREE-EIGHTHS

Survey of India, Calcutta.
The record is dated S. 1436, which corresponds to the cyclic year Bhāva, in the reign of Krishnadeva-Mahārāja of Vijayanagara. In this year, on a Wednesday which coincided with the Gō-dvādaśī tīthi in the month Kārttika, the nakṣatra for that day being Bhranī, the king granted the village of Eṣṇakudjī to the Brāhmaṇa Allās-Bhaṭṭa. Regarding this date the Hon’ble Mr. L. D. Swamināran Pillai, Dewan Bahadur, writes:

"S. 1436, Bhāva, Wednesday, Gō-dvādaśī-tīthi in the month Kārttika, Bhranī nakṣatra. Āśvina Sukla Dvādāśī is called Gō-dvādaśī (Ind. Ephemeris, p. XIX); but in A.D. 1514-15=S. 1436, Bhāva, Āśvina Śr. 12 fell on Saturday, 30th September, 1514, and the nakṣatra was Śatābhisaj. The day intended was probably Mārgaśira Śr. 12, Wednesday, 28th November, A.D. 1514, when the nakṣatra was Bhranī."

The name Gō-devaḍaśi occurs in other documents also. We meet with it, for instance, in the ancient record of the Āy chieftain, Vikramāditya Vāragūpa (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, p. 192); what observances are there on this particular devaḍaśi is not known. On the date specified the king Krishnadevara, being in the presence of the god Vīrāṇa in the temple at Vijayanagara (Hampi), standing upon the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra and near the hill Ḫṃakṣṭa, granted the village of Eṇṇakudjī under the name of Krishnadevarājapuram to Allās-Bhaṭṭa, son of Varndarāj, the Ātrīya gotra, of the Āpastamba suṅya and of the Yauna sākhī, who was a master in the six systems of philosophy. The occasion on which this
grant was made was the giving of the mahādāna called the Gṛ-vaṭhasra. The village granted
is said to be situated in the Chōlamandala-rāja, that is, that province of the empire which
was known by the name of Chōlamandala; the village was in the western portion of the divi-
sion called the Uyyagondacholėndra-valanādu, which belonged to the Tīruvjarur-ḥhavadi
and was situated in the Tirumihachehrāṇu; the village was situated on the bank of the
river Kāvēri and was to the east of Karkakta (?), to the south of the canal Nāṭṭavākkal,
to the west of Pēlaiṇkuḍi (Mēlaikkuḍi) and to the north of the river Vīrāntanārū.

It is not quite patent how a document issued to a private person found its way into the
treasury of the temple of Raṅganāthasvāmin at Śrīraṅgam. Perhaps the donor, a Śrīvai-
pava, was a native of Śrīraṅgam, and he may have either deposited the copper-plates in the
temple treasury for safe custody or have presented the village with its original deed of gift
to the god Raṅganātha. As regards the donee, nothing can be said definitely, as no distinguishing
family names are affixed to his name; to which of the aṭṭhāya-puruṣa families he belonged is
not easy to ascertain.

At the end of the document it is stated that the composer of the inscription is Sabbāpati
and the engraver Mallanāchhaya, the son of Vīranāchhaya.

The names of places, etc., which occur in the document are:—Uyyagondacholendra-vala
nādu, Tīruvjarur, Tirumihachehr, Eṇākuḍi, Karkakta, Pēlaiṇkuḍi and the rivers Kāvēri,
Vīrāntanāru and Nāṭṭavākkal. Of these Uyyagondacholendra-valanādu is the same as
Uyyakondachola-valanādu, an ancient division of the Chōla days. Tīruvjarur is a town of
great importance for the large Śiva temple situated in it; it is in the Negapatam Taluk of
the Tanjore District. Tirumihachehr, same as Tīrumyachehr, a place whose praises are
 sung by the Śiva saints Tīru-Jhānasambandha and Appar, is situated in the Nannilam Taluk.
The river Kāvēri is too well known to need any comment. The Nāṭṭavākkal is the same as
the Nāṭṭār, which runs through the Nannilam Taluk and the French territory of Kāraikkal.
The river Vīrāntanārū seems to be the same as the Vīraśojaṇāru, which runs through the
Māyavaram Taluk and disembogues south of Tranquebar. We are not able to identify
Karkakta (here the reading itself appears to be wrong) and Pēlaiṇkuḍi (Mēlaikkuḍi) and
Eṇākuḍi.

The portions of the inscriptions A and B which contain the genealogy of Kṛṣṇadēvārāya
are similar to those found in other inscriptions of this king. For instance, vv. 1-28 of A
are identical with those of the Conjeevaram Plates of Kṛṣṇadēvārāya edited in Vol.
XIII, pp. 126-139. Vv. 2-11 found in A are omitted in B. Therefore vv. 1-8 of B agree with
vv. 1-8 of A and vv. 9-24 of B with vv. 12-28 of A. Since the genealogical portion of the
inscriptions A and B have been printed in the Epigraphia Indica more than once, they are
omitted in the transcripts of the texts given below.

A.

TEXT.¹

[Metres: v. 23, Sragbdarā; vv. 29-45, 47½-50½, Anushtabh; v. 46½, Ghti; v. 51½, Shān.]
Second Plate: Second Side.

63

64 [संदर्भ]०: संदर्भ: य विज्ञानगः राजविज्ञानमः। क्रियावाचन: लक्षणः।

65 खितितिलिफङ्गमः लोकः श्रादिद्व[१] [१] चौ पूर्वदीर्घकः। खितिलिफङ्गः।

¹ From inked impressions prepared under the supervision of Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.
² Read वा.
³ Read वा.
66 काकादा च श्रीमान्वलाता'(I)दा सेनीरविस्तार(;)चित्रित्वस्थ वहसेवक  
67 कीवी संभिके(;) [%28%] शालिवाकुरणिनि16 वम्बने समह[9]%मप: 
68 ता च संयुक्त: संदर्भ हुसैन[9]%मप: [%28%] भावसंबंधके माझ- 
69 संयुक्त: गड़ियाद्वार च पुप्पायां भरल्कां समर्थे कुण्डे [%30%] तुङ- 
70 यमा प्रकाश[1]।  
71 नीरे श्रीसुभोगोविषयक मंगली सुदृद[9]-  
72 श्रीवायण[9]यिने निजाम[9]लिने [%22%] पुष्करने शरीर-  
74 दाने विशुद्द मंदिरायिने वाचनावान चस्तुष्याय वाचनाय म-  
75 जनवे [%11%] पुष्कर[9]े [%32] सरकरे पुष्करीलाय भीमने।  
76 भक्तावाण जीवाय गुरूरे भविया [%11%] वसवादरकायणमंके तत्वात- 
77 जारीरवस्तुकृत ज्ञानवाय अमाननिजिकित [%11%] जाल-  
78 स्वयावद्वाररूपं चार्म शमारींतं। वित्तात्त्वकानुप्रसंगीतोऽने [%11%]  
79 [%33]वाणवर[9]के [%11%] तत्संख्य परिवर्ती भाग दर्शं श्लोकसूत्रातीं [%11%] [1] [9]-  

Third Plate: First Side.

80 [%33] तिष्ठकेशस्वापुयुक्ते %विषितस्थानं [%11%] वनसैविमानं।  
81 माहालाक[9]मणिवेस्ती। वनवालान दिति [%10] प्रेमाक्षिप्रमाण परिशि- 
82 मं [%11] जोरात्तलामुखी [%30%] माया उत्तमयं दिति स्थितं। राजाराय्यरे चे- 
83 तिप्रतिनाम मसारिणं [%40%] प्रासादमेलकृतोबाक्यं विश्वासतामालिकं [%30%]  
84 वरो। समास[9]वर चतुर्तुं समतत्तर [%11%] निशालमक्षुर्तं च सममतं। [%11%] निकिल- 

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1 Read मा।  
2 Read शितम।  
3 Read प्रति।  
4 Read याच।  
5 Read यु।  
6 Read हु।  
7 Read ए।  
8 Read तुरं।  
9 Read हु।  

16 The actual reading on the plate is पू म्यायां—which has to be corrected into पू मयायां—Ed.]  
17 Read यु।  
18 Read शितम।  
19 Read निशालम।  
20 Read यु।  
21 Read हु।  
22 Read यु।  
23 Read ए।  
24 Read ए।  
25 Read ए।  
26 Read ए।
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Vv. 25 to 28.) King Krishnarāya ruled the earth, being seated upon the jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, in as glorious a fashion as (the ancient kings) Nṛiga and others granting ample sums of money to suppliants throughout the length and breadth of the land, from Śēṭu to the Mēru mountain, from the Mountain of the rising Sun to that of the setting Sun.

(Vv. 29-35.) In the year one thousand four hundred and thirty-six of the Śaka era, corresponding to the (cyclic) year Bhāva, in the month of Kartika, on a Wednesday, the Gō-dvādasi śrīkī and the Bharaṇī nakṣatras, the king granted, in the presence of the god Virūpāksha, on the bank of the river Tungabhadrā and near the Hēmakūṭa hill (at Vijayanagara), the village of Eṃpakūṭi under the new name of Krishnarayapuram, to Allāla-Bhaṭṭa, son of Varadāśī, of the Aṭrāyā gōtra, Āpastamba sūtra and Yajuś śākhā, who was a master

1 Read ठ। 2 Read ढ। 3 Read ध। 4 Read ण। 5 Read त। 6 Read थ। 7 Read ध। 8 Read ष। 9 Read ध। 10 Read च। 11 Read तृष। 12 Read ध। 13 Read ध। 14 Written in Telugu-Kaṇa characters. Read निविष्यापा।
in the Six Systems of philosophy and the Śrūta (i.e. the Vēdas), who was ever veracious, who officiated as priest during the Gīșahara-mahādāna, who was pure, praiseworthy, the goddess Sarasvatī in male form, of good conduct and intelligent and in wisdom like the teacher Śēkha (i.e. the serpent Ādīśhā).  

(Vv. 38 to 45½.) The village granted was in the Chōḷa-ṃandaḷa-rājya, on the south bank of the Kāvēri. It belonged to the (jurisdiction of the) Ārūru-chārvāṭi (Tiravārūr) and was in the Tirumthāchōṭhūru-paṭṭu the western half of Uyyagondachōḷāndra-valanādu. It was situated to the east of the village of Kārakātsai, to the south of the Nāṭtāvākkal, to the west of the village of Pēlaikkūḍi (Mēlaikkūḍi?) and to the north of Virāntanārū. It was granted with the enjoyment of the eight items of proprietorship, such as nidhi, nīkhēpa, etc., as a freehold to be enjoyed by the donee and his descendants as long as the Moon and the Sun subsist, with the rights of gift, sale, mortgage, etc., by the illustrious Krishnadēva-Mahārāya, who was surrounded (at the time of the gift) by his Purāḥitas and a number of Brāhmaṇas well versed in the Śrūta learning, with pouring of water together with gold.  

(V. 46.) This is the sāsana of king Krishnarāya, whose income from land is praised by suppliants for munificence, which is equal to that of the tree (Kulpā-ṛṣika) of Indra’s region.  

(V. 47½.) The copper-plate document was composed by Sabhāpāti at the command of Krishnadēva-Mahārāya.  

(V. 48.) Mallanāchārāya, the son of Viranāchārāya, the artificer, who engraved this document on the copper-plates, obtained one share in the gift.  

(Vv. 49½ to 51.) The usual admonitory verses.  

Line 100. (Sign-manual of the kings of Vijayanagara, the word) Śrī-Vir[ū]p[ā]kṣa

B.—INSCRIPTION OF SĀKA-SAMVAT 1450.  

This inscription also is engraved on a set of three plates, of which the first side of the first and the second side of the third plates are left unengraved; the rims of the plates are raised. The writing is very well preserved. This set also, like the other set A above, has a ring and seal. The plates are not numbered.  

The alphabet in which the record is engraved is Nandināgari, and the languages Sanskrit and Tamil; the earlier portion, describing the genealogy, the praises of the donor and the donee and the village granted, is in the Sanskrit language, while the latter portion describing the boundaries, etc., of the village granted, is in Tamil. The sign-manual, Śrī-Virāpākṣa, at the end of the document is written in the Telugu-Kannada alphabet. The orthographical peculiarities of this epigraph are almost the same as those of the other. In addition to those already detailed under A, this inscription introduces visāryas in a number of places where they are superfluous, and in these instances they are marked off in the transcript by round brackets. The engraver has done his business in a rather slovenly manner, allowing many omissions and errors to occur in the document.  

The inscription belongs to the reign of Krishnadēva-Mahārāya and is dated Sāka 1450 which corresponded to the cyclic year Sarvajīt. In this year, a Monday, which was also the Uṭhāna-dvādaśī tīrthah in the month of Kārtīka, the king made a grant of an agrahāra to a number of Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras, sūtras and Vēdas. The village granted was Vādambar-Ekāmbarapuram—its name being changed into Krishnasrayapuram at the time of the grant. The village was situated on the south bank of the river Kāvēri in the Tiruvāḷūr-aṁa of the Chōḷa-ṃandaḷa, belonged to the Suttavaiṭhōḍa-vālāṇādu and was in the sthāla (sub-division) of Ālāṇguḍi; it was bounded on the west by Māṇiavarinaḷḷūr, on the north by Kōṅgārāyanellaḷḷūr, on the east by Tirukalambadaḷḷūr, and on the south by Vēḷāṅguḍi.
The village itself seems to have been situated on the bank of the rivulet called the Rushi river. In the Tamil portion the boundaries of Vejambur—Yēkāmbarampuram are given as follows:—Tirukalambur on the east; Tirukalambur and Vēlāngudi on the south-east; Vēlāngudi, and Śēdīrāyanallūr on the south; on the south-west Śēdīrāyanallūr and Māṇavārinallūr; on the west Māṇavārinallūr; on the north-west the same (?); on the north Kōngarayanelūr, and the same on the north-east. It was divided into thirty-two shares and distributed among Brāhmaṇas who had different gōtras, sūtras and sākhās. The names of the Brāhmaṇas, however, are not given as promised. One share each was given to the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva in the village; and the āsana-engraver Mallānāchārya gets, as usual, one share for his work.

Regarding the date, the Hon'ble Mr. L. D. Swamikkanu Pillai, C.I.E., kindly furnishes us with the following note:—

"Ś. 1450, Sarvajit; Monday, Utthāna-Dvādaśi, in the month of Kārttika.

Kārttika ś. 12 is called Utthāna-Dvādaśi (Ind. Ephemeris, p. XIX). In A.D. 1527 = Ś. 1450 (current) Sarvajit, Utthāna-Dvādaśi or Kārttika ś. 12 fell on Monday, 4th November A.D. 1527: the śrīsī commenced at 18 āghāśikās after mean sun-rise on Monday and came to end on Tuesday at 15 ½ āghāśikās after mean sun-rise."

At the end of the inscription we are told that the composer of the document was Sabhāpati, and the engraver Mallānāchārya, son of Virapāchārya.

The following are the names of places, etc., mentioned in the record:—Ekāmbarampuram, Vejambur or Vejambur, Tiruvallur, Śuttavālīchōḍa-valanāḍu, Ālāngudi, Māṇavārinallūr, Kōngarayanelūr, Tirukalambūr or Tirukalambur, Śēdīrāyanallūr, Vēlāngudi and the rivers Kāverī and Rushi. Of these Tiruvallur has already been identified with the town of that name in the Negapatam Taluk; Śuttavālīchōḍa-valanāḍu, which is one of the divisions of the Cholā days, takes its name from the village whose modern spelling is Śittamalli and which is situated in the Māṇavārinallūr Taluk; Ālāngudi, Kōngarayanelūr, Tirukalambur and Vēlāngudi are in the Nannilam Taluk of the Tanjore District. We are not able to identify Vejambur, Ekāmbarampuram, Māṇavārinallūr, Śēdīrāyanallūr and the river Rushi.

B.

TEXT.¹

[Metres: v. 25, Sravāgha; v. 26-43, 45-46, Amuṣṭhuḥ; v. 44, Śaṅkī.]

(Lines 1 to 52 have been omitted, as they agree with the text of the Conjeeveram Plates of the same king published on pp. 126-9 of Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII.)

Second Plate: First Side.

53 " " " सुप्राणपात्रस " सुप्राणी: स विज्वनमरे राष्ट्रि"हासन...
54 [ख] *[ळ]* कापालः कशारायःचरिपतरिधरीश्च कीच्वा नृगाधि-
55 [न] [श] पुरविद्रिश्वाचितिरिद्रकवादः च हेमा[च]इत्यतः[द] शः-
56 तेषु[श]चिंचरः चिक्षितविध वहृतीकाव्य कोन्ते समिदे श[२५*] शालिव-

¹ From the exact impressions prepared under the supervision of Mr. T. Gopinatha Rao.
58 सर्वज्ञाति से ग्राम्य कारिको 'संवासवर से तथा' नावादिति-
59 [५]गायः 'काव्यकली' शुभे दिने ॥ [२३] 'संविक्रमार्दितः(२) महाशिव
संसिद्
60 को ' 'सर्वज्ञाति कौऽऽि' वर्षमीतिम्(१) तदा ॥ [२४] विवारिणि
च [गो]-
61 [च]राम [चूँतिः*] विवारिणि च। 'बालाच विवारिणि' नामानि
विवि-
62 [च]राति च ॥ [२५] विभाषेमया' विज्ञानिः[वी] वेदविवर्गी विषम् वत्[४३] 'भुदान-
63 [प]चावसुरभिः 'सेव्यमेवेविगिरिनिः' ॥ [२६] चाइकोलगतमं ॥ निवि-
64 [च]च्छुरीसिमि ॥ 'सर्वसारविचारवर्ण[सु] पालरिुङ्गकथिनः' ॥ [२७] क[५]-
65 वेरिविद्वाक वर्षमीतिम् ॥ मानवाचणी[चु] रामात् ॥
66 व्यास दिगमसुपारित् ॥ [२८] 'कोग' 'रायवस्यी[चु] गुंडवर्ण[ख्या दिगि]

Second Plate: Second Side.

67 लिखिते ॥ "निष्कीयर्वरुवृपामयो दिगिवतिसुति" ॥ [२९] निष्कीयर्वरुवृपामयो दिगिवतिसुति [२३] बयीन[या] ॥
68 वेदार्थविद्वान दिगिवति [२४] बयीन[या] ॥
69 'क्रियादायमयम्' विषय दिगिवति [२५] वर्णविवर्ग्यम् ॥ नाम वेदान-
70 वर्णपुवयम् तथा ॥ प्रतिनाम विशारदायुपामयादिति [२६] प्राच[स] ॥
71 'सा दिगिवतिसुति' वर्णविवर्ग्यम् ॥ तथा 'सर्वप्रायुपामयादिति' सुच[च] ॥
72 'चर्चा मात्रको' [२७] 'निष्कीयर्वरुपामयादिति' वर्णविवर्ग्यम् ॥ वर्ण-
73 'वाणिज्यादिति' समस्वविद्वानेिम [२८] 'चर्चा मात्रको' दिगिवति [२९] ख्या [स] ॥

1 [The reading is बंधु and must be corrected into बंधु.--Ed.]
2 Read श्वीता.
3 Read बीता.
4 Read बीता.
5 Read श्वीता.
6 Read बीता.
7 Read बीता.
8 Read बीता.
9 Read बीता.
10 Read बीता.
11 Read बीता and "संक्षपा".
12 Read 'संक्षपा' ग्राम्य.
13 Read बीता
14 Read 'प्राचीन' विद्वानपारित.
15 Read संस्कृतमय.
16 Read बीता.
17 Read 'संक्षपा'.
18 Lines 80 and 81 below read निष्कीयर्वरुवृपामयो दिगिवतिसुति.
19 Read पार्थि and "संक्षपा".
20 Read बीता.
21 Read 'संक्षपा' ग्राम्य.
22 Read बीता.
23 Read निष्कीयर्वरुवृपामयो दिगिवतिसुति [सा at the beginning of the line must be changed into दि--Ed.]
24 There is a dot on दि resembling an anusvara.
25 Read बीता.
26 Read बीता.
27 Read बीता.
28 Read बीता.
Third Plate: First Side.

1. Read चारि.
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91. Read चारि.
92. Read चारि.
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Verses 26-40.) In the year one thousand four hundred and fifty of the Śaka era, corresponding to the (cyclic) year Sarvajit, on Monday in the month Kārttika and the Utthana-dvādaśī-tithi, the king Krishnadeva-Mahārāja granted as an agrahāra the village of Vādambur-Ēkāmbarapuram to a number of Brāhmaṇas of various gotras, sūtras, śākhās and of different names, who are well versed in the Vēdas, fit to receive land-grant and well known. The village granted was in the Tiruvallur-sīma and belonged to the Chōla-mandala; it was situated in the Ālāgudi-sthalam in the Suttavaśicchōda-vaḷanāḍu, on the south of the river Kavēri. It stood to the east of Mānāvārinnallūr, to the south of Koṅgarāyaṇellūr, to the west of Tirukalambudūr and to the north of the village of Veḷāngudi, on the river Rushi. The village was divided into thirty-two shares and given to learned Brāhmaṇas by the pouring of water- together with gold. One share was given to each of the gods Siva and Vīṣṇu in that village. (The rest of the plate is left unengraved, perhaps it was meant to fill up the names of donees.)

[V. 41 states that the boundaries, etc., will be given in the language of the country in which the village is situated.]

(L. 79-90.) The details of the boundaries, of Krishnārāyapuram alia Vādambur-Ēkāmbarapuram are:

On the east the boundary line joins the boundary of Tirukalambūr and touches the stone bearing the Vāmana-mudrā in the middle of Munnēru.

On the south-east the stone bearing the Vāmana-mudrā at the point where Tirukalambūr and Veḷāngudi join the boundary of Vēdambur.

On the south the stone bearing the Vāmana-mudrā at the point where Veḷāngudi and Śēdiyārāyanallūr join the boundary of Veđambur.

At the south-west corner the stone bearing the Vāmana-mudrā at the meeting point where Śēdiyārāyanallūr and Mānāvārinnallūr join the boundary of Veđambur.

On the west the boundary line joins the boundary of Mānāvārinnallūr and touches the stone bearing the Vāmana-mudrā.

At the north-west corner the stone bearing the Vāmana-mudrā.

On the north the boundary line joins the boundary of Koṅgarāyaṇellūr and touches the stone bearing the Vāmana-mudrā; and

On the north-east the stone bearing the Vāmana-mudrā at the point where Koṅgarāyaṇellūr meets the boundary of Veđambur.

[Vv. 41-43. The usual admonitory verses.]

[V. 44 states that Sabhāpati composed the document at the command of Krishnādēva-Mahārāja.]

[V. 45. Allots one share to the engraver of the Śīṣanu, Mallāṅchārya, son of Viranāchārya.]

(L. 93.) Śrī-Vṛūpākṣa, (the sign-manual of the king.)

1 Read "कैसे". 2 Read "काल". 3 Read "सवान". 4 Read "बिहार".
5 Read "कालान्तर". 6 Read "तालय". 7 Written in Telugu-Kannada script. Read "बिलाप".
No. 22.—Inscriptions of Hüli.

By Lionel D. Barnett.

The village of Hüli, anciently termed Puli, lies in circa long. 75° 14', lat. 15° 47½', about five miles east-by-north of Saundatti, the chief town of the Paras gåd Taluk of the Belgaum District. It was formerly a town of considerable importance, and was one of the "Eighteen Agraharas" (Dynasties of the Kan. Distr., p. 443n.), as some of its inscriptions testify. In his Archæological Survey of Western India: Report of the First Season's Operations (1874), pp. 12-14, Dr. Burgess has given an account of its chief architectural remains; and in 1882 the late Dr. Fleet made a survey of its epigraphic records, as a result of which a number of impressions were prepared for him, which are now in the possession of the Trustees of the British Museum. Of this collection the texts published below are the most important. Their provenance is as follows:—

A (a vīra-gal), of A.D. 985, from the north of the Bhumēśvara or Andhakēśvara temple.

B (Jain), of A.D. 1044-45 and 1145, from the temple of Virabhadra.

C (Vaishnava), of A.D. 1062, from the same temple.

D (of the cult of Harihara), of A.D. 1097, from the same temple.

E (Śaiva), of A.D. 1104, 1162, 1184, and 1224, from the temple of Madanēśvara.

F (Śaiva), of A.D. 1107, from the temple of Kēre-Siddhappa.

G (a vīra-gal), of A.D. 1107, from a site north of the Bhumēśvara temple.

H (Jain), date lost, from the Pañcha-linga temple.

I-J (Śaiva), from the same temple.

K (Śaiva), from the Bhumēśvara temple.

L (Vaishnava), of A.D. 1162, from the Virakta-maṭha.

M (Vaishnava), of A.D. 1162, from the Agastyēśvara temple.

Of these temples the largest is the Pañcha-linga, on which see Burgess, First Arch. Report, pl. xv and xvi. Burgess attributes it to about A.D. 1100. It was originally Jain, as is shown by the figure of a Jina on the lintel, and by some Jain inscriptions, one of which, carved over the lintel of a door, records some building executed by the lay-disciples of Prabhāchandra Siddhāntadēva in the Śaka year (lapsed) 114[2], corresponding to the cyclic year Vikrama, i.e. A.D. 1220-21. Now, as the name implies, it has been converted to the service of the Śāiva cult. The temple of Virabhadra is a modern and insignificant building near the tank, which lies on the north-east of the village. That of Bhumēśvara, which the villagers seemed inclined to call Andhakēśvara, lies on the north of the village, in Survey No. 693. It was already partially ruined in 1882, and was covered by a rank growth of prickly pear. It is in the Dravidian style, without porch, and contains two shrines, one at the east end and one at the west. The temple of Madanēśvara, as the villagers call it (it is termed Andhakēśvara by Sir Walter Elliot, but the inscriptions call it the temple of Andhāśura), lies to the north of the village, a little way up the hill, in Survey No. 688. It is a Śaiva sanctuary of the Dravidian order, containing a porch, open maṭapa, and shrine with linga. The Agastyēśvara is a sandstone temple, situated on the eastern bank of the Nāgaḍa Bhāvi, a well or small tank on the north of the tank marked in Survey No. 694; it is of the Dravidian order, and consists of a porch (now ruined), walled maṭapa, and shrine with linga. The temple of Kēre-Siddhap-

1 This is the situation according to the Bombay Survey sheet No. 305, where it is entered as "Kasha Hüli." In the Indian Atlas sheet 41 (1853), where the name is spelt "Hooloe," it is a little further towards the east.

2 To the same departed friend I owe drafts of the texts, which have greatly lightened the labour of making my own transcripts, and some notes on the archæological remains of Hüli.
pa, or "Siddhappa of the Tank," stands on the eastern side of the tank marked in Survey No. 694, towards the north-east of the village. It is of sandstone, of the Dravidian order, containing a shrine with liṅga, walled maṇḍapa, and porch (now in ruins). The Viśrakṣmaṭha is (or was) a building in the north-eastern part of the village, which served for lodging ascetics.

The Elliot Collection (Royal Asiatic Society’s copy) contains transcripts of nine of these inscriptions: D. is given in vol. 1, fol. 233a, E. ib., fol. 283b, F. ib., fol. 307a, G. ib., fol. 306b, H. ib., fol. 412a, I. in vol. 2, fol. 374b, J. ib., fol. 374b, K. ib., fol. 375a, and M. ib., fol. 11a. As usual, these transcripts leave much to be desired.


The following inscription is incised upon a black stone which was found to the north of the Bhimēśvara or Andhakēśvara temple, on the west bank of the Akkataṅgēra-bhāvi, in Survey No. 693. The slab was set in a base, and was 5 ft. 2 in. in height and 2 ft. 1 in. broad. It was a viṇa-gal, or hero’s monument, and in accordance with the usual practice was divided into horizontal compartments, four containing sculptures and three writing. Of the sculptures I have been unable to obtain particulars. The first compartment of the writing (about 5 in. high) contains ll. 1-4, the second (about 3 in. high) ll. 5-9, the third (about 2 in. high) ll. 10-11. The inscription is fairly well preserved, and is in good Kanarese script, with letters between 1/4" and 1/2" in height. The special form of y noted above, Vol. XII, p. 336, seems to occur in bhāṣy-, l. 3.—The language is Old Kanarese: ll. 1-4 are in prose, and then come three verses. The forms are those of a transitional period: thus we find the short accusative and genitive, the locative in -of (ll. 5-8, 10), and the verbal forms iydan (l. 5), iydan (l. 7), āṇdar (l. 4), beside the archaic verbal forms āṇtoran (l. 5) and kēḍon (l. 8). The word āṇtor apparently the original of the later āṇtu, seems to occur in bhāṣy-āṇṭam, l. 3. The āṇḍam not preserved, except in nēgaḍda (ll. 8-9).

The record is of the usual type of viṇa-gal. It announces that on a certain date Daddapaya, a pēgaḍe or official in the service of Sōbhānaya, made a raid upon Pāli, whereupon Kendara Kēṭa, Breviṭṭa, and Tambada Kēṭa attacked his party, slew the leader, his horse, and three of his men, and died the death of heroes. Verses 1-2 (ll. 5-9) eulogise Kendara Kēṭa; the mutilated and obscure verse 3 mentions a certain Kendara Maṭasāṇa as dying heroically in battle.

The date of this record is: Saka 907 expired, the cyclic year Pārthiva; the full moon of Chaitra; Budhavāra, or Wednesday (ll. 1-2). These details are slightly irregular: the tīsika Chaitra śukla 15 of the given year corresponded to Monday, 9 March, A.D. 985, on which day it ended about 16 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise, and it cannot have been connected with the Wednesday.†

The only place mentioned is Pāli, i.e. Hūli (l. 2).

TEXT.‡

[The metres are: verse 1, Mattēbha-vikṛṣṭi; verse 2, Kanda. The fragmentary verse 3 may possibly be a Deipada.]

1 @ Svasi [†] Sa(ā)ka-nripa-kāl-āṭita-saṃvatsaraṁga 907neya Pārthivasaṁvatsaraṇa
2 Chaitrada puṇḍame Budhavārālandu Sōbhānayena pēgaḍe Daddapayyaṁ
Fūliya po-

† I am indebted to Mr. R. Sewell for the verification of my calculations of this and the other dates in the present paper.
‡ From the ink-impression.
§ Abbreviated for saṃvatsara-kālaṇga.
lada bhashayi=ejtan kemman=akaraanam kousha poge Kendara Ketenam Erevit-
tanam Tambada

Ketenam paricheho(chchhe)dh-geya mavarum mel=i=um kudureyuma[n*],
kondu mokshakkhe sandar [11*]

Duradoj=kayda kadaangi pofigi male=or=ant=ipdan=eytand= machcharadind=
entoranch=

kaing=izad[e*] kol-chand-ikkii mikk=i vasum[=h]areyo=tan[n]-adatun patapunum=
ad=a raj-ottama pe[x]chchhi3

Kendara Keta[m*] vara-Vasan=ah[m*]ganyaro kud-ilan=svargrado l1*]
Todum bindum=ad-uduga=

de paad=arid=echcha-rajagado vajiya[n]=aik-adi sur=ah[m*]ganyaro=am kudidom-
en kaliye nega-

Ida Kendara Keta ||2*

Si[m]gam=ibhangalam nuguv=ante* tara* gi samgados ka=ida Kendara
Marasing-

ga me . . . . . m ganjan-adatan ||3*

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4.) Hail ! On Wednesday, the full-moon day of Chaitra of the 907th (year) of
the centuries elapsed from the time of the Saka king, the cyclic year Parthi=, when
Sobhanayya's officer Daddapayya without right or reason was carrying away the cart-oxen(?)
of the fields of Puli, Kendara Keta and Erevita= and Tambada Keta, slaying the three men
forming the division, the leader, and his horse, attained salvation.

(Verse 1.) He stood worthily fighting in the fray, burning, striving, boiling : when,
advancing,6 with indignation he despatched his adversaries to the Death-god, exercising the
opportunity for slaughter (?), his prowess and majesty were extraordinary on this earth; and
this noble prince becoming great, Kendara Keta was united in paradise to Indra's goodly
damsels.

(V. 2.) Shooting on the stage of battle his arrows with understanding of the right
manner, so that the fitting (of the shafts on the bow-string) and their discharge did not slacken,
when he was exhausted he espoused the celestial ladies ; what a hero is the illustrious Kendara
Keta !

(V. 3.) As a lion crushes elephants . . . Kendara Marasinga, who passed away
in battle . . . what a man of valour and spirit !

B.—OF THE REIGNS OF SOMESVARA I AND JAGADEKAMALLA II:
SAKA 986 AND 1007.

This record is carved on a black stone set upright in the ground against the outside of the
western face of the Virabhadra temple (see above). The stone when found was 4 ft. 7 in.
high and 1 ft. 8 in. wide. The upper compartment, which was rounded on the top, contained
sculptures, viz., in the centre, a squatting Jina facing to the front, with a cow and calf on the
proper right and a scimitar on the left, while above these was the sun (to left) and moon
(to right). The inscribed area below this is 3 ft. 1 in. high and 1 ft. 7½ in. wide.—The
caracter is Old Canarese, the average height of the letters in ll. 1-2 being from 3/2 in. to 1 in.

1 The y is uncertain.
2 Perhaps to be corrected to eye=andu.
3 For perechho?
4 The k is not quite clear.
5 The f is somewhat uncertain : it is written very small, below the line.
6 Reading eye=andu for the eye=andu of the stone.
and in 1.3 from ⁷⁄₈ in. to ⁵⁄₈ in., after which it increases gradually to between ½ in. to ¾ in. It is a fairly good type of the script used in the middle of the 12th century A.D. (see below).—

The language is throughout Old Kanarese, verse and prose, with the exception of the introductory Sanskrit verse. The ḍ is not preserved: instead we find ṭ in ēḷgērām (l. 12), pōgalut- (l. 13), pōḍāḍa (l. 16), nāṭke (l. 16), pēṣu (l. 20), pēṭ (l. 54), and on the other hand r in erḍā (l. 6) and negarḍa (ll. 12, 18). On the instrumental arttiya (l. 14) see above, Vol. XIV, p. 27, n. 9. Of some lexical interest are the words chaḍḍa-samaya (l. 9), (?
ä)ñava (l. 9), liṅkāna-pālaka (l. 14), and adḍa-chinna (ll. 35, 49).

The record is a double one, containing two endowments, the first of which is dated in Saka 966 and the second in Saka 1067. It was actually written in its present form in the latter year, as is proved by the absence of comminatory formulae and the character of the script. The first part refers itself to the reign of Áhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) in l. 3-5, and then proceeds to celebrate in verse his feudatory Kālaṇḍiya Būjsāḍi (or Bōdsāḍi), the governor of a Ninety-six district, whose son Pāyimma married Hammikabbe and by her had two daughters, Bhāggepabbbe and Lachchale or Lachchiyabbe. Lachchale married a governor of the Kūṇḍi Three-thousand, and was a generous benefactor of religion (ll. 5-15). After some verses in praise of Pūli and the thousand Brāhmaṇ burgesses of that town (ll. 15-20) comes a prose statement that these burgesses sold to Lachchiyabbe an estate, on which she constructed a Jain sanctuary, assigning certain lands for the maintenance thereof, and appointing as trustee Bāḷachandra-Bhaṭṭarakaṛdeva (ll. 20-37). Then begins the second document (ll. 37-54), which announces that in the reign of Jgadēkamalla (II) a local pṛgaṇe named Nēmaṇa or Nēmāya, having purchased some land from the burgesses of Pūli, made a further endowment to the same sanctuary for the maintenance of the ascetics residing in it, the trustee being a certain Bāṃachandrādeva. This Nēmaṇa was a great-grandson of the above-mentioned Lachchiyabbe, his pedigree being as follows:—

Lachchiyabbe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dēma[na?] m. Bhāgīyabbe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalidēva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāyimma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The document then ends somewhat abruptly, without any concluding formulae.

This record, being twofold, contains two dates. The first is given on ll. 20-22 as: Šaka 966 expired, the cyclic year Tāraṇa, Pushya sūddha 10, Ādiyāra (Sunday), the uttarāyāṇa-saṅkrānti. These details have been recently examined by Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah in Some Šaka Dates in Inscriptions, p. 129, who remarks as follows: "Tāraṇa by the northern luni-solar system=Ś. 966=A.D. 1042. In this year, śu. 10 of the lunar month Pushya ended at 44 gh. 21 p. after mean sunrise on 24th December, on which day, the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred at 14 gh. 38 p. after mean sunrise according to the Surya-Siddhānta. The week-day however was Friday and not Sunday. In the solar month Pushya, i.e. Makara or Tai, [Māgha]-śu. 10 ended at 11 gh. 36 p. after mean sunrise on Sunday, 23rd January, A.D. 1043. The [Kumbha]-saṅkrānti, which occurred at 41 gh. 32 p. (S.S.) after mean sunrise on the preceding Saturday, fell, i.e. was observed, on this Sunday. This day, therefore,—Sunday, 23rd January, A.D. 1043—is the regular equivalent of the given date."¹

¹ Kilborn in his List of Southern Inscriptions (above, Vol. VII, App., No. 159) gives as the equivalent Sunday 23 December, A.D. 1044. [But the tithi ought to be the first and not the 10th; see Ind Ant. Vol. XXIV, p. 6, No. 148.—Ed.].
The second date is given on ll. 40-41 as: Śaka 1067 (expired), the cyclic year Krodhane, the uṭṭārādhyāya-samkrānti. Naturally this cannot be verified. The samkrānti took place 20 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 24 December, A.D. 1145, and 1 Makara was accordingly reckoned as corresponding to Tuesday, 25 December.

The places mentioned, besides Pāli, are Kuṇḍi (l. 14), the Bejvala-nāḍu (l. 16), Śiveyagāri (ll. 34, 47), Kaḷāśavalligāri (l. 48), and a nameless Ninety-six district (l. 6). For Bejvala see above, Vol. XIII, p. 40. On the Kuṇḍi Three-thousand see I. A., Vol. XXIX, p. 278. The other places I am unable to identify. Kaḷāśavallīgāri was a parish (kēri) in Pāli.

TEXT.

[The metres are as follows: verse 1, Anushūbha; verses 2, 3, and 8, Kanda; verse 4, Utpala-nāḍa; verses 5 and 6, Champaka-nāḍa; verses 7 and 9, Mattābhā-cikriṣṭa.]

1 Šrīmat-parama-garbhīra-sāyaḍvā-āmogha-lāṅchaca(chchā)maṇī [1*] jīyā[1*]

2 kya-nāthasaśāsanaṁ Jina-sāsanaṁ [1*]

3 Ēsvathi [1*] Śamasta-bhuvan-śāraya Śrī-Pithvt-vallabha mahārājādhirājya paramāvāra paramahāttāra-

4 kaṁ Satyārāya-kuja-tijakam Chājuky-ābharaṇaṁ śrīmad-Āhavamalladēvāra

vijaya-rāja-

5 mūtamarottarabhivṛddhī-pravarddhāmanāmā-ča-mātrā-ērkkā-tārām saluttam-īre ||

Tat-pādā-padma-ōpajīvi || Mēl-a-

6 rūḍā vāgaraṁ nirmūlaḥ(ī)si jasaṁāṁ nimirēchī dīg-bhitt-veraṁ Kālačīva


7 rūmaṁ bhuja-balādāṁ || [2*] Ātana putraṁ vinay-ōpētaṁ Pāyīṁmā-naṃ(ṇṛ)patīg-

oppuvā satī
gūñāyayita-yute Hāmmikabbego Sṭtege sari Bhāgenabbe Lachoḥaley-ogedāra ||

[3*] Iahta-ja-

8 nakke chaṭṭa-samayakke mahājana-bhojanakkey-utkri(kṛ)ṣṭha-tapora(ḍha)narggey-

aṭid-āvaya;

10 nakke sa-kāriny-aṅk(ə)gnishtagge-evede nālkun-samayakκ-anurāgade bōgay=im-

11 tu sanṭṭhate Lachoḥiyyabbhorrā|$a-ṛ-saṇi(ṛ)yag-sa-ča-char-āchar-āvīvyojū || [4*]

12 Śakāla-dhāritriyol-negardda(la) vanḍi-janaṁ sale rūpin=elgyena prakatate-vetta dā-

13 na-guṇamāṁ kuḷad=umatiyaṁ Jīn-āṅgāraṣtra-svākhyāsa-chitamāṁ pogalut-ṛṛppu-

14 du Kuṇḍiyya līmxad=aṅks-pālakana kuḷ-ōttam-ānganeyan-sattbhīye Lachoḥaledēvī-

yaṁ

15 jagai [ 6*] ĒŚarānida-aṅkoṭha-āvri(vṛja-va-samudhary-emha vilāṣint-mukh-

āṅkurahava(dā)vir-vrš-

16 suva Bejvala-nālκe(ī)ge podalā śōheg-ṅgaram-ën[i]ś-irppa Pāli tilak-āκri(kṛ)-

tiyīṇ-ś-irppa=ś-paraṃ puraṇa-pu-

17 ramaṇa Kubāṛan-Alakā puramāṁ nagugun vájāsādim [ 6*] Allī || Śakala-

yākaraṇ-Śiṅkha-dī-

18 sra-chayaḍolo kāvyaṅgakolos saṁdā nāṭakadolo varṇa-kaśiṇḍa-negardda(la) vēdāṁtāngalosu

19 pēma[m]t[i]kha doḷa lauki[ka]doḷa samasta-kalayoḷa Vārgśaṅiṇidam yaṣo-dhi-

1 From the ink-impression.
2 i.e., ēdā.
3 Or possibly Bōdagaṇī.
4 For sōlē?
5 Or possibly chāṇas.
6 [The ēdāṣa ṛa looks like ēv on the plate—Ed.]
20 kar-ādar-ppogalvalīg-ār-ālave pāla sāsirvvara khyātiyām || [7*] Svasti Śaka-
21 nṛ(ṛ)pē-kal-ātita-saṃvatsara-
22 saṭangal jhena ya Taranā-saṃvatsara da Paśyā-suddhāh 10 Ādiśīn̄m-
23 a(u)taraṇāga-
24 saṃkrāntiṇiāṃdu || Yajana-yājana-adhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-ṣaṭ-karmma-
25 nitarurūṃ śrī-
26 [ma]ch Chāṭukya-chakravartī-Brahmu(hma)puri-sṭhānāṅ(ṇa)-pitṛ-pitāmaḥ - mahimāś-
27 pada-rakṣhaṇa-
28 ttṛtha-kāvi-gamak[1*]-vādi-vāgmritvarum-atithiy-abhyāgata-viśiṣṭa-
29 jana-pōjana-priyarūṃ Hīranyagarbha-Brahma-mukha-kamaṇṭha-vinīṛgata-RO(Ri)g-Yaju-
30 s-Sāṃ-Ātharvṛṣa-saṃasta-vodī(ḍa)-vēdāng-opāṅg-āṅēka-śastra-śaṅkāśa-sūri (ṣamṛ)ti-pu-
31 rāṇa-
32 kārya-nātaka-dharm-āgama-pravīṇaṇaṃ sapta-soma-saṃsthā-śavahṛt(ṛh)-śavagāhana-
33 pavītrikī(ṛkī)-
34 ta-gāṭarūṃ kāṁcchana-ka[la]sita-ṣaṭ-ḥhatra-chāmaṇa-paṁcha-mahā-sabdabhaṭṭikā-
35 bhṛṛ-vṛaca-
36 naṃ(ṇa) dirarum-āŚrī[t-a-jana]-kalpa-vṛci(vṛc)kṣharum-abita-kaḷāśīntakarum-ēka-vākyarūṃ-
37 sāraṇ-āgata-vajra-pa[m]ja[ruruṃ cha]ta-saṁaya-saṃuddharaṇarūṃ śrī-Kēśavāḍītya-
38 dēva-
39 labḍhara-prasādarum-appa śṛman-mahāgāśāraīn Pāliy-śr-ōṣeya-pramu-
40 kha sāsirvvar-maṁha-yanaṅgaḷa divya-śri-pāda-padmaṅgaḷam[La] chochiyabherasiyaru sa-
41 hiranya-pūrvvakaṁ-ārādhisa bhūmiyānam paṭedu basaṣṭiṃ maṇḍiṃ khaṇ-
42 dha-pu[ti]ta-jītre-ādhharaṇakke paḍuvaṇa poladula Śiveyagēryi-āru-mattar-vva-
43 sugeyaṃ ma[t]tarīṅg-adha-chinnā-lekkādiṁ-āru-paṇaṇam mūru paṇaṇam tett-
44 unub-am-
45 tāṭi śrī-Ṭāpalya-saṅghada Punnāgavri(vṛc)kaḥ-māṭa-gaṇa śrī-Bālachāmdra-Bha-
46 ṭārākadēva kālān karchchi bitṭalau || Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvan-śaṇaya
Śri-Pri(prī)thv-vallabha maḥā-
48 rajādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭārakam Satyaśraya-kuśa-tijakaṃ Chājuky-
49 ṭharaṇaṁ
50 śrīmat-pratāpa-chakri(kra)varṭti Jagadēkam-siḷsādēva vijaya-rājyamuttar-ōtt-
51 r-aḥhivri,vṛci)dhṛi-praṇvadhāmāṇaṁ-śchaṅdār-ārka-tāraṇ baran saluttam-ire ([*]
Śaka-
52 reh 1067noya Krōdhana-saṃvatsarad-uttarāyana-saṃkrāntiṇiāṃdu(du) yama-
53 ni-
54 yama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-mō(ṃ)au(ṃ)-śuṣṭhaṇa(ṇa)-japa-saṃbhi-śīla-
55 samprāmar-ṛppa
56 śrīma[n]-mahā-gārahāraṇi Pāliy-śr-ōṣeya-pramukha sāsirvvar-maṁha-yanaṅga[la]
57 divya-śrī-pāda-padmaṅgaḷam perggade Nēmaṇām sa-hiranya-pūrva-kam-ārādhisa-
58 [dha]-
59 [ra]-pūrvvakaṁ maṇḍi kōṁ[du] tamma ru[t*]tave Lachhiyabherasiyaru
maṇḍiṣṭi baṣa-
60 diyal-iṛppa r(ṛ)ṣhiy-āḥāra-dāna-nimittam-alliś-āchāryyaru Rāmachāmdra-
61 dēvārā kālaṃ karchchī-śavara munnāv-śalu paḍuvaṇa polada Śiveyagēri-
62 śru-mattar-
49 maṭ[†]ariṅg-aḍḍha-chinna-[ekkaṇḍaṃ-āru]-vapamaiṃ mūru pampaṃaṃ tett-urub-aṃt-āgi biṭṭaru ||
50 Pati-bhakte Dhe(Dē)ma ...... sati Pāyimmarasana-sgra-sute sakal-jana-sute Bhā-
51 giyabbe-rānige sut ...... nd-[Nēma]yyan-audāryya-guṇaṃ q[ | 8*]
Jina-dēvaṃ tanag-āptana-
52 [ṛṭhi]-janatā-kaṇṭha-drama[ī]-[— — —]yyane tamm-yyan-anuṇa-dānī Kalidēvaṃ
s-ākṣara-ā-
53 gressaraṃ tanag-puṇaṃ guṇa-ratna-bhūṣapane[-] saṁ-irda Nēmaṃg-enalk-
anavadya-ṛkah[ṛkah]-
54 ge bhā-vaḷe[a]yado[lo] pō [— — — — — —] || [9*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Victorious be the teaching of the Lord of the Three Worlds, enjoined by the Jinas, which bears the infallible token of the blessed and supremely profound doctrine of alternatives!

(Lines 3-5.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Stryāraya’s race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Āhavamala, was advancing in a course of successfully increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(L. 5.) One who finds his sustenance at his lotus-feet—

(V. 2.) Uprooting high-rising foes, spreading abroad his fame as far as the walls of the sky-quarters, Kālādiyā Bōlgadī perfectly (?) protected the Ninety-six by the might of his arm.

(V. 3.) To the renowned Hammikabbe, the distinguished wife of his son the cultured prince Pāyimmā, a peer of Sīta, were born Bhāgegabbe and Lachchale.

(V. 4.) In the chaṭṭa-samayā3 of agreeable persons, in the feeding of Brāhmaṇa house-holders, in (the supply of) measured spoons4 to distinguished ascetics, in (furnishing) fire-places with rows of maidens, indeed, the four churches5 straightway were delighted with affection: who are equal to Lachchhiyabbaruṇi on the earth with its stock of living and lifeless things?

(V. 5.) While illustrious eulogists are active over the whole earth, the world with joy praises for excellence of beauty, eminent generosity, distinction of race, and sincere devotion to the Jinas’ foot Lachchhaladāvi, the exceedingly high-born wife of the linkad-anūka-pālaka of Kūṇḍī.6

1 Read Kalasāvaliyagēriyaṃ.
2 This phrase is obscure. It seems most probable that chaṭṭa is to be taken as a derivative of Sanskrit ṣhaṭ (cf. Tamil saṭṭa-naygam). Six samayās (schools of religion or philosophy) are often mentioned. The Śaivas recognise as orthodox the Bhairava, Vāma, Kāśmikas, Māhāvata, Pāñcāpata, and Śaiva samayās, and as unorthodox the Lōkāyataś, Buddhists, Jainas, Mīmāṃskās, Pāñcārtras, and Bhāttāchāryyaś. Another group is: Buddhists, Jainas, Bhairavas, Kāśmikas, Lōkāyataś, and Śunuvaṇḍins. Six Vaishēya samayās are recognised, viz. Śaiva, Vaishnavā, Śēkta, Śastra, Gāñapata, and Kauṃāra; and there are six Vedāntic samayās, viz. Kāpila, Kāṇḍa, Pāṭaṇa, Aśkapada or Nyāya, Vaiyāka, and Jaiminiya. The Vaishnavas admit 6 samayās as orthodox, viz. those of Śaṅkara, Vyāsa Miśra, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Bhāskara, and Hiranyagarbha.
3 The reading here is certain, but the division and sense are not. Āyarana is a rare Atharva-vedic word explained as “stirring-spoon”; but here it seems to have another meaning.
4 The four samayās are the Māhēvara, Vaishnavas, Buddhists, and Jainas.
5 I can only conjecture that śakka is connected with lemka, “servant,” and that nāka is used in the sense of “wee” (cf. nākādeṛga); the phrase would then mean something like “Commander of the military forces of Kūṇḍi.” [See foot-note 6, p. 174, above—Ed.]
(V. 6.) Pāli, which is indeed a site of conspicuous charm, appears with the aspect of a
beauty-spot upon the county of Belvāla, which is radiant like the lotus-face of that fair lady the
ocean-girdled earth. This town by its bright appearance laughs to scorn the city of the Gods
and Kubera's city of Aśākā.

(Ll. 17.) In this (town)—

(V. 7.) In the series of all grammars and treatises on economic science, in poems, in
goodly drama, in panegyric poetry, in the illustrious Upānishads, in transcendental and secular
lore, in all arts, they have become superior in glory to the Lord of Speech [Brahman]: say, who
are equal to praising the renown of the Thousand?

(Ll. 20-22.) Hail! on Sunday, the occasion of the uttarayana-sankrānti, being the 10th
of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Tārana, the 90th of the centuries
elapsed since the time of the Śaka king:

(Ll. 22-23.) Lachchiyabbarasi, having adored with (offering of) gold the divinely
blest lotus-feet of the Thousand Mahājānas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pāli,
who are constant in the six duties of sacrifice by themselves and by others, study, teaching, alms-
giving, and acceptance (of charity),1 skilful for the purpose of maintaining the rank of honour
of father and grandfather at the establishment of the Chāḷukya Emperor's Brahmāpurī,2 accom-
plished as wits, poets, reciters, disputants, and rhetoricians, fond of serving guests, visitors,
and men of culture, versed in all the Vēdas, the Rīk, Yajus, Sāma, and Āṭharvāṇa, which have
issued from the lotus-mouth of Hiranyagarbha-Brahman, and in the Vēdhās, the subsidiary
sciences, all books of teaching, the eighteen sacred law-books and Purāṇas, poems, dramas, and
traditional rules of religion; whose bodies are purified by plunging in the baths of the seven
soma-samyahdā; who are (honoured) with golden pitchers, six white parasols, and yak-tail fans
and saluted with the five great musical sounds, gongs, and drums; who are trees of desire to
clients, Kālāntakas to adversaries, uniform of speech, adaman chambers to refuge-seekers,
restorers of the four churches,4 and recipients of the grace of boons from the god Kēśavāditya,

(Ll. 33-37.) and having obtained (from them) land and constructed a sanctuary, laved
the feet of Balaḍandra-Bhāṭṭārakadēva, of the Punnāgarvīksa Mūla-Gaṇa in the Yāpanya-
Sangha, and granted for the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn (buildings) six māttar of
vānagī at Śivēyagēri in the western field, to be enjoyed on payment of an ara-vānagī of three
paṇas, at the rate of half a gold piece on each māttar.

(Ll. 37-40.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world,
favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of
Satyaśāraya's race, embellishment of the Chāḷukyas, the august Emperor Jagadēkamalladēva,
was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun,
and stars:

(Ll. 40-41.) on the occasion of the uttarayana-sankrānti in the Śaka year 1087, the
cyclic year Krūḍhana,

(Lines 41-49.) the sheriff Nēmanā, having adored with (offering of) gold the divinely blest
lotus-feet of the thousand Mahājānas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pāli, who
practise the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, spiritual concentration, observance of

1 See Maṇu, l. 88.
2 A quarter for the residence of Brahmaṇa in connection with a temple.
3 These rites are enumerated in Ep. Carn., Vol. VII. i. Sk. 74.
4 See above, on v. 4 of this inscription.
5 See Kittel, s. v. kastya, and above, Vol. XIII. p. 37.
6 The ara-vānagī is a quit-rent for tenancy of land in connection with a religious establishment; here it
amounted to 3 paṇag per māttar, in all amounting to 3 paṇas.
the vow of silence, prayer, and absorption, and having arranged for purchase with pouring of water, for the purpose of furnishing food for the Rishis resident in the sanctuary constructed by his great-grandmother Lachchhadārasi, laved the feet of Rāmachandrādeva and granted six mattr of meadow in the grounds of Kalāśavallīgārī, in the part west of the six mattr of vāsuge in Śivayagārī in the western field formerly under his seigniorage, to be enjoyed on payment of an āra-vās of three papas, at the rate of half a gold piece per mattr.

(V. 8.) This Nēmayya, illustrious in virtues is . . . son of the universally praised Bhagiyabbe-rāṇī, the chaste wife of Dēma . . . and elder sister of Pāyimmarāṇa.

(V. 9.) As the Lord Jina is his friend, that tree of desire to the needy . . . his father, Kalidēva the unstintingly bountiful and foremost among men of letters his elder brother, say, [who is equal] to Nēma, who is adorned by the jewels of virtue . . . and is blameless of conduct, on the circling earth?

C.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI: THE 7TH YEAR.

This inscription is on a black stone built into the western wall inside the temple of Vīrabhadra, at its north-western corner. The stone itself was 4 ft. 11 in. high and 2 ft. 2½ in. broad. On the upper compartment, which was rounded, were the following sculptures: in the centre a standing figure of Vishnu, facing full front; to the proper right of this, a kneeling Garuḍa, facing half towards Vīparamūh and half towards the front; to the left of Vīparamu, a cow with calf; above these, the sun (on left) and moon (on right). There may have been some other details concealed under the coating of chunam upon the stone. Under this is the inscribed area, 3 ft. 3 in. high and 2 ft. 2½ in. wide.—The character is Kanarese of the period, a fine ornamental hand with a tendency towards florishes. The letters, which are generally well preserved, are from ½ in. to 2½ in. high.—The language, with the exception of the formal Sanskrit verses 1, 12, and 13, is Old Kanarese. Initial p is preserved, The archaic l remains in negalā (l. 22) and negalā (l. 23), where the vowel before it is metrically short; on this point I may refer to my observations above, Vol. XIII, p. 327. On the other hand, ū is changed to ū in afīduṛga (l. 15), bīguna (l. 17), bīpada (l. 26). The double l in Śanḍiliya for Śanḍiliya (l. 21), is worth notice: cf. Pāṇini VIII. iv. 47, Siddhānta-kaumudi 48.

The record, after referring itself in ll. 2-5 to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramaditya VI), gives in ll. 5-11 details of an endowment, consisting of certain lands, which were purchased by Kīśuvaṇa Raviṇīraya-Nāyaka, a distinguished member of the Hundred Brāhmaṇ burgesses of Raviṇāgarī (a subdivision of the Thousand burgesses of Pāli), for the upkeep of a temple of Vishnu, which he had built. After some hortatory matter in prose (ll. 11-14) and verse (ll. 15-17) the author proceeds to celebrate in verse Bēlvala, Pāli, the Thousand Brāhmaṇ of Pāli, the Hundred of Raviṇāgarī forming a part of them, the family of the donor, and the latter personally (ll. 17-30). The pedigree is as follows:—

Dēmaya, of the śa pūrṇa gōtra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gommiṃaya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Raviṇīraya | Tīkanāya | Kēśava |

The date of this record is given on ll. 4-5 as: the 7th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Dūndubhi; the uttarāyana-saṃkṛānti. The saṃkṛānti in question
occurred on Sunday, 25 December, A.D. 1082, at 13 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise, and 1 Makara was accordingly reckoned as corresponding to the following Monday.

The places mentioned, besides Pāli and the śīthas in l. 15, are Raviyaṇagēri (ll. 9, 20), the Bejavāla-nāṇḍu (l. 17), Bhaṭṭara-koḷa or “The Bhaṭṭas’ Lake” (l. 11), and Kalkutīṣagāre or “The Stonemasons’ Tank” (l. 11). On Bejavāla see above, Vol. XIII, p. 40. The other places seem to have been in or about Pāli, and can no longer be traced; Raviyaṇagēri was a parish (kēri, literally “street”) of Pāli, as will appear below.

TEXT.

[The metres are as follows: verses 1, 13, Anuṣṭubh; verse 2, Māṭṭhā-bvākriṇīta; verses 3-9, 11, Kānda; verse 10, Champaka-mālā; verse 12, Śālīṇas.]

1 Svasti [*] Jayatī-āvishkritāṁ Vishṇor-vvārāhāṁ kshōbhit-ārṇṇavaṁ [*] dakṣiṇāṃnāta-daṁśhṭā śāra-vvārānta-bhuvanaṁ vapu[*] [*] [*]

2 Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛthvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāj paramāśvāna paramabhāṭṭārakāṁ Satya-

3 śraya-kūla-tilakaṁ Chāḷukya-ābharaṇaṁ śrimat-Tri(Tri)bhuvanamallādēvara vijayarājya-uttar-ābhī-

4 vṛddhi-pravardhamāṇam-ā-chaindr-ārkka-tāraṁ salutam-ire [*] Śrīmāch-Chāḷukya-Vikrama-varahada 7noya

5 Dumndubhi-samvātsaram-uttarāyaṇa-samaṃkti-yandu | Svasti [*] Yama-nīyama-

6 svādhyāya-dhyā-

7 na-dhāraṇa-mō(mau)n-ānusṭūṭa(ma)-japa-hōma-samādhi-sampannar-appa śrimadh-

8 agraḥārānī Pāli-

9 yō-ōṛ-oḍeṇa-pramukha sāsīrvvaruṅ ōṛ-Kisuvāya Raṅgikīmaya-nāyakaṁ mādhisī-

10 da ōṛ-Nārāyaṇa-dēvargge dharmm-ābhivṛddhi-nimitta[m deva]ra jirṇ-ōḏdhāraṇa-

11 khaṇḍa-sphuṭṭakām śāna-

12 gandha-dhīpa-dīpa-nivedyakkaṁ-anāṅga-bhūgakkaṁ sattrakkaṁ Raviyaṇagēriya

13 nirvvara kavyo Raṅgikīma-

14 yya-nāyakaṁ dravya-pārvvakadaṁ dhārā-pārvvakam mādhisī koṇdu ōṛ-Nārāyaṇa-

15 dēvargge Bhāṭṭa-

16 ra-koladali bīṭa mattar-aṅga Kalkutīṣaṃgāreyalī paralu mattar-ondu | Inteś-

17 dharmmamānī sarvam-nama-

18 ăya(eva)m-āgi σασίρραωρϊν pratipāḷjisuvaṛ-Idān pratipāḷisidargge Vāraṇāsi

19 Kurukkēḷāy-Aṅghyāṭṛththām

20 Prayāge Gayey-emba tīrthha-sthānaṅgaḷo-māhī-dānaṅgaḷaṁ mādīda punyam-

21 akkrum-int-appudan-aridu sā-

22 sīrvvaruṅ dharmm-ōttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-app-amāt-ā-chaindr-ārkka-tāraṁ-barām

pratipāḷisuṿar | Vṛttā |
15 iva-ya-āndadin-eıde pālsidavaṃga-śiṣṭ-ārtha-saṁsiddhi saṁbhavikum
konaį-alidanaį Gāṅge Gaye Khē(Kē)dāram Kuru-
16 kahētram-eṇaį-ivaṇaį-pesaday pàrvvarām goravaram gō-brīndaman pèṇḍaram tave
konaį-ikkida pāṇam-euyugum-a
17 vaṁ bīgum ni-gōḍaṅga-loį [2[*] āmudhi-vṛta-dharapīgı vadaṇaṁ

Beıvala-nād(ṇ)-adarkka tijakada vōl-chelvaṇ-♭ruva Pū-
18 li-ṛāmam buddha-jana-nilayam-enipud-śī puravaradol || [3[*] āmīta-guṇ-anvita-

vīp-rōttamār-śiṣṭā-pūrta-va-
19 rttanar-śāśīrvvart-yyama-ṇiyama-svādhīya-ṣaṃbhāvah-saṁasta-dēśa-vidhūr ||

[4[*] āvar-ṛage vōda-sā-
20 stra-pravvarat-śaṭ-karma-nirata-enip-unnatiyīṁ Raviyaṇa-gēriya nūrvvar-

bhūvanadol-ātisidā-ṛkrttiyīṁ
21 prakāṣisōdar || [5[*] Allī || Shā(Śa)ṇḍilya-gōtra ranarūha-chedakara[ū]n[*]

brahma-vidyēṣo-saṅkalan-ṣaṅkāra-ṣaṅkāran-emi.
22 sida peṇpu-ṭol-kṛṇa-śī Dēmaya-paṇulīyār[l]-śaṇle negalda || [6[*] āvar-

āṭrajan-akliha-kaḷa-ṛavīṇaṃ-anīmic-
23 tta-bāndhvama Manu-charita[m] dhavaļa-yāśō-nidhiyeṇe peṇpu-vaṭedu jaga-olage

Gomīmīyaṃ negalda || [7[*] āmū

24 Tat-tanūjētaṁ śīr-Puruḥottama-pada-kamala-yugala-bhrīngam dharma-

bōdarka-manaṇaḥ vibhu sakalā-jaga-
25 t-tīlakaṁ Raviṣikimāyaṁ-amala-charittra || [8[*] Tad-anjar-śeṣaḥ vibhav-

āḍpaḍha[ṛ]a-śiṣṭa-viśiṣṭa-janača Su-
26 rabiṣya vōl-bel[padav-ivtto peṇpu-vaṭedar-śsad-amalār-ene Tīkanāryyanum
Kēṣavānuṁ || [9[*] Vṛttta || Anupama-
27 kṛtṛtiyami paṇḍa māvaramaṁ prabhu Rākṣikimāya-olpinā kaṇi dharman-

chittamane bhāviṣi cheḷvina Viṣhū-ge-
28 hanaṁ jana-nutama[m]n[*] paratru[tra]-hitamaḥ bhuvana-trīṭayakke pūjyam-śēt-ene

kaḍu-sēvyam-āṭud-ene mādīsar-
29 d-āndā-m-id-āṛge t[ṛttham]m[o || [10[*] Vanadhigam[ū]nī chaṃdrār-karuv-

animaḥa-nāgāṅdra-lokamu[m]n] vasuvaṭiyum Kanak-
30 māhī[charila]nu[m[*] [u]llēnaṃ sale nilke Raviṣikimāyana dharmana || [11[*]

Śaṁśāy-yaḥ dharmma-śe(ṣē)tur-uṇipāṇ[ū]n
31 k[īlē kā]ḷē pālaṇyō bhavadbhiḥ [1[*] sarvvaṇ-ṛtan(n) bhāgi(vi)naḥ pārtthivin-

drāṁ(n) bhyoy bhityō yāchate
32 Rā[machan]dṛāṇ || [12[*] Sv[a-datt]ā[*]n para-datt[ā]*n vā yo harēti(ta)

vāsuṇdhara[ū]n[*] śaṣṭhtīr(tīm)-vvarahā-saharāṇi vishṭhāyān jā-
33 yatē krimiḥ || [13[*] āmū

1 Read shadāṇgyān.
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Victorius is the manifested Bear-form of Vishnu that stirs up the ocean and holds the earth at rest upon the tip of his uplifted right tusk.

(Lines 2-4.) When the victorious reign of — hail! — the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyārāya’s race, embellishment of the Chāṇuṅkya, king Tribhuvanamalla, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(L. 4-5.) on the uttaraṇa-saubhārāṇī of the 7th year of the Chāṇuṅkya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Dundubhi:—

(L. 5-11.) the Thousand, headed by the mayor, of the Agrahāra of Puli, who practises the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, spiritual concentration, observance of the vow of silence, prayer, oblation, and absorption, for the purpose of fostering the religious practice of (the temple of) the god Nārāyaṇa constructed by Kisuṣṭyara Raviṃikamayya-Nāyaka, for the restoration of outworn (buildings) and (renewal of) broken and burst (masonry) belonging to the god, for baths, perfumes, incense, lights, and oblations, for the personal enjoyment (of the god), and for the choultry, Raviṃikamayya-Nāyaka made over to the god Nārāyaṇa six mattras at the Bhāṭaṇa Lake (and) one mattras of gravel soil (?) at the Stonemasons’ Tank, for which he had arranged the purchase with pouring of water and gift of money from the Hundred of Raviyaṅgari.

(L. 11-14.) So the Thousand shall protect this pious foundation as a sarva-namasya holding. To those who protect it shall accrue the merit of making the great gifts at the holy places of Benares, Kurukshetra, Arghyatirtha, Prayāga, and Gaya; knowing this to be so, the Thousand shall protect it for the continuous increase of religion as long as moon, sun, and stars endure.

(V. 2.) To him who protects (the foundation) duly as it was given by him (who established it) shall befall the fulfilment of the objects of his desire. To him who appropriates and destroys it shall accrue the guilt of downright cold-blooded slaughter of Brāhmaṇas, Gorovas, herds of kine, and women; he shall fall into (degraded) forms of rebirth.

(V. 3.) The county of Belvala is the face of the ocean-girt Earth. Like a beauty-spot thereon is the town of Puli, overspread with loveliness; a home of sages there is in this excellent town.

(V. 4.) The Thousand (of Puli) are noble Brāhmaṇas possessing boundless virtues, active in works of kindness and beneficence, practising the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, and other duties, far removed from all sin.

(V. 5.) Among them, the Hundred of Raviyaṅgari, who are eminent in the lore of the Vedas and devoted to the six practices, have displayed to an exalted degree exceedingly brilliant glory on earth.

(L. 21.) Among them—

(V. 6.) As he possessed such eminence as to be called a sun to the lotuses of the Śāndilya gōtra, an ornament of the whole world in divine lore, Dēmaya the Shaṅgali was truly illustrious.

(V. 7.) His son Gommiṃkayya was illustrious in the world, attaining distinction as one who was expert in all arts, a kinsman without (selfish) object, following the practices of Manu, a treasure of white glory.

1 The construction seems to be an anacoluthon, the subject nāsīnavacuḥ being left as a nominativus pendens.
2 A class of Saiva ascetics.
3 See Mann, i. 88.
4 A master of the six agnās or ancillary sciences of the Vēdas.
(V. 8.) His son is the lord Raviñamayya, a bee to the two lotus-feet of the blest Purushottama, having a soul exalted in godliness, an ornament of the whole world, stainless in conduct.

(V. 9.) His younger brothers Tikanārya and Kēśava, truly stainless men, have attained eminence, holding rank in perfect dignity, like Surabhi granting their desires to agreeable and cultured persons.

(V. 10.) Among these three brothers possessing incomparable fame, the lord Raviñamayya, a mine of excellence, inspired by a godly spirit, constructed a beautiful house of Vishnu renowned among folk, bringing welfare in the other world, so that it has become an object of worship to the three worlds, an object of intense reverence: who are there that have a holy place of such sort?

(V. 11.) As long as the oceans, the moon and sun, the worlds of Gods and Nāgas, the earth, and the great Golden Mountain exist, so long forsooth may Raviñamayya's pious foundation stand.

Vv. 12-13: two common Sanskrit formulæ.

D.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI: SAKA 1019

This document is cut upon a slab of black stone that was found built into the outside of the northern or front face of the temple of Virabhadra, on the western side of the door. The stone is 3 ft. 10½ in. above the ground, and 2 ft. in width. It has a rounded top, with the following sculptures in the uppermost compartment: in the centre Vishnu standing, facing full front; to his proper right successively, beginning from him, Nandi, a priest, behind Nandi standing facing Vishnu, and two kneeling worshippers likewise facing the god; to the god's left, successively a kneeling Garuda (half turned towards Vishnu and half to front), a cow with calf, and a scimitar; above all these are the sun (on right) and moon (on left) Below this is the inscribed area, measuring 2 ft. 10½ in. in height and 1 ft. 11 in. in breadth, It is on the whole well preserved. The character is good Kanarese, but of a type about a century later than the alleged date of the record (Saka 1019); it may be a genuine later copy of the original grant, but in estimating its authenticity we must note also the irregularity of the date. The letters, in lines 1-4, are about ½ in. high; then they begin to increase in height, and from line 6 onward are on the average about ⅛ in. The letter rī in rīshi (l. 13) is apparently represented by a modified rī. The special cursive form of v (above, Vol. XII, pp. 335, n. 1 and 337) appears 39 times, as far as the text is legible. The language, except in lines 1-2 (verses 1-3, followed by the formula namō Nārāyanāya), which are in Sanskrit, is Kanarese, verging on the medieval dialect. The archaic j is always changed to j (mālkarin, l. 15; mālpur, l. 22; hāla, l.l. 35, 51-53; aśīdharm[ge], l. 58; bīṣa[va], l. 60). V is changed sporadically to b (brajadeś, l. 13; dīyam, l. 23; bāya[tt]pattam, l. 25; dāya-, l. 32; drāya-, l. 37). The upadānāya is falsely written in ānuśita- (l. 33), for śphusti. The consonant t is doubled before v in atityāyata- (l. 18) and atityāyata- (l. 20); cf. above, on inscr. C. Initial d is written yā (l. 36). In the prose parts final s before a vowel is occasionally changed to s, and initial p becomes h in hāla (l. 35, 51-53); hāma (l. 35, 51), hēb-batā (l. 36), hārala(hi) (l. 38), hānamu(hi) (l. 39, 43), hērītā (l. 55), horege (ib.), hotele(hi), honum (l. 56 f.), while it remains in pade(hi), pana(hi), pāda(hi), pād(e)hhi. As regards flexion, we find an accusative plural in final -a three times (-pāda(hi), l. 37, 39, 42), and a corresponding adverb (-pāনvaka, l. 42, 50); that this is the genuine medieval form, and not a mere slip, is suggested by the adverb samita(hi) (l. 22) and the dative -nāyaka(hi) (l. 16), where the vocalic ending is guaranteed by the metre. There are a few words of lexical interest,
such as udgrāhakar, l. 9 (spelt udugrāhakara), “studying successfully” (cf. the Sinhalese ugganāva, “to learn”), and the technical terms karva, ll. 39, 43 (from karma?), kāta, ll. 52-3, soṭi (?), l. 54, and hottalū, l. 55.

The record, after three introductory verses, refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI), and then launches out into verse in praise of Kuntāja, Belvala, Pāli, the Thousand Mahājanas of Pāli, and the Hundred of Kāśavāvallīgēri (ll. 1-13). Among the last-named was a distinguished Brahman family, the Ajjvāś, belonging to the Āṭrāya gūtra; to this stock belonged Sōbhana-Nāyaka, who begot by Muddikavve Nākimagya (Nāksrāsa or Nākiyana). Nākimagya begot by Nāgikavve Nāmimaya, Rāmadēva, and Mahādēva (written Mahādēva for the sake of metre), and rebuilt a temple of Viśnu in Pāli (ll. 13-23). Then follow specifications of various purchases of land acquired by Nākimagya from the Hundred of Raviyanagēri, Kāśavāvallīgēri, and Ghaśāsagēri, and from the Thousand of Pāli (ll. 23-53). Two minor endowments (ll. 53-57) and a hortatory stanza (ll. 58-60) conclude the document.

The date of the record is stated, on ll. 23-25 as: Śaka 1019 (expired), the cyclic year Āśvāra; Pushya śūdha 5, Ādityavāra (Sunday), the uttarāyāga-sahākraṇī, the vyayatpāta, or yōga in which the declination of sun and moon are identical. This date again is irregular. Pushya śūdha 5 of the given year corresponded to Saturday, December 13, A.D. 1097; it began about 54 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Friday, and ended about 34 m. after mean sunrise on the Saturday. It could not be connected with the uttarāyāga-sahākraṇī, which occurred 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on Thursday, 24 December—twelve days after it.

The places mentioned, besides Pāli and the āśīvas in l. 58, are Kuntāja (l. 4), Belvala (l. 5), Kāśavāvallīgēri (ll. 12, 37, 38), Raviyanagēri (ll. 34, 53), Ghaśāsagēri (l. 40), Konaśagēri (? l. 50), Katiśagēri (l. 52), and some minor localities; see above.

TEXT.

[The metres are as follows: verses 1-3, Anuṣṭubh; verses 4, 5, 16, Matīthēva-vikriṇīta; verse 6, Mahā-sragdhāra; verses 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, Kanda; verses 9, 10, Champika-malā; verse 13, Utpala-malā.]

1 Namass-tuṅga-sirās-chumbhi-chandrapu-rāma-chārvē [†•] traiyōkya-nasāravara-vām-bhāma-māla-stambhāya Sa(Sa)mabhavē || [†•] Šrimat-Harihara-ākhyaśa pād-āmburha(rūha)m-akṣhayaṁ [†•] bhakti-namra-jaṇanāṁ

2 cha śanti-puṣṭi-karam sadā || [†•] Jayati-a(ś)vishkri(kṛi)tām Viṣhpo-vv[†•]rāham kshobhit-ārna(rna)vaṁ [†•] dakshee-śunata-daṁsrtr-āgra-vīrānta-bhuvnānā vaśuḥ [†•] [†•] Svasti [†•] Namā Ṛāyanāya ||

3 Svasti [†•] Samasta-bhuvan-āsava Śrī-Prithvi-vallabha mahājādbhirāja paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyārāya-kaļa-tiḷaka Chāṇuky-ābharaṇa [†•] Šrm[a[†•]-Triṣṭhu-vana-

1 From the ink-impression. 2 Read Śrīmad-Dhaarika-. 
8 tu(d)-bahiraṃga-śevya-vibhavaṁ śrī-Pālīy-śir-opppugu || [5*] Muḍādīn śrī-Kēśavā-
dityāra pada-viṇu(ṇa)tar-vvēḍa-vēḍāṅga-vidyā-vidi. 9 sar shat-tarka-śatsu-pravudhiyo2-ūtiṣayad-udgrāhakarū nitya-yaśjarū mada-
matsarryy-ādī-daṇār sakaḷa-viṁbu, bu(dha). 10 saṁrakṣhakar pāḷyar-ependuṁ sadayā sāśirvvar-uvrt-viṇuṭar-akhila-śāstrārtha-
śayya-pravīṭar || [6*] Ka || Dimapaṇi tan. 11 nna karaṅgaḷa-anupamadīṁ Pāḷiyāḷi punjīsi nirataṁ jana-viṇuṭar-śāśirvvar-
anavartana paḍedan-āṃt-sv(d ?)-eṁr kri(kri)ta-kri(kri)tyau || [7*] 
12 Palaś-agrabār(kk)-eḷḷam salalitādiṁ Pūli tījakam-allīga3 kaḷaṇaṁ sale 
14 brajad-ante kūde nirmāṇam-enis-irddund-Ājąva. 
15 kulam sale puṭṭiṇḍan-allī permeyiṁi salalita5-śārura-sach-cheritaṁ prabha
Śobhana-Nāyakaṁ mahā-bala-yuta-gōtra. 16 vardhdhanan-udatta-gupama Śiva-pāda-śēkharaṁ || [9*] Sphurīyise sippinnī sale 
muttīna mālkeyin-īṃtu puṭṭiṇḍan su. 17 rucīre Muddiksvve-satiyaṁ sale So(60)bhana-Nāyakamaṁ vistartara-puṇya-
murtī purus(ah)-śrītha-śēkhāmaṇi Nā. 18 kimayyan-udahhariśaidan-īṃtu Pūli-pura-madhyadol-āṛjjīta-Vishṇu-gēhamaṁ || [10*] 
Ka || Āyana sati bhuvaṇado. 19 l-āṭṭiyāyata-pati-bhakte Nāgikavvo viśeṣa(ṣha)-śrī-yute mahante ni[chcha]ṁ śrēyānaka-murtīi putravati bahu-
guṇadīṁ || [11*] Ka || Āṭṛṇya-vaṃśan-ependuṁ mitra-prōṭaṁi dāna-tatspar-
vibhavam pāṭrav-arīd-van-udya. 20 du-gōtra-pavitram prasiddhha-viṁbu Nākaśasaṁ || [12*] Vṛ || Tat-tanuṁjar 
ṣu(ṣu)Śobha-viṁbu Niṃeyamaṁ sale Rāmdēva-āṭṭiyaṁ. 21 ta-manōja-murtī Mahadēva-mahā-prabhaṅkara-vēḍa-vēḍāṅga-samastā-sāstra-vidaraṁ 
parsaḥ(ṛ)pohēṃi dāna-dharmaṁ. 22 maṁ saṁtata māḷpar-āṃt-svara saṁtata rājasa-uttar-ōttaram || [13*] Tad-anantara 
Ka || Saḷe nāḷvā-irddad-allīye nelasi. 23 kūm deyyam-ante vipra-sahaśra(ṣra)ṁ salalita-vidyā-vibhavaram vīḷasitar5-ire 
Harīhar-ākhyan-nilayame dibyam || [14*] Svasti śrī. 24 mātu-Sa(Sa) kavāra 1019 neya Īṣvā(śva)ra-saṁvatsaraṁ 
Puṣya(ṣhya)-śuddhha 
paṁchomā Āḍītyavādārānduṭu-uttārā. 25 yana-sa[ni*] kramaḥ(ma)ṇuṁ bhya[t]pātaṁmuṁ bamba puṇya-dinadolu || [1*] 

1 The prāṣa, i and j, is irregular. 2 Read -sat-pravudhiyo. 3 Read ṛiṣkī. 4 The prāṣa is irregular, la for ṣa. 5 Or possibly all-īre. 6 Read ṛiṣkī.
26 tigraha-sa(sha)†-karmma-niratarun | śārma[...]-Ch[...]-lukya-chakravartti-Brahmapuri-
sthān-adhipatya(tiya)ruin | Hiranyakagarbhabhama-
27 kha-vinirgata-chatur-vvēda-vēdāng-a-sāstra-smrīti-purāṇa-kāvyā-nānā-nātaka-pravī-
entarun | sv-bhāme(ma)ya-samun-
28 dita-sarasāchandra-chāndrīkā-chakraru | kānchana-kalaja-śī(si)ta-sā(sha)tu-
chchha(chha)tra-chāmara-paincha-mahā-sabuda-ghaṭhika2-bhēri-rav-ā-
29 dī-rajā-chhih-ābhirajitarun | sapta-somā-sanϕth-āvabri(bhrī)th-āvagāhana-pavitrikrita-
śarirarun9 | Harahās-ābhāsa(sa)-vi-
30 śadā-yaśaḥ-kṛttigalun | śrīmad-Andhāsura4-dēva-pād-ārādhakarun | saran-aṅgata-
raśakha[r]un | śri-Kesāvāditya-dēva-la-
31 bodha-vara-prasāda-sampannarum-appa śrīman-mahā-āgrahāram | Pāliy-ūr-ōdeya-
prouṃkha sāśirvva-smma-
32 hājaṅgala dihya-śri-pādaṅgala-ārādhisi | avara samnidiyalu | Ajoḥha(jja)vara-
Nākimayam tānu mādīs-
33 da śri-Harihari-dēva naivēdyaṅkam Chayitra-pavitramkam khaṇḍa-ḥpu(spun)tiṭa-
jīrụr-ōcchhāranak jivantakam
34 Ṛava(viya)ṇagiriya nūrrva[ra] pādaṅgajam suvarṇa-pārvaṅkam-ārādhisi Būdana
Moneya Raviṇapagāriya
35 hāla hasugeya badagaṇa ūla-kanḍikeyyali paṭedā mattaru mūru | ā keyige
paṭuṇva stme Kēsava-dvēra ke-
36 yī | baḍagalu heb-batō | mādalu Būdana-Guttī | temkalu yā kēriya
bhāmi | ā nṛru māttarggaṁ 6 aṛu-vāṇa pāṇa-
37 v-ōṇdu vi(vi)sam erādu kāpi erādu | māttam | Kālaṣāvālīgīriya nūrrvāra
śri(śri)-pādaṅgala  ā Nākimayam dravya-pū-
38 vvākam-ārdī(dhi)si tōḍa haralalli Sēṅgagēryiṅm kēlaţe sarvva-namaśya(sya)-v-
āṃgī pāṭedā māttar-oṃdu | māttam Kālaṣavālīgī[ri]-
39 ya nūrrvāra śri-pādaṅgala ā Nākimayam hiranya-pārvaṅkam-ārādi(dhi)si
paṭedā kuruva-gey māttar ha-
40 mānōdu | ā keyige tīṛuva aṛu-vāṇa ma[ttaṁ]ge hāgaṁ erādu || Ka ||
Ghaśāsagēryiṅ-adhiparu bāsura-tejas[ru]
41 mahāntar-ṇ withheld Nūrrvāru Kēsava-Mahēśa-dēva lā-ṇesinda pājeg-ittaru
42 nūrrvāra śri-pādaṅgala Ājjavara Nākimayam dravya-pārvaṅka ārādhisī
paṭeda . . . . ma
43 māttar hāmōndu | ā keyige t(i)ruva aṛu-vāṇa māttarīṅge hāgaṁ erādu | ā yēruā kēriya karu-
44 va-vaney-erāduṁ mahku maneyam mādi dēva Brahmaṇapuriyo[lu] gṛi(gṛi)ha-
dāna-bhāmī-đanamati Nākimayam
45 āḍḍa kramam-oṃt-emtode | Kēsava-Bhāṭṭarīge bhāṭṭa-vri(vri)tīyaṁ maṇḍasuv-
āṃt-īre paṭuṇva mūḍaḷa mane | avarīge keyi
46 māttar ayi[du] | avaru dēvarīge t(i)ruva aṛu-vāṇa pāṇa erādu hāgaṁ
erādu | al[1°]iṁ māḍaṇa mane [Na]rasiṃh-
47 Bōmayā[į]yarīge | avarīge keyi māttaru erādakakm aṛu-vāṇa pānav-oṃdu |
allīṁ mūḍaṇa mane N: rasiṃh-

1 Read Narāccha-śaṅkara.
2 Read pasitrikita-tārārū.9
3 Read ghatikā.
4 Here and below the ā is written with the subscript character which usually denotes ā.
5 Read frr.
6 Read ittar-ūrjīta-dā.
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Homage to Śambhu comely with the yak-tail fan that is the moon kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the structure of the city of the Triple World!

(V. 2.) The blest Haribara’s lotus-foot is eternal, and ever causes increase of peace to those who bow down to him in devotion.

(V. 3 : identical with verse 1 of C.)

(Line 2.) Homage to Nārāyaṇa!

(Ll. 3-4.) When the reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya’s race, embellishment of the Chāṣyukyas, king Tribhuvanamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successfully increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:

(V. 4.) While the blessed Bhīvala with its multitude of renowned great agrahāras, cities, and happy towns and with its abundance of sapful grain and all kinds of treasures shines indeed, as one may say, as the lovely face of the world-renowned lady Kuntāla, this bright Pāli, an ornament of great agrahāras, is resplendent in that region.

1 This daṣa is superfluous.
2 These letters are mostly very uncertain: we may read either kū or kō, and the ya is doubtful.
3 This daṣa is also superfluous.
(L. 6.) In that (Paṭi)—

(V. 5.) Being encompassed by lines of swaying lotuses, by pleasures of jasmine rich in perfume, indeed, and with a profusion of splendour of appropriate pools and wells, radiant with the brilliance of many pinnacles on thousands of charming sanctuaries of Śiva wherein men find delight, having worshipful majesty in the exterior thereof, thus does the blest Paṭi display itself.

(V. 6.) Joyfully bowing at the feet of the blest Kāśavaditya, renowned for lore of Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas, extraordinarily proficient in goodly skill in the six (courses of) logic, holding constant sacrifice, remote from conceit, envy, and other (vīses), protectors of all sages, worshipful ever, gracious, world-famous, versed in the purport of all books of teaching and in poetry are the Thousand (of Paṭi).

(V. 7.) The sun, massing to an incomparable degree his rays on Paṭi, constantly and ceaselessly has engendered the world-famed Thousand: thus have they not fulfilled their end?

(V. 8.) Paṭi by its charmingness is an ornament of all the many agraḥāras; as Kalaśavallīgērī in truth appears in grace as a pinnacle thereto, thus the Hundred (of Kalaśavallīgērī) are eminent.

(L. 13.) Among them—

(V. 9.) Stainless like a clear pool, like a diadem thereof, like a company of saints together is the Ajjāva family, in truth; in it was born the lord Sōbhanā-Nāyaka, who by his eminence, his charming and beautiful conduct caused the increase of his mighty gotra, being exalted in virtues, crowned by Śiva’s feet.

(V. 10.) In the wise of a pearl in sooth as it flashes in its shell, so was born—indeed to the most charming lady Muddikave and to Sōbhanā-Nāyaka, Nākimayya, an embodiment of most abundant merit, a crest-jewel of mankind’s desires; so he restored the splendid house of Viṣṇu in the midst of Paṭi.

(V. 11.) His good wife is Nāgikave, immensely devoted to her lord, peculiarly fortunate, great ever, having a form fraught with blessing on earth, a mother of sons through exceeding virtue.

(V. 12.) Of the Ātrēya lineage, ever encouraging friends, having his high estate devoted to charity, one who makes gifts with knowledge of the recipients, a purifier of his noble gotra, is the renowned lord Nākarāsa.

(V. 13.) His sons, the brilliant lord Nānimeya, in truth, Rāmadēva, and the great lord Mahādēva exceedingly charming of form, foster the masters of all the lore of the Four Vēdas and the Upanishads and practise constantly the duty of charity; as thus their lineage becomes increasingly illustrious:—

(L. 22.) Subsequently to this—

(V. 14.) With the four2 present there, in sooth, the divine sanctuary of Harihara stands like a celestial (building) with a thousand Brāhmans magnificent in charming lore displaying themselves in grace therein.

(Ll. 23-25.) Hail! On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Puṣhya in the cyclic year Īśvara, the 1019th (year) of the Śaka era, on a holy day on which occurred both the uttarāyana-saṅkramā and the nyātīpāta,3—

1 If the text is right, it must mean “a diadem of the Hundred of Kalaśavallīgērī”; but the sense seems rather strained, and one is tempted to conjecture nās-mukhādā.
2 Namely Nākimayya and his three sons.
3 A yōga in which the declination of the sun and the moon are the same.
(Ll. 25-32.) Having adored the divinely blest feet of the Thousand Mahājana, headed by the mayor, of the great Agraḥāra of Pāli, who are constant in the six duties of sacrifice by themselves and by others, study, teaching, alms-giving, and acceptance (of charity), masters of the establishment of the Chaṭṭukya Emperor's Brahmapuri, versed in the lore of the Four Vedaśa that issued from Hiranyagarbha's mouth, the Upanishads, sacred law, Purāṇa, poetry, and various dramas, who are chakra-birds to the moonlight arising from the autumnal moon of their church, who are decorated with golden pitchers, six white parasols, yak-tail fans, the five great musical sounds, gongs, drums, and other emblems of royalty, whose bodies are purified by plunging in the baths of the seven soma-samathās, who have glory and renown brilliant as the radiance of Hara's smile, who are worshippers of the god Andhāsura's feet, protectors of refuge-seekers, receiving the grace of boons from the god Kesaṭvāditya, —

(Ll. 32-35.) In their presence, Ajjavara Nakimayya, having adored with (offering of) gold the feet of the Hundred of Raviyaṇapārī, purchased three mattras in the upper kṣīke on the north of the waste-land haṣuṇge of Raviyaṇapārī at the Ghost's End for (the expenses of) the oblations of (the temple of) the god Harihara constructed by himself, the Chaṭṭra-pavitra, the restoration of broken, burst, and wornout (masonry), and the maintenance of a priest.

(Ll. 35-37.) Of this field the western bound is the field of the god Kesaṭva; on the north, the high-road; on the east, the Ghost's Copse; on the south, the lands of the parish. For these three mattras the aru-vaṇa is one pāṇa, two vīra, two kāṃji.

(Ll. 37-38.) Likewise the same Nakimayya, having adored with (offering of) money the blest feet of the Hundred of Kalaśavalligērī, purchased (of them) one mattrā as a sarve-namasya holding below the Gildsmen's Tank in the gravel-land of the garden.

(Ll. 38-40.) Likewise the same Nakimayya, having adored with (offering of) gold the blest feet of the Hundred of Kalaśavalligērī, purchased a karuṇa-field of eleven mattras; the aru-vaṇa paid for this field is two hāga on each mattrā.

(V. 15.) The Hundred who are lords of Ghaṭāsagērī, brilliant of splendour, great, have given abundant land for the approved worship of the gods Kesaṭva and Mahēsa.

(Ll. 41-43.) So Ajjavara Nakimayya, having adored the same Hundred's blest feet with (offering of) gold, purchased eleven mattras; the aru-vaṇa paid for this field is two hāga on each mattrā.

(Ll. 43-44.) When he had built two karuṇa-houses in (each of) these two parishes, four houses, the arrangement under which Nakimayya made his grants of houses and land in the Brahmapuri of the god was as follows: For Kesaṭva-Bhattach, houses on the west and east, so as to keep up a professor's stipend; for him a field of five mattras; the aru-vaṇa paid by him to the god is to be two pāṇa and two hāga. To the east thereof, a house for Narasingha-Somayāji; for him a field of two mattras, on which the aru-vaṇa is to be one pāṇa. To the east thereof, a house for Narasingha-Ghaisa; for him a field of two mattras, on which the aru-vaṇa is to be one pāṇa. To the east thereof, a house for Koneya-Malla(?) Kramita; for him a field of three mattras; the aru-vaṇa paid by him is to be one pāṇa and two hāga.

(Ll. 49-53.) Likewise Ajjavara Nākiyana, having adored with (offering of) money the divinely blest lotus-feet of the Thousand Mahājana, headed by the mayor, purchased as a sarve-namasya holding two mattras and four-hundred and fifty kamma in the waste-land haṣuṇge

1 Cf. above, on inscr. B.
2 A list of these is given in Ep. Carn., Vol. VII. i. Sk. 74.
3 Cf. Māya-ṇāda I. 58.
4 See Kittel, s. v. haṣuṇa, and above, Vol. XIII, p. 37.
5 Apparently the lands of Raviyaṇapārī.
6 Namely Kalaśavalligērī and Ghaṭāsagērī.
of Koçaḷagōri(?). Of this field the bounds are: on the north, the god Andhāsura's field; on the east, the kāra of the waste-land of Kattiyagōri; on the south, the field of the Mūla-sthāna god; on the west, the kāra of the waste-land of Rāviyāpi.

(L. 53-54.) The fifty households by common agreement granted oil for burning in the god's lamps.

(L. 54-57.) Likewise Nākimayya-Nayaka [assigned] a toll on the betel-leaves of Chikkarasa of the Rāhas' Hill; . . . on a (large) load, a hundred on a (small) load, fifty on a bagful; (on) a maund of husked rice, forty-five gadvāya in gold . . . . .

(V. 16: identical with verse 2 of inscription C.)

E.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMĀDITYA VI: THE 29TH YEAR, ETC.

This is an inscription upon a black stone that was found standing against the east wall of a small empty shrine a little to the south-east of the front (eastern) face of the temple of Madanaśvara or Andhaśvara. The stone was 7 ft. 6 in. high, and 3 ft. 0½ in. wide. Its top was a rounded panel containing the following sculptures: in the centre, a śiva in a shrine; to the proper right of this, a priest sitting, facing it, in the same shrine; in the proper right corner, a cow with calf; in the left corner, the bull Nandi; above these, the sun (to left) and moon (to right). Below this is the inscribed area, 4 ft. 8 in. high and 3 ft. broad.—
The character is Kanarese, a good hand of the last quarter of the twelfth century, with a supplement in a later hand (ll. 53-56). The letters are on the average ¾ in. high; they are generally well preserved. The type of jh noted on the Śaḍi inscription F. above, Vol. XV, p. 86, occurs on ll. 22, 27. The cursive s is used in -chakravartti (l. 47).—The language, except for the introductory Sanskrit verse, is Old Kanarese, verging on the medieval dialect. The l is preserved in negalda, l. 38, and ēdaw, l. 39, and wrongly written in Beḷcalaw, l. 5; on the other hand, it appears as ī in peḷ, l. 15, pogaḷguṇ, l. 30, ṇonēya, l. 40, ēl, l. 43, hāḷa, ll. 37, 42, 50, and as r in negarḍdar, l. 8, negarḍḍam, l. 25 (both with the second syllable short), and wṛppaḷa, l. 24. Initial p in the prose is retained in peḷinge, l. 34, pasuṇge, l. 37, but changed to h in hāḷa, ll. 37, 42, 50, hasuṇge, ll. 43, 45, 50, ḍana, l. 45, haśvuṇa, l. 46, ḍeb-baṭe, l. 51, haḍḍada, l. 52. Lexically interesting are: bhāṉaṇa, l. 4, kuttuṁbhitāti, l. 5, ēkuri, l. 13, bāḷi, l. 14, sōji, l. 34, cāṁḍāśuvara, l. 34, sata, ll. 44, 47, 51, 52, and sauṭi, l. 46.

The record is a consolidated one, comprising three different grants to the same foundation (ll. 1-39, 40-47, and 47-52), with a later supplement (ll. 53-56). When the third grant was executed and written out (A.D. 1184), the two earlier grants were copied and prefixed to it; and in A.D. 1224 some one began to write as a supplement the fourth grant, but did not complete it. The first grant begins by referring itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI), and then states that a general and minister, who was also Steward of the Royal Kitchen, by name Anantapāḷarasa, had a son-in-law, Lakkaraṇa, a general who administered Beḷvala and Puligere; and this Lakkaraṇa, with the authority of Anantapāḷarasa, commissioned a certain Sīṅgarasa to assign one share in the proceeds of fines levied in Pāḷi to the treasury of the god Andhāsura, a form of Śiva (ll. 2-7). This was accordingly done, under the auspices of the Achārya Tatpurusha, a disciple of Jāṇanaśakti; this Jāṇanaśakti was a distinguished divine and scholar, to whom king Bhuvanasiṃhālalla (Somāśvara II) paid particular reverence, in connection with which a fine temple of Śiva (probably that bearing the name of Andhāsura, with which the present series of grants is concerned) was built (ll. 7-18). Then comes, apparently as a supplement to this grant, a record of two endowments of Andhāsura. The first (ll. 18-36) opens with verses praising the town of Pāḷi and its mayor (sr-ōṇya), a scion of the Chāḷukya race named Maṅgarāṇa, who seems to have won some renown in the wars against the Chōḷas, Māḷavas, and Gūṛjaras, and is stated to have settled 1,000 Brāhmaṇa on an estate granted by
himself; after this come verses in praise of the Thousand, who are said to have built a stately temple of Andhāśura (probably that already mentioned). Then follows another supplement (ll. 36-38), chronicling a donation of land by four persons.

The second main division of the record (ll. 40-47) announces gifts of land to Andhāśura from the above-mentioned Mahāsakti (ll. 40-44) and the Thousand (ll. 44-47). Next comes a third paragraph (ll. 47-52) announcing the gift of some land to the god by the Hundred of Kaḷāśaṅgī, the Thousand of Pāli, and a certain Kaḷidēvya-Setī. Last comes an unfinished paragraph, added long after the preceding, to chronicle a grant by the guild of weavers to the Āchārya Vāmaśakti for the expenses of the establishment (ll. 53-56).

Corresponding to its composite character, our inscription contains four dates. The first of these is given in ll. 7-8 as: the 29th year of the Chājukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Tāraṇa; Pushya śuddha 10, Bṛhaspativāra (Thursday); the uttarāyana-samkṛanti. This is irregular. The tīthi Pushya śuddha 10 corresponded properly to Wednesday, 28 December, A.D. 1104, on which it ended about 18 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise, i.e. about 12.25 P.M., so that the connection with the following Thursday is not far wrong. But it cannot possibly have been connected with the uttarāyana-samkṛanti, which took place about 6 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Saturday, 24 December.

The next date is that given in ll. 40-41: the 7th year of the Kaḷāchurī Tribhuvanamalla (Brijala), the cyclic year Chitrabhām; Śravaṇa full-moon, Sōmavāra (Monday); an eclipse of the moon. This again is irregular, but only to a slight degree. The given tīthi corresponded to Friday, 27 July, A.D. 1162, on which it began about 55 m. before mean sunrise; and it ended about 4.41 A.M. on the following Saturday. On the same Friday there was a lunar eclipse lasting from 21 h. 45 m. to 23 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise (see Eclipses of the Moon in India, p. xxvii). The Śrīśaṅga-samkṛanti took place about 6.13 A.M. on Saturday, 28 July.

The third date is given in ll. 47-48: the 2nd year of Sōmēśvara [IV], the cyclic year Krōḍhī; the full-moon of Pusya, Sōmavāra (Monday); the uttarāyana-samkṛanti. This is also irregular. The given tīthi corresponded to Wednesday, 19 December, A.D. 1184; it began about 4 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Tuesday. The uttarāyana-samkṛanti did not occur until several days later; it took place about 22 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 24 December. Thus we see that the details of our date are a conflation of two distinct dates, as is often the case.

The last date is stated on l. 53 as: Śaka 1146 (expired), the cyclic year Tāraṇa, Jyaiśṭha śuddha 8, Sōmavāra (Monday). This is correct. The given tīthi corresponded to Monday, 27 May, A.D. 1234, on which it ended about 19 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

The places mentioned, besides Pāli, are Bēḻvala and the Six-hundred of the "Two Bēḻvalas" (ll. 5, 19), Śivayagēri (l. 37), Kośekūḷigēri (ll. 42, 49), Katiyagēri (ll. 44, 52), Ghaiśasgēri (l. 46), Kaḷāśaṅgī (l. 48), Raviyāna and Raviyāṇagēri (ll. 44, 51), Būragutti (l. 51), and some minor localities.

TEXT.

[The metres are as follows: verse 1, Anuvahā; verses 5, 7, 9, 10, 12-15, 18, Kanda; verses 4, 17, Mahā-vadāhari; verses 6, 8, 11, Champaka-mālā.]

1 @ Namas-tungā-sirāś-churībi-chāndra-chāmara-chāravē [*] trailokya-nagar-āraṁbha-
mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē [||*]]

1 From the ink-impression.


4 paji[१] samādhigata-paṁcha-mahā-śabda-mahāśāmāntādhipati mahāprachanda-ḍapada-nāyaakaṃ śrīram-mahāpradhānaṃ bhāpasa-

5 vṛggade Anantapāladara deseyin-avar-āliyāṃ dīpanāyaka Lakkarasaṃ kṳ̄nāntibbi bhatta-gāve-y-oal-ādī Čaḷvalač-aeراد-āru-ńuī.

6 rumaṃ duṣṭa-nigraha-sīhaṭa-pratipālanandiā̤luttutam-irūdu va (dha)rmma-kārya-ōddō-

7 śāmīd-Andhāsura-ḍevaggre Pāliya ḍaṇḍa-ḍoshad-oal-ōnondu bhāgama[०] biṛ-ōṇdu sama[०]ppise ārma-māch-Chāḷukya-Vikrama-kālāda 29neya Tārā-

8 na-saṁvatastara Pushya-suddha daśami Bṛ(Bṛ) haspatīvṛaḍ-uttarāyaṇa-saṁkra-

9 manḍapa divya-tithiyō || I mahiyo-neharda (lda)svādyā-mahi-

10 m-ōnatiyo-ugra-tapadol-omukti(kti)-śrī(śrī)-mukha-maini-mukkara = Kāṭāmukhar = endo-

11 (na)-parān(ū) mukhar-maṇi-mukhar || [२] Vṛttī || Avaro- Puṭilīya-

12 Ṛdeva-ēṁbra ēmbar-dasinduś-miśhita-āgrāgaya-vahālika = avarindaṃ Lakṣuṇaśādēva = avarinā Vakhkā(kkā)ṇḍīva-gṛga-pravaraa-śsārvva-kai-āgama-praṭhitā-Vidyēśa-yoottī-

13 dra-

14 r-aṅvaro pū[०] pina Somadēva-munipar-vīśvambhara-bhagadol || [३] Ruchir-

15 odyad-ratnān ēcho[४] stabaka-vījaśit-ānēka-bhūpāla-chūḍā(ḍā)-nichaya-prōdhgṛishṭa-pā-

16 da-dvayanan-upagata-sāraṣvatan mūṭa-va (ka)māṃ-ōpachayā -ānēbhorāti - Kālānanta (la f)-

17 nikhiḷa-munindr-ottamam mōksha-lakṣāmi-kuchā-kumbh-ājanākrisār[०]-sthala-


19 mahim-ōnatiya || [५] Vitata-yasaḥ Chaḷukya-kula-tigamakaraṃ Bhuvanan(ay) ka[ma]

20 lla-bhāpati bālij-atī tan-muni-pāl-aśjya-yugakke vinamna-

21 n-āги nōchita-mati kotṭa pōjeyo maṇḍisidar-Śiva-gēhamam Śi-śyātanam-inntu mādipare pēl-enuṭu va (dha)re bānīp-apenna || [६] Avaro-apugii-

22 na śiḥyar-śi śh-śh-śparavara-gṛga-gara-śamanvītara-maṇā-sāstra-śvāriDATapuruṣhara-dig-

23 vīvarṇaṅga Antonio-āmala-śitrīyīn dhāvaliṣḍa || [७] Int-eśiṣṭa sthan-śchā-

24 riyar-appa Tapatruṣha-paṇḍittara samakṣadojam ar-oḍeya-śramukha sāśinvar

25 mmahājanamgala samindhānadalū māṭm-Andhāsura-ḍevara pō-

26 da-prakshālanaṃ-geydu ḍevvar-aṅgā-bhagakkaṃ khanda-ṣṭhīta-jīrṇa-ōddhārakkaṃ
dapda-ḍoshad-oal-ōnondu bhāgamaṃ vṛggade Singarasam biṛta ॐ Vanadh-

27 parta-

28 bhūṭala-vījaśāvat-mukhadante tōppa chelivine kaṇi Čaḷvalam-tilak-śkri(kri)-

29 tīrīyōṁ-esed-irppa Pāliya-śn-Ānimesha-rāja-śrīppa puramō Phaṇi-rājana rā-

30 jāhānīyō manuja-nīvāsam-allad-enisal-nēgum peyat-ōnudu śohoyiṃ || [८] Advu

31 vēdāṅgatala tāy-mano-frequency nānā-tarka-śrīkko-dānām kēl-ant-adu

32 śāśtraṅgala kaṇi-enisum-d-vant-chaṇḍra-olage Pūli-grāma || [९] Ārame pant-

33 eṇadī sakhakaraṃ bhoreṇdu moreya it-rīp-ālīnt-

34 jhaṅkaraṃ sugandha-kusum-āsrama pōra-vojōlo-eṇumō-ō vānipoḍa || [१०] Surā-nītyanagā-śaṇa Dīnēsana paḍa-yugakke bhaktar-appara [n-ṇ-]

35 var-irppa sāsvata-padakk-ardād(rd) śrīsal-enuṃ sāram-āg-īre Bīdi kaṭjiō-ōṇum

36 patham-eṅba vol-anhamaramo taṇṭu bhāsuraṭara-sama-kumbh-kalasaṃga-

1 Read Ṣpajiti. 2 The do has been omitted and then reinserted in, written smal.
24 lin-oppugum-entu nörppada || [11*] Akhila-mahidövar-Šatamakhanam taqipalke künde mađutt-ire kārmukhadhā1 vol-esegun nānä-ma-
kha-dhāma-stomadinām-enüdni yöma || [12*] Choila-kula-Kāla-daṇḍam Mājava-
kula-vijayā-kētu Gūjijara-kula-nirmūla[ka*]2n-e nele sale gharđada.(l)i)n
26 Chālukya-kul-enüdu Māṅgalāṅkāna-dēva || [13*] Ā Maṅgalāṅkānavāṃ jagat-
mudrita-vimala-krtti sarvav-panaśyam bhāmiyan-inthu sahasra-dha-
27 rāmarāmar-nilai Pāliyai pālisi da || [14*] Gūḍi chamarav-ojjhay(aja)rain bel-gočhe
baḍapamṛ ghalaigey-ubhaya-sāmkharina modāł-āg-odēya mahā-
28 mahimeyam-ār-odēya śrī-Maṅgalāṅkānavam kunde paśedar || [15*] Vachana || Antu
paśed-ār-odēya-panaśya sāsirvvar-mmaḥājanāṅgala mahā-
mahiméy-en-entıdañce || Vipul-kārh-ar-anāna(a)-puṇṇa(a)-nīle(a)-yar-lōk-aika-
pitijar-kka-jā-nipunu-sasā(śē)raṇa-nrda-ṃpara-ṃyaśar-śiṣṭ-ē-
29 sht-a-varg-guṇ-ātūghprar-enādīr-virddhi-sāva(dha)-na-harār-ṛś-Kēśavāditya-dēva-pad-
ānabhūra-hbhi(bhri)ngar-enüdu pōgulam sāsīrvvarin bhātalai || [16*]
31 Param-āndrayatike jainm-ālayar-enisida sāsīrvvarum tammol-ayādaśarindam kōdī
va(dha)rrnm-amūrtam-an-ʊsedu pral-maṇi-
32 [go] jmdu lok-ottaram-app-śāntiya-krtti-prahala-lateg-ādarp-embaın śrīmad-Andhā-
sura-dēv-śavämaṇ maṇīdaś-asamara-sailakke
33 sādri(dp) sāyam-āgāl || [17*] Ant-enisida-ār-odēya-panaśya sāsīrvvar-mmahājanāṅgala-
-ē(ai)kammatyān-āg-irdudu nēla-vartti-ṃvma śāsīrvakke
34 pannōṇd-ādakeya sojjanumān chāṅdāvuraṁ bele modāl-āg-ulid-adakegalg-ellam
sāsīrvakke irppat-ond-ādakeya sojjanumaṃ pēṃgingē labhaha
35 gavālīgye-en-ṇār-eleyumān tale-tor[e*]ge labha-gavālīgya nāl-ṇār-eleyuma[m*]
śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvā prād-prakshājanaṃ
36 mōdī dēvār-aṅga-hēgak-ennū sāsīrvvar-biṭṭhar || Ājēlara Nāgadēvayya
Haradarā Śāntiya[γ*]j Maṇṭapayara Mākāpayya
37 Ubbarada Bammayya int-i nālvaru Śiv[e*]yaģerīya nārbbarige pāda-gā(ha)pā-
jeyaṃ koṭṭu hāla pasugeola[e] Kādkānai-
38 keyya kejage nālku matāra kēkāyya sarvva-nanaśya(a)-v-agī śrīmad-Andhā-
(ndhā)sura-dēvarīge konḍu biṭṭhar || Jagad-ojage negāḍa Pāliyop-
39 l-aga(gha)-paṭṭar-ddēva-nīvahev-ellam kichchhi dhigadgaha bhugital-emud-uriyal-
poge khaṇḍamānī muṭṭadul-Amāndhāsurā || [18*]
40 Svasti [(*)] Śrīmatu-Kāḻacuryya-chakrabartti(rrtti)
(reho)d-eṇeyya Chitrabhāṇu-suṇavars(tha)rada Śrāvaṇa-sudhdha4 punami
Sōmaavār[u*][u]
41 sōma-grahapamam kōḍi banda punya-dinadoln śrīmad-Andā(ndhā)sura-dēvār
sthāṇān-śāchārya-appa śrī-Jhānaśakti-dēvār śrīman-mah-a(ā)gra-
42 ārām Pāliy-ār-odēya-panaśya sāsīrvvarum dravyā-pūrvvam-kārādi(dhi)si dēvār
snāna-nīvēyakkk-enūd Kkokk[i*]gērīya hāla hasuge-
43 yalu konḍu biṭṭha māttar-ėl-adakke ār-vaṣa māttariṁge haṇa ondū [(*)]
keyya stme ent-[e*]m*daṇḍe baḍagaya stme Gōkharpośvāra*-dēvarā kej[y*]jīṁ
44 temkalu Ajjvāra-dēvā(va)ra kej[y*]jīṁ baḍagal muḍalu Kattiyagerīya
sa[sa]ta pāduval Kāvīyaṇya sa[sa]ya Svasti [(*)] śrīmad-ā-
46 r-odēya-panaśya sāsīrvvarum śrīmad-Andā(ndhā)sura-dēvargge snāna-nīvēyakkkey-
śo-veloḷa sarvva-namaṇya(a)-}

1 Read kārmukadha.
2 Read pumey-ojage
3 Read tuddha.
4 Read Gōkharpośvara.
5 There seems to be an "r" written over the kha.
46 va-agi bita mattar-emtu ["*"] adakke simey-ent-[e[m*]da]de mu'dana si[me*]
Akkaśaśilgeyi | tekaša sime bešta | hađuvaša sime sauši | bađagaŋ
sime Ghais[a].
47 saŋeriyu sa(sa)ta ("*" ) Svasti ["*" ] Śrimatu-Chājuŋya-chakravarti śrī-Sōmēvara-
dēva-varda(rsha)d-erādenyeyu Krōdhi-sāmvaṭha(tsa)rada Puṭya(shya)-sudhīha
puṇṃami
48 Sōmavāra uttarāyaña-saṃkramā(ma)padaṇḍu śrimatu-Kaḷaśa(sa)vaḷligiṛiya nṛtyvarum
sāsrīyvarum same(ma)yachakravarti Kali-
49 dvēvaśa-soṭṭiyarum sah["*"]ta śrimad-Aṇḍhāsa[ra-*]dēvargge suṇā-nivādyakke
Mairāvaṇaṇa hadinālku mattarə keyam-
50 maṁmār["*"]tav-ūgī Kokkuligēriya haša hasugyo modala sthaṇḍalali sarvva-
namaṃ(ṣya)v-ūgī bi-
51 tta mattaru ["*"] adara śi(st)me Raviyaŋgēriya sa(sa)tadiṁṇāṃ muḍalu
baḍagaṇa sime Būrargu[t*]i-heb-baṭṭe
52 muḍaṇa sime Kattiyagēriya sa(sa)ta tekaša simey-Eḍavanaḥallada baṭṭey-(i)
da(dha)rmamamā sāsrīyvaru pratipalaśuvuru ||
53 C Svasti ["*" ] Śrimatu-Śaka-varasha līganeyu Tāraṇa-saṃvatsarada Jyeṣṭha-
54 śrima[t*]-Trik["*"]ṭēvara-dēvara divya-śrī-pāda-padm-āraḍhakarum-appa śrī-Pūliya
sālīga-saṁ-
55 yaṅgalaṃ-ar-ṛdoṛya sāsrīvvaru samidhāṇadalu śrimad-Aṇḍhāsura-dēvra sthān-
ācāryaaruvu-
56 m-appa Vāmśaṅkhi-dēvargge dēva-kāṛyyakk-emdu dhāṛ-pāṛvvaŋ-ūgī koṭṭa
harike["*"] okkaliṃge hoṅge["*"]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1: identical with verse 1 of inscription D above.)

(Lines 2-3.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Ṣatyāśraya’s race, embellishment of the Chājuṅyas, king Tri bhuvanamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(Ll. 3-7.) On behalf of him who finds sustenance at his lotus feet, the great Lord of Feudatories who receives the five great musical sounds, the great august general, high minister, and Steward of the Kitchen, Anantapājaras,—his son-in-law, the general Lakkaraṇa, administering the Six-hundred of the two Bejvalas,7 including the kutṭuṁbitti and provision-villages,8 so as to suppress the wicked and protect the cultured, despatched his deputy Śingarasa on a mission of religious business, and having bade him to assign one share in the proceeds of the fines of Pūli to the god Aṇḍhāsura of the Agrahāra of Pūli, consecrated (the same); whereupon—

1 Read Sōmēvaraṛadaṇ.a.
2 Read sūdha.
3 Read keṣy (f).
4 Possibly a numeral has been dropped before mattaru.
5 Here seems to be a stone at the end of this word on the stone, over the ge.
6 The record here seems to break off in the middle of the sentence.
7 This means the Three-hundred of Bejvala and the Three-hundred of Puligala: see Dr. Flett’s note on the Scoristūr inscription, above, Vol. XIIII, p. 178.
8 See note on ṣhṛṭṭat-prāṁe (Sūḍi inscr. F., l. 20) above, Vol. XV, p. 92, u. 1.
(Ll. 7-8.) On the holy lunar day, Thursday, the tenth of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Taranā, the 26th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, on the uttaraṇṇa-sankṛanti,—

(V. 2.) Illustrous on this earth are the eminent saints of the Kāśmukha order for exalted majesty of learning (and) for severe austerities, being jewel-mirrors for the face of the Spirit of Salvation, remote from sin.

(V. 3.) Among them flourished one named Puliṇḍāvā, pre-eminent for devotion in the world; after him, Lakulīśādāvā; after him, Vakkhaṇidāvā excelling in virtues and the great Yogi Vidyyāśāna, versed in all arts and sacred tradition; so after him, the distinguished saint Somađēvā.

(V. 4.) The great ascetic Jānaṇākti has his two feet much rubbed by many monarchs' crowded crests brilliant with masses of lustré from bright noble gems; he is endowed with literary genius, highest of all the great saints who are like fires of doom to that ocean the rank growth of modern religions, stainless in fame, having his breast adorned by the rounded bosom of the Spirit of Salvation.

(V. 5.) As Jānaṇākti-Puṇḍitāvā's vast knowledge of logic and grammar is unique (?), the public lauds his exalted dignity, styling him Ekakshara.  

(V. 6.) In the course of the worship which king Bhuvanaikamalla, of widespread fame, a sun to the Chālukya race, despatching a messenger, reverently (and) resolutely offered to the lotus-feet of this saint, they constructed a sanctuary of Śiva, which the world ever praises, saying "Say, can they make thus a building of stone?"

(V. 7.) His beloved disciple Tatpurusha, eminent on earth, endowed with numerous virtues, knowing divers books of instruction, has caused the expanses of the regions of space to become white with his stainless fame.

(Ll. 16-18.) Having, in the presence of the local Āchārya Tatpurusha, as above described, and in the presence of the Thousand Mahājanas headed by the mayor, laved the feet of the god Andhāsura, the Steward Singaras made over for the personal enjoyment of the god and for the restoration of broken, burst, and worn (maonry) one share in the proceeds of the fines of Puli.

(V. 8.) Shining in the form of a beauty-spot on Belvāla, that mine of loveliness which appears like the face of that graceful lady the ocean-girt Earth, Puli is perfect in comeliness, a thing unique and apart, so that men say: "Is it the city where dwells the king of gods, or the royal residence of the lord of serpents? It cannot be a dwelling-place of mortals."

(V. 9.) It is a mother-house of the Vēdas, it is a dwelling-place of divers systems of logic, hearken, so it is a mine of books of instruction: thus is the town of Puli known within the circuit of earth.

(V. 10.) As regards the pleasures, the mango-trees drooping with fruit, the murmuring of swarms of bees that hum with buzzing sound, the showers of scented flowers in the outskirts of the town what description can fit them?

(V. 11.) How brilliant are the temples, when one observes, with their exceedingly radiant golden pinnacles, obliterating the sky, as if to say that this is a peculiar path built by

1 Ekakshara, lit. "mono-syllable," is the mystic ēn and the lore connected with it; applied as a title, it means a master of that lore (cf. the name of the poet Śaddakshari-dēva, the "master of the six-syllabled spell," scil. ēn śaṅka-Śrīdeva). A work on logic by an earlier Ekakshara-Muni is mentioned in the Kaḷas inscription of Śaka 851 (above, Vol. XIII, p. 332, l. 54); there seems to be a play on the double meaning of ekakshara, which apparently is taken as signifying "uniquely litterate" (cf. a-ekakshara).

2 See Dr. Fleet's note on this word ṭaṭī in his paper on the Dēvagēri inscription, above, Vol. XI, p. 3.
the Creator as his choicest work in order to raise the votaries of the feet of Isā and the Sun to enter into the everlasting seat where they abide.

(V. 12.) The sky is ever bright with masses of smoke of various sacrifices, like a rainbow, which all the Brāhmans together make for the satisfaction of the Lord of a Hundred Sacrifices [Indra].

(V. 13.) Maṅgaḷarpāvadeva, a moon of the Chālukya race, has become in sooth illustrious as a rod of Kāla to the Chōja race, a meteor of ruin to the Mālava race, an uprooter of the Gūjara race.

(V. 14.) This Maṅgaḷarpava, whose stainless fame is stamped upon the earth, having given land on sareca-namasya tenure (and) settled a thousand Brāhmans, protected Pāli.

(V. 15.) The fortunate Maṅgaḷarpava, the mayor, received as a gift (marks of—Ed.) the high dignity of governorship, namely the flag, yak-tail fans, discus (?), white parasol, betel-bag, gong, double shell, and the rest.

(Ll. 28-29.) As regards the high dignity of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor who has had this fortune:

(V. 16.) The earth extols the Thousand as being men of abounding (good) conduct, seats of incalculable merit, uniquely worshipful to the world, skilled in arts, having fame like autumnal clouds, celestial trees to the companies of cultured and agreeable men, ravishing the powers of haughty foes, bees to the lotus-feet of the blest god Kāśvāditya.

(V. 17.) The Thousand, who are birth-sites of supreme generosity, having together drunk with delight the nectar of religion with exceeding reverence for him, moved in spirit built a dwelling for the blessed god Andhāsa, which was to be as it were a support for the mighty creeping-plant of their own superhuman fame, so that it was like to the celestial mountain.

(Ll. 33-36.) The Thousand Mahājanas headed by the mayor thus described, by unanimous consent, laved the feet of the god Andhāsa and granted for the god’s personal enjoyment on nela-tartti eleven sojja of areca-nuts per thousand; on all other areca-nuts, such as chaṇḍaṇa and bele, twenty-one sojja per thousand; on each load (of betel-leaf), a bundle (consisting of) eight-hundred betel-leaves; on each head-load, a bundle (consisting of) four-hundred betel-leaves.

(Ll. 36-38.) Ālajāra Nagadēвая, Haradara Śantayya, Maṇḍeyara Mākapayya, and Ubbarada Bammayya, these four, having offered worship at the feet of the Hundred of Śiveyagēri, purchased (of them) and assigned to the god Andhāsa as a sareca-namasya holding four māttar below the Kaḍaku Tank within the waste-land pāsuga.

(V. 18.) In Pāli, which is renowned in the world, the whole company of gods is grief-stricken if a morsel (of sacrificial food) should enter the flames in fiery glow with crackling sound, without coming to Andhāsa.

(Ll. 40-41.) On the holy day on which occurred Monday, the full-moon of the bright fortnight of Śrāvāṇa in the cyclic year Chitrabhāṣu, the seventh of the (regual) years of—hail!—the blest Kalajhurya Emperor Tribhuvanamalladēva, together with an eclipse of the moon,—

(Ll. 41-44.) Jāṇasaṅkātideva, the Achārya of the establishment of the god Andhāsa, having adored with (offering of) money the Thousand, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pāli, purchased and assigned for the god’s baths and oblations seven māttar in the

1 Namely Isā and the Sun.
2 Āśā-gaṇa, the word kavaṇja means "a quantity embraced; a pack or bundle of betel or plantain-leaves, etc." (Kittel, s.v.).
waste-land hasugo of Kokkulingari; the aru-cana for it is one haṇa on each mattaṛ. As regards the bounds of the field, the northern bound is from the field of the god Gokarnāvara, on the south from the field of (the god) of the Ajavas, on the north-east the satā of Kattiyagari, on the west the satā of Raviyanī.

(L. 44-47.) Hail! The Thousand, headed by the mayor, assigned to the god Andhāsura for baths and oblations eight mattaṛ as a sara-namasya holding in the hasugo of the Lower (?) Field. As regards its bounds, the eastern bound is the Goldsmiths' Field, the southern bound the hill, the western bound the sauṭi, the northern bound the satā of Ghaiśanagari.

(L. 47-48.) On the uttarāyana-saṅkrānti, Monday, the full-moon of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Krōḍhi, the second of the (regnal) years of—hail!—the Chāṇukya Emperor Somēśvaradēva,—

(L. 48-52.) The Hundred of Kajāvalligari and the Thousand (of Pūlī), together with the Samaya-chakravarti Kalidēvīya Setti, assigned to the god Andhāsura for baths and oblations a (?) mattaṛ as a sara-namasya holding in the first grounds of the waste-land hasugo of Kokkulingari, in exchange for a field of fourteen mattaṛ belonging to Mairāvana. Its bounds are: on the east from the satā of Raviyanagari; its northern bound the highroad of Bāragutti; its eastern bound the satā of Kattiyagari; its southern bound the road of the Eḍava's river. This pions foundation the Thousand shall protect.

(L. 53.) On Monday the eighth of the bright fortnight of Jyāśatha in the cyclic year Tāraṇa, the 1146th year of—hail!—the auspicious Saka era,—

(L. 53-56.) Hail! Endowed with all virtues, worshippers of the divinely blest lotus-feet of the god Trikūṭēsvaram, the weavers' guilds of Pūlī, in the presence of the mayor and the Thousand, granted with pouring of water a votive gift (?) to Vāmadektidēva, the Āchārya of the establishment of the god Andhāsura, for the business of the god; for each household, on every gold-piece . . .


This is an inscription on the upper part of a black stone found standing in the mandapa on the southern side of the entrance into the adytum of the temple of Kēre-Siddhappa. The lower part of the stone, with the inscription from l. 31 onwards, has been broken away and lost. What remains is 3 ft. 5½ in. high and 1 ft. 8½ in. wide. It has a rounded top, on which are sculptures, viz. in the centre a liṅga; to the proper right of this, a squatting figure, possibly Śiva or a Yājñi; to the left of the liṅga, a cow with calf; over the cow, a scimitar; above these, the sun (to right of liṅga) and moon (to left). The inscribed area below this is 2 ft. 2½ in. high and 1 ft. 8½ in. broad.—The character is good Kanarese of the period, with letters about ¾ in. high; which, however, become smaller as the inscription goes on. The cursive and occurs in vyattātadantu, l. 26.—The language is Sanskrit in the prelude (II. 1-3), and for the rest Old Kanarese. The l appears only as Ɂ, viz. in vogaḍendu (l. 14) and pogaḍu (l. 18).

The record opens with two Sanskrit verses, the first of which is the formal Namastuṅga, and the second the introductory stanza of Kālidāsa's Raṣṭrumśāla (II. 1-3). It then refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamallaḍēva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI (II. 4-7), and next in a series of verses extols the Belvala nāḍa, Pūlī, the Thousand of Pūlī, the Hundred of Kalaśavalligari, the Śiva divine Siddhāsvara, and his disciple Somēśvarā, both of whom were Āchāryas.

1 The Ajava family is mentioned above, in inser. D.
2 This is the name of a demon, an ally of Rāvana, whose legend is popular in the south. Possibly a sanctuary of his may be meant; but it is doubtful.
3 On the epithet edara see above, Vol. XV, p. 81, n. 7.
Huli Stone Inscription of the reign of Vikramaditya VI: Saka 1029.
of the temple of Kalaśēvara in Kalaśavalligēri (ll. 7-24). Descending then into prose, it chronicles a gift of land to this sanctuary by the Hundred of Kalaśavalligēri, in the midst of which it is broken off.

The date of this record is given on ll. 24-26 as: Śaka 1029 (expired), the cyclic year Sarvajit; Pushya sāḍhha 12, Budhavāra (Wednesday); the uttarāyana-saṃkrānti. This is irregular, being another instance of the conflation of two distinct dates. The tithī Pushya sāḍhha 12 corresponded to Saturday, 28 December, A.D. 1107; it ended about 20 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday, i.e., about 2.11 A.M. on Sunday. The uttarāyana-saṃkrānti again occurred about 50 m. after mean sunrise—accl. 6.50 A.M.—on Wednesday, 25 December.

The places mentioned are Puli, the Belvāla nāḍu (l. 9), Kalaśavalligēri (ll. 16, 28), and Rudragere (l. 30). The last cannot be identified.

TEXT.

[The metres are as follows: Vv. 1, 2, Anuśṭabh; v. 3, Champaṃkama; v. 4, Maitēbhavirāṣṭita; Vv. 5-9, Kanda.]

1 (C) Nāmas-tunga-śīrāš-čuṇhi-čaṇḍra-čhāmara-čhāravē talaśāya-nagar-araṇbha-mūta
2 la-stambhāya Śaṁbhavē || [1*] Vāga-ṛthāv-iva sampraktau vāga-ṛthāv-
praṭipattayē [2*]
3 jagataḥ pita[ṛ]au vandē Pārvvat-paramēśvarau || [3*] Ōm namah Śivā[ya] ||
4 (C) Svasti [4*] Samasta-bhuvan-śāraya Śrī-Prithvi-vallabha mahārājāhāraja
5 paramēśvara paramahastaṁranam Satyāśraya-kuṇa-tīla-ka Chakuky-Ś-
6 bharanaṁ śrīmaṁ[1*].-Trībhuvanamalladēva-vijaya-rājyam-uttar-ṛta-
7 rābhivṛ(ṃ) jah-pravardhamānam a-čaṇḍrud-rākka-tāraṁ saluttam-īre || Śara-
8 nidihi-mekhāl-āvṛta-vasundhariyē eṁba vilāśini-mukhta-vibhūria
9 da vohirājasya Belvāla-nāgajë podalā sōbheg-āgaram-enis-irppa
10 Puli tiṭik-kṛṣṭhiyēṃ-eseṇ-irppudā sūra-puramānū K[u]-
11 bērān-Alākā-puramaṇa nagasūṁ ṣailasadēn || [5*] Bhuvana-prastutāṁ-śka-vikyā-
12 r-achalār Śrī-Kāśavādityā-dēva-vara-prāptā samasta-paramadā-sadhā-śaśā(ā) sa-
13 mātṛmna (ṛṇa)-varṇma (ṛṇa)-vilāśar-čhaturā-čhaturā-śame(ma) yā-sāṁścārya-čhah-
14 tur-Vṛdha-Śa-
15 str-vichāra-kshamārānēndā-śe vogaṇvudā sāśīrvvē khyātiyēn || [4*]
16 Allī || Viḍitām (ta)-Śrī-Pūtīr-pura-vadana-śākana-sudarpāpar-ttēv-śēna-
17 ssa-daṃala-čaritar-gūṇa-gāna-sadanaṁ ēnāu Kalaśa(v)avalligērya nū-
18 vrrvēra || [5*] Allīy-āchāryyērū || Śnāna-japa-hōma-niyama-dhyān-Ś-
19 nāshṭhāna-śīla-tatparānām sad(i)-jñāna-nidhi mana-nidhiyēndānāda
20 pogaṇvud-śa
21 vani Siddhēśvaranān || [6*] Baudhā-Ārhatā-Sāṅkhya-yāś-bod[ḥ]dhrigēṃ-endēm{iḥ}-
22 ba birundu sandudu jagadol Siddhēśvarā-panṣiṭarg-styuddhata-vād-ibha-simha-rē-
23 ne mechchadār-ārā || [7*] Avara śīṣyērū || Āgra-dūrō-muniḥśavaranānā
24 jaghaṁnānān(nya)-yati-ta-
25 tīyol-erdu saman-ēn-śabkarā laghu-gūṇa-rāhitām bhuvanandol-Aghōra-japa-
26 nāśīthaṃ-ātma-SŚ-

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1 From the ink-impression.
2 The ta was omitted by the engraver and then added below the line.
3 Corrupt: the true reading may perhaps be sāṅkhya-āyana- (taking aśyana as equivalent to aśītra) [or rather Sāṅkhya-Nyāya—Ed].
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1: identical with v. 1 of inscription D. above.)

(V. 2.) For attainment of words and ideas I adore Pārvati and Paramēsvara, the parents of the universe, who are united like word and idea.

(L. 3.) Ōm! Homage to Śiva!

(Ll. 4-7.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyārāya’s race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Tribhuvanamallādeva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:

(V. 3.) Pāli, which may well be called a mine of brilliant beauty, displays itself in the form of a beauty-spot on the county of Belvala, which is radiant like the lotus-face of that graceful lady the ocean-girdled Earth. This town by its elegant appearance laughs to scorn the city of the Gods and Kubera’s city of Alæk̄.

(V. 4.) As they are known as being praised throughout the world, uniform of speech, unwavering, receiving all good fortune from the boons of the blest god Kesaravādīya, having the splendour of their praises diffused through the whole of space, skilful, worshipped in the four churches, competent for the study of the four Vedas and books of instruction, what praise can befit the renown of the Thousand?

(L. 15.) In that (town)—

(V. 5.) The Hundred of Kalaśavalligēri are indeed goodly mirrors to view the face of the famed and blest town of Pāli, being men of good stainless conduct, seats of numerous virtues.

(L. 17.) The Āchāryas there—

(V. 6.) The earth with delight praises Siddhēśvara, who is devoted to the practice of bathing, prayer, oblation, minor disciplines, and contemplation, as a treasure of godly knowledge, a treasure of dignity.

(V. 7.) The title of instructor in Buddhist, Jain, and Sānkhya doctrines is applied in the world to Siddhēśvara-Pāṇḍita: who are there that do not laud him as a lion to those elephants the exceedingly haughty disputants?

1 The defective metre shows that the text is wrong. The most likely emendation seems to be Śrīpāta-sūtra-vasudhātaladoṣa naishṭhika-muni(ni)śvarārādhyām śrī-Kalā.

2 Line 23 ends with this word. Towards the end of line 31 the tops of a few letters are visible, but not one letter in the line is complete. The rest of the stone is lost.

3 This is the opening verse of Kālidāsa’s Ragavamsa.

4 [See f. n. 3 on p. 197.—Ed.]

5 See above, on inscr. B, 1. 10.
G.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI: THE 32ND YEAR.

This is a vīra-gal, which was found by Dr. Fleet lying between two stones of the same class, one of them being the inscription A. above, lying to the north of the Bhimēśvara temple. It was removed by him into the porch of another temple which stands a few yards to the north of the Bhimēśvara, and for which the villagers had no certain name, though they inclined to call it the Tārakēśvara. The stone is 6 ft. 2 in. high (not reckoning the tenon at its base); its breadth is 1 ft. 9 in. at the first line of writing, and 2 ft. 1 in. at the base. The basis in which it originally stood has been lost. It is divided into seven compartments, four containing sculptures and the intermediate three the text. The uppermost compartment, which is rounded at the top, has in the centre a liṅga in a shrine; on the proper right of this is Gāpēśa seated and facing full front, with a worshipper at his right knee. On the proper left of the liṅga are three worshippers, and there are three more round the upper part of the compartment. Below this are lines 1-4 of the text. The compartment next below these has in its centre the figures of three seated goddesses, facing full front; to the proper right is a female dancing, and on the left a seated female playing on a lute. Above these are eight females standing in a row, who hold Chowries. Underneath this come lines 5-6 of the text. The compartment immediately below the latter has at its centre a male figure in movement, with his arms on the shoulders of two females, one at each side of him; in each of the four corners is a group of three figures, also in motion. Below these are lines 7-10 of the text. In the lowest compartment is a figure of a man shooting arrows from a bow; he faces half front and half to the proper left. Two corpses are lying under his feet. Facing him are two horsemen and three archers, and behind him are two or three archers shooting at the other party; and behind these again, in the upper proper right corner, are twelve cows running away. The character is good Kanarese of the period; the letters are generally ½—⅛ in. high. The language is Old Kanarese. The ā appears as ā (āśīrāth, l. 10). Of some lexical interest are the words Vaḍāga, l. 2 (cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 147), talāra, l. 3 f., mēṣad-āf, l. 9, and anuvara, l. 9.3

1 This translation is based upon the assumption that abarkku is the same as amarkku. But this is not quite certain, and the word is perhaps corrupt.
2 A liṅga in which the declination of sun and moon is the same.
3 Aśuvara is glossed in Gangadhara Madhavarāma Tarnār's Śabdamaṇ/jari (Dharwar, 1880) as kādaga, "battle," which is probably right. But neither the word itself nor the verb anu-tri is given in the P. B.; Kittel in loco translates it "selecting; making (anything) one's special aim," and he gives the verbal stem anu-varis, ignoring the explanation of the Śabdamaṇ/jari.
The record itself is of a type common on monuments of the kind. It begins by referring itself to the 32nd year of the Chalukya-Vikrama era, i.e., of the reign of Vikramaditya VI, and then relates in prose that a certain Torapara Būtayya carried off cows belonging to Puli, and thereupon Gaṅgara Bōsi (Bōsiga) and his messmate and comrade Peruva Malli (Malliga) made a brave attempt to recover them, in which they perished. Each of these heroes has a verse devoted to his praise.

The Torapas are mentioned as enemies of the Hundred-and-four Mahājanas of Rūp in an inscription of Rūp of Śaka 1102 which is also being published by me in this Journal. It styles the latter Torapa-kulāntakaram. Apparently they were a race of bandits.

The date of the inscription is given on ll. 1-2 as; the 32nd year of the Chalukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Sarvajit; Śravaṇa-bahuja 5, Vadāvāra (Saturday). This is regular. The given tithi corresponded to Saturday, 10 August, A.D. 1107, on which it began about 3 h. 50 m. before mean sunrise.

The only place mentioned is Puli (ll. 3, 7).

TEXT.1

[The metre is Kanda.]

1 Ōm [*] Svasti [*] Īrīm-a-Chalukya-Vikrama-kālada 32ñeya Sarvavaj-
2 t-samvatsara-dā Śravaṇa-bahuja 5 Vāḍa-svāradamu-
3 Torapara-Būtayya Puliya tuṇavor kōṇḍade ta-
4 la-a-nāyakaṁ Gaṅgara Bōsiyuva-ṇājan-ōdān-unīda kele-
5 yam Peruva Malliyum tuṇavor-āḍām barṇu mēla-ājum kudureyu-
6 man-iśīdu palaraṇu koṇḍu sūryya-mandala-amaṁ bhōjisidā ||
7 Torapar-īdir-eti Puliya tuṇavor kule koṇḍu Bōsiga[m] pagevaran-ānt-i-
8 rīdu Divijēndra-prad到来·meredāṁ nīja-vikrama-pratāp-ōnatiy[i*]ṁ || [1*]
9 Ōdān-unīda keleyanaṁ saṅgaḍād-āḷam mēlād-āḷam-anuvara-medeyol bīda-
10 l-āgad-unīda Bōsigan-ōdān-āḍidam Malligaṁ pratāp-ōnatiyin || [2*] C C

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-2.) On Saturday, the 5th of the dark fortnight of Śravaṇa in the cyclic year Sarvajit, the 32nd year of—the auspicious Chalukya-Vikrama era,—

(L. 3-6.) When Torapara Būtayya had seized cows belonging to Puli, the chief beadle Gaṅgara Bōsi and his messmate Peruva Malli stepped in the way of the cows, smote the leader and (his) horse, slew many, and enjoyed the orb of the sun.4

(Verse 1.) When the Torapas, making an assault, carried off the cows of Puli, Bōsiga, seeing it, confronted the foemen, smote them, and became brilliant in the city of the Lord of Gods by the high degree of his valour and nobility.

1 From the ink-impresion.
2 The ṛām is denoted by a somewhat fantastic figure, apparently based upon the taṇḍa symbol.
3 The ē is to have first written kōṇḍe, and then cancelled the first ē.
4 This means that they were killed in the battle and their souls were carried up to the Valhalla of fallen heroes in the sun. Cf. the well-known verse Dānava-mañjuna purushau tāke sūrya-mandala-lāgānas || pariṣṭog-
   gāya-yukti-cha rasajā tāra-mukkhe katuḥ ||
(V. 2.) Saying "I cannot leave my messmate, my associate, my comrade on the field of battle," Malliga perished together with Bōsiga by reason of the high degree of his nobility.

H.—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI.

This is a fragment of a Jain record. It is cut on the upper part of a slabs stone which was found lying in the courtyard of the Pañchaliṅga temple, and was placed by Dr. Fleet for security in the sabha-mandapa of the sanctuary. The lower part of the slab was lost. The remainder was 2 ft. 7½ in. high and 2 ft. 8 in. broad. The topmost compartment, which was rounded, contained sculptures, viz. in the centre a squatting Jina (Pārśvanātha ?) facing full front, with a canopy of inflated cobra's hoods over his head, in a shrine, and having below him a pedestal with a floral device and on each side of it a lion; to his proper right a cow and calf; to his left a scimitar; above him, to the left, the sun and moon. The inscribed area beneath this is 1 ft. 4 in. high and 2 ft. 7½ in. broad.—The character is good Kanarese, with letters of about 1⁄4 in. high.—The language is Sanskrit (verses 1-4 and 6) and Old Kanarese (verses 3, 7-17 and prose). As regards the latter, we may note that 1 is not found; it appears as ṣ (pogacāvāṇam 1. 4, podalā, 1. 10, pogacāvams 1. 20) and r (nōryppafame, 1. 9, nōryppa, 1. 10, 11, nēgadda, 1. 18). The words jagadākām, 1. 17, līhādvāhika, 1. 19 (see above, on inscr. B., 1. 14), and kal-vešam 1. 21 may be noticed.

The record, after the usual Jain prelude, extols in poetry the Gaṇapadara Sudharmo, Bāhubalin, the famous Jain divine of the Kanḍūru-Gaṇa of the Yāpaniyā-Saṅgha, Śubhachandra and Maṇidēva, of the same Gaṇa, and Maṇghanandin (I. 1-5). Then it refers itself in prose to the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva (Vikramaditya VI), whom it lauds in verse (I. 6-9), thence proceeding to extol in verse Kuntaja, possibly Belvala, and Pālī with its Thousand Mahājanas (I. 9-15). It next gives the titles of an otherwise unknown rāja named Piṭṭa, who styled himself "Lord of Koliṣa, best of cities" (I. 15-17), and adds in verse that he had four sons, Perma, Bijja or Bijjarā, Kirttī, and Gorma, and a daughter, Maijaladēvi; Bijjarā slew certain kings, and had some relations (a lacuna prevents us from knowing what they were) with king Jayasimha of the Gūrjarāṣṭra, possibly the Paramāra Jayasimha of Malwa, who flourished about 1055 A.D. (I. 19-20). A mutilated verse speaks of Rēvakanirmagi as sister of king Kanhara, comparing to her Sīryadēvi as sister of somebody else (I. 20). We then learn that Bijjarā built a Jain sanctuary, which possibly may be the Pañchaliṅga, and apparently that he or somebody else granted to it a place named Pergummī(?). The rest is lost.

The reference to Rēvakanirmagi and Kanhara is interesting. Kanhara is the Raśṭra-kūta Kṛishna III, and Rēvakanirmagi was his eldest sister; she married the Gaṇa Satyavākyya Būtuga II, who succeeded between 933 and 940 A.D. This fact, and the titles "Gāgēya of the Gaṅgas" and "lord of Koliṣapura," indicate that Piṭṭa was a scion of the Gaṅga family.

The places mentioned, besides Pālī, are Kuntaja (I. 9), Koliṣapura, i.e. Kolāpur (I. 16), the Gūrjarāṣṭra, i.e. Gujarāt (I. 19), Belvala (I. 22), Pergummī (I.), and Maṇikya-ṭirṭha (I. 24).

1 Bāhubalin is well known. Maṇghanandin and Śubhachandra may conceivably be the same as the divine so named who are mentioned in Inscri. Śravāṅa Belgoja, Nos. 40-1, 43, 45-9, 59, 64-5, 144, and I.A., Vol. XIV p. 22. A Maṇusda Bhāṭṭāra is mentioned in Inscri. Śrav. Belgoja, No. 6.
2 Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 71; cf. ib., Vol. IV, p. 352, and Dyn. Kanar. Distr., p. 804. The Gāwarād inscription previously published by me speaks of Būtuga as Rēvakanirmaḍiya valāśāmin (I. 15); so does the Anuṅgūr record which is almost identical.
3 [Koliṣapura is only an epigraphic variant of Kuvāḷapura which has been identified with Kolār, the chief town of the Kolār district in the east of Mysore. See Bomb.'s. Gas. Vol. I.—Part II, pp. 397-8.—Ed.]
TEXT.

[The metres are as follows: V. 1, Anushṭabh; vv. 2, 3, 6, Trishṭabh Upajāti; v. 4 Āryagīti (†); vv. 5, 12, 13, 16, Kanda; v. 7, Mahārāja-mor; vv. 8, 13, Chandaka-mā 3; vv. 9, 14, Utpalamāla; vv. 10, 11, 17, Mattēbha-vikriṃṭa.]


Mnō(Mmau)ni(dē).


6 [Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhūva)n-śārayah Śrī-Pri(Pri)thvī-vallabhām mahārājādhirāja[m] paramēśvarām paramabhāṭṭhāramaḥ Satyārṇya-kuṇa-tījakaḥ Chaṭuky-ābhāramān śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-

7 [deva] vijaya]-rājyam-uttar-ādhivri[ṛ]ddhi-pravardhamānam-a-čamdr-ārka-

yāram-baram saluttam-ire [4*] Kṣititig-ellam tanna tejānī tolagi belage tann-ājele Chaul[a]van-

8 [ — — — — — — ] sah nartisut-ire sale tann-aṛppu lokakke Kalpa-kshitiijtām kṛde pañt-anśūt-ire Kali-yugadolu putṭiyum Rāghav-ādi-kṣitipal-

ānantkaro pa[l][ ]

9 [ — — — — ] Vikramadityādeva [6*] [7*] Jaladhi-parta-bhūtāla-vadhū-tige kūntalad-amādām | manaḥ-golisuvud-entu nōrrpa-dame Kūntala-

dēsmēva(da)kke chinna-pōgaḷa terad-anśute rāmīja[ — — ]

dēva-grihaṅgalim-oppu-vetta vāraṅganeyarkkal[ — — — — — — ]

1 From the ink-impression.
2 It is doubtful whether this is d or t.
3 The pa is not quite certain.
4 This gap is filled from l. 31 of the second Kaṇḍa inscription in Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc., Vol. X p.
5 May be corrected into Kaṇḍi—Ed.
6 The vowel before tā may be either t or tā.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1; identical with verse 1 of inscription B. above.)

(V. 2.) There was a Gapadhāra of the blessed Vīra, named Sudharmāna, who had cast away . . . . . . and again in this Yāpāṇiya-Saṅgha, which is beautiful in its conduct,—

(V. 3.) In the Gaṇa known as that of Kandārür there were formerly many great saints . . . . . . there was the great Bāhubali, a lion . . .

(V. 4.) Victorious be Subhchandraśāva, a son to the lotus-park of the Kandār-Gaṇa . . . . to the terrible trīdāṇa¹ . . . renowned among sages.

(V. 5.) As the circling earth extols him as a moon to the ocean of the famous Kandār-Gaṇa in the renowned Yāpāṇiya-Saṅgha, the great and holy saint Maunideva rose to eminence.

(V. 6.) I adore that lord of ascetics the best Māgānandin, a Garuḍa to the dreadful serpent Kamāri,² whose fame is attended by bowing monarchs, and who was a full-moon to the ocean of the principles of doctrine.

(L. 6-7.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chāṇuyas, king Tribhuvanamalladāva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(V. 7.) As his splendour shines radiantly over all the earth, his authority dances upon [the heads?] of Chōla kings, his power in truth as it were bears fruit equally with the Tree of Desire for the world, and he, being born in the Kali age . . . in the company of Rāghva's son and other monarchs . . . king Vikramāditya.

(V. 8.) How doth the land of Kuntāja, even as one looks, fascinate the mind by its semblance of a lock of curls (on the head) of that lady the ocean-encompassed Earth! . . . is resplendent after the manner of golden flowers. Pāli, when one looks, is in its graceful aspect like a conspicuous string of . . . threaded pearls.

(L. 10.) Moreover,—

(V. 9.) Pāli, when one observes, appears as an emperor of towns in its graceful aspect, with golden pinnacles, with bright temples, with comely public women . . . with Brāhmaṇas so stately that the . . . Vēdas seem to be incarnate in them.

(L. 11.) Moreover, as regards the eminence of the local Brāhmaṇas:—

(V. 10.) The blessed god Kṛishṇa, who is a basis . . . having abundantly caused his thousand names to take bodily form, and richly stowed a multitude of syllables of the Vēdas, together with the Syllable [ōm], and of vital spells, in the great town of Pāli . . . . . . . thus the Thousand [are eminent] on earth.²

(V. 11.) Dignity transcending comparison, virtue, generosity, spirit, enterprise, prayer and Oblation, minor disciplines, high exaltation, truth, purity . . . . . . . by possession of teaching-books, the Thousand, having the grace of boons from the lotus-feet of the blessed god Kēśava-dītya, are thus eminent on earth.

(V. 12: mostly illegible.)

(L. 15-17.) Hail! As regards the . . . of him who is an [impassioned bee] to the Lord Jina's lotus-feet which are beaten by the crests of the radiant diadems of . . . ceaselessly

¹ The trīdāṇa are the sins of body, speech, and mind.
² Usually Kāma means "the foe of Kāma," viz. Śiva; but the context suggests here the meaning "that enemy Kāma." [See f. n. 8 on page 202.—Ed.]
³ The idea seems to be that the Thousand of Pāli are incarnations of the 1,000 names of Kṛishṇa or Viṣṇu.
bowing celestials, who is a lintel of high-spirit, a majestic Kārttikeya in the destruction of valiant foes, a Gāṅgēya1 of the Gāṅgas, a majestic Lord of Lākṣā in shattering the armies of unsteady foesmen, the Lord of Kōjāla, best of cities:—

(V. 13.) A jagadāla of governors, a Death-god to adversaries, a Tree of Desire to the needy, a way of salvation to warriors, a warrior against the wanton, a Bhairava of counter-arrows, is king Piṭṭa.

(L. 17.) Moreover,—
(V. 14.) ... there were born with distinction king Porma, king Bijja, king Kirtti, the wrestler Gorma, and Maijaladēvi, thus forming a group in beauty ... .

(V. 15.) As he slew hostile kings of the liṅkad-anāka2 ... the monarch Jayasinhadhēva of the Gāṛjara kingdom in his own royal fortune ... [the world] praises king Bijjala.

(L. 20.) Moreover,—
(V. 16.) As Rēvakanirmadī was the sister of king Kanhara, so the world-renowned Siriyadhēvi ... .

(V. 17.) Saying: "Truly a mother-house ...," king Bijjala, having with joy constructed (images of) the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkas3 prepared a building of stone ... granted the beautiful Pergummi in Belvala.

I.—ON NAGARASI’S COLUMN.

This is an inscription on the eastern face of the south-western column of the four central columns in the outer maṇḍapa of the Paścchāpīni temple. The face of the column is 9½ in. high and 1 ft. 5¾ in. wide; the whole of it is covered by the writing, which runs over the margin to about an inch round it. There are no sculptures. The character is good Kanarese with letters of about ¾ in. high. The language is Old Kanarese, mostly verse.

The purport of the inscription is to record the construction of the column by the Śaiva divine Nāgarasi, a disciple of Jñānaśakti—probably the same Jñānaśakti who was introduced in inscription E. above,—and to laud their merits.

TEXT.4

[The metres are: V. 1, Mattebhavikṣūti; v. 2, Kanda.]

1 Tanag-1 Dakshīpa-Vāraṇaśi-puru-Pāli(i)-paurad-Am-
2 dhāsuraṃ janatā-bhāsuraṇa-ānata-āsura-ṇārēm-
3 dr-ārādhyan-ārādhyan-oḷipina Kālāmukha-
4 darpaṇaṃ nī(ni)ja-guru śri-Jñānaśaktiśaṇ-e-
5 nd-eṇe vidyā-nidhi Nāgarasiṃ-ad-imn-a vaṇ-
6 ṣaṇipam baṇḍipam [1*] Ye-vejdiṅgala kānte-
7 ya balagaman-oḷa-koviṇḍa nt(ni)ja-ya-
8 ṣo-ruchiḥdhi bhūt-valayakk-anuraktatayam  
9 tālēdaṃ śri-Nāgarasiṇ-īdu chitrān [2*] Nā-
10 garasidēvaru mādisidar-1 kāṁbhamān 1

1 Karpa or Bhāshma. [Rather the latter for Karpa was not a Gāṅgēya—Ed.]
2 See above, on inscr. B., l. 14. 3 The Tīrthaṅkara of Jīnas. 4 From the ink-impresion.
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) As he had (for deity) Andhashastra of this Southern Benares, the great town of Puli, for his master the blest lord Jashnashkta, who is resplendent among men, an ardhyay a1 adored by bowing monarchs of demons and men, an excellent mirror of Kalamukha (doctrine) can a panegyrist now find words to laud the treasure of learning, Nagarasi?

(V. 2.) By the lustre of his fame, which possesses the mass of loveliness of the young moon, the blest Nagarasi has gained the affection of the circle of earth: this is singular to me.1

(Lines 9-10.) Nagarashidewa caused this column to be made.

J.—ON MADI-GAUDA'S COLUMN.

This is an inscription on the eastern face of the next column to the south of the column which contains inscription I. The inscribed face is 1 ft. 2 ½ in. high and 1 ft. 5 in. wide. It has no sculptures. The character is good Kanarese, with letters about ½ in. high. The language is Kanarese, the verse being in the older dialect and the prose medieval.

The object is to record that the column was presented by Madi-Gauda, son of Bachi-Seatti and lay-disciple of the Nagarasi mentioned in inscription I., and to sing the praises of Madi and his master.

TEXT.3

[The metre is Champakamala.]

1 Suvidita-bhoga-bhoginige Bhagale-mariige Ba-
2 chi-Seettam-udbhavisida sano dana-Ravi-sano
3 vacho-Mbuj-sano sad-guna-pravarana
4 Nagarasi-muni-rjana si(s)i)kaheya sano
5 lokado)-Kavadiya Madi-Gaudan-eseva
6 mahl(hi)-masta-vastu-nayakaam || [1*] Guru shan-
7 nu || Kavadihi(i)ya Madi-Gauda med[1*]sai ko-
8 tte-an kaambhava ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Illustrious in the world, a master of treasure at the head of the earth, is Kavadiya Madi-Gauda, who is the son born to the lady Bhagale, the enjorer of famous delights, and to Bachi-Seatti, and who is in bounty a son of the Sun [Kara], a Son of the Lotus [Brahman] in speech, a son of the teaching of the king of saints, Nagarasi, who is eminent in good qualities.

(Lines 6-8.) The Master is our refuge. Kavadiya Madi-Gauda caused this column to be made and gave it.

K.—RECORD OF MARRTAANDA.

This little poem is engraved on the eastern face of the beam over the adytum of the western shrine in the temple of Bhimsevara. The beam, which is 2 ft. 3 in. high and 7 ft. 4 in. broad, is adorned with a good piece of sculpture representing Durgā dancing on the back of a

1 The title of a class of Sāva Brāhmaṇa.
2 This is the rhetorical figure visakha: fame is conceived as white, and asaṅkātā, literally "redness," means also "affecting." so red is produced from white.
3 From the ink-impression.
crouching demon, with Sarasvati on her right, another goddess on her left, and the eight Dik-pâlas in a row above her; the rest of the stone is filled in with figures of lions and other creatures, and on each side is a large makara or sea-monster, as our inscription states. The inscription runs along the bottom of the beam, covering an area 2 in. high and 6 ft. 2½ in. broad. The character is Kanarese, of about the same date as Nos. I. and J.; the letters are generally between ½ in. and ¾ in. high. The language is Old Kanarese verse. The ī appears in tītchidano (l. 1), which seems to be an error for śreṣṭhidano, and is replaced by ī in pogaḷḍa (l. 2). Āvonā (l. 2) is archaic.

The object of the inscription is to celebrate the beauty of the archway above mentioned, on the beam of which it is engraved. We learn that the archway was constructed at the instance of Jñānaśakti, whom we have already encountered in Nos. E. and I. above. The third verse praises the virtues of Mārtanda, who may possibly have been a disciple of this sage; his connection with the work is not clear, but conceivably he may have caused the inscription to be added some time after the construction of the archway.

TEXT.

[The metres are: V. 1, Mahāragdhara; v. 2, Pṛthi; v. 3, Mattēbhavikriṣṭa.]

1

Idan-atyānandadinda[m] samedano Kamala-prōdbhavah Viśvakarmma

2 ra-dvayaṁ śobhe[y[∗]]ṁ manan-golise mādīṁ makara-tōraṇaṁ dhātryo

TRANSLATION.

(Yerse 1.) Hâg the Lotus-born (Brahman) in exceeding delight fashioned this, or has Viśvakarman with joy executed this, or has the lord of the western region [Varuṇa] constructed this archway adorned with a pair of sea-monsters? Such a site of the magnificence of the whole earth's splendours is that which this ascetic Jñānaśakti has caused to be fashioned . . . in every way.

(V. 2.) This archway (adorned) with sea-monsters, which has been made so that the very numerous images of the Lotus-born (Brahman), Bhava Śiva), and (the god) of the Navel-lotus (Vishnu) are most charming and the pair of sea-monsters with their elegance delight the mind, is very famous on earth: so who indeed is there that does not praise it?

(V. 3.) As one may state the fact that he is a bee to Hara's lotus-feet, a lion to the elephants . . . disputants (?), a thunders belt to the mountains of Śām, a jewel-mine of brilliant . . . remote from carnal love, a support to agreeable persons, skilled in arts, devoted to his master, holding speech by rule, how fortunate is Mārtanda.

This inscription is engraved on a black stone which was found on the road outside the house known as the Virakta-mañña, and was placed by Dr. Fleet for security in the subhā-mañḍapa of the Pañchaliṅga temple. The height of the stone is 5 ft. 2 in. and the width 1 ft. 9 in. The rounded top bears sculptures, viz. in the centre a standing Viṣṇu, facing full front; to his proper right, a kneeling Garuda facing full front; to the left of Viṣṇu, a cow with calf; over them, the sun (to left) and moon (to right). Under this is an inscribed area, 3 ft. 5 in. high and 1 ft. 8½ in. wide. The character is fairly good Kanarese of the period, well preserved. The average height of the letters is about ½ in. The language is Old Kanarese, verging on the medieval dialect in the prose, with two opening stanzas and a final verse in Sanskrit. The upadāṁśīya appears in Viṣṇuḥ-pū, l. 2. The ā is not preserved: we find aṅgāra, l. 11, and on the other hand āgvyol, l. 25, hāla, l. 30, and bhūga, l. 47. The treatment of initial p fluctuates: we have it changed in the prose to h in hāla ṣaṅgeya, l. 19, hittalau l. 43, harade-, l. 43, hanmanda, l. 44, while in other cases it is preserved. On the genitive aḥṣa-āḥṣa (l. 19; the same in inscr. M., l. 25) see my note in Journ. R. Asiat. Soc., 1918, p. 105.

The record refers itself in l. 4-6 to the reign of the Kaḷachurya king Triḥubvamalladēva (Bijjala), and then proceeds to sing in verse the praises of Paḷi, the Thousand Mahājanas thereof, and the Hundred of Śiveyagaṛi forming part of them (ll. 6-12); and it celebrates the excellences of a family in the latter parish, giving the following pedigree (ll. 12-33):

Mālapaya, of Bhārvāja-gōtra
Kāḷimayya, m. Hāvyakka
Dāsira, m. Ojājale and Bhāgale

We then learn that on the given date Dāsira restored the decayed temple of Keśava (Viṣṇu) of Nāgarakhaṇḍi, reconsecrated it, and bought from the Thousand of Paḷi some land which he assigned for its maintenance (ll. 33 ff.).

The date of this record is given on ll. 33-34 as: Saka 1084 (expired), the cyclic year Chitrabhaṁ; Pusya bhaula, Somaṁvara (Monday); the uttarāyaṇa-sāhkrānti. This is nearly but not quite regular. The given tithī corresponded to Tuesday, 25 December, A.D. 1162; it began about 13 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Monday, and ended about 12 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise on the Tuesday, with which it was properly connected. The uttarāyaṇa-sāhkrānti took place about 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise on the Tuesday, while the tithī bhaula 2 was still current.

The places mentioned are, besides Paḷi, Kāḷiṁjan (i.e. Kāḷaṁjara, on which see Dyn. Kan. Dist., p. 469), l. 4, the Koṭṭha-vaṁśi, l. 7 (apparently a pond in Paḷi), Śiveyagarī, l. 12, Nāgarakhaṇḍi, l. 35, Koṅkuliṁgari, l. 39, and Katiyagarī, l. 40. On the Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy of the Benavasi province see L. A., Vol XIX, p. 144, and above, Vol. V, p. 213 ff.

TEXT.¹

[The metres are as follows: Vv. 1, 2, 17, Anuśṭubḥ; v. 3, Ṣāḍeśavikṛṣṭi; vv. 4, 10, 11, 14-16, Māṭābikṛṣṭa; vv. 5-9, 12, Kauda; v. 13, Utpalametā]

¹ From the ink-impression.

1 [Ja]hyth-āviśhākṣṭam Vīṣṇu-Vārāhaṁ kshobhit-ārṇna(puṇa)yam [*] dakhīp-

ō(dr(n)nata-dainṣṭṛ-āga-āvatārānta-bhu-
3 [man]ayaṃ jagat || [2] ||
4 Sva[ś] Śa[ṃ]ṣṭa-bhuvaṇ-śārayāṃ Śrī-Prithvi-vallabhaṃ Kaḷāṃjana-purava-
4 śādiśavamāṃ dvamaruga-tā.
5 ryya-nirgghoṣaṇāṃ Kaḷachuryyya-bhujaṭa-bhaktrvarti Tribhuvanamalladēvāra
6 vijaya-rājam utta-
7 [ṛ]ottara-ābhivṛddhi-pravardhamānāṃ-a-cha overd-arṅka-tārah saluttam-sire || Rām-ārā-
8 ma-vikṛtṛnara(rūṇa)diṁ niṅkhiḍa-dēv-āntkā-
9 diṁ Rī(Rī)g. Yajus-Sām-Āṭhravvaṇa-Vēda-Śāstra-vidita-vāyāpaḥ-chāṭrivialyaṃ śrīmat-Koṭ-
10 taja-vāviṣyāṃ ke-
11 regaḷin kānta-jaṅ-śāntikaṁda mātō sale Pāli līlā-vadgēnu[m] pū-doṇṭaṇ-ōṃnd-
12 oliyāṃ || [3] Innānāṃ tē-
13 jadoja-śānoranaṁ vībhavyaṇaḥ-ḥa[ṃṭa]yaṇaṁ[n] ni(n)tīyāl-Manuvāṁ chāru-charitra-
14 dojaḷa(ha)yaṁ gāṁbhītyaṇa-
16 sarva-vāṇa r[i]b-meґarda Vēda-Śa-
17 strāṅgalorend-urvṛtta[maḥ]abhivarnnī[raṇi]se nūrvvam-srī-Śiv[0]yagāṇiyo-karam-es-
18 dar || [5] Avarol || Bhāma-
19 dvāja-kulāgraṇi chāru-charitraṁ vivēkā vāχaspati Kaṁsā-pada-kamala-bhrīngan-
20 udāram prabhū
21 Māḷapayya-perggājey-edesanā || [6] A vībhuvina=udi(da)yisadāṃ Śrī-vanita-priya-
22 tanjān-ānmaṇ rū-
24 kula-vanit-o-
25 ttame Steg-Arunadhītīgī Ratīge pempin guṇādbhīm khyātiyin-atiśayam-enipal-nītiya
26 kaṇ Rēviṣakkas-
28 pesariṁ śrī-Ḍāṣirajān-anṁ(n)-
29 nataṁ-ādaṁ vikhyāṭ-kritti maṛṭtaṇda-nībhaṁ || [9] Charitaṁ san-muni-māḷa-
30 sūtrām-saṅghaṁ Vāga-duvatā-mang-
31 lūbharaṇaḥ kritti dig-aṅganā-kusuma-vallit-dāmaṇ-āṛpp-aṣṭh-aṣṭṭhaṁ baiṭiṣṭṭa
32 suvarṇa[raṇa]m-endōd-śtarā-
33 r[ppol]v-ānmaṇ-ārāṃ-sad-guṇa-otkaranānaḥ perggade-Ḍāṣirajanaṃ udāra-śī-sūrvijya-
34 naṁ || [10] Śahajāṁ satyavam-un-
35 dāram-anvayagunaṁ svaḥbāvikām sad-guṇa-grahatam nīti-nisarggam-ātma-kula-
36 dharmmaṁ chāru-chā-
37 ritram-śiṣṭa-hit-śrītām nīja-jīvita-vam-ala-vaiṭṭ-amāṇa-trayaṁ saha-jātaṁ
38 tanag-endōd-śīṁ pir-
40 viḷāsadmāvantam sauchāna-
41 vadīm kaḥitiy-amāṇa-Ḍāsiya kula-satiy-ōḷajal-nārīy-antu nontaram-ōlarē || [12] Kāhira-samudra-
42 manthanadā puṭṭidā Lakṣṭhiya rūpin-śeṣeyoḥ-Gaurīyọ-ōndi ninda patt-bhaktiyo
43 permmeyoḥ-inh.
pu-vetta Vāg-ňariya vāg-višs-tatiyo=nerē pörva(lve)ge-vaṁdaI-e[m*]dē=im-m är-ene Dāsirājana ma-

nōrame Bhāgagol-e dharitriyo || [13*] Tat-sutar || Grihadol Lakshmi mah-otsavam berna

niṁdaI=tamna tad-vaktraI=mahim-a=amkritey-appa Vāg-vanitey=jaI=tamma vī-
kirtti Sētu-Himā-

drīmradol=eye tividaI=enal=sāmānaya=āg-irdanē Mahādeva-prabhu Dāsirāja-tana-

sanjanya-mutākaraII || [14*] Dhravan=anmaI dharitriyo=Sanjhabhavan=anmaI vāg-
iyol=chenna Madhavan=an-

nāṁ ni>jā-mūrtiyo=Khaṭhanan-anma dānadoI=Kumbhasaṁbhavan=anmaI sucharitra-
dol=jalādhiy=an-

naṁ guṇipol=bhāvīs-al=samān=ār=appergga=Deśirāja-tanayam MahāyaIol=-man-

[va]r || [15*] Svasti [*] Śrīmatu-Śaka-varahā 108ānaya Chitrabhānu-samvatsarada Pushya-

bahula 2 Somaśāradand=uttarāyaṇa-sanākrantiya divya-tithiyalu śrīmat-pe-

ṛgaṛde Deśirājam Nāgarakhaṇḍiya śrī-Kēśava-dēvālayam jinnis=īrulu jinnap-

doddārā-

naṁ punah-pratishtān sahitāṃ mādisya=x devara khaṇḍa-sphuṭta-jirnn(rup)-
doddārakān ni-

tya-nivēda-Chaitra-pavitra-randa-divige pāḍāraṇya jvita-nimittav-āgī śrīma-

n-maḥ-āgrahāram Pālīy-ṛ-ṭeṣa-pramukha-sāsrīvvarr-mahājanaṃgala4 divya-

śrī-pāda-padmaṃgan golamā ṛvyap-p[ē]ṛvakam-ārādhisi Kankaḷiśvarīya hāla hasu-

gayoḷage Kattiyaṃgēriyim paḍuvalu Galatige-geyyim baḍagalu Chikkapaka-

ra- devara keyyim mūḍalu mattaramge paṇav-ondara lekkadīnd-aru-vaṃsamam-

nteṣ-āg-ire paḍedu biṭṭa mattar-āru | A derarige Kalasa(sa)vallīgēriya baḍaguna

koppala

hittilalu harada-vaneyim mūḍalu bāḍa-vaneyim paṭuvaṇa meyya aṭhalada

niveṣana-

d=agalaI-e[k*]-kayi nīla hannaṃdam mattaṃ sāṣirvvarām hiṇayā-pāṛvvakav-

ārādhisi sarva-nama-

āya(sya)=āg-ire paḍedu biṭṭar ["*] Int-i maṭhamummaṅ keyyumā-māv-avāntara-

vasate-nyayaṃ-

gala puṭṭādaṃ sāṣirvvarām sa[d*]dharmadiṃ pratipāpar || Iniṇam

niṣchayaṃ-āgē bhāvi-

suṇud=1 dharmakka[a]payaI[k*]e varppan-amoghāma sa-kulam nigoda-haladol=

bīlguṇ maḥā-pāta-

kaṁ manam-old-int-idan=eyde rakhiṣuva devaṃs-kaṇka-māyushya-varddhīnām-

atyūrjīta-

lakṣhaṇi nirṛmaṇa=yaṇam bhadrāṇa subhaṃ maṅgalāma || [16*] Sva-dattām

parā-dattām vā yō harata va-

sundharām | shasṭhir(shtim)=vva[r*]sha-sahasrāṇi vīṣṭhāyāṃ jāyaṣe krīmīḥ [17*] @

1 Irddai would be more regular. 2 We should expect irddasē.
3 The engraver first wrote sasupar, and then corrected it to samunāṣr.
4 Read jiṛṣaI-. 5 Read jiṛsa.- 6 The ge was first omitted by the engraver, and afterwards added, partly on and partly below the line.
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1: identical with verse 1 of inscription C. above.)

(V. 2.) Vishnu is in the waters, Vishnu is on land, Vishnu is on the mountain-top, Vishnu is on the multitude of lines of fire: the whole universe is composed of Vishnu.

(Lines 4-6.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, lord of Kājāmājā, best of cities, attended by the sound of ḍamaruṣa drums and (other) musical instruments, the Kālakshurya Emperor, strong of arm, Tribhuvananalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:

(V. 3.) With a profusion of delightful pleasures, with the company of all the gods with men skilled in renowned familiarity with the lore of the Rīk, Yajus, Sāma, and Ātharvāṇa Vēdas, with the blest Koṭṭajā well, with ponds, not to speak of companies of fair women, (and) an unbroken line of flower-gardens, Pāli in truth possesses a charming aspect.

(V. 4.) What men on earth are such as to bear comparison with the renown of these Thousand, who in sooth resemble the Sun in brilliance, Indra in majesty, Chāṇakya in policy, Manu in beautiful conduct, the ocean in profundity, the great Golden Mountain in firmness?

(Line 11.) In that (town),—

(V. 8.) While the earth lauds them by saying that each of them, if one considers, is omniscient in the illustrious lore of the Vēdas, the Hundred in the blest Śiveyagēri are verily distinguished.

(L. 12.) Among them,—

(V. 6.) A leader of the Bhāradvāja race, beautiful of conduct, discreet, a lord of speech, a bee to the lotus-feet of Kaṁsa's foe [Krishna], generous, the noble sheriff Māyapaya was eminent.

(V. 7.) To this noble man was born (a son) like in form to the dear son of the lady Fortune: who is peer to the great minister Kālakṣurya, renowned in the circuit of the earth?

(V. 8.) His excellent high-born wife Rāviyaṅka, a mine of propriety, may be said to surpass Sitā, Arundhati, and Rati in eminence, virtue, (and) renown: who does not praise (her) in these terms?

(V. 9.) To this couple was born a lover of the Vēdānta, a votary of Ananta, by name the blest Dāśirāja; he is exalted, renowned in glory, like the Sun.

(V. 10.) His conduct is a basic rule for worthy saints, his learning a festal ornament for the Goddess of Speech, his fame a festoon of flowering creeping-plants for the ladies of the regions of space, his power (like) the gold which agreeable and cultured men have laid in deposit: hence what other men are such as to compare with the sheriff Dāśirāja, a crowd of good qualities, a celestial tree of noble fortune?

(V. 11.) Inborn truthfulness, the generous virtues of his lineage, congenital appreciation of good qualities, natural instinct for propriety, the religious practices of his race, beautiful conduct, his own life devoted to the benefit of friends, the congenital attendant triad of powers of counsel being his, who are superior to the blest Dāśirāja?

(V. 12.) Do any even observe religious vows like the lady Ojaḷale, Dāśi's high-born wife, who is like Rati in form, like Bhāratī in grace of speech, like the earth in steadiness?

1 This seems to mean that his power is like the property of Brāhmaṇa, in that it was not liable to be diminished by adverse occupation or limitations (Viśvesa-upadi 1. 81, Viśvesa-upadi ix. 12 and 81), and that it could not be taken from him (Viśvesa-upadi xviii. 49); or that it enabled him to acquire boundless worlds, like the gift of property to Brāhmaṇa (Apastamba-dharma-sūtra 11. 126, 1).
(V. 13.) As she fully equalled the high degree of beauty of Lakshmi born from the churning of the Milk Ocean, the greatness of wifely devotion present in Gauri, (and) the series of graces of speech of the charming lady Vâk, who on this earth now are peer to Dâśirâja’s beloved Bhâgale?

(L. 27.) Their sons:

(V. 14.) Fortune abode with great delight in his house; the lady Vâk adorned with magnificence resided in his mouth; his goodly fame completely filled (every place) from Sûtu to the great Snowy Mountains: hence was Dâśirâja’s son lord Mahâdeva,\(^1\) that gem-minde of nobility, an ordinary man?

(V. 15.) Like Dhrvusa\(^2\) in firmness, like the Lotus-born (Brahman) in eloquence, like the comely Mâdhava in his form, like the Sun in bounty, like the Jar-born (Agastya) in right conduct, like the ocean in profundity, when one considers—what men are equal to the sheriff Dâśirâja’s son Môlaya?

(L. 33-34.) On Monday, the 2nd of the dark fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Chitrabhânu, the 1084th (year) of the blessed Saka era, on the holy lunar day of the uttara-yôga-sankrânti, —

(L. 34-42.) As the temple of Kâsava of Nâgarakhânti was falling into decay, the sheriff Dâśirâja, having restored the decayed parts and reconsecrated it, adored with (offering of) money the divinely blest lots-feet of the Thousand Mahâjanas, heaped by the mayor, of the great agrahara of Pâlî and for the restoration of the broken, burst, and decayed (masonry of the temple) of that god and for the regular oblations, Chaitra-pavitra rites,\(^3\) perpetual lamps, and stipend for the officiating priest, purchased and granted six mâtta within the waste-land hâsage of Kokkuligâri, on the west of Kattiyagâri, on the north of the field of Galatige, (and) on the east of (the sanctuary of) the Chikkanikas’ god, on which is to be paid an aru-vasa at the rate of one pana on each mâtta.

(L. 42-46.) Having again adored the Thousand with (offering of) gold, they purchased and granted to the same god a dwelling one cubit in width and eleven in length in the meyya sthala north of Kalaśavalligâri, east of the traders’ house at the backyard of the townhouse, as a sarv-namasa holding. So the Thousand shall religiously protect this monastery and field in respect of any minor claims to possession that may arise.

(V. 16.) Realise this with conviction: the great sinner who comes to overthrow this pious foundation will inevitably sink to levels of (degraded) rebirth, together with his race; so to the king who cheerfully guards it in due wise shall accrue increase of vitality, most brilliant fortune, stainless fame, luck, welfare, happiness.

(V. 17 : a common Sanskrit formula.)

**M.—OF THE REIGN OF BÎJJALÂ : SAKA 1084.**

This inscription is on a black stone built into the northern wall on the inside of the main-ârâ of the Agastya sthâna temple (see above). The slab is 4 ft. 10 in. high and 2 ft. 2 in. wide. The topmost compartment bears the following sculptures: in the centre, Vishnu reclining on a serpent with seven heads, with Brahma seated above him on the lotus arising from his navel, and to his proper left Lakshmi seated at his feet; below Vishnu, Garuda; to the proper right of Vishnu a goddess (Earth or Sarasvati?),\(^4\) seated and facing full front; to his proper right, a cow and calf; over these, the sun (to left) and moon (to right). Below these is the inscribed area, 3 ft. 1 in. high and 2 ft. 1 in. wide. It is in good preservation. The character is fair Kanarese of the period, the letters being from ½ in. to ¾ in. high. The language is Old Kanarese, with an introductory and a final verse in Sanskrit. The Kanarese verses are richer in vocabulary.

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1 By metrical license for Makâdeva.
2 See Vaishn.-purânas, I. xi-xii.
4 [V. 2 of this inscription would indicate that she is the Earth-goddess.—Ed.]
and more skilful in technique than most of the kind. The $s$ is not preserved: it appears as $r$ in *erittamdu* (l. 3), *nega* [r*] = (l. 4), and *arbhha* (l. 16, for *aleu*), and as $s$ in *pēl* (l. 16), *pāva* - (l. 18), *ēlgeyim* (l. 20 f.), *kaśalchuan* (l. 31), *baṣaldu* (l. 33), *kaśa* (l. 40, 44), and *bilgu* (l. 48). The $p$ is changed to $h$ in *kalgaññ* (l. 31, verse), *hōheyan* (l. 32, verse 19, for *hōheyan*), *hūn* (l. 33, verse 20), *kaśa khasguy* - (l. 40, 44 f.); elsewhere it is kept, even in prose. As to lexicography, we may notice *dharmesāta* (l. 40) and *sata* (l. 41).

The record, after preliminaries of the usual sort, enulogises Pāli, its Thousand Mahājanas, and the Hundred of Śīveyagēri (II. 4-13). It then gives in II. 13-31 the pedigree of the same family which figures in inscription L above, but with some more details: putting the two together, we have the genealogy:

- Aditya, of Bhāradvāja-gōtra
  - Dēvapayya
  - Sōma
  - Majapayya
  - Kālidāsa I (Kālimayya), m. Bēviyakka
  - Dāsirāja, m. Ojajal and Bhāgale
    - Mahādēva
    - Majapayya
    - Kālidāsa II (Majayya)

Two vigorous verses then introduce king Bījja (II. 31-34). Next comes prose referring the record to his reign and giving him full regal titles (II. 34-37), followed by the date (II. 37-38) and details of some lands purchased and granted by Dāsirāja for the upkeep of the Nāgara-Bhāvi and some other local establishments and for the expenses of the worship of the Agastyēvara temple (II. 38 ff.).

The date, given on II. 37-38, is identical with that of inscription L.

The places mentioned are, besides Pāli, Śīveyagēri (l. 13), Kālāmijana (l. 35; see above, on inscr. L.), Nāga-vāvi (l. 39), Kattiyagēri (l. 41), Nāgarakhanḍi (l. 41; see on inscr. L.), Yēramḍagēri (l. 42), Kokkūligēri (l. 44), and Jamnavegere (l. 47). The Nāga-vāvi or "Nāga's Well" is the same as the Nāgara-Bhāvi, on the side of which the Agastyēvara temple stands (see above). Yēramḍagēri (i.e. Ėramḍa-gēri, the "street of the castor-oil plants") seems to be another of the parishes of Pāli.

**TEXT.**

[The metres are as follows: Vv. 1, 22, Anushtubā; vv. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, Šārdalavikṛṣṭita; vv. 4, 9, 11, 14, 15, 21, Matṭēbhāvlokṣṭita; vv. 6, 12, 13, 16-18, Kanda; vv. 10, 19, 20, Champaaka.]

1 Jayatya-āvishkṛtaṁ Vīṣhṇu-Śvārāhau kahōbh-ārumna(r̥na)vaṁ | dakṣiṇ-
    ṣṇmata-dānashṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ vauppe [II 1*] C

1 This denotes some kind of religious establishment, and may possibly be derived from *dharm-āyata* (āyana).


3 From the ink-impression.
2 Kahr-āṁbhōḍhiyol IPP-Ananta-saṣyanaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ Kaustubh-ādhāraṁ taṁnaṁ samakshadol Kamaśeṇuṁ Bhū-kānte
3 yuṁ nāḥihyol sār-āṁśāṁ baṣad-Abjargar[h]bha-sahitaṁ śṛt-Pālig-ṛttamduṁ nindārādhyaṁ karuṣa-ṛṣa-āḍra-ṛḥṇaṁ raṁ
5 lāya-sṭhānamun viḷāsaka-avāsamanuṁ śṛṅgārakke janma-bhūmiyam vaṣanta-samaṁ-yakk-ikke-dāgaṁsum enisidud-am
6 tum-alladeyin || Rāṁ-āṛṣama-vikṛmna[rupa]diniṁ nikhila-dēv-āṅkakidin Rī(Rī)g Yaujha-Sāṁ-Aṭharmva-Vēḍa-Sāstra-nivaha-prakhyāta-sama
10 raṁ-āṛd-haṁrīyol || [4[*]] Śrī-Āṁrāyaṇa-Bhārat-ādi-Manu-chāṁstraṅgala vyaḥtiyol-sārāśāṁ-vichāṁ-tarkka-nichaya-pra
11 [khyā[*]ta-sāstraṅgalo] śūtar-Vvēḍa-samīhado[sakala-tat[*]va-jūṁa-sampattiyind[ārāḥdhyar-ddhareg-emdaṇiṁ piriyar-āṛ-sāsirvvarind urvi-
14 ryyaḍ-unmaṭikeyiṇdaṁ Markdaraṇa śauryaṇadoś Rāmaṇa paramārtthasa-nīchhayadinā Kaṁjāsanaṁ tāṁ-neṣa rewarding pölvege bārpaṁ bū
15 dhā-jaṇa-prastuytadĀdityaṇol || [7[*]] Tat-suta || Śrīraṅgaṇaṅg-atibhaktan-oppuv-ṣamal-āṁhāraṁ yanv-vallaham pāṇuvārāme mērvey-a
18 kke gaṁbbhrasāgaraṁ p[e[*]ṛṛgaṇe Sōman-ānt-iṛiyal-īyal-sōlīsal-pēlvaṇ-a Hari-prutaṁ Hari-sutaṁ tāṁ-eṇḍa
19 d-ṭṁ(e)vaṇiṇīṁ || [9[*]] Tat-suta || Vara-vanitā-jaṅganaṁ manaṁ Kusum-aṁstra-śārakke sad-budh-oṭkara-kara-paṅkakam bahu-suvaṁrṇa-chayakk-adhīnāthane
20 diraṁ sthiratarn-rājaḷakṣhmisv-ṛṣey-āṣāyu rāpa-viḷāsado-ṛgeyaṁ nirupa[ma[*]-dāna-dināṭi-hit-ōṁ(ma)naṁtiyaṁ prabhv-Mājapayanaṁ[4] || [10[*]] Tat-su-
21 ta || Akalajākam tanuvā giṁ varttiṣaṇa Chaṇḍraṇa kāṇṭiy-ōṇḥ-ṛgeyaṁ sakalāvṛapakam-ṛgi jādyatanamanīṁ bīṭ-irda[2] Padmāśanaṁ suṣkavindratva-

1 In classical spelling ṇ-dahaṇu.
2 Apparently to be corrected to ess-et.
3 Apparently for aṣev(orc aruv.—Ed.),"harm." 4 Perhaps a slip for Mājapayana. 5 Irdha would be more usual.
Huli Stone Inscription of the reign of Bijjala: Saka 1084.
22 [d]ol-Iṣanīm kiđada Kāman ṛpa-sammpattit(tti)yin prakalat-betta charitraden Manuv-enippana Kalīḍāsa-ottiṭamam || [11*] Tat-sati || Bhāty-anma ṛtīp(p)iṁ Bhā-

23 [raṭiy-][anma] väg-viḷasādiṁ sausāṭhavadin kheṭiṭy-anma| permmeg-Arunādhätīy-anma| Rēviyakkan-ene mechcharad-ar || [12*] Ā dāṃpatigalg-ogedaṁ Vēḍanta-

24 [pri]yan-Anta-bhaktan pesariṁ śī-Ḍisrājan-ārjītan-adān vikhyāta-kirrti mārtanda-nibhan || [13*] Charitana san-muni-gaṭa-suttav-arṣitaṁ Vāg-


26 [perggaṇe]-Dīṣrājan-udāra-śī-sur-sravṣṭṣanaṁ || [14*] Sahajam satyam-


28 [r-śī-]Ḍisrājaman-baraṁ || [15*] Tat-sutanu || Śṛtamba-dēva-bhaktan-udārate

29 []Śrīnd-āstādhipan-alte Mahādeva-buddham || [16*] Ātana tammaś śruta-vikhyātam Śiva-pāda-śêkharan sakala-guṇa-brāṭāma bhūṣhadam-enipanam nitiyā

30 kaśī Māṉapāyan-ene mechcharad-aru || [17*] Avar-śrīvarīṁde kiriyaṁ bhūvanam-sutan-tenipna Kālidāsaṁ Kumibhdbhavan-anmaṁ charitradin-ivar- opp[an]-

31 va Dīṣrājaman-sutari-esd-esidurmar || [18*] Javan-ivan-śvan-embo-aśatīṁ Kulīk-

32 gra-ho(huḥ)heyaṁ1 bha(ba)varado2-aṁtod-ātana bhūjanagajan-oppuna khala-dhāre-

33 Pariva-srav-anibha sāsita midur-paraṇ-cakram karuś-balādu jālā-ārī-kari-śaṅkulaṁ surīdu kīttova huṇ-beras-ādūv-āṭṭey-śiṁ charam-eseya-

34 lke pāḍuva bhāṭarkaṇḍa paṇ-dalenīṁde nodal-āsvaram-megavavam-āty-āḍīdu geld-

35 Śrī-Prthvī-vallabha mahārājāḍhirāja paramēvaram Kālamjana-purav-

36 arava Śrīmūrti-bhūjāla-bhājakā ρhakravarti Tribhuvanamalladeva-vijaya-rajyaṁ-

37 rkka-tarāṁ saluttam-ire || Śrīmach-Chhaka-varṣamhā 1084neya Chitrabhānu-

38 manvatsara Pusyag-bahula 2 Sūnāvavradamd-uttarayaṇa-saṅkra-

39 [niṭ]*yulav yatṛṭpataṁ kāḍīga divya-tithiyalu dharmma-kāṛya-nimittam perggaṇe Dīṣrājan śrīmān-mah-āgraḥahāra Pālīy-ṭar-o-

30 ḍeva-pramukha-sāśrīvvar-mahājaneśva divya-śī-päda-padmaśeṣamāṁ dravya-

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1 The reading seems to be Hālīyam (= Arjuna Kārtavīrya).—Ed.
2 The engraver has omitted gaṅaṁ, and then inserted it below the line, marking the corrigendum by a cross above the line.
3 The ṣa has been omitted, and inserted above the line.
40 sputita-jtring(rup)-oddharaṇakam-alliya dharmmētakam agniśaṭagey-āraykegama-ehu Kokkujugeriya hāla-hasugye-oyage sarvva-nama-
41 sya(sya)m-aṭi biṭṭa mattr-ar-adara sime mādala Kattiyage[r]ya āta teṁkaṇa sime Nāgarakahandiyā Kēśava-dēvara bhūmi [*] paṇḍuvaṇa [s]1
42 me perggade-Saṁkaraṇya-nayakara satrada bhūmi [*] badagaṇa sime Yēram-jaṅgāri pratinidhiy-āṭi koṭṭa bhūmi | Int-ā dhammama-
43 n-āva nyāyamam-adoḍaṇ sarvva-namaśya(sya)m-aṭi sāsa(sa)i-rvvarum sadharmmad̄il pratipālīparu || Maṁgala-mahā-śrī śrī

(Verse 1: identical with verse 1 of inscription C. above.)
(V. 2.) May Nārāyaṇa who rests upon Ananta in the Milk Ocean and who wears the Kauśūnaka jewel, worshipful, with heart moist with the liquor of grace, coming to blest Pāli and dwelling (there) in company with Kamalā and the lady Earth and the Lotus-born (Brahman) who enjoys his essence in his navel, protect the Thousand!

(Lines 4-6.) If it be asked what is the reputation of that crest-jewel of agraḥāras which is so illustrious, (see answer): it is called a dwelling-place of all arts, an abode of brilliance, a natal ground of ornament, a home of the season of spring; and moreover:—

(V. 3.) With a profusion of delightful pleasures, with the company of all the gods, with the Thousand who are renowned in all the lore of the Rik, Yajus, Sāma, and Atharvaṇa Vēdas, with the multitude of public damsels who are brilliant like fiery elephants of Kāma, the blessed Pāli is ceaselessly splendid with fortunes subserved by worthy men.

(V. 4: identical with verse 4 of inscription L. above.)
(V. 5.) As they are men of might in mastery over the blessed Ramāyaṇa, Bhārata, and other works and the course of conduct of Mann, (and) in famous teaching-books of manifold studies of reality and unreality and of logic, adored by the world for their attainment of knowledge of all the principles in the series of the Vēdas, who now are superior on earth to the Thousand?

(L. 12.) Among them:—

(V. 6.) Knowing not a place of distinction between poets, reciters, controversialists and rhetoricians, giving (almā) when clients cheerfully ask, the Hundred of Śiveyagēri are in sooth brilliant.

TRANSLATION.
Among them:

As he may be termed because of the mass of his splendour a Sun in the sky of the Bhāradvāja race, because of his greatness a Milk Ocean, by reason of the high degree of his firmness a Mandara, in heroism a blessed Rāma, in judgment of transcendental lore the Lotus-seated (Brahman) himself, can any compare with Āditya, who was renowned among sages?

His son:

Say, who can equal Dēvapaya, who was deeply devoted to Śrīrāga (Vishṇu), a man of eminent stainless conduct, a darling of fame, verily an emperor to the natives of the ocean-bounded earth, gathering the best (of all knowledge), a protector of the peoples of all lands when harm befell, firm and exalted of soul?

His son:

Going to battle and ceaselessly resisting the multitude of foes' hosts—stretching forth his hand to the troops of suppliants that came and begged (of him)—a deep ocean to the companies of public damsels—this sheriff Soma was in his own person a Hari's son (Arjuna) in confronting and smiting, a Hari's (Śrīrya's) son (Karna) in making gifts, a Hari's (Krishṇa's) son (Yama) in conquering, when the tale is told: hence how can one sing his praises?

His son:

The souls of choice damsels became a place for the shafts of the god of the flower-arrows, the lotus-hands of companies of worthy sages a place for abundant quantities of gold, the royal mansion a place for the right firmly established Fortune of the kingdom, through the lord Mālapaya, by reason of the perfection of his grace of form, his incomparable generosity, and the high degree of his services to his sovereign (respectively).

His son:

The excellent Kālidāsa was indeed through the unique perfection of his beauty a moon appearing with unspotted form, through his high skill in poetry a Lotus-seated (Brahman) devoid of inconstancy while pervading the universe [or, intimate with all], through his gift of beauty a Kāma who was not destroyed by Īśa, by his eminent conduct a Manu.

His good wife:

Rāviyakka was like Rati in form, like Bhūrati in grace of speech, like the earth in steadiness, like Arundhati in greatness: who do not give praise in these terms?

(L. 13) almost identical with verse 9 of inscription L. above.)

(V. 14-15) identical with verses 10-11 of inscription L. above.)

His sons:

The sage Mahādeva is a votary of the god Śrīrāga, a Tree of Desire by reason of his generosity, a Mount Meru in firmness, altogether surpassing all in greatness, truly.

His younger brother Mālapaya is renowned for scriptural lore, crowned with Śiva's feet, an aggregate of all virtues, a very ornament, a mine of propriety: who do not give praise in these terms?

(V. 18) The youngest brother of these twain is the world-renowned Kālidāsa, like the Jār-born (Agastyay) in conduct: these eminent sons of Dērivāja have become distinguished,

1 Dakṣiṇādāta is a term for one of the types of hero of drama, and is defined in Dasaśāstra ii. 5 as "of great excellence, exceedingly serious, forbearing, not boastful, resolute, with self-assertion suppressed, and firm of purpose" (Hass's translation).

2 But Yama is also called Hari. So it would be better to take Kārttikāya or Bhima as the upama especially when Hari is an epithet of Śiva and of Vāyu also.—Ed.

3 This verse, like the preceding, is an instance of the rhetorical figure yathāsakāya.

4 This is the rhetorical figure adhik-dhīda-rāpaka [according to appaya-Dikshita, See Karal ayamada under Rāpaka—Ed.]
(V. 19.) The monarch Bijjanadēva would say "what can this Yama do?"; boldly he would knock out the serpent Kulika's teeth; if he confronted him, he would strike to earth even Rāvana; if he were to meet in battle the figure of Ugra, he would lop his arms into fragments with his bright sword-edge.

(V. 20.) When one looks, the place where the monarch Bijjanadēva has won victory by blows is demoniac and frightful by reason of the decapitated heads of warriors uttering song while there arise sweet sounds from the headless trunks whose wounded limbs move in concerted action, (wounded limbs) from which drink snorting the troops of foemen's elephants whose marrow, over which streams gushing blood, and loosely out-bursting entrails swing about and dangle down.

(V. 34-37.) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, lord of Kāşājunas best of cities, attended by the sound of āmaruṣa drums and (other) musical instruments, terrible to other realms, the Kaṭachurya Emperor strong of arm, Tribhuvanamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(V. 37-38.) On Monday, the 2nd of the dark fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Chitrahaṇu, the 1084th (year) of the blessed Śaka era, at the uttarārāyaṇa-saṁkrānti, on the holy lunar day with which coincided a vyātrīsātā;

(V. 38-43.) For the purposes of religion, the sheriff Dāsirāja, having adored with (offering of) money the divinely blest lotus feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great agrahāra of Puli, granted as a sāra-urileṣa holding for the restoration of broken, burst, and worn-out (masonry) of the Nāgas' Well, which is equal to Benares, and for the dharma of that place, and for the management of the fire-hearth six mātār within the waste-land āhara of Kokkuligērī. The bound of this is on the east the āta of Kattiyaśērī; the southern bound is the land of (the temple of) the god Kēśa of Nāgarakhaṇḍī; the western bound is the land of the sheriff Śaṅkarayya-Nāyaka's choultry; the northern bound is the land granted as a substitute to Āraṇḍagērī. So whatever claims may arise, the Thousand shall religiously preserve this pious foundation. Happiness! Great fortune!

(V. 44-47.) On the same holy lunar day, having adored the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, and the notaries, headed by the bazaar-mayor, he purchased (from them) and granted for the purposes of the eightfold worship of (the temple of) the god Agastyāśērā at the western gate of the town two mātār within the waste-land āhara of Kokkuligērī as a sāra-urileṣa holding. The bound of this is on the east the land of the god Melasērā, on the south the road of Jannavegere, on the west the black (?) land, on the north the land of the god Melasērā.

(Vv. 21-22: identical with verses 16-17 of inscription L above.)

No. 23.—DON BUZURG PLATES OF GOVINDACHANDRA: [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1176.

BY DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

These copper-plates were lent to me for examination and decipherment by the Mahārāja of Majhaili in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces in 1906 when I toured in the Gorakhpur and Saran districts under the orders of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, to collect notes on certain places for the use of the late Dr. Fleet. At my suggestion, these plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow where they are now preserved. The plates were unearthed by a Chamār cultivator in a field near the village of Dōn Buṣurg situated 7

1 [See foot-note 1 on p. 215.—Ed.]
2 Namely by offering of water, scent, flowers, rice-grains (akṣhata), incense, lamps, oblations (nāvēṣa), and betel.
3 See above, p. 170.
miles to the north of Mairwa Railway Station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, and made over to the Mahārāja of Majhauj. At my visit to this village, I did not notice any other antiquities of special interest. The village itself is, however, situated on a large ancient mound and the size of bricks unearthed by the villagers averages $1\frac{3}{4}'' \times 9'' \times 2''$.

The plates are inscribed on one side only and measure $14\frac{3}{4}''$ by $10\frac{1}{4}''$ and $14\frac{3}{4}''$ by $10\frac{1}{4}''$, respectively. The edges of the plates are fashioned into rims the maximum height of which is $\frac{3}{4}''$. Both the plates were originally soldered on a circular ring passing through the upper part of Plate II and the lower part of Plate I. Plate I is loose on account of a small piece having broken away from the ring-hole. The seal is now attached to Plate II and is of the usual Gāhādvāla type. The only orthographical peculiarities in the record that deserve special mention are the use of $j$ for $y$ in parjantaḥ (l. 18) and jathā (l. 25) and the confusion of $s$ and $ś$ and of $v$ and $b$. $Ā$ for $ā$ in viśhūsē (l. 30) is an evident mistake or a Prākritism. The form utkāritam in l. 36 evidently stands for utkāra compartments or the causal utkāritam. There are many other mistakes of spelling in the inscription and they have all been corrected in the text.

The inscription consists of 36 lines, of which 19 are engraved on Plate I and the remaining 17 on Plate II. The whole of the document is in an excellent state of preservation. The characters are Nagari. The language is metrical Sanskrit in the first eleven and last eleven lines which contain respectively the usual genealogy of the Gāhādvāla kings of Kanauj and the imprecatory and benedictory verses. The remaining fourteen lines as part of the last or 36th line are in Sanskrit prose and represent the formal historical portion of the document.

The inscription records that on Tuesday the 8th thiti of the bright half of Jyēṣṭha of [V.] S. 1178 (A.D. 1119-20) after bathing in the Ganges at his camp-residence (yāna-rūpa) at the village of Māmdali, belonging to Alahvimahāpur, the Gāhādvāla king Gōvindachandra granted the village of Vadagrāma in the Alāpa district to a Brāhmaṇa named Tuḷśiōcā Śarman. This Brāhmaṇa belonged to the Vachchha (Skt. Vatsa)-gōtra of Drōṇaṇaṇaśaṅda. The fourth syllable of this latter name is not decipherable, but it is not impossible that it was the name of a town or village or of some muni to whom (a branch of—Ed.) the Vatsa-gōtra owed its origin. If this assumption is correct, we may without hesitation identify this locality with the village at which the plates were found and which is still called Dōn Buzurg, or the Holy Dōn. It is interesting to note here a legend which describes a small cultivated area in the neighbourhood of this village as Drōṇa-kā-ghar or Drōṇa-kā-ghar, that is the residence or citadel of Drōṇa, the preceptor of the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava princes. It is stated by the villagers that Drōṇa resided at this place and was on one occasion transported to Lankā to prescribe medicine for Vibhishana, brother of Rāvana. The story is not worth much, but it shows at least that the local paṇḍits already recognize in the name Dōn a corruption of Drōṇa, probably a remnant of the original long name of the place.

At the time of issuing the grant, the king Gōvindachandra was encamped at a village named Māmdali, which was situated in Alahvimahāpur. The latter was probably the name of the district in which the village in question was situated, and it is evident that the village stood somewhere on the banks of the Ganges. I am as yet unable to identify either of these places. The village granted was sapāṭaks-kōṇa-Vadagrāma which I interpret as Vadagrāma together with its outlying hamlet and its corners. This village was situated in the district (pattāla) of Alāpa,

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1 [This requires correction, for the original (l. 19) clearly gives सूबेदार, i.e. Monday. Reference to the late Mr. L. D. Swaminarayan Pillai's Ephecesis, Vol. III, p. 240, will show that this date is quite regular and rightly corresponds to Monday, the 19th May, 1119 A.D.—Ed.]

2 Vadagrāma appears to have been a common village name. In the Chandrāvati plate of Chandrāvata of [V.] S. 1149 (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 302 f.) we find Chandrāvati referred to as Vadagrāva, a slightly modified form of Vadagrāma. [See f. n. 1 on p. 233.—Ed.]

3 [See f. n. 2 on page 222.—Ed.]
which cannot as yet be identified. But there is a village of the name of Barga in the Salem pur
Pargana of the Gorakhpur district which might represent the Vadagrama of our inscription.

TEXT.1

[Metres: vv. 1, 3, 10, 11, 13-20, Anushṭubh; vv. 2, 21, Indraśāra; vv. 4, 7, Sārālavi-
krīḍita; vv. 5, 6, 8, 22, Vasanatilaka; v. 9, Drutavilambita; v. 12, Sawīnt.]

First Plate.

1 कृपा खनित ||

2 नाभा यत्रोविशय तत्वदेभेन्द्रता: [18]

3 ततः निर्मिति निविन ||

4 तत्सनायकतात्तपारेष्वर || यथार्थम्

5 चीतिषोवति श्रीचर्चनानि बुद्धिमयः [18]

6 चारुकीर्तितात्तपारेष्वराराधोभवम् [18]

7 अपगुप्तदेवश्रीचर्चनानि \[\text{[18]}\]

8 अपगुप्तदेवश्रीचर्चनानि \[\text{[18]}\]

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1 From ink-impresions.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Cancel one dasa.
9 तब्राद्रायत निजायतवत(वा)हुवसि।
व(व)दाबुखरवरणवरणवरणवरण
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1 [The correction is unnecessary; for both the forms K\text{a} as well as K\text{a} are used.—Ed.]
2 Cancel the d\text{a}y\text{a}. 8 Read सारिकवाक.
3 [The original reads कीडाघिरि which is correct, see f. n. 1 p. 219 above.—Ed.]
4 Cancel the syllable शा.
5 [The original reads कीडी, au for δ is evidently a clerical mistake.—Ed.]
21 भूमिदानन्तर्यत्तिययला तिनि(मि)पररत्रद[१]मन्नयद्दृश्यसुगच्छतिययःविपपपतितम्(श)कलशः[म्]खर समधवधिय विशुष्मि(न)-
22 च[१]तथासुदाताच्चुर्जा विधाय प्रबुद्धवेन वचिन्विते हुला मातापितो-रामनश्च पुष्यश्रोते(श)सिद्धवेच्च पञ्चामिः दीपायाः
23 शालीयदेवकिया(क)भोजयाय भाग्यविच्छवा(न)भर्म(चोर)जामह(ह)रामबानाय(प)-चप्रवाय क[१]दीमः(श)दिशिने । । भद्रभीनिरसिध्यप्रियोऽः
24 य भवत्तीजजात्ताप्रियाय जीरपुन्याय भवोत्तुद्वाराय(च)सिद्धे गीकर्णः-कुमातरापुर्ष्टान्तोदक्षपुर्णमाच(च)द्वाके यथाः
25 च्यास्मोक्षे प्रदर्शे धिरि मला जग(य)वायुस्मानभाग्यमकरप्रविष्करः-प्रश्यति[१]संज्ञा(च)द्वायान्तः दानाय द[२] स्मितालाः
26 सिकः(चा)। । भूसिमि यः प्रतिमयश्चर्तिय यशो भूमिं प्रयर्च्छति तभी तौ पुष्कराकाष्टीय नियतीय खमगामिनो । । [१०] सं(म्)कं मद्दरमवन् [४]हः वरायाः
27 वर्षार्याः । भूमिदानचि विश्वानि फलादिनया(म)व दुर्दार । । [१९] सश्चनिवाय(ति)भाविनः । । प(प)पविवैत्यायूये भूसिं वाच्यत(स)राममः[४] । सामायः
28 नोरम्ययाङ्गेन(स)तथापुपायाय काल(क)च(चोर)पाणिनीयाभविनः । [१२] भ(व)हुभवःसुवाय सुकार्तजनमिः सागारदिकमिः । वयस्ययाक पद्ये भूमि-
29 नत्शतष्टय तदा फले । [१६] स(स)स्वन(स)भक(क)मामेव(का)भूमेत्याय(क्ष)मापारुणः । वर्णरक्षाौतिय वायुद्भौस(तय)प्रवं । [१४] तदा[गा]णः स्ववचे भासमिः
30 विनयम(स)तमन च गवणा वोटिप्रदानिन्भूमिजयगन्तु नच(स्)वयति । [१५] वदनाः परदस्तनाः वा यो हरेत वंचियाः । स विचाराः(या)कृष्मिन्लियाः पिनिवियाः
31 वद महति । [१६] किर्ति वर्षम(स)दहया(स)सि खर्मणि वचिति मू[मि]दः । बास्येत्यानुमानवा च तात्त्विक्य नर[ण्(त्व)स]सतेन । [१६] वारिधिने-परभरष(वरह)कु(स)स(स्र)व्यक्तिर[४]
32 वासिनः । कुष्ठशिको(पृष्ठ)च जायस्ते देयन्याय(स)हारिणः । [१८] न विवरं विविदविलाहुत्र(व)द्रव्यस(स)विद्वसुष्मायले [१५] विवेकायिन्य श्चिति ब(व)[वर्षेः पुष्पियो|]
33 कं ॥ [१८°] फलकातुः (क्ति) मही (क्रि) दय[१°]वी (वि) जां सस्य (शा) लिनी ।
यावपुष्पः करा लोकः (का) फारवश्वः (भि) महोत्ते ॥ [२०°] यानी
दत्तानि पुरा

34 नर (त) यमनिःस्व चर्मः कारणः । नित्यांवान्त्वतिना (मा) निः तानि
को नाम सादः: दुनरात्मकः ॥ [२१°] वातावधिच्छ.

35 समिदुः समुचिद्विश्वमामात्मचर्मः (त) विन्यासंगमः: । प्राणायणायजल-
विनि (ति) नुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः: स -

36 खा परमक्षी धर्मकायानि ॥[१] २२° सिवित तर्काकाठकुर्णीस्वभे
 grenades । [२०°] यमास्तुयति (मा) उत्तेरति (उकोणि) ॥ ☀

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 11 to 25.) That victorious and illustrious king, Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārājādhīrāja, Paramesāvarā, Paramamahēśvara, Goyindachandrādeva,—whose feet are honoured by the entire circle of kings, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious P.M.P.P. Madanapālādeva, who (in his turn) meditates on the feet of the illustrious P.M.P.P. Chandrādeva, who acquired the sovereignty over Kanyakubja by (the strength of his) own arms, orders, informs and commands all the people assembled, residing in this village, (namely), in the midst of Vācāgrāma,1 in the district (pattala) of Alīya, together with its outlying hamlets and corners, after excluding (the portions) already given to gods and Brāhmaṇas, also portions meant for fortifications as well as the kings, queens, crown-princes, ministers, preceptors, door-keepers, generals, treasurers, record-keepers, physicians, astrologers, chamberlains, messengers, and officers charged with the care of elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), sthānas and gōkulas in the following manner:—

"Be it known to you, that I have, on Tuesday, the 8th of the bright fortnight in the month of Jyāśṭha, in the year (comprising) eleven hundred increased by seventy-six, while staying at the village of Maṃḍalā, belonging to Alāhvimahēṣāpura, in figures Saṃvat 1178, Jyāśṭha 8. 3, Tuesday,2 after bathing in the prescribed manner in the holy Ganges at (my) camp, at Maṃḍalā; after propitiating the sacred texts, divinities, sages, men, beings and the groups of deceased ancestors; adoring the Sun whose lustra can dispel heaps of darkness; worshipping the Moon-crested (Śiva); worshipping Vāsūdeva, the protector of the three worlds and after offering to (the god of) Fire an oblation rich in milk-rice for the increase of merit and fame of my mother and father and myself, bestowed by a charter by (pouring) water from the palm of my hand, sanctified by the gōkara and kuśa-grass for (as long as) the Moon and the Sun endure, the above-mentioned village, together with water and dry land, mines of iron and salt, with pits and deserts up to and including gardens of madhāka and mango (trees), parks, and trees, grass and pasture-lands, up to its proper limits clearly defined by the four boundaries, upon the learned and illustrious Tūlāśīkā-Śarman, the son of the illustrious Pūrṇa, the grand.

1 The name of the village seems to be Kāpāvā. — Ed.
2 I am unable to offer a satisfactory explanation of kacchēśāpātāk. Literally it would mean "portions resembling a coat of mail." The rendering in my translation is a mere conjecture. [The word pācśaka would suggest that what is read as kacchēśāma gives the name of some hamlet.—Ed.]
3 [See f. n. 3 on p. 231, above.—Ed.]
son of the learned and illustrious Jantsa and the great-grandson of the learned and illustrious Narasimha of the Chhândoga school, whose five pravr̥tas are, namely, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Aurva, Jámadagnya and Ánapāṇa, and who belongs to the Vatsa-gotra of Dronāyaṇapuṣṭa. Bearing this in mind, you should give (the donor) the bhāga-bhāga-kara, the pravasaṇi-kara and all the other sources of income that are due.

[ll. 26 to 36 contain thirteen imprecatory and benedictory verses.]

(L. 36.) Written by the Karaṇika,1 the illustrious Thakkura Sahadeva. Engraved by the illustrious sūtradhāra, Hāleka.

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No. 24.—CHHATARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF GOVINDACHANDRA-DEV OF KANAÚJ: [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1177.

By Dāya Ram Sāhni, M.A., Rai Bahadur.

The copper-plates on which this inscription is engraved are two in number. They were forwarded to the Director-General of Archaeology in India by the District Magistrate of Cawnpore with the following information about the circumstances that led to their discovery: “The plates were discovered on or about the 5th July, 1920, by one Chhātiyañ Chamār when digging the foundations for a hut. Local rumour has it that he found with it jewellery and gold ornaments, but of this I have no corroboration. No one has claimed the plates or any knowledge of their antecedents. The site was the village of Chhatarpur near Sheorājpur, a small town, lying on the Grand Trunk Road, 21 miles north-west of Cawnpore. Sheorājpur was formerly a place of some importance: the seat of the Rājas of Chandēl family. Chhatarpur itself contains a very old temple of Khērēśhvarā Mahādeva which is regarded with the greatest veneration.” The plates were in a much corroded state when they reached the office of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, who had them thoroughly cleaned and sent to me for publication in this Journal.

Both the plates on which this inscription is engraved are rectangular in shape, each measuring 1'-3½" by 10'. Their edges are turned upwards, thus forming a rim, ¾" high, on all sides. The plates are held together by a stout circular ring of copper which passes through two holes cut in the bottom of plate I, and the top of plate II, respectively. To the ring is attached, as is frequently the case with such plates, a heavy seal of the king bearing the inscription Śrinaid-Gōvindachandrādevaḥ with a figure of Garuḍa above it and a conch below it. The plates, the ring and the seal are in a perfect state of preservation, except one corner of plate II and another of plate I, which are slightly damaged; but we find no loss of the inscription on this account. The epigraph, which consists of thirty-two lines, is engraved on the inner side of each of the two plates, the number of lines on each plate being sixteen. The characters are Nāgari and the language is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, we observe the same peculiarities as in other inscriptions of this king. The letter ka is everywhere written as ka and the palatal s as the dental sibilant, though occasionally it has its own proper sign, especially in

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1 This word means a scribe, i.e., one who has to do with documents (काराण). Mr. Y. R. Gupte has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that certain families among the Chāndrasenīya Kayātha Prabhūs (a class of writers in the Deccan) to this day bear the surname of Karāṇa (Sanskrit karāṇa). The Prabhūs referred to are supposed to have migrated from the district of Oudh in the United Provinces.

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2 The correct name would appear to be Kāhrēśvara.
ligatures. A few other mistakes of spelling may also be noticed. In line 18, we meet with sordanahal- for sordanahal.\textsuperscript{1} In the same line we also find uṣaṇa wrongly spelt as uṣaṇa, while in line 21, the répha is omitted from the name Bārhapata.\textsuperscript{2} The Sandhí is frequently disregarded.

The first ten lines and a half are in verse and contain, as in other copper-plate inscriptions of this dynasty, the genealogy of the king beginning from Chandradēva, while the nine lines at the end (ll. 24-32) are taken up by seven benedictory and imprecatory verses quoted from the Mahābhārata. The rest of the inscription, i.e., from the middle of line 11 to line 24, and the latter portion of line 32, is devoted to the formal subject matter of the epigraph. The object of the document is to record the fact that king Gōvinda Chandrādeva, son of the illustrious Madanapāladēva, son of the illustrious Chandrādeva, after bathing with the water of the Ganges at Varsūpi on the occasion of the full moon of Kartika in the Vikrama-Saṅvat year 1177, after having duly propitiated the sacred texts, divinities, etc., and adored the Sun, Mahādeva and Vasudēva, gave away, by this charter, the village of Sāsaimāna in the Koṭi district, clearly defined by its four boundaries, together with what is above and below it, to the Brāhmaṇa, the illustrious Sāhulādaman, the son of the illustrious Thakkura Lāhula, and the grandson of Avasthi-Śrī-Mālē, whose pravāra is Āṅgirasa, Bārhapata and Bālhavāja, and who belongs to the Bālhavāja-gōtra. The king further commands the residents of the aforesaid village to continue regularly to pay all the taxes to the donee. The document was written by the Kuruṇaka Thakkura Śridhara.

The name of the village, whose grant is recorded in this inscription, was Sāsaimāna. The locality, where the two copper-plates were unearthed, was, as mentioned above, the village of Chhatarpur near Sheorājpur in Cawnpore district. If Chhatarpur is really the place where the donee of the grant actually resided, then the village of Sāsaimāna must have been situated somewhere in its neighbourhood. I have referred to a large scale map of the Cawnpore district, but have failed to discern any village of this precise name. I have, however, received a copy of a letter from the District Magistrate to the address of the Director-General of Archeology in India, which states that there is a village of the name of Sisamau, which now forms part of the Cawnpore City. This village answers very nearly to the ancient village Sāsaimāna. The District Magistrate is unable to throw any light on the ancient district of Koṭi.

**TEXT.\textsuperscript{5}**

**First Plate.**

[Lines 1 to the middle of 11 are the same as in the Dūn Buxurg plates of Gōvinda Chandra of [Vikrama]-Saṅvat 1176; above, p. 218.]

11 .......................... श्रीयं समस्तराजवक्तसंस्कृतचरण; \\
परम्परादिकालमाराजापि-

12 .................................. राजपरमेश्वरपरमाणव(1)निग्रुषोपाधिपत्तियकङ्कुषापित्तहोस्यधेयपादातु- अतिपरम्परादिकालमाराजापि-

\textsuperscript{1} [This remark is not justifiable for the word is written with or without e; cf. Śabdakālpadrauma under the word; "विश्वासी निम्पल्लाध्यायः."—Ed.]
\textsuperscript{2} [* I think it is there.—Ed.]*
\textsuperscript{3} [Not mentioned in the inscription which simply says बार्हपत्याश्रम. It may be any of the five parvānas.—Ed.]
\textsuperscript{4} * [It would be better to take mantra-dēva together, meaning 'gods invoked by, etc.'—Ed.]*
\textsuperscript{5} * From the ink-impression.*
No. 25.—VEMALURPADU PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

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

For ink-impressions of these copper-plates I am indebted to Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who acquired the plates for the Madras Museum in 1910* from a Muhammadan resident of

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1 [The plate gives adyāga.—Ed.]
Vēmalūrpādu, a village close to the Phirangipuram Railway Station in the Guntur District. He describes them as follows:

"Five plates with raised rims. The first and the last have writing on their inner sides only. The plates measure 9½ by 4½. They are held together by a circular copper ring which measures 5½ in diameter and 2 in thickness. The ends of the ring are fixed into the bottom of a seal whose base is fashioned into a lotus of eight petals. The seal, which is circular, measures 3½ in diameter and bears, within a countersunk surface, the figure of a running boar facing the proper left, with a chauri in front of it. Below the boar is the legend Śri-Tribhuvan[ān][ā][u]jāsa in old Telugu characters, and below it a lotus flower of eight petals spread out, with the sun and an ankuḍa to the right, and the crescent of the moon to the left. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates were received from the Collector of Guntur. The plates and seal together weigh 410 tolas."

The writing on the plates is in a state of good preservation, with the exception of portions of plate iv, b. The alphabet is Telugu, and the language is Sanskrit prose, interspersed with 1½ Sanskrit verses. The description of the boundaries of two fields in lines 59-63 is in a mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu. The writer seems to have possessed a very superficial knowledge of the former language. As the notes on the text will show, he has committed an inordinate number of mistakes and omissions in copying the historical introduction from the records of his office. I shall not waste space and time by lengthy remarks on the orthography of this document. The upadhmāṇiya is represented by the Telugu symbol ṛ in line 8, and by p at the beginning of line 67. The Sanskrit word rāṣṭra is spelt raṣṭra and rāṣṭra in line 48.

The inscription on the plates records a grant of land by the Eastern Chālukya king Ammaraja II, and opens with a historical account of his ancestors which is nearly identical with the one given in the Maliyapūṇḍi grant. As I have already discussed this genealogical portion elsewhere, I need note here only the corrupt verse 1 (line 11), according to which it remains doubtful whether the reign of Vijayāditya II, surnamed Narāndramūrjarāja, was believed to have lasted either 48 or only 40 years. Verses 9-15 seem to have been composed by a Brāhmaṇa named Bhāṭagūḍha (I. 73) and do not reflect much credit on this panegyrist as a grammarian and poet. Verse 9 states that Amma II was the son of Bhima (II), the grandson (in reality, the great-grandson) of Bhima (I), and the great-grandson (in reality, the grandson of the grandson) of Vikramādīka. The same verse alludes to the attack made by Vallaḥha, i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛishṇa II, on Bhima I. It implies that Bhima I bore the surname Ritasiddhi, and that Vikramādīka (i.e. Vikramādīka I) had received the dignity of heir-apparent, but did not ascend the throne. Verse 13 informs us that Amma II was eight years old when he was anointed to the dignity of heir-apparent, and that he was twelve years old at the time of his coronation. From other grants the exact date of the last is known to have been Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945, in the twelfth year of his age.

The regnal year of Amma II in which the grant recorded in the Vēmalūrpādu plates was made, is not specified in them. On the day of a winter-solstice (uttarādhyāna, I. 56), the

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1 Mr. Krishna Sastri has very kindly deciphered from the original copper-plate, and rendered into English, a few Telugu words of this passage which I had been unable to read and explain.
2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 48 f.
3 Ibid., p. 102, and above, Vol. IX, p. 84 f.
4 See Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 103.
king gave an agrahāra (ll. 45 and 57) or mānya (l. 71) to a Brāhmaṇa named Musiya (ll. 39 and 51) or Musiyanaśārman (l. 56), whose father seems to have enjoyed the complimentary title of Mahārāja (l. 39 ff.), whose grandfather's name was Guṇḍamāyya (l. 41 f.), and who belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gotra (ll. 42 and 56). The king did this at the request of Durgarāja, the great-grandson of Pāṇḍarāṇa (l. 43 f.). Durgarāja seems to have been the royal superintendent of the district (raja-vishay-ādyādyākṣa, l. 53) or feudatory chief of the province of Karma-rāṣṭrā (l. 48) and to have communicated the king's decision to the inhabitants of this district and to the donee himself, who is addressed in the second person (teem) in lines 39 and 51. Durgarāja may be meant also by 'the famous chief of the camp' who was the executor (ājñāpāti) of this grant (l. 72). From the king's own words, which are quoted in line 44 f., we may conclude that the donee, Musiya, was Durgarāja's minister (mantrin). Both Durgarāja and his great-grandfather, the general Pāṇḍarāṇa, are well known from other inscriptions.2

The object of the grant were two fields which had been cut off from the two villages of Anmananāguru (ll. 52 and 59) and Anγekiri (l. 54) in the district of Karma-ṛāṣṭrā (l. 48). This district must have corresponded to portions of the Ongole Tāluk of the Nellore District. For, it included the village of Chendalūr in this tāluk3 and the two villages of Dharmapura and Kalvakuru in the Addanki Division of the Ongole Tāluk.4 Anγekiri (l. 54) is perhaps an old form of the name of Addanki itself. In the absence of local maps I am unable to trace the four villages which formed the boundaries of the subjoined grant (ll. 57-59). The two villages of Kāranchédu (l. 55) and Vaṅgiparā (l. 73) where the recipient and the composer of the grant resided, respectively, are mentioned in a grant of Narēndrārgarajā in the slightly different forms of Kāranchédu and Vaṅgiparā.5 On sheet 3 of the Madras Presidency Map published by the Madras Survey in 1892, I find 'Karanchēdu,' 10 miles west by south of Bāpaṭla; and Vaṅgiparā may be the same as Vaṅgipuram in the Bāpaṭla Tāluk,6 which borders on the Addanki Division. On the same map I notice 'Nūtulapād,' about 15 miles west of Bāpaṭla. This is perhaps identical with the village of Nūtulapāra in Karma-ṛāṣṭrā.7

TEXT.8

First Plate.

1 "भगवान् ([ll.]) ीमतान् खलखलुकार्यमसंस्मृययमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमानमान
6 भावविशेषतः ([1]) भावा कृष्णविशेषतः बाहार! वर्ष[1]शिष इव (2) वेनगम-
7 चक्षु[स]प[1]खळु । तदाले[स] जयविशेषतः इव । तदसुभक्षण-
    राजान्यानि

Second Plate; First Side.

8 विजयविधि नव । तद्विन्माणिगुहरा[ण]। पंपविहित । नतुला! जयविशेषतः
9 दश । तद्वरज[ः] कोकिलीपष्क[ः]चानु । तस्म चाँहे भावा विजय-
    वनस्पतसुञ्जय समापतात[स]।
10 वच्च[ः]धिः ([1]) नतुले। विजयविधिकेश[ः] रक्षा! अदाम । तसुना विजयविधिकेश-
    अपायात । नरेन्द्रः
11 व्यावराज्ञे व्यावराज्ञपालकः । विजयविधिकेशन[ः] स:। चालायित:
    दायान्य[ः]। ([1])
12 नतुले: कलिविशेषतः चीरोवषयः । तदर्ज[ः] । पराचारिकपालरगः
13 चेयः । कहा भोकरीदेवराजः दु:। मंगिळाराजसंगः। मंगणानारीतागः
14 कुकिलिकारिकोई सहा[ः]कालवीः संस्कृतसुञ्जयपवनुम वो भाष्यिला च
15 तुवतः अस्निष्ठः। विजयवाला ॥ रसी चितः । ([2]) तदनुभय
    लवदः
16 विजयानिकिस्कुरुसुक्खभिमिलितः ॥ तवचाचो विजयदिशि:
    यहमायान्य[ः]

Second Plate; Second Side.

17 तदनुभयकाराजसंस्थवरः[ः] शिष । तदनुभयन्याय वालः 
18 व्यावराज्ञ प्रदन्तकाराय[ः]। सामसेरः। नागासम्वयसीरसन्निधिविधः

1 Read "देवता।"
2 Read "वर्षाचं।"
3 Read "विशिष्टम्। तस्मात।"
4 The initial त is entered below the line.
5 Read "प्राक्रमः।"
6 The syllable च is entered below the line.
7 Pāda 4 of this verse is corrupt; cf. another corrupt version of it above, Vol. IX, p. 61, text line 13.
8 Read "वर्षाचं।"
9 Read "विशिष्टम्।"
10 Read "सामसेनः।"
11 This श is entered below the line.
12 Read "हर्षाचं।"
13 Read "सामसेनः।"
14 Read "हर्षाचं।"
15 Read "बोधविविधानः।"
16 Read "वनस्पतसुञ्जय समापतात।"
17 Read "कोकिलीपष्कः।"
18 Read "विजयविधिकेशः।"
19 Read "दिशिकः।"
20 Read "देवम्।"
21 Read "सामसेनः।"
22 Read "वनस्पतसुञ्जय समापतात।"
23 Read "हर्षाचं।"
24 Read "बोधविविधानः।"
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

19 तं तावराज्ञ विषमरणादि स[19]समतुपतेना: [19].
20 एकी[20] समगःशिलिकालयमांस्ववारकरितः (1) विसमतुपतेना।
21 तिपतितनयो विषमालिंिभुः। [21] पवादस्ममणिकया विषम[1].
22 दिकान्तमहे विसर्ज्याँ । र्व आयाधारनयाः दियादराज्याः राज्याः।
23 लावविर युक्तवराजसः[1]संकलकालिक्किः विषमालिंिभुः।
[19] चक्षे्षः मान्य sáng.

Third Plate; First Side.

26 चेरास्त्रिक बच्चों सुद्धचाल्याः। (1) शेषेकथावकारीः प्रकाशिता: कालान्तराः।
27 य[27] प्राप्तता: [19] दोषविभारवानांतराः यस्योऽम्बाकारानाः।
28 यक्षरावी्य गिरीश समाप्तीः। [19] नागमा।[20] विनाशाति। रिपुक्तः कोयः।
29 निरा मूलतः शुः ययो न लोकस्मिन्। स्वतःति न भ्रमतृ [19]
30 द्रव[1].
31 भौपराणिर्विन्दन संतप्तां ययो दारिक्षयतेण जनः।
32 सस्त्रे् न नी रस्तिः। [19] स चालुक्याभिमनस। (1) विशयादिभयः
33 नादम्[19] हादशः।
34 आलमासामेंसः राजभोमै चरारं। [19] तथा मद्यंरूपेः समाताः।[20]

1. Read "समतुपत्ति.
2. Read "समगःसिलिकालयमांस्ववारकरितः।"
3. Above, Vol. IX, p. 52, text line 23, this was needlessly corrected into "समगःसिलिकालयमांस्ववारकरितः.
4. Read राजस्वा.
5. Cancel the syllable श after राजमासः.
6. Read विश्वेशुता चाहनः.
7. Read विरेषुता चाहनः.
8. Read विश्वेशुता।
9. Read दशु कायः।
10. The letters enclosed in brackets are supplied from the Malyapūṇḍi grant.
11. Read योगवेयाः। "ववः।"
12. Read "दशुका।"
13. The Malyapūṇḍi grant reads ददा।
14. Read विदेशाः।
15. Read "दशुका।"
16. Read दशु कायः।
17. Read दशु कायः।
18. Read दशु कायः।
19. Read दशु कायः।
20. Read दशु कायः।
21. Read दशु कायः।
22. Read दशु कायः।
23. Read दशु कायः।
24. Read दशु कायः।
25. Read दशु कायः।
26. Read दशु कायः।
27. Read दशु कायः।
28. Read दशु कायः।
29. Read दशु कायः।
30. Read दशु कायः।
31. Read दशु कायः।
32. Read दशु कायः।
33. Read दशु कायः।
34. Read दशु कायः।
33 नामते: कुमारम्: [१०] बीकनाथदेव[१०]: खलु यशोभवहराराज्ये [२०]
34 चम्पायोऽस्तीमृतरंगरजयोऽनि भिसम्मुष्म पुनः

Third Plate; Second Side.
35 ख्वातस्ते वधमन न श्रम: पदरम् [१०]द[१०]य घनः[४०]
36 य[१०]य[१०]तत्सिद्धिवर्धयापविश्वनामदराज्ये: पौको यज्ञ[६०]
37 भोरायक्षजयारणिलम्बी विनासांक्षे नम[१०] [२०] परसंक्षे-
38 सम्बोधयेव: परार्यानुवम्वयोविषत् [१०] परोपकारि
39 हिजलस्मिन्निति निव मः सुनिम्नाभिषान: [२०] २० नमस्त्र[१०]-
40 र[१०]जया जया जया जया जया जया जया जया [१०] देवानुष[१०]-
41 नि प्रतितुवाक्य: पुरोऽपवाख्यवाक्यदेश: नमस्त्र[१०] [२०] सुणस्मयाभिषते
42 नस्ते पदमयारित्यक्तै [१०] पौको भारस्मते नीतोऽन्निते[३०]
43 सः [२०] २० नमस्त्र[१०] चामिनातुखोत्यवट्टे नस्त्र[२०] परास्म[१०] नमस्त्र[१०] दुराराज्ये विना-

Fourth Plate; First Side.
44 पिता[२०]जः [३०] तस्मो प्रशतिचिति: स्त्र[१०]भिदिताय प्रतिसयंजनः [४०] स-
45 निबन्धयारस्त्र[१०]भिति प्रतिवचनसुख[१०]नू [२०] स यज्ञराजानांभिषेक[२०]
46 धनि[२०]जः [१०] तकृतपन्वव: [१०] महादेवः प्रवस्मवन्हल रिपुनेनकावरियम[१०]-
49 खान्तुविक्षिप्ताय[१०]निम्न समाहरेवामामामायति [२०] निलविद्म[२०] [२०] निलविद्म[२०]
50 सः [२०] [२०] इश्वरप्रस[१०]देश [२०] [२०] निर्विद्मविद्म[२०] [२०] निलविद्म[२०]

¹ Read "बाचा:"
² Read "चत्वारीपोषकास्तेषु:"
³ Read "मो:"
⁴ Read "पृष्ठ:"
⁵ Read "वाल:"
⁶ Read "श्रीपारिधारी:"
⁷ Read "पिताः:"
The metre seems to have induced the author to use the impossible form दोषीराजस्ते instead of दोषीराजस्ते.
⁸ Read "प्राङ्गण:"
⁹ Read "प्राङ्गण:"
¹⁰ Read "प्राङ्गण:"
¹¹ Read "पापांस: and cf. above, Vol. V, p. 125, text line 35.
¹² Read "दुर्राजः:"
¹³ Read "दुर्राजः:"
¹⁴ Read "दुर्राजः:"
¹⁵ Read "दुर्राजः:"
¹⁶ Read "दुर्राजः:"
¹⁷ Read "दुर्राजः:"
¹⁸ Read "दुर्राजः:"
¹⁹ Read "दुर्राजः:"
²⁰ Read "दुर्राजः:"
²¹ Read "दुर्राजः:"
²² Read "दुर्राजः:"
²³ Read "दुर्राजः:"
²⁴ Read "दुर्राजः:"
²⁵ Read "दुर्राजः:"
²⁶ Read "दुर्राजः:"
²⁷ Read "दुर्राजः:"
²⁸ Read "दुर्राजः:"
²⁹ Read "दुर्राजः:"
³⁰ Read "दुर्राजः:"
³¹ Read "दुर्राजः:"
³² Read "दुर्राजः:"
51 किस्मते सुसियखे ने [१४] माधवन्दरावµे [१५] नवलिखितमः
52 तवकिंचि चिन्तने विशेषार्थविषयः [१६] विशेषार्थविषयः
53 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः
54 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

55 मादिर्शक्तिमः विशेषार्थविषयः कार्येस्वरूपविषयः कौशिकाकालमः
56 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः कार्येस्वरूपविषयः
57 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः कार्येस्वरूपविषयः
58 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः
59 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः
60 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः
61 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः
62 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः
63 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः
64 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः
65 माधवन्दरावµे विशेषार्थविषयः

1 Read perhaps श्रीमती.
2 Read दस्तावेजः.
3 Read श्रीमती.
4 Read दस्तावेजः.
5 Read श्रीमती.
6 A doubtful symbol is entered below the िे बादशा.
7 Read प्रथमादि.
8 Read दस्तावेजः.
9 Read दस्तावेजः.
10 Read प्रथमादि.
11 Read प्रथमादि.
12 Read प्रथमादि.
13 Mr. Krishna Sastry corrects this into दस्तावेजः.
14 Read प्रथमादि.
15 Read प्रथमादि.
16 Read प्रथमादि.
17 I owe the reading of this word to Mr. Krishna Sastry.
18 Read प्रथमादि.
19 Read प्रथमादि.
20 Read प्रथमादि.
21 Read आदेश.
22 Read प्रथमादि.
23 Read प्रथमादि.
24 Read प्रथमादि.
25 Read प्रथमादि.
26 Read प्रथमादि.
27 Read प्रथमादि.
28 Read प्रथमादि.
29 Read प्रथमादि.
30 Read प्रथमादि.
31 Read प्रथमादि.
32 Read प्रथमादि.
33 Read प्रथमादि.
34 Read प्रथमादि.
35 Read प्रथमादि.
36 Read प्रथमादि.
37 Read प्रथमादि.
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59 Read प्रथमादि.
60 Read प्रथमादि.
61 Read प्रथमादि.
62 Read प्रथमादि.
70 स्थायं तदा फलं [18] सहस्रं परदत्तवं त्वं श्रेणं वस्त्रारं [1] पर: 2
71 वनृवनिमि विशिष्टं जातं किमं: 129 [18] मानं विवेकानिर्विकारं.
72 मात्र: साध्यं निषेध चन्द्रमें नन्देन ने वाजनिवं: 130 [20] तु.
73 विपरीत: सन्यासवर्ष: नायनावः नेष्ट मन्यं निर्विन्न निविष्क: 131 तु.
74 तथा मानवनालं 128 वनस्पती [10] ज्ञेन निश्चितं 132 तु.

TRANSLATION.

[As far as line 33, the text is identical with that of the Malyapūndi grant, lines 3-34, as translated above, Vol. IX, p. 55.]

(Verse 8.) Ammarāja (II) who was born to him by Lōkamahādevi, just as Kumāra to Mahēśvara by Uma.18

(V. 9.) From her (viz. Lōkamahādevi) was born the lord Amma (II), the son of prince Bhima (II) who vanquished the armies of enemies; the grandson of the modest great king Bhima (I)14 who seized and wore again at the top (†) of (his) parasol the diadem although it had been struck at by Vallabha, (and) who duly attained success by righteousness;15 the great-grandson16 of Vikramāditya17 who was resplendent with the neck-ornament of the glorious dignity of heir-apparent (yasva:).”

(V. 10.) ‘Thou whose name is Musiya, the best of the twice-born (Brāhmaṇas), (art) pure in three (respects). For, (thou art) pure in thoughts which are removed from the property of others, pure in words which are devoid of unkindness to others, (and pure in deeds, being) a benefactor of others.’

1 Read "भूमिष्ठं.
2 Read "भूमि.
3 Read "भूमि.
4 Read "भूमि.
5 Read "भूमि.
6 Read "भूमि.
7 Read "भूमि.
8 Read "भूमि.
9 Read "भूमि.
10 Read "भूमि.
11 Read "भूमि.

12 A flower is engraved at the end of this line.
13 This verse is identical with verse 9 of the Malyapūndī grant.
14 By mistake the panegyrist has omitted one generation (Vijaya:). For, Amma II was not the grandson, but the great-grandson, of Bhima I.
15 Or, ‘who duly attained (the surname) Ritasiddhi.’
17 In reality Amma II was not the great-grandson, but the grandson of the grandson of Vikramāditya I.

Cf. note 14, above.
(V. 11 f.) He (viz. Musiya) was the son of him who was the best of (those bearing) the glorious title of Mahārāja, whose sight pleased wise men, friends, and relatives, who fully discharged the debts to the gods, etc., (and) who graced a noble family; (and he was) the grandson of him whose name was Gundaṇamayya, who always fulfilled the six duties (of a Brāhmaṇa), who was a Bhāradvāja by gotra, (and) whose dignity was boundless.

(Ll. 43-45.) Having been requested by (Musiyas) lord Durgarāja, the great-grandson of Pāṇḍarāja whose fighting-power had been unequaled.—Ammaraja (II), whose heart was pleased with this devoted servant (viz. Musiya), replied:—*I shall gladly grant an agrahāra to your minister.*

(V. 13.) This (king), who had been anointed to the dignity of heir-apparent at (the age of) eight years (and) crowned at (the age of) twice six years, is always resplendent, having forcibly slain many enemies in great battles.

(Ll. 47-49.) He who has attained the five great sounds, who is deeply attached to Brāhmaṇas, the supreme lord, the fervent worshipper of Mahēśvarā, who is devoted to (his) mother and father, having assembled all the ryots, headed by the Rūṣṭrakutsas, inhabiting the (province of) Karma-rāśṭra, commands (them) as follows:—

(Ll. 49-57.) *Be it known to you (that), having greeted the royal superintendent of the district (rāja-vishay-ādhyāksha), having cut off a field requiring as seed ten khāris of kōdraca on the southern side of the village named Anmaṇānguru, having cut off likewise a field requiring as seed ten khāris of kōdraca on the northern side of the village named Anāńki, having joined these (two fields) to this village, he has given, at the occasion of the winter-solstice (uttariyama), the two villages named Tumiyavepiyapuṇḍi, etc., (as) an agrahāra, having provided (them) with all immunities, to Musiyanaśarman who resided at Kāraṇchēṣu, belonged to the family of Krōvi (and) to the Bhāradvājas-gotra.*

(V. 14.) To thee, the glorious Musiya who desires the favour of (his) lord, who shows compassion to all beings, (and) who is always eager for virtue and politics, (he has made this grant).*

(V. 15.) The meanings of the two words amma and rājan are declared to be *mother* and *moon* (respectively). Is it wonderful (that) these two are beneficial to the subjects (of a king) if they have become united (in the name Ammaraja)?

1 See Tainirīya-Saṅkhīti, VI, 3, 10, 5:—जानवानी व नांदिप्रकार नांदिप्रकार नांदिप्रकार नांदिप्रकार को विवधा
2 These six duties are enumerated by Manu (I, 88; X, 76) and in the Baudhāṇaga-Dharmasūtra, I, 10, 18,
3 The pedigree of Pāṇḍarāja in the Maliyapuṇḍi grant (above, Vol. IX, p. 56) shows that nāpā has to be taken, here too, in the sense of a great-grandson. Cf. above, p. 233, note 16.
4 This title, which is restricted to feudatory chiefs, suggests that Durgarāja, and not his sovereign Amma II, is meant here. Cf. Fleet's remarks, above, Vol. XII, p. 255 and note 2.
7 The subject of this sentence is probably king Amma II.
8 Is this the new name that was bestowed on the two fields? Perhaps the first field had originally borne the name of Tamiyapuṇḍi, and the second one that of Veṣiyapuṇḍi.
9 This village is mentioned three times, and its name is spelled Kāraṇchēdu (with dental d) in every case, in a grant of Narāndramagāra; see Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 418.
10 This verse and the next one are inserted after the words 'be it known to you' in line 50.
11 i.e. of Durgarāja whose minister he was; see line 44 f.
12 Supply prāda from line 57.
13 This is one of the Dravīḍian words meaning 'mother.'
(L. 57-59.) The boundaries of this (agnahāra are):—To the east Mēdalkonda; to the south Gaṭtipūṇḍi; to the west the village named Lēṅkonda; to the north the village named Anmanāṅgurū.

(L. 59-63.) The limits of the fields (are):—To the east a kāmī (tree) at the meeting-point of three boundaries; to the south-east a pond (guṇa); to the south a gōmu (tree) with margosa trees on the bank of the Guṇṭēru (river); to the south-west the salt marshes on the southern side of a lake; to the west ... on the bank of the river; to the north-west a pond; to the north the Chaliṅgūṭa (pond); to the north-east a white stone at the meeting-point of three boundaries.

(L. 63 f.) Nobody should cause obstruction to him (viz. the donee). He who does (it) will be guilty of the five great sins. He who protects (the gift) will gain merit. And Rāma-bhadrā has spoken thus:

[L. 65-71 contain four of the customary verses (16-19.)]

(L. 71 f.) The grant (mānya) is a field requiring as seed twenty khāris of kōdranā.4

(V. 20.)5 The executor (ājīvapti) of this charity (was) the famous chief of the camp.6

(L. 73 f.) The poetry was made by Bhṛṭagunḍa who resided at Vāṅgiparū (and) belonged to the Āṭrēya-gōtra. To him two shares (of the grant) were given. Written by Ghanavaṭṭa-Bṛjōṭā.7 Let there be prosperity!

No. 26.—SANJAN PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I: SAKA-SAMVAT 793.

BY PROFESSOR D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., CALCUTTA.

The copper-plates, which are being edited here for the first time,8 were originally lying with my brother, the late Professor Shridhar Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Elphinstone College, Bombay. They were originally discovered, so I was told by him, at Sanjān in the Thānā district, Bombay Presidency, and were forwarded to him for decipherment by a Parsi friend of his, whose name I do not know.

At my suggestion, however, Professor S. R. Bhandarkar published a note on two verses from this grant to show the contemporaneity of the Rāshaṅkūṭa king Gōvinda III, the Pratiṅka ruler Nāgabhāṭa, the Kānauj sovereign Chakravuḍha, and the Gauḍa king Dharmapāla.9 These plates constitute the first genuine record of the Rāshaṅkūṭa king Amoghaṅvarsha, hereunto known. It is true that many inscriptions of his time have come to light, but none of them seems to have directly emanated from him. The best known of these is the Konnūr stone inscription of Śaka 782 which, however, is not an original record of the

1 Prosopis spicigera.
2 For nayyaviṣkuṣa see above, Vol. IV, p. 96, note 4.
3 [The word parvīṣ was taken to be the plural of para—= a salt marsh.—H. K. S.]
4 Here the two fields specified in lines 52-55 are added up.
5 This is only a half-verse.
6 The work ṣahōnā is a general epithet, and not a proper name. The kāṭākā probably was Durganjā himself. Cf. above, Vol. IX, p. 50.
7 A village named Vāṅgiparū is mentioned four times in a grant of Naśendrampigara; see Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 418.
8 I.e., Vṛhopādhyāya of Ghanavatī. For ṣū see above, Vol. VIII, p. 140, note 8, and Brown’s Telugu-English Dictionary, s.v. ṣu.
9 Here I wish to thank my pupils Messrs. Rakhohari Chatterjee and Chintaharan Chakravartti, to whom a good deal of credit is due for this work.
ruler but professes to be a mere copy of a copper-plate charter of his, prepared about the middle of the 12th century A.D.

The plates are three in number, each about 18½" long and 10½" broad. The edges of them all are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to serve as rims for the protection of writing. The record is inscribed on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The plates are strung together by a stout elliptical ring of about 4½" and 3½" in diameter and of about 3½" in thickness, passing through holes on one side of each plate. The ring was intact when the plates were examined. The ends of the ring are soldered into a roughly square seal, which measures 1½" in height and breadth, and bears, in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, as the principal figure, an image of Garuḍa, on a lotus seat facing full front, with his prominent beak-nose and holding a snake in each hand. Two discs are seen above the ears of Garuḍa, but it is difficult to say what they represent. On Garuḍa’s proper right, there is a representation of Gaṇapati in the upper corner, and lower down an indistinct chaṇḍi and a lamp. On his left, near the top is some goddess, standing in front of an animal (perhaps a lion) and holding a ladle in her right hand; below her is a chaṇḍi, and, near the bottom, a Svasti. Beneath the central figure are in relief the letters: Śrīmad-Amṛṭaharavardhāvasya.

The engraving is clear and on the whole well-executed, but the record is full of inaccuracies due chiefly to the incorrect draft written by the scribe on the plates. The characters agree fully with those of other Rāṣṭraṃūla records of the period. The language is Sanskrit throughout. Excepting the introductory “Oṃ Svasti,” the inscription is in verse down to line 87 (Third Plate). As regards metrology attention may be drawn to verses 23 and 39. The metre of these is Mattēbhavikṛṣṭa, which is not found in classical literature. It is not noticed in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, Vṛttaratākṣara or Chhandomānījārī, but is described in the Chhandomānījārī-parīśīkāḥ as saṁbhā-rāṇ-māu ya-la-gās-trayōdasā-yatīr-Mattēbhavikṛṣṭām. As regards orthography I might say that (1) ṣ is almost invariably written for b; (2) a consonant is invariably doubled after r, in the case of y, n, t, m, dh, n, p, k, and also ṣ when not followed by y (cf. niṣṭhāyāśīnīhāsana in l. 7), but not always in the case of g and j (cf. Ṛikarda-viniṇyagata in l. 60 and yaśorjana in l. 20, but viśayā-viniṇyagata in l. 61 and j-ṛjūsa in l. 8); (3) Viṣarga when followed by s, sh or s is, as a rule, changed to that letter; (4) gh for h is found in one instance only (cf. Ṛgovyāsīnīḥāsana in l. 8, Pl. I); (5) final n is sometimes replaced by n (cf. eva-bhṛtyān jyaṭān in l. 13, and tān bhūbhrīta in l. 15) and m by n (in gāsdha-gajas, l. 21, very rare); (6) upadhvānīya is frequently though not invariably used (cf. hāṣḍaḥ-paḍāṇā-ica, l. 40, but not in tvatvāh-pitān-cha, l. 21); (7) the vowel ṛi and the syllable ri are sometimes interchanged (thus in kṛṭiś-tīlōkyān, l. 33, and rīg-śrī-lagaṇa, l. 71); (8) t is, as a rule, doubled when followed by r; and lastly (9) in prose portions Viṣarga is retained in some instances where it should be replaced by o (cf. paścimmaṭh Nandagrāmaḥ in l. 65, Pl. III) and in some places where it should be elided (cf. Dakṣiṇāṭha Uppalaḥ, etc., in l. 65).

The first thing that strikes one about the contents of this grant is that some of its verses are identical with those in the Konnūr Inscription of Amṛṭaharavaha published by the late Prof. Kelkorn. Thus verses 2-15 of the latter are identical with stanzas 2-3, 6, 8, 10-12, 27, 29, 36, 45, and 50-53 of the former with slight variations in some cases. With reference to the Konnūr Inscription, Prof. Kelkorn expresses the opinion about the middle

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1] The figures on the seal are on the whole similar to those of the Cambay plates. (Above, Vol.VII, pp. 26-7.)


of his paper that "the genealogy was concocted some time after the date which is recorded in this inscription, and has not been copied from a genuine copper-plate charter of Amōghavarsha I." The same view he sets forth more clearly at the end of that paper. "Stating distinctly what I have indicated above," says he, "I consider it possible that lines 1-59 of this inscription really were based on a copper-plate charter; at the same time, I feel certain that, if such was the case, the transcribers have taken so great liberties with the original as to deprive this 'copy' of the value of an authentic document." The present plates, however, enable us to decide how far Kielhorn's opinion is correct. A comparison of lines 1-14 of the Konnūr Inscription with the genealogical portion of these plates leaves no doubt as to the lines 1-59 of the former being copied on stone from a genuine charter of Amōghavarsha I, as the concluding part of it informs us. But what about the glaring blunders in the genealogy which Kielhorn has detected in the Konnūr Inscription? How did they arise? In the first place, in our plates also the father of Gōvinda I is called Prichchhakārāja, as the same verse occurs in both the records. Prichchhakārāja may be a new name not known from previous Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants, but that does not mean that it is a fabrication. And, as a matter of fact, it may be another name of Indrarāja who is mentioned as the father of Gōvinda I in the fragmentary Ellorā Daśāvatāra cave temple inscription. Again, Kielhorn says that the Konnūr Inscription makes Prabhūtavarsha (-Gōvinda II) a son of his younger brother Dhārāvarsha, and consequently Prabhūtavarsha (-Gōvinda III) not a nephew but a son of the former. This discrepancy, flagrant though it appears, can be easily explained away by the mention of the fact that Dhārāvarsha-sutas of the inscription is a misreading of the transcribers for the correct wording Dhārāvarsha-tatas, such as that supplied by our grant. Then, again, Kielhorn tells us that in the Konnūr epigraph Karkarāja I is called Karkara, an apparently later form of the name. Here, also, the transcribers must have read Karkkarā-prabhuḥ wrongly in place of Karkkarāt prabhuḥ as appears in our grant. And it can scarcely be disputed that Karkkarāt is precisely the same word as Karkkarāja. This name occurs in v. 4 of the Konnūr record, which, however, begins with Indrāṇipāla-sutēna dhāriṇi instead of dhanus-samutāśita-bhūḫṛiti mahī as in our plates. This discrepancy alone is of a serious character as it makes Indra not a son but father of Karkkarāja. It is, however, possible to get over this difficulty by taking Indrāṇipāla-sutēna as a bahuvrihi compound. In this connection we have to bear in mind the fact that of all the verses common to the Konnūr Inscription and our charter, this is the only stanza where one whole line is entirely different. Was it deliberately composed and inserted or is it an example of sheer carelessness? If the introductory portion of the former is compared to that of the latter, it will be seen that the former, as it were of set purpose, wants to bring the genealogical account into the narrowest possible compass. This is quite clear from the fact that verses 12 and 27 of our charter, which are the same as verses 8 and 9 of the Konnūr Inscription, are connected with each other in the latter record by the two words: tasya sutah. It is not impossible that the transcribers are responsible for this abridgement as their main object must be to give in full only those details that relate to the grant proper and curtail them rigorously in all other respects. And it is not inconceivable that in their zeal to epitomize the genealogy they may have coined the line Indrāṇipāla-sutēna dhāriṇi, which if we take it to be a bahuvrihi compound, can be made to yield the sense that Indra was the son of Karkkarāja, and can thus make one verse serve the purpose of two.

The charter is one of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Amōghavarsha described in II. 57-58 as the Paramabhārataka-Mahārajādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Prākṣhavallabha the prosperous Vallabhana-rēndradēva, who meditated on the feet of the Paramabhārataka-Mahārajādhirāja-Paramēśvara,
the prosperous Jagattuṅgadēva. It records that in the Śaka year 793 when Amoghavarsa̅ha was staying at Mānyakṛ̗tha, his capital, he granted to four Brāhmans the village of Jharia-vallikā̅ from the Twenty-four-village Group adjacent to Saṅjāna for the purpose of maintaining the bali, charu, vaisvedeṇa, agnihōtra and atithitarpaya sacrifices. The donees are all Brāhmans of the Bhāvyadeva-tākha. Two of them, namely, (1) Narasīṁha-Dikṣita, son of Gōla-Shaṅgavīdī and grandson of Śāṃkūvāra, and (2) Rākṣhadaṇīya-Kramavīdī, son of Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Bhaṭṭa, were of the Bharadvāja-gōtra. The third, Trivikrama-Shaṅgavīdī, son of Vīṣṇu-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Dāvaṭi-Gahiyasahāsa, belonged to the Vadhakamukha-gōtra; and the fourth and last, Kēśava-Gahiyasahāsa, son of Gōvadāṇa-Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Hari-Bhaṭṭa, was of the Vatsa-gōtra. They all hailed from the same district, namely, Karahaḍa. They were probably the Kāraṭṭi Brāhmans.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, we shall now see what historical information can be gleaned from the introductory metrical portion, which sets forth the genealogy. After the introductory Ōm, it opens with the well-known invocatory verse with which most of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records begin. The next verse is in praise of Vira-Nārāyaṇa, by whom is here to be understood not only the god Nārāyaṇa, the originator of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, but also Amoghavarsa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, the donor of the grant, who bore that epithet. In verse 3 we are told that in the line of the Yadus there was a king Gōvinda, son of Prīchchhaṇaraṇa. This Gōvinda is, of course, Gōvinda I of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakṛ̗tha. He was succeeded by Karkka, on whom nothing but conventional praise is bestowed in vv. 4–6. Verse 7 says that after him came Indrarāja, who married the daughter of a Chāluva king at Khēṭaka by the Rākṣasa form of marriage. This clearly shows that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, in the time of Indrarāja, came first into hostile contact with the Chāluvas not of the Dekkan but of Gujarāt, for the seat of this Chāluva power is mentioned as Khēṭaka, the same as Karlā in North Gujarāt. These Chāluvas must, therefore, be the Gujarāti branch of the main dynasty ruling at Bādāmi. In this connection is worth noting the Antrōli-Chhārōli (in Surat) copper-plate grant of Kakka, dated Śaka 679 = A.D. 757.1 This record mentions—(1) a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince named Karkka, (2) his son, Dhruva, (3) his son, Gōvinda, and (4) his son, Karkka II, with whose name are coupled the titles Mahārāja-dhīraṇa, Paramēśvara and Parama-bhaṭṭâraka. One feels exceedingly tempted to say that the third and fourth of these princes are identical with their namesakes who preceded Indrarāja, father of Dantidurga. One is, however, confronted with the difficulty that whereas under this supposition we have the date Śaka 679 for Karkka, we have Śaka 675 for his grandson, Dantidurga, supplied by his Sāmangādī charter. This difficulty, however, is not insuperable, because there are reasons to doubt the genuineness of this last record. That the portion of it relating to the details of the village granted has been tampered with was pointed out long ago by Dr. Fleet when he edited the inscription.2 And the authenticity of the record as a whole has recently been called in question by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar on paleographic grounds.3 Thus the date furnished by the Sāmangādī grant is not above doubt, and the identification just pointed out may hold good. We may thus take it that before the time of Dantidurga his predecessors were occupying South Gujarāt.

Verse 8 tells us that Indrarāja was succeeded by Dantidurga, of whom the next verse says that when in Ujjain the various Khatriyas performed the ceremony, namely, the Great Gift of Hiranjasgarbha, he made the Gurjara and other lords his door-keepers (pratihāra). The verse evidently means in the first place that Dantidurga either performed himself or took a

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1 F. Kielhorn’s List of Inscriptions of Southern India, No. 54.
2 Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 110.
prominent part in this Hiranyagarbha ceremony in Ujjain. And this receives confirmation from a stanza occurring in the Daśavatāra cave temple inscription at Ellora. This inscription gives Mahārāja-Sarva as another name apparently for Dantidurga, and claims that in that very Ujjain, in order to enjoy a diversion with other princes, he instituted a mahā-dāna worthy of kings, and poured all kinds of wealth and precious stones on the supplicants. There can, therefore, be no doubt that Dantidurga had gone to Ujjain and performed the Hiranyagarbha ceremony. Secondly, verse 9 of our grant also implies that at Ujjain was then ruling a Gurjara dynasty called Pratihāra. There can be little doubt that this must be the Pratihāra dynasty, that became supreme after seizing the throne of Mahāodaya. We know for certain from epigraphic records that their capital became Mahāodaya or Kanauj from the time of Bhōja I onwards. But we did not know with certitude where they were actually ruling before they became rulers of Kanauj. And it was a mere surmise when some scholars thought that it was Bhīmāl or Bhīmāl in South Rājputānā. Our grant, however, enables us now to say definitely that their original seat of power was Ujjain. It also enables us to interpret properly the third line of the stanza so often quoted from the Jaina Harivansha of Jinaśeṇa. We can have no doubt now as to the correctness of Dr. Fleet’s translation, which makes Vatsarāja king of Avantī. This Vatsarāja, of course, is the Vatsarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty, and the Jaina Harivansha may be regarded as strengthening the inference that the Pratihāras were established at Ujjain and not Bhīmāl before they transferred their capital to Kanauj. Dantidurga was succeeded by Subhatsuṅga Vallabha (v. 10), that is, Krīśṇa I, who is represented to have seized the Chālukya sovereignty. He was followed by Prabhūtavaraha, that is, Gōvinda II, and the latter by Dārāvaraha, that is, Dhrūva (v. 12). Verse 13 contains no historical information, but the verse following says that Dhrūva snatched away the royal parasols of the king of Gauḍa as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna. This Gauḍa king, who would be a contemporary of Dhrūva, is either Dharmapāla or his father Gōpāla, of the Pāla dynasty. From the inscriptions of this family, however, Gōpāla does not seem to have been in any way a powerful prince; and we must, therefore, suppose that Dharmapāla was the Gauḍa prince defeated by Dhrūva. But the curious thing about this victory is that he was defeated not in his own country but outside. Does this not show that the Gauḍa prince had gone outside his dominions, perhaps, to help the king of Kanauj? This agrees with the fact, mentioned in the Baroda plates, that Dhrūva seized the territory between the Ganges and the Jumna and thus added the emblems of the two rivers to his imperial insignia. This territory certainly coincides with the Kanauj kingdom, and what appears to have happened is that when, after defeating Vatsarāja, Dhrūva was pressing his victories northwards, the Gauḍa king must have made common cause with the Kanauj sovereign, but that, when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince inflicted a crushing defeat on the latter, he began to pursue the former and encountered him before he was able to reach his dominions. Verse 15 says that Dhrūva’s fame, which had already spread as far as the extremities of the earth, now extended to the heavens, implying that he died. The next verse furnishes Nirupama as an epithet of Dhrūva, and tells us that, as soon as his son Gōvinda III was crowned king, he re-instated some of the feudatories in their own principalities, and, apparently against the wishes of his counsellors, in particular, released the Gauḍa prince, who, as we know from the records, was imprisoned by his father. This move

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2 Jour. R. As. Soc., 1909, p. 31; Smith’s Early Hist. Ind., p. 378.
3 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 65-6. Verse 9 of this charter of Amoghavarsha was communicated to Dr. R. C. Majumdar for being utilised in his paper entitled the Gurjara-Pratihāras published in the Jour. Dept. Letters (Cal. Univ.), Vol. X (p. 25 and ff.).
4 Dr. Majumdar was the first to show that this verse of the Baroda Plates (Ind Ant., Vol. XII, p 169) was to be taken as referring to Dhrūva, and not to Gōvinda III as had been done by Dr. Fleet (Jour. Dept. Letters, Vol. X, p. 35, n. 2).
was apparently dictated by the disaffection among the vassal kings who had transferred their allegiance from him to another overlord (v. 17). This is evidently a reference to his contesting, immediately after his accession, against a confederacy of twelve kings led by Staṁbha, who can be no other than his elder brother Raṅga-valōka-Kaṁbhadēva.¹ This opposition, however, he quickly put down. But the Gaṅga, whom he had released, refused to pay the fine imposed on him and had to be put in fetters again (v. 18).

Verses 19-20 contain nothing but conventional praise of Gövinda III, but the second of these supplies for him a new epithet Triḥbhuvanadāvala, not known from previous records. From v. 21 begins the description of his expedition of conquest in the north. He appears first to have encountered and defeated Nāgabhaṭa and Chandragupta. Who the second of these princes was it is not difficult to say. The only prince of that name who can be a contemporary of Gövinda III is Chandragupta of the Kōśala country ruling at Śrīpura or Sirpur in the Central Provinces.² The name of the family to which he belonged was Paṇḍava, but there can be no doubt that it was one of the paramount dynasties of the eighth and ninth centuries. As regards Nāgabhaṭa, the other prince vanquished by Gövinda III, there can be no question that he pertained to the Imperial Pratihāra family and was the son of Vatsaraṇa, king of Avanti, referred to above. His victorious march in the north, as verse 23 tells us, continued till his horses drank and elephants plunged themselves into the spring waters of the Himālayas. And it was here that two more princes, Dharmā and Chākraṇyudha, seem to have offered him their submission. This verse winds up by saying that he thus resembled the Himālayas in kīrti or fame, and, therefore, came to be known as Kirtinārāyaṇa, which, we know, was another epithet of Gövinda III. Of the two kings who submitted to him as he approached the Himālayas, Dharmā has been recognised to be Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, and Chākraṇyudha to be the prince of the same name who obtained the sovereignty of Kanauj through Dharmapāla.³

From the Himālayas Gövinda III returned to the Narmadā; and, turning to the east, he went along the bank of the river, conquering the Mālava, Kōśala, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Dāhala and Oḍraka countries (v. 24), and in this connection we are informed of another title that he bore, namely, Vikrama. Making his enemies submissive, he followed the other part of the river and established himself in a capital at the foot of the Vindhyas (v. 25). From verse 26 it appears that he was then in the kingdom of a small ruler, called Mahāraṇa Šarvāna, and in the same verse we are further told that while he was encamped there, a son was born to him who was known as Mahāraṇa Šarvan and about whom, verses 27-8 tell us that the astrologers predicted a happy and brilliant future. Evidently there is a pun here on the terms Mahāraṇa and Šarvan. In one case they are taken as two separate words referring to a Mahāraṇa called Šarvan, no doubt, the Chief in whose principality Gövinda III was temporarily settled on the banks of the Narmadā and at the foot of the Vindhyas; and, in the other case, the two terms are to be taken together so as to make Mahāraṇa Šarvan as the royal title by which we know Amōghavarsha, son of Gövinda III, was known.⁴ What verse 26 intends us to understand is that as Gövinda III was turning to the west of the Narmadā and was temporarily established in the petty kingdom of his feudatory Šarvan, Amōghavarsha was born. Similar information is contained in two other copper-plate grants of this king which tell us that after receiving the submission of the Mālava king, he marched to the Vindhyas, where a prince named Mārāsvarṇa conciliated him with his choicest heirlooms, and that he spent the rainy season at a place called Śrībhavana.⁵ Mārāsvarṇa

⁵ Ibid., p. 250.
is evidently the same as Mahārāja Śarvan, and Śrībhāvana must be the capital of the principality of this ruler where Gōvinda III was encamped for the rainy season and where his son Amoghavarsha was born.

Verse 29 makes mention of the two titles which were borne by Gōvinda III, namely, Prabhātavarsha and Jagattunga; and the two verses following inform us that from this encampment in the Vindhya they afterwards set out to attack and humble the Dravidā kings. Who these Drāvīḍa kings were is made clear in verse 32, and it appears that in this expedition to the south he vanquished the Kāraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chaulika (Chōla) and Pallava. With these are also coupled in the same verse the rulers of Kaliṅga and Magadha and the Gūrjara to show that he was rightfully styled Vikrama. Then we are told that, presumably in this excursion, he chained and put to death certain Gaṅga princes who had become disaffected (v. 33). They apparently do not include the Gaṅga ruler referred to in verse 18 above, and probably belonged to more than one Gaṅga family. Which these were exactly it is difficult to say. One of these was certainly the Western Gaṅga dynasty ruling over the Gaṅgavāḍī province, and the other is probably what is called the Gaṅga-Pallava family. The second half of verse 33 informs us that he made his camping ground free of dust through the lords of maṇḍalas by compensating them if they were friendly and by subjecting them to forced labour if they were otherwise, such as the Vēṅgi ruler was. This fact is also mentioned in the Rādhanpur charter of that king. Where this camp is to be located is not certain, but it seems to be Hēlāpura of the next verse,—a place from where he is represented to have enforced the obedience of the king of Lāṅkā (Ceylon) and his minister. As a result of this obedience he seems to have received two statues apparently of Rāvaṇa, its most ancient and traditional ruler, which he, however, transferred to Kāśchī, and put up as two columns of fame before the temple of Śiva. Where can this Hēlāpura be located? According to the Rādhanpur grant he was then encamped either on or near the Tuṅugbdhārā. Can this Hēlāpura be thus Vēlāpura or Belūr in the Hassan District of the Mysore State?

Verses 35-36 speak of the death of Gōvinda III and the accession of his son, Amoghavarsha, to sovereignty. The subsequent four verses inform us that just when Amoghavarsha came to the throne, some of his feudatories, ministers and even relatives became disaffected and raised the standard of revolt. But it was through the help of one Arya Pāṭalāmalla that he succeeded in quelling the rebellion (v. 41). Nothing is known about this Pāṭalāmalla from other records. One Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription, no doubt, speaks of one Pāṭalāmalla, elder brother of Vajjaladēva, a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra IV. But this Pāṭalāmalla would be a little too posterior to Amoghavarsha I in time. Then follow five verses, which are purely laudatory. And from verse 47 it appears that to ward off some public calamity the king who is here called Vira-Nārāyana cut off his left finger and dedicated it to the goddess, Mahālakṣāmī. What this public calamity was it is impossible to tell, but Mahālakṣāmī appears to be the same as that of Kolhāpur, which is described in one unpublished inscription as the ādya-piṭha, or original seat of that goddess. The same goddess,
again, was the family deity of at least one branch of the Śilāhāra race. It is possible that Amoghavarsha made a gift of his finger as bali to Mahālakshmi of Kohāpur to avert some calamity which threatened his kingdom. Verse 48 compares him to a Gupta king in point of generosity and decides in favour of the former. The Gupta prince was no doubt traditionally handed down as a donor, but he had stigmatized his career by killing his own brother, seizing the latter's kingdom and queen, and wresting heavy sums from her. Amoghavarsha, on the other hand, panted neither for kingdom nor for self, and freely gave them away several times. The latter point reminds us of the Praśnottaratvamāṇikā, the Digambara Jain copy of which informs us that the work was composed by Amoghavarsha "after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit in him." And it is quite possible that the figure of a royal ascetic found in a natural cavern at Bādāmi may represent this Amoghavarsha. But this was nothing more than a surmise, as the other copies of the work omitted all mention of the Rāhtrākūṭa sovereign. But our plates now clearly show that Amoghavarsha abdicated his throne, not once but more than once, before Śaka 793 (= A.D. 871), the date of the charter, when, however, he was carrying on his kingly duties. This shows that a king could in ancient times temporarily resign his sovereignty and enjoy the life of a hermit or ascetic. But who was the Gupta prince who was noted for his liberality up till the 9th century and who sinks into insignificance by comparison with Amoghavarsha? The Gāthā-saptasati of Hāla who is ascribed to the beginning of the sixth century and the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu who has been placed in the same century but at its close, for the first time speak of a king called Vikramaditya renowned for his generosity. And it has been suspected that this Vikramaditya is either Chandragupta II or Skandagupta, both of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Of the former, there is no record to lead us even to surmise that he ousted his brother and usurped the throne. In the case of Skandagupta, however, the Bhitār Pillar Inscription says that when his father (Kumāragupta I) died, the sovereignty of the family was tottering but that he put down his enemies and thereafter went to see his mother just as Kṛiṣṇa did Dēvaki. The reference to Kṛiṣṇa and Dēvaki indicates that this was a family feud and that his enemies in the present case were his kinsmen. We also further know that Skandagupta had a brother named Ghaṭotkachagupta who was in charge of the Erañ district when Kumāragupta I was alive. A seal of Ghaṭotkachagupta was also found in Basār (ancient Vaiśāli), which was the seat of the Yuvarāja during the Gupta rule. It appears probable that there was a fratricidal war between Ghaṭotkachagupta and Skandagupta in which the former was killed and the throne seized by the latter. It may not, therefore, be unreasonable to hold that Skandagupta-Vikramaditya was the Gupta king alluded to in our charter for comparison to Amoghavarsha.

The village granted, as we have seen, is Jharivallikā which is said to be situated in the Twenty-four-village Group of Saṃjhāna. The boundaries of the village are specified as follows:—To the east is the river Kalluvi, which falls into the sea; to the south, the village of Uppalabhatthaka; to the west, Nandagrama; and to the north, the village of Dhanna-vallikā. All these localities can be identified and are to be found in the northern part of the Thānā District of the Bombay Presidency. Saṃjhāna is, of course, Saṃjān, the original refuge

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6 [This inscription is problematical for the age of Hāla or of the Saptasati is still an open question. See Sir George Grierson's note on Prakrit in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica (XI ed.), Vol. XXII, p. 283, Dr. Stan Konor's Essay on Rājākikāra in his edition of the Karpāramaśāhī, p. 193, Mr. A. C. Woolner's Introduction to Prakrit, p. 73, and Keith's Sanskrit Drama, p. 74. So the proposed identification of the Vikramaditya of this anthology would require further demonstration.—Ed.] Bhandarkar Com., Vol., p. 189.
7 [His Bhitār Inscription would show that they were rather the Savage Huns.—Ed.]
8 Ind. Ant., 1920, pp. 114-5. [In this connection we should not lose sight of the fact pointed out by Mr. Ti̇rde (loc. cit.) that the word expressing relationship of Ghaṭotkachagupta with Kumāragupta I is now not forthcoming in the document referred to.—Ed.]
of the Parais and the place from where these plates come. Jhariwali is Zariol; Kalluvi is the Kālū, also called Dārotā, which, no doubt, flows gradually westwards from this place till it falls into the sea. Uppalatahathka is Uplāt; Nandragrāma, Nandagaon; and Dhannavalli, Dhānoli. All these places are traceable in Bombay Survey Sheets, Nos. 133E and 134.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 चौं [८] स नियारेकाण्ड धाम यावराकामहे चर्म । इरश यण्य
कालोक्तकलया रामाण्डावत ॥१॥ सन्तमोगेष्ठिततः पावक वः
प्रतापरोगोपपत्ययःः ॥१॥

2 'उत्तराकुटोतिववतशुमुकिकः स सवरावशयन वय यी विद्वतः ॥१२॥ तद्वितीयः
वहीतायतात्वणामिः महेश्वराविव रजसंधयः ॥१॥ वमहः ॥ गोविन्दादिः
मणिपतिभूवःः ॥१॥

3 द्वाराधनोऽवश्यकराजनः ॥१॥ वमहः ॥ कौषुममरुविवसुररभासविवसुरर
वणिषुरसर्वा तःः ॥१॥ प्रभातेश्वरपद्मवल्लभाति ॥१॥ निर्धारः
भूषणसिन्धुशास्त्रं खःः ॥१॥

4 वचनसमयानि ॥ सततं वचनं यावराकाण्डी वदनायिः ॥ पिनाकि ॥ यवासप
नाथसन ॥ गृहिणि ॥ यवासप ॥ यदशाल नेगारवतः ॥१॥ अमृतसुरसारसत्मभूतः
कास्व प्रवरिता ॥१॥

5 चैन पुष्यभाविना ॥ मणिपति वैरितां ॥ निरक्षां इततापरोगो प्रतापारीनि स
वक्षरार्ट प्रभुः ॥१॥ इलाराजसतोत्प्रभातः ॥ वमालुक्कपालान् ॥१॥
राघवेन विवाहिन रक्षे ॥१॥

6 टक्कमको ॥ ॥१॥ वचनसमयानि ॥ कौषुममरुविवसुररभासविवसुरर
वणिषुरसर्वा तःः ॥१॥ प्रभातेश्वरपद्मवल्लभाति ॥१॥
हुणास्वादण्डी ॥ बुधिः ॥ वमालुक्कपालान् ॥१॥

7 गम्य राजार्जयाम यद्वसितं ॥ प्रतिनिहारीं ॥ चैन गृहिणि ॥ रान्तिकि राधाराजकम्बः
॥१॥ वमालुक्कपालान् ॥

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1 From the original plates.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Read तुरारः.
4 Read गुप्तः.
5 Read निरक्षः.
6 Read उक्तः.
7 Read अमृतसुरालयः.
8 Read बिनम्बरः.
9 Read अमृतसुरालयः.
10 Read निविलम्बः.
11 Read अमृतसुरालयः.
12 Read अमृतसुरालयः.
13 Read अमृतसुरालयः.
14 Read अमृतसुरालयः.
15 Read अमृतसुरालयः.
16 Metro : Anuahātubh.
17 Metro of this and of the following verses : Vāisāsthavira.
18 Metro : Vāisāsthavira.
19 Metro : Anuahātubh.
20 Metro : Anuahātubh.
21 Metro : Anuahātubh.
22 Metro : Anuahātubh.
8 त्रि "वलाहिष्कोकालाभावजाभासीयोम्" [१०] "प्रयोधसंचानामरोजाय- 
सितातपात्रितप्रार्वार्थाभागम् [१७] शकाकदैवतं जनभूपराजको वामुष्टा राजा।  
9 रिफ्यातपुपुष्कणकु [१६] तत: प्रभुप्रसादोभुधारवकु लालवालवपरायति 
धनं समाजसुभुमत: भूसता [१२] युजेनु यथ वग्नलमिनानामुम्फुङ्गाय- 
वैपाकापिक्षापानान।
10 मन:। भाकड़ुक्ताकरङ: परितस्तलुक्कारायचिन त बाबाधीरनाद: [११] 
गोयमनोधोधघो राजो मृद्धस मनात: [१८] लक्षीलोलरिववडानी भेत- 
श्रेष्ठः यी चरेत [१४]।
11 आसा विक्रमः श्रिकारवर्णः यथ वैकी [३२] समन्तातु चन्द्रमालसातिर 
सुभात्यावालसातिरितिकनिधिष्ठित्य:। पारावर्तायतीरोरवमविश कुचीवी 
प्रायता श्रगुणान्।
12 में [१४] मोक्षीद्रान्तविराज्जसरे "वेरास्त्रकोलन " [११] प्रासी 
राज्यभावरेक निधानमतनयो य [३२] सामान्यात्त्वाकेव [११] संहारं पदेतु 
प्रकटतमनय: [१९] वासीयावणान्।
13 वासू [३०]। पिण्ठा युज [२२] समाना भरत गिरमरणीयमित्वम [२२] विभीषयमुष्ट्यः 
कोसोकु दश: विषिस्वत्व: यज्ञोन्नक्षब्धिन्नां [१६] दुष्टान्तस्वरकावः 
भाटित्स विच।
14 ठित्ता [३५] क्षापियावेषपान [२०] बुदे युजहा स बल्या [२७] विमनमरमनोधिचारितापान 
महाय [१८] सुभा सादृश्यारामा विज्ञातपिरिशिवी वाकवानिं समुद्र: 
चोभे नामभिविचारान्।
15 पिपुलवर ता [३२] भूवती यो वामर [१४] दघापाय: वातमग्नो 
यदुदिष्ठदण्डसादास्यवर्मायोगपादपद्धुळ्ळः [२२] क्षेत्री वस्त्रिन्यालम्बकः।
16 कतः येन ॥[१८]॥ बीमामाता विधातु ॥ प्रतिनिधियरपोऽि राङ्कुष्टाप्वयवऽी-
सार्वस्त्रक्षरक्षप्रतिनिधिनामामात्सायमात्सायंशखराणः ॥
17 तस्मातीक्षतपादपारविवः पराराज्यवर्तिषुपंवरणन पातुस्मुष्यतो 
॥[२०]॥ ।नकलकर्षीरविज्ञानाश्रमोपरथिदिर्विशिष्याशालाः।
18 को विपुलम्[१८] पटुवपदुक्षाकाष्टोत्तमंसुभस्वनथवस्वशीगकालस्य 
कालः॥[२०]॥ मुखनिःर्दः दन्तपादिवरः। ।पुष्करियस्तिःशाला कान्तिः
19 विदिगलम्५५ प्रतिपद्य दागमतापोषणिः [१८] भुज्यो ॥
ध्रुवसाम्पडः(ि) ॥ प्रभुज़रावीभिन्नो भावः॥ श्युतारायणः।
20 मलक्नम् ॥ शुस्यज्ञोविन्यामध्ये ॥ विकलान्योश्चालयम् ॥[१८] 
षोधकःसपणे पुस्तकाशिवात् मालिकाण्डित ॥ पुनः पुनरज्जित।
21 परशुपद एव चावानािपि ॥[२२]॥ दिमवंतिनविभंङ्गासमुः ॥ तुरे ॥ चैतन्य 
गाई ॥

Second Plate; First Side.

22 शुन्तिन मन्तनेत्त्वः न भूयापि तकंदे ॥[१८]॥ श्यमेयोपनी
यथ महतदी धमेया नादुदै। दिमवंतिनेिसहस्राशुपतस्या
23 लक्षिनारिणः॥[२८]॥ ततो ॥ प्रतिनिधित्व ॥
सत्यसनृश्याम्याश्यःः॥ प्रताप
मन्त तंदरतमुखपालाः ॥ पुनः ॥[१८]॥ शक्तियक्कायविगत्वाच्छलक्रुधः।
24 ग्नाया्॥ विलाय विजयवकीः॥[१८]॥ स्याम्सुभस्विकरः 
॥[२४]॥ प्राक्तल: मस्ति
राज्य विच्छेद्य भाला रेवासुना ॥ विलायापदे ॥[१८]॥ कुर्विभाषेऽकोलिने:
पिशाचः॥ नैषाध्यात्मतः।
25 विष्णु 'राजेन्द्री' [२२५] महाभाषामहानाराजसंवर्गः यद्यभुवः। 'महाभाषा
सर्वनामादि भारी तथा सुतोत्तरेषां' [२२६] यज्ञभक्ति देवतारहितः।
विविधी शुद्ध [२६] भोगुलित हि-

26 'स्वामकरुपन्नान्यासःमेषकलाम् [२२७] यवोदेशसवर्गः वहा ये व चिन्ता
हित: [२७] सुना ये विज्ञाताशिवाय भक्तारथाभिधृतः: [२८] तत:८-
प्रभुत्वप्रकृतिः समाप्तुनुभूतम्-

27 निरव्य: [२९] जगतुस्मद् भोगतामुनि सुभाषविवर्णणा विष्णु: [२८] चद[नितेदिः]
उदयम् भूमं द्रवितस्माः [२९] स वार्षिकविचाराभिभा स्वातेः। [२०]
प्रख्याती न हि बेजे-

28 वर्त्र प्रचारति सच्चारमेषां धारी विज्ञातानालेखकारूणी विच्छेदित्वा
देवेषां [१०] लक्ष्योऽपि वास्तव प्रमाणांक्षिता वास्तव धृश्चित्रम् दिव्यो-

29 गमेतिनामकान्ति तावृः [२२१] तेजस्विरलपादाध्यात्मागापकारः पकायः
प्रख्याति गमेतिनामकान्तिगानां प्राप्य व्यक्तिं गमेतिविचाराभिभा गाँगारे;

30 नृविस्तारे 'संकरावरुणीसुंदरदुनियायभिन्नमयिकेऽविज्ञम्: [२२९]
निर्गतिविचाराभिभा दुडूकोनिणां' साकारभुक्तिः। मृत्युमुक्ति स्वसेः-

31 ला [२०] 'विज्ञातिनामकालस्वरूपालयात्मायें निर्धेति विद्वा विगितायायामोक्षीयी' [२२८]
राजात्मावराहाविव लक्षितवाचारोखस्थिति वानस्पतिको निर-

32 यथा सूक्ष्मविराजस्वः [२२१] 'संकातिस्वेत्र तथुस्मानि का(कृष्णे)-
[बी]सुनती' [२०] तत: निःस्ताधितयो विवेच द्वितीयस्वेत्रो संकातिस्वेत्रो' [२२१] यज्ञ-

33 ख्या' कौतिस्वेत्रो संकातिस्वेत्राभिभि सार्वदीर्घकारं: पुष्चायाकामेषामकालनिलिते
हान्त एक्षम् वर्द्धणेऽविस्तरे: [२०] किर्कु- [२८] कांहिमयारितिः' विशेष-

1 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
2 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
3 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
4 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
5 विशेष स्वरूपालकमण्डानी
6 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
7 विशेष स्वरूपालकमण्डानी
8 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
9 विशेष स्वरूपालकमण्डानी
10 विशेष स्वरूपालकमण्डानी
11 विशेष स्वरूपालकमण्डानी
12 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
13 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
14 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
15 विशेष स्वरूपालकमण्डानी
16 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
17 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
18 विशेष स्वरूपालकमण्डानी
19 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
20 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
21 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
22 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
23 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
24 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
25 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
26 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
27 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
28 मोर से सेलाविनामाः
34 यथाचेष्टाविन्यासातोऽस्यायनां सक्त्रपदातिकाय अनुसरणाय प्रति रद्दाधिकारम्। कीर्तिके(५) वाक्यायात्तौ(५) ॥[१६८] वम्भवी(५)  वसुमारणापणुवसुमारणापणुवसुमारणापणुवसुमारणापणु ॥

35 नाव वाक्यमाणसाही व्यवहरितस्मिरितमूलसुखिं च। चातुर्योऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः च। कहिलकुलप्रथमान्त्योऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२०३] उपवसुमारणापणुवसुमारणापणुवसुमारणापणुवसुमारणापणु ॥

36 यथार्थ रूपोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२११] नावानीके रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः ॥सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२१३] यथार्थ विश्लेषणाकार्यम् सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥

37 शब्दविन्यासानि ॥[२२१] पाराशिवोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२२३] शब्दविन्यासानि ॥[२२५] पाराशिवोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२२७] पाराशिवोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥

38 यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२३५] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२३७] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥

39 यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२४४] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२४६] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥

40 यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२५२] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२५४] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥

41 यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२६२] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२६४] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥

42 यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२७२] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२७४] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥

43 यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२८२] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥[२८४] यथार्थ रूपमित्रानास्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः सतोऽस्यायनाः ॥
Second Plate; Second Side.

44 आर्यानीके वाक्पत्तिविधि सर्वैः पञ्चनिः शक्तिः ते ॥[४२]॥ द्वारानिष्ठे भाज्यानि नानालयाधिको शेषवां, भाज्यानि पूर्णां ॥

45 समांत्रायसामार्थराहीन ॥[३]॥ संपातपरमितिही यो: वासिन्यो धार्यां धार्मि समान्त: (1) कोंथर्य अनुप्रय एवं चुन्रेन्वकेशवविषया

46 भाज्यत् ॥[४२]॥ शवकारेतीसतोपारिवर्त एण्ड स्वाभाविण्य मंडवाद् (1) या । शुक्यायुवविषयसा श्रमिणः । हासिं । यात्रीप्रभु

47 द्वानिष्ठद्वियव: प्रासा बिलूप्ति पान! (1) तपामीतयो भालवतन: प्रासा। विशुद्धिष्ठम् ॥[४४]॥ याः शाक्ति एवं (1) आकारणात निश्चाया ष्ठि।

48 निर्मितिनिसत्तेवा दीपाभिवर्तशीलसे: कोनीर्मिति निष्ठात:। (1) यद्रथ| शब्द-प्रतापमत्स्थिना कथां दूरिक्षत: (1) तेजातः समस्तमुहङ्गि: ॥

49 न अवश्ये न कोल्पसेववरी ॥[४५]॥ द्वाररे एवमेवाविपत्तियो दीपाविशेषे व्याकरणकाराशायनार्थं प्रार्थ बहिर्विष्ठयासिता ॥ वासिता। गणित कः परामधि: ॥

50 निर्मितिः तत्तथादिको शास्त्रिः वरी (1) नादाखाम् यद्रथ| बच निर्मिति पञ्चनिः शक्ति च ॥[४५]॥ सर्व यथातो शरीरम् (1) दृष्टि निर्मतिः तोस्तुति:। (1) श्रेण्याय मशिः कः

51 पौरपरिसरी एव दृष्टिकोलीनैः । चतुर्वेदोऽविचारायेन तथा चतुर्वेदोऽविचारायेन ॥[४३]॥ चत्वारम भारते

52 नेप राज्यमहर्षवे न दृष्टिकोलीनै च दृष्टिकोलीनै ॥[४]॥ शैलवाविणि तु ॥ शाण्यायुवविषयसनात: ॥ का

53 प्रयोगाधिकाराधिकारलोकाः दातृकी वापरिपथ ॥[४५]॥ शब्दाशुभकारसिंहितायो चर्द्राधिकारप्रवरथ(व) रितुप्रसाधोमीवरि ॥ सधोः ॥ (1) न दृष्टि: ॥

1 Read ोषिष्ठीवरिः.
2 Read ोषिष्ठीवरिः. [Note the shape of ॥ here and in lines 40, 66, 73 and 74 below.—Ed.]
3 Read ोशीवरिः.
4 Read ोशीवरिः.
5 Read ोशीवरिः.
6 Read ोशीवरिः.
7 Read ोशीवरिः.
8 Read ोशीवरिः.
9 Read ोशीवरिः.
10 Read ोशीवरिः.
11 Read ोशीवरिः.
12 Read ोशीवरिः.
13 Read ोशीवरिः.
14 Read ोशीवरिः.
15 Read ोशीवरिः.
16 Read ोशीवरिः.
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18 Read ोशीवरिः.
19 Read ोशीवरिः.
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21 Read ोशीवरिः.
22 Read ोशीवरिः.
23 Read ोशीवरिः.
24 Read ोशीवरिः.
25 Read ोशीवरिः.
26 Read ोशीवरिः.
27 Read ोशीवरिः.
28 Read ोशीवरिः.
29 Read ोशीवरिः.
30 Read ोशीवरिः.
31 Read ोशीवरिः.
Seal of the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha 1.
54 ति पदभित्त्वाधिशुद्ध्वाकाले (i) श्रीमतीहित्रवस्तिर्योधिपरांसरसु ॥
148] चतुर्भुजसवाहीम ॥ ससु ॥ यथासाधित ष्ठ ॥ मन्या समस्तभुपासुद्रा

55 चडमुद्रा ॥ [१५०] राजकाले ॥ वन्नोल्लु पुंशै ॥ वेयाम्याने ॥
"पालानीयोषाधारः" ॥ [१०] वचस्य दुषा वर्तमानायामहूः ॥ प्रादयो हे
ते भविन् ॥ [१०]

56 हिवलमेश्वरेण्यो ॥ दस विवेकश्ववेशवर्गेण्यो ॥ [११] कस्मात्तिते न तथा
राज्य ॥ सम्पूर्णः कोष्ठः ॥ केवल पालनीयः ॥ [१२] तेनेद्विनिति
पुष्पालम् ॥

57 का जीवितमार् (i) चित्रदानयपरमपुष्यम् प्रवचितो ॥ नवदायो ॥ [१३]
स च परमभाषाक्षराजभाषाक्षरस्रीसमाज्ञातः। पदादालाविचारतपूरे ॥
58 कामधुरछायापदारुपदारुप्रीयारुपर्यायारुपोद्विगुप्तारुपदेव ॥ कु
मली स्मृतिणिः वयस्वरस्यमानकाव्यप्रतिबन्धस्थति ॥
59 भाग्यनुसरणकान्तिकारकसर्वरक्रियाकारुणारुपदेव ॥ समारंभाः
स्वाभावानुसर्यासाहस्तादत्तेन ॥ स्मय मातापियो राजन(क)वचविकासः
60 विकाशपत्योभिषेषः ॥ [१२] कर्षणविनित्वंभादसाधिवेश्यान्ति चानिन्तस
पारस्यायानि ॥ [१२] सराभाषाणि सालकुकारः
61 भाषाय पुनः ॥ गौमड़सामुखम् ॥ नवसंविद्वित ॥ पुनःपिंकोभिषेषः ॥ तथो
विविधकीर्तिकारः ॥ तथो ॥ गोमेति च भद्रपीयाः ॥ गोमेति
62 पुजाय ॥ राज्यदिल्लिमारत्तः ॥ निबो देविः ॥ वामसहस्रभारारिषीः ॥ दाविकी
विविधसाहस्यायाः ॥ विभुवल(ि)पुजाय ॥ [१२] तिविभागः

1 Read "कामा"।
2 Read "सरु"।
3 Read "वभीमा"।
4 Read "हायो"।
5 Read "पालम"।
6 Read "सुमा"।
7 Read "पारो"।
8 Read "विशुच्या"।
9 Read "पाप्यो"।
10 Read "मेयो"।
11 Read "कक्षो"।
12 Read "सम्भवा"।
13 Read "मेयो"।
14 Read "सम्भवा"।
15 Read "सम्भवा"।
16 Read "सम्भवा"।
17 Read "सम्भवा"।
18 Read "सम्भवा"।
19 Read "सम्भवा"।
20 Read "सम्भवा"।
21 Read "सम्भवा"।
22 Read "सम्भवा"।
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30 Read "सम्भवा"।
31 Read "सम्भवा"।
32 Read "सम्भवा"।
33 Read "सम्भवा"।
34 Read "सम्भवा"।
35 Read "सम्भवा"।
36 Read "सम्भवा"।
37 Read "सम्भवा"।
38 Read "सम्भवा"।
39 Read "सम्भवा"।
40 Read "सम्भवा"।
Third Plate.

63. बहुमुखः।। पुनरपि तत्त्व देवन्व वच्चनिरस्त्रभ्राचरणः। इरिमध्यप्रयायः। गोविन्दसमकापनः। केशवनिर्मित्तराशाकः।

64. चतुर्वेदः।। वशु चन्द्रभानः।। यथा चतुर्वेदः।। चानाः।। चतुर्वेदः।। शुभ्रशितापामः।। तस्य चापादः।।

65. नामः।। प्रज्ञेत्।। कामुक्ति।। सुसुद्धामिनः।। नदीः।।

66. तस्य युक्तः।। नामाभिमानः।। सहस्रादाैक्यः।। भोक्तः।। एवमषः।। चतुर्वेदः।। नामाभिमानः।। सीद्धसमपरीकः।। सदाशिवदार्शः।। संभूतानमभवः।।

67. चानाचिन्द्रः।। सुभाषितापामः।। प्रकटमादस्त्रेषः।। सवाचारिकायः।। चालावश्चिन्तितसर्वसाधारः।।

68. प्रभृतः।। रूपीयः।। भुविनोदस्यागन्तः।। मक्कान्तालीतत्वंकर्तरात्मः।। नवज्जनयिवधिकः।। नदनसूचनकारः।।

69. जातः।। चतुर्वेदः।। श्रीतिः।। शैल्पिकः।। तपास्मादनः।। तदः।। बलबन्धः।।

70. ज्ञनः।। कान्तः।। प्रक्रियः।। अवस्तः।। नामाभिमानः।। परिप्रेयः।। कायः।। तथागाभिमृत्वपतिभवः।। चैत्यः।। सामायः।। भूमिनादनपलवः।।

71. भूमिनादनपलवः।। चिन्तामणिभवः।। चालावश्चिन्तितिः।। जीवः।। काव्यः।। नामाभिमानः।। श्रीमत्यभवः।। विज्ञानसीमा।।

1. Read "मृत्रिषा.
2. Read "सावः।"
3. Read "सावः।"
4. Read "महायानः।"
5. Read "सावः।"
6. Read "वायसः।"
7. Read "वायसः।"
8. Read "वायसः।"
9. From here the rules of नास्त्वक्ति have not been strictly observed.
10. Read "नास्त्वक्ति.
11. The sense of this line is not clear.
12. Read "हृदः।"
13. Read "ग्रामः।"
14. Read "शुभ्रशितः।" [The original reads सुभ्रशितः।—Ed.]
15. Read "ब्रह्मः।"
16. Read "ब्रह्मः।"
17. Read "कारः।"
18. Read "कारः।"
19. Read "कारः।"
20. Read "कारः।"
21. Read "कारः।"
22. Read "कारः।"
23. Read "कारः।"
24. Read "कारः।"
25. Read "कारः।"
26. Read "कारः।"
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). May He (Vishnu) whose navel-lotus was adopted by Brahma as his abode, and Hara, too, whose head is adorned by the beautiful digit of the moon, protect you!

(V. 2). May that Vira-Narayana himself protect you here, who is all-pervading, who rests on the hood of the serpent Ananta, who is the rising mountain of valour, character, and greatness, and who is the progenitor of the lofty line of the good Rāṣṭrakūṭa. May that, Vira-Narayana (Amoghavarsha) himself protect you here, who is powerful, who lives in endless enjoyments, who is the rising mountain of valour, character, and greatness, and the ancestor of whose lofty line was the good Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

(V. 3). In the line of Yadus, long extending through his prowess, in course of time, came to be, like a heap of jewels in the sea, prince Gōvinda, ornament of the earth, and son of Prīchchhakarāja.
(Vs. 4-6). Then came lord Karkarāṭ, who bore an expansive chest with the rays of the Kaustubha jewel throbbing like Mṛtu which bears golden slope spread all over with lustre emitting from the morning sun; full of fear for whom were constantly the minds of the enemies, proclaimers of whose fame were (their) words, bent at whose feet were (their) heads, and lost in whose lustre was (their) glory; by whom possessing the power of Prithu the maha (the dominions, the earth) was widened, the bhūbhrīs (the kings, the mountains) were pushed back by the bow, and by whom of great đjas (might, splendour) and of pratāpa (valour, scorching heat) was dispelled the darkness, namely, the enemies.

(V. 7). Then (came) Indrarāja, who in the (marriage) hall, namely, Khātaka, seized in battle the daughter of the Chalukya king by the rākshaśa (form of) marriage.

(V. 8). Then flourished on the earth king Dantidurga, the chief of his family, who smote hosts of elephants and humbled the circle of proud kings from the Himālayas down to the limit of the Sētu.

(V. 9). By whom kings such as the Gurgara lord and others were made door-keepers when in Ujjayini the (Great Gift called) Hiranyagarbha was completed by the Kabhriyās.¹

(V. 10). Then in the battle field which proved a (place) of choice marriage, Subhatunagavallabha listlessly and forcibly wrested away the Fortune of the Chalukya family, bearing the garland, namely, the waving Pādīchejas.²

(V. 11). Though elevated by means of incontestable throne and chowries, possessed of a white umbrella and enjoying a kingdom without any rival, Akālavārsha, who destroyed kings and chieftains, was a royal sage, a doer of unceasing holy acts.

(V. 12). Then Prabhātavārsha became (king), and thereafter Dhrāravārsha, by which king was rained down, as it were, a shower with arrows on the battle field.

(V. 13). That (low) deep sound of whose drum is, as it were, the satiated Death belching out, (who is) intoxicated with potations of tasteful liquor, namely, the slightly warm blood from the enemies' heads cut off by his sword in battles and (who is) now with stomach filled to the throat.

(V. 14). Who seized the white umbrellas, the sporting lotuses of the Lakshmi (Goddess of Sovereignty), of the Gaṅḍa king, as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Junna.

(V. 15). Whose fame, white as the rays of the moon, having pervaded to the end of the earth on all sides, (and) having as it were uninterrupted crossed to the other shore of the ocean in the shape of numbers of moving conches, hundreds of pearls, saflush fish, and waves with manifold foam, reached heaven under the semblance of the necklaces and elephants of the gods, the heavenly river, and the dharārāśtra (swan).

(V. 16). The son of Nirupama, devoted to tri-ranga and diligent in duties, as soon as he was crowned, being desirous of openly re-instating all classes of his feudatories, with courtesies, in their respective positions, and intent upon releasing the imprisoned Gaṅga addressed the words: "Ye are (unto me) like (my) father," to the assemblage of councillors, while they were protecting the earth.

(V. 17). Quickly fighting in battle and capturing all his wicked vassals like great bulls, extremely uncontrollable and fierce, that had snapped (his noose) but had those of other lords cast over them, and releasing them when their spirit of defection ended, he, with his heart softened, harboured them as the ocean does the submarine fire. It was no perturbation to him. He again supported the kings (bhūbhrīs) that were his enemies (vipakhaśas) just as the ocean does the mountains (bhūbhrīs) deprived of their wings (vipakhaśas).

¹ For a description of the Mahāśāna called Hiranyagarbha, see the Bhavishyapūrāṇa, Uttaraparāśa, chap. 176.
(V. 18). By whom when the ungrateful Gaṅga was disaffected in consequence of fleeing away from the fine ordered by him, that villain, who had been freed from fetters on the feet, had (now) fetters put round his neck.

(V. 19). Who was the illustrious Māndhātṛi, another viceroy of the Creator, in as much as he with his lotus-like feet touched by the makara-shaped crowns of the lords of the earth, exerted himself to protect the earth, which had as the essence of (her) royalty the line of the Rāśṭra-kūtas, which was charming in consequence of beautiful women, and towns and villages that were delightful, extensive and possessed of gardens, and which had for (her) girdle the ocean resounding clearly with (its) expansive waters.

(V. 20). Who, deafening the intervals between all the quarters with the noise of the deep-sounding drums, the sound of which was as loud as that of a new cloud, and with (his) ākhaṇa, kāhalas, and the loud tūrgas sounding shrill, is death to the busy time of the enemies of Tribhuvanā-dhavalā.

(V. 21). Who, moreover, being an unceasing store of lustre, was the Sun himself gone into the Uttar-āgya (the north; the northern part of the elliptic), bringing his pāda (feet; rays) to stretch on the mūrdhans (heads; tops) of bhūbhritis (kings; mountains), being of auspicious rise, covering the intervals between all the quarters with his lastre, getting at every step increase of pratāpa (valour; heat), having an anusvatā (devoted; red maṇḍala (lepidostories; disc) and being padmakar-āṇandita (gladdened by the hand of the goddess of sovereignty; gladdening the assemblage of lotuses).

(V. 22). Carrying away in battles the fair and unshakable fame of kings Nāgabhata and Chandragupta, he, intent upon the acquisition of fame, uprooted, like sālī corn, other kings, in their own dominions, who had become destitute of all fortitude, and afterwards re-instated them in their own places.

(V. 23). The water of the springs of the Himalaya mountains was drunk by whose horses and plunged into by whose elephants, the thunder was redoubled in (its) caverns by the tūrga musical instruments of (whose) ablutions, (and) to whom, the great one, those (kings) Daharma and Chakrāyudha surrendered of themselves. He thus bore resemblance to the fame of Himālaya, and was consequently Kirti-Nārāyaṇa.

(V. 24). Who returned from there, (thinking) that it was now the work of the ministerial servants, and following again the bank of the Narmadā as if (following his own) prowess, and acquiring the Mālava country along with the Kōsalā, the Kaliṅga, the Vaṅga, the Dāhala, and the Odāka, that Vikrama himself made his servants enjoy them.

(V. 25). Making (his) enemies submissive, he returned to the remaining (part of the) Rāva, and established himself in a capital befitting (him), at the foot of the Vindhyas, performing pious deeds by constructing temples, which are stores of spiritual merit.

(V. 26). While the Mahārāja Śarva, lord of a small kingdom, was his own, a son was born to him who was to be Mahārāja-Śarva, lord of the earth.

(V. 27). At the time of whose birth it was foretold by astrologers that "being irresistible he would enjoy the earth bounded by the Himālayas and the Sētu, and girdled by the ocean;"

(V. 28). "Of the warriors, (his) enemies, those that were bound down in battle by Amoghavaraha would be released, but, if disaffected, there would be release from fetters only by being reduced to ashes."

(V. 29). Then he was Prabhūtavaraha, as he satisfied the desires of those that were his own. He was Jgantuttāṅga, being at the head of bhūbhritis (kings), just as Mēru is jagattuṅga (lofty on earth) being at the head of bhūbhritis (mountains).

1 [I would put Vēgi (or Vēdhg) instead. See f. n. 29 on p. 245 above.—Ed.]
(V. 30). He (then) stood up to destroy the haughtiness of the Dravila kings, who were sleepless, anxious, and with minds distracted through deliberations.

(V. 31). By whose mere setting out, the clear undivided earth shakes, being shabbily covered by the instruments of his valour. Lakshmi too moves away, displeased, from the breasts of the enemies who hate him intensely, like a creeper pulled out by the wind. It is not the dust that has flown away to the quarters, but the loom that extended the fame of his enemies.

(V. 32). He terrified the Keralas, Pandyas and Chaulika kings, caused the sprouting Pallava to wither, was the afflicter who caused the Kaliya and the Magadh ina to sit and fast themselves to death, was destruction to the value of the head of the thundering Gurjaras (and thus) behaved (like Rama), enemy of Lakh, (and as he) got its unimpeachable orders carried out assiduously, he was Vikrama of laudable valour.

(V. 33). The Gaugas, who became disaffected through baseness, were bound down with fetters and met with death. The lords of maqadas, who were friendly, made his camp ground along with the enclosure, free of dust by wage, but the lord of Vrungi and others by unpaid labour.

(V. 34). By whom having forcibly by (his chastising) rod controlled, like dumb and deaf persons, the king and the prime-minister, ruined through laziness in working for their good, (and) having brought to Helipura from Lakh two statues of its lord, these, having afterwards proceeded to Kanchi, were established there in the temple of Siva like two columns of fame.

(V. 35). “(My) fame has occupied the three worlds, and my unique son is able to bear the burden of his world,—so (thinking) he made his life fruitful through various religious acts. “For doing what should I stay in this (world)?”—so saying Anupama followed (his) fame, while going to the lofty palace, namely, heaven, to which spotless fame and holy merit formed the steps.

(V. 36). In order to protect the fame (along with the subjects) of the ancestors in his worthy family, and of his pleasing relatives, who were the Vallabhas of the peoples, and who were now living in the form of (their) good fame which filled up the world, and in order (thus) to destroy the sinfulness of Kali, there rules the prosperous Amoghavarsha, sitting on the lion-throne, the exterminator of enemies, whose deeds are praised by the wise.

(V. 37). In front of the palace of whom, the destroyer of the impurity of Kali, (as in front of that) of Indra, sounds incessantly the deep rumbling sound of loud-sounding dhakaka and other (instruments), soaring high with the import: “there is no other lord of the earth like this one, able to protect the humble, to conquer enemies at the front of the battle, to make gifts to suppliants, and maintain the truthfulness of custom.”

(V. 38). Seeing that new kingdom which consisted of sixteen principalities but (seeing also) the king, the might of whose righteousness was profuse and ennobling, the crooked, deceitful Kali, distressed that it was the beginning of the Krita Age, fleeing and penetrating into the interior, distracted the licentious, the ministers, and his relatives, who were made his own.

(V. 39). Giving deceitful counsel through false oaths, they were independent of (their) lord. Of their own accord killing the appointed officers who were worthy, all seized for themselves.

Another’s wife is a daughter or sister,——such distinction there was none, as among the beasts. The Kali Age becoming thus supreme, good behaviour became extinct through sinful living.

(V. 40). When, withdrawing (his) expanse of lustre from the sky, the great (sun) sets, the disc of the moon and the stars shine out, attaining to the glory of a rise. When a sa-pratipa

1. The word pratipa I take in the sense of praya. Praya signifies seeking death by fasting, fasting, sitting down and abstaining from food with some object in view (generally with words like as upavi etc.)—

Apte’s Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

2. Lakshayogini I take in the sense of Lakh-driis-dhovari, behaves himself like (Rama), the enemy of Lakh.

3. For the words moksh and parivritti see Above, Vol. VI, p. 290 and n. 5.
(possessed of heat; possessed of valour) (temporarily) ceases to be, for that length of time only do the vijitmas (the dismal ones; the crooked ones) rise.

(V. 41). Following guru and budha (the two planets of those names; elders and wise men), the lord, the sun of the Raṭhas, taking, again, his rise through the greatness of the rising mountain, namely, Aya Pāṭalāmalla, and overpowering the unruly circle of tējasvinś (luminaries; men of fiery spirit), again, purifies the world alone.

(V. 42). The soul is the king; the mind is his minister; the group of senses is again that circle of feudatories according to the political science; and speech, &c., are the servants conforming to the prescribed rules. Presiding over his place, namely, the body, he (the soul) is able to enjoy, independently, his own vishaya (kingdom; worldly objects). When that enjoyer is subject to saṁśiṣṭa (a kind of fever, collision), they all perish.

(V. 43). Who, having, with rage, destroyed the sedition-mongers that were so by regular succession from their own ancestors as does a medicine diseases, wind clouds, fire dry fuel, and the sun darkness, (and) having (thus) destroyed by fame as by moon-light the darkness of Kali from both the beginning and extremity of the earth, he shone by the beauty of the royal parasol, white like the moon.

(V. 44). From the maṇḍala (feudatories) struck by whose daṇḍa (chastising rod) pearls came to his palace like fruit from a tree (struck by a stick), (and) to his palace came a host of elephants, like a herd of boars, from the forest, with maṇḍala (temples) struck by daṇḍa (stick). With the bodies consumed by the fierce fire of whose anger the enemies were reduced to ashes; (as) others, with bodies favoured on account of their falling at his feet, attained to prosperity.

(V. 45). Whose order the alien kings incessantly place on their head as a chaplet. Whose expanse of fame is the white veil on the row of the temples of the elephants of the quarters. Far off from whom stands the greatness of the pratāpa (valour; heat) of his kaṇas (hands, rays), though it is in him? Overpowering all the bhūhris (kings; mountains) with his tējas (prowess, heat) over whom is he not a very ina (king; Sun)?

(V. 46). At whose gate the lords of the hostile territories are put to trouble by relays of doorkeepers, being made to sit outside, while waiting for the proper time of (his) assembly-hall, and where, when they perceive that they will not obtain back their own bevy of courtiers and group of elephants, covered with choice gems and pearls, which have gone into his possession, they droop down.

(V. 47). That son of Jîmūṭakēṭa gave away his own body in order to protect a serpent; Śibi, again, to a hawk to save a dove; (and) Dādhiṣṭa to (his) supplicator. But they, we are told, gratified each a single individual, (whereas) the illustrious Vira-Nārāyaṇa presented his left finger to Mahā-Lakshmī for the pacification of a calamity to the (whole) people.

(V. 48). That donor, in the Kali Age, who was of the Gupta lineage, having killed (his) brother, we are told, seized (his) kingdom and queen, (and) thereafter the wretch caused her to write down one lac, one crore (in the document). But he, who gave away more than once his own kingdom, insignificant (to him), (saying): 'of what account are the external objects', was bashful even when the fame (had spread) that the ornament of the exalted Rāṣṭrakūṭas was the (real) donor.

(V. 49). While Amoghavarsha, whose cluster of powerful enemies are bitten by the fangs of the terrible jaw of the snake, namely, the sword in his hand, is the ruler of the earth, no (adverse) times characterised by calamities to husbandry, plagues and famines can set their foot in the Hēṃanta, Śiśira, Vasanta, Grīṣma, Vāraḥā and Śarāt seasons.
(V. 50). When the (earth), as far as the coast of the four oceans, bearing his seal, was subdued, the seals of all kings were broken by the Garuḍa seal.

(V. 51). Those kings are, indeed, worthy of respect who were of the past and whose charity is to be maintained by us and others. The (kings of the) present were wicked and had been destroyed. Those who are to be besought for (the maintenance of) our charity are kings of the future.

(V. 52). What consideration can there be for that unstable kingdom which is enjoyed by some through valour, passed over by some to others, and given up again by some others? By the great a charity alone should be maintained for fame.

(V. 53). Considering that this life is unsubstantial and as fickle as a breeze or flash of lightning and that a grant of land is a supreme religious merit, he has promoted this gift to Brāhmaṇas.

Ll. 57 ff. And he, the P.M.P. Śrī-Pṛthvī-vallabhā, Śrī-Amoghāvaraka, Śrī-Vallabhānarāṇḍrāvaya, who meditates on the feet of the P.M.P. Śrī-Jagattunāgadēva—being well, commands the officials such as the lords of the provinces (rāṣṭra), the lords of the districts (vishaya), the heads of the villages (grāma-kūṭa), the accountants (Yuktaka), the deputy-accountants (Niyuktaka), the leading persons, and others,—all according as they are concerned.

"Be it known to you that by me, while residing at the capital of Mānyakṣa, for the enhancement of religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of my parents and myself—has been granted to four Brāhmaṇas of the Bhrīṛcchha śākha, namely, (1) Narasinha-Dikṣita, son of Gōla-Saṅkṣaṅgavī, grandson of Śārvānubha-Saṃkṣaṅgavī, a religious student of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra) consisting of (the pravara) Bhāradvāja, Aṅgirasa, Bāhraspatya, (originally come from Karabha); (2) Kakṣītaka-Kṛṣṇavī, son of Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Bhaṭṭa, of the same gōtra and come from the same province; (3) Trivikrama-Saṅkṣaṅgavī, son of Vṛṣṇi-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Dāvaiji-Gaṅgāsa hasa, a religious student of the Vaiḍumukha (gōtra) (residing) in the same country; (4) Yāsava-Gaṅgāsa hasa, son of Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Hari-Bhaṭṭa, a religious student of the Vatsa (gōtra), (residing) in the same country;—the village called Jharavāllika from the Twenty-four-village Group adjoining to Sāmbāna. Its boundaries (are): to the east, the river Kallu in the south, the village of Bhaṭṭa, called Uphalāhatthaka, to the west Nandagrāma (and) to the north the village of Dhanavāllika.

That (village), so marked by the four boundaries, together with the royal share, with the appurtenances, with the proceeds of the punishments for faults and the ten offences, with the (right) of toll upon the appearance of a spirit, with (the right to) forced labour as it arises, with the assessment in grain and gold, not to be entered on by the Bhaṭṭas, not to be seized by the hand of any (officials) belonging to the king, to be enjoyed lineally in regular...

1 D. R. Bhandarkar's Aśoka, pp. 53-4.
2 Above, p. 53-4.
3 Above, Vol. VI, p. 241, n. 3.
4 Kabasā hasa corresponds to the modern Ghaisās, a surname at present found among the Dēsastha, Chitpavan and Karhād Brāhmaṇa of the Mahāraṣṭra.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 189, n. 39.
6 When any spirit manifests itself at any particular place, many people come there to propitiate it, and the place thus becomes a source of income (Kauṭilya's Arthashastra, p. 242).
7 The meaning of these words is unknown. I have therefore left them untranslated. They have generally been taken to signify "regular or irregular troops," but this is a mistake. For another meaning of chāta, see Above, Vol. IX, p. 284, n. 10. The correct sense, however, appears to be that deducible from the quotations which Professors K. R. Pathak and H. M. Bhadkamkar have cited from Śāṁkaras's gloss on the Bṛihādayaśekhara (Ibid., p. 596-7) and the Tājāvalīsa-mṛṣī (Above, Vol. XI, p. 176 and n.1) respectively. See also J. Ph. Vogel's Antiquities of Chambaz State, Pt. I, pp. 130-2.
sucession of sons, grandsons, etc., to endure for the same time with the sun, the moon, the sea, the earth, the river and the mountains, to the exclusion of previously given grants to Brāhmaṇas and gods, and according to the custom of cultivable and uncultivable land 1 for the purpose of internal adjudication 2 was bestowed to-day on the great festive occasion of the Uttarāyana in the month of Pausha falling in the (current) Nandana-Cyclic year, seven centuries of years increased by ninety-three having elapsed since the time of Śaka king, for the sake of balī, charu, vaisvadeva, agnihotra and atithisanarpaṇa, by pouring water and so forth (from the hand). No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to one enjoying (this village), allowing (others) to enjoy (it), cultivating it, causing (it) to be cultivated, or occupying (it) in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brāhmaṇa. Likewise, this, my gift (to Brāhmaṇas) should be attested to and supported, 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 is common (both to the grantor and to the preserver), and considering that ephemeral wealth is as fickle as the flashes of lightning and life as unsteady as the drops of water clinging to the ends of grass. And he who, with his intellect, enclosed by the cover, namely, darkness of ignorance, will attest to (the actions of) one ready to confiscate (this grant of land), will be invested with (the guilt of the) five great sins and minor sins. (For), it is also said by the divine Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas—[Vv. 54-59 are the beneficatory and imprecatory verses with which a charter usually ends.] This has been written by the judge and Sēnabhāgīka-Gupadāvala, son of Vatsarāja, who is born in the Kāyastha family of Vālabha and serves the lotus (feet) of the prosperous Amoghavarshadēva. The Mahattaka Gōgū-Ṛṣaka was the Dostaka through the king’s own verbal order.

No. 27.—KOPPARAM PLATES OF PULAKESIN II.

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

Ink-impressions of these copper-plates were sent to me by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who had received them from the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, M.A., Telugu Encyclopaedia Office, Egmore, Madras. The plates had been found near Kopparam in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntur District. For a description of them, and for remarks on their alphabet and language, see Mr. Lakshmana Rao’s valuable article in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. IV, p. 43 ff. 3 I now re-edit the inscription because I believe that I am able to improve a few of his readings and renderings. The composer of the text knew so little Sanskrit that in some places it is difficult to divine what he really wanted to express.

The inscription records a grant made by the Mahārāja Satyāraja Pulakēśi-Prithivivallabha 4 (line 6 f.), the “ dear grandson ” (l. 5) of the Mahārāja Kirtivarma-Prithivivallabha of the Chalukya family (l. 4). As stated by Mr. Lakshmana Rao (loc. cit., p. 43), priya-putra must be a stupid error for priya-putra, “ the dear son. ” For we know from trustworthy documents that Pulakēśi II was not the grandson, but the son of Kirtivarman I.

The donee was a Brāhmaṇa of the Śapṭālikāyana-ṛṣtriya and the Āpastamba-ṛṣtriya, who resided at Mōgamur (l. 10). The grant consisted of a field of eight hundred (niṣcaranas of land) in the village of Irbuli in (the district of) Karma-rāṣṭra (l. 11). The field lay to the south of

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1 For the expression bhāmi-chohhidra-ṇgyena, see Ind. Ant., 1922, pp. 77-9.
2 Siddhi= “ decision, adjudication, determination (of a lawsuit)” —Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
3 See also; Madras Epigraphical Report, for 1923, App. A, No. 14.
4 In this compound the shortening of the final i of prihiśi is permitted by Pāṇini, VI, 3, 63; cf. compounds like Hārīti-putra (line 1 of this inscription), Kālidāsa, etc.
Koḍav[ə]rupūr and to the north of Virpāru (l. 12). For Karma-rāṣṭra, see above, Vol. XV, p. 250. Mr. Lakshmana Rao (loc. cit., p. 49) identifies Koḍav[ə]rupūr with Koḍavūḷu, and Virpāru with Vipparla, both in the Narasamopet Tāluḵ of the Gunṭūr District, and Mūgamūṟ with Māmāmūṟ in the Kandukūr Tāluḵ of the Nellore District.

In line 10 we are introduced to a great warrior named Prithividuvārajā whom Mr. Lakshmana Rao (loc. cit., p. 46 f.) identifies with Satyāśraya Dhruvārajā Indravarman of the Goa plates of Śaṅkara 532.1 I venture to propose another identification. If we connect the participle sa[ṁ]*pradattā (l. 8) with ājñāpattī (l. 14) and with its Pṛākrit form āpattī2 (l. 10), we are driven to consider the words -rājyasya Prithividuvārajām-āpattī (l. 9 f.) a mistake—which would not be without parallels in this incorrect text—for rājyasya Prithividuvārajasya-ājñāpattī. Now, āvārāja is a Dravīḍian tādāvava of āvārāja.3 If we contrast the title Prithiviyuvārajā, “the heir-apparent of the earth,” with Prithivivallabha, “the husband of the earth,” which was the title of Kṛttivarman I and Pulakēśin II; and as it is stated in line 9 f. that Pṛithiviyuvārajā had “secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son,” it seems that Pṛithiviyuvārajā can be safely identified with Viṣṇuśvaṃdhanā I, the younger brother of Pulakēśin II and the founder of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. It follows further that Viṣṇuśvaṃdhanā I continued to be dependent on Pulakēśin II in the twenty-first year of the latter’s reign (text line 13). From the Sāṭārā plates we already knew that he held the office of Yuvārajā in the eighth year (of Pulakēśin II).4 In a grant of A.D. 632, which was the 18th year of his own reign,5 and in the Timmapuram plates,6 Viṣṇuśvaṃdhanā I already bears the title of Maḥārāja.

The words Vallaḥa-samak[ṛ]-āvastītī (l. 8) may have to be corrected into Vallaḥa samakṛ-āvastītī, “Vallaḥa (i.e. Pulakēśin II) being present in person.” The mysterious words marnta Kali-kulānāṃ . . . sva-bāhunā (l. 8 f.) may be compared with Kaliyuga-khalam-nirmanathana[ḥ]* . . . charitaḥ in the Sāṭārā plates of Viṣṇuśvaṃdhanā I,7 and may be corrected accordingly into māṭha Kali-khalānām . . . sva-bāhunā, “by his arm . . . (which) was a churning-stick of the wicked (people) of the Kali (age).” The compound at the beginning of line 9, which Mr. Lakshmana Rao (loc. cit., p. 53) refers to Pṛithiviyuvārajā himself, has to be connected likewise with sva-bāhunā, and has to be corrected into nishkṛṣṭa-maṇḍala-māṇā-saṅāṭhēna, “wielding the drawn sword.”

Line 13 contains the date of the grant: the year twenty-one of the reign (of Pulakēśin II), the month of Kāṛṭṭika, the great ninth (tithi), a Thursday. For authoritative remarks on this date I refer the reader to the Postscript on pages 260-61 below, which has been kindly contributed by Mr. R. Sewell.

TEXT.8

First Plate.

I Svasti [||]* Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhu[va]*na-saṁstāyamāna*-Mānava-yā-saṅgrāṇā[m]* Ḥārita-puṭrāṇā[m]* sapta-lōka-māṭībhīṁ* Sapta-Mā-
Kopparam Plates of Pulakesin II.

Second Plate; First Side.

jasya priya-pau(pu)tra[h*]
praṇat-ānēka-mahīpati-makuta-taṭa-vilagna-maṇi-makarik-gṛhīṣṭa-pād-āravindav-dvaya-

Second Plate; Second Side.

vikṣema-sārmanmaṇḍala[m*] svā-svāhunā vipakṣa-maṇḍal[a][m*] nīrijtya
sva-sut-ānvayā prātiṣṭhā(ah)ṭhāpita-rā-

Third Plate.

pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rāja-sa[ns*]vatsaraṭ śākavi[rs*]sati[s*] Kārttika-māsē
mahā-navamayān[ṃ*] Br[ha*]japati-vārē pra-

1 An ś is also affixed to the tip of tā.  2 Read ṭau-aṭ. The va is entered below the line.
3 Read Sūtārāyaṇī-pratihāt-ājñāh  4 Read mañḍhāh.
4 Read Kali-klāśānām.  5 Read rājasyā-ajñāptī.
5 Either read vārākṣayā or replace the four genitives following it by datives.
6 The name seems to be Aja. The symbol for ā in l. 13 below would suggest that the first letter is ā and
   the second letter seems to be tā.-Ed.)
7 The stā of -tāsā is entered below the line. Two crosses (kāmarāja) above the line mark the place
   where it has to be inserted. Mr. Lakshmana Rao (loc. cit., p. 44 f.) mistook them for numerical symbols.
   The original seems to read fātā.-Ed.)
8 Read kārniṣṭā.
9 The tops of the bracketed letters are broken away, but the reading is certain.
10 There is a vacant space after this word.
Yudhishtira [t*] mahi[r]* mahi[hi] bhujā[rn*] śrēś[tha dānā]*

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-6) Hail! The dear grandson (read: son) of the glorious Kirtivarma-Prathivivallabha-Mahārāja who adorned the family of the glorious Chalukyas, etc.; whose fame was (widely) spread; whose pair of lotus-feet was rubbed by the makara ornaments of jewels attached to the slopes of the diadems of many prostrate princes; who was proficient in achieving the destruction of the circle of opposing enemies; (and) who honoured the gods, the twice-born, the Gurus, and the aged;

(L. 6 f.) the glorious Pulakēśi-Prathivivallabha-Mahārāja (who), like (his) father, (is) a hero, the abode of truth (Satyāranya) whose commands are unopposed, suitably honours (the officials of this district and informs them as follows):

(Ll. 7-10) “Be it known (to you that), Vallabha being present in person, the execution (of the present grant) was formally bestowed on Prathivivivarāja (i.e. Prathivivyavarāja) who, having defeated the circle of enemies by his arm (which was) a churning-stick of the wicked people) of the Kali (age), which was skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles, (and) which was wielding the drawn sword, has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son.”

(Ll. 10-12) “To the Brahma ‘Vedaśarman who resides at Mūgamūr, belongs to the Śaṃdiyāyana-gōtra, (and) follows the Āpastamba-sūtra, a field of eight hundred (niśatānas) in the village of Irbuli (in the district of) Karma-rāṣṭra has been given. (This field lies) to the east of the Balāka-palva (pond), to the west of the Karmakāra-tātka (tank), to the south of the road to Konḍav[e]rupūr, (and) to the north of the road to Virparu.”

(Ll. 13 f.) “In the year twenty-one of the reign of increasing victory, in the month of Kārttika, on the great ninth (tithi), on a Thursday, at an auspicious moment, the execution of this grant (was bestowed on Prathivivyavarāja).”

[Ll. 14-16 contain three of the customary verses.]

POSTSCRIPT.

By ROBERT SEWELL, I.C.S. (Retired).

At Dr. Hultzsch’s request I have examined the date of the Chalukya inscription published on pp. 43 to 54 of Part I, Vol. VI of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute which is stated to belong to “the year twenty-one of increasing victory” of a Chalukya sovereign who is perhaps identical with Pulakēśin II.

The details of the given date are “Thursday the mahāna-vāmi day in the month Kārttika.” It is not stated whether this 9th day was in the light or dark fortnight, but in the absence of this information it is reasonable to assume that the 9th day of the month was meant, or more accurately the day on which at sunrise the 9th śukla tithi of Kārttika was current. If the inscription belongs to the reign of Pulakēśin II it must have been composed about A.D. 629 or 630, or thereabouts.

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1 Read dānāḥ-chhrīgo-nupālanaṃ ||
2 According to Cowell and Thomas (Translation of the Harshacharita, p. 266), “the word makariṣṭa appears to denote a makara-shaped forehead ornament.”
3 This was the favourite surname of Pulakēśin II. See Fleet’s Dyn. of the Kan. Districts, sec. ed., p. 351.
4 [See footnote 9 on the preceding page.—Ed.]
Calculation for a date of that period must be made either by the mean-system computation of the First Ārya-Siddhānta, or of the Brahma-Siddhānta, which latter was compiled in A.D. 628.

By either of these the 9th śukla tithi of Kārttika fell in A.D. 631 on a Wednesday. In A.D. 629 it fell on Sunday by the First Ārya-Siddhānta and on Monday by the Brahma-Siddhānta. In A.D. 630 it fell on Saturday by both authorities. But in A.D. 631 it fell on Thursday by both these Siddhāntas, and that Thursday corresponded to October 10 A.D. 631. This last satisfies the requirements of the case if, in the practice of those days, the 9th śukla tithi of Kārttika marked a mahānavami day. I regret that I am unable to give an opinion on this point. The modern mahānavami day is, I understand, the day corresponding to the 9th śukla tithi in the month Āśvina.

If the day in question was actually Thursday October 10 A.D. 631, it makes the king’s accession to have taken place on or after October 11 A.D. 610, seeing that it belongs to his 21st regnal year.

As regards this date it must be noted that Fleet (Dynasties of the Kanaresse Districts, p. 23) stated that Pulakeśin II’s accession must have taken place “early in Śaka 532 (A.D. 610-1)”; that R. G. Bhandarkar fixed it in Śaka 553, i.e. A.D. 610 or 611, according as the Śaka year was treated as current or expired (Early History of the Dekkan, p. 38); and that Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil (Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 111) gives it as in A.D. 609. Fleet’s fixture slightly conflicts with the date October 11 A.D. 610, since the year Śaka 532 began on March 19 in that year.

R. SEWELL.*

No. 28.—THE SO-CALLED TAKHT-I-BĀHĪ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 103.

By Sten Konow.

The stone on which this inscription is incised measures 17” by 14½”, and it is now in the Lahore Museum. There is some uncertainty about its provenance. Cunningham originally stated* that it had been discovered by Dr. Bellew at Shāhābāzgarhī. Similarly Mr. Hargreaves writes in a letter dated Simla 4th December 1913: “In connection with the Gandhāra sculptures I had occasion to look up references to the very well-known and frequently quoted Takht-i-Bābī inscription, and to my surprise find that there is no absolute certainty it emanates from Takht-i-Bāhī at all, it may very well come from Shāhābāzgarhī.”

Later on Cunningham speaks about the record as hailing from Takht-i-Bāhī, without mentioning his previous note on the subject, and since that time the epigraph has always been spoken of as the ‘Takht-i-Bāhī’ inscription.

Both places are situated in the same neighbourhood, Shāhābāzgarhī 6½ miles east and Takht-i-Bāhī about 8 miles north-west of Mardan in Yāsufzai.

According to the Editor of Trübner’s Record, June 1873, Dr. Bellew had left the stone at Hoti Mardan “in Dr. Johnson’s compound. Several years afterwards, in 1870, he authorised

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1 Readers will learn with sincere regret that this veteran scholar, to whom Indian History and Chronology are so deeply indebted, died in London on the 30th December 1925 in the eighty-first year of his age.—E. H.

Dr. Leitner to take away anything he might have left at Heti Mardan. Dr. Leitner, after personal inspection, got the stone carried down to Lahore by bullock-cart, and there got the inscription both lithographed and photographed. The discovery of the stone therefore belongs to Dr. Bellew, that of the inscription to Dr. Leitner."

A rubbing of the inscription was forwarded by Dr. Leitner to Professor Dowson, who gave a notice of it in Trübner's Record of June 1871. A second notice was published by Cunningham in the same Record, June 1873, 1 and a fuller account, with an excellent plate by Dowson, 2 who read the date portion and, in a second note, 3 gave a new reproduction of the same. Then follow editions by Cunningham, 4 Senart 5 and Boyer. 6 I now edit the epigraph from excellent estampages which I owe to the kindness of Professor Vogel, who had them prepared for me when he was Superintendent of the Punjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey.

The inscription consists of six lines, and the average height of the letters is 1\textsuperscript{4} 4. In the first line there is an apparent gap after the seventh letter, but nothing has been omitted, the intervening space having been purposely left without any writing on account of the roughness of the stone. Similarly there is a vacant space in the middle of l. 5.

Cunningham remarks that "as the stone has been used for many years, perhaps for centuries, for the grinding of spices, all the middle part of the inscription has suffered and become indistinct, and some portions have been obliterated altogether." In such circumstances it is intelligible that the reading and interpretation is in some places beset with considerable difficulties.

The alphabet is Kharoshthi of the Śaka variety. The letter \( νa \) has the relatively broad angle which we also find in the Pājā inscription of Sam 111, and the Mount Banj inscription of Sam 102. The continuation of the vertical of \( νa \) up towards the upper curvature, which is seen in both those records, is apparently not met with. We find the same occasional lengthening of the right top of \( νa \) as in Mount Banj. \( ḍa \) has the older curvilinear and not the later angular shape. The curvature of the upper end of \( da \) towards the right is very insignificant. There is no dental \( na \), and the cerebral \( na \) has the rounded top which we find in the Mount Banj and Kaldarā epigraphs and also in the Patika plate. The shape of individual letters is not, however, quite consistent, and more especially the letter \( νa \) has several somewhat different forms, so that it is not quite certain whether it should not, in \( psue \) ll. 5 and 6, be read as \( psue \).

Note also the curious flourish after the last letter of the inscription, which is certainly \( υr \). It is perhaps due to damage to the stone during the years when it was used for grinding spices.

With regard to individual letters we may note the akṣara following after the break in l. 1, which I follow Professor Franke 7 and M. Boyer in transliterating \( f \). M. Senart 8 transcribed it as \( bh \) and Professor Lüders 9 as \( ch \). I use \( f \) because this writing has the advantage of greater simplicity, and because the Latin form of the name in which the letter occurs has familiarized us with the \( f \). But it is not my intention to convey the impression that the actual sound was necessarily the voiceless spirant \( f \). Gadufara, the name in question, is not Indian but Persian, derived from an old \( Vīnidadfara \) "the winner of glory". The last part of the compound is derived from the Aryan base \( xor \), and \( ar \) is usually represented by \( αr \) in Ancient

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3 Ibid., Vol. IX, 1877, pp. 144 ff.
6 Ibid., X, iii, 1904, pp. 457 ff.
7 Pāli und Sanskrit. Strasburg, 1892, p. 111.
Persian, i.e., the result was probably a voiced sound. The Kharáštih sign itself seems to be derived from c and not from p, by adding an upward stroke to the right. A similar stroke is found in the Kharáštih documents discovered in Chinese Turkistan, where we sometimes find the letter which is usually transliterated as provided with a perpendicular, rising from the right end of the cross-bar. Of. plate XCII in Sir Aurel Stein's Ancient Khotan, where Messrs. Boyer, Rapson and Senart read the akshara as sth in śtvksivāyā, l. 9. I am, therefore, inclined to think that vh, i.e., an aspirated voiced spirant, was the sound meant, and it would probably be more correct to transliterate vī. I do not think, however, that we can be certain about the pronunciation, and, for practical reasons, I prefer to write f.

I may further draw attention to the compound letters in saṁbattārae, l. 2, and rjā in erjḥa, l. 5.

With regard to orthography and phonology we may note the change of intervocalic j to y in mahārājasa, I. 1; pūya, II. 5 and 6; the softening of intervocalic t to d in māda, l. 5; pīdū, l. 6; the change of c to b after an anusvāra in saṁbattārae, l. 2; of ts to ṭṭ in the same word; of shy to ś in śta, l. 2, and of sr to śh in shadhadāna, l. 4. Such changes are, as is well known, of frequent occurrence in Indian Kharáštih inscriptions.

In spite of all the care that has been bestowed on the reading and interpretation of the epigraph, several points are still far from being finally settled. Dr. Thomas has, therefore, rendered a real service to scholars in preparing the new facsimile plate published together with this article.

The first line can be read with perfect certainty and has never presented any serious difficulty. Dowson read the second akshara of the king's name as instead of in, but a comparison with in māda l. 5, pīdū, l. 6, conclusively shows that the letter is . The third akshara has usually been rendered as pha, but I have already given my reasons for transliterating fa. We must accordingly read : mahārājasa Gudufara vāsha 20-4-1-1, (during the reign) of the Mahārāja Gudufara, in the 26 year. Vāsha is also used in the Kaldara inscription of the year 113 and the Skārāh Dheri epigraph of the year 399, while the Machai record of the year 81 has vaśē, which is probably intended in the other dates as well. There is not, however, any trace of an ā-mātra. No certain inference can be drawn from the use of vāsha instead of saṁvatsara in these instances; the word may have been chosen in our record in order to distinguish between the two dates in ll. 1 and 2, or in order to indicate that the year used in the first one began with the rains.

Cunningham and Dowson identified Gudufara with the king Gondophares of Christian tradition, and this identification has been generally accepted and may be considered as certain. The date of l. 1 has, further, always been interpreted to mean that the inscription belongs to the 26th year of the reign of King Gudufara. Epigraphists will, however, agree with me that we are only informed that it was issued during Gudufara's reign, while the year can just as well be referred to some era which may have been introduced by some of Gudufara's predecessors. If we compare the dating of Brahmi inscriptions of the Kushāna period, we might be inclined to think that the latter was the case. Of. e.g. No. 149a of Professor Lüders' List of Brahmi Inscriptions: mahārājasa rājārājasa dēkaprastya saḥār-Vaśkasa vāśya-saṁvatsār 2d and other similar records where saṁ is used instead of vāśya-saṁvatsār. Nobody would here think of the regnal year of the king mentioned in the inscriptions, but unhesitatingly refer the date to the Kanishka era. I shall state below why I think the same to be the case in our epigraph.

Then follows, in l. 2 and the beginning of l. 3, a new date.
The first word was read saññ... by Cunningham, and saññavatāraka by Dowson. E. Thomas demurred to Dowson's reading, but did not suggest any alternative. Messrs. Senart and Boyer read saññadhaṣa and explained this word as meaning "du comput continu", "in the continuous reckoning". There cannot, however, be any doubt that Dr. Thomas' was right in reading saññātāraṇa. The traces of the letters visible in the impressions and the plates make this reading absolutely certain. Moreover, the use of ti for Sanskrit ts in this very word seems to be quite regular in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. Thus we find saññātārayaś in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, in the Mount Banj inscription of the year 102 and in the Pāja record of the year 111. Similarly saññātāraṇa is the usual form in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Eastern Turkestan. In the Suṣ Vihāra plate we have saññātāraṇa, but the upper part of the compound is misshaped, wherefore Professor Franke reads saññāvāchāraṇa and Mr. Majumdar saññāvāchāhāraṇa. The Hidāra epigraph of the year 28 and the Arā inscription of the year 41, finally, have saññātāraṇa.

The writing ti is no doubt meant to render the current pronunciation of the compound ts. The usual Prakrit representative of ancient ts is chchh, which only differs from ti in being aspirated. It is probable that the form ti is due to the linguistic tendency of the north-western dialect which the Indo-Skythians adopted.

The same compound occurs in the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the Dharmapada, where M. Senart reads it nā, in ahiṣṭāi, A* 8; bhamāṭu, B 34; bhāṭṣāḍi Cvo 3 and māṭṣāḍa Cxviii vo 2. The two last words correspond to Sanskrit bhāṭṣāṭi and māṭṣāṭān, respectively, where ti has a similar origin as in saññātāraṇa. In ahiṣṭāi and bhamāṭu a t seems to have been inserted between a nasal and s with a consequent change of t to ti. There is nowhere any trace of the aspiration which comes in in the common Prakrit form.

There are indications which seem to show that the absence of aspiration in similar compounds is an old feature of north-western vernaculars. For we find pacha for paṭcha in the Shāhīnāṣṭaṇḍī version of the Aśoka inscriptions. On the other hand, pāṭcho, afterwards, in Ancient Khotani might lead us to the conclusion that we are faced with a phonetic tendency in the home-tongue of the Indo-Skythians.

The change of v to b in saññātāraṇa is perhaps to be explained as a result of the influence of the Indo-Skythian substratum. For not only do we find b for v after an anuvāra in the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the Dharmapada, where api and iṣu become vi and vi, respectively, after vowels, but bi and ba, respectively, after an anuvāra. But in ancient Khotani b frequently corresponds to Sanskrit v, not only in loanwords such as bīna, Sanskrit viśva, but also in indigenous words such as biṣṭi, Sanskrit viśva. The actual sound was perhaps a bilabial spirant, English w.

The word following saññātāraṇa is certainly tiṣatimaṣṭa. M. Senart read tiṣatimāmaḥ, but the t-stroke of the second ts is too distinct to be accidental. The form tiṣatimā also occurs in the Pāja inscription, where we read ṇakada[ja] tiṣatimāya, and, as remarked by M. Boyer, in the Skārnha Dhere image inscription, where I follow Dr. Fleet in reading ṇakṣaṭāsatimānaḥ.

Then follow the numerical symbols 1, 100, and 1 1 1, and Vētākkhaṇa mārṣaṇa dīvarṣi, as has always been recognized.

L. 3 ff. were not read by Dowson, and Cunningham only attempted to make out some few words. M. Senart was the first one to give a transliteration and interpretation of the greater portion of these lines, and M. Boyer gave a continuous reading of the whole.

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4. Pāli and Sanskrit, pp. 96 f.
The first word in l. 3 was read *pachhamē* by the two French scholars, who also agreed in reading the ensuing sign or signs as *pa*, which, according to M. Senart, is the sign of the figure 5. I cannot accept this reading and interpretation.

The first *akshara* is much damaged, and there are several strokes which are probably the result of the use to which the stone has been put. There cannot, however, be any doubt, that it is a *pa*. I cannot see any trace of an *anumēra*, but there are some strokes at the bottom, which may be the remnants of an *amātra* or of a post-consomonic *r*. The second letter consists of a vertical, bent towards the left at the top, and a distinct cross-bar. If the latter is accidental, we would think of *dha*, and if the curvature at the top is due to accident or oversight, we would have *tha*. I have already in another connexion suggested to read *prathamē*, and I still think that reading the most likely one, though *pachhamē* would also be possible.

What M. Senart read as the symbol for 5 I read as *di I*. It is, as is well known, the unvariable custom in Kharoshthi to use the symbols for 4 and 1 when the number five is given in figures, and not in words. And it would be very extraordinary to find a notation of the kind suggested by M. Senart.

The ensuing *aksharas* were for the first time read by M. Boyer, and his transliteration *ids* is certainly correct, though both letters are damaged, and it is possible that *ids* is the reading intended. *Ids* and *ids* are of frequent occurrence in Kharoshthi inscriptions in India and Eastern Turkistan, and the meaning is clear; they render Sanskrit *asmim* and *atra*. M. Boyer thinks that *ids*, "with *ś* instead of *ś* as in Magadhi," is Sanskrit *śaha*, but that explanation cannot be right, *śaha* being nothing else than the nominative singular, and the change of *ś* or *ṣ* to *ś* not being a feature of the vernacular. *Ś* can only be an old *ṣh* or the representative of an old *othy*. In the Shāhbazgāyi version of the Aśoka inscriptions we repeatedly find forms such as *arabhikānti*, Sanskrit *arabhikāyanti*, and in the Kharoshthi manuscript of the Dhammapada *ś* is frequently the representative of Sanskrit *ṣha*. *Ids* would accordingly be the regular representative of a female oblique form from the base *ś*, and it is possible that the theme *śhānyā* has developed a stereotype locative adverb *śhānyā*. At all events, the base must be the pronoun which we find in *id-am*.

After *ids* M. Boyer read *chunamī samana*, and M. Senart . . . *pade* . . . *Chunamī* would of course suit the context very well, but *samana* could not represent Skr. *sramana*, as M. Boyer thinks, the only possible forms of that word in the dialect being *samaṇa* and *samaṇa*.

Now there cannot, I think, be any doubt that the two last *aksharas* of the passage are *pachhē*. The traces of both letters are quite distinct, and *pa* has also been recognized by M. Senart. The new plate will show that *chhē* is also beyond doubt. *Pachhē* can scarcely be anything else than Sanskrit *pākhē*, *pākhē*, or, perhaps, *pathyē*, salutary, suitable, auspicious, here used to characterize the day or the moment when the inscription was issued.

There accordingly only remain two *aksharas* between *ids* and *pachhē*, and so far as I can see the extant traces are more in favour of *dīnē* than of *chhūnē*, though it is impossible to be quite certain.

I accordingly read the second date as follows: *suḥbatsāraṁ tiṣatima d 1 1 100 1 1 1 Vaiśākha maṇaṇa dīvaṁ p[ratha]mē d 1 ids [dīnē] pachhē, in the hundred and third year—103, on the first day—d. 1 of the month Vaiśākha, on this pachha-day, or, on this auspicious day.

The interpretation of the word *pachhē* is difficult. If we were justified in explaining it as corresponding to Sanskrit *pathyē*, we should be able to prove conclusively that the date of

1 S. B. A. W., 1916, p. 801.
2 See Johansson, *Actes du 8 emprès international des orientalistes* 11, iii, pp. 129 and 169, where, however, the use of *ś* has not been explained.
3 See Komow, *Festschrift Winternitz*, p. 93.
the inscription is the first and not the fifth Vaiśākha. That date was auspicious because it was considered to be the Buddha's birthday. Tradition placed that event on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, and the Takhti-i-Bāh inscription would accordingly show that the months in north-western India were pārvaṅga, just as it can be proved to have been the case when the Kharoṣṭhī epigraphs dated in the Kanishka era were drawn up.

There is, however, one grave objection to this interpretation. In the Aśoka inscriptions and in the Kharoṣṭhī records from Central Asia there are two different akṣaras which are usually both transliterated chh, one with, the other without a cross-bar below the head. The latter one is usually stated to be the only one occurring in later Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. That statement is not, however, correct. We find the cross-bar form in inscription J on the Mathurā Lion capital, where we must read paličhina, Sanskrit paričchhinna, instead of Bühler's parichitna. Now an examination of the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the Dhammapada shows that the cross-bar form represents old chh and also chh derived from th, while the other form stands for Sanskrit kah and should probably be transliterated kkh and not chh. It is this form which is used in pachhā, and it, therefore, seems necessary to explain this word as Sanskrit pachhā or pakhē. I would therefore suggest to explain dipā pachhā as dinē pakhē, on this pakhā-day, and assume that the day is designated in such a way in order to mark it as the first day of a pakhā, though the pakhas are not usually mentioned in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

Then follow five letters which M. Boyer read belasamīsā, while M. Senart could not make out more than the two last ones. M. Boyer adds that the e-stroke of the first letter is, perhaps, only a flaw in the stone, and it seems to me that such is evidently the case. I, therefore, read balasamīsā, the genitive of balasami, which corresponds to Sanskrit balasāmin. The final sa is quite distinct, and I, therefore, do not venture to follow Dr. Thomas, who thinks that we ought probably to read mira as in l. 4.

M. Boyer saw in belasamīsā the name of the donor. It seems to me that such can scarcely be the case, the donor being mentioned in l. 4, and I, therefore, think that balasamīsā should be taken with the opening word of l. 4.

The last four akṣaras of l. 3 were read gōyanasa by the two French scholars, but only M. Boyer tried to translate this word. He took gōyan to correspond to Sanskrit gōyana, a carriage drawn by oxen, a cart in general, and drew the final sa to l. 4. I think, however, that the extant traces show that Dr. Thomas was right in reading gōyanasa as in l. 4. I only differ from him in transliterating the nasal as the cerebral a in accordance with my remarks, above, Vol. XIV, pp. 161 ff.

Bōyana, which is also used together with the name Mīra in l. 4, cannot be an Indian word. M. Boyer sees in Mīra Bōyana the Iranian name MiṣruBoushānā, and this explanation is probably right, but it does not help us to understand the word bōyana itself. It seems to contain a base bōy and a termination a. The latter is no doubt the well-known suffix āna, which forms adjectives from nouns (as in Khotan balašī, belonging to the Buddha (balaśī) and in the word kushtana from kushī) or participles from verbal bases. The base bōy can be identified with Iranian bāny, to save, if we remember that a y between vowels has become y in mahārāya and paya.

Bōyana can accordingly mean "saving", "saviour", and I take it to be an Iranian translation of the same title svaṛīp which has been Indianized on Indian coins as trāṭāra. I think that such is evidently the case, and I take bōyanasa as a title of Balasami. It follows from this interpretation that the final sa cannot be taken together with the first word of l. 4.
Here M. Senart read pa...aa, but M. Boyer was certainly right in reading par[s]vara. At first sight one is inclined to read par[va]ra, which might be explained as a compound of para and svara. Svara would have to be taken as identical with svaraka, cell, which occurs in several Brāhmi inscriptions.1 Par[va]ra might mean “the predominant cell”. This explanation cannot, however, be upheld. An svara for svaraka does not occur in any other record, and even svaraka itself is never met with in Kharoshthi inscriptions. I think that M. Boyer is right in thinking that the apparent cross-bar of the first r of par[s]vara is accidental, and that there are traces of an i across the left extremity of the upper portion of the akṣara.

The word parivara, Sanskrit parivāra, occurs in many ancient records. M. Boyer took it together with the final sa of I. 3 and explained sa-parivara as an adjective characterizing gōyana, the whole meaning “a cart together with a covering”. He is fully aware of the difficulty arising from the nature of the donation, which would hardly justify the engraving of an inscription. He thinks, however, that the object of the epigraph may have been to honour the prince mentioned in I. 5 more than to record the gift. Or else, the cart may have been of great value, and the donation accordingly of especial merit. In this connexion, he draws attention to a passage in the Divyāvadāna,2 where we read yāmān dānān dādī riddhipādāvatipīkapratī-bhassahartantiyam, he gives a cart, a gift leading to the acquisition of the result of the state of supernatural power. This explanation is very ingenious, but I fear that it is too ingenious, and if Dr. Thomas’s reading bōyana in I. 3 is accepted, we shall have to look out for another explanation.

The meaning “covering (of a carriage)” is well attested for the word parivara, but it is never met with in ancient inscriptions. In Brāhmi inscriptions we find suparivara, e.g., in the Nasik inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9, and in his edition of them M. Senart remarks: “It is, I think, too precise to translate suparivara by ‘with his family’. If such were his intention, the engraver would rather have used special names of kinship or some generic word, as jāti, which occurs elsewhere. Parivara may, together with the family or even excluding it, apply to companions of the donor, fellow-workers or caste-partners.” The original meaning of the word seems to be “covering”, “surrounding”, and it actually has this meaning in some passages in classical literature, but more frequently it must be translated by some word meaning surroundings, train, suite. This meaning does not, however, seem to give any sense in our inscription, and it may perhaps be of interest to examine other instances of its use in Kharoṣhthi records.

The oldest Kharoṣhthi inscription where it occurs is the Mathura Lion capital. We are therefore informed of the fact that the chief queen of the Mahākṣharastra Rajula puts up some relics of the Buddha, together with some of her relatives, the atēva and the hōrakaparivara. Here atēva corresponds to Sanskrit antakṣara, the inner court, the female apartment of the palace and those who live in it. The hōrakas are the officials who are called hōramurtu in the Mānikāla inscription, and hōramurtu is a “Śaka” rendering of Sanskrit dānapati.3 Now it should be remembered that parivrita is used in the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa (2.6.1.20) and elsewhere to denote a place enclosed with walls and used for worship, and hōrakaparivara might accordingly mean “the enclosed hall of the hōrakas” and further “the hōraka-department”, a meaning which would be very appropriate in our passage, where the word is used in connexion with antakṣara, which has a similar sense.

The next time we find the word parivara in a Kharoṣhthi inscription is in the record under discussion. Thus follows the Sūk Vihār copper-plate of the year 11, during the reign of Kaniska.
of which we have now a good reproduction in the excellent edition by Mr. N. G. Majumdar. The third line of this record, where the word parivāra occurs, cannot be read with absolute certainty; and I shall not, in this place, try to show how I arrive at my reading of the whole of it. We learn that a saññi, a staff, has been raised (in memory) of the friar Nāgadatta, and that the Upāsikā Balamandi, the wife of a householder, and the mother of Balajā, makes a present of an anuparivāra, which in my opinion can hardly mean anything else than a subsequent enclosing through a wall for the purpose of building up the shaft in which the staff was placed.

The word parivāra again occurs in the Mānikiāsa inscription, where we read that the daññandāya Lala erects a stūpa, together with some other persons and the whole parivāra: sa(ñ)itēna cha parivāreṇa sudha. Here we may translate "together with the whole retinue", but the original meaning of parivāra can very well be the same as in the Mathurā Lion capital inscription.

Finally, we meet with the word parivāra in the Wardak vase inscription, where I would read in l. 3: māyaīya cha rōhana sada saṅgiṇa avashadiya sa parivāra cha-agrōhagopadī-yadā bharatv, and let my deposit—and also the surrounding wall (or chapel)—for ever lead to sharing in the preferential lot for all (beings) up to the heretics.

I think that this examination will have shown that parivāra can be translated by "surrounding structure", "hall", "chapel", and such is, in my opinion, the meaning of the word in our inscription, which records the donation of some structure bearing the name of Balasvāmin, the Saviour, perhaps a memorial monument, or a building raised by him.

The next word was read yadha... na by M. Senart and sadhādana by M. Boyer. The first akṣara can hardly be 4a. Its top is more rounded than in the 4a of vedāka, 1, 1, and the damaged 4a of 4a, 1, 2. Moreover, there are traces of a vertical below the upper curve. I have, therefore, suggested 3 to read shadhādana. I think that this reading is quite certain. The change of 4r to 4h is a regular feature in Ancient Khotan and apparently also in the north-western dialect of the Kharoshthi inscriptions, though we always find 4 in the name of the month Śrāvaṇa. In that word, however, the Sanskrit form would naturally exercise its influence. We find the same tendency to substitute 4h for 4r in the dialect of the Kharoshthi Dhammapada, and it is probably due to the linguistic peculiarities of the dialect which the Indo-Skythians adopted in the Indian border districts.

The third akṣara da has a peculiar shape. Its lower end is curved towards the left and continued upwards in an angle. It is possible that we are here faced with the a-mātra, which is of frequent occurrence in the Kharoshthi documents from Eastern Turkestan. Or else the hook is the mark of the anusvāra, indicating the nasalization of a vowel before a nasal, which is a common feature in Ancient Khotan. We must accordingly read shadhādana or shadhādana.

The corresponding Sanskrit word would be śraddhādana, or śraddhādana. M. Boyer compares Pāli saddhādeyya, Buddhist Sanskrit śraddhādēya, "a gift of faith", "a pious gift". Of the ensuing akṣaras M. Senart only read the two first ones, in which he saw sapa. M. Boyer read sapayasaṇudana, and explained this as saprajanuvadana, taking it together with the following mirabāyana, so that the whole should mean "with his children Suvadana and Miraboyana". He thinks that the curiously shaped last letter contains a na with a da added above after the na had been engraved, when there was no more space left below. I am unable to accept his reading. The initial 4a is certain. The second akṣara is 4a, but has a distinct loop at the bottom, so that we must evidently read 4a. The third letter, which was

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3 Cf. Konow, Festschrift Windisch, p. 94.
4 Cf. e.g. the document N. XXIV vii 9 reverse in Sir Aurel Stein's Serindia, Plate XXIV.
read ya by M. Boyer, has a distinct vertical, rising from the left hand termination, and looks like ta. The following akhara cannot, I think, be sa, but seems to be dhi, though it is different from the dha in shadhadana. With every reserve I would therefore read saputadhi. But then the following akhara cannot be anything else than ta, though it looks more like a ra. The upper stroke is sloping upwards and not horizontal as in sa. Moreover, there are traces of an upward stroke at the left termination of the letter, which has become somewhat indistinct as a consequence of the following letter having been engraved across it. That last akhara is quite misshaped, and it seems necessary to infer that it has not been engraved before the ensuing akhara. It seems as if it had originally been overlooked and was subsequently added, after the omission had been detected. There was not then sufficient space for the proper shape of the akhara, and its upper part was engraved above the other letters and across the preceding ta. We have a similar letter at the very end of the Zeda inscription, where the last word is no doubt Saṅghamitraraja. I therefore read the akhara as sa and the whole compound as saputadhitasa.

The remaining portion of l. 4 does not present any difficulty, and both M. Senart and M. Boyer agree in reading Miraboyanasa. I have no hesitation in accepting this reading, only substituting sa for their na. Misra is, as stated by M. Boyer, the Iranian Mithra, and it is of interest to note that tr has become r as in Ancient Khotani.

The first three akharas of l. 5 were read ejhahuna by M. Boyer, while M. Senart only read the first and third letters. The second akhara is certainly a compound, and the upper part is clearly jh. The curved line across the lower vertical is the usual sign of a r preceding the consonant, and such is evidently its significance in our inscription as well. A compound ejh is in itself very unlikely and has never been met with in any Kharoshthi record, while vjh also occurs in the Zeda inscription. The loop below the akhara looks like an u-matra and it would be natural to read erjuna.1 If we bear in mind, however, that the usual way of denoting a r forming the first part of a compound in later Kharoshthi inscriptions is to add a loop at the bottom, it is perhaps possible to consider our compound as an intermediate form and to read erjuna and, finally, the reading erjuna might also be possible. Cf. my remarks to the word shadhadana, l. 4. At all events, there cannot be any doubt that we have to do with an un-Indian word.

The letter jh is seldom used in Indian inscriptions. Where it occurs in Kharoshthi records, it seems to represent a voiced s, just as is the case in the Kharoshthi documents from Eastern Turkistan, where s is commonly softened between vowels so that we find dajha for dasa, divajha for divasa. The letter is found in the Zeda inscription, where marjhaa, l. 2, is evidently identical with Khotani malyarka;2 in the Manikiala inscription, where we must read Karstjana majhe divasa 20, with the same softening of s between vowels as in the Turkistan documents, and in the Ara inscription, where Vajjadeha corresponds to Brhm Vaisheka. This name is evidently derived from the Iranian base vasa, strength, vigour. Similarly jh is used for s in the coin-legends of Zoilos.

The sound s had long ago become obsolete in Indian languages, and considerable difficulty was experienced when it had to be expressed in foreign words. The form Vaisheka shows that it was occasionally written as s, and later on j became the representative of s, as, e.g., in the coin-legends of Zeionites. If Kusulka, which occurs in the Taxila copper-plate of Patika and on the Mathurā Lion capital, is the same word as kusala in the name of the first Kushapā ruler, we have have s and j in the same word as different attempts at rendering the voiced s.

1 I read the word so. S. B. A. W., 1916, p. 501.
2 Cf. my remarks, Zeitschrift H St, p. 230.
A fourth attempt was made in the records of Ysamotika and his successors, viz., by means of the compound $yus$; and this same device became the rule in Ancient Khotani.

Erjhaṇa accordingly represents an attempt at rendering the sounds of $eruṇa$ or $eruṇa$, and there can be no doubt that in this form we have to see the same word which occurs in Ancient Khotani as $aluvāna$, $eravāna$, which is used to render Sanskrit $kumāra$. The $l$ before the voiced $s$ in this word, as also in maliṣṭa, is certainly a later development in Khotani, which, on the whole, agrees with Old Iranian in using $r$ for $l$ throughout.

M. Boyer, who read ejhahuna, saw in this word the name of a prince and thought that this name was an Iranian compound containing $stl$ as its first part. But no similar name is known to exist, and in my opinion, my explanation of the word is absolutely certain.

If now ejhahana belongs to the language which I have called Khotani, it would be natural to infer that the individual characterized as ejhahana, i.e., $kumāra$, belonged to the tribe or trubes who used that form of speech. His name must be contained in the fourth and fifth aksharas of l. 5, which M. Senart read as $ka$, while M. Boyer, who admitted that the first akshara looks like $ka$, suggested to read [bhu]pa. There cannot be any question about the nature of the first letter. It is $ka$, and it is so clearly cut that we have no right to correct it. The second akshara is certainly $pa$, but underneath there are distinct traces of an akshara which I have formerly suggested to read as $sa$ or $sha$. It now seems to me that it must be read as $sha$, there being distinct traces of a vertical below the semi-circle, i.e., of the letter $sha$.

I still think that this kapsha cannot be anybody else than the Kusana prince whose name is written in many different ways, kadsphises and kadhphises in Greek letters, and kasa, kaphsa, kadjphsa in Kharosti. With regard to the use of $s$ when the Greek rendering has $s$ we may compare Kharosti ayitsa, Greek axlises.

We know that the national tongue of the Kusana was identical with, or closely related to Ancient Khotani, and Sir John Marshall's discoveries at Taxila have shown that Kujala Kadsphises followed almost immediately after Gudufara as ruler of that place. Sir John writes: "After the death of Gondophernes his empire was split up into smaller principalities, and it was then that Hermaves and Kadsphises I appear to have made their successful invasion of Gandhara and Taxila." I therefore feel no hesitation in identifying the prince mentioned in our inscription with Kadsphises I, since he is characterized by a Khotani title and bears a name which is almost identical with the names used in his coin legends.

The remaining portion of the inscription is quite clear. After Kapsha follows the genitive termination $sa$, separated from Kapsha by a wide gap, and further $puya$ with the final $s$ as, as stated above, probably accidental.

The inscription carries, as we have seen, a double date: in the 26th year, during the reign of Gudufara, and in the 103rd year. The latter date has usually been referred to the Vikrama era. Sir John Marshall has tried to show that that reckoning was instituted by Azes, and Professor Rapson endorses that view. I am unable to accept it, for several reasons. Sir John's theory is based on his interpretation of the word $ayusa$ occurring after the figures denoting the year in the Taxila inscription of the year 136, which he takes to be the genitive

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1 Cf. Lüders, S. B. A. W., 1912, pp. 407 ff. The recent attempt made by Mr. N. B. Divatia, J. Be. Br. R. A. S., XXVI, pp. 169 ff., to vindicate the rendering of the compound $gou$ is a failure. The learned author has failed to recognize that $yu$ is the regular sign for voiced $s$ in Ancient Khotani.


of the name Ayas = Azes, characterizing the year as belonging to an era established by Azes. In my edition of that inscription I have mentioned the reasons which have been urged by various scholars against this interpretation, and so far as I can see they are still as cogent as they were ten years ago. If ayasa were the name of a king, the inscription would necessarily fall within his reign. The absence of every title is, however, so extraordinary that it is almost impossible that the word can be the name of a ruler. Professor Rapson, it is true, asks us to remember that the inscription belongs to a people that knew not Azes. His family had been deposed and deprived of all royal attributes. The throne of Takhasiša had passed from the Śakas and Pahlavas to the Kūshānas. Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings,' in this inscription, without prejudice to the house then actually reigning.' Are we to believe, then, that the people who did not know Azes still used his name in connexion with the era current in the district?

There is another reason which, in my opinion, makes it impossible to ascribe the establishment of the era to Azes: that theory makes it necessary to separate one of the Kharāṣṭrī inscriptions, the Taxila plate of Patika, which is dated in the same way as the other epigraphs, from the rest and construct a special era for it. That has also, as is well known, been done by several scholars. Sir John Marshall has, consistently with his interpretation of the Taxila silver scroll, explained the words maha-raya-sa maha-à-tasa Mogasa in the Taxila plate as indicating the ruler who established the era used in the record. Professor Rapson thinks that this era 'may possibly mark the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistan, after its incorporation into the Parthian empire by Mithradates I c. 150 B.C. If so, the date of the inscription would be c. 72 B.C., a year which may well have fallen in the reign of Maues.' He further shows that the theory according to which Mithradates I conquered Northwestern India is based on a misunderstanding of a statement of Orosius and goes on to remark: 'The invasion of India must be ascribed not to the Parthian emperors, but to their former feudatories in eastern Iran; not to the reign of Mithradates I, but to a period after the reign of Mithradates II (i.e., after 88 B.C.), when the power of Parthia had declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent.' M. Foucher holds a similar view, but seems inclined to refer the date of the Taxila plate to the Parthian era of 248 B.C., supposing the figure for hundred to have been suppressed, so that 78 would stand for 178 and correspond to 70 B.C.

I cannot accept any of these theories: Sir John's not because a proper name in the genitive in connexion with the date in ancient records invariably denotes the ruler in whose reign the inscription was executed, and the other ones because I do not think that we have any indication of the use of foreign eras in India in ancient times, at least not in private documents, and most Kharāṣṭrī inscriptions are of that nature. I quite agree with M. Foucher, who discusses the supposed use of the Seleucid era in some Kharāṣṭrī epigraphs and, after mentioning the well-known dated coin of Plataea, goes on to say: 'Just as much as the use of the Greek reckoning seems to us to be on its place on an essentially official and governmental piece like the Plataean coin, just as difficult would it seem to us to justify it in the case of a private ex-voto, emanating from a simple indigenous donor.' Patika can hardly be supposed to have used an old era belonging to the dynasty from which the invaders of India, the ancestors of his own suzerain, had made themselves independent. Even if we were to admit the possibility of omitted hundreds in these dates, what I do not think we are justified to do, the only natural inference from the general state of things in the Indian borderlands in the first

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1 Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 238 ff. 2 i.e. p. 532. 3 i.e. pp. 568 ff. 4 L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara II, p. 488. 5 i.e. p. 450.
century B.C., would be that the era used in the Patika plate was instituted in commemoration of the conquest of India by the dynasty to which Moga belonged, or of its emancipation from dependence on the Parthian overlords. In other words, the initial point of the era cannot fall before 88 B.C.

The date of the Patika plate can, as is well known, be broadly fixed with reference to the Amohini votive tablet of the year 72, during the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Śōdāsa. Professor Rapson, it is true, gives 42 as the date of that epigraph. He seems to be unaware of the fact that Professor Lüders has proved 2 that the symbol used in the Śōdāsa inscription, something like a St. Andrew's cross, must be read as 70 and not as 40. So far as I can see, no other scholar has accepted Professor Rapson's reading, and so long as he has not shown that Professor Lüders' convincing arguments are inconclusive, we can safely adhere to the prevailing opinion.

I agree with most other scholars in referring the date of the Śōdāsa record to the Vikrama era. It accordingly corresponds to 15 A.D. In that year Śōdāsa was Mahākshatrapa. In the inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion capital Śūdasa, i.e., Śōdāsa, is mentioned as Kshatrapa, while his father Rajula is characterized as Mahākshatrapa. The Lion capital must accordingly be older than the Amohini tablet, how much older we cannot say. Sir John Marshall has shown 3 that Rajula was probably ruling about the beginning of the Christian era, and we can provisionally date the Lion capital between, say, 1 and 10 A.D.

In addition to Rajula the inscriptions of the capital also mention another Mahākshatrapa, Kuinlaa Padika, who cannot be anybody else than Patika, the son of the Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka, who issued the Taxila copper-plate. Sir John Marshall therefore suggests 4 to date the Taxila plate about 17 B.C., and I do not think it is possible to refer it to an earlier period. A priori I should be more inclined to say between 10 and 1 B.C.

According to Sir John's theory we should accordingly have to state that about 17 B.C. an era, instituted by Moga, was in use in the country about Taxila, while, at the same time, the era of Azes had already been in use for forty years. This simultaneous use of two foreign eras at the same time and in the same neighbourhood during a prolonged period is not very likely, and the state of things becomes still more difficult if we admit, as I think it is necessary to admit, that Moga was still reigning at the time of the Patika plate, i.e., according to Sir John, about 17 B.C. In that case it becomes impossible to claim Azes, who is known to have succeeded Moga, as the establisher of the Vikrama era.

The Azes theory will, I think, have to be abandoned. Everything we know from Indian tradition points to the conclusion that the Vikrama era was a national Indian era, and ancient Indian ideas seem to be traceable in the oldest Vikrama-dates. 5 The eras used in Kharāshṭrī inscriptions, on the other hand, are partly framed after the model of the Macedonian calendar. That is evident from the occasional use of Macedonian month-names and from the habit of reckoning the days of the months through, from full moon to full moon, while the Indian calendar divided the month into two fortights. It seems, accordingly, necessary to infer that the era or eras used in the Patika plate as well as in the so-called Takhti-Bāhū inscription are of foreign origin, and if it is granted that Moga was still reigning in the year 72 of that era, and we meet with Gudufara in the year 103, it is difficult to avoid the inference that both

1 J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 575.
2 Arch. Ind., IX, pp. 243 ff.
3 Archaeological Survey of India; Annual Report, 1912-13, p. 43.
records should be referred to one and the same era, so that there are, accordingly, 25 years between the Patika plate and the so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription, or, in other words, between Moga and Gudufara.

Such an interval is about what we would expect, considering the fact that only the king or kings known as Azes and Azilises seem to intervene between them. The reason why this inference has never been drawn is probably that Cunningham's dictum, that the inscription is dated in the 26th year of the reign of Gudufara, has never been challenged. I have already stated above that a comparison of other ancient records necessarily leads us to the conclusion that the Gudufara inscription is dated in the year 26 of some era which may or may not coincide with his individual reign. And if it is admitted that Moga was still reigning about 17 B.C. or perhaps even later, and that we have absolutely no real reason for referring the Gudufara date to the Vikrama era, we are inevitably led to the conclusion that the year 26 refers to an era established by some of Gudufara's predecessors, and in that case there cannot be the question of any other ruler than Azes. If, therefore, we refer the Patika date and the Gudufara date to the same era, it will be seen that the era which I think commemorates the accession of Azes begins one year before the Patika date. But then his record hails from Taxila, while the so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription only informs us of the fact that, 25 years later, the rule of another dynasty had extended its sway as far eastward as Takht-i-Bahi or Shahr-badakhsh. The conquest of Taxila did not take place in the first year of the Parthian era.

There is nothing inconsistent in this supposition. The Saka conquest started from Seisian, reached the Indus country and thence extended over Taxila and Gandhāra. The Parthian dynasty, to which Gudufara belonged, came from the west through the Kābul country. It found a Saka era in use in the conquered territories, and the use of this era had become so firmly established that a subject of Gudufara, 26 years after the establishment of Parthian rule, thought it necessary to record the date of his epigraph, not only in the Parthian era, but also in the old Saka reckoning.

Nor can we wonder at the absence of any later reference to the Parthian era. The dynasty founded by Azes was short-lived. After Gudufara's reign it was replaced by the Kushānas, the successors of the Šakas, in the Kābul country and in Taxila, and the second Kushāna ruler, Vima Kadphises, reconquered "India", i.e., the Indus country and probably also Kāthiawār and Central India, and I still think that that event was commemorated through the institution of the Šaka era, as stated in the Kalakachāryakathānaka. In other words, the Saka era commemorates the final re-establishment of Indo-Skythian rule after the interruption caused by the Parthian conquest, and it is a revival of the Šaka era introduced after the first Šaka conquest of India. In this way it becomes intelligible why Chinese sources speak of Vima Kadphises' conquest as a re-conquest.

I agree with Messers. Poucher and Rapson that the first Šaka conquest must be subsequent to the demise of Mithradates II in 88 B.C. The subsequent weakening of Parthian power made it possible for the Šakas of Seisian to assert their independence, and the strengthening of their power resulting from the immigration of new Šaka hordes led to an expansion of their realm into the Indus country. We do not know who the first Šaka conqueror was. We only know the name of the Šaka ruler or rulers Manes, Moga, and we have seen that Moga was still ruling 25 years before the Gudufara inscription.

It has been customary to speak of several rulers intervening between Moga and Gudufara, one or two bearing the name Azes and one or two called Azilises. Opinions differ as to the nationality of this or those rulers. Some scholars think that they were Parthians, others that they were Šakas. I have never been able to understand why it should be necessary to assume

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the existence of more than one ruler Azes-Azilises. As pointed out by Dr. Thomas, Azes is a short form of Azilises. And if we compare the coin legends, we are, I think, led to the conclusion that Azes and Azilises are one and the same person. When we find coins with the legends basileos basileos megalon AxEw on the obverse and maharajas rajajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa on the reverse, or basileos megalon Azilisos on the obverse and maharajas rajajasa mahatasa Ayilasa on the reverse, the only natural inference from the use of the imperial title on both sides is that we have not to do with more than one ruler.

Nor do I think that there can be any doubt about the nationality of this ruler: he was a Parthian and not a Saka king. That follows, in my opinion, from the coin-legends showing the names of Spalirises, Spalabora and Spalagadames. In the first place we have the coins of Spalirises, the king's brother, with the legends basileos adelphou Spalirisou on the obverse and maharajabhreat dhramiasa Spalirisasa on the reverse. Then we find Spalirises associated with Azes, with the legends basileos megalon Spalirinou on the obverse and maharajas mahatakasa Ayasa on the reverse. Here Azes is associated with Spalirises, but he has not yet assumed the imperial title. We may infer that he had not yet acquired the power attested by his later legends, and also that he was a Parthian ruler. Finally, we find Spalirises designated as basileos basileos megalon Spalirinou on the obverse and maharajas mahatakasa Spalirinasa on the reverse. In addition to Spalirises we have Spalabora, aisas Spalyris, and his son Spalagadames, whose names are associated with that of the great King of Kings Vonones. There are several coin types and legends: basileos basileos megalon Onou ou on the obverse and maharajabhreat dhramiasa Spalaboras, or Spalahorantrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamas on the reverse; Spalirinou dikasou adelphou tou basileos on the obverse and Spalaboras dhramiasa Spalagadomas on the reverse.

Numismatists seem to agree in the opinion that Spalirises and Spalabora were both brothers of Vonones, and that the former survived Vonones and succeeded him on the throne. Vonones, on the other hand, is considered to be different from and older than the king Vonones I of Parthia (8-11 A.D.). The name of Spalirises is not, however, anywhere combined with that of Vonones, and I cannot see any obstacle to the assumption that he was an older member of the dynasty, perhaps the father of Azes and the uncle of Vonones, in which case the latter can very well be identical with Vonones I of Parthia.

According to my view, the state of things can accordingly be summarized as follows: Some time after the demise of Mithradates II in 88 B.C., a Saka ruler of Scisitan made himself independent, invaded the Indus country and established a new era. According to the Kalakahcharya Katakana the Jaina Kalakahcharya applied to the Saka rulers of Sagaktla for assistance against King Gardabhillas of Ujjaini, who had abducted his sister, and the result was that the Sakas made themselves masters in Ujjaini, where their rule, according to some well-known memorial stanzas, lasted for four years. They were then ousted by Vikramaditya, who established his own era. As I have stated elsewhere, I see no reason for discrediting this tradition. The Vikrama era is a national Indian era, established by an Indian ruler to commemorate his victory over the Sakas. And in my opinion it is the first secular era of Indian origin. The oldest certain instance of its use is the Sojja s inscription of the year 72, and from the fact that the date portion of this record does not make any mention of the pakhah but simply mentions the 9th day of the month, we may infer that the calendar was partly arranged according to the principles introduced by the Sakas.

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1 J. R. A. S., 1900, p. 308.
2 Cf. Rasoum, i.e. pp. 73 f.; H. B. Whitehead, Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. I, pp. 91 f., where further references to the literature about the subject are given.
3 Z. D. M. G., 34, pp. 247 f.
4 [According to the Prabhakorasachiras (IV. 43-44) it is Sakhisa—the country of the Sakhisa, otherwise called Sakas—lying on the Sindhu in the west.—Ed.]
6 Ep. Ind., XIV, pp. 293 f.
The best known of the Śaka rulers is Moga, who was still on the throne in the year 78 of the old Śaka era. If it is granted that the establishment of that era must be subsequent to the year 88 B.C., the year 78 cannot be earlier than 10 or 9 B.C. The Patika plate mentioning it is dated on the fifth Panemos. From the use of the Macedonian name we can infer that the year began, as in the Macedonian calendar, with the month Dios, i.e., it was Kārttikādi. The month Panemos corresponds to June. If the beginning of the era coincided with October 88 and the years were current, the earliest possible date for the Patika plate would be June, 10 B.C., and if the years were elapsed, June, 9 B.C. It is not, however, probable that the era was established before one or two years after the demise of Mitthradates II. On the other hand, some time was required for Patika, who in the year 78 was not even a Kāhatrāpa, to acquire the rank of Mahākāhatrāpa, and further for Śoḍāsa, who was Kāhatrāpa when Patika was Mahākāhatrāpa, to be promoted to Mahākāhatrāpa, a position which he held in 15 A.D. We can, therefore, with some confidence, state that the last ten years before the beginning of our era must be the period when the Patika plate was engraved.

Now I have tried to show that a new, Parthian, era had been established one year before the date of the Patika plate, by Azes, the first Parthian conqueror of the Kābul country and Western Panjāb, and that the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription is dated in the 26th year of that era. That would take us to the time 16-20 A.D., which would be a very likely date for Gudufara, who is generally assumed to have come on the throne in 19 A.D.

Gudufara is, as I have already mentioned, certainly identical with the King Gondophares who, according to Christian tradition, summoned the apostle Thomas to his court. This tradition is not, however, of much use for chronological purposes. In the first place, the name of the king is not mentioned before the third or fourth century A.D., and, in the second, the whole tradition cannot prove anything more than that the name of the King Gudufara had become known in the Christian east about the time of Christ’s death or of the first Christian mission.

We do not know how long Gudufara’s rule lasted. We learn from the Panjūr inscription that a Kushāga-Mahārāja (Guśaγa maḥarāya) had come into power in the year 122, i.e., 19 years after the date of our inscription, and from the Taxila silver scroll that this same Kushāga had assumed the imperial titles maḥārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra 14 years later, in the year 136. If the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription belongs to one of Gudufara’s first years, he cannot, accordingly, have held undisputed sway for more than about twenty years, and we do not know anything which militates against such an assumption.

With regard to the ruler mentioned in the Panjūr and Taxila records opinions differ, but all scholars are agreed that it is the same ruler who is mentioned in both inscriptions. From a consideration of the find-places of the two epigraphs we can infer that he had, between the years 122 and 136, extended his sway eastwards, and the increase of his power consequent on this extension is illustrated in the higher titles used in the Taxila scroll. But both find-places fall within the territory which the Chinese called Kipin, and which, according to them, was conquered by Kadphises I, while “India”, which was subdued by Kadphises II, must be located outside of Kipin.

In full agreement with this state of things Sir John Marshall has shown good reasons for identifying the Kushāga-Mahārāja of these records with Kujaḷa Kadphises, and I am more convinced than ever that he is right, though the prevailing opinion seems to be that Vima Kadphises is the ruler mentioned.

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We know from the Hou Han-shu, the annals of the Later Han, Ch. 118, fol. 11\textsuperscript{ro} that the hi-hou of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tsu-k'io, i.e., Kujula Kadphises, after conquering four other hi-hous, established himself as wangi (king) and used the dynastic title "King of Kuei-shuang", i.e., Kushana King, that he invaded An-si (Parthia), seized the territory of Kao-fu (Kabul), annihilated Pu-ta and Kipin, and that all these territories formed his empire. He became eighty years old, and was succeeded by his son Yen-Kao-chen, i.e., Vima Kadphises, who "again" conquered India, where he appointed a general to rule as his viceroy.

The Hou Han-shu cover the period beginning with 24 A.D. Kujula Kadphises' consolidation of the Kushana empire accordingly falls after that date. Before then he can only have been a petty hi-hou or a young prince. But afterwards he gradually became king (wangi) and king of Kuei-shuang.

It will be seen that all these details point to the conclusion that the Kushana-Mahârâja was Kujula and not Vima Kadphises. The latter rulers do not seem to have resided in India. He ruled through a viceroy, and in my opinion this viceroy is the Soter Megas, whose "coins are found in extraordinary abundance, and over a wide stretch of country extending from Peshâwar to Mathurâ. These facts point to a great power and a long reign, and are much in favour of the supposition that we must look for Soter Megas amongst the most important of the kings and satraps known to us, as it is very improbable that such a great potentate would be nameless and unknown except from these coins. The style of the coins, which are in copper only, and the absence of square forms point to a period about the Kushana conquest, so that Soter Megas was probably a contemporary of one of the two Kadphises."

"Certain types almost invariably exhibit in the field the Kharoshthi alabhara vi,\textsuperscript{11} and I agree with Cunningham that this vi may possibly be the initial of the king's name, though Mr. Whitehead does not accept this view. If it is correct, we would have a clear indication of Vima Kadphises being the suzerain on whose behalf the Soter Megas coins were issued.

Mr. Whitehead thinks it possible that these coins were struck by more than one ruler. I think that he is right, and that the Soter Megas coinage covers the period from the accession of Vima Kadphises to the installation of Kanishka. Sir John Marshall is no doubt right in assuming\textsuperscript{2} an interval between the reigns of Kadphises II and Kanishka, but we have no information about the Kushana rulers who held sway at headquarters after the demise of Vima Kadphises.

Moreover the designation Kushana-Mahârâja is more easily understandable, without the addition of any personal name, in the case of the ruler who first introduced it, than with his successor, and if Vima Kadphises was the king who introduced the later Saka era, as I think we must infer from a comparison of Chinese tradition and the Kalâkârâyakathânaâka, he cannot be the Kushana-Mahârâja of the Panjâr and Taxila records. We can only think of Kujula Kadphises.

It has been urged against this that the Taxila scroll shows a monogram \(\text{\textcircled{\text{K}}}\) which is characteristic of the coins of Vima Kadphises. Sir John Marshall has, however, drawn attention to the fact that the same monogram also occurs on the coins of his predecessor, and I may add that it is likewise met with on coins of Zeionises. Professor Rapson\textsuperscript{3} objects that the coins in question "bear the name not of Kujula Kadphises, but of Kujula Kara Kadphises, who was probably another member of the dynasty ... Kujula Kara Kadphises seems to have succeeded the Satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalavati, and he may have been contemporary with Vima Kadphises."

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. Whitehead, I.c. p. 160\textsuperscript{3}.
\textsuperscript{2} Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1912-13, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{3} I.c. p. 682.
Not being myself a numismatist I feel some hesitation in differing from a scholar whose knowledge of Indian coins is probably at the present time unsurpassed. I cannot, however, help thinking that numismatists are too much inclined to construct different rulers at the hand of different coin-types. Just as I have not been able to convince myself of the existence of more than one Azes, in the same way I fail to see that the variety in the titles used by Kujjula Kadphises makes it necessary to assume the existence of more than one ruler of that name. We must not forget that Chinese tradition assigns a long period to his reign.

Kujjula Kara Kadphises cannot have been a petty chief or a subordinate ruler like the Kaharapra Zionises. He is designated as maharaya rajatiraya and maharaya rayaraya dē vaputra. Similar titles, viz., maharaja mahata and maharaja rajatiraja are met with on coins which bear the name of Kuyula Kapka, and I do not think that it can reasonably be doubted that Kujjula Kadphises and Kujjula Kara Kadphises are one and the same person. Sir John Marshall found at Sirkap a coin showing, on the obverse, the bust of Hermes with a corrupt Greek legend, and, on the reverse, a Kharoṣṭhī legend of which we can at least read jala kara. Here Kujjula Kara's name occurs on a coin showing the bust of Hermes, and thus his identity with Kadphises becomes still more probable. We do not know the etymological meaning of the word kujjala. I may add that I do not any more think that it is a Turkic word. We have no certain traces of Turkish in the language or titulature of the Indo-Skythians. The title yavuga, which has often been stated to be an adaptation of the Turkic yabyu, has not been etymologically explained, and it is perhaps more probable that it is originally an Iranian word which has been taken over by the Turks than that the opposite should be the case.

I therefore identify Kujjula Kara Kadphises with Kujjula Kadphises and cannot admit that the use of the monogram in question on the Taxila silver scroll can be urged against the view that the Kushāpa king mentioned in the inscription is Kujjula Kadphises.

There is still another reason which strongly speaks in favour of this identification: Vima Kadphises is never, in his coin-legends, designated as a Kushāpa, and nobody would, I think, a priori be inclined to identify him with the Gushapa-maharaja of the Panjāb inscription and the maharaja rajatiraja dē vaputra Kushāpa of the Taxila silver scroll, if it were not for the common theory that the Saka era was established by Kanishka.

I do not overlook the fact that Sir John Marshall has found some coins at Sirkap which seem to show the legend maharajasa rajatirajasa Kushahasa yavugas, while the obverse bears the head of a Kushāpa king, resembling that of Vima Kadphises. Sir John is inclined to ascribe these coins to Vima Kadphises and writes: "The epithet Yavuga (=Turkish jubgou) is found on coins of Kujjula Kadphises, and is supposed to have been replaced by the title maharaja rajatiraja after the conquest of India. The simultaneous use, however, of the two terms in one and the same legend appears to indicate that the prevalent view regarding the meaning and use of this title is not wholly correct." He is not, it should be noted, certain about the assignment of these coins to Vima Kadphises, and, in my opinion, the use of the title Khushana yavuga goes a long way towards proving that they should be assigned to Kujjula Kadphises. The legend informs us of the fact that he who was then the maharaja rajatiraja had risen to that exalted position from the rank of a Khushana yavuga, and I cannot help thinking that there is a touch of justifiable pride in the wording of the legend.

1 Lc. p. 52.
3 Hultsch, Z. D. M. G. 69, p. 175, thought of jūja, strong, and I have myself, S. B. A. W., 1915, p. 799, compared jūja, beautiful.
Professor Rapson has no doubt about the identity of the maharaja rajatiraja Khushana yaugua with Vima Kadphises. He says: "Most of the coins of Kujula Kadphises show clearly both by their types and by their fabric that they were struck in the Kabul valley. They are imitated from the barbarous issues of that region which still continued to reproduce mechanically the legends with the name of the last Yavana king, Hermæus, long after his death. They are found in enormous numbers beyond the limits of the Kabul valley in Takshašila, where the stratification of the objects discovered in the excavations proves unquestionably that, in that district, they are rather later than the coins of Gondophernes. At first sight the evidence of the finds would thus seem to show that Kujula Kadphises himself was later in date than Gondophernes and that he was the actual conqueror of Takshašila; but since the coins in question manifestly come from the Kabul valley, we must suppose that they represent the ordinary currency of the Kushānas at the time when the invasion took place, and that they were introduced into Takshašila as large numbers of Sassanian coins were brought into the country of the lower Indus from Iran by the Hānas of the fifth century A.D. It is, therefore, by no means impossible that Kujula Kadphises may have been not later than, but contemporary with, Gondophernes; and there is no reason to doubt the statement of the Chinese writers that it was not Kujula Kadphises, but his son and successor, Vima Kadphises, who extended the dominions of the Kushānas from the Kabul valley to N.-W. India."

I quite agree with Professor Rapson that the bulk of Kujula Kadphises' coins may have been struck in the Kabul valley, but in other respects I differ from him toto coelo. The Chinese sources do not, as we have already seen, tell us that Vima Kadphises, and not Kujula Kadphises, conquered N.-W. India. They state that the latter invaded An-si (Parthia), conquered Kao-fu (Kabul), P‘u-ta (probably the country about Ghazni) and Ki-pin. But we know that Ki-pin comprised parts of the Panjab, i.e., N.-W. India, and the "India" conquered by Vima Kadphises cannot be identified with N.-W. India.

In such circumstances it seems to me that the Sirkap coins must be ascribed to Kujula, and not to Vima Kadphises. Coins of the known type of the former were found in the same locality, but no coins of Vima Kadphises or of Soter Megas. It cannot be objected that Kujula Kadphises' bust does not occur on any of the coins which can, with certainty, be ascribed to him. Professor Rapson has given the explanation of this fact: these coins were struck in the Kabul valley, and it was only after the conquest of Takshašila that Kujula Kadphises introduced his bust on his coins, probably in direct imitation of Gondophernes.

It is of interest to note that the form Khushana occurring in the Sirkap legends is also found on some coins of Kujula Kadphises with the legend Khushana yaugua Kuyula Kadphausa sashad kramakhitaśa, and some of these coins were found together with the new type at Sirkap, with the legend Khushaṇa yaugua Kuyula Kasasa.

So far as I can see, the cumulative weight of all these indications makes it necessary to ascribe the silver coins found at Sirkap, with a head "resembling" that of Vima Kadphises, to Kujula Kadphises and to infer that they were struck during his rule at Taxila, in imitation of the practice adhered to by his predecessors.

Now I have tried to show above that the date of the Gudufara inscription must fall between 16 and 26 A.D. Nineteen years later, i.e., between 35 and 45, the Kushāṇa ruler of the Panj-tār record had assumed the title Mahārāja, and 33 years later, i.e., between 49 and 59, he uses the imperial titles Mahārāja rājatīraja dēcaputra. If the ruler in question was Kujula Kadphises, he had already a distinguished career behind him when he began his conquest of the Parthian empire. He had succeeded some other ruler as yaugua, and he had subjected four

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1 I.e. p. 589 ff.
other ūrugas to his rule. He cannot have been quite a young man. If we assume that he was about 40 years old at the time of the Panjâr inscription, his death must have taken place between 75 and 85 A.D., and it will be seen that the establishment of the Śaka era, which I ascribe to his son and successor, falls within that period. On the other hand, he can hardly have been an old man when he started on his eventful career. We know from Chinese sources that that happened after 24 A.D. We can infer, with some confidence, that he was born shortly before or shortly after the beginning of our era, and as he died an octogenarian, that would take us to the same time as I have come to above. I am unable to see how Vima Kadphises can possibly be pressed into the period between Gudufara and the establishment of the Śaka era, and the theory that that reckoning was introduced by Vima Kadphises is the only explanation which is not merely based on general chronological considerations but derived from definite statements in Chinese and Indian literature, and I have not seen any serious grounds urged against it.

In such circumstances my identification of the prince (erjhaṇa) Kapâsha mentioned in I. 5 of the Gudufara inscription with Kujâla Kadphises receives considerable support. He is not distinguished by any title which would lead us to infer that he was a ruling prince. He is not even styled ūruga, but simply characterized as erjhaṇa, i.e., kumâra. We would naturally infer that he had not yet risen to the rank of ūruga, and at all events, that his conquest of the other ūrugas had not yet taken place. He may have been a young man, of say twenty years, and if he were born about the beginning of the Christian era, the date of the Gudufara inscription would correspond to c. 20 A.D.

I do not think that it is possible to arrive at more definite results at the hand of the materials themselves, without any hypothetical interpretation of their text. I believe, however, that there is one indication in one of the ancient Kharâshti records which may some day lead us to an absolutely certain conclusion about the initial point of the era. I refer to the word ayasa in the Taxila scroll inscription.

I have stated above that I think it impossible to explain this ayasa as the genitive of the name Aya, Axesa. But then ayasa must be connected with ashaṇa māsasa, and the only question is why the month is characterized as ayā. Aya, of course, correspond to Sanskrit tṝya, and Professor Jacobi has mentioned the possibility that the month may have been called Arya because the Indian and not the Macedonian month is mentioned. It will, however, be seen from a comparison of the dates of the Gudufara, the Paja, the Kaldara and the Panjâr inscriptions, that the use of the Indian and not the Macedonian names of the months was a common feature at the time when the Taxila silver scroll was inscribed. I therefore still think, as I thought when I published the record, that ayasa corresponds to Sanskrit adyaṇya. It should be remembered that adya does not become aja in any Prakrit dialect, and that the change of dy to yy is attested through ayasa, Sanskrit adyaṇa, which is met with both in Pâli and in the Shâhâsâraṇi version of the Ašoka edicts.

When the month Āshâdha is designated as the “first” Āshâdha, that does not, of course, mean that Āshâdha was the first month of the year, but that there were two Āshâdhâs in that particular year. Can this information help us to settle the question about the precise date of the record?

The reply would, of course, be in the negative, if we had to do with the ancient Indian calendar of the Jyotisha, according to which there was an intercalated Āshâdha every five years. I have, however, already drawn attention to the fact that the calendar used in the old Kharâshti inscriptions is not purely Indian but contains foreign, Greco-Macedonian, elements. In other

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1 The difficulty becomes still greater if the Gudufara date and those of the Panjâr and Taxila records are referred to the Vikrama era.
words, we have to do with the initial stages of that development which finally led to the recasting of Indian astronomy and the Indian calendar on purely scientific lines.

The question then arises whether we should not be justified in applying the methods of the *Siddhántas* to the date of the Taxila silver scroll. It is true that the *Siddhántas* are later than the inscription. According to Dr. Thibaut\(^1\), the *Surya-Siddhánta* and some other *Siddhántas* are probably at least some centuries older than 500 A.D., but not necessarily more than two or three centuries older. But then it should be borne in mind that the *Siddhántas* are the result of a long development and not the first laying down of scientific astronomical principles. It is, therefore, not excluded that their methods can be used for a still older period. The question is not so much what the general Indian astronomer knew about calendar matters in the first century A.D., as what the Indo-Skythian successors of the Greek princes had learnt from their predecessors and how they had arranged their Greco-Indian calendar.

I do not myself understand anything about astronomy, and I cannot, therefore, form an independent opinion. I have, however, submitted the question to my friend the Dutch scholar Dr. W. E. van Wijk, who has been good enough to calculate which years between A.D. 50 and 80 had an intercalated *Āśādha* according to the *Siddhántas*. He has informed me that such was the case in the years 52 and 71 A.D., and Mr. Sewell has accepted this result.

Of these two dates only the former one is possible. For, if Sam. 136 corresponded to 71 A.D., the 5th Panemos 78, the date of Patika plate, would correspond to 13 A.D., only two years before the *Śālsa* inscription, and two years are not sufficient for covering the events falling between the two records. The year 52, on the other hand, excellently suits the facts as we know them. If it should prove to be right, the date of the Gudufara inscription would correspond to 10 March 19 A.D., i.e., about 60 years before the beginning of the Śaka era, and if Kapsha, i.e., Kušāla Kadphises, were then twenty years old he would have been born in 1 B.C. The year 103 would have begun in October 18, and the accession of Azes, if the figure 26 refers to an era instituted by him, would fall in the year 9-8 B.C., wherewith it is impossible to know whether the use of the term *vārsha* for 'year' points to a year beginning with the rains and not with the autumn.

If this result is accepted, it would become possible to give the dates corresponding to those occurring in other Kharavāhi records of the older series. The Patika plate of the 5th Panemos 78 = June 6 B.C.; the Machai inscription of the year 81 = 4-3 B.C.; the Mount Banj inscription of the year 102 = 18-19 A.D.; the Pāja inscription of the 15th *Śrāvaṇa* 111 = 23 June 27 A.D.; the Kalidāra inscription of the 20th *Śrāvaṇa* 113 = 5 July 29 A.D.; the Panjār inscription of the 1st *Śrāvaṇa* 122 = 7 June 38 A.D.; the Taxila silver scroll of the 15th of the first *Āśādha* 136 = 17 May 52 A.D.; the Dewai inscription of the 8th *Vaisākha* 200 = 24 March 116 A.D.; the Loryān Tangai inscription of the 27th *Prāśṭhapada* 318 = 27 August 234; the Jamālgarhi inscription of the 1st Aspān (?) 359 = September 276 A.D.; the Haśhtnagar inscription of the 5th *Prāśṭhapada* 384 = 7 June 300 A.D.; the Skāraḥ Ḍheri inscription of the 10th (or 20th) *Āśādha* 399 = 28 April or 8 May 315 A.D.\(^2\)

I give these identifications with every reserve. Future research may make it necessary to fix the initial point of the era some few years later than I have done, but the relative chronology is, I think, certain. The new arrangement also removes a great difficulty which has been felt by everybody who has studied the history of the Indo-Skythians: the many different eras supposed to be used side by side in their records. The late Dr. Fleet consistently maintained that all the dates of Indo-Skythian records should be referred to the Vikrama era, which he held to be introduced by Kanishka. I do not think that anybody holds that view at the present date.

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\(^1\) *Astronomie, Astronomie und Mathematik*, p. 45.

\(^2\) See *Acta Orientalia*, III, pp. 82 f.
Most scholars are of opinion that the Patika plate stands alone with an era of its own, that the older series should be referred to the Vikrama era, while the Kanishka group is dated in Śaka years. The dates with years higher than 300, finally, it has become customary to refer to the Seleukid era. M. Foucher has demurred to the latter part of the prevalent theory. I have quoted his remarks about the improbability of the use of a foreign era in private votive inscriptions above, and I think that they are quite to the mark. But I do not think that his own solution of the difficulty is in any way better. He holds that the high figures should be referred to the so-called Maurya era, a suggestion which had already been made by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his valuable paper on the Scythian Period of Indian History. He reckons the year 322 B.C. as the starting point of the Maurya era and draws attention to the fact that the beginning of the Śaka era comes exactly 400 years after that date. In his opinion the Śaka era is only a continuation of the Maurya era, with omitted hundreds.

It is extraordinary how tenacious this idea of suppressed centuries is. I quite accept the dictum of the late Dr. Fleece: "There is, in fact, no sound reason for thinking that this irrational method of recording dates was used in ancient times in any territory which comes in any way within the scope of our inquiry." The results of referring the Kharoshthi inscriptions with years higher than 300 to the Maurya era are, moreover, just as fatal as if we use the Seleukid reckoning. We would have to date the Loriyán Tangai statue in the year 3 B.C. and the Hashtnagar pedestal in 63 A.D. Now paleography seems to be in discredit at the present date, but still I think most scholars would experience some difficulty in ascribing the Loriyán Tangai epigraph to an earlier date than the Guḍufara and Pāja inscriptions. M. Foucher himself thinks that the epoch of the Loriyán Tangai stupa is late, and according to him, approximately the second century A.D. The point d'appui for this dating is the Kanishka reign, which he supposes to begin about 78 A.D. If now the accession of Kanishka took place more than 50 years after that date, the Loriyán Tangai stupa must be referred to the third century, as I have done above. M. Foucher, it is true, places the inscribed statues from Loriyán Tangai and Rājar (Hashtnagar) before Kanishka, but it seems to me that his reason, the good style of the foldings of the garments, is far from being convincing. If an older image was broken and had to be replaced by a new statue, the Gandhāra artists of a later period were certainly not more backward in imitating ancient models than the Indian craftsmen of the present day. And statues without heads and hands are, it would seem, not the very best material for drawing chronological conclusions.

Moreover, it would seem to be a necessary preliminary to the reawakening of the theory of a Maurya era to show that the strong reasons cannot be accepted which have been brought into the field in order to show that the whole idea of such an era is without any foundation. And it would have been well to try to explain the curious fact that there is not the slightest reference to any such era in the numerous epigraphs of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka. His inscriptions are, it should be remembered, official documents, and if a Maurya era had been in existence, we should certainly expect to find it used in them. The only inscription in which the Maurya era is supposed to be mentioned, belongs to a different dynasty, that of the Chōdis, and besides, the supposed date is given in such a way that no unbiassed person could be supposed to understand the meaning.

M. Foucher has made no such attempt. He has been content to state that his whole theory stands and falls with the Maurya era, and there is, so far as I can see, absolutely no more
foundation for the belief in its existence than there would be if somebody were to suggest that an era was instituted to commemorate the conquest of India by Alexander.

The only objection against referring the high dates in Kharoshthi inscriptions to the old Śaka era of which I can think, is that it seems difficult to understand why it was not replaced by the Kanishka era. But then we have the analogy of the Gudufara inscription, which shows that the old era had gained such a firm footing in Yūsufzai that it survived the introduction of a new, Parthian era. There are, on the whole, no traces of Kanishka and his successors in Yūsufzai proper. The capital was no more Puskalavati or Shāhāzgarh. Thoese districts, and the country further to the north, where the Gandhāra school of art had had a richer development than anywhere else, were no more in the centre of political activity. Peshāvar, on the high road to the stronghold of the Kushānas in Badakhšān, had become the most important city in the west, and the route from Taxila to Peshāvar did not lead through Yūsufzai. That country had been reduced to be an out-of-the-way territory, where Buddhist civilization and art remained, but where political vicissitudes were of little importance. No wonder that the indigenous donors and sculptors went on using the old era, undisturbed by the accession of Kanishka.

TEXT.

1 Maharayaśa Gudufarasa vasha 20 4 1 1
2 sambha[t]rae tiṣṭatimae 1 100 1 1 1 Veśakaśa masasa divase
3 [prathā]me [di 1 ijā] [diu] pache Balaśamisa [bo]yaṇaṇa
4 par[t]iva [sha]d[a]ga sa[t]na dhiyapasa Mira boyaṇaṇa
5 erṇaṇa Kap[sha]ja sa puyae madu
6 pidu puyae

TRANSLATION.

(During the reign) of the Maharāja Gudufara, (in) the year 26, in the hundred-and-third year—103—on the first day—d. 1—of the month Vaiśākha, on this pahša-day, the chapel (?) of Balavāmin the Saviour [is] the pious gift of Mira the Saviour, together with his son and daughter, in honour of Prince Kapsha, in honour of his mother and father.

No. 29.—FOUR BHANJA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

By
RAI BAHHADUS HIRALAL, B.A., DEPUTY COMMISSIONER (Retired), JUBHULPORE.

The Government Epigraphist for India forwarded to me impressions of 4 sets of copper-plate grants belonging to the Bhaṇja dynasty sent to him by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, B.A., District Munsiff of Aṣka, Ganjām District. Brief notices in respect of them appeared in Rao Šahib Krishna Šastri's Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1917-18 on pages 12 and 135 ff., paragraphs 10—14. I now edit the charters from the impressions supplied by him, which are reproduced in the accompanying plates.

The Bhaṇja grants yet discovered number eleven, including the present ones, four of which have been edited in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society and the rest in this Journal including the one of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, which has been re-edited by Dr. Kielhorn in Volume IX, above. For facility of reference the charters have been assigned

1 Cf. Chavannes, Young Pao II. viii, p. 1877.
2 Sixteen. See Postscript.
distinguishing letters given below, especially because some of them bear the same name, having been found in the same locality. In editing the two Baudh charters Mr. R. D. Banerji distinguished them by the letters A & B and Mr. Mazumdar gave to the Sonpur grant the letter C, which have been retained in my scheme.

A. Baudh grant of Raṇabhaṇḍajadēva of the 54th year; by Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, page 322 ff.

B. Baudh grant of Raṇabhaṇḍajadēva of the 26th year; by Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, page 325 ff.


H. Ganjam plates of Nṛṣṭribhaṇḍajadēva edited below.

I. Ganjam plates of Nṛṣṭribhaṇḍajadēva edited below.

J. Ganjam plates of Vidyādharabhaṇḍajadēva edited below.

K. Antirigāṃ plates of Yaśabhaṇḍajadēva edited below.

The description of these plates supplied by the Epigraphical office is reproduced below.

H. Ganjam plates of Nṛṣṭribhaṇḍajadēva.

"This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape, strung together on a ring of the same metal, which passes through a hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter near the proper right margin and has its ends riveted into the arms of the bracket at the back of the seal accompanying it. The ring was uncut when the plates reached this office. The plates have writing on five faces in all, the first plate being engraved only on the inner side. They measure about $6\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in height. They bear slightly raised rims on either face, though those of the first plate are worn out a little. The ring has a diameter of about $3\frac{1}{2}$". The seal is circular in shape and has a diameter of about $1\frac{1}{2}$. On its countersunk surface it bears in relief the figure of a lion at the top of proper left with the legend 'Śrī-Nṛṣṭribhaṇḍajadēvasya' below it in two lines. The entire set weighs about 150 tolas."

I. Ganjam plates of Nṛṣṭribhaṇḍajadēva.

"This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape, strung together on a ring of the same metal which passes through a hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter at about $1''$ from the proper right margin. The ring was uncut when the set reached the office. It carries a fixed seal which is now partly damaged and must have been circular in form originally. The engravings on it are all lost. The first plate is written only on one side while the other two have writing on both the faces. The plates have very slight rims. They measure $6''$ in breadth and $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in height. The set weighs 71 tolas."

J. Ganjam plates of Vidyādharabhaṇḍajadēva.

"This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape and strung together on a ring $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter, which passes through a hole of about $\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter near the proper right margin. The ring carries a seal into the two arms of the bracket on the back of which are fixed its two ends. The seal is much damaged so that nothing remains of the original engravings on its surface. Its diameter is about $1\frac{1}{2}''$. The plates measure $7\frac{1}{2}''$ in breadth and $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in height. They have writing on four faces in all, the first and the last ones being blank in outer faces. The first plate is broken to the extent of $1''$ in the right hand top corner. The total weight of the set is 85 tolas. The plates are not uniformly thick, the first being slightly thinner than the other two."
K. Antirigam plates of Yaśabhaṣajadēva.

"This is a set of three thin copper-plates strung on a ring of the same metal passing through a hole about ⅓ in diameter near the proper right margin. They are oblong in shape and have four faces of writing in all, the first and the last being blank on the outer sides. They have no rims worth the name; still the writing is in good preservation. The ring which is about 1½ in diameter carries a turned knob into the base of which its two ends are fixed. The knob is about ⅓½ long and is a miniature representation of the kalaśikā seen on the top of the broad umbrella used in the South Indian temples. The plates are a little drawn out in the side margins and have therefore slightly rounded corners. They measure about 8½ in breadth and 3½ in height. The weight of the set is 72 tolas. The plates were found in a village called Antirigam in the Pūrbakhand division of the Chatrāpur tāluk, not far from Jauguda, in a field while ploughing."

The language of all the records is Sanskrit written in the Nāgari character influenced by the Oriya style more conspicuously in charter K than the three others, which closely resemble one another not only in characters, but in the phraseology used in them. All the records as usual are divided into three portions, the first and the third in verse, the former recording the invocations to the family god and the genealogy of the king and the latter benedictions and imprecations quoted from religious books, while the second or the middle portion in prose deals with the business in hand. There is also a little prose at the end of the records giving the names of the messenger, the writer, the engraver and the seal-affixer. The first portion being composed by a learned man of the court once for all during the currency of a reign, is always ornate and so it is in the present grants. The second is usually full of mistakes, as business respects neither rhetoric nor grammar and goes straight to the point, even admitting forms like Svāṃsiya, Svārmisya, Agnihōtrisya, so long as the sense is not obscured. Imprecations-being mere quotations from Dharmā Śāstras are pure formalities of the age, given little care in point of accuracy, though in well written records they receive as much attention as the other parts of the records. In our records there is ample evidence of the carelessness with which quotations have been entered. In some cases the verses are incomplete, in others they have been mutilated and strung together in a new form, for instance, see J, where a verse occurs as follows:—

यक्षयेः यदा भूमिस्कृतश्च तदा पल्ल | मा मुयक्षशत्रेहृ व: परदत्तात्पर्यावलिः ॥

which gives a jumble of misspellings and misjoinders.

As regards the peculiarities in writing a full description has been given by Dr. Kiernan in his article on the Oriya plates of Vidyādhara, re-edited by him in Vol. IX, pp. 271 ff. in this Journal. His remarks almost wholly apply to the plates H, I and J, and need not be repeated. The plates K are more modern than the other three and exhibit more prominently the Oriya style of writing, the chief characteristic of which is the rounding of the straight or angular portions into a curve. The plates H, I and J will show that the top lines of letters are not straight, but slightly curved, furnishing each letter with a sort of a horn. In K the form of ॐ gets transformed into ॐ, a श into ॐ a ॐ into ॐ and so on. These are really Oriya letters. Of course Oriya characters are no other than Nāgari letters with the inevitable rounding resulting from an iron stylus playing on palm leaves, which would be torn if straight lines were drawn on them. As a matter of fact the slanting limbs of the letters in all these four records are too prominent to require any mention. I would not therefore dilate any further on this point.

I shall now proceed to the contents of the records and the historical data they give us. The charters H and I were issued from Vaśjuvaka by Nēṭribhaṣajadēva surnamed Kalyāṇakālaśa, son of Rāṇabhajadēva, grandson of Śatrubhaṣajadēva and great-grandson of Śilābhajadēva,
H grants a village named Rātaṅga in the Vāsudēvakhaṇḍa-viṣhaya to a number of Agnihōtrins belonging to the Kauṣika- and Vata-gōtras. The plate I grants a village named Māchhādagraṃa of the Māchhādakhaṇḍa to another donee of the Vātaya-gōtra. These two records do not give either the residence of the donees or the place whence their forefathers came, nor do they state the occasion on which they were granted. They state as usual that the gifts were made for increasing the religious merits of the king’s father, mother and self. They do not refer to any date whatsoever, but simply say that they were issued at the king’s own order and written by the Minister for peace and war, in the case of H by Savarāja and in the case of I by Kubēra. Both were incised by a goldsmith (akṣhāśālikas) named Durgadēva. The seal in H was affixed by Māmēm, apparently a short form of Mahāmēmā (the queen) and in I a lady, named Jachchhikā of the noble family. The messenger for H was Bhaṭṭa Sumaṅgala, but the name of that in I is not legible.

The charter J was issued by Māhārāja Vidyādhara Bhaṅgaṇḍe, surnamed Amōghakalaśa, son of Śilabhaṅgaṇḍe, grandson of Digbhaṅgaṇḍe and great-grandson of Rana-bhaṅgaṇḍe. It was issued from the ancestral capital Vaṅjulvaka and records the grant of a village named Mūlamāchhāṣa (i.e., Māchhāṣa proper) situated in the Māchhādakhaṇḍa-viṣhaya to Bhaṭṭa Purandara, an emigrant from Māmā, situated in the district Tādissama-viṣhaya in Vēroḍhī (province). In this case as in the previous two, the gift was made for increasing the religious merit of the donor and his parents and bears no date. The record was composed by Stambha, the Minister for peace and war, and incised by the goldsmith Kumārachandra, and the seal was affixed by Trikālīṅga-Mahādevi, on the record being apparently presented by the Prime Minister Bhaṭṭa Kēśavadeva. One Chāṛikā is recorded as the vṛgula which appears to be an alternative term for dātaka or messenger. All these names occur in plate F except the last, with a medley of offices, which throw a doubt on its genuineness, but this is susceptible of being explained, as would appear later on. The last charter K was issued in the 3rd year (of the king’s reign) on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the Kārtika month (known also as Prabodhini Ekādaśi), the day on which Vishṇu awakes from his four months’ sleep, granting the village Komyaṇa of Vōḍa-viṣhaya to the astrologer Jagadhaṭa-Sarman, resident of Paṭṭavāḍapāṭaka, situated in the district of Kōṭaravanga-viṣhaya, emigrant from Vapaśhūmi, situated in the middle of Thīhāra-viṣhaya by Yaśabhaṅgaṇḍe, son of Rāyabhaṅgaṇḍe II, who was son of Virabhaṅgaṇḍe, who was son of Rāyabhaṅgaṇḍe I, who was son of the Rājadhana Rāyabhaṅgaṇḍe, styled Samatva-Khiṇjali-devi-dāhipati or lord of the whole Khiṇjali country, which connects him with the family headed by Śilabhaṅgaṇḍe, from whom the kings referred to in the preceding three (H, I, J) records, were descended. Though Khiṇjali is not mentioned in the three foregoing records in hand, it finds a mention in A, B and C. In the latter there is a mention of Ubbhaya-Khiṇjali-maṇḍala which shows that the Khiṇjali was divided into two maṇḍalas or divisions, though owned by the same king. The records, however, do not show how Dēvabhaṅgaṇḍe, the original ancestor of Yaśabhaṅgaṇḍe’s family, was connected with the parental stock to which all the kings mentioned in plates A to J appear to belong. From these eleven records of the Bhaṭṭa family the following tentative genealogy may be made out:

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1 [R. B. Krishna Satāri would read this name as Arāṭhā; see his Ep. Rep. for 1917-18, p. 12, No. 6.—Ed.]
2 [R. B. Krishna Satāri would read it as Varāṇḍha; see ibid., p. 136, para. 13.—Ed.]
3 [If it is a derivative of the Telugu sarru —ledger, the official might have been a ledger-keeper of land given. By analogy it appears to be supported by the Kanarese expression sarrakōṭa which means “to deliver land to somebody as his property.”—Ed.]
4 Sixteen. See Postscript.
5 In drawing the genealogical tree we should not lose sight of the fact that some of these rulers used different seals, for such a difference can well indicate a different house or branch of a dynasty.—Ed.]
Virabhadra (Gaṇḍaṇḍa)
(D. E. A. O.)

Koṭṭabhaṇḍa or Śilābhauṇḍa I
(D. E. O.) (H. I.)

Dīghaṇḍa I or Śatrubhaṇḍa I
(D. O.) (G. H. I.)

Raṇabhaṇḍa I
(D. E. F. G. H. I. O.)

Dīghaṇḍa II
(F. J.)

Nēṭrībhauṇḍa
(Kalyāṇakalaśa)
(G. H. I.)

Rājabhauṇḍa
(E.)

Prīthvībhauṇḍa
(Prithvibhaṇḍa)

Narēndrabhaṇḍa
(O.)

Śilābhauṇḍa II
(F. J.)

Dēvabhauṇḍa
(K)

Vidyādharaṇaṇa or Rāyabhauṇḍa I
Vidyādharaṇaṇa Amoghaṇaṇaśa
(K)
(F. J.)

Śatrubhaṇḍa II
(A. B. C. L. N. P.)

Virabhaṇḍa
(K)

Raṇabhaṇḍa II
(A. B. L. P.)

Rāyabhauṇḍa II
(K)

Solaṇaṇaṇaṇa (M)

Yaṣabhauṇḍa
(K)

Dūrāyabhauṇḍa (M)

Kanakabhauṇḍa (M)

Note:—Letters in the brackets refer to the charters as named in this article and the postscript. Gaṇḍaṇḍa appears to have been the title of the original ancestor, which is found in some records in a corrupted form as Gaṇḍhata.

In the Bāmanghaṇḍi charters (D. E.) which appear to be the oldest, it is stated that the original ancestor of the Bhauṇḍa family was one Virabhadra, who was reared up by Vasiṣṭhamuni. From him was descended in the main line king Koṭṭabhaṇḍa whose grandson was Raṇabhaṇḍa; this seems to imply that there were several other branches, the senior being the one in which Raṇabhaṇḍa I was born. As the saying goes, two swords cannot remain in a single scabbard, the junior members of the family had apparently no alternative but to settle elsewhere, either as subordinate or independent rulers. It appears that the senior branch continued to observe the Orissa practice of repeating the names of its ancestors, while the junior ones adopted a different scheme. Thus in the main branch with 8 kings, there is only one whose name is not repeated, while in the second there is only a single name out of 6, which has been repeated. In the main line there were 2 Śilābhauṇḍas, 2 Dīghaṇḍas, 2 Śatrubhaṇḍas, and 2 Raṇabhaṇḍas, although in one case the first Dīghaṇḍa was apparently identical with the first Śatrubhaṇḍa. In the junior branch there were only 2 Rāyabhauṇḍas. In the main line the word Bhauṇḍa forms an integral part of the proper name, without which the latter would be ridiculous. In the junior line this is not the case as its omission would still give an appropriate connotation. For instance, it would be extremely uncomplimentary to name one's
son as Śatru or enemy, unless bhaṇja were to be an integral part of it, which would make him the ‘vanquisher of an enemy’. Similarly sila is a rock, but with bhaṇja added, it makes it wearier ‘the breaker of rocks’. Rana is battle, but a king is no battle; he is Rana bhaṇja, the ‘conqueror in battle’. Diś are the 4 or 10 quarters. Obviously the king cannot be diś, but it is a great compliment to him to be called Digbhaṇja, the ‘victor of all the quarters’. There is only one name in that line which appears to be self-sufficient without the bhaṇja and that is Vidyādhari bhaṇja found in two plates (F and J) where in each case the last letter ṛa is absent which, however, is supplied by the seal attached to the charter F. By the way I may here note that the king had the title of ‘Āmoghaśakāśa’, which was conjecturally read by Dr. Kielhorn as Dharmakāśa, owing to an over-engraving in the part where the epithet occurred. It was natural for him to read it as such, on the analogy of Kalayāṇakāśa attached to the name of Nāṭrihaḥ, especially as the last letter looked like double ṛi, which was apparently meant for ṛi. Dr. Kielhorn has clearly shown that plates F are palimpsests, but what is most curious is that the alterations are most prominent in the names of the donor, his title and his ministers. Plates J show that the Prime Minister was Bhaṇṭa Kēśavadeva, who presented the charter to the queen for affixing the royal seal, and that the composer of the charter was Stambha, the Minister for peace and war, in whose office it appears that such records used to be prepared. In plates F the offices are reversed, whereby Kēśava becomes Minister for peace and war, while Stambha becomes the Mantri. The alterations were so carelessly made that Kambha (the popular form of Stambha) continued to be shown as Minister for peace and war and, as such the writer of the charter. This led Dr. Kielhorn to suppose that Stambha and Kambha were different names, occupying the offices of Mantri and Sandhi-vigrahika respectively, while Kēśava was put down as a messenger, in view of the fact that no messenger was mentioned in the record.

My view of the matter is that the record F was originally prepared during the reign of a short-lived king, the immediate successor of Śilabhāṇja II, but it could not be issued before his death. At this stage Vidyādharas, the younger brother of the deceased, was installed, not without a coup d'état, which brought the Minister for peace and war to prominence causing the supersession of the Prime Minister Kēśava by Stambha for the time being. The accession of Vidyādharas to the throne must have been an occasion for munificent gifts and apparently the charter F was issued in hot haste, with necessary corrections, though not very carefully carried out as

1 Our record J which has no signs of being tampered with at all reads as follows at the end:—

[The expression Tējādīka might be connected with the Telugu and Kanarese Tēji meaning a horse. The title may have been derived from the fact of Stambha or his ancestors having been originally Keepers of royal horses.—Ed.]
referred to before. Things may have afterwards resumed the normal condition including the restoration to office of previous employees, when the charter I was issued. This would also account for the peculiar name Vidyādhara as Śūlābhāṅja II's successor, who should have been in the ordinary course named Dīghbhāṅja III, (who should be no other than the deceased elder brother of Vidyādhara in the present case). I feel this is rather a wild conjecture, but until evidence to the contrary is available, there is nothing strange about it. In Orissa the śāstraic custom of continuing ancestral names has survived even up to the present day. For instance, the Rāja of Bāmra is either a Sūḍhaladēva or a Tribhuvanadēva and I have personally known three generations, Sir Sūḍhaladēva, his son Tribhuvanadēva and his grandson Sūḍhaladēva again. In Pāl Lahā, situated between Bāmra and Keonjhar, the Rāja is either "Pāṭ Gāpāḥvāra Pāṭ" or "Pāṭ Muni Pāṭ". In the Bhangia family the recurring names appear to have been four — Śūlā, Dīg, Śatru and Raḥṣa, and each has had a repetition according to the inscriptions found. There is nothing to prevent the discovery of a third name-sake of any or all of them.

There are a number of geographical names in the records which have been yet found, but no serious attempt was ever made to identify them. In an appendix to this article I have tried to identify not only places mentioned in the four records in hand, about which I have added a special note in the end, but also those mentioned in charters previously edited. It will be seen from them that the oldest charters D and E refer to villages in the extreme north of the Mayurābhāṅja State, A, B and C to those in the Baudha State to the west, and the remaining ones to those in the Ganjam District. This gives an indication of the extent of the Bhangia kingdom, which apparently included almost all the tributary states of Orissa together with the northern portion of the Ganjam District covering about 16,000 square miles, about half of which is occupied by Mayurābhāṅja and Keonjhar States, both of which were owned by Ubbhayā-Khīṇā-yadhipati, or the lord of both the Khīṇālas. This title was retained by the latest king of the family, viz., Yaśabhaṇa of charter K, who styled himself as Šamasta-Khīṇālī- dēśa-yadhipati or the 'lord of the whole Khīṇāli country', which can be no other than the present Keonjhar. The aspirate of the first letter disappeared, a soft s after i crept in after the Oriya mode of pronunciation and the i at the end changed into r, which transformed the original name into Keonjhar or Keonjar.

The latest Imperial Gazetteer states, "Keonjar is divided into two widely dissimilar tracts, Lower Keonjar being a region of valleys and lowlands, while Upper Keonjar includes...

2 The traditions of the various Rājas of these states support it; for instance, the Keonjar Rāja claims descent from a brother of the Bhaṅga king of Mayurābhāṅja State, which is referred to later in some details. Pāl Lahā was admittedly a sukhadema of Keonjar, which claims that one of its Rājas got Athamalik from the Puri king. The Daspālī chief traces his origin to a younger son of Rāja Nārīyaṇa Bhaṅga of Baudha, where they say the original Rāja was a Bāhman, but was ousted by the Bhaṅga chiefs (Cunningham, Arch. Rep., Vol. XIII, p. 110). The Baudha State of which Rehrakhol is a branch has a peacock for its crest with a curious story, which looks like a variant of the origin of Mayurābhāṅja kings discussed later on. The Bausi legend says that its original ancestor when born was abandoned and was in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy when a peacock swallowed it and kept it in its nest, until the danger was over. The infant was born under a Kadamba tree, so the family came to be called Kadambavānī, but it regards the peacock as sacred. This peacock totem certainly establishes a connection with the Mayurābhāṅja family. The Bāmra family are Gangavānīs, whose connection with the Bhaṅga has been shown later on. The chiefs of Dhenkanal admit that they were feudatories of the old Orissa Rājas, who conferred the title of Šāmanta on them. The Athamalik Rāja who bears a similar title has a tradition of his origin similar to that of Mayurābhāṅja, i.e., from an emigrant from Jaipur. The Khandapara and Nāyagāth States, the latter being an offshoot of the former, got the title of Rāja during the Maratha campaign of Orissa. None of the other states, Baraun, Hindol, Narsinghpur, Nilgiri, Bāngir, Talcher and Tigar, encompass an area of more than 400 square miles and could not have been subordinate to the Bhaṅga, if they existed as separate entities in those times. See "Who is who in India", 14th VIII, Lucknow edition.
the mountainous high lands." These are natural divisions which must have existed, as they do to-day, during the Bhanja rule, and the word "ubhaya" meaning 'both' found in the records in connection with Khijjali not only justifies its use, but affords a clue for the identification of the country. Local chroniclers also support the fact that Keonjhar was ruled by the Bhanja Raja. Hunter's Gazetteer plainly records:—"Keonjhar State originally formed part of Morbhanj, but about 200 years ago, the tribes of this part, finding it a great hardship to travel through the perilous forests of Morbhanj to obtain justice from their prince, separated themselves and set up the brother of the Morbhanj Raja as their independent ruler." That is to say, Keonjhar separated from the parental stock less than 300 years ago and was part of the Mayurbhanj State where many of the Bhanja inscriptions were incised.

The records show that there were about three capitals of the Bhanja kings, either co-existing or at different periods of their rule. D. and E., the oldest records as noted before, give Khijjigga or Khijjiga as the residence of the king. This is identical with the present Khicing to the west of Baripada, the present head-quarters of the Mayurbhanaj State. It still contains numerous ancient remains about which Rai Sahib Nagendra Nath Vasu remarks:—"The superior workmanship of these has indeed been a startling discovery for us. The faces of the goddesses beam with radiant smiles which seem to be a realization on stone of the best dreams of poets and artists. The smiles .......... look as fresh and soft as newly-blown buds .......... and illustrate that motherly grace which is a pure Indian conception and is quite distinct from what we find in the Italian painter's Madonna." A., B. and C. refer to Dhritipura as the old capital which is untraceable. F., G., H., I. and J., were issued from Vañjulvaka and as the villages mentioned in them are all found in the Ganjam district, it is perhaps not unfair to conclude that Vañjulvaka was also situated within that district. The name connotes a superabundance of cane plants, for which the Ganjam district is noted. The last record, K., mentions no capital at all.

In spite of the extensive area occupied by the Bhanja family and its branches, it, however, appears that they were not the sovereign lords of the country they ruled. The original ancestor of the family appears to have been an officer of some Gana or Hindu republic, as his title Ganaดาninga indicates. The title was apparently a short form of Gaṇadāninga-nāyaka or Gaṇadāninga-pāla, the former being equivalent to a Minister and the latter to an officer in charge of the maintenance of the army. There are numerous instances of ministers or army officers becoming kings, whenever they found the administration over them weak. Traditions of a strong member of the democracy usurping the power of government and finally becoming king are not wanting in the Orissa Janapadas as the political communities were called in olden days of which the Athamalik State is an excellent example. It was ruled by eight representatives of the people by turns, which gave it the name of Athamallika (the tract ruled by eight). It is not very far away from Mayurbhanaj. What wonder that Virabhadr and his descendants should have seen their opportunity and become the sole masters of their political community. Judging from the titles of the inscrptional kings of this line, however, it does not appear that they ever attained to paramount sovereignty, and as such they must have become the Mahālika of the Mahākośa kings, firstly of the Somavāmśa of Vinitapura (Binka) and later on, of the Haithyas of Ratapur, both of whom bore the title of Trilakṣaṇaḍhipati or "Lord of the Trilakṣangas," which, apparently, included the Orissa Tributary Mahals. The omission, in the grants, of references to any sovereign power, however, indicates that the Bhanjas enjoyed much extended powers and were at any rate semi-independent chiefs.

3 Mr. Jayaswal's Hindu Polity, Part II, pp. 134 and 147.
There is no record of any conquest made by them, the eulogistic epithet of Jagadēkamalla-vijayi added to the name of Yaśahbāṇja being ambiguous. It may mean 'the conqueror of Jagadēkamalla' or 'the one warrior and conqueror in the world'.

It, however, seems that the Rājas of the Bhaṇja dynasty were connected with the Southern Jaipur instead of the Northern Jaipur of Rājpūtāna, to which local chroniclers connect them, in the wake of all Rājpūts, who consider it an honour to link themselves with the country regarded as the true home of the Keshatriyas. The Jaipur Zamin-dār, formerly a Rāja, who still holds an estate covering about ten thousand square miles, relates that the predecessors of his family belonged to Śilāvaṇiśa, and we know from the Buguda and Śaśāka's charters that the family of Śilādbhavas or Śailādbhavas (born of rock or hill) were ruling on that side about the 7th century A.D. It sent out its scions to different parts of the country, one of whom settled in the Vindhyas in the Central Provinces and conquered many countries round about, as revealed by the Ragholi plates, the only record yet found about that branch. Another adventurer, apparently, settled in Mayūrabhaṇja. The date of the advent of the Mayūrabhaṇja conqueror, as related in local chronicles (eis. 1,800 years ago), very well fits in with the dates of the inscriptive Śilādbhavas, and the family has more than one Bhaṇja named after Śilā. In fact, the oldest ancestor found in the inscription is named Śilābhaṇja. Distinguished Indian families usually seek for supernatural origins. As is well known, Rājpūta claim descent direct from the Sun or the Moon. This may look edifying, but they have pushed the matter so far as to make it ridiculous. Some trace their origin from an inanimate object or an animal of any kind whatsoever, because such an origin implies some miraculous power. It mystifies the real origin which lurks beneath it and which might cause a blush in its bare nakedness. Here is, for instance, the origin of the Śilādbhavas as recorded in the Buguda plates of Mādhava-varman:—“There was a personage named Pulindasena, famous amongst the people of Kaliṅga. He, although endowed with many excellent qualities, did not covet sovereignty for himself, but rather worshipped Brahmā in order that the god might create a fit ruler of the land. And Brahmā granted his wish and created out of a rock the lord Śilādbhava, who became the founder of a distinguished family.” Laid bare, the story would show that the dwellers of the local mountains or rock produced a person, who became the ruler and as such the founder of a dynasty. In editing the Ragholi plates I have shown how Śilāvaṇiśa was patronymic and how the metronymic of the same family was Gaṅgavaṇiśa. The dynasty was thus the outcome of a mountaineer husband and a river-born wife (the sacred Ganges), which was delicately turned into a compliment, when describing the local river Śālimā on whose bank Kōṅgōda, the capital of their kings, was situated. "On its banks covered with flowers of excellent trees," said the eulogist, "pools of water have formed resembling the river of gods (Gaṅgā), which issued from the sky and the streams of whose waters are split and dashed outside by masses of rocks." Bereft of the allegory, this would signify that a brave mountaineer of Orissa married a Gaṅga-vanish lady and their son became the founder of a new dynasty. By a similar process the Anḍavaṇiśa family was evolved from a peacok-hen's egg. A scion of the Śilāvaṇiśa left his parental home and went to the country where peacocks (Mayūra) abounded, which gave to the people of that locality the appropriate name of Māyūrikas, as found in the Rājim stone inscription of Jagapāladeva. He defeated them and thus became the Mayūrabhaṇja (breaker of Māyūras) and in due course married a Māyurika, a local lady, whose

1 [The attribute svarākṣasātipravasi given to Yaśahbāṇja in I. 11, Plate K, is very significant and may lead one to surmise that he defeated one of the Western Chānlkya kings of Kaliyāni, perhaps Jagadēkamalla II himself or one of the feudatories.—H. K. S.]
3 Above, Vol. VI, p. 143 ff.
5 Above, Vol. VI, p. 146.
8 Above, Vol. IX, p. 42.
pregnancy became the founder of a new dynasty. A Mâyurkī, literally pea-hen, lays eggs and, therefore, her offspring must be anājaḥ or born of an egg. The peacock became the family totem and that is why there is still a strict prohibition against killing peacocks in the Mayūrabhaṇja State.

Postscript.

It was after I had sent my article to the Government Epigraphist on 6th May 1923 that I received a letter from Mr. McLeod Smith, Dewan of Mayūrabhaṇja State, dated 21st May 1923, in which, besides giving certain local information in reply to my queries, he was good enough to add that in 1916 a copper-plate grant was found at Khanḍadeuli in Parganā Khāntā Pir of the Bāmanghāṭi sub-division, and was published in the 4th volume of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society which I had not consulted at all. This led to a research which brought to light as many as three other grants of the Bhaṇja family, published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in Vol. II of the Journal, and a genealogy of the same dynasty as given by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the 3rd volume of the same Journal. Had these been before me when I was drafting the above article, the discussion in it would have assumed a somewhat different form, but it is now too late to recast it. I would, therefore, note here the salient points after inserting new names of kings in the genealogical table on page 286 above, and some geographical names in the Appendix, which deals with identification of places. For facility of reference letters L., M., N., O. and P. have been given to these records as follows:—

L. Tasapaiķerā grant of Raṇabhaṇjaḍēva by Mazumdar, J. B. O. R. S., Volume II, pp. 167 et seq.


N. Kumrakelā grant of Śatrubhaṇjaḍēva by Mazumdar, J. B. O. R. S., Volume II, pp. 429 et seq.

O. Khanḍadeuli grant of Raṇabhaṇjaḍēva? (Narėndrabhaṇjaḍēva) by Haraprasad Śāstri, J. B. O. R. Š., Volume IV, pp. 172 et seq.

P. Patna Museum grant of Raṇabhaṇjaḍēva of the 21st year by R. D. Banerji, Ep. Ind. (awaiting publication).

Only two records, M. and O., give new names of kings; M. gives Kanakabhaṇja, son of Durjayabhaṇja, who was son of Šolaabhaṇja. They belonged to the Bhaṇja branch ruling at Baudh and were possibly connected with Śatrubhaṇja II and his son Raṇabhaṇja II of A., B., C., L., N. and P. The Plate O. gives Narėndrabhaṇja, son of Prithvibhaṇja, son of Raṇabhaṇja I, son of Koṭṭabhaṇja, descended from Virabhadrā, the original ancestor of the Bhaṇjas.

In dealing with Plate M., Mr. Mazumdar has given a lengthy discussion on the dates of the Bhaṇja grants in general, and has come to the following conclusions:—

(1) The present chiefs of Mayūrabhaṇja and Keonjhar States have no connection with the inscriptionsal Bhaṇjas.

(2) There were several offshoots of the early Bhaṇjas, of which one ruled at Baudh and had under its sway the Baudh and Kimīḍi tracts during the times of Śatrubhaṇja II. These split up during the reign of his son Raṇabhaṇja II, who remained a feudatory at Baudh, while a descendant of Nētṛibhaṇjaḍēva established a new line of rulers at Kimīḍi.

(3) Kanakabhaṇja flourished about 1475 A.D. His line was independent of Raṇabhaṇja II.

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1 [That would be Mâyūrī or Mâyūrikā, but not Mâyurki. The latter, if connected with Mâyuraka, will have a different connotation for which see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dict. under Mâyuraka.—Ed.]

2 [The two Bhaṇja grants from Daspalla which Mr. B. Bhattacharyya has edited in the same journal (Vol. VI, pp. 260 ff.) are also to be added to this list.—Ed.]
Mr. R. D. Banerji, reviewing Mr. Mazumdar's discussion, declared the date assigned to Kanakabhañjia as absolutely impossible on paleographical grounds. 'We cannot,' he said, 'admit the existence of a Rañabhajña in 1200 A.D., because the Rañabhajña of the Bāman-gḥāṭi grant was living in the third quarter of the 11th century, according to Mr. Mazumdar, and paleography shows that Rañabhajña (II), son of Sātrabhajña (II), is earlier than Rañabhajña (I), son of Dīghabhajña (I). Mr. Banerji would place Kanakabhañjia in the beginning of the 12th century A.D.'

It would thus appear that the Bhañja chronology still remains a subject of great controversy, but, although I do not find sufficient reasons in support of Mr. Mazumdar's theory dissociating the present families of Mayṭrabhañjia and Keonjhar States from the inscriptional Bhañjas by relegating their origin to an adventurer of Rājputana, I agree with him as regards the date of Rañabhajña (II), about the end of the 12th century A.D., until Mr. R. D. Banerji establishes his contention, for which he says he is ready. Kanakabhañjia may or may not have been very far removed from Rañabhajña (II); but the mere fact that Kanakabhañjia's two ancestors only are mentioned in Plate M. does not warrant the conclusion that his grandfather was not connected with the Bhañjas known to have been previously ruling at Bandh. It is true that the Bhañja family sent out several offshoots and they became rulers of different tracts, but at present there is nothing to show that Kanakabhañjia's line was a distinct one and supplanted Rañabhajña (II)'s. Again, the adoption of the Kāṣyapa-gōtra in place of the old 'Anuṣṭaṇa' or egg-born is no proof of disparity in view of the accepted rule that 'he who has no gōtra belongs to the Kāṣyapa-gōtra.' Kanakabhañjia belonged to a much later date than his original ancestor. He must have noticed the contempt with which the origin from an egg must have been looked upon in his time. The easiest thing for him or his immediate predecessors was, therefore, to relegate themselves to the sage Kāṣyapa, to which nobody could raise an objection.

By a misreading of the word Khimjāli as Khīṇḍini or Khīṇḍini Mr. Mazumdar was led to identify it with Khimiḍi and consequently to the conclusion that a branch of the Bhañja family held sway there. In essence he is not very far from the truth, in that a branch belonging to the line of Nēṭribhañjia did rule in the Gajjām District, the eastern portion of which was certainly under the Bhañja sway, as a number of villages granted were situated in the Gumātar, Aska and Chatrapur taluks to which Khimiḍi in the same district adjoins towards the west. Khimiḍi may or may not have been included in the Bhañja dominions, but it was certainly not of such an importance as to have induced the kings to adopt the title of 'Lords of Khimiḍi.' The title 'Lords of both the Khīṇḍinis (Keonjhar)' was an ancient one, and all the branches of the Bhañja family appear to have taken pride in calling themselves as such, irrespective of whether they continued to be rulers of that tract or not.

With due reverence to the learned Mahāmahāpāḍhāya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., C.I.E., who has edited the charter O., which he calls 'Khāṇḍadeul inscription of Rañabhajjanadēva,' I may perhaps be permitted to state that his descriptive title is inaccurate. The grant should have been described as one of Naṅdrabhañjjanadēva, who was the real grantor and not his grandfather Rañabhajjanadēva. The latter comes in merely as one of the several ancestors of the donor. The text reads: ²—

1 The only dated Bhañja charter yet found (D) bears the date 288 which Mr. Mazumdar assigns to the Chōja-Gaṅga era. It is thus equivalent to 1060 A.D. ² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV, p. 176.
FOUR BHAJA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS:
H-Ganjam Plates of Netribhanjadeva.

i.

ii.a.

ii.b.
The language is defective no doubt, but it is clear that the words स and चर्चामि: in the above extract refer to Narëndrabhaññadæva1 and not to Rañabhaññja. The above extract is preceded by verses giving the genealogy of the Bhañña kings from Virabhadrâ to Rañabhaññja, apparently taken from a charter composed during the time of Rañabhaññja in which the last line stood as follows:—

argsamjñâya: sàtv(y) ñ prâh bûpâlân!  

It appears that the word prâh has misled the above-named scholar. It was suited to the time when it was composed and not to the one when it was adopted by his grandson’s grant-writer. The latter’s composition in prose quoted above is an index of his poor knowledge of Sanskrit, although to the best of his ability he endeavoured to convey his meaning by repeating argsamjñâya: after the close of the quotation in verse and connecting him with his reputed son tasya cîyita-kâlê: whose sun or son was narendra-kadév:. And स (he, viz., the latter) was the person who granted the village.

H.—Ganjâm Plates of Nêtirbhâññadæva.

First Plate.

5 y êb vâ kâsânti (ê)kâmâ:  itâtâ-pâva(ê)kâmâ: ëb  
6 ñuña râjâcî yê bâmâ-bâsvê kâcâyâ-vârâvartâ: sursârti-  
8 v: prâkâ-tûg-rûkṣâ-bhûrä-bhûrajû  

Second Plate; First Side.

10 bhûsa-bhûmâ prôcî: cîyita-kâl-kâhu: ña sa rûpâ-  
11 vúkuddâ-sûtê: prûmâbha-ûkà râ-mâtâ-pâsa-prâ-dâna-prâ-dhân-  
14 kîlâ-sâsî-ôcâyânô cûryô-ônicû: prâ(â) bûvânu kâ-sâ vê-  
15 mânû nîvâsa-sâsanâpûvânu vâsyê mânâyata vî(sa)nâyita  

1 This is further confirmed by his name being inscribed in the medallion (seal ?) at the top, as communicated to me by Baba Kamâkhyâ Prasad Ban, Deputy Collector of Mayârâbhaññja State.
2 Expressed by a symbol. 3 Metro: Mâlivi. 4 Metro: Sârdulâcêriti.
5 [From cînî ... to kâsâ: scans as Argy.—Ed.]
17 भवतां एतिष्कायस्मरवा(म्वतो) ॥ "रात्रकशमबतुःथ(क्रीका) मापरि-

18 फँखातोऽभिम्बन्त[१°]ताप्पेलोऽम(न°)थ पुःथाय(भिक)हरिेयः ॥ ॥ वा-

Second Plate; Second Side.

19 वर्णवरणयः ॥ कष्टवाक्यः ॥ कौनिकमनवः ॥ चि-

20 सरिष(यो)षापारः (राय) विज्ञा(सा)समव[व°] [२°]जन्मनर[राय°] ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ चाहदेववरा-

21 नाथ जनव[व°]ख सुत । चरीनिलोक(तो) गोलकम(तो) ॥ ॥ ॥ चाहदेववरा-

22 में(मो) ॥ नाम भक्तचर्व[ः°] ॥ वच्च(स)जोशमावय[ः°]रुः । चावनवर भाल-

23 ना श्रव(यो) वातसावय[ः°] ॥ गुहा(य) चरीनिलोक(तो) । चाहदेववरा-

24 ख नाम भ(मो)क्षुङ्कुञ्जमस्मृतमहक्षुङ्कुञ्जिं भोजः ॥ ॥ ॥ तो-

25 दुः ॥ मम(स)द्विदेव ॥ श(यो)वडः ॥ नाना(सम्भ) ॥ ॥ [र°]लिङ्गपार-

पुष्पः ॥ वि-

26 चिना प्रियाणिदी(सम)भाभिकः । च(यो) वनाराजताः(री) यावात् चाहदेववर-

27 प्रायेन सवर्णाखापरिकायानि करते भस्मिणि-वेशरायोर-

28 वासु न केनचित्रानां य यात[श°] वस्त्रकुञ्जसमस्ताय नदाना-

Third Plate; First Side.

29 (दुः ॥) चहिराण्यैः दानसदमस्मृततोनमोदनोऽयः ॥ लक्ष्मीस्तिलिङ्गायम'भुजदिवात्-

30 दिलिपुअ(कुः) सुखमालय दानानार फलं पर्यायः ॥ परिपालनम् ॥ [२°] दा-

31 ख प्रक्षमाण्यः ॥ य(श°)ह्वितमसहा दत्ता राजभि-[श°] गारादिभि[श°] । यक्षय-

32 ख यदा सु(मो)मित्रस्वतः तदा फलं [४°] भा सु(शो)कलशंद्रः वः पर-

33 दृष्टि पार्विया । खरदानामस्मृतानां परदतातुपालन(न) [१°°] ख-

34 दत्ता(तत) ॥ परदताया यो चर्व वसु(स)स्थान [१°] स विहायो अस्मित-(भें)ख चित्र-

35 भि: सह पृष्टि ॥ [४°] यथ(विद्य) वर्ण(वि)संसारिय खर्मं मोदित शु(श°)-

सिद्ध: । च(यो)-

1 Punctuation superfluous.
2 [See f. n. 1 on p. 235 above.—Ed.]
3 This appears to be the name of the first donor; the second donor also bore the same name, his alternative name being Aucadava, the same as his grandfather's name. The meaning is rather obscure. What follows in the nominative should all have been in the dative, referring as it does to the description of dones of another gôtra.
4 Read ग्र.
5 These aksaras with punctuation are superfluous and should be omitted.
6 Metre: Pusanttilakâ.
7 The two letters तौ and तं have been cut off by the ring-hole of the plate, the former wholly and the latter partially.
8 This letter is cut off by the ring-hole of the plate.
FOUR BHAJGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS:
I-Ganjam Plates of Netribhanjadeva, with damaged seal.

i.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

iia.

9.

10.

11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

16.

iib.

17.

18.

19.

20.

21.

22.

23.

24.

SCALE 75.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.
FOUR BHANJA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

36. चेम्स चारुमन्त्रा च & एव नरकं प्रजेत [८७] दति कमलदाम्बु(कं) -
दित(वि)न्दुलोः।

37. ला(वा) वियमुचिन्त्य मन्त्रजयितवः [८८] सत्वामिदसुदा[न]तथा

38. दुहा(कुवा) नमि पुष्पः[९] परकोलयो विज्ञाया[ः]। [८८] सत्वामिदितो
राज(वा)

Third Plate; Second Side.

39. द्विकोष महसुमम्भालः[१०] लिखिततः स[१]निधिविशिलसः

40. राज(विजन)। ज(स)स्त्रोतिकाच्यायः[वि]कदुर्गच्छवीनाम्।। कालितिं माः

41. स्मायाः[ः]।

I.—Ganjām Plates of Nṛtrībhāṣijādeva.

First Plate.

1. भीः [११] स्वर्यः [११] जयतु कुशुम्भव(वा)श्रमाविधिंहः[ः]

2. स्वरसंपरिशीलोऽर्थोऽर्थावलिंहः[ः] शिलेवः [१२] जयसम्

3. भवान्त्रोत्ति श्रमाविधिंहः[ः] जननविधिंहः गोरः जयसम्

4. वि[१२] दस्य[१२] केषीरिव शेषं जयसम्: "प्रविज्ञातिः सत्वामिदितो

5. स्मायाः। प्राचीनस्तुतीत(सा)ज्ञातिति विक्षयम(सा)ज्ञाति

6. ताः[ः]। कुराटोल्लिङ्गः[ः] तता दव भुजा राजवति शेषिः[ः]

7. स्म सवर्थविविविदिती शुरुस्तिः[सा]श्रमाविधिः[ः] पाली शः [१२]

8. विवादविचारयाः[ः] कश्चि विवादविचारयाः[ः] प्राम्प्रतम्[ः]

Second Plate; First Side.

9. [ष]स्वरसंपरिशीलोऽर्थोऽर्थावलिंहः[ः] कश्चि श्रमाविधिः राजा निधिः[ः]

10. निधिः: भवान्त्रोत्ति[ः] श्रमाविधिः प्रयोगः

11. च: जीवनमुद्वीत नता जीवनमुद्वीत जीवनमुद्वीत [ः]

12. मात्स्यश्रमाविधिंहः श्रमाविधिंहः जीवनमुद्वीत श्रमाविधिः

13. कु[ः] श्रमाविधिः श्रमाविधिः[ः] नवनविधिः विवर्णरितिः

14. श्रमाविधिः यथविधिः सम्भविः विवर्णरितिः श्रमाविधिः

15. परीक्षाः निधिः[ः] श्रमाविधिः श्रमाविधिः श्रमाविधिः[ः]

16. परीक्षाः निधिः[ः] श्रमाविधिः श्रमाविधिः श्रमाविधिः[ः]

17. विवादविचारयाः[ः] कश्चि विवादविचारयाः[ः] प्राम्प्रतम्[ः]

Second Plate; Second Side.

18. भार्तराजपरम(वा)षु पुष्पाविधिः[ः] श्रमाविधिः[ः] श्रमाविधिः[ः]

19. प्राचीनस्तुतिः[ः] भार्तराजपरम[ः] श्रमाविधिः[ः] कश्चि श्रमाविधिः

1. ग्रंथे Puskaritgarh.
2. ग्रंथे Mātanī.
3. ग्रंथे Sādāsīvarājīdevī.
4. ग्रंथे Puskaritgarh.
5. ग्रंथे Mātanī.
6. [See footnote 6 on p. 295 above.—Ed.]
20 स्म(स्मारिमि) नमा(मु) केशवव शुत(त)यः सन्त्या(य)भवरद(द्रतय) सचिवारपुर्ण(स)।
21 रोह स्मिरिता प्रतिपादितो(वृ)भावभा: च(चा)चन्द्राविता(र) याब(तु)चावः
22 तमान्येन(स)स्मा भववाय(व)था(प)रिहारणारकरलेन सूक्ष्मः
23 स्मिरितागृहवस्नः(सम)भाविष्याधारात्मीयः [१] च(चा)भवनीक्रमसिद्धः
24 सदर्शनिर्वाहे दानमस्मभूवमोदीयः [१] लक्ष्मणः
25 स्मिरितानीविहसु(स)रचनानाया दाने फलं परयम् [१] प्रमाणः

Third Plate; First Side.

26 स्मिरितानीविहसु(स) उनकाठ धर्मशाले [१] बहुभविबुधया दत्त रा-
27 वारभी[१] भासाराधिष्ठि[१]। (१) यक्षगण यः[१] मूमकसता जन्तु
28 फलं [१] सा भूवनकल्पना या: परदेसी पार्श्ववः [१]। (१) खरोशा-
29 रत्नस्मर्मं(स) परदेसालं(न) [१] स्मृतिः परदेसां यो
30 चरोत वहसुरवः [१] स सिंहः(त)याय श्रीमल्लिका विधत(त)भीः
31 सह पवनेर [१] दिग्दिल(व)दिन(व)सहस्राणि खण्डे मोहेद्ध मूमिलः
32 क्षत्रियाचार्य च वानाचार्य च रंग्यां प्रेमेत् [१] इति
33 जातिकारणः
34 स्मिरितानीविहसु (स) विविधसिन्धवधनं भूत्याविविधं (१) सचालिनः(स)द्-
35 [सु] रत् [कट] तत्त्व सु(सु)धवा नविय चेय(चे)वैवेदः(व) परसीयवायः: [१] [१] सवः

Third Plate; Second Side.

35 स्मिरितानीविहसु(स) उनकाठ धर्मशाले चो — — — — सिंह[त]भी
36 सातिविनिष्कुजनेन(द)रे(र) [१] उदकाठे(काठ)वासा[वा] भ्राकुदमेदवः
37 लिखितं(त) जात्त्वकायः: [१] भवनीक्रमसिद्धः [१]

J.—Ganjam Plates of VidyadharaBallabhajadva.

First Plate.

1 चोः [१] जयंति कुशमवा(वा)श्रवणविवैभवच(च) शवित्तपरिवारी: [भद्रीकारीः]
2 चोः [१] बन्धनवा(वा)लुनाखरः [१] भविष्यनमस्मादारादश्वभवच(च) अदेरें(ए)कनकनक- [विभवएर]
3 गृहं विभवानेहं(वा) चरणः [१] भेद्याहिरव ये फणः [१] प्रविलस्ना- [विभवस्ना]
4 चोः [१] निधर्म(त)स्त्रोतचालकशक्तिः द्व लक्ष्मण विश्ववरता: [१] चतुर(चतु)देवो(देव)पवित्रधे-
5 मित्र इव भुजा राजस्थे ये बान(बान)सा: [१] तेजः च श्वाप्याविहरितः [१] सुर- [१]
Second Plate; First Side.

11 [ता*]पितुपादानुःसृतं मद्यमानसुकुलकलितंकी मद्यराज्यीनिविद्या-

12 धर्मसङ्गोत्तेजः असाही साहाबाज़सङ्गिनये यात्कालांसाहिनेयुः (३) विषषित्ति[न*] [विषषित्ति]।

13 सामाजिकिवालकितमीनिविद्यादि यात्कालः वरिष्ठिरि वी(ध)्यूति स-

14 म|[ब*]धापुति सवैः शिवमताकब्रमविधिविदमताति विद्यात(ता) एति-डि-

15 व[यस*]कः (ध)सू(ध)सस्माङ्काद्यायं (६) च तुस्तीमांगविद्याति (ध)।

16 मानानि (ध)रामनं गुणाय (ख) मिदवि शे मान (ध) चंद्रानंके (ध) रावत स-

17 धारापुरमार्गेण विधिना चक्रावर्ते न*] वाजस्मेयमार्गाय रोहिताम-

18 समग्राय रोहिताम [च] धर्मसंबुल्कम्पर्याय विश्वामित्वत च[ध*] -

19 श्रवणत् रोहितामाय धर्मसंबुल्कम्पर्याय वरसिष्ठिरि (विषषित्ति) शमस्म (शष्य) तिदसमावि-

Second Plate; Second Side.

20 समाजाविन्द्रजयिर(ध) श्रम्यनि नास(ध) देवकिनमणयः।

21 सुभभुपञ्चरः प्रतिपादिताबाहिरः (३) वयः यद्य सु(ध)मिस्त-

22 स्तत्तिय सदा वर्ते (१७) मासुध(सु)फलागः व:*] परदस्तानुपातः

23 दत्ता (ता) परदत्ता (ता) या यो रहित(ि) वसुरामन (स) | ख(स) विग्रहणां (वि) ग्रहित(ि)।

24 ला पितविहार पचासे [१४] रहितकमलदकः (हु)मु(हु)।

25 वि (वि)न्योत्सा (ति) शिवमयकित्विद्या मन्त्रेयोविविचार [१४] स-

26 कल्पितमुदुः (ति) च दुः (ति) वा न दृष्टि पुरुषेऽः (१४) परको-

Third Plate.

27 सद्यों विलोक्यां (ध) [२५] रहित [२५] लाभित रौढ़ित (चिर)कल्पितमां (म-)

28 धर्म (ध)विष्णु भीष्मां (स)कबेर (ध)के देवेन || वाच्यकक्षाचारिक(के)न

1 Metre: Sārdālaavikridita.
2 Read जातीमिक्षा.
3 Delete त [as well as य at the commencement of the line.—Ed.]
4 Here some words appear to have been omitted through oversight. Apparently the correct reading was भाषाधारिणिमाधित्यसङ्गी.
5 Punctuation unnecessary.
6 [See foot-note No. 2 on p. 285 above.—Ed.]
7 Probably युः.
8 [Delete ख —Ed.]
9 Read स्वास्थ्य भाजपुरेन.
10 Mahārāja Pushpātāgra.
K.—Antirigām Plates of Yasābhāṇajadēva.

First Plate.

1.भीः सरस [ः] चार्योद्विजिनिवेशविश्वाराघवाम्।

2.संवेशस्विपपम्या

3.बम्ब्रय श्यायमस्यतः तत चतुर्द्वारा विभ्रमितार्चितिः।

4.विनाशविरुचिः नीतिशक्षेत्रः।

5.प्रवाहः [ः] संबंधे वैदिकप्रेयस्यनिधिः भृगुतिमोचः।

6.शुभविविरतगान रावणं मन्तवाः।

7.धृतीरथी राजस्त्रिनिविरुचिः।

8.ख[ः] वर्षयाराजः।

9.दीर्घमूः दृष्ट। [ः] चार्योद्विरुचिः।

10.सद्यकारः [ः] प्रथयोद्वितिः।

Second Plate; First Side.

13.राजस्विनिर्देश यथ चार्योद्विस्तारः।

14.देवभृगुकारः।

15.वनविवर्तनीय अश्रुकरः।

16.सतमित्रविरुचिः।

17.य[ः] भृगुविजयस्तवस्यमुख्येष्वराय[ः] वस्त्रकस्दरः।

18.पाषाणस्त्रीयः श्री[ः] चकवादिवास्य च मतस्मस्य समस्मे जयावास्यां।

1. Expressed by a symbol.
4. Read दसतावास.
FOUR Bhanja Copper-Plate Grants:
K-Antirigam Plates of Yasabhanjadeva.

i.

ii.

iii.

Hirananda Sastri

Scale: 5

Survey of India, Calcutta.
Four Bhana Copper-Plate Grants.

Second Plate; Second Side.

23 भूमिदानविधानेर सततपिताराजसः स्वयंचाँ च पुक्तविविभे। रोहितावः
24 श्रमयथवथभूमिभावमिविनियमात्य कोष्टरावकूल विवाहान्नोपायात्य
25 वाम्पावस भूरादाजोषापारिष्ठवा(वा) इसलभाराजान्त्रिप्रवाह नरुद्वारः
26 ज्ञनी भूरादनवसोकावारिष्ठवा च भूमिदानविधानेरसः ज्ञानिनिविषपीचाय
27 श्रमयथवथभूमिभावमिविनियमात्य कोष्टरावकूल विवाहान्नोपायात्य
28 रोहितावः स्वयंचाः पुपस्तापेश विशिष्टस्त(क्र्म) यन्त्रनालापारिष्ठवा चेतोः
29 दुक्कैन प्रदत्तः(त)। न्यथा न्योगिनवन्नतः। भाविभाप्य नययशमिदंदामिदामि
30 ज्ञानी भूमिदानवसोकावारिष्ठवा स्वयंचाः पुपस्तापेश विशिष्टस्त(क्र्म)
31 न्यथा न्योगिनवन्नतः। नययशमिदंदामि
32 गरादिभि: [१०] यथयथ्न यदा भूमिदानवयथवथ तदा फलः [१०]
33 यथ भूमि(विक) प्रवचनम् [१०] अभी तो पुपस्तापेश विनियोगी श्रमयथवथभूमिभावमिविनियमातः
34 श्रमयथवथभूमिभावमिविनियमातः। ज्ञानिनिविषपीचाय: [१०]
35 तथा: [१०] न्यथा न्योगिनवन्नतः। ज्ञानिनिविषपीचाय: [१०]
36 ज्ञानी भूमिदानवसोकावारिष्ठवा स्वयंचाः पुपस्तापेश विशिष्टस्त(क्र्म)
37 न्यथा न्योगिनवन्नतः। नययशमिदंदामि
38 दु:क्कैन प्रदत्तः(त)। न्यथा न्योगिनवन्नतः। नययशमिदंदामि
39 गरादिभि: [१०] यथयथ्न यदा भूमिदानवयथवथ तदा फलः [१०]
40 चूड़ा न च पुपस्तापेश विनियोगः: [१०]
41 ज्ञानी भूमिदानवसोकावारिष्ठवा स्वयंचाः पुपस्तापेश विशिष्टस्त(क्र्म)
42 यथ भूमि(विक) प्रवचनम् [१०] अभी तो पुपस्तापेश विनियोगी श्रमयथवथभूमिभावमिविनियमातः

Third Plate.

1 The letter ख्य is inserted above the line.
### APPENDIX.
Geographical names in the records of Bhañja Kings of Orissa with identifications where ascertained.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation of the record and reference to its publication</th>
<th>Place of find.</th>
<th>Place whence issued.</th>
<th>Villages granted together with the Country or District in which they were situated</th>
<th>Grantee's residence and place whence he emigrated</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
(1α) Khāthyā whose head-quarters was apparently Khāthyā (which is untraceable and has probably merged into Machina Khanda), a *pargana* of the Baudh State. Khāthyā was included in.  
(1β) Khījohn-mandala = the present Keonjhar State. | Residence—  
(1) Amvasarasarā = Ambasarabhiṣṭa (?) in Sonpur State, about 12 miles from Baudh.  
Emigrated from—  
(2) Apilomulūri = ? | A. B. and C. mention Dhṛtipura as old capital. |
| B. Baudh grant of Raṇabhañja-jādeva. (Above, Vol. XII, pp. 332 ff.) | Landore in the Baudh State, now changed to Govindapur. | ..... | (2) Vīlāsīṅga = Bālaṅga, about 2 miles from Baudh and situated on the confines of the Māhanadi and Sālski = Sāliki in the Baudh State included in the—  
(2α) Khāthyā-vīkhaya = (1α) of—  
(2β) Khījohn-mandala = (1β). | Emigrated from—  
(3) Khāṭavāpali = ? | B. and C. speak of Ubhaya (both) Khījohn-mandala = Upper and Lower Keonjhar. |
(3α) Bārā = vīkhaya whose head-quarters Bārā is on the borders of the Sonpur State. | Emigrated from—  
(4) Alapagrama = ? | |
(5) Nūṅkola = ?  
(6) Jambupadraka = Probably Jamdarā, 8 miles west of Bāmanghaṭī.  
(7) Pananā = Pananā, 7 miles N. W. of Bāmanghaṭī included in the vīkhaya of—  
(4α) Korāṇḍiyā whose head-quarters is represented by Korāṇḍiyā, 5 miles from Khiching and of— | ..... | D. and F: both mention Kājījīnga Kotta or Kājījīnga, i.e., the fort Kājījīnga = Khiching, 90 miles from Bariyadā, as the residence of the king. His original ancestor is stated to have been living in Rājāśrama-tapōvāna = Kutija, 32 miles from Bariyadā. |

Jamālipī of Bā-

mangāhaṇi sub-

dn. of the May-

ūrōhaṇa State.

Khiṇjaṅga = Kich-

ing of the May-

ūrōhaṇa State.

(46) Dēvakūṇḍa whose head-quarters is represented by a place of the same name about 8 miles west of Bāman-

ghāti, 78 miles west of Baripāda, capital of the Mayūrōhaṇa State.

(8) Brahmāṇavāsti = Brahmāṇavās, 6 miles from Bāmanghāti in the Mayūrōhaṇa State situated in the visakha of—

(8a) Brahmāṇavāsti which is now represented by the Bāmanghāti sub-division.

(9) Tuṅdurāva = Tuṅdurā village in the Askā taluka of the Ganjām District situated in the visakha of—

(9a) Ramalavā, whose head-quarters was apparently at Raṇagāḍa in the Askā taluka.

F. Orissa grant of Vidyādhars-


Vaṇijvāka

Ditto

Gumsūr in the Ganjām District.

Gumsūr in the Ganjām District.

(10) Māḍhāṇagāma = Māḍhgaon in the Cuttack District situated in the visakha of—

(10a) Māḍhāṇagāma whose head-quarters was Māḍhgaon.

(11) Rāṭana = Rottongo in Gumsūr Taluk of Ganjām District situated in the visakha of—

(11a) Vāṇīdevī Ḫanaḍa whose head-quarters was Vāṇīdevapura, 4 miles from Rāṭana.

(12) Māḍhāṇagāma = (10) in the visakha of—

(12a) Māḍhāṇagāma Ḫanaḍa = (10a).

H. Ganjām grant of Nētrī-

bhaṣija-deva (just dealt with).

Ditto

I. Ganjām grant of Nētrī-

bhaṣija-deva (just dealt with).

Ditto

J. Ganjām grant of Vidyādhars-

bhaṣija-deva (just dealt with).

Ditto

In all the grants from F. to mainwindow is mentioned as the capital of the donors.

Emigrated from—

(5) Māṇḍāra = Māṇḍāra (?) in the Gumsūr Taluk situated in the visakha of—

(5a) Tāḍīsāmi or Tāḍi-

samī = Tāḍīsāmi (?) in the Gumsūr Taluk, 20 miles north of Māṇ-

dāra, included in the (5a) Vareghā (province) = ?

1 See above, p. 286, f. u. 1.

2 Ibid., f. u. 2.
### APPENDIX—concl.

Geographical names in the records of Bhañja Kings of Orissa with identifications where ascertained.

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<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K. Antirigam grant of Yasodhara (just dealt with).</td>
<td>Antirigam in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjam District.</td>
<td>Vanjulvaka</td>
<td>(14) Konya = Konomona in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjam District situated in the visñaya of—&lt;br&gt;(14a) Vedi whose head-quarters was Bodha Patthi, 3 miles from Konomona in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjam District.</td>
<td>(6) Residence Patavajapahatka = Patatupuram in the Chatrapur Taluk situated in the visñaya of—&lt;br&gt;(6a) Koutaravanga whose head-quarters is Kota-yagada in the Chatrapur Taluk, 8 miles from Patapatnam.</td>
<td>Jaipur is mentioned as conquered by this line of kings. It may be Jaipur Zamindari in the south.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Bandh grant of Kanakadhar. (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 350 ff.)</td>
<td>Bandh, capital of the State of the same name.</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>(16) Bahun =&lt;br&gt;(17) Bejaki =&lt;br&gt;(18) Jamarapura =&lt;br&gt;(19) Simhlapura =&lt;br&gt;included in—&lt;br&gt;(16a) Dharmapura tract and bounded on the east by Maharapura, on south and west by Kopasimha and on the north by Telanad = Tel river.</td>
<td>Emigrated from—&lt;br&gt;(10) Madhyadisa = Tract between Bengali and Orissa—&lt;br&gt;Residence.</td>
<td>Refers to the Bandh State as the kingdom of the family.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
M. Kumurkelā grant of Saurabhaśādyāva. (J. B. O. S. Vol. II, pp. 422 ff.) Kumurkelā of Sonpur State. (30) Kumurkelā still existing in the Sonpur State and

Khandadeuli grant of Rapanbhaśādyāva (sic) (Nārāndra-
Khandadeuli of Mayūr-

bhāṣa). (J. B. O. S. Vol. IV, pp. 172 ff.)

O. Khandadeuli grant of Rapanbhāṣādyāva. (Sp. Isd., awaiting publication.)

P. Patna Museum grant of Rapanbhaṣādyāva. (Sp. Isd., awaiting publication.)

(31) Jaināsārā? included in—
(20a) Khījijāla-maṇḍala = (15).
(20b) Uttarapalāli district = (15a).
(22) Bouli? included in—
(22a) Sīdhabhitā—vīśāya and Ut-

tarbhāṣa.
(28) Vāhiravāda on the Mahānādi included in—
(28a) Dakshinapali or the tract to the

south of the Mahānādi.

Emigrated from—
(12) Vāmākuti? Residence—
(13) Gandhaṭapāti? Refers to Khījijā-

la-Khīching.

Mentions Dātipura as the old capital of the Ubbaya-Khījijāla.

Notes.—With reference to the geographical places mentioned in the 4 records in hand it may be noted that Rottango, hereof its Oriya pronunciation, would be regularly Rātango, like Kodollabonko, which is no other than Kadalibosanta included in the Kudala taluka of the same district. Rātango was included in the Vāndevakhaṇḍa, whose reminiscence is left in Vāndevapur. Mācchhādagrama, or Mācchhādagrama of the Māchaṭakhaṇḍa or Māchaṭakhaṇḍa, has been the subject of a gift in 8 charters, G., H. & J., twice by Nāthīraṇa and once by Vīdāvāraṇa. This appears to indicate its great importance, as apparently the relatives of the doner's family were very anxious to get it back as often as his direct line failed. The name is very expressive, meaning, as it does, the village of fishes. It was the same time situated in a district having the name "a fish tract". But I could not find a name answering to it in the lists of Ganjam district villages. There is, however, in the Cuttack district a port named Māchaṭaṅga about 9 miles from the Devi estuary and about 40 miles from Gumār, which can well be our Mācchhādagrama and so I have identified it with that. Owing to the superabundance of fish in that tract, it was appropriately named Mācchhādagrama (the village of fish) and it retains its name intact with the exception of the superfluous ra (the Oriya genitive sign) dropped.

The doner in J. came from Mānmaṇḍ of the Taḍāsam or Taḍāsam-vīśāya. The latter appears to be named after the Taḍa or palm trees which abound in the Ganjam district. In the Gumār taluk there is a village Tāsānsi and another named Māṇḍarā. It would therefore appear that the first represents the village from which the vīśāya Taḍāsam took its name and the second the corruption of Mānmaṇḍ, something like the present Bhaṇḍāra representing the old Bhaṇḍāra (see Hirala's C. P. and Baror Inscriptions, page 107). The charter K. gives a number of geographical names, several of which must be sought for in the Chatrapur taluka, where the plates were found in a field, while ploughing, indicating that they had not been carried about from place to place at any rate for several years, which was the case. The village granted was Konaṭīya likely to be corrupted into Kontaṭīya, which in the Oriya mouth would become Konoṭi or Konoṭa, with post. The village granted was Konaṭīya likely to be corrupted into Konaṭīya, which in the Oriya mouth would become Konoṭi or Konoṭa, with post.

[Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari would identify the Mācchhādagrama or Mācchhādagrama, the Tīhāra, the Bhaṭṭa-Nirūla, and the Uttarāṣṭha villages of these grants with Mājhiḍā in the Berlampur, Tīkkaraṇagā in the Gumār, Nūmā in the Aska and Uttaraiillī in the Parliakmedi talukas of the Ganjam district respectively.—Ed.]
No. 30.—THE MUNGIR PLATE OF DEVAPALADEVA: SAMVAT 33.

By Lionel D. Barnett.

This charter was first published in the year 1788, in Vol. I of the Asiatick Researches, p. 123 ff. where a lithographic reproduction and an attempt at translation were presented. About that time the plate disappeared. In 1892 the late Professor Kielhorn republished the text with a corrected translation in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, p. 254 ff., on the basis of the edition in the Asiatick Researches; as will be seen, he accomplished the task with his wonted skill and success. But no trace of the original plate could be found.

Recently, while repairs were being made in Kenwood House, a dirty and discoloured metal plate inscribed with Indian characters was found hidden away between a beam and the roof. It was brought to me for identification, and I at once recognised it as the long-lost charter of Devapaladeva. Then Mr. Plenderleith, of the Science Laboratory attached to the British Museum, came to my aid and skillfully removed the accumulated grime and rust of many generations, so that it is now restored to its original condition, a fine and almost perfectly preserved specimen of medieval Indian metal-work. It seemed desirable to publish a photographic facsimile with an emended transcription of the text, and I have been permitted to do this by the kindness of the Right Honourable the Earl of Iveagh, G.C.V.O., Senior Trustee of the Kenwood Estate.

The plate is of thick copper, measuring 18 1/4 inches in height and 13 3/4 inches in width. On the top of it is soldered a seal, 6 1/2 inches high and at the base 7 1/2 inches wide; in the central panel of this is the well-known Sarnath device, the dharma-chakra with two antelopes at the sides, under which is the royal name, Sri-Devapaladevasya. It is in excellent preservation: with the exception of a very few unimportant syllables, the characters are as cleanly cut as when the plate came from the engraver’s hand. The script is typical of the region and date; the letters are about 1/4 of an inch in height. It is needless to treat of the contents, as they are fully discussed in Kielhorn’s paper.

The main part of this document, scil. from the beginning to kārya uti, l. 46, is duplicated in ll. 1-42 of the Nālandā plate published in Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 310 ff. The divergences are few and slight, and I have only noticed the more important.

**TEXT.**

First Side.

1 Ōṁ svasti | Siddhārthasya par-ārtha-sushtih
2 matēḥ san-mārgam-abhyasyatas-siddhiḥ-siddhām-
3 nutterāṁ-bhagavatas-taaya prajāau kriyāt | yas-traidhātuka-sat[t*]va-siddhi-padavir-
   atyugra-vir-yādayā-jitvā nirvṛiti-
4 m-ṣasāda sugataḥ san-sarvva-bhūm-śvarah || [1*] Saubhāgyan-dadhad-atulam
   śriyas-sapanyā Gōpālaḥ patir-abhavad-vasu-
5 ndharāyāḥ | dṛṣktāntē sati kṛitīnām surajāi yasmin-sraddhēyāḥ Prithu-Sagar-ādayā-
   py-abhūvan || [2*] Vijitya yēn-ā jaladhēr-vasundha-
6 rāu vimočitā mōgha-parigrāhā iti | sa-vāśpam-udvāśha-vilōchanān-punar-vvanāh
   va(ba)ndhūn-dadrihu(sur)-mataṅga-jāh || [3*] Cha-
7 latay-anantēha va(ba)śēhu yasaya visvambhārayā niḥitaṁ rajēbhiḥ | pāda-prachāra-
   khamam-antariksham-vihaṅgamānām suchirām-va(ba)bhūva || [4*]

1 From the original plate.  
2 [The letter looks more like ṛa than ra—Ed.]  
3 Denoted by a symbol.  
4 The Nālandā plate (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 318) has sara-ārtha-bhūm-śvarah, which is probably right.
Mungir Plate of Devapala: the 33rd Year
Scale: One Third Linear of the Original

A.—Obverse
8 Šastr-ārtha-bhājā chalatō-nusāya varṇāṇ-pratishṭhāpayatā sva-dharmam | āri-
Dharmmapāliṣṇa sutēna sō-bhūt-svarga-shtītānām-anraṇāh
9 pitṛṇām || [5*] Achalair-iva jaṅgamair-yadiyair-vichaladdhir-dvīradai kada-
thyamānaḥ | nirupapalavam-amva(mba)raṁ prapędē ās-
10 raṇañāh reṇu-nibhēna bhūta-dhātrī || [6*] Kēdārē vidhin-ōpayukta-payasāṁ Gaṅgā-
samēt-amvu(mbu)dhau Gaṅkara-ādishu chāy-pa-anu-
11 shtītavatāṁ tirthēshu dharmmyāḥ kriyāḥ | bhṛtyāṇāṁ sukham-ōva yasya-
sakalāṁ-uddha[ri*]tya dushṭan-imāṁ lōkān-sā-
12 dhayatān-nushaṅgā-ōjanitā siddhiḥ paraṁ-ōpy-abhūt || [7*] Tais-tair-dig-vijay-
āvāsāna-samyē samprēśhitānām-paraiḥ sa-
13 tkāraīr-apiṇaḥ khēdam-avahitāṁ svāṁ svāṁ-gatānāṁ bhuvam | krītyam-bhāvaya-
tāṁ yadiyam-uχitaṁ prītya nṛpiṇāṁ-abhūt-sūṁ-
14 tkaññthāṁ bhrīdayam divās-çhuyatavatāṁ jāti-smarāṇāṁ-iva || [8*] Śri-Parava(ba)-
lasya duhiyē kṣhti-patina Rāshaṭrakūṭa-litikasāya |
15 Rappādyyaḥ pāṇip-jāgrīḥ griha-mēdhinā tēna || [9*] Dhrīta-tanur-īyāṁ Lakṣmē-
sākṣhāt-kṣhtīr-nu āśtrīṇī kim-avani-pateḥ
16 kirttīṁ-mārttā-thavā hāī griha-dēvatā [1*] iti vidadhatī śuchy-āchārā vitarkavatī-
praṇjav praṇāti-gurubhū yā suddy-āntāṁ guṇai-
17 r-akarōd-adhaḥ || [10*] Ślōgyā patrīvat-āsau muktā-ratnaṁ samudra-śuktr-iva
śri-Devapāladēvarī prasanna-vṛttāṁ2 sutam-asūta || [11*]
18 Nirmanal manai vāchi saññayathā kāya-karmnaṇi cha yaḥ sthitaḥ śuchau
rājyam-āpa nirupapalavam pitur-vō(bō)dhi-sat[t*]va-ya
19 . sugataṃ padam || [12*] Bhrāmyadbhūr-vijaya-kremaṇa karibhis-tām-ēva Vindhy-
ātvām-uḍdāma-plavamāṇa-vāshpa-payasā dvī[shēh] punar-vā(stä)ndha-
20 vāḥ | [] Kamvō(mbō)jēshu cha yasya vājī-yuvabhir-dvast-āṃyā-raj-ausāo hēshā-
miśrita-hāri-hēshita-ravāḥ kāntās-charaḥ vikṣhitāḥ3 || [13*]
21 Yaḥ pūrvvaṃ-Va(Ba)линā kriṣuḥ kriṣa-yuṣā yēn-āgamad-Bhrāgasvār-trēṭāyāṁ prahā-
thaḥ priya-prapayinā Karṇaṇa yō dvāparē vichchhinnaḥ kali-
22 nā Śaka-dvishi gati kālaā lōk-āntaraṇ yēna tyāga-pathaḥ sa ēva hi punar-
vispaḥṣam-unmilitaḥ || [14*] A(A) Gaṅ-āgama-mahītā-
23 t-ēapata-sūnyām-a Śētun-prathita-Deāśaya-kētō-kirttēh | urvīm-ō Varuṇa-nikē[t*]nāḥ-
cha sindhōr-a Lakṣmī-kuḷa-bhavanāch ca yō
24 vu(bu)bhōja || [15*] Sa khalu Bhāgirathi-patha-pravarttamā-nanvīdhu-nau-vājaka-
spāḍita-śētu-va(ba)ndha-niḥita-saila-sēkhara-ērē-
25 qī-vibhramān-niratisāya-ghana-ghanāghana-gaṭḥā | śyāmāyamāna - vāsara - Lakṣmī-śamē-
ravdha(bdu)-santā-jalada-samya-sa-
26 ndēhēt | udichēn-ānēka-nara-pati-prābhītikrēt-āprāmēyā-haya-vāhini-khara-khur-ōkkhēt-
dhīl-dhūsarita-dī-
27 g-antarālēt | paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyēt-āsēshā-Jamvō(mbō)dvipa-bhūpāla-pāḍēta-bhara-
namad-avanēḥ | śri-Mudgagiri-samāvā-

1 The elision of a is denoted by an eṣeṣṭha.
* Kielhorn read prasanna-cādtraḥ, and this is supported by the Nālandā plate, 1.16. But our plate has distinctly vṛttamaṃ.
* Our plate has ekāya-sthāhīd, as was read by Kielhorn; the Nālandā plate however has chūra-prāṇīth, 1.13.

29
28 sita-śrīmāj-jaya-skandhāvārāt parama-saugata-paramesvara-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj-ādhirāja-śrī Dharmanāpāla
dēva.
29 pād-ānudhāyaḥ parama-saugataḥ paramesvara-parama-bhaṭṭārakō mahārāj-ādhirājaḥ śrīmān-Dēvanāpāla
dēvaḥ kuśaliḥ
30 Śrīnagara-bhuktaū Kṛimilā-visthāntaḥ-pātīva-svā samvā(mba)dīh-āvichchhina-ta-lopēta-Māshikā-grāmē samapagatā
di
31 na(n) sarvveva rāṇakaḥ rāja-putraḥ amātyaḥ mahākārttikīti rājā mahā
danaṭaṇāyaḥ māhā-prathāra-mahā-sā
32 mantaḥ mahādauḥsādhasādhanikāḥ mahā-kumār-amātyaḥ pratimātri sarbaḥaṅga rājasthāniyaḥ upaṇikā dāśā
33 parādhika chauroḍdharaṇikā dāṇḍika dāṇḍapāśikā śaulkika gaulmikā kha
dh(ka) trapā prāntapālā kōṭṭapālā
di
34 khaṇḍaraṅghaḥ tadbhūmikā vininuktakaḥ haṣṭavāva(ha)va(ka)va(ka)va(ka)va pratiṅkata
35 ka gamāmakā abhiṣṭyasaṃmāṇa viṣhaya-pati tara-pati tarika Gauḍa-Mālav
dha-Khaṇḍa-Kūlikā-Kaṇḍa-Lāṭa-čaita-bhaṭa
36 sēvakādinaḥ anyāmś-ch-āśkrūttitān svā-pāḍapadm-ōpājavīnaḥ pratīvāsinaḥ-cha vra
d (brāhma-ōttarān mahattara-kupuṃvi(mḥi) purūga-mēdā

Second Side.
37 Īndhra-Śaṃplā-paryantān samajī(ā)pāyati Viditam-a
38 stu bhavataṁ yathaparīkita-Māshikā-grāmā sva-si
40 parādhaḥ sa-chaurōddharanāḥ parirhita-sarva-pīḍaḥ a chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśā kiṣkītī pragāryā rājakuvāya-śrī parītya-samā
di
41 to bhūmi-āvichchhina-āvichchhina-Śākha-khiti-sama-kālaḥ pūrvvā-datta-bhukta-bhuvajamāna-āv-i-traya(vra(-bhra-ma-deya)-vājītītītīḥ maṃa-pitṛ-varma-sāmanas-cha pu-
di
42 Ṥya-yasyābhiṣṭvīddhayā vēd-a[rtha]-vidō yajvanā Bhaṭṭa Viśvarātasya paurāya vedy-āvadāta-chētaśo Bhaṭṭa[pravara-]* Viśvarātasya puṛāya
43 pada-vākya-pramāṇa-vidyā-pāram-gataya Aupamanyavasa-gr(ō)praṇa Āśrayana-
44 sāsanikriyā pratipādaḥ [*] Yatō bhavadbhiḥ sarvva-eva bhūmēr-dāna-phalā-uardad-apaharaṇaḥ mahā-naraka-pāta-bhayāḥ cha dānam-i
di
45 dam-anumōdaya pāḷlapāḷiyān pratīvāsibhiḥ khaṭēkrakaraiḥ ch-ājśaś-rāvaṇa-vihīyār- bhātīvā samuchita-kara-hiranya-ādē-ādī-sarvva-pratīvā-ōpāna
46 yaḥ ka(a)rya iti [Sa]mvat 33 Mārge-dīnē 21 Tathā cha dharm-ānuṣāsa(ā)naṣāśākāh Sarvānātāni bhāvānā pariṃvēndrān

1 [The symbol seems to read nīṇa.—Ed.]
2 The elided n is denoted by an oṣṭrī.
3 [Like the Nālandā plate, this charter clearly gives saṃskṛta before pratīṣṭha. Kielhorn was doubtful about the reading of this word. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p, 256, j. n. 3a.—Ed.]
4 [* I think the text reads kālā as it does in the Nālandā plate, L 36, cf. other nasal symbols for háthās in ll. 38 and 61.—Ed.]
5 Read Ābhudāyana.
6 So read in previous editions: the letters are no longer legible.
Mungir Plate of Devapala: the 33rd Year

Scale: One Third Linear of the Original

B.—Reverse
No. 31.—TEKKALI PLATES OF DANARNAVA'S SON INDRAVARMAN.

By E. HULTSZCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Ink-impressions of this inscription were kindly made over to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates belong to Sri L. N. Deb, Esq., Yubraj of Tekkali in the Ganjām district of the Madras Presidency. These are "three copper-plates, each measuring about 51" in breadth and 22" in height, and strung on a ring of the same metal. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner face, and the third plate bears only one line of writing on the outer face. The plates do not appear to have had raised rims. The ring is 3" in diameter and is fixed in a circular seal measuring 9" in diameter, on which is engraved the worn figure of a standing bull with raised hump, facing the proper left. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 60 tolas."

The writing on the plates is in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of other early grants of the Ganges of Kalinga. The letters त and न have the same shape as in the majority of them, while in one of the grants of Indravarman the ब closely resembles the ल. The जन्मी is employed in line 18, and the upadāmya five times. A final form of म occurs in line 27. The group वै is written correctly in line 10, but is expressed by व in lines 3 and 31. In line 30 occur the numerical symbol 100 and the two decimal figures 5 and 4. The language of the inscription is on the whole very correct Sanskrit prose, with three verses sung by Vyāsa, quoted in lines 25-29. Line 14 contains a few Dravidian words (amba-achchi-pot).

The date of this inscription (l. 30) is the year 100 54-154; i.e. the first of the three figures is expressed by the numerical symbol '100', and the two remaining figures are decimals. This fresh date induced me to re-examine the year of the Chisacle plates of Dēvindravarman, son of Guṇārṇava, which I had originally read as 100 80 3. Kielhorn noted already that the middle figure is certainly not the numerical symbol '80', but the decimal '8'. The third figure of the year does not resemble the usual form of '3'; but, as the date is recorded also in words, it must be meant for '8'. Bühler solved this little problem in a very ingenious manner by explaining

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the figure ' 3 ' of these plates as an abbreviation of loka, ' the (three) worlds '. Hence the year is in reality 100 83 = 183. The day of the same grant consists of the decimal figure ' 2 ' followed by a cipher (0) = 20. If we now re-examine the date of the Purle plates of Indravarman, son of Dānārāṇya, the year turns out to be (not 100 40 9, but) 100 37 = 137, and the day 20 0 = 20; and the year of one of the Chicacole plates of Indravarman is not 100 40 0, but 100 38 = 138, and its day is 10p (still expressed by a numerical symbol). If we go back to the other Chicacole plates of Indravarman, we find that both the second figure of the year and the first figure of the day are expressed by numerical symbols: 100 20 8 = 128, and 10 5 = 15. Subsequently to 100 83 = 183, the year of the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava, even the first figure ceases to be represented by a numerical symbol and is expressed by a decimal in 195, the year of the Śiūdhāntam plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava. The day of the same grant is 5p (changed unnecessarily by the editor into [p]w). I may be excused for having gone into such details, because this digression will in future induce editors, including myself, to be more careful and methodical in handling the dates of the Eastern Gāṇgas.

I shall now recapitulate the years of some of the earlier Gāṇga grants, at the end of which the names of certain officers are mentioned.

No. I. Urīlam plates of Hastivarman, sumnamed Rājasiṃha or Raṇabīha (above, Vol. XVII, p. 333). Year 80 0 = 80, in words and figures. Written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra.

No. II. Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman, sumnamed Rājasiṃha (above, Vol. III, p. 129). Year 80 7 = 87, in words and figures. Written by the same officer.


No. VI. Tekkali plates of Indravarman, son of Dānārāṇya (the subjoined grant). Year 100 54 = 154, in figures alone. Engraved by the same officer.


From the preceding list it follows that Nos. I—III were written by Vinayachandra. No. IV was engraved by his son Āditya, Nos. V and VI by Khandichandra, son of Āditya, and No. VII by Sarvachandra, son of Khandichandra. In this manner, the names of these menials become an important confirmation of the correctness of the dates of their masters. Moreover, No. V was written by the Sarvādhikrita Śāmbapuropādhyāya, son of the Hasyadhyaksha Dharma-

chandra (ll. 29-31). In lines 29-32 of the subjoined grant (No. VI of the above list), the latter is stated to have been written by the same officer.

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1 Indian Paleography, translated by Fiesl, p. 78.
3 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 123. In column XV of the Table of Numerals in Bühler's Indian Paleography, the symbol ' 10 ' must be transferred to the line ' 3 '.
7 Cf. 10h in the Chicacole plates of Indravarman, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 123.
No. 31.] TEKKALI PLATES OF DANARNAVA'S SON INDRARVARMAN. 39

The executor (ājā) of this grant was the Mahāmahottara Hariśarman (l. 29 f.). The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Skandaśarman (l. 17), who lived at Garakōma (l. 15). The royal donor was Dānāravya's son, the Kaliṅga king Indrarvarman of the Gāṅga family, who issued this edict from his residence of Kaliṅganagara. He seems to have made the grant for the spiritual merit of his mother Achchipāti (l. 14). The grant was made at an eclipse of the sun (l. 15) in the year 154 (of the Gāṅga era) (l. 30). It consisted of a field at the village of Tūngamā (l. 11) or Tūngana (l. 21) in the district of Rūpyavatī (l. 11).

I am unable to identify either the village granted or its boundaries (l. 18-22). But the Rūpyavatī-viśaya (l. 11) may be connected with the [Rū]pavarttani-viśaya which contained the village of Sellāda. For, according to Mr. G. Ramadas, this village belongs to the Tekkali Tāluk, and the subjoined grant is preserved at Tekkali.

TEXT.*

First Plate.

1 तीरितः सास्ति [II] सतन्तरसमयीयाजयोनिवासाचिनिन- 2 शीघ्रामर्दीनार्त्ययोजनामिश्रिततस्म चारचार- 3 रोशनकल्पवीण्यावैकसुचनदारस्य भवतो गोक्षणी- 4 स्वामिनयंगकल्पसब्जासमर्पणात्मविद्विजयस्य- 5 झो ग्राममिलकुऽत्यलो नवविनममयदासाधा। 6 भारापरिशिलांचिनन्तरसमर्पणविश्ववीर्यविश्वसङ्गस्यप्रतिनतत्तुभुविध- 7 सलिलरक्षितसुखावस्थनियासामायम्। चरितसम- 8 संयविधविजयशिष्यप्रतारोपनतसमास- 9 सप्तपुराणालमाक्षरोक्ष्यात्सिद्धं रसपाल- 10 सूचिकार रत्नपादान्ताश्रमविजयाइनालोकतपतीभाषा- 11 राजस्वविलयो रुष्यविविवेरूहारे संधेयवेष्टाभुज- 12 स्विनमधामयस्यविभागस्यविदितस्य यो गयासाथाय स्त- 13 स्व भूमिप्रचारकर्तांशनस्य स्वज्ञमहे परिशिल्रवां- 14 न्द्राप्रतिहार्या भूमिप्रचारकर्तारिण्यांचिनन्तरसामाय शालिक- 15 हवे सूचिकार रत्नपादान्ताश्रमविजयाय शालिक-

Second Plate; First Side.

Second Plate; Second Side.

16 तान्त्रिको वाचस्येयाश्रावःचार्यिणी वेदविद्यापारम- 17 य श्रमधेयसंग्राम [Ⅺ] तदेवविदितिलाभ यहांय भूमिसुखागम

* From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.
* Expressed by a symbol.
* Read राधिकाः.
* Read मा हवे.
* Read राधिकाः।
ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-12.) From the residence of Kalinagu (L. 1 f.), the worshipper of the god Gokarna-svamin (L. 3 f.) on the Mahendra mountain (L. 2), the ornament of the spotless family of the Gangas (L. 5), who has obtained the sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga (L. 6), the fervent devotee of Maheswara, who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father, the son of the glorious Danarpava, the glorious Maharastra Indravarman, commands (as follows) the ryots, accompanied by all (others), at the village of Tuangana in the Rupiyavati district (risha) (L. 9-12).

(Ll. 12-17.) "Be it known to you that (one) plough (hala) of land in this village, measured by the rod (used for) br.hmadayas, exempting (it) from the burden of all taxes, making (it) to last as long as the moon and the sun, has been granted, for the increase of the spiritual merit of (my) mother, the lady Achihipati, at an eclipse of the sun, with previous libations of water, to Skanda-sarman, who resides at Garakhonna (and) belongs to the guha of the Saptiylas, a student of the Vajasana (charapa), who has mastered the Vedas and Vedangas."

¹ Read द्रविषेण।
² Read नितिनामः।
³ Read perhaps पाचारः।
⁵ This line ends with a punctuation.
⁶ अप्पा (अन्नप्रार्थिन्याम) in Telugu means 'a mother', achchi in Kannarese the same, and bōli according to own's Telugu-English Dictionary 'a damsel'.
Tekkali Plates of Danarnava's son Indravarman.
and the marks of the boundaries of this field are to be known in the order.
To the east, the Vidyudganga. To the south, a row of boulders for (a
desa) the shadow of a man.1 To the west, the boundaries of Sarkaravataka:
the same Vidyudganga. And the water of the tank (taukka) of Tungan,
Kārakahasti and Brāhmaṇapālani (canals ?), enters this field until (the crop)
ripening.

[Ll. 24-28 contain three verses 'sung by Vyāsa'.]

(Ll. 29-31.) "The executor (ājñā) was the Mahāmahattara Hariśarman. 100 (ant)
54 years of the kingdom of increasing victory (had then passed). This edict (kāsa)
(was) written by the Sarvādikṣita Śrāmbapurāṇāvyāya, the son of the Hastyadhyakṣa
Dharmachandra, (and) engraved by Khanḍichandra, son of Aditya-Bhūg[īl]ka."

No. 32.—TEKKALI PLATES OF RAJENDRAVARMAN'S SON DEVENDRAVARMAN.

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

These plates belong to Sri Gopinath Deb, Esq., Second Prince of Tekkali in the Ganjam
District of the Madras Presidency. Ink-impressions of them were kindly forwarded to me by
Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. These are "three copper-plates, each measuring about
6¾" high and 2½" broad, and strung on a ring of the same metal. The first plate bears writing
only on the inner face. All the inscribed faces appear to have had raised rims, which are now worn
out. The ring is about 3½" in diameter and is fixed in a circular seal measuring 1¼" in diameter.
The seal is much damaged and broken on one side. It bears the figure of a seated bull, facing
the proper left. Below the bull is a lotus, of which only three petals are now visible. The three
plates, with ring and seal, weigh 85 tolas."

The writing on the plates is fairly well preserved and distinct, except where it has been will-
tfully tampered with by some person who erased and changed certain topographical and personal
names which the inscription must have contained originally. The alphabet closely resembles
that of the Alamanjā plates of the year 304.3 The language is very barbarous Sanskrit
prose, with two equally faulty verses 'sung by Vyāsa', which are quoted in lines 24-27.

The inscription4 records the grant of a village by the worshipper of the god Gōkarna-svāmin
(l. 5) on the Mahānanda mountain (l. 2 f.) and the ornament of the spotless family of the
Gaṅgas,—the Mahārāja Devendravarman, who was the son of the Mahārāja Rājendravar-
man (ll. 12-14). He addressed this edict from his residence of Kalinangara (l. 2) to the ryots
inhabiting a village whose name has been later on erased and replaced by the word Nā[j]ina
in Nāgari characters (l. 14). The name of the district in which this village was included has also
been tampered with, but may have been originally [Rūjapavartanī]. The name of the Brāhma-
ṇa donee seems to have been erased, but he was apparently a 'good poet' (su-kavi) and the son
of a 'great doorkeeper' (mahāprāthiham, l. 17). The description of the boundaries of the village
granted (ll. 20-23) has also been tampered with and cannot be restored in full.

2 This name was spelled Tunganasa in line 11.
5 Cf. above, p. 308.
Line 28 f. contains the date of the inscription. If the compound [saka]-mayē is explained as a clerical error for saka-trajē, it may be translated by: "In the year three-hundred and ten of the kingdom of growing victory of the Gāṅga race." Dévendravarmān, whose subjoined grant is dated in the year 310, might then have been a second son and successor of that Rājendravarmān whose first son, Anantavarmān, issued the Alamanḍa-plates of the year 304. The two names of the writer (l. 36) and of the goldsmith (akṣahydration) who engraved the edict (l. 31) remain doubtful and suspicious.

It will be seen that at present this whole document is of very small practical value. But I am publishing it with the hope that, in the light of future discoveries, it may still prove of some use in unravelling the tangled web of the Gāṅga genealogy and chronology.

**TEXT.**

**First Plate.**

1 [*[Oḍ]*] Svasya-Amara-pura-nukāripa[h*] sarva-rtu-sukha-ra]-

2 maṇi(ya)l-vijaya(ya)vata[ḥ*] Kalipinagara-vāsakaṇ-Mahā-

3 ndraṭha-āmalā-śikara-pratishṭatasya sa-char-śchara-gurūḥ]* sa-

4 kala-bhuvana-nirmāṇa-kṣetra-su(sū)radhānasya saḍānika-chu(chu)-

5 dāmpāṭe-gaṅgavatō Gokarna(rṇa)-sv[ā]jinaś-charaṇa-kamala-

6 yugala-prañāmad-vigata-Kalikañkañkō-ṇo(nē)k-ā-

**Second Plate; First Side.**

7 hava-sa[ṛ]**kohbha-janita-jaya-savād(baḥ) pratāp-avunata-sama-

8 sta-sāmanta-chakra-chu(chu)dāmaṇi-prabhā-mañjarī(rī)-puṇja-raṇja(ni)ta-

9 vara-charan[ḥ*] sita-kumuda-kum[ṛ]**i-śeṇaṃvadadā-nī-

10 [dgē]śaḥ-śviningata-yashō(ho)-dvast-arati-kulācālī naya-

11 vinayā-dāna-dākshhaya-śaurya-audhārya-satya-tyā-

12 g-ādi-guṇa-sa[ṛ]*pad-ādhāra-bhū(baḥ)to Gaṅga-āmalā-kula-ti-

**Second Plate; Second Side.**

13 Iaka(kō) mahāraja-śrī(ṛ)-Rājendrava[r]mma-su[sū]nu[r]-mahāraja-

14 śrī(ṛ)-Dévendrava[r]rm[a]* kuśali(li) ... pavarattany[aṁ]* N[į]kino-.grā-

15 ma-nivāsina[ḥ*] kuṭu[mimara[ḥ*]11 samajāṇapayati [[*]] Vḍī-

16 tam-astu vō [bhavatāṁ]12 graṁa ....

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2 From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.

3 Expressed by a symbol. For svasya, read svastyā.  
   The tops of the letters of this line are cut away.

4 Read -kati-kalākkā.  
    Read -ēndevavatātā.

   Read -dākṣāvya-.

6 One or two letters at the beginning of this word have been erased and corrected. The original reading may have been Bēpō.  
   The name N[į]kino has been substituted by a second hand. The vowel of the first and second syllables is a Nāgarī i, while this vowel is in every other instance expressed by a curve above the consonant.

7 Read kṣuṣūśinaḥ.
Seal (from a photograph).

(Enlarged, nearly four times the original size.)
No. 33.—PENUKAPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA II.

BY E. HULTZSCHE, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Ink-impressions of the plates which bear the subjoined inscription were kindly sent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates belong to Mr. K. Nagesvara Rao, editor of the Andhra Patrika, Madras. These are three copper-plates, each measuring 2½” by 7½”, and strung on a ring of the same metal. The first and third plates are inscribed only on their inner face. The ring is 2½” in diameter and is fixed in a circular seal measuring 1½” in diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend Śri-Sarvasiddhi in Chalukya characters. Above this legend are the figures of a crescent and two stars, and below it a full-blown lotus-flower. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 45 tolas.

The writing on the plates is on the whole in a state of good preservation. But some lines near the edges of the plates are damaged by corrosion, especially the two bottom lines of plate

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1 The syllable ꦱ looks like _disable.
2 Read perhaps ꦱ-kavai.
3 Read ต治理体系inja.
4 This might be the name of some tree.
7 Read ดา-ดา.
8 Read Glyph.
9 Read Glyph.
10 Read perhaps ดา-ดา, as suggested in my introductory remarks, and cf. ดา-ดา, Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 145, text line 27.
14 Accordingly, Sarvasiddhi must have been a surname of the donor, Jayasimha I, just as it is known to have been one of Jayasimha II, see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 55, notes 3 and 4.
ii, a, where some letters near the end have become illegible. The alphabet resembles that of the Chandelūr plates of (the grantor’s father) Sarvalokāśraya (Maṇgiyuvārāja). A final form of m occurs in lines 19, 21, 23, 28 and 30. In Chaṭikya (l. 4) and yuqita (l. 7), l is replaced by ṭ, which letter is also employed in the Telugu genitive Bōla (l. 16, 19). The Telugu letter ṭ is used in lines 9, 12 and 14. The language is Sanskrit prose, with four verses quoted on plate iii, a. The Telugu word pōvu, ‘going,’ occurs in the description of the boundaries of the grant (l. 17).

The inscription on the plates records a gift of land by the Mahārāja Sakalalokāśraya Jayasimha-Vallabha (l. 8 f.), who was the son of the Mahārāja Sarvalokāśraya (l. 5 f.) and the grandson of the Mahārāja Vishṇuvardhana ‘who adorned the family of the Chaṭikyas’ (l. 4 f.). The Jayasimha of this grant must be identical with the Eastern Chaṭukya king Jayasimha II, who is known to have been the eldest son and the successor of Sarvalokāśraya (Maṇgiyuvārāja) and the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana (II); and the subjoined grant is the first of Jayasimha II which has hitherto come to light.

In line 9 the king “commands all as follows: Be it known to you (that) by us ——.” This passage was probably copied from old office records and is left incomplete. It is repeated with modifications and completed in lines 12-17, where the king “commands all as follows all ryots inhabiting the district (vishaya) of Karma-rāṣṭra: (Be it known to you that) on the full-moon (tithi) of Jyaishṭha, at the time of Sarṅkranti, at the occasion of gifts of land (bhūmi-dāna), at the request of Gobbaḍi, in the village named Peṇukapara in Karma-rāṣṭra, — a field (kshētra) in the north-eastern direction of this village has been given (by us). The limit of this field to the east (is) the Niṅguṭṭa-tatāka (tank); the limit to the south (is) the end of the Pūsa-Bōla-kshētra; the limit to the west (is) the road going to . . . . . . ; the limit to the north (is) the limit of Mashakha.”

After a short lacuna at the end of line 17 the description of the boundaries is continued; but it is difficult to say whether it refers to the same field as before, or to another. This description ends with the words (l. 20 f.): ‘To the east of the Tāla-tatāka, in the southern half, a rice-field measuring four (nivartanas !) and ending in the east; on the north-eastern side of the village (the field lies) between hills (?).’ The fact that the king granted the field is then stated once more in the first person singular, ‘I gave away’ (prādām, l. 23). The inscription ends with the usual threats and imprecations in prose (ll. 23-26) and in four verses (ll. 26-31). Between the third and fourth verses (l. 30) we are informed that the executor (aṇiṣṭā) of this grant was Niravadya-Sakalalokāśraya Śri-Prithivīgauḍamūḍī. This officer was evidently named after his sovereign’s surname, Sakalalokāśraya (l. 8). The last portion of his title, gauḍmūḍī, is probably connected with gauḍa, a tāddava of grāmakṣa; cf. above, Vol. VII, p. 183. His actual name may have been Gobbaḍi (l. 14).

The description of the donee, Eya-Dṛṇaśaśāman (l. 12), is sandwiched between the two versions of the passage which records the king’s order (l. 9 and l. 12 ff.). He was a Brāhmaṇa of Vaṅgiparu (l. 9) and belonged to the Kaṇḍinya-gūtra, Taittiriya (chāraṇa) and Āpastamba-sūtra (l. 10). His father and grandfather were Dēvaśaśāman (l. 11) and Guṇjadēvaśaśāman (l. 10 respectively).

2 These words are supplied from line 9.
3 In line 12 this name is represented by the words ‘in your district’ (bhavat-vishaya), which, where they actually stand, are out of their proper place.
4 The words ‘by us’ are supplied from line 9.
5 i.e., probably, ‘the field (belonging to) Pūsa-Bōla.’ For Bōla see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 2, and cf. J[÷]eṭṭa-Bōla-kshētra in line 19 of this inscription.
6 This seems to be the name of a village.
7 The expression pṛag-apatvagum occurs also in the Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra, II, 2, 3, 22.
No. 33. PENUKAPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA II.

It will have been observed that the grant is a clumsy production which would remain unintelligible without comparing it with other more properly arranged documents of the same kind. A few remarks have to be made concerning the geographical names occurring in it. One of the imprecations mentions Vārāṇāsī (l. 24), i.e. Benares. The field granted adjoined the village of Penukaparu in the district of Karma-rāṣṭra (l. 14). This village must be distinct from another Peṇukaparu in the district of Gudrāhāra,¹ which had been the object of a grant of Jayasimha I. For the district of Karma-rāṣṭra see above, p. 228. The village of Vaṅgiparu (l. 9), where the donee lived, is mentioned also in two grants of Narēndra-mārgarāja and Amma II.²

TEXT.₄

First Plate.

1 Svasti [||*] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṃstāya-yamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇāṁ Hāriti-
putrāṇāṁ

2 sapta-Lōkamātrīdbhīṁ paripālīṭānāṁ svāmi-Mahāśeṇa-pāda-bhaktaṇāṁ-bhagavan-Nārā-

3 yaṇa-prasāda-saṃsāṣādita-vara-varāha-lāṁchchan-ekhaṇa-khaṇa-vaśikrit-āśēṣha-ṣa-

4 tru-maṇḍalānāmaśavamādhē-vaśabhiṛtha-saṃsa-pavitrikrita-vapuṣṭhāṁ Čalīkṣyāṇāṁ kula-

5 m-alalākairiṁṇḥ śrī-Visṇuvaṁśdhanā-mā(ma)hārājasya pautraḥ śrī-Sarva-vālōkāśra-

6 ya-mahārājasya putraḥ sv-āśi-dhārā-namita-rājāya-makuta-taṭa-gaṭṭ[i]ya-

7 maṇi-māyāya(kha)-puñja-[maṇija*]ri-raṇjita-charaṇa-yugaḥ prātāpavān-prasannāṁ
vinivēśa-sakti-trayaḥ

8 para[m-[brahmapaṇḍī-pāt-ānudhyātaḥ Sakalalōkāśraya-śrī-Ja[y]-

Second Plate; First Side.

9 sirghha[ha]-Vallabha-mahārājah sarv[ā]n-ittam-ājāṇayati [||*] Viditam-asti vō-
smābhiḥ [||*] Vangipara-v[ā]*stavy[ā]ya

10 Kaṇḍinya-gōtrāya Taṅtiriṇyāy-Āpastamba-sūtrāya Gunjadeva-śarmman[ah*] pautraya
sarvva-

11 kratuyā́jina Dēvasarmmanāḥ putrāya chatur-Vveda-pāragaḥ sarvva-sāstra-visāradāya

12 śrī-Era-Drōṇasarmmāṇḥ [||*] Karmma-rāṣṭra-vidhāna-nvāsī-kuttoṁbaṁ(naḥ)*
bhavad-vishaye sarvva[n-]

13 ttham-ājāṇayati [||*] Jyaṁśthhyāṁ purarṇpamāsāyāṁ sarvkrānti-kāle bhūmi-
dannimittē

14 Gobbdī-vijāṇapāṇāt-Karmma-rāṣṭrē Peṇukaparu-nāma-grāme tasya grā-

15 masy-ōttara-pūrvvasān-dīśī kṣhētran-dattam-asya kṣhētraṣya pūrvvato-vadhiḥ
Nīduṃta-taṭa-

16 kaḥ [*] Dakshināt-vadhiḥ Pās-Bēṣa-kṣhēṭr-āntāḥ [*] paśchimatō-vadhiḥ dega, . . .

17 [nai]kṣa povu pantah [*] uttarato-vadhiḥ Maṇmakḥ-āvadhiḥ [*] [to]ṁda-kṣhētri
grāma[ṣ-ō]-[t[a]-ta-

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 138, text line 17 f.
² Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 418.
³ Above, p. 228.
⁴ From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.
⁵ Read maṇḍalānām-saṃondoḥ.
⁶ Read perhaps - prasannā.
Second Plate; Second Side.

18 śākṣa tyas-ottar-āparasyaṁ-diśa [*] tasya pūrvavat-vadhiḥ kūpaḥ [*] dakśiṇavat-vadhiḥ [taṭāka]ḥ [*] pāścīṇata
19 uttarataṁ-cha J[ejk]a-Bola-khētra-antar-vadhiḥ [*] Asya kahērasya kūpa-dvayam [*] Taṭāka ṭā
20 kāḥ kūpaḥ [*] Taḷa-taṭākasya pūrvavatā dakṣiṇārddhā vṛhi-khētraṁ chatushtṣaya parimāṁ,
21 pūrṇaḥ aparāggaṁ cha [*] Grāmasya-ottara-pūrvva-dīśe girāvakāśam [!] [*]
22 sūtra-avadhikāśaṁ kahērā-dharmma-yaśō-bhivyddhaye sarvva-kara-parihār-āpātaka-vadāyā-ṭāṁ
23 rvvakāṁ brahmāyikṛitya prādāṅ [!] [*] Asya sarvva-kara-parihrā-pātasya kahērasya yō
24 bādhāṁ karōti saḥ Vāraṇāyaṁ sahasra-brahmahasth[ā*]-pātaka-saṁyuktas bhavati [!] [!]

Third Plate.

26 pātaka-saṁyuktas bhavati [!] [!] Bhavanti ch-ātra śākṣaṁ [!] [!] Bhūj[l]-dānā-t-pārām-
27 vishyatā [*] tasya śākṣaṁ harāpāt-pāp(e)(pa)n-na bhūtan-na bhaviṣhayati [!] [!] Sva-
28 yō ṭāṁ harēṭa vasundhāram [*] sahaḥ-sahasrāṇi vaisṭhāyāṁ jāyatā
29 Kṛṣṇāṁ
30 Bahubhīr-vaśasudhā dattā bahubhīs-ch-ānupālita [*] yaṇya-yasya yadā
31 bhūmīs-tasya-tasya tadā phalam [!] [!] [!] Ajiṁaptīr-Nirāvadya-Sakalalōkāśraya-ārī-
32 Pṛthvī-gāmūṇḍa [!] [!] [!]
33 Vindhyāvati[ṛ]ḥṛṣva-sāyasya svakhā-koṭāra-vāsinaḥ [*] kṛṣṇa-ह-mahī hi jāyantē
34 brahmāyikā-śākhārakāḥ [!] [!] [!]

No. 34.—THE KODAVALI ROCK-INSRIPTION OF CHANDASATI; THE SECOND YEAR OF REIGN.

By H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., Ootacamund.

Going in a north-westerly direction from Pithāpuram, a station on the East Coast Railway, for a distance of about 9 miles along the Sāmalkōṭa-Kāttipāṭi road, the village of Kodavali is sighted. It is situated not very far from the right side of the road. Proceeding thence for nearly two miles again in a north-westerly direction one reaches the foot of a range of hills

1 Read perhaps pārāvat-kāś.  2 Read ēkaṇe.  3 Read kāṭṭhā.  4 The writer had originally written vāvaṁ; but he has himself cancelled the first ka by adding a horizontal line at the top of it.  5 Read bā.  6 Cancel this syllable.
covered with thin forest vegetation. From here the place called "Dhanam-jibba" — the treasure-mound — is reached by a gravely foot-path running along the slope of the hill, which appears to have been once provided with steps of rubble stone. Struggling two or three furlongs along this unwelcome path we come to the crown of the hillock and to the mound 'Dhanam-jibba' on it. Here are found the remains of what looks like a Buddhist stupa consisting mostly of large-sized bricks and sometimes unheaven stone. On the southern side of the mound are seen also portions of a structure built of cut and dressed stone. The four rock-cut wells on the south and west sides of the mound, 4 to 5 feet square and 6 to 7 feet deep, are of peculiar interest and seem to have been once used for storing water for the use of the occupants of the Buddhist monastery, as the mound may prove to be when excavations are properly carried out.

On the north wall of one of the wells on the western side of the mound measuring 5' 8½" long by 5' 5½" broad and 7' 2½" deep, is engraved in 6 lines the Andhra inscription, edited below, in Brahmi characters of about the 3rd century A.D. This inscription which was published in 1908 by Dr. Konow in Z. D. M. G., Vol. LXII, p. 591 f. has been noticed as No. 1341 by Dr. Lüders in his List of Brahmi Inscriptions in Vol. X, above. As remarked by Dr. C. R. Krishnam Acharlu, B.A., of the Madras Epigraphical Department has also spent some hours with me in reading the inscription directly from the stone; and the text given below is the joint production of both of us. The accompanying facsimile plate is reproduced from an inked estampage prepared under my direct supervision. The inscription thus deciphered will be seen to differ much from the published text of Dr. C. R. Krishnam Acharlu. The object of the record, for instance, was not the establishment of the earth-dwelling (bhumi vasa) of an unnamed minister (amacha), but was the establishment of the gift (dhana) of a khaingu (rock-cut well ?) by the minister Sasa of Khada-avali — the ancient form of the present village name Kodavali.

The name of the king occurs in l. 3 as Chaṁdaśāti, the lingual ṣ being possibly also read as a dental d. But, it is to be noted that the long vertical stem which is required to distinguish a dental d (cf. di in l. 4) is missing here; again ṣa may be compared with Khedā in l. 4. The form Chaṁdaśātina occurs clearly on one of the coins found by Raspone. So also on the Kodavali rock the i of ti is faintly seen and is practically certain. Possibly sāti is a Prakrit form of Svāti and Chaṁdaśāti has accordingly to be interpreted as Chaṁdaśāti. In the table of later Andhra kings given opposite p. 218 of his Early History of India (third edition) by V. A. Smith, the name-ending sāti occurs only in the case of No. 22 Śiva-svāti. But the Matsya-Purāṇa gives many other names ending in svāti or svātikarna, such as Māghavatī, Kuntalavatī, Sundaravatikarna, etc. It may be incidentally noted also that the name-ending svātikarna is more

1 Compare Dhana Bādu near Jagayyapeta; Burgess's "Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati," p. 107.
2 Mr. Rea who discovered it for the first time has referred to it in his report for 1907-08, p. 8. He says that at the foot of the hills are the remains of a fort which, however, I was not able to identify.
3 If, however, the reading मुदिलिस्स (भुविलिस्स) of the learned Doctor is accepted, I would observe a striking coincidence in the term मुदिलिस्स which occurs twice in the Sundarakanda of the Rāmāyana (T. R. K.'s Edition, Chapters XII, 14 and XV, 4) where, in both instances, the commentator Gōvindarāja explains the term as मुदिलिस्स. The context also shows that these underground cellars of Rāvana's Palace and Pleasure-garden were primarily meant for hiding objects from the view of the enemy. The same may have been he case with these so-called Rock-cut Wells of the Pitākāpuram forest which surely must have formed part of the Daṇḍaka-forest and as such must have been once haunted by wicked Rākasasas.
4 On a second coin figured as G. P. I. in Pl. VI of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty by Raspone, the reading is Chaṁdaśātīya with an anuvāda marked to the left of cha as in the Kodavali rock inscription.
5 Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkus, p. 164.
likely to have been the origin of the later Śatakarni than the fanciful śata-karma "the hundred-eared." But Dr. Konow neither accepts śata as an abbreviation of Śatakarni nor does he read sāti (=ñāti). He prefers to have the name Chaḍasāta (=Chaḍasāta) without explaining the name-ending sāta.

The date of the record in 11. 3 and 4 has been read by Dr. Sten Konow as "savaçhare 10 3(f) he pa 3 diva dasame" whereas my reading is "raji vachhare 2 ma 1 he pa 2 di 1." The reading ma 1 after the regnal year is difficult to explain. If this were preceded by he, instead of being followed by it, it would have yielded the meaning hēmantamās 1, as we find in a very large number of similar dates coming from Northern India; but, he is required before pa; for otherwise the latter could not be explained. Besides, the dated Southern Brāhmī inscriptions as catalogued by Dr. Lüders in his List of Brāhmī Inscriptions give only the pakha of the season and in no case the month (māsa) as the northern dates do. I can only suggest that in this record both the month and the pakha are given and the word he which is an abbreviation for the season hēnantā is placed after ma 1 while it should have preceded it, and thus arrive at the probable interpretation of the date as "the first day of the second fortnight of the first month of the winter season." If this interpretation is right, the details of the date would correspond to Mārgaśīrṣa bahuja pratkama, somewhere in December 210 A.D., the second year of Chaḍa-svāti.

TEXT 3

1 Sidham 4 [1*] Rañ[0] vasiṭha-
2 putasa 'sami-siri-
3 Chaḍasāta[1][sa] [raji-vachhare 2
4 ma 1 he pa 2 di] 1 Khaḍa[va]li-
5 amacha-Sa[sa]mi khaga-dhama
6 ṭhāpita [1|*]

Notes on letters.

L. 1. si — The letter sa throughout is written with a loop at the left bottom corner whence it is started. This loop, in certain cases, is almost closed, whereas in certain others it is half open. The si which begins the inscription is one of the former type, though it is a little deformed looking as though the loop were written twice.

dha — The position of the anusvāra attached to dha is worthy of notice. It is on the left side of the letter and not on its right top corner.

śō — The ś mark is very faint.

ṭhī — The long ṭ is indicated by two horns as in Kshatrapa inscriptions (Bühler’s Tables III, 9).

L. 2. ta — The development of a loop in this letter is to be noted as in the Nasik inscription No. 20. (See Bühler’s Tables III, 13). Possibly, there was a secondary ta below the letter thus making the word putasa.

1 The word Nēkṣam-Kaṇgar which occurs in the Tamil poem Silappadikāram, has been translated by some, as, ‘the hundred-eared’ and taken to be the equivalent of Śatakarni (or Śatakarni).

2 The three thick horizontal marks one above the other each denoting the numeral ‘one’ are visible. But as the third topmost mark is above the level of the line and not vertically above the other two, I am inclined to read the symbol as ‘2’ and not ‘3’.

3 Direct from the stone.

4 Spaces are left in the original after the complete words — Sidham, rañō, etc., as shown in the text. After Samsi-siri-Çekadeśa in 1. 3 and after Samsi in 1. 5, where we should have expected a space, it is wanting. The same system of separating words by spaces is found in the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, the Myakondu inscription of Pulmāvi (above Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 155) and the Hirahadagalli inscription of Śiva-Standa-varma (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, plate facing p. 6).

5 [The plate gives sā.—Ed.]
L. 3. Chan—The anuvāra is clearly marked on the left top of the letter as in dhan in l. 1. After Chandāsātīsa, Dr. Sten Konow read savachhare. But to me it appears as if there is space enough for two letters between the sa of Chandāsātīsa and vachhare. Perhaps some word like rajī has to be read. There are no doubt traces of a sa to justify the reading savachhare.

L. 4. The first letter is ma and not the symbol (∞) for 10 as interpreted by Dr. Sten Konow; nor is the following symbol, 3.

The i mark of di runs into the bottom of ra of rajī in line 3 above, thus making the latter look somewhat deformed and crooked unlike the other ra-letters in the inscription.

The letter between ḍḍa and li is completely damaged and no traces are seen. It could have been a na or a tu. As, however, the present village name Kodavali to which there is a sure reference here is spelt with a v, I would prefer taking the damaged letter as va and not a ma.

L. 5. The letter after kha (which Dr. Sten Konow read as ve) is like a su; but, since what looks like the stroke within does not go right across to meet the opposite side, I read it as gu. The meaning in either case is not clear.

TRANSLATION.

Success; In the reign of king Vasithiputa 'Sami-siri-Chanda-sātī, in the year 2, month 1, the winter fortnight 2 (and) day 1, was established the charity (i.e., the gift) of a kham; gu (?) by the minister Sasa (Śasa) of Khāḍavali.

POSTSCRIPT.

Dr. Sten Konow to whom I had submitted the galley proof of this paper for remarks has thus kindly written to Mr. Hirananada Sastri:

L. 3. I agree with him that sātīsa is possible, but I cannot read any such thing as rajī. The apparent dots to the right of re are found in a part of the stone which is left open in the other lines, and I cannot read them as or . They seem to me to be of the same kind as the other smaller or greater marks found in this part of the stone.

L. 4. I am quite unable to see a ma in the first akṣhara, and I still think that it must be 10. But I accept his reading of the following sign as . At all events, it is very probable. Mr. Krishna Sastri has himself pointed to the great difficulty resulting from his reading. So far as I know, there is no instance of the mentioning of the month, when the date is given in seasonal pakṣas, and it would be absolutely unwarranted. It may also be doubted that the year began in the south with hemanta. The reading of the figure after po as seems probable, to judge from the plate. After di there is hardly room for , but I admit the possibility of the reading. I have grave doubts about Khāḍavali, but the coincidence of the modern name is in its favour. The double ḍḍ is suspicious.

L. 5. I cannot understand how amachasamam can mean by the minister Sasa. And it seems to me that the first word ends with amachasa. It is possible that the preceding akṣharas contain the minister's name. The ensuing akṣhara looks to me more like ba than sa. With regard to Khagu I have little to say. Kha is not certain. In favour of gu or gu speaks the use of s for i in śiri. But the letter looks more like su or śu.

The remarks which I have been able to offer are, you will see, rather negative. But I cannot just now give more time to the question, being too much occupied with other work.

[See f. n. 5 on the opposite page—Ed.]
No. 35.—BETMA PLATES OF BHOJADEVA; [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1076.

By D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.; RAJKOT.

Though the name of the Paramātra king Bhōja of Dhāra is well known to scholars, epigraphical records of his reign are rather rare. So far only two grants of this king have been discovered: one of V. S. 1078 in Ujjain\(^1\) and the other of V. S. 1076 (Māgha, śu. di. 5) in Bānswārā\(^2\). The copper-plate grant dealt with here is thus the third known record\(^3\) of his reign.

The plates were discovered, about two years ago, by a peasant while ploughing his field near a village called Beṭmā, sixteen miles to the west of Indore, in Central India. They subsequently came into the possession of Mr. Manekchand Jati of Indore, who takes interest in antiquities. When I had been to Indore sometime ago I found them with him. Through the kindness of the late Rao Bahadur Dr. Prabhakar R. Bhandarkar, Home Member, Holkar State, and of Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent, Historical Department, Dhāra, I have been able to edit the inscription here for the first time.

The plates, which are two in number, are held together by two thick copper rings in the usual way. They measure 13 inches in length and 8½ inches in breadth and are in an excellent state of preservation. The inscribed side of the second plate bears at its bottom in a rectangular border a flying figure of Garuda as is usually seen in the Paramātra grants. The sign munī of the king is affixed at the end of either plate. It is to be noted that in none of the known grants of Bhōjadēva the name of the writer of the grant is given.

The alphabet is Nāgari of the 11th century A.D. prevalent in Mālāra, as known to us from the other records of the period, e.g. the Bānswārā plates of the same king. The consonant श is expressed by ś throughout. In fact, there is nothing to distinguish between the letters व, ब and घ. भ is wrongly replaced by ष in लिरस (l. 1), कोशिण (l. 14), यस्तकारणि (l. 21) and in परफ (l. 23). Similarly त is wrongly replaced by ऩ in याँगनी (l. 16) and in अकला (l. 25). A consonant following र is generally doubled, e.g. in समी (l. 1), सतमसान (l. 9), भिनिगिन (l. 12), भुभेभुभा (l. 19), etc. र at the end of a conjunct consonant is generally expressed in this inscription by the full letter added below the first consonant (e.g. त्रा l. 8, 14 and 15, ड्रा l. 5, झ्रा l. 8, 9, ग्रा l. 9, etc.), and not by a stroke turned to the left as we generally find. The letter क्र in the two cases where it occurs (l. 1 and 16) is written imperfectly, the left portion of the letter क being omitted.

The document is drawn up in संस्कृत prose mixed with verses.

Except for the following four points, our grant is practically identical with the Bānswārā grant of the same king issued in the same year:—

(1) Though the year in both the grants is the same, the months are different. The Beṭmā grant is dated on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, while the Bānswārā grant is dated on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha. It is to be seen, however, which is the earlier of the two grants. If we consider the year as beginning with the month Chaitra, the Beṭmā grant may be the earlier one. If, however, the year

\(^{1}\) Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 53.
\(^{3}\) Mr. K. N. Dikshit informs me that another record of the reign of Bhōja dated Saṃvat 1091 (1034-5 A.D.) has been traced on an image of Sāmaratī which has found its way to the British Museum. I also find that the Tilakwādā plates of V. S. 1193 published by the late Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, most probably belong to the reign of this Bhōja. One more copper-plate grant of Bhōjadēva has recently been discovered at Kalyān in the Nāsi District. See A. S. R., 1921-22, p. 118.
began with the month Kārttika, as is the present usage in Mālwā and Gujarāt, then it must be looked upon as the later of the two. We have reasons to hold that the latter supposition is correct for, as has been already pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn, in the grant of Bhojādeva of V. S. 1078, the expression चक्रवत्तिकाळस्यनिधिकिसुमतेऽमायाधितत्ततितौयायाम् i.e. on the third day of the dark half of Māgha in the year 1078, occurs in the middle of the grant and probably gives the date when the donation was made. At the end of the grant the date of its issue is given as the 14th day of the bright half of the month Chaitra of Saṃvat 1078. If Māgha of 1078 preceded Chaitra of 1078, the year must have commenced from some month previous to Māgha and ended subsequent to Chaitra. We can, therefore, assume that the Saṃvat year began then as now in the month of Kārttika. The Bānswārā grant which is dated in the month Māgha of V. S. 1076 (Jan. 1020 A.D.) is, therefore, earlier than the Bētma grant which is dated in the month Bhāḍrapada of the same year, i.e. 1076 (Sept. 1020 A.D.).

(2) The occasions when the two grants of Bānswārā and Bētma were made are different. In the former grant it is given as कृत्तिवर्त्तिकेश्वरं while in the latter it is given as श्वेत्कृत्तिवर्त्तिकेश्वरं. Dr. Hultzsch, who edited the Bānswārā grant, translated this historically important expression as 'the anniversary of the conquest of Kōṅkana.' But it is to be noted that the period intervening between these two grants, which record almost an identical expression, is only seven months and ten days. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar who edited the same grant thinks gives a better translation of the expression as "on the festival day (parvān) in consequence of the conquest of Kōṅkana." The expression in the Bānswārā grant means that 'Bhoja conquered Kōṅkana' and that in the Bētma grant means perhaps 'that he occupied it.' In the Balāṅaśīva inscription of the time of the Chāḷukya Jayasimha, dated Śaka 941 (December 1019 A.D.), it is stated that Jayasimha had 'put to flight the confederacy of Mālwā.' From this we can conclude that in the contest for power between the Mālwā Paramāras and the Deccan Chāḷukyas that was going on for years together, in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D., both the parties were successful by turns. Soon after his accession, Bhoja must have invaded the Deccan to avenge the execution of his uncle Vākpati-Muñja by the Chāḷukya king Tailapa, and he probably succeeded in defeating and killing Tailapa's successor, Vikramaḍitya V. When Jayasimha came to the throne in 1015 A.D. he must have retaliated by inflicting a crushing defeat on Bhoja and his confederacy sometime before December 1019 A.D. Bhoja apparently did not take long to recover. He invaded the territory of Jayasimha and conquered Kōṅkana, in January 1020 A.D., which was finally annexed to his empire sometime before September 1020 A.D. From the Miraj plates it seems that Bhoja could not retain his possession for long as Jayasimha reconquered Kōṅkana before the year 1024 A.D. (Śaka 946) and took into his possession 'the wealth of the Lords of the Seven Kōṅkana.'

(3) The grantee in the present inscription is a Brahmāṇa named Paṇḍita Deśa, son of Bhaṭṭa Ṭaṭṭhasīkā of the Kauśika-gūtra with the three pravāras Aghamaraśaṇa, Viśvāmitra and Kauśika and of the Mādhyāndina-tāthā. He hailed from Śrīṇivāsara, but his ancestors had come from the village Viśīlagrāma.

(4) The property granted to the Brahmāṇa consisted of a village named Nālatadāga, one of the seventeen villages in the Nyāyapadra subdivision.

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 361.
2 Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 181. [In the words Kōṅkana-āṭhakarāṇīś caturṇām grāthaḥ occurring in the Miraj plates (see supra, Vol. XII, p. 318, l. 69) the root grāha is used in the sense of taking possession.—E.d.]
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVIII, p. 117.
As regards the identification of the localities mentioned in the grant it is to be said that Sthāṇavīśaṭṭha is no doubt the Thānesar of modern times situated in the Karnāl District of the Panjāb. The Nyāyapadra (subdivision) of the grant may be the town Nāpad in the Kaira District; a little to the south-west of Indore; and the gift village Nālṣṭaḍāga is probably represented by the modern Nār (Nāl) in the same district. Sātraṇī approaches very easily to our Saptadārika meaning’s group of seventeen villages which expression may have been afterwards wrongly construed to denote a village. The only difficulty in this identification is that this place is at a long distance from Betmā where the grant was discovered.

The remaining places I am unable to identify at present.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 भवः [II*] जयः विमयः वोशेयोऽहः ्यः समायः विमत्ति ्सा। ए् (एद्रव) मत्रः एद्रवः लिखः अग्रोधोऽकु राजसिमः [ṣ]* तनबलः वः।

2 चारारतः: कल्याणमिनिः जः [I*] कल्याणसमयोऽहमत्तिडिलिपिगः: [II*] परमभारकसः।

3 राजाबिजयेन्द्रवेदवेदवेदादातात्त्यपारसर्भारकसराजाबिजयेन्द्रकसः।

4 तत्रजेतियादातात्त्यपारसर्भारकसराजाबिजयेन्द्रकसः।

5 द्राक्षयादातात्त्यपारसर्भारकसराजाबिजयेन्द्रकसः। कुशली || नवानन्दः।

6 द्राक्षयादातात्त्यपारसर्भारकसः समुगतात्त्यपारसर्भारकसः। अग्रोधोऽकु राजसिमः।

7 ब समाजदाबलः वः संसूतितम् ्यः यवासाभ्यः बलाचरारतः समथयः।

8 संसूतितभारतः हृदा वातामिनिमिनिः वसुपुष्पामापत्तासमाचूरै विवाहोऽनोः।

9 प्राणसिंहः राजाराजेन्द्रसमा नराणिः [I] परम: सचा परम्पः परलोकः [II*] भवसांसाबलकः।

10 चाराराजयासमा तिर्यः। पाण्डूः न दुहस्योऽप पाण्डवः: परः फलम् [II*] इति अग्रोधो विवाहोऽनोः।

1 From the original plates.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 If we compare this grant with the other of the same year and with the third of Y. S. 1078 we shall find that the prohākṣaśāstra are used anywhere the writer liked.
4 Read वशिवः।
5 Read वशिवः।
6 Read अकु राजसिद्धः।
7 The left hand portion of the letter ka is expressed here only by a point separated from the body of the letter. Cf. similar forms in II. 2 and 7 of the Bīsawārā grant.
8 Read भ्राणः।
TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Qm Victorious is this Vāmakāta (Śiva) who for the purpose of creation bears on his head the digit of the moon, which appears like the shoot from which the world sprang.

(L. 2) May the matted hair, of the Enemy of Cupid, brown like the circle of the dreadful lightning of the time of final dissolution, always extend your welfare!

(L. 3-6) The illustrious Bhūjādeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Sindhūrajādeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vāāpatirajādeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Siyakādeva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, issues, in good health, commands to all the officials of the Government, the inhabitants headed by the Brāhmaṇas, the Pātels, and (other) townsmen, and others, assembled at Nālatādāga, included in the group of Nyāyapadra Seventeen, (thus) :-

(L. 7) Be it known to you that we, seeing the worthlessness of the worldly life,*

(L. 8) (that) the sovereignty over the earth is as shifting as the clouds wafted on the wind, the enjoyment of objects is pleasing only for a moment, the life of a man is like a drop of water (hanging) on the point of a blade of grass, and Dharma alone is the real companion in the journey to the next world,

(L. 9) (and that) those who do not give away their acquired wealth which is (as it were) standing on the edge of the circumference of the revolving wheel of the worldly life have repentance as their only reward,

(L. 10-16) thus ascertaining the momentary nature of the worldly life and choosing to abide by the unknown rewards for meritorious deeds, we have, on the joyful occasion of celebrating the subjugation of Konāka, with a view to increasing the religious merit and fame of our parents and of ourselves, the above-said village has been bestowed upon Pandita Deśa, son of Bhaṭṭa Thatāhāsika of the Karnika-gōtra with the three pravāras—(viz) Aghamsaṇa, Visvāmitra and Kāṇāka—and of the Maḍhyanā sākha, who had come from Sthānviśvara, (but) whose ancestors had migrated from Viśalagrāma with its regular boundaries including the pasture lands for grazing cattle, with the land revenue and (other) cash income,

1 Read परस्म. 2 Read दुक्ष. 3 Read दुष्क. 4 Read दुष्क.
with the surdny taxes and with all (such) rights, by this charter, with the utmost devotion and
by pouring libations of water—to last as long as the sun and the moon and the earth endure.

(L. 17) Knowing this and in obedience to (our) orders you should give to this
(Brahma) the land revenue and other income and everything due to him.

(L. 18) Similarly, considering that the merit of such a charitable deed is common (to all)
the succeeding kings, whether of our family or of any other, should acquiesce in the charitable
grant given by us and uphold it. For it is said—

[Li. 19-25 contain four of the customary benedictory verses.]

(L. 26) In the year 1076 on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Bhadrapada.
(This is) our own order.

(L. 27) Good luck (and) great prosperity! The sign manual of Sri—Bhujadeva.

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No. 36.—UNPUBLISHED VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CHAITYA CAVE AT KARLE.

BY MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A.

In the beginning of November 1923, the Chowkidar of the caves at Karle while washing
pillars and figures in the Chaitya hall, came across some new inscriptions and brought them
to the notice of the Assistant Engineer, Bombay Road Subdivision. That officer communica-
ted the news of the discovery through the Executive Engineer, Poona District, to the
Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who secured good impressions
of all of them. These inscriptions are twelve in number and generally in a very good state of
preservation, though all of them are not equally well inscribed, as is the case with some of the Karle inscriptions so ably handled by M. Senart.1 About the letters it might be
remarked that they are of the slightly cursive variety adopted in the Nasik inscription, No. 20
(Buhler’s Tafel, III, col. XIII), with the tailed ka, the hooked da and the crude ma. Though
some of the technical terms used in these records are rather obscure and the places mentioned
in them, viz. Gopalka, Umehanaka and Dhenukaka, have not been located with cer-
tainty, yet they are of special interest, for they help us in ascertaining the extent of the outlying
parts from which the caves attracted donating pilgrims.

My reading of these inscriptions is based on the impressions reproduced below. My in-
scription No. VII is identical with No. VII of Senart, but the other eleven are entirely different;
and to these latter a fragment of another inscription found near the caves has also been
added. Pillars in the right and left rows have been numbered with reference to their position
toward the visitor.

No. I. Fifth pillar; right row.

TEXT.
1. Umehanaka Yavanasa
2. Varasa[m]gatana(m) danam thabbhō.

Remarks.

(1) 'Viṣāsamgata' means an 'assembly of actors' but appears to be a proper name here. The use of the plural "Viṣāsamgatānaṁ" with the singular "Yaṇanaśa" is explained by M. Senart in translating his No. 7.

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Viṣāsamgata from Umēhanākaṭe.

No. II. Eighth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. Göṇēkākṣa Dhamula-upāśēkasaṁ(1)
2. dēyadha[ṁ]ma(2) thaṁvo(3)

Remarks.

(1) The anusvāra is redundant.
(2) Mark the crude outline of 'da' and 'ma' in this.
(3) 'Vo' seems to have been carved out for 'bhō'.

This record does not appear to have been engraved by a practised hand, and compares very unfavourably with the other records in point of neatness and fixity of outline.

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the pious gift of the lay worshipper Dhamula of Göṇēkākā.

No. III. Eleventh pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukākāṭa
2. Vāṇīya-gaṁa-
3. sa thabhō dānam

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the "Community of Traders" from Dhēnukākāṭa.

No. IV. Thirteenth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukākāṭa Ya[va]nasa(1) Dhamadha-
2. yānam thabhō dānam

Remark.

(1) The right side of the loop of 'va' in 'Yaṇanaśa' is broken, but its outline is clearly perceptible from the reverse side of the impression.

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Dhamadhaya from Dhēnukākāṭa.

No. V. Fourteenth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukākāṭa Rōhamitēna Chu[la].
2. pētukasa(1) Agilasa athā-(2)
3. ya thabhō Mūtō

Remarks.

(1) 'Chulapūtanaka' agrees with 'Agila', and seems to be an epithet describing Agila though its meaning is not clear.

Upper part of the perpendicular stroke of 'la' is broken, but its outline is visible from relief on reverse of the impression.

(2) It appears that the lower horizontal stroke of 'tha' to the right was in process of engraving when the engraver discovered that he was placing it much lower than its proper position, and consequently left it unfinished and crude.

TRANSLATION.

(This pillar was caused to be made by Rōhamita from Dhenukākāta, for the sake of Agila, a resident of Chulapūta(?)

No. VI. Fifteenth pillar; right row.

TEXT.

1. Dhenukākāta Chulayakan[ān]n
2. [Yañ]vaṇasa thabhō dāna

TRANSLATION.

(This pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Chulayakha from Dhenukākāta.

No. VII. Fourth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. Dhenukākāta Yavaṇasa
2. Sihadhaya[śa]n[ān] thabhō dānaṁ

N.B.—This inscription is identical with No. 7 of M. Senart, carved on the top of the third pillar in the left row, and he renders it thus:—

TRANSLATION.

'(This pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Sihadhaya from Dhenukākāta'.

No. VIII. Sixth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. Dhenukākāta Sōmilana-
2. kasa dāna thabhō

TRANSLATION.

(This pillar (is) the gift of Sōmilanaka from Dhenukākāta.

No. IX. Eighth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. Dhenukākāta Gōla-vāniya-(1)
2. saputasa Īsalakasa[m] (2) thabhō(3)
3. [dā]nāṁ(4)
Remarks.

(1) 'Gōla-vāniya' might mean a 'trader in myrrh', but appears to mean the 'trader Gōla' here.

(2) Read Isalakasa, the anuvāra is superfluous.

(3) The anuvāra in thaśabhō is perhaps to be seen from reliance on reverse of the impression, but is not certain.

(4) In line 3 it appears as if 'da' was being inscribed and then left and carved out again immediately after.

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of Isalaka, son of the trader Gōla, from Dhēnukākaṭa.

No. X. Ninth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukākaṭa Yavanasa
2. Yasavadhanas[ā]n
3. thaśabhō dāna[m*]

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Yasavadhana from Dhēnukākaṭa.

No. XI. Tenth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

[Dh]ēnukākaṭa [Ma][ha[ma]tā(1) ghariniya

Remark.

(1) The outline of the 3rd letter in this word is not clear, it may be 'ma' or 'va.'

TRANSLATION.

(Of) Mahamatā, wife of . . . . from Dhēnukākaṭa.

No. XII. Thirteenth pillar; left row.

TEXT.

1. Dhēnukāṭa(1) gahapat[ā]nē Āśēkasa nātiyē
2. Dhamada(ā)vayaś dānaṁ
3. thaśabhō

Remark.

(1) Read Dhēnukākaṭa; 'ka' is left out through oversight on the part of the engraver.

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of Dharmadēvi, a relation of the householder Āśēka from Dhēnukākaṭa.
No. XIII. An inscribed piece of stone found near the caves.

TEXT.

. . . . [kha]sëga(1) putrasa

Remark.

(1) These two letters forming a proper name are not quite clear. The outline of the first is misleading, but careful scrutiny of relief on reverse of the impression leads me to think that it is either ‘śē’ or ‘gē’ while the second appears to be ‘ga’; the accretion of an altogether new outline proceeding from its top along the left being merely a development of the crack in stone.

TRANSLATION.

Of . . Kha the son of Śēga?

No. 37.—INSCRIPTION ON A VISHNU IMAGE FROM DEOPANI.

By K. N. Dikshit, M.A.

This inscription of four lines occurs on the side of a stone image of Vishnu, which was found, along with another partially broken and obliterated image of Durgā, in the jungle close to the Deopani river (Sibsagar District, Assam) between the 26th and 27th miles on the Golaghat-Dimapur road. As the locality is frequented by wild elephants, to whom the present damaged condition of the images is due, the Vishnu image has been removed by me to Gauhāti and deposited for safe custody in the rooms of the Kāmrū Anusandhān Samiti. The place was visited by Dr. Bloch in 1904-05, who describes the image as follows in the Annual Report of the Eastern Circle:—'The second or smaller image 2 feet 6 inches high is a standing Vishnu or Nārāyaṇa with two hands only (the other two hands on the proper right have been lost) wearing the usual crown and having the Śrīvatsa mark on his breast. On the left outer face is an inscription in four lines, the end of which is broken. The broken piece could not be found.' About the inscription, he further writes: 'The inscription consists of three verses of Sanskrit poetry, evidently full of orthographical and grammatical blunders and for this reason difficult to read. The first two verses seem to be in honour of Śiva and the third refers to the putting up of a statue of Nārāyaṇa by some person whose name was on the missing piece of stone. It is of no historical interest. Judging from the characters, it belongs to about the 12th century A.D.' As Dr. Bloch's estimate of the age of the inscription is rather wide of the mark, sufficient attention was not drawn to the importance of this image. The characters are similar to the inscription of Harjījara on a rock on the bank of the Brāhma-putra near Tezpur, which is dated in the year 510 of the Gupta Era. The present inscription can be safely attributed to the 9th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, and as the statue is the only early example of an inscribed image yet known in Upper Assam, it is a landmark in the history of Art in Assam. On grounds of style and execution, the image could easily have been ascribed to the late Gupta or early Pāla period in Bengal. Attention may be drawn to the thick lower lip, the expression of the face, the ear-ornament, the band around the crown, the Brahmanical thread and the close-fitting garment, the style of the Gādā and the Vanamālī, and the Kaustubha and Śrīvatsa symbols, which are all indications of an earlier age not far removed from the late Gupta period. It is worthy of note that the position of Deopani is intermediate between Dimapur and Kasomari Pathar where still exist the remains of the peculiar culture associated with the Kṛṣhī LA in the shape of monoliths described as ‘sword-blade,’ ‘chess-man,’ ‘V-shaped,’ and ‘buffalo-horned’ columns.
The characters are acute-angled and belong to the Eastern variety prevalent in the ninth century A.D. over the larger portion of Northern India.

The inscription, as was pointed out by the late Dr. Bloch long ago, is full of orthographical blunders and was apparently written very carelessly. A number of letters have been lost at the end of each line, except the fourth. Calculating on the basis of completing the first two ślokas, we find that at least 15 letters must have been lost in the first line and 11 in the second. Owing to the incompleteness of the record and inaccuracy of the scribe, it is not possible to give a connected account of the contents of the inscription. The opening benedictory verse must be taken as referring to Śiva, as it mentions the serpent-girdle, bull emblem and the moon. The purport of the second verse, which probably commences in the second line and ends in the third, is very obscure. The end of the last line seems to refer to a stone image of the divine Nārāyaṇa. The text is edited from two impressions prepared at my instance.

TEXT.

1 Īm1 [("!") Havaṅtu tōchh'yaṁ uragendra-sūtraṁ vṛisha-dhvajaṁ sōma-jaga(t)-prakāśāṁ | ma . . . . .
2 Bhagavatās-tu Śūrijas || Satvās-tu Dévi bhuvi *mārtti-lōkē snāṇē . . . . . .
3 áka-sūḍro dvija-varṇā-nāri-sāvyas-tu dévi bhagavatis-tu Śūrijas || pi * * *
4 nā[ma]pa dhavaḍī (?) | Bhagavatō Nārāyaṇas [ṣya*] śailī pratima bhaktayantaṁ18 ||

No. 38.—POLONNARUVA INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYABAHU I.

BY S. PARANAVAṬANA, OOTACAMUND.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone slab lying to the west of Vihaṇa No. 1, about 50 feet north-east of the Latāmandāpayā in Polonnaruva, the medieval capital of the kings of Ceylon. It was first discovered and brought to notice by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., the late Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon, who sent inked estampages of it, for examination, to the Government Epigraphist for India. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri in his Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1913, has discussed the historical importance of this record. An account of the inscription, with a translation of it, has also been published by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for the year 1911-12. The text of the inscription has recently been published in the South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts), Vol. IV (No. 1396). The present article is prepared with the help of an impression preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, and of another kindly supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon. I am much indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri and

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1 Expressed by a symbol.
2 Correct bhavatun or Bhavaṇa tri. The metre seems to be upajāti although the first aksobha of the second line does not conform to the scanning. (What is meant here is probably Bhavaṇa Tri(Tri)-ņetrām.—Ed.)
3 Possibly this is to be corrected 'loṣyaṁ ' or 'loṣyam'.
4 This expression is repeated at the end of the third verse, in line 3. The correct reading is possibly 'Bhagavati tu Śūryaṁ ' or 'Bhagavatīs-tu Śūryaṁ.'
5 The metre is probably upajati, but the fifth aksobha is short instead of long. (The original reads Satv-asvam.—Ed.)
6 Apparently murttyākse is intended.
7 [The original has surana.—Ed.]
8 sa is written below the line.
9 Correct Pratima.
10 Correct bhaktayān (?). (The original reads bhaktiyānāḥ.—Ed.)
DEOPANI VISHNU-IMAGE INSCRIPTION.
IMAGE OF VISHNU AT DEOPANI, DISTRICT SIBSAGAB, ASSAM.

From a photograph.
Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for many suggestions, and for the kind encouragement given to me in preparing this paper.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved measures 8' 2" by 2' 6". There are 49 lines of writing on it. The stone had been planed and ruled before the letters were engraved. The writing, which has been well executed, is in a fairly good state of preservation—the average size of the letters being about 1 inch in height. The characters used in the record are Grantha and Tamil. They agree, on the whole, with those of the Tamil inscriptions of the contemporary Chōja kings on the mainland of South India. The following facts, however, are noteworthy. The pulji or sīrma sign, which is generally not used in most of the Tamil inscriptions in the South India of the medieval age, is here invariably indicated by a small vertical stroke, written over the letter, e.g. in vaḷi vanda (l. 7). The anusvāra is generally written over the letter, at its top. The first five lines consist of a Sanskrit verse in the Śāradulavikrīḍita metre, and the rest of the inscription is in Tamil prose, where, however, there is a great admixture of Sanskrit words. In the Sanskrit portion the rules of sandhi have not been observed in one place, i.e. kārṣṇit+ārī (l. 2). It is interesting to note that, in the Tamil passage, the following old Sinhalese words are used with Tamil inflexions in some cases:

L. 16. Senevirat (Skt. Sēnāpatsi-rāja), Commander-in-Chief.
L. 17. Pulanari (Skt. Pulasti-nagara), the name of a city.
L. 20. daladā (Skt. daṁshṭra-dhātu), Tooth Relic.
L. 27. Mugalan (Skt. Maudgalyāyana), the name of a Buddhist monk.

No date is given in the inscription; but it mentions king Vijayabahu I, and states that he reigned for 55 years and celebrated his 73rd birthday festival. According to the Mahāvamsa, the duration of his reign was only 55 years. Therefore, it is evident that this record was inscribed after his death. According to the chronology adopted by Wijesinha, the translator of the Mahāvamsa, Vijayabahu reigned from A.D. 1065 to 1120. 1

The inscription opens with an eulogistic account of king śrī—Sāṅghabadhivarmān alias Vijayabahuṇḍava. It says that he belonged to the Solar race and that he had to conquer many enemies before he entered Anurādhapura, where he was crowned king of Ceylon, at the instance of the Sāṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist monks), for the protection of the religion of the Buddha. It is also stated that he invited monks from Arumana, 2 and purified the Sāṅgha of the three nikkayas (fraternities), 3 to whom he gave three tulāhāras (i.e. weight of gold equal to that of his own person). Having brought the whole of the island of Ceylon under his dominion, he reigned for

1 According to the latest version of this part of the chronology of Ceylon, the dates, connected with the principal events of Vijayabahu's career, are as follows:

His birth, in A.D. 1040.
He freed Rōhaṇa of enemies and assumed the title of Vijayabahu, when he was seventeen years old, in A.D. 1058.
In the 15th year of his Rōhaṇa rule, i.e. the 33rd year of his age, he entered Anurukdahapura and became the ruler of all Ceylon, in A.D. 1075. His death, after the 73rd birthday which was the 56th year of his Rōhaṇa rule or the 41st year of his Polonnaruwa rule, in A.D. 1114.


2 Arumana (Sinhalese Aramana) is a corruption of the Pāli word Rāmaṇā, which was the name by which Lower Burma was known in ancient times. Rev. Foulkes tries to locate the Aramana country on the Coromandel Coast, somewhere between the Chōja and the Kaliya countries, in the dominions of the old Pallavaas (Indian Antiquity, Vol. XVII, p. 126).

3 The three nikkayas of fraternities, into which the Buddhist Church in Ceylon was divided, were the Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri, and Jethavana sects.
55 years, and passed his 73rd birthday (tirunaksatram). It next mentions the building of a shrine for the Tooth Relic of Buddha in the monastery of Uturolmula which was a part of the Abhayagiri-vihāra by a General named Dēva, at the command of the king. We are next introduced to the royal preceptor Vyaśīnī Mugalān, who is described to have been well versed in all the sciences and scriptures, and who was a high dignitary of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon at this period. This hiaroh, as our inscription informs us, convened a meeting of the chief ministers of the state, and inviting the Vēlaikkāra forces to their presence, exhorted them to protect the temple of the Tooth. The Vēlaikkāra, who consisted of the three divisions of the Mahā-tantra, the Vālaṃjiyār, and the Nagaratūr, agreed to do so, and re-named the temple as Mūru-kai-tiru-Vēlaikkāra-Dālāda-perum-palli, and concerted the necessary arrangements for the protection of the shrine. They bound themselves not only to protect the temple, its lands, its serfs, property, etc., but also to keep it in proper repair and to do everything necessary for its proper maintenance. The inscription also gives a list of the various tribes which formed the Vēlaikkāra and ends with an imprecation on those who act against the rules laid down therein.

The account given in this inscription of king śri-Saṅghabodhi Vijayabāhu agrees in every detail with that given in the Mahāvamsa of Vijayabāhu I. So there is no doubt about the identity of the king mentioned in our record. The statement that he had to conquer many enemies before he could establish his authority, is, no doubt, a reference to the long wars that he had to wage against the Chōḷa invaders and the petty chieftains of Ceylon who ruled in the southern part of the island. Perhaps it might not be out of place, in this connection, to give a brief account of the state of the country before the accession of Vijayabāhu to the throne, and a short sketch of his career, as stated in the Mahāvamsa (Chapters LVIII to LX). At the beginning of the eleventh century, in the reign of Rājarāja I, the Chōḷas invaded Ceylon and annexed the northern part of the island to their dominions, taking Mahinda V, the then king of Ceylon, as a prisoner, to the Chōḷa country. From this time, up to the end of the reign of the Chōḷa king Adhirājendra-dēva, Ceylon acknowledged the supremacy of the Chōḷas. During this period Ceylon was in a state of utter confusion. The Sinhalese princes, driven to the mountainous districts of the South, were always fighting amongst themselves, when the Chōḷas were not at their doors. When the country was in this distracted state, a young scion of the ancient Sinhalese royal family, named Kirti, raised the standard of war, and after a considerable amount of fighting, made himself the master of the Rōhana country, the southern part of Ceylon, and assumed the title of Vijayabāhu, when he was only seventeen years of age. After making his position secure in the principalities of which he was the chief, he started a campaign to rid the island of foreign domination. The time chosen by him for this enterprise was an opportune one. The campaign of Vijayabāhu against the Chōḷas falls into the period immediately before the accession of Kulōṭṭuniga I to the

1 Tirunaksatram means the 'sacred asterism.' It seems as if the Sinhalese kings of old celebrated a special festival annually, on the day of the constellation under which they were born. I am informed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Superintendent for Epigraphy, that such a custom still prevails in the royal family of Travancore, and that the princes of Travancore are named after the constellations under which they are born. The Mahāvamsa also gives instances in which persons were named after the constellation of their birth, e.g. Tiyaya and Pushya. [The Janma-nāma or birth name of a Hindu child is given after the janma-nāka-shatru or the constellation of nativity.—Ed.]

2 Inscriptions of Rājarāja I are found in Ceylon, and in one of the records of the Tanjore temple it is stated that the income of several villages in Ceylon was dedicated to that shrine. Rājendra-Chōḷa I also says in his inscriptions that he conquered the whole island. Rājādhirāja I and Rājendra-dēva, the successors of Rājendra-Chōḷa I, both conducted campaigns in Ceylon, in which several princes of the island are said to have perished. An inscription of Adhirājendra is also found at Polonnaruva. No inscription, however, of any Chōḷa successor of Adhirājendra is found on the island of Ceylon.
Chōla throne. This was a period of Civil War in the Chōla country, and, consequently, the Chōlas were not able to send sufficient forces to Ceylon to quell the rising there against their authority. In one of the inscriptions of Kulōtūngi at Tirukkaluikkūram,¹ he says that he sent several expeditions to Ceylon, but does not mention any definite results gained by them. These were most probably, the armies which, according to the Mahāvaṃśa, were sent by the Chōla king to fight against Vijayabāhu. After a long and protracted campaign, Vijayabāhu succeeded in driving the Chōlas out of Ceylon, and made himself the master of the whole island.

During the Chōla occupation, the Buddhist religion had suffered greatly. In fact, when Vijayabāhu came to the throne, he found that there were no ordained monks in the island, who would help him in the work of reviving the religion of the land. Therefore, he sent an embassy to the king of Aramaṇa, requesting him to send properly ordained monks to Ceylon. The king of Aramaṇa at this time was Anuruddha, from whom Vijayabāhu received substantial support in his struggle against the Chōlas. The Burmese king sent several properly ordained monks to the island, and they revived the Buddhist Church in Ceylon, and helped Vijayabāhu to restore Buddhism to its pristine glory and splendour. Our inscription alludes to this event, and, moreover, states that he purified the saṅgha of the three nikāyas (fraternities), and gave three tulabhārās to them. The Ceylon chronicles do not mention this fact, though they give a long account of the king’s benefactions to the religious establishments, and his various works of public utility.

The Commander-in-Chief Dēva, who, at the instance of the king, built a shrine for the Tooth Relic, is not known to us from other sources. The monastery of Uruḷuṇuḷa, within the precincts of which the Temple of the Tooth Relic was built, and which was itself a part of the Abhayagiri-vihāra⁵ at Polonnaruva, must be the same as the monastery of Uttarāḷā which was built by Māṇa, one of the predecessors of Vijayabāhu I, for his eldest brother who had entered the priesthood.⁶ It is also stated in the Mahāvaṃśa that the king entrusted the guard of the Tooth Relic to him. The Buddhist monk Mugalān, who took an active part in getting the consent of the Vēlaikkāras to protect the temple, is not mentioned, so far as I know, in any of the Ceylon chronicles.

The next point to be discussed is, who these Vēlaikkāras were, and what their position was in Ceylon, at the time when this inscription was set up. The Vēlaikkāras are mentioned in the Mahāvaṃśa as having formed a part of the army of the Sinhalese kings of this period. It is stated that towards the latter part of Vijayabāhu’s reign, there was a revolt of these troops, when he was making preparations for undertaking an expedition to South India against the Chōla king. This rising of the Vēlaikkāras was put down with considerable difficulty, and as a consequence of it, the projected campaign against the Chōlas had to be given up.⁴ Later on, in the reign of Vijayabāhu’s grandson, Gajabāhu II, they again figure in the history of Ceylon. There, it is said, that Gajabāhu’s rival, Parākramabāhu I, tried to win them over to his side. A few years later, we find the Vēlaikkāras in alliance with the Kēralas and the people of Rōhāṇa, rising in rebellion against the authority of Parākramabāhu I.⁵ These accounts, coupled with the fact that their aid was considered effective for the protection of one of the most cherished national treasures of the Sinhalese people, go to prove that the Vēlaikkāras were, at this period, a very powerful community.

¹ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, p. 282.
² This vihāra was distinct from the monastery of the same name as the old capital, Anurādhapura.
³ Mahāvaṃśa, Chapter LVII.
⁴ Ibid., Chapter LX.
⁵ Ibid., Chapter LXIII.
⁶ Ibid., Chapter LXXIV.
The inscriptions of the Chōja kings Rājarāja I and Rājendrā-Chōja I, on the walls of the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore, make mention of several Vēlaikkārā regiments. The origin of the word vēlaikkāra has not yet been conclusively proved. Different scholars have given different interpretations of the word. Dr. Hultsch has rendered vēlaiikkāra-padaiqal as ‘the troop of servants’. The late Rai Bahadur Venkayya was of opinion that it was a corruption of the word vēlaiikkāra, and comments as follows: “At any rate, the origin of the term is obscure, and must be left to future research. It is possible they were no mercenaries in the Chōja country at the beginning of the 11th century. If a conjecture may be offered, I would say they were perhaps volunteers who enlisted themselves when the occasion (vēlai) for their services arose. In later times when their services were not required in the Tamil Country, they probably migrated to Ceylon, during the period of interregnum, when there were frequent Chōja invasions against the island. Eventually they probably developed into mercenaries.” Mr. Krishna Sastri, in his remarks upon this inscription, says of the Vēlaikkāras, “Whatever the Vēlaikkāras may have been in their religious creed, it is clear from what is stated in the inscription that they included all working classes, and were apparently of Indian origin who immigrated into Ceylon with the merchants whom they served.” The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao’s opinion as to who the Vēlaikkāras were was quite different from any of the views set forth above. He says that they were not mercenaries, but “persons who had pledged themselves to do certain duties, failing which, they would voluntarily undergo certain penalties, which, in most cases, was death.” He has quoted two passages from Tamil literature, one from the commentary of Periyavāchāchāpilla on Nammāīvar’s Tirumāgli which explains the word pū-vēlaiikkāra as “those who, when they see the king being without flower-garlands at the time when he ought to wear them, had vowed to stab themselves and die.” The other extract is from the commentary of the Sivavachakambhaṇam, where the Vēlaikkāras are said to be “the servants of the king who chastise those who prove traitorous to him.”

In this inscription they are termed ‘the Vēlaikkāras of the three hands’ (mūru-kai). In No. 602 of 1912, another inscription from Ceylon, mūru-kai-tiru-vēlaiikkāraṇ appears as the surname of a certain Adhikārāṇa Sāraṇaṇ, and in No. 610 of the same year, also from Ceylon, mūru-kai is referred to as the name by which a particular community was known. In an inscription of the time of Kulottuṅga-Chōladeva, in the Bhaktavatsalēvara temple at Shermedēvī, mūru-kai-mahāśēvar is represented as protecting certain charitable endowments made to that temple. A Tamil inscription at Dangūr, in Mysore, too, refers to the Vēlaikkāras of the right hand. It seems from our inscription as if the three divisions or ‘hands’ to which the Vēlaikkāras were divided, consisted of the Mahāntantra, the Vaḷaṅjiygar, and the Nagarattār. Out of these terms, Mahāntantra is not found elsewhere, and its sense is not clear. Probably it was used here with a Buddhist significance. The terms Vaḷaṅjiygar and Nagarattār are of frequent use in the South Indian inscriptions of this period. They are there represented to have been a wealthy and influential body of merchants. In Mr. Rice’s Mysore Inscriptions there are three records from Balligami, which refer to the corporation of merchants known as the Vaḷaṅjiygar. In one of them the members are styled “protectors of the vira-bāṇaṇa rights.”

4 The above is from an article by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, a reprint of which was found among some of his papers which are in the library of the Government Epigraphist for India. I have not been able to find out the journal to which the article was contributed.  
6 No. 189 of the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1895.  
7 Mysore Archaeological Report for 1893, p. 91.  
8 Mysore Inscriptions, p. 73.
banaigas, whilst the third inscription calls the members of the guild “the protectors of the vira-banaigaj-dharma.” Two inscriptions from Shikarpur Taluq (Nos. 94 and 118), published in the Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. VII, describe these merchants in great detail. An inscription has been found at Anualudava, a village near Polonnaruwa, which begins with almost the same phrases as are used in describing the Valañjiyars merchants in the Kanarese inscriptions from Mysore. This inscription being only a fragment, the word banañjiyar does not actually occur in it; but the phraseology used in it shows, beyond doubt, that it must have been a record of the same Corporation of Merchants. In the inscription No. 555 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1923, mention is made of the Valañjiyar of South Ceylon (Ten-Ilançai-banañjiyar). They are there represented as making donations to a Vishnu temple. As regards the derivation of this word, the late Mr. Venkayya says:— “In Kanarese banañjiya is still used to denote a class of merchants. In Telugu the word baliya or baliya has the same meaning. It is therefore probable that the words banañjiyam, banañjiyar, banañji, banañji, banañjiga and baliya are cognate, and derived from the Sanskrit vanji.”

The Nagarattars, who are mentioned in this inscription along with the Valañjiyars, were also an influential community of merchants, who, at the time that we are speaking of, had their mercantile establishments not only all over South India and Ceylon, but also in Burma and other parts of Further India. The Nagarattars comprised within their ranks another class of merchants called the Nandañi. An inscription of Queen Lilaçati of Ceylon, who reigned in the first decade of the 13th century, mentions the Nandañi merchants as having made some donations to an alms-house at Anuradhapura. As the Valañjiyars are said to have been the leaders (muñdai) of the Velaikkara troops, it might be conjectured that the latter migrated to Ceylon with the Valañjiyar whom they served. The Valañjiyars and the Nagarattars are at present represented by the Banañjiya and Nagaratta communities of the Kanarese country.

The different sub-sects, into which the Velaikkaras were further divided, were the Valañgi, Idañgi, Sirudanam, Piligañdalnam, Vadugar, Malaiyalar, Parivarákkondam, and others. Out of these Valañgi and Idañgaimean the ‘Right hand’ and the ‘Left hand’ castes respectively. From an early time the inhabitants of South India were thus divided. The Madras Epigraphical Report for 1913 contains the following interesting account as regards the origin of the Idañgi:—

“While in order to kill demons (that disturbed) the sacrifices of the sage Kasyapa, we were made to appear from the agni-kunda (i.e. the sacrificial fire pit), and while we were protecting the said sacrifice, Chakrabartin Arindama honoured the officiating sage priests by carrying them in a car, and led them to a Brahmana Colony (newly-founded by himself). On this occasion we were made to take our seats on the backside of the car and to carry the slippers and umbrellas of these sages. Eventually, with these Brahmana sages, we also were made to settle down in the villages of Tiruvellarai, etc. We received the clan name Idañgi, because the sages (while they got down their cars) were supported by us on their left side.” In the same inscription it is said that there were ninety-eight sub-sects of the Idañgi. Their insignia are given thus:— “It is also understood that only those, who, during their congregational meetings to settle communal disputes, display the insignia(?) of horn, bugle and parasol, shall belong to our class. Those who have

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to recognise us now and hereafter, in public, must do so from our distinguishing symbols, the feather of the crane and the loose hanging hair.”

The term Sirudanam appears in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I and Rājendra-Chola I, as a title given to military officers. Among the regiments mentioned in the inscriptions of the same place we find two named “Sirudanattu-vajga-kkāvalar and Sirudanattu-Vaḷāṅga-Vēḷaiikkārā-paḍaṅgal.” The true significance of this term has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Dr. Hultzsch explains the terms sirudanam and perudanam as the *small treasury* and the ‘big treasury’, and persons so entitled as officers of the treasury, small or big. The titles are sometimes explained as referring to the followers of the king during his minority and majority. In all probability sirudanam and perudanam were purely honorary titles conferred on officers, as well as private individuals, according to the status held by them in official position or in society.

The Vaṅgār (Northerners) might have been immigrants from the Telugu Country. The Malayāḷar, most probably, were settlers from the Malabar Coast. On the occasion of the rebellion of the people of Rōhāṇa against Parākramabāhu I, as already mentioned, the Kērala took the side of the insurgents. There are also other references to the Kērala soldiers in the Mahāvamsa. The term Malayāḷar, therefore, must have been applied to the people from the Kērala country.

The inscription is silent as to the reason why the protection of the Vēḷaiikkāras was sought for the Tooth Relic. If this inscription was engraved only after the death of Vijayabāhu I, it must have been owing to the state of anarchy which prevailed after that event.

Out of the places mentioned in this record, Anurādhapura is the well-known capital of the ancient Sinhalese kings. Arumana has already been identified with Rāmaṅnadāsa, i.e. Lower Burma. Pulanari, also called Vijayaśārapūpa in the inscription, evidently after King Vijayabāhu I, is the same as Poionnarwa (Pulastipura), and was the mediaval Sinhalese Capital. In Chōla inscriptions found in Ceylon this city is also called Janaṅkhaīmālgalam. There are extensive ruins of the many monasteries, palaces, and other public buildings with which it was adorned in the days of its splendour.

TEXT.

1 Svasti Śrī[†] Laiṅkāyāṁ Jina-danta-dhātu-bhavanaṁ yad-Dēva-
2 sēndhipō-kārahit śrī-Vijayaśālapuṇṇirvar-ādē[ā]-
3 t Pulastēḥ purē [†] Vēḷaiikkārā-samā[ḥritā]n tad-apī ta-
4 t-parāyanta-dēvalayān Vēḷaiikkārā-balāni pā-
6 Śrī-Laiṅkā-dvīpattu Sūrīya-varnaśattu Ikshevāku[vi]-
7 n valī-vanda anēka-satru-vijayam paṇṇi Anur[ā]-
8 dhaṇpuram pukku Buddhā-saṣānaṁ rakshikkā vēṇḍi sa-
9 ṛgha-niyōgattāl tiru-muḍā-sūḍi Arumanaṭṭillī-
10 ρuṇa saṅgattārai ajaippitu muṇḍu nikāya-
11 ttu saṅgha-śuddhī paṇṇuvittu muṇḍu tulābhaṁ-
12 μuṇḍu nikāyattukku kuḍuttu daśa-rāja-dharmattāl-
13 aṁbatt-ayu-āṇḍu laṅgai-muḷдум oru-kuḍai-nil[i]a-
14 rī-tiruv-irāyāḥ-cheyd-aruṭi elupattu mūv-āṭḍu tiru-na-
15 kahatān-cheluttina Kā-śrī-Saṅghabodhi-vatmar-āṇa chakravartti-
16 ga] śrī-Vijayabhūdēva-var-anuvāgal De[vā]-sēnovittat-

†† Ibid for 1913, p. 97.
† This is a name in which at least we see the Puranic allusion to Pulastī Brahmas, an ancestor of Rāvaka, the giant king of Ceylon.
TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-5.) May the Vēlaiikkāra forces well protect, till the juncture of another kalpa, on this earth, that shrine of the Tooth Relic of Jina (Buddha), which Dēva, the Commander-in-Chief, had built in the city of Pulasti in Lāṅkā (Ceylon), at the command of the glorious king Vijayabhāhu, and the other shrines of the gods (situated) near that (shrine), which the Vēlaiikkāras have brought together under their protection. Obedience to the Buddha.

(Ll. 6-24.) The glorious king Saṅghabodhīvarman alias Chakravartin Śrī-Vijayabhāhu-dēva, who appeared in the lineage of Ikshvāku of the Solar race in the prosperous island of Lāṅkā; who, having conquered many enemies, entered the city of Anurādhapura, and wore the beautiful crown at the request of the saṅgha for protecting the Order (i.e., the religion) of the Buddha; who, inviting monks from Arumana, caused the purification of the saṅgha of the three
fraternities (nikāyas) and gave three tulākhāra to the three fraternities; who, bringing the whole of Lankā under the shade of one umbrella, had been pleased to reign for fifty-five years with the ten principles of regal duty* and celebrated seventy-three birthday festivities (tīru-nakṣatram), gave orders to Nuvaragā Dēvasenevirattaram, and caused to be built within (the precincts of) Uṭtorūmūḷa, which was the principal shrine of the great monastery of Abhayagiri the Mūlas-thāna (i.e. important seat of monks) in the city of Pulanari alias Vijayarājapura, the great temple of the Tooth Relic (dāla-dāya-pperumpalli), the permanent abode of the venerated Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic (dāla-dāya-pātra-dhātu-svāmi-dēvargal), the crest jewel of the three worlds, an auspicious house for the first inauguration ceremony, a gandhakuti* for the great stone image of Buddhādeva to whom annually is held the festival of opening the eyes and fixing collyrium thereon.

(L. 25-39.) As the Mahāsthavira Vyāriṇi† Mugalān, the royal preceptor, well versed in all the sciences and scriptures, of good conduct and behaviour, who, being gloriously seated in the Uturūmūḷa (monastery) along with the ministers of the king was pleased to call us to his presence and said “The great temple of the Tooth Relic should be under your protection,” we, of the Mahātantra, having called together the Valaṇjīyar, who are our leaders, and the Nagarattār and others, who always accompany us, gave it the sacred name of “Māṇu-ka-tīru-vēḷai-kārāṇ Dala-da-yā-pperumpalli” (i.e. the great temple of the Tooth Relic of the Vēḷai-kārāṇ of the three hands), and to make it remain as our charity and under our protection, assigned for the protection of this charity one servant and one vēḷi of land (for his maintenance), from each regiment; and bound ourselves to protect the villages under the supervision of this temple (palli), its servants and treasures, as well as the men seeking its shelter, even though (we may) suffer ruin or loss; and to always provide for all the requirements of this (temple), so long as our community continues to exist, repairing such parts (of the temple) as get dilapidated.

(L. 39-44.) In order that the agreement thus given may last as long as the Moon and the Sun (endure), we, the exalted Vēḷai-kārāṇ, consisting of the Valaṇgai, Idaṇgai, Śirudanam, Pillai-galānam, Vaḷugar, Malaiyāḷar, Paḷivārakkondam and various other classes of workmen (paḷakalänai), attested it (i.e. the agreement) with our own hands, and caused it to be engraved on copper and stone.

(L. 44-49.) Whose acts against this, or acquiesces in doing wrong to this, shall enter the hell wherein fall those enemies of the (Vēḷai-kārāṇ) regiments, who have wronged the Mahātantra, those who have committed the five great sins, those heinous sinners who have robbed what have been given to gods, bāḷas, and the great asetics, and those who have wronged the (three) gems, (to wit), the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha. Forget not charity! Hail! Prosperity!

1 Tulākhāra is weighing one’s self against gold or other precious substances and giving away the same in charity.
2 The ten principles of regal duty as explained in Pali books are, charity (dāna), piety (śīla), liberality (pārigha), rectitude (cīvāna), gentleness (majjana), religious austerity (topasa), freedom from wrath (akāchā), humanity (arihata), forbearance (khanti), and the state of having no enmity (arivikāta).
3 The correct reading Nuvaragāl in place of asvandap is due to Codrinoton.
4 Gandhakuti (perfumed chamber) was the name given to the part of the vikāra occupied by the Buddha himself, when he was alive.
5 It is doubtful whether Vyāriṇi formed a part of the name of the monk. No such name is met with anywhere as the name of a Buddhist monk. I am not able to give any other explanation of this word.
6 The five great sins according to the Buddhists are:—(1) the murdering of one’s father, (2) the murdering of one’s mother, (3) killing an arhat or saint, (4) shedding the blood of a Buddha, (5) causing schism in the Order. According to the Hindu Law-books they are:—(1) killing a Brāhmaṇa, (2) drinking intoxicating liquor, (3) theft, (4) committing adultery with the wife of a religious teacher, and (5) associating with any one guilty of these crimes,
No. 39.—THE JUNAGADH INSCRIPTION OF JIVADAMAN I.

BY R. D. Banerji, M.A.

The inscription which is edited below for the first time, was discovered by some labourers on the top of the citadel of Junagadh fort during the rainy season of 1919. Mr. S. Brook-Fox, the then Chief Engineer of the Junagadh State, removed the stone slab on which it is written to the State Office building and, sending its inked impression, informed the Archaeological Survey Department of its discovery. It is now deposited in the Bahadur Khân-ji Museum, Junagadh. During my visit in the month of October of the same year I read the inscription from the stone and took its stampages for publication.

The record is incised on a heavy slab of stone, the inscribed surface of which measures 31 inches by 10 inches. At present, it consists of two short lines mutilated both at the beginning and at the end. The first line begins with the word kṣatrapasya and ends with the numerical symbol for 100. The second line begins with a proper name and ends with the word putra. The length of each of these two lines is 30" and the average height of the letters is 2½". Judging, however, from their contents it would appear that originally these lines were considerably longer. The slab bearing the inscription must have been used for building purposes. It was found with its face turned downwards in the debris of an old structure. When I saw it in the State Office at Junagadh, the letters were full of plaster or mortar made of powdered bricks (soorkhī) and lime. Possibly, there were several other lines below the second one which were mutilated when the stone was broken up to suit the requirements of the mason.

The characters of the inscription are of the usual type used in Western India in the second century A.D. and akin to the alphabet in which the Andhau inscriptions of Rudradāman I are written. The lower parts of ka and ra curve to the left. The three verticals of ya are almost equal in height and all instances of the subscript form of this letter are tripartite. Vā and the lower part of ma are rather triangular. Both the verticals of pa are of equal height. In the only extant symbol of the palatal sa the pendant drops from the right half of the curve instead of from the left, while the angularity is not quite marked. In the letter śa the cross bar is joined to the right vertical straight line and not to the left as usual in one case, i.e., in kṣatrapasya, while in the other, i.e., in varśā, it seems to join both the verticals.

The inscription is written in Sanskrit prose. The object of it, however, is not clear on account of its mutilated state. The portion giving the date is unfortunately damaged and nothing is legible at the end of the first line, except the symbol for 100. The record refers itself to the reign of Jivadāman whose exact rank cannot be now ascertained because the portion of the slab, where his titles were in all probability written, is now missing. That he was a Kṣatrapa is certain as that title is prefixed to his name. Two Jivadāmans are known to have had any connection with Kāthiāwar. The first prince of that name was the son of Damajadāśī I and the grandson of Rudradāman I, who is known from his coins to have ruled in Kāthiāwar from the year 100 to 118 or 119 of the Śaka era. The second prince of that name is Śvāmī Jivadāman, known to us from the coins of his son, Kṣatrapa Rudrasintha II, who was ruling in Śaka 227 and seems to have succeeded to the throne on the extinction of the direct descendants of Chāshṭāna or of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasintha II. On palaeographic grounds, I am of opinion that the inscription under examination pertains to the reign of the Mahākṣatrapa Jivadāman I. The second line of this record contains four proper names:—[Vajstradatta, Vāstunādikā, Vastuśarmmaka and Rāmaka. The last word of
the second line, if read as putrā [पुत्र] would show that the first three persons were the sons of Rāmaka. The inscription must have been incised to commemorate some pious act or the erection of some building by these three brothers.

**TEXT.**


**NOTES.**

1. 1 (a) The upper part of the ligature in ksha is broken.
   (b) The cross bar in ska in varshē is damaged.
   (c) The last letter looks like ša but the downward prolongation of the right vertical makes it certain that this letter is the symbol for 100.

2. The restoration [Va] stradatta is tentative. The reading may be [Sa] stradatta or [A] stradatta.

The form of Vā in Vāstunāndika is peculiar. The base line is very much curved and the upper horizontal line has disappeared giving place to two curved lines which appear like bifurcations of the vertical.

**TRANSLATION.**

. . . of the [Mahā]shatrapa Svāmi Jivādāman, on the above mentioned, in the year 100 . . . [Va] stradatta, Vāstunāndika (Vāstunādin), Vāstūsarmmaka, the sons of Rāmaka . . .

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**No. 40.—PERUNEYIL RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIKA R.**

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription is engraved on a slab set up in the western prākāra of the Vīṣṇu temple at Peruneyil, a suburb of Changanācheri which is a taluk-centre in the Kottayam Division of the Travancore State. It is in clear-cut and well-preserved Vāṣṭuḷṭṭu characters, which can, from purely palaeographical considerations, be assigned to the 11th century A.D. or thereabouts. The language of the record is Tamiḻ, sprinkled with a few dialectical peculiarities of the West Coast e.g., irun-arulī (l. 19), aruliyār (l. 23), olla (l. 41), vannu (l. 58), and aṭikkumad-ṇṭṭom (ll. 61-63).

The record which is dated in the 8th year opposite the 2nd year of the reign of a certain king named Kulaśekhara-Koyiladhikāriga, presumably of the Chēra dynasty, does not give the exact Kollam year but mentions simply the vague astronomical detail that Jupiter was in Karkatāka. But this defect, as will be proved below, is mended by two other inscriptions secured from Quilon1 and Tiruvallēr2, both of which are also in the Travancore State. The date portions in these two inscriptions run thus:—


1 [This phrase usually follows the date. — Ed.]
4 *This portion is somewhat damaged; an alternative reading of Kē-Rāman is also possible.*

Of these, the latter is dated in the year opposite the 2nd year of the reign of Kulaśekhara-pērumbāl when Jupiter stood in Makara, and the first epigraph, which is dated on the 9th day of Chiṅgam in the Kollam year 278 (= August 1102 A.D.) when Jupiter stood in Kanyā, purports to have been issued in the reign of Irāmar-Tiruvāḍi Kōyiladhisirigal-āyina Kulaśekhara-Chakravartigal in the second year opposite to the year padī . . . ., the second part of which admits of the possible reading nēra. Jupiter, which was in Makara in the 2nd+1st year (expired) of the reign of Kulaśekhara-pērumbāl according to the Tiruvāḷur record, would have journeyed on to Karkaṭaka six years later. This was actually the planet’s position in the 2nd+5th year of Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhisirigal as recorded in the Peruneyil inscription. Consequently, the two kings Kulaśekhara-pērumbāl and Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhisirigal mentioned in these two epigraphs appear to be identical. Again, it is clear that two years later, i.e., in the 2nd+11th year, Jupiter would be occupying the Kanyā-rāsi. In the regnal year of king Kulaśekhara-Chakravartigal which has been read as 2nd+11th in the Quilon record Jupiter was actually in Kappi (Kanyā). This proves beyond doubt that the three kings referred to in the epigraphs from Tiruvāḷur, Quilon and Peruneyil are identical, and it follows also that king Kulaśekhara may have ascended the Chēra throne between the months Dhanus and Karkaṭaka of the Kollam year 265, i.e., between January and July 1090 A.D.

The title Kōyiladhisirigal assumed by the king deserves some notice. Kōyil either means ‘a temple’ or ‘a palace’ and adhiśirigal is a ‘controller.’ It is possible that the management of the palace was left in the hands of an important officer, sometimes the young crown-prince himself, who was consequently called the Kōyiladhisirigal, and so Dr. Gundert has translated this term as the Palace-Major; but as the kings of Kēraḷa were known to have specially interested themselves in temple affairs, it appears more probable that even during the life-time of a reigning sovereign, the supervision of the temple demesne was vested in the crown-prince so as to give him the proper preliminary training in administrative work, and that he was given the title of Kōyiladhisirigal. Vijayarāgadēva who figures as such in the Kōṭṭayam plates of the Chēra king Śthāya-Ravi probably held a similar position and his presence was considered essential for the transaction recorded in that copper-plate charter. He could not have been a mere official unconnected with the royal household, for, we find him given the title ‘Chēra-maṅga’ in a Tiruvāḷur epigraph of 936 A.D., and he had himself married a Kēraḷa princess Kīlāṇadigal daughter of Kulaśekharaṅadēva.

In the Quilon record under reference, the king is introduced by the expression ‘Irāmar-Tiruvāḍi Kōyiladhisirigal-āyina Kulaśekhara-chChakravartigal’ which can be understood in one of two ways. The ordinary interpretation will be to consider that Kulaśekhara-Chakravarti was the Kōyiladhisirigal of another senior king Rāmar-Tiruvāḍi; but as the title ‘Chakravartin’ affixed to his name denotes that he was the reigning king, the simultaneous use

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3 Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 116. *Nambūdīri Brahmins who held sway over temples possessing immense wealth and landed property invoked the assistance of Sāmanta-kshatriyas and these managed the Dēvasāmas under the title of Kōyiladhisirigal (Temple-Managers)—Land Tenure of Travancore.* Although this Kōyiladhisirigal was also wielded by private managers (Trav. Archl. Series, II, p. 44) in the case of small individual temples, the general control together with the specific title must have been in the possession of a member of the royal family, the crown-prince, in all probability.
of the other title Kōyiladhirikāri which would indicate a subordinate position to Rāmar-Tiruvadi, appears to be inconsistent. Rāmar-Tiruvadi to whom Kulaśekhara was the Kōyiladhirikāri (or Agent-in-chief) may be taken to refer to god Rāmēsvara of the Quilon temple, ‘Tiruvadi’ being a respectful term applied alike to gods, kings, queens and saints.\(^1\) Or again; Rāmar-Tiruvadi Kōyiladhirikāri may be taken as the proper name of the king and Kulaśekhara as his regal title. If, however, Rāmar-Tiruvadi represents a senior king whose Kōyiladhirikāri was Kulaśekhara at that time, then we have to understand that though the latter has styled himself as an independent king in the more northern localities in the 4th and 9th years of his reign, he acknowledged a suzerain in Rāmar-Tiruvadi in the somewhat later Quilon epigraph. Future researches alone can decide this point one way or the other; but it looks probable that Kulaśekhara of the three records was a Chēra or Cochin king and that Quilon was his southern outpost where in the palace called Paṇaṅgāvu\(^2\) he had encamped on the 9th Chiṅgam of Kollam 278. It may be noted that the Cochin rajas even now style themselves as Kōyiladhirikāri in documents pertaining to the landed property of temples, their full title being ‘PerumBAḍappu Gaṅgādhara Vira-Kērāḷa Tirukkōyiladhirikāri’\(^3\)

The king of this record being assigned to the end of the 11th century A.D., he must be different from Kulaśekhara, the author of the Mukundamālā (a devotional poem considered to be the work of the Vaishṇava royal-saint Kulaśekhara-Āḻvār), and the patron of the author of the four yamaka- kāyas\(^4\) entitled the Uddhishthiravijaya, the Tripuradahana, the Saurikathōdaya and the Nalōdaya, and from another Kulaśekhara, the royal author of the two Sanskrit dramas, the Tapatisamvaranaṇa and the Suḥhadrādhanvaṇja, and of the undiscovered prose work, the Aścharyamaṇjaṇa.\(^5\)

The object of the record was to state that the king who was seated in (the hall called) Neḍiyataḷi (at his capital ?) in company with the presidents of the four assemblies and (the president of ) Tirukkuṇagappūḷai, issued, after due consultation with his ministers, an order granting the annual income of 40 kalam of paddy and the tax (?) called arandai from the village of Peruneydal for the expenses of feeding certain Brāhmaṇa and for expounding the Mahābhārata in that temple. The recipients of the gift were the ār (i.e. the members of the village assembly) and the poduvāl (i.e. officers supervising charitable endowments). This order was conveyed by Rāman-Tāyana of Kāmakkuṇappūḷai and Nārayana-Nārayana of Kaṭamankaṇdu to the kuṇpaiti (headmen or chieftains) of the two villages of Kāpālimaṅgalam and Mutṭuṟu, who thereupon met in the temple of Peruneydal and, agreeing to refrain from collecting the arandai in obedience to the royal mandate, had this stipulation engraved on a slab of stone and got it set up in the temple compound.

The record is important in that it gives us, though perhaps imperfectly, a glimpse into the official routine of the 12th century in Kērāḷa where, more than in any other place, temple administration was entirely in the hands of the yōgams\(^6\) (corporations), which were wielding independent power in matters pertaining to temple politics, and which were presided over by the king.

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\(^1\) Taw Archi. Series. Vol. III, p. 3
\(^2\) Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 9. This palace of Paṇaṅgāvu was in existence at the time of the Vēṇāḍu ruler Śrīvalalbhāṅkāra (Kollam 149).
\(^4\) J.B.A.S., April 1925, pp. 266-76.
\(^5\) Summary of Papers of the All-India Oriental Conference, Third Session, pp. 169-175.
\(^6\) Malabar Quarterly Review, VIII, p. 110.
Neṣiyatali according to the Kēralotpatti was one of the four assembly halls in the capital town, where the councils (gōśama) elected their kings (rakṣha-purushas) under the leadership of their presidents called the Tāliyādirimār or Tāliyālvān. It is not apparent why the royal writ relating to the Peruneyil temple emanated from the Neṣiyatali Assembly Hall instead of from the Mēṟaḷi representing Mūḻikkālam, which might be expected to have exercised its jurisdiction over Peruneydal, as it had done in the case of the Tiruvaṉṉēr and Tirukkākkarai temples.

Pati or kuṇipati is the term which has been applied to chieftains in the Kōṭṭayam plates of Sthāṇu-Ravi — Punnaiattalai-patī and PūḷaiKKuṇḍi-patī, who were petty chieftains controlling restricted areas. Dēvanāḷis or officers in charge of dēsās or villages would be their equals in status. Arandai3 which literally means misery, here appears to signify some kind of tax in money or in kind leviable by the village officers on behalf of the king.

Of the places named in the record, Kaḻamandānu and Iḻandurutti are the localities from where the taliyādiris or presidents of the Neṣiyatali assembly are said to have been selected. Kāppāliyāngalam and Kāmakkāppappallāḷi are mentioned in the Tiruvalla plates and Muttūṟu may be the same as the modern Muttāṟu in the Tiruvalla taluk. Tirukkuṟṟappulā seems to be identical with the village of the same name near Kārṭtigaippallāḷi (Quilon Dn.) and belonging to the Edappallāḷi chief.

Neṣiyatali and Mēṟaḷi occurring in several other records at Tirukkākkarai may, in all probability, refer to these two assemblies in addition to being specific villages answering to these names.

1 Tāḷi means a temple but here refers to the meeting halls (within temples?) where certain assemblies met. Compare v. 69 of the Śakasandēsa of Lakṣmīdēsa (circa 12th cent. A.D.) where the Chēṟa capital Mahōdayapura, has been described as having tāḷis, presided over by all-powerful presidents:

चश देश शाह खस्तियावकी राजस्रवणा
भारत मार्टर डुरू वी बाजारें श्वेति।
क्षे मार्टीरे च भारतस्तनं शाहदराते या
निमं भूभागिनयान्यस्तवीली शाहीम।

2 Comp. ‘arandai-kuṇḍu varam-taram = inaj-eya’ — Śīlappadīpāram (Uraiperūkkatturai, 3).
5 Muttūṟu-kūṟṟam was the name of an ancient territorial division and it was situated somewhere in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom (Purum v. 24), but it had nothing to do with the village in this record. Compare r. 125 of the Upaṉantisandēs, where this village has been referred to:
Muttēṟṟiyecheprivya purayam pūnālīṭēchehu Gangaṁ-
muttēṟṟa tvam viradsu sakhe Nālukōṭiķku chēḷka.

6 In the island of Vaipen, there is another Iḻaṅkūṇṟappulāḷi whose famous Subrahmanya temple was, prior to its absorption by the Cochin Durbar, under the management of the Raja of Paravur and an influential saṅkēlam wielding high sacerdotal power (Cochin State Manual, p. 373). Tirukkuṟṟappulāḷi being used in the neuter gender can have nothing to do with the chief Yakkāṉ Kuṇṟṟappulāḷi figuring in the Tirukkākkarai records of the 10th century A.D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First side.</th>
<th>TEXT.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sawasti śrī [*] *Irā-</td>
<td>31 Āṭṭaiṅkār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 māṇḍai=k kedīr e-</td>
<td>32 nāṛpadin-kala-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ṭṭām=āṇḍu *Kulai-</td>
<td>33 mum arandaiyu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 śēkara-Koṅiladi-</td>
<td>34 m Peruneyda-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kārīgaḥ tīruv-rā-</td>
<td>35 ṭurum poduv-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 chōhiyāñ=chelā-</td>
<td>36 [um aṭṭil-pē-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 niṅga Karkaṅkat-</td>
<td>37 ṭāy koṇḍ[i]ṛ [*] Koṅi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 ti Vīṭalatti-</td>
<td>38 ladikārīga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 1st Virichechika-</td>
<td>39 Ā Kāpālmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 nāṇjrum nālu-</td>
<td>40 lattum Muttu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 taḷiṇaiyun-Tīru-</td>
<td>41 ṭrum oḷa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 kkuṇapāṭpālai- *</td>
<td>42 kudi-patik-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 yuṣ-kūṭṭiko-</td>
<td>43 ku tīrumuṅga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 ṭāḍu Neṭṭiyataḷi-</td>
<td>44 n=tīruviḷam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 irun-arulī Peru-</td>
<td>45 papaṇṭ *= Kināma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 neydal-āṭṭaiṅ</td>
<td>46 kkaṅappalḷi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 kūḷal *nāḷpa-</td>
<td>47 Irāman-Tāya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 āḷ-kalani- nel-</td>
<td>48 nūm Kaṇḍammap-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 lūm Peruneyda-</td>
<td>49 nāṭṭu Nārāya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 1-arandaiyun a-</td>
<td>50 na[*]Nārāyaṇaṅgam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 tīṛṭ-pēgāy ti-</td>
<td>51 ūr-ppoduṅ-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 rukkai ṃapaṁchch-a-</td>
<td>52 āḷ=kūḍi tīru-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 ruliyār [*] *Āṭṭai-</td>
<td>53 mL̄gām ṃatiy-ṝgu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 kūḷ namakārāmum</td>
<td>54 tīṭ̄ Ṣaṇḍu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Mābāramun-ṭi-</td>
<td>55 kkuḍi-patīya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 ruviḷam paṇ-</td>
<td>56 m Peruneyda-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 niy-aruḷiyār a-</td>
<td>57 mL[ū]kkāl̄va[*]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 maḷḷaḥchuḷḷuṛu[*]ṭi-</td>
<td>58 ṭiṭṭu vannu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second side.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31 Āṭṭaiṅkār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 nāṛpadin-kala-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 mum arandaiyu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 m Peruneyda-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 ṭurum poduv-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 [um aṭṭil-pē-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 ṭāy koṇḍ[i]ṛ [*] Koṅi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 ladikārīga-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 papaṇṭ *= Kināma-</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 Irāman-Tāya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 nūm Kaṇḍammap-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 nāṭṭu Nārāya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 na[*]Nārāyaṇaṅgam</td>
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<tr>
<td>52 āḷ=kūḍi tīru-</td>
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<td>53 mL̄gām ṃatiy-ṝgu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 tīṭ̄ Ṣaṇḍu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 kkuḍi-patīya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 m Peruneyda-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 mL[ū]kkāl̄va[*]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 From ink-impressions prepared by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.
2 Read irā-.
3 Read Kulakārka-.
4 The usual form will be Karkāṭakattil Vēḷalau niṅga ; the double locative is uncommon.
5 The correct accusative will be Tīruvagāppāṭpāḷiṇiṇuṃ.
6 Nāṭpadin is the Malayalam form of nāṛpadin (L. 32). 7 Read aṭṭip-.
8 Panṭi would be more appropriate.
9 Patti-ṛattu would be more grammatical or patti-ṛatīṭiśir, a finite verb, may have been used, as the sentence following mentions a separate item of fast. Patti-ṛattu though a finite verb in modern Malayalam could not have been in vogue at the time of the present record, as declensional endings have been used in aruḷiyār, koṇḍār and koṇṭiṭār.
10 Before ru, a letter has been entered and erased.
Third side.

59 küḍi a-
60 randai ta-
61 jikkuma-
62 d-øjij-
63 nöm-eu-
64 ru kal-e-
65 ludi nā-

66 ṭṭi-kko-
67 Ḡuttār
68 tiruvul-
69 [am-pa]-
70 niy-arulii-
71 yar(ya) nār-
73 ggamē [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the month of Vyśchika, of the eighth year current opposite to the second year of (his) prosperous reign, when Jupiter was in Karatkāka, Kulasēkhara-Koyiladhikārī was pleased to be present at Neḷiyantaḷ taking (with him) the four tajīs and Tirukkuṇaippōḷai, and was pleased to grant as an attippēru with libation of water, (tirukkuṇaiech- aruliyār) the annual income of forty kalam of paddy (accruing) from Peruneydal and the arandai of Peruneydal. After informing the ministry, Kulasēkhara-Koyiladhikārīga was also pleased to order the feeding (of persons) and (the reading of) the Mahābhārata (in the temple) from (this) annual income.

(The members of) the village of Peruneydal and the poduvāl* received as attippēru this annual income of forty kalam and arandai.

The Koyiladhikārīga having issued the royal order to the chieftains of the inhabitants of Kāpālimāṅgalam and Muttuṟu, and Rāman Tāyanaṇ of Kāmakkānappalī and Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kaṭāmbanādu, as well as, the ār-poduvāl, having together carried (this) royal order to the chieftains, the chieftains of the inhabitants of these two villages came to the temple of Peruneydal and caused the fact that they, as stated in the royal order, ceased to levy the arandai, to be engraved on stone and had it set up.

1 It cannot be ascertained whether there is any mistake in this word here. It ' mere collection ' is implied, the word used is rather rare. Another word ' ādikkaratru ' is defined by Mr. Nagam Ayya in his Triv. State Manual as a fee due to the Sirkar from the heir on his succession to the virutti holding, for the grant of the Royal seat. Dr. Gundert explains it as ' the rights retained by the original proprietor from the purchaser. '  
2 See note 1, p. 343, above.  
3 Tirukkuṇaiech-āruliyār means ' was pleased to wet his auspicious (royal) hands, ' i.e., ' was pleased to give away with a libation of water ' (attippēru, Ḡdakadānām).  
4 Nāmakkāram (Skt. namaṅkāram) is an arrangement which consists of feeding Brāhmans in the temple premises with the food that had been previously offered to the god as mīvēdanām, for the merit of, and with the donations made by some individual, either royal or private.  
5 The reading of the Mahābhārata was a favourite form in which temple charities were utilised.  
6 Poduvāl, corresponding to madhyasthās of Tanjil inscriptions, represents persons who had the supervision of charitable institutions. They were sub-divided into āga and pāga-poduvāl.  
7 In the expression attikkōṭ, attai = annual, and kōṭ (the substantive of kōṭ = to receive) the receipt, so the annual income (in kind) from the lands is meant.  
8 Ādikkaratru seems to mean ' realisation (of the tax). '
No. 41.—THE GARAVAPADU GRANT OF GANAPATIDEVA; ŚAKA 1182.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMCHARLU, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

This grant is engraved on three copper-plates which were forwarded to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, in the year 1916, by M. R. Ry. M. Ramakrishnakavi, M.A., late of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, who had obtained them on loan from M. R. Ry. T. Achyuta Rao Pantulu, M.A., Deputy Inspector of Schools. No definite information as to their discovery is available. Their contents have been reviewed in the Madras Epigraphical Report for the year 1916-17. The plates have since been acquired for the Madras Museum and deposited there.

The plates are oblong in shape and are held together by a copper ring, the ends of which are rivetted into the back of a circular seal. They measure 9⅓ by 5⅔ and are about ½ in thickness. The ring and the seal have a diameter of 3½ and 2⅓ respectively. The ring had not been cut when the plates came up for examination. They contain four faces of writing in all, the first and the last plates being engraved on their inner sides only. The entire set with ring and seal weighs 274 tolas. On the seal, on a counter-sunk surface, are engraved in relief (1) the symbols of the Crescent and the Sun at the top; below these (2) a boar facing the proper left with a dagger placed in its front with the point upwards, and (3) a cow facing the proper left at the bottom.

The inscription is composed in the Sanskrit language and written in the Telugu characters of the period to which it belongs. The invocatory and narrative portion of the record (lines 1 to 40) consists of 21 verses. This is followed, in lines 45 to 63, by the categorical enumeration of the donees with their gotras and their shares. Lines 63 to 65 give the boundaries of the gift village. These are followed, in lines 66 to 66, by the usual minatory verse beginning with 'कल्पति' and the closing benediction 'संगमक्षाधीयोऽि'. On the whole, the inscription is engraved very carefully. The position of the anuvāra is not uniform. In some cases it is placed at the proper left top corner of the letter to which it belongs as in the later Chālukyan records, while in a few others it is placed by the side of the letter as at the present day. The anuvāra takes the place of the nasal before all consonants. But in some places it does not; e.g. dekanit in line 1 and nirvēkāyantit in line 2. The consonant following the rēpha is doubled. The doubling of the letter va is effected by adding a subscript n to va, e.g., varṇa in line 23; cēstīraṇa in line 26, etc.

The word vēj is used for vēḷi in verse 1 suggests the influence of the vernacular pronunciation which has a tendency to substitute la for the Sanskrit la. The expression 'Garavapādākhyāṇa' in verse 21 seems to have been employed inadvertently as it is in Telugu, the correct form Garavapādākhyāṇa being somewhat difficult to pronounce.*

The composition is marked by force and fluency of style. The author's diction in some places reminds us of that of some great poets. Our mind is drawn to the beautiful expression of Kālidāsa: — ‘तीर्थां बन्धूकः कन्यावंदैवधिष्मया’ in the Meghadūta, by his phrase ‘तीर्थां बन्धूकः कन्यावंदैवधिष्मया’ employed in verse 6.*

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* Appendix A, No. 4 and page 122, paragraph 30.

* No. 239 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906 belonging to King Pratāparudra of this family has the figure of a boar carved above it. The boar emblem of the Kākatvajas has been noticed by Prof. Hultsch (above, Vol. XII, p. 189). See also copper-plate No. 17 of Nellai Inscriptons in which the ‘Boar’ emblem is carved.

* [The name can very well be Garavapādā or pādā, as given in the inscription, unless the subscript n was left out by the engraver.—Ed.]

* [He might have taken it from the Meghadūta itself.—Ed.]
This inscription is the second copper-plate record, hitherto found, of the Kākatiya dynasty. The one already discovered also belongs to the time of King Gaṇapati and is published in the Nellore Inscriptions. It is dated in the Śaka year 1176 corresponding to the cyclic year Ānanda and is thus six years earlier than the grant under notice.

In verses 1 to 6 are praised in order Vighnarāja (i.e., Vināyaka), Varāha, Sarasvatī, the moon-crest of Śambhu, the Lord of Ambikā (i.e., Śiva), and Vaiṣṇu. Verse 7 gives the description of the Lotus coming out of the navel of Vaiṣṇu from which was born the four-faced Brahmā (verse 8). Verses 9 and 10 state that from his eye came Āditya (i.e., Sun) and from him came Manu who was a king that regulated the castes (varūṇas) and (their) duties (dhārmas) etc. The genealogy from Āditya given in the record is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ancestor</th>
<th>Descendant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rudra</td>
<td>Mahādeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prōla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durjaya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalikāla-Chōla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āditya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kalikāla-Chōla is stated to have gone to the Dakshināpatha in the course of a hunting expedition (verse 11). Alighting there upon a famous town called 'Kākati' he pitched his extensive camp near it (verse 12). King Durjaya who had the epithet Raṣa-durjaya' (invincible in war) was the next notable member of this family by whom the line of the Kākati kings was first established (verse 13). Then is mentioned (verse 14) King Prōla i.e., Prōla II according to the genealogy of the Mōṭapalli record of Gaṇapati-deva. His son was Rudra (verse 15) who was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādeva whose elephants made a breach in the ramparts of the residence of the Sēvāṇa (king) (verse 16). His son was King Gaṇapati-deva whose
exploits were great (verse 17). His minister was Dēvarājā, who was famed for his wide charities (verse 18). He had four sons through his wife Lakṣmī; they were respectively called Rāma, Tikka, Marīnychaya and Bētaya (verse 19). In the Śaka year 1182, corresponding to the cyclic year Raudra, in the month Chaitra, on the day of the Solar eclipse in the dark fortnight, Tikka, the second of the said four sons, granted the village of Garavāpādū as an agrahāra, to fifty Brahmans of several gōtastra learned in the Vēdas (verses 20 and 21). The date, according to the late Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai’s Ephemeris, corresponds to Monday (not given in the inscription) April 12, A.D. 1260. On this day there was a Solar eclipse as stated in the inscription.

The statement that Karikāla-Chōja fixed his capital at Kākati in Dakshināpatha is not found in any other known record of this dynasty, though Kalikāla (or Karikāla)-Chōja as an ancestor of the family is mentioned in some. In a few records, however, ‘Kākati’ is referred to as a place with which its early members were connected. An unpublished epigraph refers to Kākati as the ‘family city’ (kula-pūra) of this dynasty. Another such epigraph refers itself to king ‘Gaṇapati-dévā of Kākati-yapura.’

A chief named Kākārtha Gūndyana is mentioned in an unpublished copper-plate grant belonging to about A.D. 945 as a subordinate of the Eastern Chāluśya king Amma II. The family to which the chief belonged is called Sāmantavōḍi. The epithet ‘Kākārtha’, which is evidently a variant of ‘Kākārtha, must, therefore, refer to a place to which the chief belonged. It is thus almost certain that ‘Kākārtha’ was an ancient place and the family name Kākati, Kākārtha, Kākēta or Kākātiya was based upon the original connection of its members with a town of that name and not upon the worship of any family deity as suggested by Kumārasvāmin. [Burnell quoted by Fleet.—Ed.] The learned commentator of the Pratīpada-vrata. If the latter

1 Dēvarājā was not the only minister of the king for we are told that a certain Śivādēvāyaya was his Chief Minister (Lives of Telugu Poets by Viresalingam, Old Edition, page 36) who was looked upon as no less than a god. Śivādēvāyaya must have been identical with the great Śaiva teacher Visvēvāra-Sīva-Deśika, the pontiff of the Gōpāl-māθa and the rāja-guru of three kings among whom was King Gaṇapati (Epigraphical Report for 1917, page 123).

2 The commander Tikka has to be distinguished from his two contemporaries of this name viz., (I) the great poet Tikkana who wrote the latter fifteen parras of the Telugu Mahābhārata and who is stated to have gone as an ambassador to the Court of Gaṇapati from king Manunusadiśē of Nellūr (Nellore) whose minister he was and (II) the warrior Tikka, the cousin of the poet, who was one of the commanders of the army of Manunusaddhi. Siddha, the father of the last was a minister under king Tikka, the father of Manunusaddhi (Lives of Telugu Poets, pages 33 to 39). The name Tikka, it may be noted, is a contracted form of ‘Tiruk-Kāṭṭati’ a Prakrit form of ‘Śri-Kāṭṭahlī.’ The name was taken after that of the popular god Śri-Kāṭṭahlīvāra at Kāṭṭahlī, Chittoor District, Madras Presidency. See Nellore Inscriptions, A. 7, G. 45, G. 60, etc.

3 Though verse 20 of the inscription states that the village was granted to ‘fifty’ Brahmans, actually only forty-nine Brahmans received shares. The fiftieth share was granted to Vallaḥāa of Śrīkākulanu viz., Śrīkākulaṇam in the Dīva taluk of the Kistna district. This is the god of the place who is known also by the name ‘Śrīkākulēvāra’ and has been popular from early times (see Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1865, Nos. 136-172). While making grants of agrahāras it was customary for ancient kings to provide shares for the local deities and for the Vēdas, chiefly Rik and Yajus (above, Vol. XVI, p. 233, text line 273 and p. 263). The first eleven recipients of shares are of the Yāska-gōtra which is very rarely met with in these days. Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, was of this gōtra. His patronymic is Paṇī in the Amūtramaṇa of the Ātra-vi-sākhā (Weber Indische Studien, 1, 71 n.; 3396; Vedic Index by Macdonell and Keith, Vol. II, page 23). The Muni Yāska is mentioned in the Aūtrākāṇya-Sūtravānītra (Uttarādīla) along with Vādhīla, Māna, Mauka, Śākcarākṣhi, Śākhī, Śāvarpi, Śālākāyana, Jaimini and Dāvānti-yāyana, most of whom were founders of gōtstra.

* No. 204 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905.
* No. 111 of 1902.
* No. 1 of Appendix A to the Epigraphical Report for 1916-17.
* Ibid. page 117 f.
were the case the deity would have been invoked or praised at least in a few of the innumerable records of this family. And even if there was such a deity known or familiar to the commentator it must have been called so after the place 'Kākati.' There are many instances of the presiding goddess Durgā of a village being called after the village.²

Kānker, the head-quarters of the state of that name, situated immediately to the north of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces was formerly called Kākera, Kākaira and Kākaraya.³ Since epigraphs refer to Kākati as a pura (i.e., city) as noticed above, it is very likely that Kānker, as suggested by its ancient names, was identical with Kākati. The forms 'Kākati,' 'Kākatya,' etc. might have, in local pronunciation, taken the forms Kākera (cf. the form Kāketa). The connection of the Kākati kings with Kalikāla-Chōla, who is well-known to South Indian history as a king of about the 6th century A.D., and the story that he fixed his capital at the town of Kākati and the appearance, in the adjoining state of Bastar, of an early (śaka 983) Chōla Chief Chandraśrī-Mahārāja⁴ who calls himself, like the Kākatiyas, a descendant of Karikal-Chōla, point to the possibility of the said identity. The advent, again, of Annamarāja, the brother of Kākti (i.e. Kākati) Pratāparudra into Bastar, the present ruling family of which is Kākatya—though curiously enough Sāmakalasā—must have been only a return to the inherited family territory lying here or such territory reconquered and recovered now.⁶

Among the boundaries of the gift village no village or town is mentioned to help us in its identification. There are villages of the name 'Gārapādu' in the Guntur and the Sattenapalle taluks of the Guntur district and in the Nuzvid taluk of the Kistna district. From the reported fact of the discovery of the plates near Ellore in the latter district it may have to be identified with the village of Gārapādu in the Nuzvid taluk.⁹

TEXT.⁷

[Metres. Vv. 1, 3 Sragdhārā; v. 2 Srāvatā; v. 4, Indravajrā; vv. 5, 18 and 20 Sārückavi-riṣītan; v. 6 Māndākṛantā; vv. 7-8 Upajāti; v. 9 Hārīṇī; vv. 10, 12-14 and v. 21 Anushūbh; v. 11 Pushpāṅgā; vv. 15-17 Mālini; and v. 19 Upēndravajrā.]

First Plate.⁸

1. "कयैं चसेते दिनिति प्रमदसुपरलंबविवेकाधुकासप-"
2. "की निबिधयति प्रतिलिपीगतिः कौतिसमात्यति तिनवाचय-"
3. "तादेऽत्तत्त्विति निंयं तत्त्वेऽं च समध निंयं निबिधयति। कृश-"

¹ In almost all earlier inscriptions the family name is given as 'Kākati' (see Nos. 212, 244 and 288 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1883).
² And vice versa. Ed.
³ Vide Nos. 232 and 233 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906 and Nos. 124, 128, 109, 228 and 229 of the Lists of Inscriptions of Central Provinces and Berar by Hiralal.
⁴ No. 138 of the Lists of Inscriptions of Central Provinces and Berar and No. 231 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908.
⁵ It is doubtful if philology can allow of such a derivation. Besides, history or rather tradition, goes against it in as much as the Kākatiyas are said to be the descendants of the Pāñjāva Arjuna and of the Lunar race whereas Karikal-Chōla and Gānapatidēva belong to the solar race. Ed.
⁶ [Line 64 of the text would show that it stood on the Bhāgirathi. N. P. C.]
⁷ From ink-impressions kindly lent by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.
⁸ This side of the plate is marked close to the ring-hole with the Telugu-Kannada numerical figure for 1.
⁹ The line commences with a spiral which may stand either for Cō or for Śri. The latter is more probable since even to-day the orthodox practice in the Telugu country is to commence any writing with the letter Śri or an ornamental flourish representing it. [See above Vol. xvii, p. 322 fn.—Ed.]
Second Plate: First Side.

4 कृष्णवृत्तामः विद्वानमेव द्वय व वराह भू-
5 मुख्यसंस्कारिक्षत्नमेव । एकादश यज्ञनमायनस्य भूतसन-.
6 पादवे य ॥ [२५] तेजस्वारक्षत्राय इदयसरस्ये वः
7 प्रकाशिनि शीतक्षणिकासुण्यभोगिनि गणपतियोऽदनारः
8 दिने य सर्वसंकुले सुर्य तिरित किमः निरभ्रांबरसः
9 विषया[२५] यान्यः । परिम्बितास्य स्वरक्षोऽसिः
10 द्वारिणीयं सम्बलायोगराजाः परस्युद्धस्युम । च-
11 [यु] भक्ति समृद्ध शोभाभविदा जयते चंद्रेश्वरः ॥ [८] तेन सं-
12 भायाविवक्षयः चर्चि रसस्य दुर्भावकारांकरांगनमेवप्रसादः
13 अधिकृत्य[२५] दामसिः । च[५] य यह चार्चयः वक्ष्यायासाहितः
14 [यो] अन्तिक्षिक्युपः प्रतित्त्वकारस्यादित्त्वातेष्वेन ॥ [५] लक्ष्मी च-

15 चक्षुकीनि[२५] छन्दोगायाः चार्चयासाहित्यामाः गतस्यलतास्तीमिः
16 परा बुधवार। निग्नायाबिवक्षयोऽयस्तिहत्वायस्वः च योहै। नि-
17 लं नवः पुराणे पुषः [२५] रक्षित्वायाः ॥ [६] भर्तायांत्यतियः [६] प्रवृत्यमशः
18 द्वितीयोद्वितीयीर्याः । सिंहचत्ती विकोषमारासाहिष्ठु नामेरावासंबंधमेव ॥
19 [या] करोदराजसूर्यवंसूमुखसामायस्यवेदनेषुविमिः । दिशस्वतः यु-
20 [ग] परिवेशः न [चे] ॥ [१०] सांप चतुरोपिन वेदान् ॥ [८] चर्चिते नामपाताशायामाय-
21 विभूतिवं तिरित। [प्रतिवेदनेषु] तिरित्तिप्रकारजः । कल्पनिवः यः का-
22 [द्व] वाक्येये वर्णस्य परस्याश्रयस्यादित्वादित्वार्थाम इत्यः ॥ [२] तत्सा क इत्यः
23 द्राहजा वर्णसंस्कारायामः । वाचतिया विचित्त्रायां देवानामिव वा-
24 सव ॥ [१०] तद्भविज्ञानविनितस्ते [घ] विरोधगुणमिव [द्व] विवाहविषयकः [१०]
25 दिश्य दिश्य सम्यक्षेत्रश्च खलुच्चुपि दश्यशापः ॥ [१२] स: ॥ [११]
26 काकविरिति प्रस्थानः तत्त्व सूपृक्तिः। प्रायः[क] नसुद्धक्षः[५] संचावसः
कलयः।
27 तू [१२] चालोरत्तरः रा[वा] दुर्भें रगुपालः। घडःपञ्च वर्दी
लखी वं।
28 श्यानुः काकविरिति भुवः। [१२] तराबतो ससुद्धक्रोवाराग्राहभिः श्रृः।
29 प्राकविरितिसुपरान्यायज्ञकारिः [१४] पलमकः तदेवो नंदवं
30 तस्तः तां रामसुबकाण्डकोपसूद्दः रचनः। विचारसुबलिङ्गायमः
31 'पौराणिकः प्रतियुपजः'लालः संवारः। [११] प्राकविरिति
काकविरिति अवः.
32 चालोरत्तरः तद्वञ्जनः योमधववरः। यक्रमदनमव[५]।
33 सेयः[वा] पालावसः। गरवाणा(ण) मवभिः निष्कृति जोचमवद्र[५]। [१६] प्रायः
गदाः।

Second Plate ; Second Side.

34 निदेवद्वायुः पूणो वरिष्ठमुदवचद्वन्द्वाणंत्तद्वायमवाहः।
35 सुवनम(व)मननत्स्माययुतः तस्मातः यक्षपरिधायस्यत्स्यमुः
36 रावितानि [१३] तथासीयवः देवराजस्थिचिनी विसंभारावृंभनेचिश्चाशु
37 खुणरत्वोपितिभव[व] कानीतमवायः। यी दानिषुमश्चान्तुष्कः
38 रोस्तरत्वविदिः जनस्कृतुष्कं धर्मं तत्त्वावः। स्वर्यमवायः
39 वा [१८] चक्षुवत्वावश्चरः[ण] ख खु[वै]: समाव मधुवद्वायः
40 जच्चात्म मुदत्वाच तथा रामभिस्मातिः संबोधेतवायः। [१५]
41 शाकाधं यविदिरोपरिति सर्वं च रोस्त्रभिः चेतः मार्ति
42 विश्वेत भवमिदे सुयोपारः सुः। गोरान् विकस्मवृ.
43 नर्ति: प्रविष्टत मैक्षः श्रमं विद्वेषः। फलावभिशिष्टवोबिशिष्टवं
44 पन्ताण्डे पदार्जाः [२०] मच्छुन गरवाणाः। योमधववराः।
45 नाममोचावि निक्षेपते बिरुषादेवुद्रिनाः [२१] योमधववराः।
46 द्वारागी। जनाङ्कायः। एकदागी। नामाक्षः। एकदागी।
एकाभः।

¹ Read "श्री" [or "श्री" — Ed.]
² Read सुपीवः.
³This side of the plate is marked with the Telugu-Karnanji numerical symbol for 2.
⁴ Read गुप्तमवः.
⁵ Read मार्ति.

47 गी कामनायः एकभागि मैलारायः विभागि सीमनाचः यें
एक-
48 भागि केशवायः एकभागि मातवायः एकभागि द्रामीदरायः[:]

Third Plate.

49 एकभागि मारनायः एकभागि एते यस्मीना: केशवायः
बिभागि चो-  
50 ज्ञनायः एकभागि नामायः एकभागि (i) केशवायः एकभागि।
एकपोतायः-
51 [:] एकभागि प्रोजनायः एकभागि [[] नड़सिः]शवायः एकभागि
प्रोजनायः एकभागि [18] चा-
52 दिवायः एकभागि भाकारायः प्रकः भागो धोतनायः एकभागि
एते भूर्रत्नायः: [[[]
53 धोतनायः बिभागि चावनायः एकभागि चापनायः एकभागि प्रोजनायः
प्रोजनायः
54 एकभागि कामनायः एकभागि प्रोजनायः एकभागि साम्यायः
एकभा-
55 गी प्रोजनायः एकभागि तरुतायः एकभागि एते शोवकमोहः: चर-
56 नायः एकभागि गोतमायः अंविनायः एकभागि भाषायागीः चरानायः
57 एकभागि वाभुवलायः स्नावनायः एकभागि गाध्यीङ्गोः
एते
58 नायः एकभागि बीजनायः एकभागि सैनारायः एकभागि
[एते*] कामायः
59 एतायः प्रोजनायः एकभागि कोजनायः एकभागि प्रोजनायः
60 एकभागि कीमनायः एकभागि बीजनायः एकभागि एते
भारवासीः: चर-
61 प्रोजनायः एकभागि कीमनायः एकभागि कीमनायः बिभागि
गोवर्धनायः

1 The plate is marked with the Telugu numerical figure for 3 near the ring-hole.
2 [Dasāda is unnecessary.—Ed.]
3 Read गाध्यीङ्गोः.
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Salutations to Vighnarāja, offered every day, being the family home of prosperity, bestow wealth on hand, convey great pleasure, cause the enjoyment of the earth which wears the silk garment of the sea-coast, set a-dancing everlasting fame in every quarter of the globe and also place before (us), exhaustively, everything that is desired !

(V. 2). May that Varāha (i.e., the Boar incarnation of Vishnu), the sole presiding deity of (the three worlds), Bhūb, Bhuvaḥ and Svaha, who bestows royalty even on those that were once devoted to sacrifice, be for your prosperity (i.e., bless you) !

(V. 3). May that Lustre of Learning, shine in the lotus of your heart, which is delightfully enjoyable like the Cool-rayed (Moon), the pearl, the nectar-sea, the celestial river and the sandal ! And what more ? While this sea of knowledge heaves up, series of the waves of versal flow forth unceasingly, laden with increasing sweetness, perfuming the quarters.

(V. 4). Meditate upon that streak of the Moon which has not shaken off its coyness (i.e., remains tender), which is honoured by the crown of Sāmbhu, which knows not the vicissitudes of growth and decay and which is not subject to humiliation by the fangs of Rāhu !

(V. 5). Worship you all the Companion of Ambikā, the glorious Moon-created One (i.e., Śiva), whose body is adorned with snakes, who destroyed the pride of Anaṅga (i.e., Cupid) and whose volition is (the cause of) the repeated sport consisting of the order of creation, protection and destruction of the three worlds (with their) duality born of the apparent (phenomena of) the movable and the immovable !

(V. 6). May the Lotus-eyed Purusha (i.e., Vishnu) whose chest is beautiful with (the goddess) Lakshmi of sparkling hue like that of the golden streak on the touchstone (and who is) compar-
able to the cloud (lit., with lightning), that is void of fickleness and handsome, be ever for (i.e., grant) that prosperity of limitless increase such as overflows with elephants, chariots and horses!

(V. 7). From the navel of this (Viṣṇu) who desired to create the world there appeared a lotus, which did not depend upon the Sun for its awakening (i.e., blossoming) and which did not depend upon the splendours of the moon-light for its sleep (i.e., closure).

(V. 8). From that lotus arose the Self-born (Brahmā) simultaneously determining the four quarters with the four faces beautiful like itself (i.e., the lotus) and even so (i.e., simultaneously) revealing the four Vēdas with their branches (āṅgas).

(V. 9). Of his eye was born the Sun, the ornament of the three worlds, whose round form is adorned with the light which is hostile to the mass of darkness and who opens (i.e., awakens), at the morn, the entire world (which is) like a lotus closed in all round by the eight petals, viz., the eight quarters.

(V. 10). From him was born the king Manu, the regulator of castes and (their) duties, who was praiseworthy among the lords of the earth like Vāsava (i.e., Indra) among the Dēvas.

(V. 11). Then (i.e., in course of time) ruled this earth Kalikāla-Çhōjadēva, who had his birth in that noble race (of Manu). Sporting, for the sake of hunt, in the several quarters, he reached Daksahāpatha.

(V. 12). Reaching there the well-known town called Kākati, the king fixed his extensive camp at that extensive place.

(V. 13). In his family was born King Durjaya, unconquerable in war (raja-durjaya), whose foundation (people) say that the Kākati kings, born in his race, were.

(V. 14). In his line was born a king called Prōlarāja, who was a lion to the elephants, viz., the hostile kings disinclined to do homage (to him).

(V. 15). (Then) adorned that race, his son Rudrādeva, who removed all sufferings on earth and the sea-fire of whose prowess, causing internal (i.e., mental) distress, quickly consumed the oceans of hostile kings.

(V. 16). Then, his younger brother, the glorious Mahādevarāja ruled the entire circle of the earth right up to the Chakravāla mountain, the residential rampart of the Sōvuna (king) breached by the tusks of whose elephants, eclipses the Krauñchā mountain cleft by Šaravanabhava (i.e., Kumāra).

(V. 17). Then bore (i.e., ruled) the earth, his son, Gaṇapatiḏēva, who had arms long enough to give pain to the Lord of serpents (i.e., Ādiśeṣa) and the exploit of him, who had the strength of an utratha (i.e., super-chariot-warrior), rendered the earth (with its royal) pearl umbrella subject to (the authority of) no other king.

(V. 18). Now, that king had a minister (named) Ďēvarāja, who possessed his confidence, who was the repository of the glory of the moon-shine of great fame, sung by the mouths of the several quarters of the globe and who removed the dirt, which was the insurmountable poverty of learned men, with the waves of the big streams of water (poured out on the occasions) of gifts and who was the refuge of all (kinds of) prosperity.

(V. 19). To him were born, through (his wife) Lakshmi (four sons) viz., Rāma, Tikka, Marhchaya and Bōtaya, resembling the (four) arms of Madhuśūdana (i.e., Viṣṇu) who is occupied with the protection of the three worlds.

(V. 20). In the Śaka year counted by two, the elephants of the quarters (i.e., eight) and Yāna (i.e., eleven), i.e., 1182, in the (cyclic) year called Raudra, in the month Chaitra, on the auspicious day (in the dark fortnight) on the occasion of the molar eclipse, the wise and the illustrious general Tikka, of those (four brothers), gave, to fifty

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1 See f.n. 3 on p. 348 above.
Brahmans, an extensive and prosperous a rahāra (i.e., Brahman village) possessing fruitful paddy (-fields).

(V. 21). (Hereunder) are written the names and the gōtras of the learned Brahmans versed in the Vedas and holding shares in this (agrahāra) called Garavapādu.  

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¹[The plate gives Garavapādu (or पाजा. See I. n. 5 on p. 346 above).—Ed.]  
²[Prōla (or Pōla) seems to be connected with Pōleri or Pōśyramma which is a corruption of Pōślamma 'the goddess that presides over the city'. The elision of r accounts for forms like Pōla, Pōleri and Pōlimera, etc.—K. V. Sj]  
³Read Nandanāryya.
Ll. 62f. The boundaries of this village (are) :—

On the east: Ûḍḍugulakupṭa¹;
On the south-east: Vėlagakupṭa¹;
On the south: the centre of Nėlaguṇṭa¹;
On the south-west, west and north-west: (the stream) Bhirarathi;
On the north: Pāyuriputṭa²;
On the north-east: Mūrapuṭṭa³.

[V. 22 is the usual minatory verse warning one against the sin of revoking gifts of
land made by oneself or by others.]

(L. 65). May there be three-fold prosperity, auspicious and great!

¹ This must have been a pond.
² This must have been an ant-hill.
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1 Mr. G. S. Ramanathan, B. A., of my office has proved very useful in the preparation of this index.

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The following other abbreviations are used:—ch. = chief; co. = country; di. = district or division; do. = district; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; k. = king; m. = man; mo. = mountain; r. = river; s. = same as; sur. = surname; t. = temple; v. = village or town; w. = woman; W. = Western.