EDITORIAL

The present volume is the arrear volume for 1977-78, covering eight parts in all, which were to have been issued progressively in January, April, July and October of 1977 and 1978. It is hoped that the next volume (Vol. XLIII), covering the period 1979-80, will be brought out in the near future.

I record here my grateful thanks to my colleague Dr. M.D. Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist and my erstwhile colleague Dr. S.S. Ramachandramurthy, formerly Deputy Superintending Epigraphist and now Professor of Indian Culture, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, who have been of immense help to me in compiling the present volume and finalising it for the press. Besides, Dr. M.D. Sampath and Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, have helped me in proof correction and have also prepared the entire illustration material. Sri P. Natarajan, Stenographer, got the typescript ready for the press. To these gentlemen in particular and to those who have enriched this volume, through their leading contributions, I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

I am beholden to Shri J. C. Gupta, Production Officer, Archaeological Survey of India, who has master-minded the scheme for clearing the arrears of epigraphical publications in reasonable time and rendered immense help in the speedy publication of this volume.

Mysore
5.3.92

K.V. RAMESH
Director (Epigraphy)
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No. 1—A NEW GRANT OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMĀDITYA I, ŚAKA 591, YEAR 15

(1 Plate)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

This new charter, edited here for the first time, was secured by Dr. S.H. Ritti, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnataka University, Dharwar. Prof. Ritti was good enough to send the set to the office of the Director (Epigraphy), Mysore for examination and copying. I am thankful to Prof. Ritti for permitting me to edit the charter in the pages of this journal.

The set consists of three copper-plates out of which the first and the third bear writing only on the inner sides while the middle plate bears writing on both sides. Each plate measures 21.5 × 9 cms. The rims of the plates are raised in order to protect the writing. There is, in the left centre of each plate, a ring hole, 1.4 cm in diametre with a circular ring passing through it. The ring, 1 cm thick, is 7 cms in diametre. The ends of the ring are soldered into a circular seal, 3 cms in diametre, and it bears a crude figure of a boar in relief, on its countersunk surface. The whole set, with the ring uncut, weighs 1080 gms. There are, in all, 33 lines of writing, distributed as follows: first plate : 8 lines, second plate, first side: 9 lines; second plate, second side : 8 lines; and third plate : 8 lines.

The characters belong to the old Telugu-Kannda alphabet and closely resemble those of the published records of the issuer of the charter, viz., Chalukya Vikramāditya I (654/55-681 A.D.) of Vatapi. As regards palaeography, it is difficult in some cases to distinguish between ch and v. The language of the record is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the invocatory verse (lines 1-2), three imprecatory verses (lines 29-33) and one verse in praise of the reigning emperor (lines 18-19), the entire text is in prose. As regards orthography and style, though the inscription closely resembles most other charters of Vikramāditya I, attention may be drawn here to the not usual doubling of k in parakkram-a (line 7) and Vikramādityah (line 19). The grant was issued at the time (i.e., on the day) of the equinox which was the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Aśvayuja in the Śaka year 591, which fell in the 15th year of Vikramāditya I's reign. Since the grant was issued on the day of the autumnal equinox, the details of date may be taken to correspond to the 22nd or the 23rd of September, 669 A.D.

The record begins with the well-known stanza Jayaty-āvishkritam, etc. The dynastic eulogy pertaining to the careers of the reigning king's great-grandfather, Pulakeśi I, grandfather, Kiritvarman I and father Pulakeśi II, is in conformity with the stereotyped Chalukya praśasti. The eulogy of Vikramāditya I as given in our charter also does not reveal anything new, but provides an opportunity to reconsider and reinterpret the statement concerning the restoration by that ruler of the misappropriated land grants earlier enjoyed by the temples (dēvasva) and brahmanas (brahmāsva). Scholars have till now taken the
passage in question (lines 15-17) to mean that Vikramāditya I had 'restored the properties belonging to gods and brahmanas in the kingdoms of the said three kings who had confiscated them, the said three kings being obviously the kings of the Tamil country. But the real purport of the passage in lines 15-17, starting with sva-guruḥ and ending with sthāpitavan is to be differently understood in the light of the known facts of history. The expression avanipati-tritaya actually connotes here the Pallava adversary, the natural foe (prakrity-amitra) of the Chalukyas, who symbolised in himself the Pallava hegemony over the three traditional kingdoms of the Tamil country viz., Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Chera. Thus the entire passage avampati-tritayantaratam sva-guruḥ śriyam-ātmacātātṛitya should be taken to mean 'he recovered for himself his father's royal fortune which had been eclipsed by the ruler who combined in himself the power of the three traditional royal houses (of the Tamil country)'. As a result Vikramāditya became the master of the entire kingdom (asēṣha-rājya) which was under his father's sway. By tasmin rājya-traye is obviously meant this very same kingdom for, not having occupied the Pallava country for any length of time, he could not have ordered and effectively implemented the restoration of misappropriated land grants in that alien territory. As to what was actually meant by the expression rājya-traye, a valid clue is provided by the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśi II in which his empire is referred to as Maharāṣṭraka-traye. It is very likely that Pulakeśi II's imperial possessions were conventionally, if not for administrative purposes, divided into three rashtrakas (or rāyas), viz., Karnatakak, his possessions in Andhra and the Kōṅkaṇa-Mahārāṣṭra-Guṣṭarat portions which he brought under his sway. When Pulakeśi II fell, probably as a result of Pallava Narasimhavarman's successful retaliatory campaign, a period of confusion ensued for more than a decade during which the Chalukyas must necessarily have lost effective control over much of their territory in all of which opportunists may have misappropriated land grants made earlier to temples and brahmanas. After driving the Pallava invaders back to where they came from, it was but natural that Vikramāditya tried hard to reestablish Chalukya hegemony over all his father's erstwhile possessions. He eminently succeeded in his efforts and, as a natural corollary to his success, he restored all the earlier land grants to the original divine and brahmana recipients in all the three segments (rashtrakas or rāyas) of the Chalukya empire.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the gleaning rights (uñc̥ha-vṛitti) of the village of Bhramaradalā, along with the gleaning rights of (the village of) Āvuganūru, situated in Kuhundi-vishaya, to the brahmana Kumāravāmi, the son of Dēvasvamī-dikṣita and grandson of Mēghasvāmi, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-sagótara and was learned in the four sciences (śāstras). The grant was made on the date specified (and discussed above) on the orders (ājñayā) of the illustrious Nāgayarddha-Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka.

The expression used in our record for denoting the two 'gleaning rights' is māruñc̥ha. The word uñc̥ha means 'gleaning', 'gathering grains' and uñc̥ha-vṛitti stands for 'the

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1 See, eg., above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 176-77. The untenable and unhistorical nature of this interpretation is fully brought home by the doubt entertained by these scholars as to which of the four known kings of the Tamil country, viz., Pallava, Chōla, Pāṇḍya, and Kērala is omitted by the expression avanipati-tritaya.

2 Above, Vol. VI, p. 6, text line 12.
privilege of living by gathering, without the need to pay, ears of corn left by reapers'. In *maru* or *maru* is a Dravidian word which has many shades of meaning. But the one which suits our context most is the sense 'to sell', 'to barter' or 'to exchange'. Normally the objects granted to deserving donees in bygone days were not transferable or negotiable unless otherwise specified. In the present instance, the donee Kumārasvāmi was obviously vested with the right to sell or barter away the grains collected by him free of cost. We may, therefore, conclude that the donee of our record received as grant 'saleable gleanings' from the villages of Bhramaradāla and Avugarantu.

The present charter is important for the dynastic history of the Vatāpi Chalukyas. As has been pointed out above, the grant registered herein was made on the orders (ajña) of Sri-Naguayardhana-Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka. Sanskrit diction being what it is, this expression may be interpreted either as 'the illustrious Nagavardhana[-bhaṭṭāraka] and Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka' or as 'the illustrious Nagavardhana alias Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka' or, assuming that Nagavardhana is a place-name, as 'the illustrious Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka of Nagavardhana'. Of these the first possibility is, for the present, ruled out because we do not know of any prince of the royal blood who was at once of the Chalukya stock and bore the name of Nagavardhana and was senior enough to receive mention ahead of Chandrāditya in an official Chalukya document. The third possibility need not engage our attention seriously until and unless a place bearing the name of Nagavardhana enjoying a position of importance during the Vatāpi Chalukya period comes to our notice. We are thus left with the second alternative according to which Nagavardhana was another name by which Chandrāditya was known. This possibility deserves to be examined in detail.

We know from the Nerur grant of the time of Vikramāditya I, issued in the year 659 A.D., that he had an elder brother (jyeshta-bhratṛi) who bore the name of Chandrāditya as well as the feudatory title of mahārāja. The present charter, issued in 669 A.D., provides us with the latest as yet known date for Chandrāditya and shows that he was alive at least during the first fifteen years of his younger brother's reign. The conclusion is inevitable that, in the extremely demanding situation which arose in the Chalukya empire as a sequel to the fall of Pulakeśi II, his elder son Chandrāditya was found wanting, either because he was temperamentally peace-loving or because he was of indifferent health or otherwise physically handicapped, and that the mantle of leadership in the war against the occupation forces of the Pallavas, and the crown of the empire at the moment of the restoration of Chalukya hegemony, both went to his younger brother Vikramāditya I. As a matter of fact, Chandrāditya was disqualified and Vikramāditya nominated as his prospective successor by Pulakeśi II himself as is clearly borne out by a recently discovered, damaged stone inscription from Aihole, of the time of Pulakeśi II, which refers to Vikramāditya I as crown-

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1 Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s.v.
3 This inscription, in characters similar to those of the well known Aihole praṣasti of Pulakeśi II, was originally engraved on a slab which was subsequently cut in order to make a stone lintel out of it. As a result, the inscription is only partly preserved. The loose slab is now kept in a corner in the Chakragudi at Aihole.
prince and also lays stress on his martial prowess and initiative (śrī-Vikrama-yuvarājah yuddh-oṣahī rana-dohadah). Inspite of his supersession Chandrāditya appears to have entertained no grouse and Vikramāditya was statesman enough to accord his elder brother all royal courtesies due to an elder, though superseded, prince. This is further illustrated by the word ajñāya in relation to Chandrāditya’s initiative in making the grant registered in the charter under study in place of the expression vijñāpanaya normally used in the case of subordinate rulers and officials.

Let us now examine the possibility of Chandrāditya having had the alternative name of Nāgavardhana. An almost unassailable confirmation of this possibility is to be found in the Nāsvāri grant of Śrāyaśraya Śilāditya-yuvaraja wherein Vikramāditya I is introduced as paramamahēśvara[h+] mātāpitri-śrī-Nāgavardhana-pad-ānudhyata-śrī-Vikramāditya. That, immediately after the mention of his parents, the next person who is mentioned as revered by Vikramāditya I is Nāgavardhana, is clearly indicative of the fact that Nāgavardhana was junior to Vikramāditya’s parents but was senior to him to merit his obeisance. When this statement is studied in the light of the information provided by our charter, it may be safely concluded that Nāgavardhana was the same as Chandrāditya and that he was held in high regard by his younger brother, Vikramāditya I.

Only two geographical names, Bharamadala and Avugaruru occur in the text.

TEXT²

First Plate

1 Svasti [l*] Jayaty=avishkritam Vishnur=vvārāham kshōbhit-ārnnava[m](vam)[l*] dakshin-onnata-damshitr-agra-viśranta-
2 bhuvanam vapuḥ [ll*] Śrimatam sakala-bhuvana-samstuyamana-Mānavaya-sagōtranām
3 Hariti=putrānam sapta-lōka-mātrihis=sapta-mātribhir=abhivarddhitanām Kāntikēya-
4 parirakshana-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramparanām=bhagavan-Nārayana-prasāda-
5 samasadita-varāha-lāncchhana-ekṣana-kshanaka-vāśkrit-aśeṣha-mahībhrītāṁ
6 Chalukyanām kulam=alamkarishnōr=aśvamedh-avabhṛthe-suma-pavitrikrit-gātrasa
7 śrī-Pulakeśi-vallabha-mahārājasya prapautrah parakramakṛanta-Vanavasya=ā-
8 di-para-nripati-mandala-pranibaddha-kṛttteś-śrī-Kṛttivamama-prithivivalla-

Second Plate : First Side

9 bha-mahārājasya pautrah samara-samsakta-sakal-ōttarapatiḥśvāra-śrī-Harsha-

9avarddhana-

2 From inked estampages.
10 parajay-opalabdhā-Paramēśvar-apananamadheyasya Satyāśraya-śri-prithivi-vallabha-mahārajādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priya-tanayaś-Chitrakaṇṭh-akhya-pravara-
tura[m]gamēn=aikēn=aiva pratit-anēka-samaramukhēśhu ripu-rudhira-jal-ā svādana-
13 rasanayamāna-jvalad-amala-niśita-niśtrīṃśa-dharaya dhrita-dharani-bhara-bhu-
14 jaga-bhoga-sadriśa-nija-bhujā-vijita-vijigishu=atma-kavach-avama-
15 gn-anēka-praharah sva-gurūś=śriyam=avanipati-tritay-antaritam=atmasatkri-
16 tyā krit-āik-adhishthit-aśēsa-rājya-bharas=tasmin-rājya-trayē vinashṭhā(shtā)ni
17 devasva-brahmadeyāni sva-mukhēna sthāpitavān=api cha ll

Second Plate . Second Side

18 Rāṇa-śirāsi ripu-narendran=diśi diśi jītvā sva-vamśajāṁ lakṣhmim[*] praptah=parame-
19 śvaratam=anivārita-Vikramadityay[ll2*] Sa Vikramaditya-Satyāśraya-śri prithivi-vallabha-mahārajādhirāja-paramēśvaras=svavān=ajñapayati[*]Viditam=astu
20 vō=smābhir=eka-navaty-uttara-pañcha=śateshu Śaka-varshēv-attēshu prav-
ardhamāna-vijayā-rājya-samvatsare pañcha-daśe varttamāné Āśvayuja krishna-pakshā-
23 shāmyam vishuvat=kāle śri-Nagavarddhana-Chandrāditya-bhāttārak-ajñaya Kaśyapa-sagotrasya
24 chatuṣ=śastra-vido Meghasvamināh pauṛāya Dēvasvāmi-dikshitasya putrāya Kūmāra-
25 svāmine Kūhundi-vishaye Bhramaradala-grāma-māruṇchhaḥ Avuṅganuru-māruṇchha-

Third Plate

26 sahito dattah[*] tad-agamibhir-asmad-vamśyair-andyaiś=cha rājabhīr=āyur-
aisvāry-adnām vi-
27 lasitam-achir-āṁśu-chaṇchalam-avagachchhadbhīr-ā-chandr-ārka-dhar-ārṇava-
sthiti-sama-
28 kālam yaśaś=chichishubhis=sva-datti-nirvviśēsham=paripalaniyam=uktaḥ=cha bhaga-
29 vata Vēdavyāsenā Vyāsena ll Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhīs=Sagard-
adbhibh[ll*]
30 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tada phalam [ll3*] Sva[m] dātum sumahā-
31 ch=chhakyā[m] duhkham=anyasya pālānam(nam) [ll*] danam va pālānam v-eti
dānach=chhreyo=napalānam [ll*4]
32 Sva-dattāṁ=para-dattāṁ va yo hareta vasundharam (ram) [ll*] shasṭhim varsha-
- sahasrāṇi viṣhṭāyam
33 jayate krimiri(mih) [ll5*] Iti mahasandhiprighika-śri-Jayasēnēna likhitam ll
The copper-plate charter edited below was discovered in the village of Jagajjibanpur in Habipur police station in Sadar sub-division in Malda District in West Bengal while digging the foundations of a house in plot No. 639 on 13th March 1989. The plate was subsequently brought to the District Museum at Malda where it is now preserved. It was copied by us during our official tour. Our thanks are due to the authorities of the District Museum at Malda for permitting us to copy the charter.

It is a single copper-plate, rectangular in shape, measuring 38 cms. in length and 52.5 cms. in breadth. Like other known Pala copper-plate charts, at the top centre of the plate is welded the seal which is pointed at the top and bears at the centre a beaded circle, with raised rim, supported and surrounded by arabesque work. On the top centre of the circle is a conch (śāṅkha). Inside, the area of the circle is divided into two equal parts, the upper half bearing the Buddhist wheel of law (dharma-chakra) mounted on a pedestal and surmounted by an umbrella (chhatra) and flanked by a couchant gazelle on either side while the lower half contains the name of the Pala king Śrī-Mahendrapaladeva in one single line, in embossed characters and supported by arabesque work. The seal measures 20 cms. in length and 22 cms. in breadth.

The present charter resembles in all respects other early Pala copper-plate charts in respect of palaeography, language and orthography. The characters are akin to those found in the Khalimpur copper-plate charter of Dharmapāladeva and they can be termed as proto-Bengali. The initial vowels a, a, i, u, au and e as well as the final consonants t, n and m are used in the record. Separate signs have been employed to denote final t, n and m with the virāma written beneath or over the sign or attached to the top of it. In the case of final n, in line 2, the virāma is attached to the top of the full form of n, whereas there are some instances where the full form of n with the virāma below is found (1.7) while in other cases the full form of n with the virāma on the left is also found (1.30). There are a few instances where the half form of n with the virāma on the left is found represented by an ardhachandra mark with a slightly curved vertical line or virāma below (ll. 5, 14, 16). The final form of t is


indicated by the form of t without the virama below (ll.22, 26, 27, 28, etc.). The initial ā has a horizontal tick below the vertical of a. The initial i, has the form of a curve above two dots. U extends its curve upwards. The form of au (ll.28) is unique and interesting and bears similarity to the form of j with the added difference that on the left, a semiarch type curved line is attached below the serif. Kh has an outer triangle with its mouth open and joined to the vertical on the right by a bar. The form of ē is also interesting as the vertical on the right takes a turn to the left immediately on coming down and again turns back to the right and then further comes down and takes a turn to the left joining the vertical on the right. Th is of the bulged form with its loop turned inwards. T has its two arms rounded while r has a bent on the vertical with a middle bar on the left. Ph has its loop turned outwards while ś has its top rounded.

As in other Pala-copper plate charters, b is invariably used for v. The scribe shows carelessness in writing, such as omission of letters as in ayānanda° for atyananda° in line 2, tryām=iv=oha for °=tryām=iv=odvaha in lines 17-18 and wrong spellings such as dharma-stiteb for dharma-stīteb in line 4, jagat=pudavin=didrikshus=° for jagat-padavin=didrikshuś=° in line 11, vilakañ=cha for tilakañ=cha in lines 12-13, khadg-avarjjita for khadg-avarjjita in lines 13-14 and arohatadyam=bhriṣam for arohatadyam=bhriṣam in line 16.

In respect of the observance of the rules of sandhi, m is generally retained as in kakubhām=mukhān (1.7), rajñām sēvaparānam=pranata° (1.10)°bhavanam=prīva-vikramayah (1.11), etc. Sometimes in sandhi m is replaced by n as in jagatpadavin= didrikshuś in line 1.11, evan-niyamita in line 35 and dharmmanusansana° in line 50. Further, in sandhi, the consonant following r is in some cases reduplicated like in dūr-antarair=mmaulibhīḥ in line 22, sahasrair=mmukhān° in line 55 and vahnir=vvair= indhanānām in line 61.

The language employed is Sanskrit and the praśasti is composed partly in poetry and partly in prose. The poetic portion comprises as many as 32 verses. All the verses are new as in the case of the stanzas forming the introduction of the grants of Dharmapāla and Dēvapāla. The composer of this praśasti appears to be a poet of distinction and he uses a variety of figures of speech (alankāra) such as upama, utpreksha, arthaślesha, sabdaślesha, etc., in his composition as, for instance, while describing the battles fought by Dēvapāla (vv.8 and 9), delineating the boundaries of his kingdom (v.14) and eulogising his valour (vv.15 and 16). He shows himself at his best while describing the victorious march of the army of Mahendrapāla resulting in creating an illusion in the minds of the Vidyadhāras flying in the sky (v.13). In only one instance, one can find fault with him as for instance (v.31) while describing the fame of Vajraṭa where he has not given the upamāna to the lotus like faces of the damsels of the impenetrable enemy kings as he had done in the case of virtuous people and the damsels of the directions.
The plate bears in all 73 lines of writing, the distribution of lines being 40 lines on the first side and 33 lines on the second. The charter begins with the symbol standing for the word siddham followed by the auspicious word Svasti. Then follows the invocation (verse No. 1) in praise of Siddhartha (i.e., the Buddha) who is described as seated on the exalted spiritual throne, whose teachings are obeyed by all, who reigns supreme over the earth (by his spiritual eminence), who is born in the lustrous race (solar race) and who is the torch-bearer of righteousness. The genealogy of the imperial Pala family follows, couched in sixteen verses and spanning over as many as twenty-five lines. It begins with Gopala who is described in verse 2. His son Dharmapala is extolled in verses 3 to 5. In verse 4, he is stated to have defeated powerful kings like Indraraja and the king of the Sindhu country (Sindhuñam-adhipati). In verse 6, he is described as having begot through his queen Vikramā, a son called Devapala. In verse 7, Devapala is said to have built two temples dedicated respectively to Sugata (i.e., the Buddha) and Gauri. Verse 11 narrates that Devapala married Mahāta, who was the daughter of the Chāhamana king Durlabhah. From verse 12, it is known that Devapala got through his queen Mahāta, a son named Mahendrapalā, the reigning Pala king who issued the present grant. Verses 13 to 16 describe Mahendrapala. The description of Mahendrapala given in these verses is more or less conventional and no new historical information is contained therein.

In the prose passage that follows, the reigning king is formally introduced and the object and purpose of the grant are given. Mahendrapala is given the titles Paramasaugata, Paramesvara, Paramabhattarakas and Maharajadhira and is described as the son of Paramasaugata, Paramesvara, Maharajadhira Devapaladeva. He is stated to have been camping in his victorious camp (jayaskandhavara) at Uddalakataka at the time of the issue of the present grant. The charter proceeds to state that the king (Mahendrapaladeva) constructed a monastery (vihara) in a town called Nandadhirghika situated in Kundalakhata-vishaya in Pundravadhana-bhukti and, for the proper worship, anointment (pujana-lekha(pʌ)n-adyrthē), etc. for raiments, food, beds, seats, proper medication and meditation (chivara-pimdapata-sayan-asana-pratyaya-bhaishajya-parishkar-ady-artham) of the Lord Buddha, of Prajñaparamita and other goddesses, of the group of Bodhisattvas poised for enlightenment, of the individualistic eight mahāpurushas and the bhikshu-sangha, and for repairs to the vihāra referred to above, gave away the entire town of Nandadhirghika along with all lands and income. The whole land was divided and the monks and others were allotted their respective shares of land as decreed by him. The grant was made by the king for the increase in merit of self, parents and all living beings (mattrītir-ātmanah sakalasya cha satva-raśēḥ puny-abhividdhayē).

The royal order was conveyed to all those assembled (samupagatan-survān) as well as to officials (list enumerated) by the royal messenger (dūtaka) Mahāsenāpati
Vajradēva. Then follows the valedictory sentence calling upon all future kings to perpetuate the grant. The date of the grant is given as year 7, evidently the regnal year of Mahendrapaladeva, on the second day in the lunar month of Vaiśākha. Verses 15-18 are imprecatory in nature. Verse 19 says that while this pious act (sukritakarma) was being performed by the 'star in battles' (samgrāma-tārēna) (obviously this appellation refers to king Mahendrapaladeva), the royal messenger (duṭaka) was Śurapāla whose relationship with the sovereign was the same which had existed between the epic heroes Lakṣmana and Śri Rama.

The next twelve verses (vv. 20-31) contain the genealogy of the family of Vajradēva and the description of his character and exploits. Verse 20 refers to one Devaradeva, the progenitor of the family to which Vajradēva belonged. He possessed sterling qualities of virtue and goodness. Verse 21 is also in his praise. Verse 22 reveals that Devaradeva had a son by name Narayanadeva. Verses 23-25 describe his nature. It is known from verse 25 that king Dharmapaladeva, impressed by his prowess and qualities of truthfulness and fidelity, appointed him (Narayanadeva) as the chief (adhipati) of Darddaranya. Verses 26-27 extol Kalyanavati, the wife of Narayanadeva. Verse 28 states that Narayanadeva begot in her a son by name Vajradēva. Verses 29-31 describe his manifold qualities.

Verse 32 is a benediction praying for the permanence of the eulogy (kirtti). The charter ends with the concluding sentence that it was engraved (uktirna) by samanta Mahada.

The significance of the present charter lies in the facts that some hitherto unknown historical information is revealed about Dharmapaladeva and Devapaladeva, the predecessors of Mahendrapaladeva and that this charter attests for the first time, and beyond any shadow of doubt, to the reign of a Pāla king named Mahendrapaladeva immediately after the end of Devapala’s reign. The contemporary political history of North India during the time of Dharmapaladeva speaks of an intense political struggle between the Pāla king on the one side and the Imperial Pratihāras and Rashtrakutas of Malkhed on the other, over the political hegemony of Uttarapatha. The contemporary kings of Dharmapala on the Imperial Pratihara throne were Vatsaraja and his son and successor Nagabhata (II) while Dhrūva and Govinda (III) were the contemporary kings on the Rashtrakuta throne. It is known that Dharmapāla was very ambitious in raising the Pāla kingdom to the high water mark of glory and power and in extending and establishing his suzerainty over North India. The Rashtrakuta records speak of Vatsaraja having defeated a Pāla king, evidently Dharmapāla, and carried away his royal insignia. Vatsaraja was aided in his expedition by his feudatory chiefs, one of whom, Chāhamana Durlabhāraja of Śakambhari is said to have overrun the whole of Bengal up to the confluence of the Ganges and the sea. But, as this occurs in a poetical work composed four centuries after the event described, it is difficult to take
it as literally true. As the kingdom of Gauda at that time extended up to the Ganga-Yamuna Doab, it cannot be said definitely whether Vatsaraja actually invaded Bengal or met and defeated the lord of Gauda somewhere in the Doab. A recently discovered dated inscription of Dharmapala at Nalanda shows that parts of Bihar including Nalanda continued to be under the sway of the Pala king in 774 A.D. The event of his encounter with Vatsaraja may probably have occurred only after 774 A.D., as Vatsaraja ascended the throne in or before A.D. 778. But Dharmapala did not lose heart after his defeat at the hands of Vatsaraja.

The Khalimpur plate of Dharmapaladeva dated 802 A.D. describes a durbar the Pala king held at Kanauj. According to the present charter and the Bhagalpur plate of Narayanapala, Dharmapala defeated Indraraja and others (Indraraj-adiikan) and gave back again the sovereignty of Mahodaya (Kanauj) to the begging Chakrayudha (Chakrayudhay-arthe). The conquest of the prized and coveted city of Kanauj must probably have been the first major victory Dharmapala scored in his efforts to bring the entire North India under his sway. The durbar which Dharmapala held at Kanauj was attended, according to the Khalimpur plate, by a number of vassal chiefs among whom are mentioned the rulers of Bhaja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhara and Kīra who uttered acclamations of approval 'bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling.' As can be seen below, Dharmapala went beyond Kanauj and the domain of the Imperial Pratiharas on his military expedition.

The charter under review mentions the defeat of the king of the Sindhu country (Sindhunam-adhipama) in the hands of Dharmapaladeva. In a fragmentary inscription from Hundi, there is a reference to a military expedition to Sindurajya undertaken by Anantadeva-nripati and Sindurajya had been identified with the region comprising parts of Sind and Multan. The history of the north-western region of India during this period speaks of the early Muslim invaders of the "seventh and the following centuries, of Arab and Turkish extraction, finding the then Hindu rulers to be more than their match on the battle-field. The Hindu rulers like the Imperial Pratihara king Nagabhaṭa (II) and his successors as well as Avanijanaśraja Pulakesin of the Chalukya house of Navasārika and Lalitādiya, the ruler of Kashmir were among the Hindu rulers who claim to have successfully withstood and repulsed Muslim invasions." If one is to go by the statement contained in the present charter, it is tempting to postulate

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2. A.R.Ep., 1978-79, No. B. 41; The combined assault of the Pratihara king Vatsaraja (783-92 A.D.) and the Chāhamäna king Durabharaja on the Pala kingdom should have taken place sometime before 791 A.D., for there is an inscription of Dharmapaladeva, year 21 at Bodhagaya (Bhandarkar’s List No. 1609).
8. Above, p. 96.
that Dharmapala would have gone to the region around Sind and Multan in the course of his military campaign and conquered the king of that country. What emerges ultimately from the account given above is that the power of the Imperial Prathiharas was at its lowest ebb at the time of Dharmapala's conquest of North India though it must be noted that none of the contemporary kings of that dynasty is mentioned as having been defeated by the Pala king in any of his records including the charter under consideration.

According to Prathihara records, the Imperial Prathihara king Nagabhata (II) retaliated against his Pala adversary by defeating Chakrayudha and conquering Kanyakubja. The recently edited Badhal copper-plate charter of Nagabhata (II) reveals the fact that Nagabhata (II) was not in occupation of Kanyakubja in 815 A.D.\(^1\) It is therefore possible to postulate that the Imperial Prathihara king Nagabhata II's occupation of Kanyakubja must have taken place only after 815 A.D.\(^2\)

As already mentioned above, Durlabhara (I), according to conjectures based on a verse in a later work called Prithvirajavijaya, fought on the side of the Imperial Prathihara king Vatsaraja against a Pala king, evidently Dharmapaladeva, overrunning the whole of Bengal and washing his sword at the confluence of the sea (Bay of Bengal) and the river Ganges.\(^3\) In the family of the Chahamanas of Sapadalaksha or Jangaladeva or Sakambhari, one king, Durlabhara (I), the son of Gopendraka, is known to have flourished in the 8th century A.D.\(^4\) It is already known from the Lucknow Museum plate of Surapala (I)\(^5\) that Devapala had married Mahata, the daughter of one Durlabhara. But the charter is, however, silent regarding the lineage of Durlabhara.\(^6\) The present charter discloses the fact that Durlabhara belonged to the Chahamana family and was on friendly terms with the Pala king Dharmapaladeva. This, however, runs counter to the statement recorded in Prithvirajavijaya. How to reconcile these two conflicting statements? It is possible to conjecture that there were many encounters between the Imperial Prathiharas of Kanauj and Dharmapala and that, in the earlier battle fought between Vatsaraja and Dharmapaladeva, the Chahamana king would have sided with the Prathiharas who, it may be noted, were their traditional

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1 The article is under publication. See also The Age of Imperial Kanauj, ch. II, p. 25.
2 Based on a statement in Prabhavakacharitha that king Nāgāvaloka of Kanyakubja, the grandfather of Bhōja died in V.S. 890, Majumdar, after identifying Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhata II, surmised that if Nāgabhata really transferred his capital to Kanauj it was very likely towards the close of his reign after Dharmapala had died and his son and successor Devapala had enjoyed the position of supreme ruler of Northern India for a fairly long period as is claimed in his records. History of Bengal, ch. VI, p. 112, f.n. 3.; See also The Age of Imperial Kanauj, ch. II, p. 27.
5 Above, Vol. XL, pp. 4 ff.
6 The Lucknow Museum charter of Ģūrapala (I) merely states that Devapala's queen was Maḥatā who was the daughter of a king named Durlabhara (Srimad-Durlabhara-tanaya Śrt-Maḥāt-ākhy=abhavat=deva tasya kara-graha-prañayini śāghyā dvitty-eva bhūḥ II (Ibid. p. 12, v. 14)
overlords. In the second battle that took place when the Pāla king marched across Uttarapatha after the successful conquest of Kānyakubja, the Chāhamāna king (Durlabharāja I) would have either submitted to or befriended the former by giving away his daughter Mahāta to the former’s son Dēvapaladēva. One has, therefore, to suppose that there were more than one encounter between the Pāla king Dharmapaladeva and Durlabharāja (I). However, that this newly established friendship between the Pālas and the Chāhamānas of Śakambhari did not last long is proved by the fact that Guvaka I, the son of Durlabharāja (I), was an ally of the Imperial Pratihāra king Nagabhaṭa (II)\(^1\). The present charter is, therefore, significant in disclosing for the first time the matrimonial relationship that existed between the Pālas of Bengal and the Chāhamānas of Śakambhari. The charter under review reveals for the first time that Dēvapaladeva had a son by name Mahendrapaladeva who succeeded him on the Pāla throne and issued this grant in his seventh regnal year. Historians were of the view that Dēvapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.) was succeeded by Vigrahapāla I.\(^2\) They were also not in agreement over the relationship between the two, some holding that Vigrahapāla was a grandson of Vakpāla, the younger brother of Dharmapaladeva through his son Jayapala,\(^3\) while others considered him as the nephew of Dēvapāla.\(^4\) Yet some others opined that Vigrahapāla and Śurapāla are identical.\(^5\) The recently edited Lucknow Museum plate of Śurapāla \(^6\) shows that Dēvapāla was succeeded by Śurapāla (I).\(^7\) This charter disproves the genealogy of the Pālas of Bengal as hitherto enunciated by historians from Dēvapāla downwards.

It is interesting to observe here that as many as nine inscriptions\(^8\) were discovered long ago in Bihar and Bengal which mention one Mahendrapala. Since they were all short inscriptions engraved mostly on the pedestals of images which hardly contain any information regarding the family or genealogy of the king figuring therein and in the absence of the valuable clue of the existence of a Pāla king of that name immediately after Dēvapāla, scholars assigned them to the Imperial Pratihāra king of that name. Based on this erroneous identification, D.C. Sircar wrote that “The great

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7. D.C. Sircar surmises, based on the evidence of the Lucknow Museum charter, that Śurapāla was the son of Dēvapāla and was therefore different from Vigrahapāla I who was the son of Dēvapāla’s cousin Jayapāla. We have therefore to place now the reigns of two rulers viz., Śurapāla I and Vigrahapāla I between Dēvapāla and Nārāyanapāla (Ibid., Vol. XL, p. 10).
8. Bhandarkar originally listed seven inscriptions which are as follows: Nos. 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646 and 1647. Subsequently, one more inscription of Mahendrapāla was discovered which was subsequently edited by D.C. Sircar viz., Mahinsantosh image inscription of Mahendrapāla, year 16 (Above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 204 ff.).
mite of the Gurjara-Pratihāras was exhibited by Bhūja's son Mahendrapāla (c. 885-905 A.D.) who wrested considerable parts of Bihar and Bengal from Nārāyanapāla (c. 855-910 A.D.), the grandson of Dēvapāla's brother, between the 17th and 54th year of the Pāla king's reign. As we have seen above, Mahendrapāla is known to have been in occupation of wide regions of Bihar and Bengal at least from his 2nd to his 15th regnal year. The success of Mahendrapāla must have made Nārāyanapāla's position precarious as the lord of Bengal and Bihar. During the period in question, the Pāla king may have been ruling over a small part of Bengal or Bihar either as an independent monarch fighting with the Gurjara Pratihāras or as a subordinate ally of Mahendrapāla. Another historian opined that "the glory and brilliance of the Pāla empire did not long survive the death of Dēvapāla. The rule of his successors... was marked by a steady process of decline and disintegration which reduced the Pālas almost to an insignificant political power in North India".

The present grant dispells all such erroneous views regarding the extent of the empire of the Imperial Pratihāras after the death of Dēvapāla viz., the alleged shrinkage of the Pāla empire following the supposed expansion of the empire of the Imperial Pratihāras launched by the Imperial Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla and the state of affairs in the Pāla kingdom on the demise of the Pāla king (i.e., Dēvapāla). It may be noted, after a careful scrutiny of all the nine inscriptions discovered earlier and belonging to Mahendrapāla, that Mahendrapāla maintained intact practically the entire kingdom that he inherited from his father Dēvapāladēva. Judging from the provenance of his inscriptions, it can be surmised that his kingdom comprised considerable parts of Bihar and Bengal (including North Bengal). If the reign period of Dēvapāla is taken as 810-50 A.D., his son Mahendrapāla should have ascended the Pāla throne in 850 A.D. and ruled for 15 years (865 A.D.) according to his inscriptions. An important point that was overlooked by historians while identifying Mahendrapāla figuring in the inscriptions found in Bihar and Bengal with his Imperial Pratihāra namesake was that all of them employ Gaudīya characters which are akin to those

1 See Bhandarker's list pp. 228-29. Sircar, following R.D. Banerji and R.C. Majumdar, opines that No. 6 (Bhandarker's No. 1647) in which the date read as the year 19 is supposed to be wrong, is now regarded as the same as No. 3 (Bhandarker's No. 1644) in which the date is read as year 6 or 9. Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 205, fn. 10. See also The Pālas of Bengal, ch. III, p. 24; History of Bengal, Appendix I, p. 175. M.A.S.I., No. 66: Nalanda and its epigraphical material, Hirananda Satri, pp. 105-06.
2 Above vol. XXXVIII, p. 207.
3 History of Bengal, ch. VI, pp. 125.
4 We would like to point out a similar instance in which three copper-plate charters were wrongly assigned to the Chandella king Trailokyavarman and with the discovery of the Māndla copper-plate charter (Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 213) it was found that they really belonged to Trailokyavarman of the Kalachuri of Tripuri family. Śrīśūtritā (Sri K. R. Srinivasan Festschrift), p. 303.
5 R.D. Banerji while writing on the Rām-Gaya inscription (Bhandarker's No. 1645) remarks about the characters employed in that inscription as follows: "Acute angled characters of the ninth century A.D. had been used in it." About the characters used in the Paharpur inscription of Mahendrapāla (Ibid., No. 1643) the editor remarks that the numerical figure 5 in the epigraph has much resemblance with the modern Bengali and the numerical figure 7 found in the same inscription is exactly similar to modern Bengali 7. M. A.S.I., No. 55, p. 75; Sircar while editing the Mahātsvātā image inscription of Mahendrapāla (Above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 204 ff.) says "an interesting palæographical feature of the epigraph is the use of cursive type of anusvāra in saptaṁyāṃ in line 1." (Ibid., p. 205).
found in the Pāla records of this period. There are several instances to show that when kings invaded distant kingdoms and set up their own inscriptions in their newly conquered territories they only employed the script that was prevalent in their original country as exemplified by the Badāmi inscription of Narasimhavarman¹ and the Jura praśasti of Krishṇa III.²

In the light of the charter under review which reveals the existence and reign of a new Pāla king, Mahēndrapāla, the chronology of the Pāla dynasty after Dēvapāla has to be worked out afresh. The Lucknow Museum copper-plate inscription of Śurapāla, regnal year 3, is the only copper-plate charter known so far of that king³ shows that Śurapāla was born to Devapāla through his queen Mahaṭā, the daughter of Durlabharaṇa and that the latter succeeded the former. It, however, makes no mention of Mahēndrapāla who finds mention for the first time in the present charter. In the charter under review there is a reference to one Śurapāla who acted as the royal messenger (dūṭaka) of the grant and whose relationship with the king is described as the same that existed between the epic heroes Lakṣmana and Śrīrāma. This indirectly shows that Mahēndrapāla and Śurapāla were brothers, the former being the elder who was reigning at that time, while the latter was younger and functioned as the crown-prince. This Śurapāla is no doubt identical with Śurapāla (I) of the Lucknow Museum charter. Piecing together these facts we may conclude that Dēvapāla had two sons by his queen Mahaṭā viz., Mahēndrapāla and Śurapāla (I) and that both ruled over the Pāla kingdom one after the other.

It is somewhat puzzling that Mahēndrapāla is nowhere mentioned in the Lucknow Museum plate. Further, both Mahēndrapāla and Śurapāla (I) are not at all mentioned in the genealogies given in other Pāla charters. Only in the Badāl pillar inscription, Śurapāla (I) is mentioned after Dēvapāla. Based on the solitary evidence found in the Badāl pillar inscription,⁴ scholars arrived at the conclusion that Śurapāla (I) and Vigrahapāla (I) are identical. What could be the reasons for the glaring omission of both Mahēndrapāla and Śurapāla (I) in the genealogies of the Pāla charters barring of course the Badāl pillar inscription which, strictly speaking, is not a eulogy of the Pāla dynasty but a eulogy of Gurava-miśra, the minister of the Pāla king Narāyaṇapāla and his family? It is not possible to give a categorical answer to this vexed question. One

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² The Jura praśasti of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa (III) is written in Kannada characters. (Above, Vol XIX, pp. 287 ff.).
⁴ Above, Vol. II, pp. 161 ff. and plate; Bhandarkar's list, No. 1620.
plausible explanation that can be adduced is that both Mahendrapāla and Śūrapāla (I) were born to Dēvapāla by his queen Māhaṭa. Queen Māhaṭa, it may be noted, belonged to the Chāhamana stock and was the daughter of Durlabhārāja I. Durlabhārāja I, the Chāhamana king of Śakambhari, as has been shown above, was earlier an ally of the Imperial Pratiharas, the inveterate foes of the Pālas of Bengal. After the success of Dharmapāla in conquering Uttarapatha, Durlabhārāja (I) changed his allegiance and entered into matrimonial relationship with the former. But the newly formed friendship did not last long between the Pālas and the Chāhamanas of Śakambhari. For, Guvaka I, the son of Durlabhārāja I, again shifted allegiance to Nāgabhaṭa (II) thus snapping once for all the ties with the Pālas. Could this shift in the allegiance of the Chāhamanas of Śakambhari back to their traditional overlords viz., the Imperial Pratiharas be a cause for the omission of the two kings, who had sprung from Chāhamana-Pāla matrimonial relationship, in the Pāla genealogy?\(^1\)

The Lucknow Museum plate of Śūrapāla (I) shows that Śūrapāla (I) was different from Vigrahapāla I, who was the son of Devapāla's cousin Jayapāla while Śūrapāla (I) was the son of Dēvapāla himself. While editing the charter D.C. Sircar remarked that, as a result of the discovery of the Lucknow Museum charter mentioned above, we have to place now the reigns of the two rulers viz., Śūrapāla I and Vigrahapāla I, between Dēvapāla and Narayanapāla.\(^2\) Now, with the discovery of the present charter, the reign of Mahendrapāla who, it may be noted, had a comparatively long reign of more than fifteen years as his inscriptions show, would also have to be accommodated with Śūrapāla I and Vigrahapāla I between the reign periods of Dēvapāla and Narayanapāla.

Unlike in other Pāla charters, in the present charter two messengers (dūtaka) are mentioned in connection with the conveyance of the royal order namely Vajradēva and Śūrapāla. While noticing the occurrence of the word ni both at the beginning and at the end of line 1 in the Bangarh\(^3\) and Belwa\(^4\) copper-plate charters, Sircar remarked "the grant was registered by two high officers of the king or was examined first by one officer and then by another officer or by the king himself."\(^5\) In this case, the royal order was first brought and conveyed from the sovereign by Mahasenaṇapati Vajradēva, to other high officials and later on by Śūrapāla to the residents of the granted town and other local officials. This charter is therefore unique in having two royal messengers (dūtaka).

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1 We have a similar instance of deliberate omission of the name of a king in the pedigree of the dynasty written subsequently. In the genealogy of the Chalukyas of Vatapi, the name of Mangalēśa is simply passed on in all the subsequent records without mention (Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 349) because of his undying and inglorious act of trying to retain the Chalukyan throne for himself and his family ignoring the claim of the rightful heir.
2 Above, Vol. XL, p. 10.
3 Ibid., Vol. XIV, pp. 324 ff.
4 Ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 1 ff.
5 Ibid., Vol. XL, p. 4.
The progenitor of the family to which the Dūtaka Vajradeva belonged is said to be Devarādeva. This name is of special linguistic interest. It is already known that the dynasties like the Palas, the Senas, etc., who ruled over parts of Bihar and Bengal, had intimate association with Karnāṭaka as known from their own records. The word devarādevaḥ occurs in Kannada language and it stands for the Sanskrit word devasya devah, ra forming the genitive suffix in Kannada grammar. There are several words with the genitive suffix ra in Kannada language like devara-gudi, devara-mane, etc. It is possible to postulate that the occurrence of this name is one more tangible proof of the intimate association the Palas of Bengal had with Karnāṭaka.¹

It has been seen above (verse 7) that Devapala constructed two temples: one dedicated to Sugata (Sugata-sadma) and another for Gauri (Gauriyah griham). It is, however, not clear whether Gauri represented the Hindu goddess or a Buddhist goddess. The plate under discussion states that the vihara set up by Mahendrapala in the town called Nandadirghika was dedicated to Vu(Bu)ddha-bhāṭaraka. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the Nalanda copper-plate charter of Devapaladeva where it is stated that Maharaja Balaputradeva of Suvarnadvipa caused the construction of a vihara for Buddha-bhāṭaraka at Nalanda. It is interesting to find close similarity in phraseology in the description of the Buddha and the beneficiaries of the grant as given in the Nalanda and the present charters. As discussed above, the grant was made by Mahendrapala for the worship and anointment of Lord Buddha, Prajñāparamita and other leading divinities, the Arya-Avaivarttikas forming the group of Bodhisattvas, eight great holy personages and individuals belonging to Aryabhikshu-sāṅgha. It is interesting to note that the above list reveals the hierarchical structure of the entire Buddhist order. Naturally enough, the first and foremost is Buddha-bhāṭaraka. After him is mentioned Prajñāparamita and other Buddhist divinities. Next in order are mentioned the group of Bodhisattvas. Their description as Avaivarttikas takes into account the fact that they are persons firmly set on the road to enlightenment. In Buddhist literature, this expression is used regularly in connection with the Bodhisattvas.²

In this connection, we may refer to the Nalanda copper-plate of Devapala, regnal year 39, in which, in lines 38-39, almost similar phraseology is found. However, both Hirananda Sastri³ and D.C. Sircar⁴ were not able to provide us the correct reading of a phrase in question which has been read by them as "Prajñāparamitādharma-nēttri-sthanasy-arthe tantrā(tri)ka Vo(Bo)dhisatva-ganasya". A closer-examination of the facsimile provided in Epigraphia Indica (Vol. XVII) shows beyond

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¹ D.C. Sircar, J.N. Bunceti Volume, Karnāṭaka outside Karnāṭaka, p. 211.
doubt that the reading here is exactly the same as in the plate under study viz., Prajñāparamitā-sakala-dharmma-netrī-sthanasy-ārya-avaivartti-kā-Vo(Bo)dhisattva-ganasya”.

The last to be mentioned in the hierarchy are the members of the Pudgalārya-bhikṣhu-sangha. The word ‘Pudgala’ in this context simply refers to a person or creature or his soul and by this is implied the fact that in terms of intellectual attainment the members of the bhikṣhu-sangha have a long way to go as compared with Bōdhisattvas and āshta-mahāpurusas.

As regards the identification of the important localities referred to in the charter, the first place of importance that finds mention is Auddalakhāataka where the king (Mahendrapala) was camping at the time the grant was issued. From the way it is described in the charter, it will appear that the place would have been on the banks of river Ganges (Bhagirathi). The Bangarh grant of Mahipāla,¹ one of the later successors of Mahendrapala, was issued from Vilasapura which is also stated to have been situated on the banks of the river Bhagirathi. It is, however, not possible to identify Auddalakhāataka in the present state of our knowledge. The town Nanda-dirghikā in Kundalakhāataka-vishaya in Pundravardhana-bhukti, where Mahendrapala constructed the vihāra and donated it to the same town along with the neighbouring lands, cannot also now be identified. Pundravardhana-bhukti is said to have been “the biggest division or province of the Gauda empire. It extended from the summit of the Himalayas in the North to Khādi in the Sunderban region in the South”.² Kundalakhataka-vishaya figures in some other later charters also. While describing the boundaries of the granted town Nandadirghika mention is made of the river Taṅgila (I.31, 35) which is described as flanking Nandadirghika on the east (1.31) and on the south (1.35). The river Taṅgila is evidently identical with the river Tangan which flows from Dinajpur through Malda District and joins the river Mahananda at Muchia Aihō.³ Kuvja-ghatikā, described as situated on the banks of that river, Narayanavasa, lying between Kasiggar and Vammaka, are two places mentioned in the grant as bordering on the east of the granted town. Kuvja-ghatikā can be tentatively identified with the modern village Ghalika while Narayanavasa may be identified with the modern village Lakshminarayanpur in Bamangola police station in Sadar sub-division in Malda District. Kasiggar may be identical with Kasimpur, if the latter could be an Islamised form of the earlier place-name, while Vammaka cannot be identified. The places mentioned as lying on the west of the granted town are Gōlāti, where there was a water fall, and Jagaravasaka, which contained an ant hill and an āsvattha tree, Vijjaka-vandhaka and Shandalā. Gōlāti may probably be identical with Goaljai.

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¹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 324 ff.
³ Bengal District Gazetteers, Malda (1918), p. 5.
Jagaravasaka, however, cannot be identified. Shandala can be identical with Santāra. The village Uttarakunda is stated to be situated on the north-east of the granted town. There are at least four villages in the Bamangola police station with their names prefixed by Uttar and it is not possible to identify Uttarakunda with anyone of them with certainty. The village Nandasuralpa is stated to be lying on the south of the granted village, along with the river Tangila. Nandasuralpa can be identified with the modern village Nandinadaha. It is unfortunate that it has not been possible to identify Nandadirghika where Mahendrapala caused a vihara to be set up and donated the town (udranga) along with the lands to the divinities of the very same vihara as well to the mendicants (arya-bhikshu-samgha) residing there. Svalpa-Nandapara which lay to the south of the granted town also cannot now be identified. Durddaranya-maṇḍala over which king Dharmapala made Narayana, the father of Vajrata, as the chief (adhipati) also cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge. In suggesting the identifications of some of the places mentioned in the grant, we hasten to add that they are by no means certain and that we have been guided mainly by the description of these places mentioned in the grant and a comparison of the same with the details available in the modern map and the village list. If our identification proves correct, it may indirectly help in identifying Kundalakhataka-vishaya which at best, we can say, included parts of Malda District.

The engraver Mahada is not known so far from any other epigraph. It is interesting to find that he is endowed with the title samanta which shows that he might have been serving as a chieftain under the Pala king Mahendrapala.

TEXT

[Metres : Verses 17-19, 21, 23 Anushṭubh ; verse 24, Indravajra ; verses 2, 25, 29 Malini ; verse 34, Mandakranta ; verse 20, Pushpitagra ; verses 1, 4, 8, 10, 14-15, 26, 31, Sar dulavikridita ; verses 5, 27, 32, Srugginghara ; verses 3, 6-7, 12-13, 16, 22, 33, Vasantatilaka ; verses 9, 11, 28, 30 Upajati ]

Obverse

1 Siddham| | * | Svasti | Śrīm[ā]n[=manita-śasano] nijava[ba]-

1 It is interesting to observe that there are a number of villages, the names of which end in 'pura' like Bengarapura, Dakshin Naopura, Garipura, Meherpura in Bamangola police station itself. See Village List of Bamangola Police Station (printed), pp. 9-10.
2 Village List of Bamangola Police Station (printed) and The One Millionth Map of India (political edition).
3 That the engravers were men of distinction who occupied a very high position in official hierarchy in the Pala-Sena period is further known from the Deopura prasastî of Vijayasena where the engraver Śalapāṇi is endowed with the title Rāṇaka and is described as the crest jewel of the guild of artists of Varendra (Varendra-śilpi-gos̄ṭhi-chudāmani (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 42 ff; Bhandarkar’s List. No. 1683).
4 From impressions.
5 Expressed by a symbol.
lair=adhyásito viryavān \ A[t*]jy=ānanda-subhū-

3 ti-nandita-maha-dana-priyāḥ kshántimān \ bhā
dsval=vaṇśa(mśa)-bhavaḥ praja(ja)-hitakarō niḥśesha-bhūmiśvarah
śiddhārtho bhuvanāni pātu Sugataḥ pāta cha dharmma-sti(thi)teḥ \ [1*]Nripatir=īha va(ba)bhuva dhva-

5 sta-dōśh-andhakarō Ravir=iva pāta-dhāmnān=dhāma Gopāla nāma \ aganita-guna-ratnam yam samāsādyā jāta hari-vasati-sukhebhyo
datta-tōy-āṇjalib śriḥ \ [2*] Aty=uddhata-dvishad=anēka-jay-arjita-śriḥ
śri-Dharmmapāla iti tasya sutō va(ba)bhuva \ prakshalitāni Kali-sa-

7 ntamas=āvītāni yasy=Endradēva-yaśasa kakubham=mukhāni \ [3*] Durvvar[va][n*]=dvishato vijitya samare tān=Indrarāja(j=ā)dikānī
Sindhunām=adhipa-
m=pramadhya(thya) rabhasād=unmilita-kṣmābhritā \ datta yēna maha
mahodayavatī vikrānti-bhaje nija[m*] nirvya[ja[m*] nati Vamanāya Va
(Ba)līnā Chakra-
yudhay-ā[r]thine \ [4*] Renun(ṇun)=yasy=āṅganebhyo hata-ripu-mahishi-
śva(śvā)sa-vātā haranti sīṃchatty=etāni mādyat=kari-kara-gaḷad=dāna-
tōya-pravahā[1*]

10 rājñām seva-parānām= pranata-nija-śirō-ratna-pushpa-prata(tā)nair=ddōr=
ddarp-anīta-lakṣhma-kara-kamala-dhrītah pūjitah pāda-padmāh \ [5*] Nitēr=vilāsa-bha-
vanām=prīya-Vikramāyah śri-Devapala iti tat=tanayo va(ba)bhuva \ yaḥ
kautukad=iva jagatpu(t=pa)davīn=didrikshuś=chamkramyatē sma bhavan-
āṅgana-lilay=eva \ [6*] Da-

12 ūḍ-ūpanita-kanakāir=vvasudhadhipānām rājā maha-samara-naṭaka-
sutrādhārah \ yo nirmmamē Sugata-sadma-gṛīhaṇ=cha Gaurya
yat=kautukāṇ=cha vi(t)la-
kaṇ=cha jagat=trayē=pi \ [7*] Durvvar-āstra-nipāta-bhishana-saṇat=
sannaha-lavdhō(bdh-ō)dayam(yam)l sākṣhikritya vibhāvasum rana-śirō-
vēdi-mahāmandapē \ kha-

14 dg-āvarjjitai(ti)=vairi-varana-gṛāṭa-kumbh-āśrīga-ambhaḥ-pluto yō jagrāha
karam kṣhitiśvara-varō niḥśesha-bhūhrid-bhuvām(ām) \ [8*] Yam
yodhayāmas ur=aratayas=tē ye-
shām riramsā sura-sundaribhiḥ \ tatha Vivasva=brhman-āvadhina yaih
krētuṁ ishtāṇy=asubhir=yaśāṇi(msi)l \ [9*] Dharmmasya prasavēna yēna
vipulam=bhutiṇ=chī-

1 The stroke is redundant.
16 ram=vibhrata bhrū-lī-lā-huta-Kāmarūpa-vibhavēn=ārōhat=ādyam=bhrīsham(śam) Durggāyās=cha Himālay=achala-bhuvah ślaghyan= karaṇ=grihṇa(ha)ta samyaktvam=pa-
17 ramēśvaratvam=aparan=devēna1 sandarṣitam [10*] Sa Chāhamān-ānvaya-
vāridh-indōh sadhvim sutam Durllabha-raja-nāmnaḥ śri-Māhaṭām dharmma-parām naṇendratraı̂(s=tra)-
yīm-iv-o dva[*]ha salakshan-āṅgim [11*] Sa Dēvak=iva naradeva-sahasra-
vandyaṁ saukaryatō vasumati-bharam=udvahantam l Lakshmyāḥ svayamvarapatin=Prurūh-
19 ttamaṁ=cha dēvak sut-ottomam=asūta Mahendrapālam [12*] Yasy=āśa-
vijaya-prayāna-rajasaṁ śāndre samutsarppati vyuhe nirbhara-pūrit-
amva(amba)-
20 ratayā sampādit-orvvi-drume l sprishtē pada-talair=akandha-patan-āṣanka-
chamakārindōh vidyām=uptaran=aiṅka-hetum=ajayan=vidyādharānāṁ-ga-
21 ṇaḥ2 [13*] A-pralaya-girīr=vrishanka-vrishabha-kshunā-gaṁ-
sthalaṁ=a-sindhōr=Ddaśakandhar-āri-viśikha-vyāloḍīt=āntarjālāt l a-
pūrvv-a-
22 para-din-mukha=aiṅa-tilkāat śaila-dvayat=bhūbhujō nirvyājam nipatanti-
yasya charaṇe dūr-āntarair=mmauli bhīḥ [14*] Khadg-otkhaṭa-mahebha-
kumbha-vi-
23 galat-kilala-dhārā-jale jato vairi-vadhu-vilōchana-vamad=vā(bā)shp-
āmva(mbu)bhir=vvardhitah l santiry=adhipatin=apām=prati-diśāṁ yātāh-
sahasraṁ-mmaukhāi-
24 =chitram=[pava]ka-hāranair-vilasito yasya pratāp=analaḥ l[15*] Tvam 
sarvvaṁ nipati-chandra-jaya-śriy-ārthi svapnē='pi na pranayini bhavatō 
=ham a-
25 sam(śam) l itham=bhiya kupitay=eva ripūn=bhajantya vyājrimbhīrē sam-
ara-kēli-sukhāṁ yasya l [16*] sa khalu Bhangirathi-p...tha-pravarttaman-
nāṇ-ā-

1 The poet here employs double entendre in using the word 'Paramēśvara' according to which the king obtained
the title Paramēśvara as well as he became equal to Śiva (because of his conquest of the Himālayan kingdoms). The
word 'kara' too has been used in double entendre viz., in the case of the king it means the tax collected from his subjects
in his Himālayan kingdoms, while in the case of Lord Śiva it means hand i.e., Śiva, obtaining the hand of Pārvatī,
the daughter of Himaṇvān.
2 The phenomenon of trees blossoming on contact with damself is called dohada in Sanskrit literature.

Srisnāṁ sparṣāt=priyankur=vikasati vakulaḥ sdhu-gandhūsha-sēkāt=
pāda-ghātād=āsōkas=tilaka-kurabakān vikshana-aliningabhyām/
mandārō nama-vākyāt=patu-mridu-hasanaḥ=champako vakra-vatācā=
chotō gītān=namārūr=vikasati cha purō varānāt=karaṅkārab/

In this case, the tree which blossoms on being kicked by the foot of the damsel is Āsōka.
26 dhipa-nauvaṭaka-sampāda-sētuva(ba)ndha-nihita-sāila-sikhere-śreni-vibhramat | niratiṣaya-ghanva-ghanva-ghanva-ghaṭa-śyāmāyamāna-
27 vāsara-lakhmi-samaravṛdha(bḍha)-santara-jalada-samaya-sandhēḥat
udi(di)chin-aneka-narapati-prabhūtikṛit-aprameya-haya-vāhini-dhara-
khr-otkhāta-
28 dhūl-prasaraṇa-dig-antarālāt Paramēṣvara-seva-samāyāt-asēsha-Jamvū
(mбу)-dvipa-bhupala-pādān=a-bhara-namad=avaneḥ Auddalakhātaka-
sama-
29 vāsita-śrīmāj=jaśakandhavārāt paramasaukta-paramesvara-parama-
bhātānaka maharajadhiraja-śrī-Devapaladeva-pād-anudhyataḥ
30 paramasauktaḥ paramesvārāḥ paramabhāṭānaka maharajadhirajah śrīmāṇ
Mahendrapaladevāḥ kuśali || śrī-Pundravardhana-
bhuktau Kundalalakhaṭaka-viṣhaya N[ṇ*]dadirghik-oḍranga śimā || Tatra
pūrvvēṇa Tāṅgila-nady=ardha-śrōtaḥ parichchhinna dakshinēṇ=api Kuva-
jagha-
32 tik-ār’ddha-śrotikaya Kāsiggara-Vammaka-madhinya Nārayana-vāsiya-
pūrvvā-sim-avādiḥ || Paśchimen=api Goḷati-nirjhare-
33 n-Ajālavra-vassak-avabhātēṇa vālmīka-stupen=aśvattha-vrikshena
Vijjavagandha
34 kām paśchima-Shandal-antar-amalaki-vriksha-paryañtaḥ Uttareṇ=apy=
ataḥ pūrvvanukho²= ‘ttarakunda dakshinēṇa Nandasuralpa
35 Tāṅgil-ardha-śrōto=vadhīḥ eva=niyāmita-simni samupāgatām(tān)
sarvān=eva rajanaka-rajputra-kumarāmātya-bhukti-
36 ti-viṣhayaṇapati-l senapaty=uparika tad=āyuktaka-l viniyukta-dandika-
dandapāsika-l chauroddharaṇika-l dav[h*]sadhyasadha-
nika-[kholla-duta-gamagamik-ābhivaramanā-hasty=āsv=ōshtra-nau-
37 va(ba)la-vyapritaka-gō-mahisyā=ajavika=va(ba)dav=adhyaksh=ādi-
rajaṇapad=opajivī-
38 no=nyan car(nyams=ch)=achaṭa-bhaṭa-jatiyān | yathā-kal-ādhyāsi-viṣhaya-
vāyavaharināḥ sa-karana vṛa(ba)=hmanama-mānana-pūrva[va]kam pratvāsī-
39 naḥ khṣetrakarānca(rams=cha) yathārham=manayaḥ vo(bō)dhayati
samādiśati cha matam=astu bhavatām(tām) || mahasanapati-śrī-Vajrādeva-
30 dūtaka-mu
30 khēṇa vayam=vijṇāpitāḥ | yathā mata-pitrōr=atmanāḥ sakalasya cha satva-
rāṣēḥ puny=abhivṛddhīṇa Nandairghik-oḍranga maya vi-

1 The avagraha sign is used here.
2 The engraver had originally written the letter u after kho and subsequently cancelled it.
3 This danda is redundant.
Reverse

41 hárah kāritah tatra yath=öpari-liṅkita-Nandadīrghik-ōdraṅga(ngo)1 bhagavatō Vu(Bu)ddha-bhaṭṭarakastra Prajñāpāramit-ādi-sakala-
dharmma-nettri-sthānasya Aty-āvaittika-Vo(Bo)dhisatva-gaṇasy-
Aṣṭha-mahāpurusha-pudgal-ārya-bhikṣu-samghasya yathāram pūjana-
lekh(ā)a-
43 n-adh-arthē chivara-piṇḍapāta-sayan-aśana2-glana-pratyaya-bhaishajya-
parishkār-adyartham khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-samādhān-adh-artham anye-
44 šām=api mam-abhimatānām=mat-parikalpita-vibhāgen=anavadya-
bhōgarham śrimad=Bhaṭṭarakapāḍa[h] dadati=iti ato='smābhi-
s=tadiya-vijñāpyā ayam yath-öpari-liṅkita udraṅgaḥ sva-samva(ba)ddha-
bhūmi-samētaḥ=chatus=sima-paryantah sa-talah s=oddēśah s=öpā-
rikaraḥ sa-paṭṭa-tar-ōpētah sa-daś-arpachā(r)rāh(dhah) sa-chaur-oddhara-
nah pariḥrita-sarvav-pīḍah aĉhāta-bhata-pravēś= akiṁcit-pragrāhyah l
rājakul-ābhāvyā-sarvva-pratyaya-samēto bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=
achandr-arka-kshi-samakālam tath=aiva pradattah yata(thā)
bhavadbhi[h*] sarvvar=eva dana-
48 m=idad-anumodaniyam prativasibhiḥ l kṣettrakaraś=ch-ajñāśravaṇa-
vīdheyaih=bhuva samuchita-kara-piṇḍ-ādi pratray-ōpanayah kāryah [1*]
49 Bhāvibhiḥ=api bhūpatibhiḥ=bhūme[r*]=ddāna-phala-gauravad=apaharanē
mahan=naraka-pātaka-bhayach=cha dānām=idad-anumōdyā paripa(pa)
laniyam=i-
ti | Saṁvata 7 Vaśākha-dinē 2 tathā cha dharmm-anuśa(ṣam)nsa(sa)na-
ślokāḥ | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-adibhiḥ[1*] yasya
yasya ya-
51 dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tada phalam l [1*17] Shasṭhir=vvarsha-sahasrāni
svargge mōdati bhūmidah [1*] āksheptā ch-anumanā(na) cha tany=eva
narakē vaset l [118*]
52 Sva-dattam=para=dattāṃ=va yo hareta vasundharam [1*]sa vishtāyām
kṛimir=bhuva pūrībhiḥ saha pachyate ll [19*] Itī kama-la-dal=āmvu(āmbu)-
vi(bi)ndu-lōlaṃ
53 śrīyaṃ=anuchintya manushya-jīvitaḥ=cha [1*] sakalam=idad= udahritoṁ=
cha vu(bu)dхаv na hi purushaih parakirttayo vīloṣyāḥ l [[120*] Śrimat=
saṅgrāma-ta-
54 reṇa kriṭah sukṛita-karmmani ll Saṃmitrī=iva Rāmēṇa Śūrapalo=tra
dūtakah ll [21*] Śrīmān kule mahati Devaradeva,nāma śal-
ghyō va(ba)bhūva dharani-tala-gītā-kirttiḥ l ady=api sad-guna-kath-āśraya

1 There is an unnecessary punctuation mark here.
2 Read āsana.
eka ēva sanкрiकत्त्यते prathamam-ēva janair=mmahadbhih \(1[22^*]\) Anyo-nya-spardhayā vriddham=ananya-jana-gocharam tyaqgas=ṣatyañ=cha sau (śau)rañ=cha yasya ch=aitad=gunatrayam(yam) \(1[23^*]\)Tasy=ātmajo= bhūt=kamala-nivasah \(1\)

Śrīman sa Narayanādeva nāma \(1[*]\) dharmma-priyāḥ prāṇa-samāna-satyō va(ba)lēna yuktō gurunā mahīyān \(1[24^*]\) Amalinaord-vārī-sphāra-
dhara-nipātaṁ | pluta-vapūr=ārī=vṛindam mānayaṁ ati samantatī api kari=vara-bhed-ōdbhūta-rakt-anulipta dīśi dīśi sitimānam

yasya kirttis=tatānā \(1[25^*]\) Tyāgo nirbhara-purīt-arthāḥhrīdayaḥ sau(śau)ryam jit-ārātikam satyan=nirṛmita-nākadhama-dhiṣaṇa vijñā-
ta-vastu-sthitih \(1[*]\) kurvan(n=nē)tra-vināda-dana-chaturam śila[m\(n^*\) Jan=anandakrit I kirttir=ddik-sarasishu kārava-vana-chchhāy=ēva yasya-ābhavat \(1[26^*]\)

Vahinr=vvair=indhanānām=nripa-sata-mukut-odghrīṣṭa-pād-āravindaḥ pātā loka-sthitīnām pranayi-jana-sarojaḥkarārākayamanah yah pri-
Thyam(thivyām)=ēka-nathāḥ prathita-nīja-guna-śīlaghāyā varjīj-ātmā chakrē śrī Dharmmapālo nirparītādhipatīm=maṇḍicē Darudaranyām (nyām) \(1[27^*]\) Va(Ba)bhuva

lakṣmīr=iva tasya jāya vapus-trī(s=t)loki tilakam=vahanti I siddhis= tri-
varggasya vapushmat=iva Kalyāṇadev=iti yathāthra(rtha) nāma \(1[28^*]\) kula-kama-
lini-lina-lakṣmīr=ut=ālaya-devata sva-pati-hṛidaya-grāhinyēśha sati kīm- Arundhati \(1[*]\) kīm=uta vasudharē=ēyam=vittā-prasādhita-mandirā I

iti manasi yā visṣṭa lokaṁś=chakrā vitarkitān \(1[29^*]\) Div=iva tasyāṁ Raviṁ=eva tēna Rāṁ=ēva samyag=vidino(tō)ggu(gu)n=ādi I satv= ēpākār=aika-ra-
tah pratāpī śrī-Vajrādevō vimala-svabhavah \(1[30^*]\) Yo Lakṣmīn=kulajān-
dayā(dha) =pranayinīm=vīry-ōdayāl=śilayā 
khadg-āvarjjita-danti-
kumbha-vi-
galad-rakt-amvu(mbubhih plavitaḥ | hūtvā śastra-hut-aśānē ripu-
havir=mantr=ānvitō durillabham(bham) samgrāmē vijā[ya\(n^*\)]-śriyam= 
parinayan=lōkē varatvam gatah \(1[31^*]\)

Tyāgo durvvo(bobh)da-satyē sadasi paṭu-girō n=āpavādē parastāt I prajñā-
śastrē nanartta vyapagata-tamasō vañchanē='pi prajā=ārkaḥ I kshantīr=dīnē 
na bhūyō
dvishati rānāvarē sammukhe śastra-paṇau I maitri tyāgē sthīrēbhun-na tu chala-vanitā samprayoge='pi yasya \(1[32^*]\)Āryēshu Jahnū-tanayā-sa-

1. See our remarks below.
70. lil-åbhishëkö dik-kaminishu ghana-chandana-pañka-lëpah [I*] ddu(du)-
rvvåra-vairi-vanitå-vadan-ämvu(mb)jëšhu1yasy=Endra-dhåma-kalì
yåśasåm vitanah [II33*]

71. Bhavyasy=aitah prakriti-pañavò yavad=ev=ëha gávah l1 tatvålokam vihata-
tamasah tanvatë sarvva-dikkam l yàvat=pri-

72. thvì-valaya-vahan-åścharya-karmma(karmmå)cha Ku(Kù)rmma l1 tåvat=
tasya vrajatu kritinah kirttir=ësha pratishthåm II [34*]

73. Utkärnam=idadh śåsanåm samanta-śri-Mahådeña II

TRANSLATION

v.1
Auspiciousness, Hail! May the illustrious Siddhårtha, whose injunctions are
obeyed (by all), who, by virtue of his spiritual power, is seated on the
exalted throne, who is valorous, who is delighted by wealth, happiness and
prosperity, who is fond of granting great boons, who is born in the lusturous
race (solar race), who acts for the welfare of his subjects, who is the sole
emperor of the entire earth, who is also known as Sugata and who is the
upholder of righteousness, protect us.

v.2
There was born a king by name Göpåla who like the sun destroyed all
darkness like blemishes and whose body is resplendent. On seeing him
endowed with several gem-like qualities, the goddess of wealth offered
oblations of water to the comforts she accrued from her stay in the abode
of Hari (in other words she deserted her lord Hari and took shelter under
the king).

v.3
His son was Dharmmapåla who attained fame in conquering many an
arrogant king. His fame, like that of Indra, purified the faces of the
directions defiled by the wicked Kåli.

v.4
He defeated the otherwise invincible sovereigns like Indraråja. In a trice,
he pounded the king of the Sindhu country (in battle) and handed over the
sovereignty of the kingdom Mahådaya to the suppliant king Chakrâyudha
like the famous demon king Bali who, without showing any trace of
dishonesty, gave the entire earth to Våmana, the incarnation of Lord Vishnu.

v.5
The dust in the quadrangle (of his palace) is blown off by the breath of the
dying queens of the enemy kings. The rut flowing from the temples of the
mad elephants is sprinkling (the quadrangle of his palace). The jewels
adorning the crown of the vassal kings who come down to pay respects to
him look like the flowers offered at his lotus-like feet. In his robust hand

1. The stroke is redundant.
rests goddess Lakshmi brought by the might of his hand.

v.6 (He begot) in his wife by name Vikramā, the abode of morality, a son called Déväpāla who out of sheer curiosity showed his prowess like a child’s play in the quadrangle of his house.

v.7 He during his punitive expeditions brought (as booty) gold from various kings and he was indeed the stage director in the drama that was enacted viz., the great war. He built two temples respectively for Sugata and Gauri, which by their beauty looked like the forehead mark on (the face of) the entire world.

v.8 The day dawned with the sound of his fast thrusting inpenetrable arrows and (it looked as though) he made the sun god stand in the great mandapa of the war as witness. He made his sword get wet with the blood oozing out of the pot like heads of the elephants of the enemy forces. He collected taxes from the kings of the hilly kingdoms.

v.9 Your enemies with whom you are fighting are equally desirous of exchanging their lives for fame and in order to enjoy the celestial damsels could reach only upto the regions of the Sun.

v.10 The king appeared indeed as another Paramēśvara (i.e., Lord Śiva) and incarnation of perfection in collecting the commendable taxes from the impregnable Himalayan region (Lord Śiva obtained the praiseworthy hand of Parvati, the daughter of Himāvan) and who obtained great opulence by following the path of righteousness and who attained celebrity by destroying all passions with the movement of his eye-brows (Śiva destroyed Cupid with the fire of his third eye).

v.11 He married Māhaṭa who was like the three Vedas and who was the chaste daughter of Durlabh, who was verily the moon in the ocean of the race of the Chāhāmanas. She was beautiful and interested in following the path of righteousness.

v.12 Like Dévakī she gave birth to a son, by name Mahēndrapāla, to whom several kings offered obeisance, who easily bore the burden (of governing) the earth and who was like god Vishnu whom goddess Lakshmi on her own accord chose as her husband.

v.13 The dust raised during the victorious march (of his army) in various directions became denser and thicker and, enveloping the entire sky, created an impression of making the earth appear like a tree. The Vidyādharas, fearing that the touch of their feet might make the tree blossom out of season, hastened to go up without the help of their supernatural powers.

v.14 The kings in the country bordered by the Himalayas, on the slopes of which
glisten the gems that have been exposed by the hooves of the bull of Śiva, by the sea that was once churned by the arrows of the destroyer of the ten headed demon (i.e., Śri Rama) and by the two mountains which look like the forehead marks on the faces of the directions, with their crowns kept aside at a distance, offered their respects to your feet without showing any deception.

v.15 Your fire-like prowess, wonderful indeed like the real fire, is driving away the (enemy) kings to the direction of water, the level of which is fast rising with the rut flowing from the temples of the mighty elephants hit by the sword and the tears falling from the eyes of the wives of the enemy (kings).

v.16 Oh! moon among kings, you are always sought after by the goddess of victory. Even in dreams you never accepted her as your sweet heart. She, therefore, out of anger and fear took refuge under the enemy kings which in turn increased the pleasure (you derived) from (waging) war.

From the illustrious and victorious camp (pitched at) Auddalakhātaka where the illusion of the Setubandha i.e., the bridge constructed between India and Śrī Lanka (across the Palk Straits) with a chain of mountain tops (propped up in the sea) is produced by vessels of various kinds proceeding along the path of the river Bhāgātrahi, where exceedingly dense arrays of rutting elephants darken the beauty of the day and cause the illusion of the beginning of a perpetual rainy season, where the intermediate region between the directions become grey with the dust raised by the sharp hoofs of the countless army of horses, where (the surface of the) earth is bent under the weight of endless infantry of all the kings of Jambūdvipa (who had) come for serving their overlord (paramesvara), he the paramesvara, paramabhaṭṭāraka, great king of kings (mahārajādhiraja), the devout worshipper of Sugata (parama-saugata), the illustrious Mahendrapaladeva, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Devapaladeva, the devout worshipper of Sugata (parama-saugata), the parameśvara, the par. mabhaṭṭāraka and the great king of kings (mahārajādhiraja), after offering respects to the brāhmanas, honours, informs and orders (the following persons) in the town of Nandadirghīka in Kundalakhātaka-vishaya in the Pundravardhana-bhukti, all royal officers assembled (II. 35-37) and others (who are) royal dependents, the communities of chaṭhas and bhātas, the village accountant (karana) conversant with day to day administration, the inhabitants and the cultivators, who have been conveyed (the royal order) through the royal messenger Mahasenapati Vajradēva. The boundaries (of the town) are on the east, the river Taṅgila, on the south the stream flowing in Kuvja-ghatikā, on the east Narayanaśāsiya situated between Kasiṇjara and Vammaka, on the west water fall at Golaṭi, the anthill and the aśvattha tree in Jagaravāsaka,
the western limit of Svalpanandapara, the vilva tree, Vijjagavandhaka, the gooseberry tree (āmalaki) inside the western Shandala, on the north east Uttarakunda and on the south Nandasuralpa and the river Tangila. For the increase in merit of self, parents and all living beings, I caused the construction of a vihāra in the town of Nandadirghika already referred to above. For the proper worship, anointment, etc., and for repairs (to the vihāra) of Bhagavat Vu(Bu)ddhabhaṭṭāraka, the abode of all the leading virtues like the Prajñāpāramitas and for clothing, food, beds, seats, medical treatment and meditation of the venerable group of monks, the group of bodhisattvas and the eight great holy personages as well as others of my choice to be allotted their respective shares in the manner in which I have enumerated, I gave as if directly by myself (bhāṭṭārakapada) the town (udranga) mentioned earlier alongwith the lands defined by its four boundaries, with lands with low assignments, with yagña trees, with ten offences, with the right of extirpation of robbers, with the exemption from all oppression, not to be entered by regular and irregular troops along with all revenue... by the ban of bhūmichchhidra as long as the moon and the sun last.

Then follow the valedictory sentence and imprecatory verses (17-20).

v.21 While the bright star in battles was engaged in this pious act, Śūrapāla, who was like Lakshmana to Śrī Rama and who was fond of doing pious deeds, was the royal messenger (dūtaka).

v.22 In an illustrious family was born a person by name Dēvaradēva who possessed praiseworthy character and whose fame was sung across the country. Such were his sterling qualities that even now good people speak high of him.

v.23 He was truthful and ready to sacrifice anything. At the same time, he was chivalrous. Thus these three qualities though mutually contradictory found an ideal abode in him which could not be comprehended by anybody.

v.24 His son was Narayana, who was always residing with the goddess of wealth, who was fond of doing pious acts, who was truthful even at the cost of his life and who was great in (physical) strength and stature.

v.25 His spotless fame, like the crystal clear white pure water of the gushing water falls, starts whitening the faces of the directions which had been reddened by the blood that had oozed from the mighty elephants which had been put to the sword (in battle).

v.26 He, of a selfless and contented disposition, was equally valorous and could destroy all foes. It is true that his intellect, bright like the firmament, had obtained true knowledge. He was great in munificence and by a look in his
eye he would give away gifts. His sun-like fame cast a shadow over the forest of blue lotuses in the lakes in the directions.

v.27 He used to accelerate the fire (of battle) raging in the camps of enemy kings and his lotus-like feet touched the crowns of hundreds of kings (vassals). He protected the country and was a sun to the lotus like damsels. He was the sole lord of the country and he became self effaced by the praise showered on his qualities. King Dharmmapāla made him chief of the Dardaranyamandala.

v.28 His spouse was Kalyāṇavati who was like goddess Lākṣmī, who appeared like the three supernatural powers having taken a mortal form and who was like a forehead mark on the material form of the three worlds.

v.29 Was she the playful goddess Lākṣmī born in the lotus race or was she the chaste Arundhati herself having attracted the entire heart of her lord? Or was she the presiding deity of a temple or was she the goddess earth herself having obtained a mansion of wealth? Thus she created several doubts in the minds of the people.

v.30 From them who in turn appeared like the sky and the sun respectively was born Vajradēva who like Śrī Rāma was endowed with several praiseworthy virtues, who was always in the habit of doing good to all living beings and who was very powerful.

v.31 He attained celebrity by marrying the rarely attainable goddess of victory who longs to give company to those who are born in the illustrious race and who are coming up in celebrity, who took bath in the blood oozing out of the temples of the (enemy) elephants cut playfully and valorously by his sword before the sacrificial altar of battle with the sacred fire in the form of (fire emitting) missiles to which oblations in the form of enemies were offered to the chanting of mantras.

v.32 He was liberal, proficient and foremost in learned assemblies which had been called upon to find out the indiscernible truth and never became a back-bencher when counter-arguments were made. He did not become vain-glorious in the realm of intellect and was like the sun exposing the guiles and expelling the darkness like deceptions. He was indulgent to the distressed and never at any time exhibited any enmity to his enemies except in battles when his arms were armed with missiles. He was friendly, indulgent and firm in his actions whether the goddess of transient wealth praised him or not.

v.33 The spread of his fame along with that of Indra was to the virtuous like being anointed with the holy waters of the Ganges, to the damsels of the quarters
like applying thick sandalwood paste and to the lotus like faces of the
damsels of the impenetrable enemy kings¹.

v.34 May this eulogy (of Vajrata) last as long as the rays of the sun, which are
by nature intense, continue to dispel darkness from all directions and the
tortoise (an incarnation of Vishnu) continues to perform the awe-inspiring
feat of bearing the burden of the earth on its back.

This charter was engraved by Samaṭa Mahāda.

¹ The author of the praṣasti has failed to mention how the fame of Vajrata acted on the lotus like faces
of the damsels of the impenetrable enemy kings as he had described in the case of the virtuous people
and the damsels of the quarters.
These two plates, forming parts of one charter and published here for the first time, were rescued by Shri R.M. Saklecha from a copper-smith at Yawatmal, the headquarters of the district of that name in Maharashtra, just when they were about to go to the melting pot. They were acquired from Shri Saklecha by Shri P.P. Kulkarni, Joint Secretary of the Coin Society of Nagpur, who was kind enough to allow us to study and publish them. We thank him sincerely for this gesture.

The plates are rectangular in shape and measure 9.5 cms. high and 19.5 cms. in length. About the middle of the left margin of each of the plates there is a circular hole meant for the passage of the copper ring which held the plates together. When these plates were rescued the ring and the seal were missing. Of the two plates, the first bears writing on both sides while the other plate is inscribed only on one, obviously, the inner side. Each inscribed face contains six lines, there being in all eighteen lines. The writing is well preserved.

The charter of which these plates form part is incomplete and a comparison with the other Vakataka copper-plate inscriptions shows that they represent the second and last plates of the charter respectively. The engraving of these plates is excellent.

The characters belong to the box-headed variety of the Southern alphabets. They are regular to the period to which they belong and do not call for any special remarks. However, a few interesting features may be noticed here. The joining of the left and of the cross bar and upper end of the left lower limb of the letter k resulting from the attempt to write the letter with a single stroke is noticed frequently (see lines 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13 and 14). Subscripts ch and v are so similar in appearance that it is difficult to distinguish them from one another. J is without a box; its upper part is generally smaller in breadth. Sometimes the upper part takes the form of a square as in jala, line 1; hārāja, line 2; and superscript jin saty-ārjjava, line 3, etc. Elsewhere in lines 3 and 4, it has a slight notch in both the upper and lower horizontal lines. Bh has generally a short horizontal stroke to right emanating from the lower end of the left limb. The final consonant is without a box and smaller than an ordinary letter (see t and m in line 10). The medial a sign, the vertical line emanating from the right end of the horizontal stroke attached to the right top of the box, is fairly long. The medial ai in nai is indicated in a somewhat strange manner; one stroke is attached to the top
of the letter and the other to its left lower limb (line 5). *Visarga* has three different forms; (i) a couple of horizontal lines placed one above the other (lines 6 and 11); (ii) a dot above a horizontal line (line 4); and (iii) a horizontal line above a dot (line 16). Punctuation marks consist of one (lines 15 and 16) or two (line 17) horizontal lines which are somewhat curved. The sign for *upadhmaniya* is met with in lines 7 and 9. We find the numerical symbols for 1 (line 18), 4 (line 18), 6 (line 17), 10 (line 18) and 20 (line 17). The symbol for 6 is noticed for the first time in the Vakāṭaka records and resembles *ph*. In the Vakāṭaka epigraphs we come across two forms of 4. The form found in our record resembles that in 400 in line 20 of the Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II.

As regards orthography, occasional reduplication of the consonant following *rēpha* (e.g., *mūrdha*, line 1; *tyārjava* and *sauryya*, line 3; *dharma*, line 4, etc.) and that of *v* following a real or supposed *anuvāra* (*dattam vva*, line 15; *savva*, line 17) and the employment of *anuvāra* in place of final *m* (*likhitam*, line 18) are noteworthy.

The charter refers itself to the reign of king Pravarasena II, son and successor of Rudrasena II of the main branch of the Vakāṭakas. Even though these are only two of the four plates of the charter, fortunately not much is lost except only the place of issue (which must have been given on the inner side of the first plate), for the missing plates contained only the initial portion of the genealogical account and such formal details as privileges and exemptions accompanying the grant. All the important points of historical interest are preserved on the extant plates.

The genealogical account concerning Pravarasena I was accommodated on the first plate which is missing. On the first extant (actually second) plate of our record we find mention of Gautamiputra, his son Rudrasena I, his son Prithivishena I, his son Rudrasena II and his son and successor Pravarasena II who was born of Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of *Maharajadhiraja* Devagupta (i.e., Chandragupta II Vikramaditya). Their description, which is exactly the same as found in other records of Pravarasena II, need not be repeated here.

The object of the charter is to register the renewal, by Pravarasena II, of the grant of some land together with a couple of house-sites (*niveśana-dvayam*) in the village Lāṭakapalli included in the administrative unit called Shadgrīṣaka. The donees were Indrārya and Svamideva who were students of the Taittiriya *śakha* of the Black *Yajurveda* and belonged to the Vatsa *gotra*. It is stated that the land was already being enjoyed by the donees. Even though some portion of the relevant sentence is lost in the missing plate, it appears from the concluding word (though incomplete) on the second side of the first plate that the grant was renewed by means of issuing a copper-plate charter (*tāmra-śasana*), viz., the present plates. The charter was issued on the

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1 *CIL*, Vol. V, Pt. XII.
eleventh day of the fourth fortnight of the summer season in the twenty-sixth year, evidently of Pravarasena II's reign. It was written under the supervision of Senapati Bappadēva.

Reference may now be made to a few interesting points concerning the present grant. While numerous copper-plate charters of the two branches (Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma) of the Vakatakaśas have been already reported, they all register fresh grants and there is so far not a single instance of the renewal of an earlier grant. In so far as Vakataka epigraphy is concerned, ours is the only known charter aiming not at recording a fresh grant but renewing an earlier one. It is stated clearly that the land in question was re-granted by issuing a copper-plate charter only after ascertaining that it was already being enjoyed (i.e., was under continuous possession) by the donees (pūrva-bhujyanānika bhūmiḥ, line 12). There is no means to know as to who was the original grantor and why it became necessary to issue a fresh charter to renew the grant. However, the Kurud plates of the Sarabhapuriya chief Narendra present an interesting parallel. We are told that the original charter written on palm-leaves (talapatra-sāsana) was burnt in a household conflagration (griha-dāha) and that, after it was ascertained by the usual procedure that the gift village was under uninterrupted enjoyment by the donee's son, it was approved, i.e., renewed by Narendra by issuing a copper-plate charter.¹ We have also some instances where the original copper-plate charter was burnt and had consequently to be renewed by later ruling chiefs.² The renewal of the charter in question also must have been necessitated by some similar circumstances.

The royal order regarding land-grants is generally addressed to state officials connected with the village and the administrative division in which it was situated in so far as the Vakataka charters are concerned. But the order about the renewal of the grant in the present charter is addressed to the village as such³ which is rather unique and the only one in Vakataka epigraphy.⁴

The present inscription contains a season date. Season dates appear to have been fairly popular in the western Deccan in the early centuries of the Christian era and most of the records in the Buddhist caves of Maharashtra are dated with reference to seasons. Although in later times this system did not retain that much popularity, we have quite a few examples of season dates in Vakataka inscriptions. The Washim plates of Vindhyasena,⁵ Dudia and Pāndhūrana plates of Pravarasena II,⁶ the two

¹ Taka-cha tala-patra-sāsana[m*] griha-daghō(ḥi) dagdham=āti=adhikaraṇ-śvadārśanayā prāk=prabhṛtya= avyavacchchheda=bhūmi=karṇa[m*] grāmō bhujyata II. Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 265, text lines 7-9.
² This is true of the Nīdhampur plates of Bhāskaravarman also. Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 65-79 and plate.
³ Shadgriśakā Lāṭakapallī (read Lāṭakapalli) grāmō vaktavyaḥ. lines 10-11
⁴ The royal order about the grant made through the Pattna plate of Pravarasena II is addressed to the village headed by the brahmans. See CLI, Vol. V, p. 60, line 21.
⁵ Ibid., p. 98, lines 28-29.
⁶ Ibid., p. 46, line 28, p. 66, lines 28 and 30-31.
Mândhal charters of Prithivishēna II\(^1\) and the recently discovered plates of Rudrasēna II\(^2\) are all dated with reference to seasons. It is obvious that the season dates continued in use till at least the close of the Vakatāka period.

Another interesting feature is the retention of Prakritism in the date portion, especially in connection with season dates, in some of the Vakatāka records even though otherwise they are composed in Sanskrit. It has been, for instance, noticed in the Mândhal plates or Prithivishēna II\(^3\) and in the still later Malhara plates of the Mūṇḍa-putra king Adityaraja.\(^4\) The present plates present yet another example of this feature. In the last two lines of the record we have savva for samvat and gi for gri (of grishma).

We have numerous records of Pravaraśena dated from the second to the twenty-seventh year of his reign.\(^5\) But no record of his twenty-sixth year was known so far. Ours is, thus, the first record of the twenty-sixth year to be reported so far.

We learn from the Siwani and the Wadgaon plates that Bappadeva was holding the office of Senapati in the eighteenth and the twenty-fifth years respectively of the reign of Pravaraśena II.\(^6\) The present record shows that he continued to hold this office in the twenty-sixth year also.

Lastly, as regards the localities, the donated village Latākapalli may be identified with the modern village of Ladkhed about twenty miles east of Darwha on the Darwha-Yawatmal road in the Yawatmal District. The place has remains of some Hemaḍpanti temples.\(^7\) Shadgrīṣaka, after which the administrative unit in which the granted village was situated was named, cannot be identified.

**TEXT\(^8\)**

*First Plate*\(^9\) : *First Side*

1. -la-jala\(^{-10}\) Murddh-abhishktanān=daś-āśvamedh-avabhritha-snataanam Bhaarasi-vanam=ma-
2. hāra(ra)ja-śri-Bhavanaga-dauhitrasya Gautami-purtasya\(^{11}\) Vakatakanam=maḥāra-
3. ja-śri-Rudrasenasya sunōr-atyanta-maheśvarasya satyārījiva-karunya-śāuryya-

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2. They will shortly be published in this journal. The recently discovered Thalner plates of Harishēna also have season date. See V. V. Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, i, Nagpur 1982, lines 23-26.
8. From the original plates.
9. Actually this is the second plate of the original grant.
10. *Read-thy-āmala-jala*\(^{10}\).
11. In other plates of Pravaraśena, we generally have *Gautami-purtasya-purtasya*. 
4. vikrama-naya-vinaya-mahatmya-dhimatva-patra-gata-bhaktitva-dharmma-vijayitva-manō-nai-
5. rmya(mmam)ly-adibhir-guṇais-samupētasya varsha-śatam-abhivardhamana-kōśa-danda-sadhana-santana-pu-
6. tra-pautra(tri)nai Yudhishtīra-vritter=Vvākṛtakānām=mahāraja-śri Prithivi (vi)shena-sunēh

First Plate : Second Side
7. bhagavatās=Chakrapa(pā)nēh=prasād-opārjita-śri-samudayasya Vākṛtaṅka-
   nam=mahāraja-śri-Rudra-
8. senasya sūne(nō)r=mmahārajaḍhiraja-śri-Dēvagupta-sutāyām=Prabhāvatī (ti)guptāyām=upta-
   na(nna)sya Śambhōḥ=prasāda-dhrinta(ta)-Kārttayugasya Vākṛtakānām-par-
   ama-māheśvara-ma-
9. hāraja-śri-Pravarasēnasya vachanat Shadgrisakē Lāṭakapalyām grāmo\¹
10. vaktavyaḥ₂ [l*]atr-asmābhīṃ Taitīti(tti)riya-Vatsa-sagōtra-Indrāryya-Svāmi-
   dēva(vā)bhyā(bhyāṃ)
11. pūrvva-bhujyamānīka bhūmir-ṇnivesana-dvayaḥ=cha bhūyo=pyasam-
   bhi²[h*] tāmra-sāsa\²

Second Plate⁵
13. 6-dara-karanē aṭit-ānēka-raja-dattā(tta)-saṅchintana-paripālaṇa-kṛita-punyā (ny=a)nukṛtta-
   na⁷ kṛtīyāmah [l*] Vyāsa-gitaū ch-ātra ślokau pramanā(ṁ)kartavyau [l*] Sva-dattām-pa-
15. ra-dattām vvā(vā) yō hareyō(ta) vai⁸ vasundhāra[m*] l gavāṃ śa-
   sahasrasaya hantur=har-
16. ti dushshri(shkṛita[m*] ll [l*] Shashtiṃ varsha-sahasrāṇi svargge mōdāti bhūmīdah [l*]
17. āchchhēta ch-amumanta cha tānya=eva narake vase[t*] ll 2* savva⁹ 20[+*]6
18. gi pa 4 diva 10[+*]1 Senāpatau Bāppadēvē[na] likhitam (tam) ll

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¹ Read "Lāṭakapalli-grāmo".
² The address to the whole village met with here is not found in Vākṛtaka records.
³ As the word asmābhīḥ has already come in line 11 above, it is redundant here.
⁴ The remaining two letters of this word which were obviously engraved on the missing third plate were in all probability, nēna.
⁵ This was the last, probably the fourth plate, of the original charter.
⁶ The missing first two letters of this expression must have been dharmā.
⁷ Read "kṛita-punyā-anukṛtāna-parahārya na".
⁸ This letter in redundant.
⁹ Prakritism in Savva (for Sanva) in this line and gi (for gti) in the next line is met with in other records also.
No. 4—KÂṬLAPÂṆṆU GRANT OF VIJAYÂDITYA

(3 Plates)

K. V. Ramesh and M.D. Sampath, Mysore.

This set of copper-plates edited here for the first time was received from Sri B. V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundry, Andhra Pradesh in 1938. This is reported as No. A 3 in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1938-39. This set consists of five thick copper-plates, each measuring 23 cms in length and 12 cms in width. The sheets are held together by a ring about 14 cms in diameter passing through a ring-hole 1.7 cms in diameter near the left margin on each plate. The ends of the ring are joined to the sockets of a receptacle worked like a full blown lotus spread along the ring at the bottom of a circular seal about 9 cms in diameter and 1 cm. thick. The seal bears in high relief the figure of a standing boar facing the proper left at the top with the sun and crescent in its front, the legend ‘Sri Tribhuvanânkusâ’ in Châlukyan characters below it and below the legend a small goad in the horizontal position. The bottom is occupied by the full blown petals of an expanded lotus. The plates with the ring and seal weigh 3,040 gms. The rims of the plates are slightly raised to protect the writing which is incised deeply on the inner sides of the first and the last plates and on both sides of the rest. The plates are numbered by means of strokes incised across their thickness but inversely beginning with the fifth plate and ending with the first.

The text contains 72 lines equally distributed on the eight sides which bear writing.

The characters of the record belong to the Telugu-Kannâda script popularly in use during the Eastern Châlukyan period and, on palaeographical grounds, are assignable to the latter half of the ninth century. The initial vowels a, a, u, e, e, and o and final consonants n (line 16), t (line 21) and m (line 8 ) are found employed. The letter form for Dravidian r(-pāṟṟu-lines 60, 62 and 63) and the upadhmânya symbol are the same (suyaśāh-praptam-line 26; sūchih-prajñâ-line 51; dāh-prabhuh-line 52; prâptâh-para-line 53; and vânasajâh-para-line 69). Barring these regular features, the palaeography and orthography of this charter do not call for any special remarks. Suffice it to say that the plates bear witness to the high literacy of both the composer and the engraver.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit throughout with a mixture of verse and prose.

The charter was issued by the Eastern Châlukya king Vijayâditya III (844-92 A.D.) and records the grant of the village Kâṭlapâṇu in Vêngi-sahasra-vishaya by the king to his brahmin general Rajâditya. The executor of the grant is Pâṇḍarânga. The charter is silent about the date of issue and merely contains the statement that the grant was given on the occasion of a solar-eclipse.
The record commences with an invocation to Narāyaṇa (Vishnu) followed by the usual introduction of the Chāluṅka family (lines 1-6). Then follows the genealogical narrative starting from Vijayāditya I and ending with the issuer of the charter (verses 2-16; lines 7-25). Thereafter the reigning king is eulogised in seven verses (verses 17-23; lines 25-37). Then follows the description of the family of the donee in twelve verses (verses 24-35; lines 38-53). The details of the grant are next enumerated in lines 53-64. Lines 64-72 contain the imprecatory portion.

A point of interest in the genealogical account given in the present charter is the reference in verses 1-2 (lines 5-8) to the first ruler of the dynasty (Kubja)-Vishnuvardhana as the younger brother of Vijayāditya Vallabha, who was famous as Satyāśraya. It is a well-known historical fact that Kubja-Vishnuvardhana was the younger brother of the famous Pulakēśin II, who is thus for the first time given the name of Vijayāditya in this record. The name of Vijayāditya for Pulkeśin II does not go unsubstantiated by available historical information. We know only too well that the Eastern Chāluṅkya rulers had alternate coronation names Vijayāditya and Vishnuvardhana. Some of the records of the Western Chāluṅkyaas of Kalyāṇa contain the statement that Chāluṅka-Chāluṅkya rulers were endowed with the special coronation names of Vishnuvardhana and Vijayāditya (Vishnuvardhana-Vijayādity-ādi-viśeṣha nāmāṁ). In the light of this information, we may work out the following concordance of early Chāluṅka names. According to the Eastern Chāluṅkyaan story of the origin of the Chāluṅka family, Vijayāditya, prompted by the desire for conquest, left the throne at Ayodhya, marched against Dakshināpatha and was killed in a fateful encounter with Trilōchana-Pallava. The widowed queen took refuge at Muḍivēnu and gave birth to a son who was given the name Vishnuvardhana.

After coming of age, he fought against Trilōchana-Pallava, defeated him and married his daughter Uttamadāni. After vanquishing many rulers including the Kadambas and the Gangas, he became the lord of Dakshināpatha. To him was born a son named Vijayāditya, whose son was Pulakeśī-vaḷlabha, none other than Pulakeśī I. Armed with this information, we arrive at the following concordance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper name</th>
<th>Coronation name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jayasimha</td>
<td>Vishnuvardhana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raṇarāga</td>
<td>Vijayāditya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulakeśī I</td>
<td>Vishnuvardhana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṛttivarman</td>
<td>Vijayāditya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṅgalēśa</td>
<td>Vishnuvardhana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulakeśī II</td>
<td>Vijayāditya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It becomes apparent from the above concordance that the naming of Pulakesin II as Vijayaditya in the charter under study is based on sound family traditions.

In the present epigraph, Vishnupardhana, the father of Vijayaditya II, is said to have suppressed Bali. He is compared to god Vishnu who, in his Vamana incarnation, did suppress the king Bali of the Puranas.

Vishnubhupas-tato-jato Vishnuvad-Bali-marddhana

This victory of Vishnupardhana cannot but remind us of the defeat of one of the Bana kings, claiming descent from king Bali, received at the hands of the former. The senior contemporary Bana ruler of Vishnupardhana (c. 770-808 A.D.) was Jaya Nandivarman and the junior contemporary was Bana Vijayaditya I, who succeeded Nandivarman in c. 793 A.D. This Vijayaditya is known to have ruled up to 845 A.D. In the Udayendiram plates it is stated that the early members of the Bana family ruled over a tract of land called Andhrapatnah-pashimah-kshithi, the country to the west of the road leading to Andhra. This has been differently recorded as vaduga-vali-merku and Vadugavaliyim-paduva respectively in the Tamil and Kannada inscriptions. Bana Vijayaditya I is described in the Udayendiram plates as one who dispersed a number of opponents and before whom the enemy did remain in great fear. This signifies the stiff opposition raised by the Bana against his enemies. On the contrary, in the Chalukyan records, Vishnupardhana is said to have inflicted defeat upon his Bana adversary. This claim sounds tenable because the territory ruled by the Eastern Chalukyas lay adjacent to the ceded districts and Vadugavali-12000 over which the Banas had control.

Silakambha, wife of Vishnupardhana V, is described as the daughter of Indraraja and Paramakambha. This Indraraja may be identified with his namesake who was appointed as a governor of Gujarat and Malwa by his elder brother Govinda III. If the above identification is accepted, then it is possible to infer that Silakambha was a granddaughter of Nirupama-Dhruva who married Silamahadevi, daughter of Vishnupardhana IV of the Eastern Chalukya family. Silakambha appears to have been named after her grandmother, Silamahadevi, wife of Nirupama-Dhruva. The relationship of the two families is shown below:

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2 M.D. Sampath, Chittoor Through the Ages, (1980), pp. 37-38; p. 47.
3 Ibid, p. 35.
4 Above, Vol. III, p. 78.
As stated above, the recipient of the gift registered in this charter was the brahmin general Rajaditya. We gather from a few more Eastern Chalukyan recordsthat the kings of that dynasty were wont to bestow similar grants on their military chiefs. The donee of the present record Rajaditya was, obviously, a powerful military chief, who had enriched the coffers of his master with booty acquired from vanquished foes. He hailed from an illustrious family of Vedic scholars who had also had close links with royal personages. The genealogical account of his family covering four generations is as follows:

Kumaramurti

Viddisarma

Kumara alias Peddana md. Chanaamamba

Rajaditya

Of these, Kumaramurti is stated to have developed differences with his erstwhile lord mentioned as Tondaman and Kaduveeti and, as a result, migrated to Vengi-desa, wherein he settled down at a village called Undi. There was born to him there his son Viddisarma who begot as his son Kumara alias Peddana as a result of propitiating the god Mahasena. His son born of Chanaamamba was our hero Rajaditya.

3 The Early History of the Deccan, p. 275, note 1.
The identity of the Tondanam lord of Kumaramurti is uncertain. He is also referred to as Kaduveetti, an appellation borne by both the Pallavas and the Nolambas. In the absence of any internal evidence, it is not possible to conclude as to the precise identity of the Kaduveetti ruler.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the villages Katur and Vayalar which were being administered by Kumaramurti under his Tondanam lord, are to be identified with their namesakes in the Chingleput Taluk and District. This would perhaps suggest that the Tondanam overlord of Kumaramurti was only a Pallava and not a Nolamba. The village Undi, where Kumaramurti settled down after his migration, is the same as Undisvarpura or Undisapura which was under the rule of the Undiraja kings during the thirteenth century A.D. On the modern map, this place may be identified with the present day Undi in Ganapavaram Taluk of Krishna District. The grant village Kattaparru and the villages forming its boundaries viz., Velivrolu, Elanbara-cheruvel, Virparru, Ravulaparru, Gokulamanda, Bammiparru, Bedyama-pundi and Velivrolu cannot be identified on a modern map. However, it may be suggested that these villages are to be located somewhere in the East Godavari District.

**TEXT**

[Metres : Verses 1-17, 20-37 : Anushtubh; Verse 18 : Šardulavikridita;
Verse 19 : Sradghara and Verse 38 : Vasantatilaka]

*First Plate : Second Side*

1 ēm=nāmō Narayana(nā)ya l Svasti l Šrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-sarnstūyamāna-
Manayya-

2 sa-gotranāṁ Hariti-potranāṁ Kauśiki-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyanāṁ=Mātri-[gana]-
paripālitānāṁ Svami-Mahāśeṇa-pād-ānudhyatanāṁ bhagavan-Narayana-[pra]-
sa-sasāsadita-vara-varāha-lāṅchhan-ekshāna-kshāna-vaśikrit-arāti-[mandalānā]-
ma=Aśvamedh-avabhṛtha-snāna-pavitrikrita-vapusham Chalukyanām=abhud-
=va[m].

6 śe Vijayaditya-vallabhaḥ [ *)Satyaśraya iti khyāta-nāmn=āpi bhuvi viśru-
7 taḥ l l l *)Tasya-anujah prabhūḥ ukhyaṭṭo Vishnuvarddhana-samjñītah l sa-
Durjayaṁ samuchchātya Vengti-ma-

8 ndalam-āptavān l l l *)Ashtau daśa cha varśhāni kritv-āsau rājyam=uttamam l-
(*) yayau nāka-vadhū-

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1 From inked impressions.
bhōga-vārṇchhayā marutāṁ padam | [ 1 3 ] Tat=putro Jayasirīh-ākhyō bhūri
sirha-paraṅkra-

Second Plate: First Side

mah [ ⃞] trayasthīṃśat-samāh prithvīṁ abhukta(ktvā) chatur-arthi' budhi | [ 1 4 ] Vishnu-rajas=tad-anujasy=Endrara-
asya nandanabh [ ⃞] sa dhātrim=nava varṣhāṇi pālayamāsa līlayā | [ 1 5 ] Tasy=āpi
śanayō

Māmgi-yuvarāj-ākhyā-bhūpatih nyayēn=āpalaya-dhātrim vatsarān=pāṁchavimśatimm | [ 1 6 ]

Tasmāj=jātaṁ suṭah śrīmān Jayasirīho mahipatiḥ | sa trayoḍāsa varṣhāṇi

rajjam chakrē niρpōttamah | [ 1 7 ] Dvaimāturas=tad-anujah Kokkilirnā(r=nnā)ma viśrutah | [ ⃞ ]

shanmāsamātram=ev=āsau pālayītvamūchad=dhāram(rām) | [ 1 8 ] Tad-agrajas=tv
vikhyā-
tō Vishnuvarddhana-nāmavān | [ 1 ⃞ ] sapta-trimśat-samāh pri(pri)thvīṁ rāraksha
sakalāṃ=imām(mām) | [ 1 9 ]

Sunus=tadiyo Vijayaditya-nāmā mahipatiḥ | so='pi pālitavān=uv[vv]l=asṛta-da-

sha cha vatsarān | [ 1 10 ] Vishnu-bhūpas=tatō jāto Vishnuvad=Bali-marddhā
(rddā)nāh [ ⃞ ] shattrimśa[d-va]-

Second Plate: Second Side

tsarān=dhātrim=āpālya prayayau divaṁ(vam) | [ 1 11 ] Tasya sūnur=abhū-
dūman=Vijayaditya-samjāi-

tah [ ⃞ ] hashtottara-śata-khyāta-yuddha-labdha-jayōnnatiḥ | [ 1 12 ] Tavamty=ēva
punah kritva Śambhō-

r=ayatanāny=api [ ⃞ ] chatvārimśat-samāh pri(pri)thvīṁ pralin-ārim=āpalayat | [ 1 13 ] Vishnuvarddhana-
nām=ābhūr=tat-sunur=vvijīt-āhitah [ ⃞ ] sō='pi varṣham sa-shanmāsam bu[bhuje
dha]raṇītālāṁ(lam) | [ 1 14 ]
jātā Paramakāmbhāyās=ch=Endrarājasya ch=atmajā [ ⃞ ] Śilakāṁba bhavaṁi=va-

Mena-

Himavatōs=satī | [ 1 15 ] Tasyām cha Šilakāṁba[yāṁ] jātā(tah tad-Vishnu-
bhūpateḥ [ ⃞ ] Vijaya-

1 The anusvāra is written above the letter bu.
Third Plate: First Side

28 padēśa'-py-ayam [1*] yasy=āchāra-path-aikadēśa iva yat-kīrttes-samastam jagad=veśmatvam
29 gamitaṁ sa chāru-Vijayādityō vibhāty=uttamaṁ | | 18 ll*| Ā-sēto Rāma-muktapravara-
30 kapi-bal-abaddha-Śailendra-brīmḍād=a-Kailāsach=cha Pārvvaty-avachita-
31 vṛkskānta-sa(sā)nōr=a-turghāch=ch=āsta-sailād=udu-kusuma-chayād=a-punas=
32 ch=odayārde-
33 r=yyāvantō madhya-va[r]tti-kshitipati-nikarāt=tair=nnūto yō vibhātī | | 19 ll*| Yasya
33 pratāpa-santā-pahyām-āri-bhūmipah [1*] pada-chchhāyān=na muṁchanti dvi-
34 pāntara-samāgataṁ l | | 20 ll*| Yasya-aiv=ājñāmāyan tejo jagad-antah-pure bhramad-
35 durja-
36 n-ochchedanāy=alāṁ sōdhanā-dipikāyātē | | 21 ll*| Yat-prasāda-tarōr=āindram= apakva-phaka-
36 vat=padam [1*] yasya krōdh-ānalasy=āpi vahnir=aurvvaṁ kaṇāyātē | | 22 ll*| Yan-
37 mahatvam samuddiśya

Third Plate: Second Side

37 Mēnas-trīnalavāyatē [1*] yasy=aiv=āgādha-gāṁbhīryam jānudaghnāyat =‘ēmbudhīh | | 23 ll*| Ėvam-
38 sthiṭe | Āsīt=prāvachana-khyāta-vipra-varhṣa-kulottamah [1*] Kāturū-Vāyułur-
39 akhyā-
39 grāma-dvaya-patīḥ prabhuḥ | | 24 ll*|Tatr-āśēsha-dēś-ai̊ka-nāyakō guna(na)-
lālītaḥ [1*]Kumāra-
40 mūrtti-nām-ānka[h *] sṛimān=bhūri-yaśō-dhanāḥ l [1 25 ll*] Jaya-mān-oddhritam hastam bhūpates=Torhḍa-
41 mānīnāh [1 *]n=oddharāmy=adya tan=nūnām Kaḍuveṭṭi-mahiśa tē l [1 26 ll*] Ity=uktvā saṃpari-
42 tyajya dēśam māna-dhan-ānvitāḥ [1 *] Vēṛhi-dēśam praviṣy=asāv=Undy-ākhya-
43 grāma-
44 m=āyayau l [1 27 ll*] Tatra sthītvā sa tanayam=lebhē dvija-kul-ōttamar[1*] Viddi-
45 šarmanma-ākhya=anangham
44 khyātaṁ saty-ābhimāninar(nam) ! [1 28 ll*] So=’py=āradhya Mahāsēnāṁ
45 chirāy=ājitana= sutam [1*]Kumā-
46 rah=Peddanaś=chēti nāma-dvaya-samanvitaṁ(tam) ! [1 29 ll*] Tasmāt=tu
47 Chānāmāmbāyāṁ sūnur-jja-

Fourth Plate : First Side

46 to mahāyaśāḥ [1 *] Rājāditya iti khyātō rājīva-sama-lochanah l [1 30 ll*] Dus-
47 sadhyan=saṭdhayi-
48 tv-ārin svasy=aiv-aik-āśi-dhāraya [1 *] dravyāny=āhṛitya bhūyamsi svāminē
49 yah=pri-
50 yachchhati ! [1 31 ll*] Satya-śil-ābhimāṇ-ōru-tyāga-śauryy=ādibhir=ggunaih
51 [1*]yena tulyo
52 na lōke=’sti n=aśin=na cha bhavishyati ! [1 32 ll*] yasya jātas=suta[h*] khyātaḥ
53 Peddan-ākhyo dvī-
54 j-ādhipaḥ[1 *] svāmi-bhakti-vrata[h *] sṛimān dig-vikirnṇa-mahā-yaśāḥ l
55 [1 33 ll*] Dhuraś=śu
56 raś=suchih=prājñō dēv-ādibhyo=nrināḥ paṭuh [1*] kulānny=uddhritavān sarvān
57 sv=āśritaḥbhayadāḥ=prabhuh ![1 34 ll*] Ėvaṃ-bhūtaṁ sutam labdhvā Rājādityas=sa
58 uttama[m] ![1 *]
59 prāptaḥ=paramam=anāmāntd(da)m=āihik-ānutrīka-kshamam ![1 35 ll*] tatra sa
60 Vijāyāditya-rāja-
61 dhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhattāraka-paramabrahmāṇya=sārvabhaumo nirvvar-
62 tīt-ā-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

63 śēṣa-jagad-vyāpārō bhūtvā dharmm-āika-nīshṭha[h *]san prem-anurakta-chitta-
64 tayā a-
65 sādhāraṇa-karunāya cha tasmai Rājāditya-dvīj-ōttamāya Sūryya-grahaṇa-nimi-
57 tə Kāṭlapāṛṛu-nāma-grāmam sarvva-kara-parihāreṇa agrahāram prādāt [1 *]
58 Datvā cha vṛṅgi-sahasra-grāma-deśa-rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān kuṭumbina itham=a-
59 jñāpayati viditam=astu vô=samābhīr=Vṛṅgi-sahasr-ākṛṣya vishayē
60 Rajadityā=asmai Kāṭlapāṛṛu-grāmas=sarvva-kara-parihāreṇ-āgra-
61 hārō datta iti [1 *] Asya grāmasy=āvadhayaḥ pūrvvataḥ Velivrōluḥ sūma ā
62 āgnēyataḥ Elambra-cheruvu l dakshīṇataḥ Vi[r]ppāṛṛu l Nairṛityām Vi[r]ppāṛṛu-grā-
63 ma-kṣētram l paśchimataḥ [Rā]vulapaṛṛu l vāyavyataḥ [Gō]gūlamanda l uttarataḥ

Fifth Plate : First Side

64 Bamminipāṛṛu Bēdyama-pūndi l iśānyān=diśi Velivrōlu-kṣētram l Ētad-ashtādik-
si-
65 ma-madhyavartti-grāmah l Asy=ōpari na kēnachid =bādhā kartavyā l yah karoti sa
parm-
66 cha=mahāpataka-samyuktō bhavati l Bhagavata Vyāsen=āpy=uktār l Bahubhir=
vasu-
67 dḥa dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupalītā l yasya yasya yada bhūmis=tasya tasya tādā
68 phalam l [1 36 ll*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ va yō hareta Vasundharām l shashtī-
vvarsha-saha-
69 srāni vishtāyāṁ jayate kṛmiḥ l[1 37 ll*] Mad-varṁśa jāḥ=para-mahipati-varṁśajāś=cha
70 pāpād=apeta-manasō bhūvi bhāvi-bhūpāḥ l [yē] pālayanti mama dharmmam=imām
sa-
71 mastan=tēshām=maya virachito=ṁjaliṁ esha-mūrdhṇi l [1 38 ll*] Ājñaptir=asya
Pāndarāṁgaḥ | Śī-
72 vam=astu l śāntir=astu ll
No. 5—BABBÉPALLI PLATES OF PALLAVA KUMÁRAVISHNU

(2 Plates)

P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, Hyderabad

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a set of five copper-plates discovered in Rājugāripālem, a hamlet of Babbépalli village in the Addanki Taluk, Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh, while a certain Sunkara Govardhana Rao was digging the land at a depth of one foot in S. No. 444. The set was received as treasure trove in the State Department of Archaeology and Museums, Hyderabad, through Sri T.V. Reddaiah, the Tahsildar of Addanki Taluk in March, 1980. I edit the record with the kind permission of Dr. V.V. Krishna Sastry, the present Director of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh to whom I remain grateful.

The set consists of five copper-plates held together by a copper ring of diameter 7 cm and thickness 0.5 cm. The ends of the ring are soldered to a round seal of 3.5 cm. diameter. By the time the set reached the office, the ring was broken at the soldered part below the seal probably due to some accidental pressure on the ring. All the five plates are uniform in size with unraised rims. The average measurements of the plates are 17 cm length, 5 cm width, and 0.1 cm thickness and their weight with the ring is 477 grams. Barring the first side of the first plate and the second side of the fifth plate which carry no writing, the remaining eight sides contain four lines of writing each and the full text is thus written in 32 lines. The right top corner of the first plate is slightly cut probably while digging though, fortunately, the damage is negligible as only the last letter in the first line is lost. The writing on the whole is fairly legible and in a state of good preservation.

The seal contains the usual Pallava emblem of a recumbent bull facing proper right embossed in relief. Above and below the figure, the portions probably containing the legend seem to have been deliberately chipped off. An interesting feature noticed on the seal is that the elevated parts of the bull seem to be silver coated. It is difficult to explain this uncommon feature. The destruction of the legend portion and some other features of the record give rise to the suspicion that the charter is perhaps a re-written document. This matter will be discussed in the sequel.

This charter was issued by the Pallava king Kumāravishnuvarman from the capital town Kañchi, to register the gift of some land in the village Kaligonda in Karma-rāṣṭra to the brāhmaṇa named Isara-sarman (Īśvara-śarman) in the king’s thirteenth regnal year.
The characters of the record belong to the conventional Vengi type of letters. They resemble the letters of the Pikira grant of another early Pallava king Simhavarman and the Śasanakota plates of the Western Gāṅga king Madhavavarman I. They do not seem to be so archaic as in the Oriyōdu set-I of Śivaskandavarman. The vowels a (line 21), a (lines 18 and 31), i (lines 10 and 18), u (lines 14 and 16) and e (lines 13, 14 and 17) and the final consonants n (lines 10 and 32) and m (line 25) are found employed. The bottom of the letter da is generally elongated downwards. The central horizontal of the letter śa, unlike in the Pikira and Sakrēpatna plates, touches the side-verticals. The left vertical of b is open. The final m in line 25 is represented by a slant semi-circle, unlike the small m in the Pikira and other records of that period. These last three features pertain to the later part of the fifth century A.D. Medial long u of bhu in line 21 is a continuation of the short u, unlike a stroke in its middle as in Pikira and Sakrēpatna plates. This is also a later development. Of the orthographical features, the use of upadhmaniya in line 25, the use of class nasals for anusvaras and doubling of the consonants following rēpha are noticed. Rules of sandhi are not observed in several instances.

Palaeographically the present plates can be roughly assigned to the later part of the fifth century A.D. It also seems to be later than the Oriyōdu set-I and does not differ much with the available single plate of the Darśī set which, like the present grant, was issued by a great-grandson of Virakurucharman.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and, leaving the five imprecatory verses, it is in prose composed in the usual phraseology found in the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallāvas. There are several mistakes in grammar and syntax, for which the composer as well as the scribe seem to be responsible. The fifth verse in lines 27 and 28, though in anushtubh, is too faulty to be corrected and its meaning is also not clear.

The phraseology of the record, although faulty and incomplete, presupposes some standardised forms and phrases found in other Sanskrit charters of the early Pallāvas applying the same phrases indiscriminately to different members without any significance. A deliberate attempt at Sanskritisation of some Telugu names of the boundary places is another feature to be noticed in the record.

The charter was issued from the capital Kāṇchipuram by the Pallava king mahārāja śrī Kumaravishnuvarman of Bhāradvāja-gōtra who is described as the son of mahārāja śrī Skandamullavarman, grandson of mahārāja śrī Karalavarman and great-grandson of mahārāja śrī Virakorcharvarman. It records the gift of sixty-four nivartanas of land near the village Kaligonda in Karma-rāṣṭra to certain Ṣivara-śarman of Kaśyapa-gōtra.

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1 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 159 ff. and plates.
2 Ibid., XXIV, pp. 238 ff. and plates.
3 Ibid., XV, pp. 250 ff. and plates.
5 Ibid., 1, pp. 397-98 and plate.
The date of the record is the fifth day in the bright fortnight of the maha-Karttika month in the prosperous thirteenth regnal year of the king, the naksatra being VIsakha and the week-day Thursday.

The boundaries of the gift land are given in three different specifications. It seems, therefore, that the lands were situated at three places (trai-bhūmyāṁ -I. 17) near the village Kaligonda. The work trai-bhūmyāṁ may also mean the meeting place of the boundaries of three villages. But here three sukshetras or three fertile fields are separately specified.1

This inscription sheds welcome light on more than one aspect of the history of the Early Pallavas who flourished in southern Andhra in the post-Ikshvakus period. The charter was issued from the capital Kañchi indicating that the Pallavas of the early Sanskrit charters of the Guntur-Nellore region had their capital at Kañchi like Śivaskandavarman of the Prakrit charters. Being earlier than the Vesanta grant of Sīhavaranman II and the Chendaluru grant of Kumāravishnu III the other two Sanskrit charters which were issued from Kañchipuram, this record confirms that these rulers were in possession of Kañchi from the time of Kumāravishnu, the donor of the present charter. The statement of the Veḷūrpāḷayam inscription4 that one descendant of Virakūrcha named Kumāravishnu captured Kañchi (grihitka-Kañchi-nagarah) is also confirmed by the present record and we can say that he was really in possession of that town.

Karālavarman and Skandamūlavarman till now find mention only in the long list of the Vāyalūr epigraph5 of Rajasimha where their names occur between Virakurūcha I and Virakurūcha II. Thus we can reasonably identify Virakurūcha of the present record with Virakurūcha I of the Vāyalūr epigraph. Again, the historicity of the Karālavarman and Skandamūlavarman as son and grandson respectively of Virakuruchavarman is also established by this record of Kumāravishnunavarman. He was a member of the fourth generation from Virakurūcha, the founder member of the Pallava dynasty. We know from the Chendaluru plates one Kumaravishnu, son of Skandavarman and another Kumaravishnu, son of Buddhavarman. Kumāravishnu of the present charter, being the son of Skandamūlavarman, cannot be identified with either of those two. A 5th-ird Kumāravishnu is

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1. The learned editor has somewhat misunderstood the details of grant as furnished in lines 10-17. The text in lines 10-11 must be read with only one correction as Kumār-rāṣṭra-Kaligonda-nāma-Vir-grāma-pathē (thah) pūrvvatah, which would mean that one of the three pieces of lands donated lay to the east of the road connecting the two villages Kaligonda and Virgrāma in Kumār-rāṣṭra. The other three boundaries of this piece of arable land as also the four boundaries of the other two pieces of arable lands have been enumerated in the sequel. In the light of this trai-bhūmyāṁ chaushashti nivarttanāṁ should be taken to mean a total of 64 nivarttanas drawn from the three different arable lands and, hence, Dr. Sastrī's suggestion that trai-bhūmyāṁ may mean the meeting place of the boundaries of the three villages does not hold water-(Ed.).

stated to be the great-grandfather of Vijayaskandavarman, the donor of the ōṁgōḍu set-I. As his father’s name is not stated in that record and because the Vāyalur list mentions only two kings bearing the name Kumāravishnu, it is generally believed that Kumāravishnu of the ōṁgōḍu set-I is identical with the first Kumāravishnu, son of Skandavarman of the Chendaluru plates. But as the present record confirms the historicity of Skandamulavarman of the Vāyalur list which distinguishes him from Skandavarman, the above identity of Kumāravishnu of ōṁgōḍu set-I, with his first namesake of the Chendaluru plates, cannot be considered. In support of this view, Kumāravishnu of ōṁgōḍu set-I is stated to have performed the aśvamedha sacrifice, whereas Kumāravishnu of the Chendaluru plates is not credited with that. Further, the ōṁgōḍu set-I, issued in the 33rd regnal year of the great-grandson of Kumāravishnu, in its palaeography and phraseology, is considered to be earlier than the Chendaluru plates issued in the 2nd regnal year of the grandson of his namesake. So they cannot be identified with each other. Even to identify him with Kumāravishnu of the present record, a third Kumāravishnu is to be added to the Vāyalur list. But in view of the imperfect nature of that list this adjustment need not be considered to be a serious mistake. Till further evidence comes forth Kumāravishnu of this charter can be taken to be his namesake of the ōṁgōḍu set-I. About his performing of the aśvamedha sacrifice, he might have done it later after issuing this grant. This is an attempt to find a place for him among the early members, because he happens to be the third descendant of Virakūrcha I.

The genealogical table of the early Pallavas cannot be accurately constructed, for the reason that all the three predecessors of the donor of each charter cannot be assumed to have ruled at Kañchi in their own right. In other words how many collateral lines seized the throne of Kañchi during the long period extending about three centuries from c. 300 A.D. to 600 A.D. is not precisely known at present.

Among the officers to whom the royal order was entrusted for protection and honouring mention is made of rāja-vallabhas, naiyōgikas, gō-pālas, vatsa-pālas and saṅcharantakas. Rāja-vallabhas were the king’s favourites or superior officers and naiyōgikas were the administrative officers of the divisions. These officers were supposed to exempt the donee from taxes. Gō-pālas and vatsa-pālas were the supervisors respectively of cows and calves. The gift land was to be excluded from grazing the king’s cattle. Saṅcharantakas were the same as sāsana-saṅcharantakas who were the messengers employed to acquaint the people every now and then about the royal orders.

The grant was issued on the fifth day (paṁchami) of the bright fortnight of maha-Kārttika-māsa in the prosperous and victorious thirteenth regnal year, the nakshatra being Viśākhā and the week-day Guruvāra i.e., Thursday.

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1 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 249 ff.
We notice an early reference to the method of dating in the month of two fortnights in the Sanskrit inscription of Ehavala Śrī found at Nāgārjunakonda dated on the ēkādaśī day of the bright fortnight of the Magha-māsa in his 11th regnal year i.e., round about 300 A.D. Still earlier, we find the mention of the month Kārttika and the day Pūrṇimā in the Nāsik inscription of Ushavadāta. The Penugonda plates of Śalankayana Hātivarman2 dateable to c. 400 A.D. give the date in the same method and add the nakshatra Bhādrapada also. The Kopparam plates4 of Pulakeśin II of 631 A.D. mention Bṛhaspativāra (Thursday). In the Tippalūru epigraph5 of the Renāṭi Choḍa king Punyakumāra of the same period we find mention of both the nakshatra, Punar-pushya and the week-day, Somāvāra. It mentions the Hora of Bṛhaspati also. The present record is about two centuries earlier than the said records of Pulakeśin II and Punyakumāra. On the basis of the mention of the said particulars alone the record cannot be assigned to a later date; for, this system was in vogue even from the Ikshvākū period and the other method of dating in seasons continued even in the 8th century A.D. In this record under review which is assignable to sometime in the middle of the fifth century A.D., we have an early epigraphical reference to a week-day.

The month of the date is stated as Mahā-Kārttika-māsa. We come across a similar term in Telugu in connection with the month Kārttika, namely Konda-Kārttika in the Tippalūru epigraph of Punyakumāra, the Renāṭi Choḍa king referred to above. The editors of the record did not enlighten us about its significance. The word koṇḍa according to the Telugu lexicon, Sūryārāyāndhra-nighanṭuvu means ‘great’, i.e., mahā in Sanskrit. According to the twelve year cycle of the Jupiter, the year commences on the day when that planet after its conjunction with the Sun, rises heliacally at mean sunrise in a particular constellation after which the year is named. But in our present record the month is stated to be Mahā-Kārttika-māsa, and not the year. So the reckoning in the record cannot be considered to be of the Jovian cycle. Some other astronomical or religious significance is perhaps implied by prefixing Mahā before the month name Kārttika.6

A close examination of the charter gives rise to the doubt whether it is a re-written copy of an earlier original one for the following reasons:

2 Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 83.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 146.
4 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 258 ff.
5 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, pp. 232-33.
6 It is probable that if two samkrāntis occur in a lunar month it may be considered as a great feature and the name of that month is prefixed with Mahā. In the present case it is said that Vīśākhā-nakshatra coincided with paśchamī of the bright fortnight. The preceding samkrānti in Kārttika would be Tūlā which commences when the Sun enters the third quarter of Chitra-nakshatra. This nakshatra preceded Vīśākhā just by three days. That being very near to Amāvāsyā, it is likely that the Sun and Moon were in conjunction and Tūlā-samkrānti might have taken place on āpat or dvītyā of this Kārttika. The next Vṛṣabhika-samkrānti might have occurred on some day close to Amāvāsyā in the Vīśākhā-nakshatra fourth quarter, when again Sun and Moon were in conjunction, in the Amānta system. Such occurrence of two samkrāntis might have been the reason for the month being auspicious and called Mahā-Kārttika.
1. The record begins with the invocation *Jitam bhagavata* which is not found in the Öngōdu set-I, the early Sanskrit charter of these kings. This phrase in those days was used to invoke the Buddha as well as Vishnu. The Tummalagudem set-I of the Vishnukundī king Gōvindavarman begins with a verse invoking the Lord Buddha, of which this phrase forms the commencement. Similarly, the Śāsanakōta copper-plate charter of Ganga Madhavavarman I begins with the invocation to God Vishnu is a verse commencing with this phrase. All the Sanskrit records of these Pallavas except the Öngōdu set-I begin with this phrase. This charter, therefore, seems to be later than the Öngōdu set-I.

2. We find in all their Sanskrit records excluding the Öngōdu set-I, a systematised phraseology eulogising the kings mentioned in them. The present grant in that regard finds comparison with all those records and differs with the Öngōdu set-I, where the eulogy is in the initial stage. The phraseology of this charter is therefore assignable to a period later than that of the Öngōdu set-I.

3. Certain Sanskrit words indicating the boundaries of the gift lands exhibit an attempted unnatural Sanskritisation: e.g., a small colony of lime manufacturers is named Chunōprālu, probably Sunnapadu in Telugu; Ennamadala, the village name is taken as two components Enumu ‘(buffalo) and tala (head) in Telugu and Sanskritised as Mahishasāragrāma; an old tank, that is Pata-cheruvu, in Telugu, is Sanskritised as Vṛddha-tāṭaka; black tank i.e., Nalla-cheruvu in Telugu is Sanskritised as Kamsāri-tāṭaka. After translating the Telugu word *nalla* into Sanskrit *krishnna* (=black) and then applying the word *Krishna* to Vasudeva and again twisting it to mean the enemy of Kamsa, the final Sanskrit form is given as Kamsāri-tāṭaka.

4. The gift land measuring *chaushashti* (sixty-four) *nivartanas* was given in three units, all of them touching Sarp-ālaya or Sarpa-griha, likely a temple for the serpent god, Nāga.

5. The donee is mentioned simply by his *gōṭra* and name without any attributes with regard to his learning, etc., which qualified him to receive the gift.

6. The fifth verse following the imprecatory verses, although it exhibits Prakrit influence, is totally corrupt. The purport of the verse seems to be that a certain lord of Kānchipura gave the gift to a *brāhmaṇa* out of devotion, and the Pallava kings should take it up for protection.

7. In regard to chronology, the donor Kumāravishnu is the fourth member from Virakurčha, the founder member of the family. This Virakurčha cannot be the second one of that name, mentioned in the Vayaluru epigraph of Rājasimha because Karalavarman and Skandamalavarman, who are stated to be his son and grandson respectively, find mention before Virakurčha II, in that list of kings of the Pallava family. Virakurčha I, according to the accepted chronology, is assumed to have flourished in the last quarter of the third century.

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A.D. So his great-grandson, the donor of the present grant, is to be assigned to sometime before 400 A.D. We find in the Ōṁgō đu set-I, one Kumāravishnu whose great-grandson Vijayaskandavarman issued that charter in his 33rd regnal year. If we have to accept the regnal period of this ruler to be between 400 and 435 A.D. as assigned to him by scholars,¹ his great-grandfather Kumāravishnu, who is taken by us to be the same as the donor of the grant under study, might have flourished at least sixty years before 435 A.D., the approximate date of the Ōṁgō đu set-I. The present grant is thus to be assigned to sometime between 365 and 375 A.D., whereas in its present form it looks like a later record than the Ōṁgō đu set-I. Palaeographically also this record resembles more the Pikira grant of Sinhavarman III than the Ōṁgō đu set-I. Therefore, we may not be unreasonable in supposing that this copper-plate set is a recomposed version of an earlier record probably written in a mixed dialect of Prakrit and Sanskrit.

That was the period when Sanskrit replaced Prakrit as inscriptive language. The early Pallavas who strove hard for the promotion of Vedic-Pūrānic culture, established for the first time in coastal Andhradeśa several agrahāras for learned brāhmanas, probably to counter the growing influence of Buddhism in that region. These Pallavas and the Śaṅkāyanas, say from the beginning of the fifth century A.D., replaced Prakrit totally by Sanskrit in their documents. As part of spreading the Pūrānic cult, they might have called back some of their earlier Prakrit charters and re-issued them in Sanskrit version. In the present case, the heirs of the original donee might have approached the then ruler, also a Pallava, to re-issue the grant. Consequently some agent of the king may have executed the orders of the king, without changing the names of the original donor and donee.

The Darśi single plate,² which was also given by the great-grandson of Virakūrīha, either this Kumāravishnu himself or another king, palaeographically resembles the charter under study. It also begins with Jitam-bhagavata. For the change of language from Prakrit to Sanskrit that record also might have been re-issued. These are not the only two records of this kind. The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry, while editing Ōṁgō đu set-II doubts the genuineness of that charter. Similarly, C.R. Krishnamacharlu while editing the Chura grant⁴ not only expresses a similar doubt, but also says that it is difficult to know why some grants of these Pallavas are re-written. A more specific example in this regard we find in the Anhavaram plates of Ananta-Śaktivarman,³ the Kalinga king of Māthara-gōtra, who explicitly states that he is re-issuing the charter which was originally issued by Āryaka Śakti-Bhaṭṭarakaṇḍa who was none other than his own grandfather.

¹ The Vikātaka Gupta Age, p. 234 - Chapter on ‘Early Pallavas’ by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; T.V. Mahalingam, Kāṭhāparn in Early South Indian History, p. 33.
³ Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 252 ff.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 137 ff.
⁵ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 176 and 231.
To conclude, it can be said reasonably that the present charter is a revised version in Sanskrit issued in about 460 A.D. This is composed by some ordinary brähmana, who was not well versed in Sanskrit. Its original version might have been issued sometime in the second half of the fourth century A.D. in Prakrit language with some Sanskrit verses and words. Even in its present form, this charter is a valuable record for the history of the early Pallavas. In the first place, it establishes the historicity of Karālavarman and Skandamūlavarman as son and grandson respectively of Virakūrçhavaran, the founder member of the Pallava dynasty. Till now we know their names from the long list of the Vayalur epigraph only, without their mutual relationship. Secondly, like Śivaskandavarman of the Prakrit grants and Vishnu Gupta, the adversary of Samudragupta, Kumāravishnu, the donor of the present grant was also having his capital at Kañchi and his kingdom to its north. Thirdly, even if we take it to have been issued in its present shape sometime in the later half of the fifth century A.D., this is the earliest inscription to refer to a week-day in its date portion. About the nakṣatra, we have it mentioned in the Penugonda plates of Śalāṅkāyana Hastinavarman of about of 400 A.D. which is earlier than the present charter.

Of the Geographical names mentioned in the record Kañchi is the well-known capital town of the Pallavas. Karma-rāṣṭra is the well-known capital town of the Pallavas and is the same as Kamma-rāṣṭra or Kammaṇa-rāṣṭra. It finds mention in the Chendaleuru, ôngodu set-II and Chura grants of the early Pallavas and some early records like the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśi II and the Chendaleuru grant of Sarvalokāśraya, the Eastern Chālukya king. Kammāka-raṭha of the Jaggayyapēta Prakrit inscription of Sirirapurisadatu, as pointed out by C.R.K. Charlu, also stands for Karma-rāṣṭra. The modern Ongole, Addanki and Darsi Taluks of the Prakasam District and the Narasaraopet and Bapatla Taluks of the Guntur District are generally taken to have formed the ancient Karma-rāṣṭra. It was called Kammaṇaṇḍu in the medieval inscriptions. The villages mentioned in the grant are Kaligondā, Virigrāma, Chūnoprālu, Kondamujunur. Donavadi, Chūnop(ū)pṛālu, Mahishāśira-grāma and Pullaluru. Of these villages, Kondamujunur is identifiable with the present village of Kondamajuluru which lies to the east of the national highway between Chilakalurupeta and Ongole. It is a few kilometers to the south of Babbepalli, the findspot of the plates. The village Mahishāśira is, obviously, a Sanskritized version of the Telugu name Enamadala (enunu = mahisha = buffalo; tala = śiras = head). The modern village Enamadala is a few kilometers to the north of Babbeppalli, also on the eastern side of the said highway. Donavadi may possibly be the present Droṇāṇūla, again a few miles south of Babbeppalli. The village Virigrāma might possibly be Viriparu near Narasaraopet. Chūnoprālu is, obviously, the Prakrit name of some place connected with lime manufacture. Kaligondā is not identifiable. The village name Pullaluru appears in the Chendaleuru grant of Kumāravishnu II as the

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1 Lüder’s List, No. 1204.
residence of the donee. It also occurs in the Kaśakkudi plates of Nandivarman¹ where Mahendravarman I is stated to have defeated the chief enemies who were interpreted by scholars as the Chalukyas. And they have also identified Pullalūru with a village of that name near Kañchi. But since there is another Pullalūru near Kopparam, which Pulakesī II is known to have conquered from the Pallavas, it is quite probable that Mahendravarman I offered stiff resistance to check the advance of the enemy at this Pullalūru. The recently discovered Duddukuru copper-plate charter (unpublished) issued by him and his Chēzerla stone epigraph confirm that he attacked the Chalukya invader in these parts.

TEXT²

(Metres : Verses 1-5 : Anushtubh)

First Plate

1 Swasti [ ][*] Jitam=bhagavatat=[[*]Kañchi-puradhishtana(na)t=paramabrahmanyasya sva-bāhu-bal-a-
2 rjjet-orrjita-kshatra-tapo-nilher=vvidhi-vihita-sarvva-maryyādasya mahārājasya
3 śri-Virakorchchavarmmanañha prapautro='bhuyuthita*-śakti-siddhi-sampana(nna)sya prata[p]-ō-
4 panata-raja-mandalasya vasudha-tal-aika-vīrasya mahārājasya śri Karā-

Second Plate : First Side

5 īavarmananah pautro deva-dvija-guru-vrīdhā(-ddh-ā)pachāyina pravri/ddha*-dharma-sañchaya-
6 sya prajā-paal[na]*-dakshasya loka-pāla(la)nam pañchamasya loka-palanām satya-
7 tmanō mahārājasya śri-Skandamūlavarmmanañha putro bhagavat-pad-ānu-
8 ddhyato Bappa-bhātha(tta)raka-pāda-bhakta[h*] parama-bhagavato Bhāradvaja-

³ From the plates and inked stampages.
¹ Read bhagavatā
⁴ This occurs as abhyuchchita in Pīkira, Sakrepana and other Sanskrit charters of these kings.
⁵ Read vṛddh-ōpachāyinah.
⁶ Read pālasya.
Second Plate: Second Side

9. tra(tro) yathāvad-ahrid(t)-āne[k-ā*]śvamēdhānāṁ Pallava(vā)naṁ(nāṁ) Pallava-śri-mahārājasya1
10. śrīmān Kuma(mā)ravishnuvarma(mā) imam-artthana(m-ā)jñāpayati tad=yathā Karmma-rāṣṭrē Ka-
11. ligonda-nāma-grāma Virigrāma-pate(thah) pūrvvataḥ Chunōprāḷu-grāma-sīnna (sīnna)
12. pu(u)ṛtarataḥ Kondamujunūru-grāma pate(thah) paśchimataḥ² Sarppāla[yal]-dakshinata

Third Plate: First Side

13. ēta[ch*]=chatur-avadhi-dakshīṇa-sukṣhētṛē Dōnavadi-grāma-sīnmaḥ(mnah) paśchimataḥ Chunōlū-
14. prāḷu-grāma-sīnmaḥ(mnah) uttar[taḥ] sarppagrīhē(ha)-pūrvvataḥ vṛdha(ddha)-
tatāka-dakshinata ēta-
15. cha(ch=cha)tur-avadhi-dakshīṇa-pūrvvē sukṣhētṛē sarppagrīhē(ha)-pūrvvataḥ Mahishaśira-gāmē(ma)-
16. sīnmaḥ(mnah) dakshinata[h*] Pullalūru-grāme(ма)-sīnmaḥ(mnah) paśchimata[h*] Karsāri-tatāka[ṣya*] uttarataḥ³

Third Plate: Second Side

17. ēta cah(ch=cha)tur-avadhi-pūrvō(rvō)ṭtarē sukṣhētṛē trai-bhūmyā[ṛh] chaushashti
18. nivartanani Kaśyā(ṣya)-
19. pa-gōtrāyā Isara-sarmman[e*] dattāvaṇ āyur-bala-puny-ārogya-nimitta(m) l sam-
20. pra[tta*]=tad-avagamyarā[javā]llava(bha)-nāyogika-gōpala-vatsapāla-sāṅchara-
takā[h*] pariha(hā)rai[h*] pa[ri*]ha[ra*]ntu pariharayantu cha [ ]yō=’śma
ch=chhāśa(sa)nam-atikra-

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1 Read mahārājāh.
2 There is some deformation below the letter ta.
3 In the lower central part of this plate are three concentric circles.
4 Sanskrit equivalent would be Īvāra-sarmmanē.
Fourth Plate: First Side

21 me[t*] sah papah śariram dandam=arhati[ ] api ch=ātri=arsha[h*]śu(ślo)kāh [ ]
Bhūmi-danā-

22 t-param dānām na bhūtaṁ na bhavishyat [ ] tasy=aiva harana(nā)t=papam na
bhūtām na bhavishya-

23 ti[ ] Bahurbhi=vasudhādatta(tā) bahubhiś=ch=ānupālita[ ] yasya yasya ya-

da bhūmi[s*]-tasya tasya tada pa(pha)la[m] [ ] Sva-datta(ttām) para-datta(tā)nva2
(m va) yō hareta

Fourth Plate: Second Side

25 vasundharā[m*] gā(ga)vāṁ śāta-sahasrasya hantuḥ=pibati kilbisham [ ] Brahmas-

svan-tu visha[m*] ghoram na visham visham-uchyaē [ ] visham-ekākina[m*]

26 hantu(nti)

27 brahmavasva[m*] putra-pautri[kam](kam) [ ] Kañchipur-adhipō(pēna) dattam
bhaktena brāhma-

28 nāya cha [ ] rakshan-artham yā(ya)dā bhūmi-vallabha Pāllava sada3 [ ]

Fifth Plate

29 Pravarddhāmanā-vijaya-rājya-samvatsare trayodaśe Mahāka-

30 rttika(ka)-māse śukla-paksha-pañchamya(myām) Viśaka(khā)-nakshatře

31 Guruva(vā)re

32 La[da]rajañña(j-ajña)ptya Rudra-śarmme(rmma)na(nā) [likhitam-i]dam
sa(sā)sa(sa)nam-achandra-

32 dā(ta)rakam krivā dattavān [ ] svasti go-brāhmanebyah [ ]

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1 Read bahubhir=vasudhā.
2 Here the sandhi with the nasal n is not required.
3 The second half of this verse is corrupt and does not admit of any reasonable correction.
4 There is a spiral mark after this.
No. 6—A NOTE ON KAVUTĀLM INSRIPTION OF
ACHYUTARĀYA, ŚAKA 1454

Madhav N. Katti and N. Nanjundaswamy, Mysore

The inscription, taken up for discussion here is engraved on the wall of the Ānjanēya temple in the village Kavutālam, Adoni Taluk, Kurnool District. It is dated Śaka 1454, Nandana, Phālguna ba. 7, Monday, corresponding to 1533 A.D., March 17. The record refers itself to the reign of Achyutarāya who ruled the Vijayāvara empire from 1529 to 1542 A.D.²

The inscription states that a grant was made to the samasta-gāudū-praje of Kovatāla sireme by Salakayadēva Chika-Tirumalarayamahā-arasu, who is referred to as Achyutarāyarama-bhujaprātāp-ōd[r]amda and mahāmāndalēsva (lines 6-11). The inscription states that all the people of Kovatāla had migrated from that territory (i.e., Kovatāla si) to the Manuve territory in order to escape from the tyranny of the palace officials. At the behest of mahāmāndalēsva Salakayadēva Chika-Tirumalarayam, who promised relief to them, the people returned to their original territory of Kovatāla. Text lines 8 to 17 read:

8 Mahāmāndalēsva(śv)ra Salakayadēva-Chika-Tiru-
9 malaraja-mahā(ha)-arasugalu Kovatāla sl-
10 meya samasta-gaūdu-prajegalige(kott)a sisīla-
11 sa(sā)sanada kramav-emterndhare nimma Kovatāla slme-
12 yalu aramaneyavarav avanayavā mādal-
13 gi [a]vanayake3 a(a)nji niū sā(sa)masta-prajegalū
14 simeyanu bit[t]lu ḫat=maḍi Manueva-sime-
15 ge bit[t]lu hōgi yiralagi nāū Adavānīge bandu
16 nimma Kovatāla simeya sama[sta-gaūda-pra]-
17 jegalige kot[t]a śilasā(sā)sanada kramav=emterndhare

The inscription is useful for highlighting some interesting aspects of the social and economic conditions of the Vijayāvara period. Again, though the text is already published, some of the readings are not correctly given there. These factors necessitate the writing of this note. The improved readings will be shown with reference to the earlier readings while discussing the relevant portion. Some of the terms used for collecting different taxes also merit discussion. The harassment of the people by the palace officials also reflects the not often narrated side of rule-administration in a bureaucratic system. The agreement reached

2 P.R. Desai et al., A History of Kamataka, pp. 373 ff.
3 Read "anyāyava.
4 Read anyāyake."
between the imperial officer and the people, as recorded in the inscription, shows that the highly developed bureaucratic set up of Vijayanagara had also, in its mechanism, remedial measures to set right the wrongs done. The inscription, therefore, provides a very important facet of the life of the Vijayanagara period. The entire population of Kavatāḷa-sime vacated the area and migrated to Manuveya¹ sime, as a result of the harassment by the palace administration and was subsequently rehabilitated in their original territory of Kavatāḷa. It is possible that the people inhabiting the Kavatāḷa-sime had not been able to pay some taxes, etc., as expected, due to some difficult conditions and that the palace officials harassed them too much, as a result of which they had to flee from the territory, for fear of their lives and property (avanāyake amji, line 13). The word avanāya i.e., anyāya makes it clear that the palace administration committed excesses thereby compelling the people to vacate their territory, and ultimately Mahamandaleśvara Salakayadeva Chika-Tirumalarāja, under whose governance the two territories must have been placed, had to personally intervene and enter into a new agreement, having come to Aḍavāṇī within which division Kavatāḷa was situated, with the gavudu-prāje i.e., the village chiefs and people (line 15), stipulating modified conditions regarding the payment of taxes etc., the details of which are furnished by the record.

Mahamandaleśvara Salakayadeva Chika-Tirumalarāja is already known through a number of inscriptions and he played a consequential role in Vijayanagara history in the post-Achutarāya period.⁴ Kavatāḷa and Manuve are situated at a distance of about 20 kms from each other and must have been the headquarters of the respective territories (or subdivisions) which lay adjacent. Kavatāḷa is the same as the present day Kautāḷam, the findspot of the record, in Kurnool District. Manuve is the present day Manvi, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in Raichur District. Though presently the two districts are in two different States (Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, respectively), they have a geographical, cultural and linguistic contiguity and constituted parts of one division, during the Vijayanagara period and even up to recent years.

Amongst the stipulations referred to in the record, it is worth mentioning here that the golaru (i.e., golleru who were rearing cows, sheep, etc.) had to give one sheep (kuri) and one young one (mari) for each kuri-hindu(i.e., flock of sheep—lines 45-46) for the purpose of butter-milk, evidently to the palace. Those who reared bullocks had to pay a tax called mēsu-vana² (tax for grazing) for grazing their bullocks on green pastures (hasiya sāseyan).³

The term mēsu-vana (i.e., mēsuva hana, money or tax on grazing) is very interesting⁵ in that it shows that the tax was to be paid for grazing the bullocks (which evidently includes grazing of other animals also). Thus the inscription throws much welcome light on a hitherto not well known socio-economic aspect of the period.

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² P.B. Desai, op. cit., p. 375.
³ The published text reads masuvana.
⁴ The word hasiya means ‘green’ and ‘sāse’ means sēsa (crop), obviously the residue of the green. (vide, F. Kittel, Kannada-English Dictionary, p. 1551).
⁵ There are similar taxes like pulluḍvu, known through inscriptions, vide, Prabhuddha Karnataka, Vol. 51, part II, pp. 91-92.
No. 7—Bhopal Birla Museum Inscription of the Time of Jayasimhadēva II, Vikrama 1308

(I Plate)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The inscription, edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, is engraved on a stone pillar now kept in the Birla Museum, Bhopal. According to the museum authorities, the pillar was originally found in the village Bami in Raisen District in Madhya Pradesh. During my visit to Bhopal in March 1979, the museum officials were good enough to permit me to examine the inscription and prepare estampages for which I am thankful to them.¹

The inscribed area measures about 25 cm in length and 27.4 cm in breadth. The size of the letters is not uniform and varies in height from 1.4 cm to 2.2 cm. The characters are Nagari and they are regular for the period to which the record belongs. Among the palaeographical features, the following are noteworthy. Both the forms of medial sign for ē occur here; one of them is indicated by a prīṣṭhamātra as found in varṣē in line 1, grāmē in line 4, etc. The other is denoted by a śīromātra as seen in Vudhe in line 1, dēva in line 14, etc. There are in all 14 lines of writing. The language of the record is Sanskrit influenced by local dialect as seen in the use of such words as kārāpya, lagna in line 6. The inscription is partly in prose and partly in verse. As regards orthography, the following features are noteworthy 1) The use of v for b as noticed in words like Vudhe in line 1 and vṛāhana in line 8; 2) the doubling of consonants immediately preceded by r as for instance in words like dharmma in line 7, sarvā in line 12 and nirmmalaha in line 13.

The inscription commences with the auspicious word ōṁ expressed by a partly damaged symbol. This is followed by the details of the date, viz., Vikrama 1308, Āśvina vadi 12, Wednesday corresponding to 1251 A.D., September 13, f.d.t. ⁹²³, the month being Purnimanta. The record then refers itself to the reign of the king Jayasimhadēva. It mentions also his chief minister (mahaprādhāna) Rāja Kamadeva. Thereafter, it records that a temple (ayatana) of Talakēsvara was caused to be built by Rāja Talakasirha, the son of Rāja Salakhe at the village of Vra(Bra)hma. It is further stated that a sum of 400 drammas were spent probably by Talakasirha, in connection with the udyāpana ceremony conducted very likely on the completion of the construction of the temple of Talakēsvara. The word lagna used in the nominative case here generally means 'adhered, clinging' etc.² In the present context, however, it may probably mean 'connected with, pertaining to' leading to the conclusion that the ceremony in question involved an expenditure of 400 drammas. The performance of udyāpana ceremony on the completion of any structure is well known in this period and this has been referred to in another inscription of the same king from Paṭhāri, dated Vikrama 1326.³ In the verse portion that follows Talakasirha’s father, his wife and

¹ This has been noticed in A.R.Ep., 1978-79, under Appendix B 195.
² Sanskrit-Hindi-English Dictionary by Suryakanta, p. 496.
his brother are described. Verse 1 mentions Talakasimha and his father Salakhe. 1 Talakasimha was well-known as dharmaśīla and he was even devoted to the gods and the brahmaṇas. Verse 2 describes his wife Goga as of good character (śilini) and as the very incarnation of intelligence (mati-rūpini). She was very much devoted to her husband. The verse ends with a wish for the growth of her fame (kṛttī). Verse 3 describes Talakasimha’s brother by name Nāmadeva. He was always devoted to his studies and was a valiant and chaste person. It is not clear from the epigraph what Nāmadeva did to warrant his mention therein. 2 This (i.e., the text of the inscription) was narrated (probably composed) by pām 3 Mahāśarman and engraved (utkarṇna) by sustradhāra Udbhayadeva, the son of Sahadeva.

The epigraph under study is important in as much as this is the earliest inscription discovered so far of Jayasimhadeva who is no doubt identical with Jayasimhadeva II—Jayavarman II of the Paramāra family, who ruled over the Malwa region during the period in question and is already known to us from a number of inscriptions. 3

With the discovery of the present epigraph, the accession of Jayavarman II is pre-dated to 1251 A.D., as against 1255 A.D. hitherto known to us. 4 The name of Mahāpradhana Kāmadeva is made available to us for the first time in this inscription. It is quite probable that he was the mahāpradhana of Jayasimhadeva—Jayavarman II in the early part of his reign for in Vikrama 1317 (1260 A.D.), Rajā Ajayadeva figures as the king’s mahāpradhana. 5

The village Vrā (Brāhmaṇa, where the temple of Talakēśvara (the god evidently so named after the donor) was constructed, is obviously identical with the modern village Bamai in Raïsen District where the inscription was originally discovered.

TEXT 6

[Metre : Verses 1-3 Anushtubh]

1. ōṁ! 1 sarvatu(t) 1308 varshe Aśvina vadi 2 Vu(bu)dhe ady=a-e-
2 ha samasta-rajavat[irajita]śrimaj]=Jayasirinha-
3 dēvavijayarājye mahāpradhana-raja-śri-Kāmade-

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1 Salakhanasimha figures as the father of the donor Anayasimha in the Māndhātā-plates of the same king, dated Vikrama 1331. (Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 139 ff.). Could he be identical with Salakhe, father of the donor Talakasimha of the present epigraph in which case Anayasimha and Talakasimha will have to be deemed as brothers born to Salakha. This will make Nāmadeva, mentioned in the record under study, as another son of Salakhanasimha alias Salakhe.

2 In this context the reference to Talakasimha as vārgga in verse 1 is of interest. The word actually means ‘devoted’ to a side or a party or a family. Talakasimha was obviously greatly attached to the members of his family and this may explain why the inscription contains references to his father Salakha, wife Goga and brother Nāmadeva none of whom was directly involved with the object of the inscription.


5 Above, Vol. IX, p. 119.

6 From inked impressions.

7 Expressed by a partly preserved symbol.
Bhopal Birla Museum Inscription of the Time of Jayasimhadēva II, Vikrama 1308

K.V. Ramesh

Scale: One-Half

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
4 va-samaye adya Vṛā(Bṛa)hma-grāme rāja-śrī-Salakhe-suta-
5 rāja-Talakasimhā'deva 2 śrī-Talakeśvarah sa3 aya-
6 tanar ḫārāpyāṁ 4 sa5 udyāpanē lagna-drama[h*] 400 II
7 Dharmmaśil=iti vikhyātaṁ rāja-śrī- Salakhe-
8 tāḥ 1 deva-vṛā(Bṛa)hmaṇa-parō nityam6 Talakasim[ha*]syā va-
9 rggināḥ [IIIII] Tasya bhāryā tu Gogā ya śilini ma-
10 ti-rūpiṇī 1 ativa-bhartri(rtri)-bhaktā cha tasyāḥ kirttis=tu va-
11 rddhatu [II*] 2 [II*] Talakasimhāsya bha(bhrā)tur-yah Nāmadēv-e-
12 ti viśruthah II 1) sarv-ābhypsā-parō nityam paurush-ā[tji-
13 khyāti-nirmmalāh6 [IIIII] uktam=idam Patho śrī-Mahā-śarme(rma-
14 na(na) II Sutraddhāraḥ7 Sahadeva-suta-Ubhayadēv[e]na utki-
15 [rṇṇam*] [II*]

1 There is a scratch after the letter ha, looking like a visarga mark.
2 Read odevēna.
3 Read Talakeśvarasya.
4 Read kāritam or kārupitam.
5 Read tasya.
6 This quarter is metrically defective, there being 9 syllables instead of 8.
7 Read sūtradhāreṇa.
No. 8—THREE JINMATĀ TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS OF IMPERIAL CHĀHAMĀNA DYNASTY

(2 Plates)

Ram Sharma, Mysore

These inscriptions belong to the time of two important rulers of the Chāhamāna dynasty of Sambhar and Ajmer. The records have been referred to several times and are more or less identical in their subject matter, but have not been edited as yet and therefore they are edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

1-2 Two Inscriptions of the time of Arṇurāja, Vikrama 1196

Each of these two inscriptions is engraved on two separate pillars of the temple of the goddess called Jinmatā, at a place which itself is known as Jinmatā after the name of the goddess near the village Ravasā in the Danta Ranagar Tahsil, Sikar District, Rajasthan. These were noticed by D.R. Bhandarkar.1 Since these two inscriptions2 are identical in their contents they are examined here together. These are called here as A and B for the sake of convenience.

The inscription A contains 6 lines of writing, and covers a space measuring about 41 cm \times 30 \text{ cm}, while B contains 12 lines and covers a space which measures 18.5 cm \times 38.5 cm. On top of the writing in A is engraved an ornamental peak-like design while a similar peak-like design is engraved at the bottom of the writing in B. The upper half of B is also marked by an arch like design along the left and right margins and the top of the writing. The characters employed in both the records are Nāgarī. The writing is very carelessly executed, though all the letters can be made out without much difficulty and are normal for the period for which they belong. The forms of the letters i, j, t, n and bh are interesting in that they represent an early phase. The letter i is represented by two top parallel dots having below a circle, cf. i in udāra (B, line 8). The medieval form of j shows a clear link between its early and modern forms, cf. Arṇurāja (A, line 3) and in rāja (B, line 4). The letters t and n in sutēna (A, line 5, B, line 8) and bha in bhatāraka (A, line 2; B, line 3) retain early features. The forms of the letters dh and v are identical, cf. dh in rājadhi (A, lines 2-3) and va in Sarvat (line 1). More interesting is the form of r which looks like t, cf. rāja (A, line 1), rāja-parāmē (A, line 3), bhatāraka (A, line 2) and in parartha-bhatāraka (B, line 3).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit which is influenced by local dialect. Of orthographical interest is the doubling of the letters following superscript r as v in pûrvva (A, line 2 and B, line 3), dh in pravardhamāna (A, line 4 and B, line 7), on the analogy of which a wrong doubling of the letter m has taken place in parartha (A, line 2 and B, line 3).

1 cf. PRAS. W.C. 1909-10, p. 52 and Bhandarkar's list No. 243; Rajputana Museum Report, 1934, p. 3, No. V.
2 They are Nos. B. 575 and B. 581 respectively of A.R.Ep., 1959-60.
Both the inscriptions are dated Vikrama 1196, Vaisākha śu. 11, Monday which corresponds to 1140 A.D., April 29, the year being Kārttikādi.

The inscriptions commence by giving the year in Vikrama samvat as was noted above. Then the victorious reign of samasta-rajāvali-pūrvvaka-paramabhattaraka-Mahārajadhīrāja-paramēśvara Arunurajadeva is mentioned. The object of the inscriptions is to record the renovation of the prāsāda (i.e., temple), obviously the temple of the goddess Jinnatā. Jinnatā seems to be a form of Durgā and identical with Jayanti described in Nārada Samhitā as:

Jayanti sundari kāryā kunta-śūl-āsi-dhārini/
khetaka-vyaṣṭa-hastā cha pujaṇīya śubh-ānviitah

This description of Jayanti, however, indicates that she was a four-handed goddess and thus goes against the description of the goddess inside the temple, stated to have been "an eight-handed Mahishamardini". However, this can be rationalized by the fact that "The goddess Durgā may have four, eight or more hands".

The persons responsible for the renovation were Alhana of A and Delhana of B who were the sons of Udayarāja. The first name as given in this inscription is Alhana, but the correct name appears to be Ālhana as given in the inscription of the time of Somaśvara, edited below. The exact status of these people is, however, not known, but they appear to be members of an important family of the place. Then the remaining details of the date which too have already been noticed above, have been given. The inscriptions end with the expression of Mangalam-maha śriḥ. The name of the mason is not given in these two records; however, their calligraphy suggests that they were engraved most probably by one and the same man.

The king Arṇoraśa is identical with the famous ruler of this name who flourished in the Chāhamāna dynasty. Our inscriptions are important as being the only two known records of the ruler in question, as also for supplying information about his imperial status.

No name of geographical importance is found in both the inscriptions.

TEXT

(A)

1. Samva[ka]-pa[ra]mmma-(ma)-bhata(tā)raka-Mahara-
2. jadhirāja para(ra)mēsva(sva)ra-sr- Arunurajadevi(va)-ka-
3. la(la)na-vijayaja-raje(jye) mahi-pravardddhamānēna Udairā—[su]

1 cf. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, pt. II, Appendix C, Praśita-lakṣhaṇāni, p. 128 and translated on p. 369 as: "Jayanti must also be sculptured as a very beautiful woman; her hands should be made to carry the kunta, śūla, khadga and khetaka. She is worshipped in thankfulness by those who are enjoying happiness."


3 cf. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, op. cit., p. 341; and Appendix C, Praśita-lakṣhaṇāni, p. 106, Chaturbhujasamāyuktāṁ =aṣṭākhaṁ=āsākhaṁ=āsākhāṁ=āsākhaṁ, etc.


5 From ink impressions.

6 This letter has been engraved below the line.

7 Read Udayarāja.
3. An Inscription of the Time of Someshvara, Vikrama 1230

This inscription also, like the previous two inscriptions of the time of Arnora, is engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jinmata as mentioned above. This inscription was also noticed by Dr. D.R. Bhandarker.

The inscription contains 10 lines of writing, which have been engraved in the same pattern in which the previous two inscriptions have been done. It covers a space which measures about 17.5 cm x 39.5 cm. An arch-like line runs all along the left, right and top margins of the slab and there is also a peak-like triangular ornamental design at the bottom. In the case of the letters, i, j, t, n and bh, v, u, l, r, which have been discussed above, a definite development can be seen, cf. i and r in udaira (line 6), having a slanting bar instead of lower circle; jin vijaya (line 5), t in sutena (line 6), nin rajena (line 5) are very near to the modern forms of these letters; bh in bhata (line 2) is altogether different from the form as seen in A and B above. The forms of dh and v are similar, cf. dh in "Rajadhip" (line 3) and v in "deva".

1 Read samuddhrihat.
2 Read Udayaraja.
3 This letter looks like fā.
5 cf. PRAS. WC., 1909-10, p. 52 and Bhandarker's List, No. 360.
(line 4). However, the development of a horizontal bar can be seen in dha in jirnodhara (line 8). The letter न here in this place is different from न in Alhanena (line 7). The form of र has become normal by losing elongation of left leg which we have already seen in A and B above. The language and characters of the epigraph are Sanskrit and Nagari respectively. The influence of the local dialect is also noticed. Orthographically also the inscription tallies with the previous two inscriptions; the wrong doubling of न has, however, not taken place here.

The inscription is dated Vikrama 1230 (line 1), Ashadha šu. 9, Monday (line 9) which corresponds to 1174 A.D., June 10 according to the Karttikadi system.

The record, like the previous two inscriptions, commences with the Vikrama year as noted above, and likewise the victorious reign of the king Somesvara described as samasta rajavali-purvavaka-paramabhaṭataraka-maharajadhiraja-parameśvara is next mentioned. The object of the inscription is to register the fact that repairs were carried to the mandapa of the temple (prasada), obviously of the goddess Jinnata. The renovation was done by Alhana, son of Udaira (i.e., Udayaraja). Obviously, this Alhana is the same Alhana as mentioned in the inscription of V.S. 1196 as noted above and which belongs to the time of Arnaraja. It is interesting to note that the same person Alhana who, along with his brother Delhana, got the temple of Jinnata renovated in Vikrama 1196, gets its mandapa renovated in Vikrama 1230 exactly after 34 years, one month and 13 days. The changing fortunes of the Chahamāna dynasty during this period which witnessed the reigns of at least six rulers in Arnaraja, Jagaddėva, Vigraharaja (IV), Aparagangeya, Prithvibhaṭa and Someśvara did not obviously affect the lot of Alhana who appears to have carried on smoothly with his architectural activities without bothering about political developments in the Chahamāna kingdom. The suradāra was Kaladharadeva.

The king Someśvara is identical with the ruler of the same name, who flourished in the imperial Chahamāna dynasty of Sambhara and Ajmer and who succeeded Prithvibhaṭa or Prithviraja II on the Chahamāna throne.

No name of geographical importance is recorded in the inscription.

TEXT

1 Samvatut(1) 1230 samasta-ra-
2 jāvali-pūrva[ka*]-pararman(ā)bhata(tta)-
3 raka-Mahārajādhiraja-pa-
4 paramesva(śva)-rāj-Somesva(śva)rādeva
5 kalyāna-vijaya-raje(jye) na1 ma

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1 For some details see above, Vol. XXXVII, pt. VII, pp. 319-22.
2 From ink impressions.
3 This letter is redundant.
6  hisha(pra)vardhama(ma)nena Udaira¹ sute-
7  na Alhanena prasadi² matnda-
8  pam(pah) jirnodaya(ddharah) samudharitam³[ll*]
9  A(Asa)sha)dha sudi 9 Chandra-dinæ
10  su(su)tradhara-[Ka]dharadevah ll

1  Read Udayaräja.
2  Read Prasädiya.
3  Read samudhritah.
No. 9—PHULBÂNI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RANÂBHAŇJADEVA, YEAR 28

(3 Plates)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The set of copper-plates edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was discovered at Phulbâni in the Phulbâni Tahsil in the district of the same name and is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubanâsvar. During my visit to Bhubanâsvar in April 1978, the Museum authorities were good enough to permit me to examine the plates and copy the same.¹

The set consists of three oblong copper-plates, each measuring approximately 18.6 cm in length and 11.9 cm in breadth. They are strung together on a circular copper ring, the ends of which are soldered to the back of an oval seal. On the left side of the plate, there is a circular hole through which the ring passes. The inner side of the first plate and both sides of the remaining two plates contain writing. There are altogether fifty six lines of writing. The first plate contains thirteen lines of writing while each of the two sides of the second plate has eleven lines of writing. The first side of the third plate has twelve lines of writing whereas its second side contains nine lines of writing. The seal is about 5.5 cm in diameter and it bears comparison to similar seals of the plates of this king.² It has a knob-like projection at its top representing the sun, a crescent like symbol below it representing the moon, the legend reading Śri Ranâbhaňjadevasya below the latter and the figure of a couchant bull facing proper right at the bottom. All these various designs are worked in.

The characters are Nagari of the 10-11th century used in Kalinga and closely resemble those of the Phulbâni copper-plates of the 9th year³ and the Aida plates of the (50)th year⁴ of the same ruler as also those of his Patna Museum plates of the 22nd year⁵ and the Baudh plates of the 26th year.⁶ Of the initial vowels, a, is used in lines 10, 14-15, 20, 36, 49, 51, a, in lines 8, 38-39, i in lines 9, 10, 52, u in lines 16, 25, 46, 55 and e in lines 37, 49. The vowel ti occurs once in line 27 though resulting in an orthographical error.

The language of the charter is Sanskrit and the composition is partly in verse and partly in prose. As is common to most of the Bhaňja plates, there are many defects in spelling, grammar, etc. Of particular orthographical interest is the word atavisanti (line 55), perhaps the result of local pronunciation of the Sanskrit word ashtawinsati.

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¹ This has been noticed in A.R., Ep., 1977-78 as No. A 18.
⁴ Above, Vol XXXVII, pp. 257 ff.
⁵ Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 100 ff. and plate.
⁶ Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 325 ff. and plate.
The date of the record is given as vijaya rāja samvatsarā atāvisanti,1 which as has been pointed out above, obviously stands for Sanskrit ashtāvīṁśati. The king is described as a parama-vaiśnavā and is endowed with the title Rānaka as in his other records.

The charter refers itself to the reign of Rānaka Raṇabhāñjadēva, the son of Śatrubhaṅja and the grandson of Śilabhāñja. It begins with the symbols for siddham and oṁ. Then follow four verses (lines 1-10) which refer to Śilabhāñja and his son Śatrubhaṅja. Then follows a prose passage (lines 10-13) in praise of a Bhaṅja king whose name, however, is not mentioned as in his other records. The record then mentions the city Dhvitipura whence the grant seems to have been issued. In the subsequent prose passage (lines 14-18), Rānaka Raṇabhāñjadēva is mentioned. He was born in Anḍaja-varṣa, was a parama-vaiśnavā and was meditating at the feet of his parents. He is described as a Bhaṅjāmalakula-tilaka and the lord of Ubhaya Khīfjali. He obtained the title of pañchamahaśabda and was revered by his subordinates (mahāsāmanta). Besides, he was blessed by the boon from Stambhēśvarī. The record then recounts a list of officials of Khīfjali-mandala to whom the royal order is addressed. In the royal decree (lines 22-30) that follows, it is stated that for the sake of the increase of the religious merit of his parents and himself the king made a grant of the village Vadhamaśārā to Bhaṭapatra Trivikramanandi, the son of Kallunandi and grandson of Va[mal]nandi, belonging to the Krishn-Atrēya-gōtra, the three pravara of Atrēya, Archanaṅasa and Svāvaśva, and the Chhāndogya-charana and Aruni-śākhā. The gift-village is stated to be situated in Tuleśinga-viśhaya and on the banks of the Mahanadī. Tulōśinga-viśhaya figures also in the other Phulbâni plates2 of this king. The gift-village was granted along with the privileges nidhi and upanidhi. This is followed by the king's injunction (lines 30-33) to the effect that no one should cause even a slight hindrance in respect of the gift, obviously in its enjoyment by the donee. Lines 34-54 contain fifteen usual imperative verses. The date of the record, already discussed above, is given in line 55. Lines 55-56 state that the record was engraved by vanika suvarnakāra Śivanāga, the son of Pāṇḍi. He is no doubt identical with his namesake who figures as the engraver in the Binkā,3 Patna Museum4, Chakradharpur5 and Baudh plates6 of the same king. He in fact appears for the first time as engraver in the Sōnpur plates of Śatrubhaṅja7, the father of Raṇabhāñjadēva.

In the present charter Raṇabhāñja is described as a parama-vaiśnavā. We know that in his Binkā (year 16)8, Patna Museum (year 22)9, Chakradharpur (year 24)9, Baudh6 (year 26) plates also he is described as a parama-vaiśnavā while in his second Baudh plates (year

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1 The word visanti is used in the sense of viṁśati in the Patna Museum plates, Year 22 of the same king. Ibid, Vol XX, p. 104, lines 55-56.
2 JESI, Vol. V, pp. 115 ff. wherein the name of the viśhaya is wrongly read as Kulasidga.
4 Above, Vol. XX, pp. 100 ff. and plate.
5 Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 269 ff.
6 Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 325 ff.
7 Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 98 ff.
as also in his Jagati plates of the same year he is described as parama-māheśvara. In this connection it may be pointed out that P.R. Srinivasan, while re-editing Raṇabhāṇja’s Aida plates re-interpreted the word namamé standing for Raṇabhāṇja’s regnal year as standing for the year 50 according to the katapayādi system on the basis that in his later years Raṇabhāṇja had become a parama-māheśvara. In this light the present charter dated in his 28th regnal year becomes the latest known record to describe Raṇabhāṇja as a parama-vaishnava.

Of the geographical names occurring in this record, Dhritipura, Udbhaya-Khiṇjali and Khiṇjali-maṇḍala are already known from other records of the Bhaṇja family. Tulēśingavishaya in which the grant village lies has been identified with Tutursingā in the Baudh P.S. in the district of Phulbāni. The village Vadhamaśara is stated to have been situated on the banks of the river Mahānadi which is no doubt identical with the well-known river of that name flowing in Orissa. I am, however, unable to identify the village.

TEXT

[Verses 1-3 Vasantatilaka; verse 4 Śardulavikridita; verses 5-18 Anuṣťubh; verse 19 Pushpitagra]

First Plate

1 Siddham7 [II*] om [II*] Sasa8 || Sa[m*]hara-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghorasa[m*]bhrānta-kīṅkara-kritānta-[nitānta*]-bhi-

2 nnam(nam) [I*] bhinn=Āndhak-āśura-mahā-gahan-ātpa(tapa)tra[m*] [9] tad-Bhairava[m] Hara-vapur=bhavataḥ prapātub(tu) || [1*] Du-

3 rvvāra-vāraṇa-raṇa-prati-pakshi(ksha)-vaksha*[lakshmi-hātha-grahana-su-prasrita-pratāpa[hl*] Bhaṇja-na(na)rādhī-

4 patayō va(ba)havō va(ba)bhu(bh)u=ubhuvu(ddbh)u=tayō=tra bhuva(vi)-bhu(bh) ri-sahasra-sa(sar)kha(khyāḥ) || [2*]10 Tēṣahm kule sakāla-

1 Above, Vol. XII, pp. 322 ff.
2 Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 322 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 257 ff.
4 Applying the same katapayādi reckoning, the date of Raṇabhāṇja’s Phulbāni plates (JESI, Vol. V, pp. 115 ff.) which also mentions the year as namamé should be taken to belong to Raṇabhāṇja’s 50th regnal year.
6 From impressions.
7 Expressed by a symbol.
8 Read Svasti.
9 This danḍa is redundant.
10 The following two verses (Verses 3-4) are metrically defective.
5 bhu(bhu)ta[la*]-pāla-mauli(li)-māl-archchit-amghri(ghri)-ju(yu)galo valavam

nripō=1 hu(bhū) t ll (l)śri-Śilābhaṇja-

6 deva[h*] prakata-paurusha-raśmi-chakra-ni[r*]-darit-āri-hṛdanṛī2yo=sya pita

nripa-

7 sya 1 (ll) [3*] Gambhīryēṇa payonidhi[h*] lā thi(sthi)ratayā bhu(bhū)mi[h*] va(ba)

lēn=Anīla[h*] tē[jo*]bhir=ya(jva)-

8 lanē=’ryama[h*] samatayā lī† śubhair=jjya(ya)śobhiś=śasi(śi) l[*] ātmā sarvva-

jaganamna-5

9 sthitatayā datt-avakāśo viya[j*]=jata[h*] lī† śri-Śatrubhaṇja ity=atula-dhih
tasy=ātmaja[h]

10 Svayambhuvat ll [4*] Anō(ntyō)nya-mada-māna-milita-samuddhata-nripa-

chakusu(kra)-chaturanga-va(ba)la-ksho-

11 bha-chali(li)ta-dhāra-mandala-gaja-turaga-khura-nirddāraṇa-prasarad=atula=

dhu(dhu)li-vitana-

12 sachchhanna-jany-āngaṇa-gaja-skandha-vēdikāsvayamvārayāt l pariṇita-j[a]ya*[*

lakshmi-sa-

13 mānandita-paura-jana-mānasah śrimad-Bhaṇja-bhu[bhū]patih purā=Dr̥tipura-

nāmna[h*] l sa(sa)-

Second Plate : First Side

14 rad=amala-dhavala-kara-yaśah paṭala-dhavalita-dig=vadanō ll6 anavara-

15 ta-pravrita(tta)-sanmāna-dān-ā[na*]ndita-sakala-janō Andaja-vanśa-prabhavah

pa-

16 rama-vaishnava-mātā-pitrī-pād-ānudhyāta-Bhaṇj-āmala-kula-tilaka-U-

17 bhaya-Khiṇjaly-ādhipati-samadhigata-pañca-mahā-sāvda(bda)-mahāsāmanta-

va-

18 ndita-Stambhēśvari-lavdh(bda)-vara-prasāda-l7 Rāṇaka-śri-Raṇa[ba*h*]nja-

dēva[h*] kuśali[l*]}

1 Read balavān=nripō=
2 This letter nṛ is redundant.
3 This dāpa is superfluous.
4 These dāpas are superfluous.
5 The letters nāmna form a metathetical error for -nāmna.
6 These dāpas are redundant.
7 This dāpa is superfluous.
ih=aiva Khīṇjali-maṇḍalē bhavishyad-rāja-rājanak-āntaraṅgara.  

kumāra(ra)māyā-mahāsāmantac[bra*]hmana-pradhanam[n*] ana(nyam)ṣ=cha dandaṇa- 

śīka-chāta-bha(bha)ta-vallabha-jītin yathā-rhām mānayati vō(bō)dhayati 

samādīṣayati4 ch-anyat sārvvataḥ sī(śī)vam=āsmaḥkām l viditam=astu 

bhavataḥ(tām) | Tulesinga-vishaya-pratīva(ba)ddhaḥ Mahānada-vimala-jala-vi[vi]- 

ji(chi)-prakshalita-tata-Vādhamaśarā-grāma[h*] chatu(tub) l19 simā-prayanta[h*] nidhy-u- 

**Second Plate : Second Side**  

upanidhi-sahita[h*] mātā-pitṛya(r=a)maj(na)ṣ=cha puny-abhivṛddhayē salī[la*]-dha- 

rāh(ra)-puraḥ sarēnā vidhinā || Krishn-Atrēya-gotrāya sā(A) trēya-Archanāna[sa*]- 

Śavaśa-7triārisayā-pravarāya Chhandoga(gya)-[cha*]ra(ra)nāya(y=Ā)[ru*]nī śakha(khā)[ya*] chatuvē9 

vinirggataḥ(taya) l11 Bhataputra-Tri(Tri)vikramanandi-Kallunandi-suta-Va12 nandi- 

naptrē l11 vidhi-vidhanēna sa-vindha(dhe)ya(yam) tāṃvra-śāsana[h*] pratipādito= 

ya(yam) l Pāra(ra)m)paraya-kul-avatareṇa yāvad=ved-ārtha-vachanēna yathā 

kāṇḍa kāṇḍha prarohati l śasaneṇa pratimasi sahasrēna 

virōhāsi evam13 vu(bud)dhvā parārdhaḥ=cha paraś vamś-avatareṇa(n=ā) py=asmad=anurūdhah(dhā)- 

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1 Better read antarangika.  
2 Read jatyaṇa.  
3 These daṇḍas are redundant.  
4 Read samādiṣatī.  
5 These daṇḍas are superfluous.  
6 This letter u is redundant.  
7 Read Śyāvaśva.  
8 Read try-arshēya.  
9 The intended reading seems to be chatur=veda-vide.  
10 The name of the village from which the donee emigrated is not given.  
11 This daṇḍa is redundant.  
12 One letter, probably m, should have followed and the space has been left blank by the engraver.  
13 The subject matter in line 31 and up to the word evam should be read properly as follows:

*Kāṇḍa-kāṇḍha-prarohanti / ya śatena pratanōshi sahasreṇa virōhasti=ty=evam*
33 d=dharma-gaurav[ch*]=cha na kēnachisma(t=sva)-la(lp=ā)pī vā(bā)dha karaniyā lī Tathā ch = ōktam
34 dharmma=śāstreshu [1*] Phala-kriṣṭa(shṭam) mahi(hīm) dadyā[t*] savi(bi)ja(jām) sasya-mēdini[m*] lī (l) yāva[t*]
35 su(su)rya-kritāloke(kāh) tāva[t*] svargga(rggē) mahiyatōb(tē) lī [15*] Vēda-vākyasmanyā t jihva

*Third Plate : First Side*

36 vadanti rshi(rshi)-devatah [1*] bhu(bhū)mi-hartā tath=ānīḥ(nyach=ḥ)=cha ahō mā hara mā hara [lī6*] Ya-
37 th=āpsu patitam Śakra tē(tai)la-vi(bi)ndu visa(sajrapati lī (l)ēva(vam) bhu(bhū)mī-
38 sasye prarohati lī [7*] Adityo Varuṇo Vishnu[b] Vra(Bra)hma Soma(mō)
39 Hutasanaḥ l Su(Su)la-
40 pāṇi(ni)su(s=tu) Bhagavān2 abhinandanti bhu(bhū)mīda(dam) lī [lī8*] Asphotayanti
41 nti pitāmahā[h*] lī (l) bhu(bhū) mi-data kulē jātā(tah) sa mē tra[t*] bhavishyati
42 r=vva(Ba) hubhir=vasudhā datta rājā(ja) nōḥ(bhiḥ) Sagar-ādibhi[h*] lī mā
43 bhu(bhū) d=aphala-
44 sa(śarh)ka yā(vah) pa[ra-]*datē(ttē)shu pālitam(tē) lī3 Yasya yasya yada
45 bhu(bhū)mī[h*] tasya
46 tasya tadā pā(pha)la[m*] lī[lī10*] Sa(Sva)-data(ttām) para-data(ttām) vā yō harē[ta*]
47 dva(va)sundhara[m*] lī (l) sa vishtāyā(yāṁ)
48 krimir=bhu(bhū)tva pitribhi[h*] saha pachyatē lī [lī11*] Hiranyam=ēkam
gāl[m=ēkām] bhu(bhū)mī(mē)ma(r=a)py=ārdham=āṅgu-
49 la[m*] lī harana(n=n)a[ra*]kam=āyāti yāvad=ādhū(hū)ti(ta)-samplavah(vam) lī
50 [lī12*] Bhu(Bhū)mī(mīm) yah pratigriñāti
51 yachchha(ś=cha) bhu(bhū)mīmī prayachchhati l ubhau tau puna(nya)-ka[r*]
mīmānau niyatau(tam) svargga-gāmina[lī lī13*]

1 Read Vēdavāk-smṛtayo.
2 Read Bhagavāni.
3 This half of the verse inserted here by mistake belongs to another verse of which the other half, viz. Svadatāl=phalam=ānāntyam paraddatt=ānupālanē has been omitted. In its place should have come the following half of the verse beginning with yasya.
47 Haratē harayatē bhū(bhū)mīn manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamā(mo)-vrita[h*] sa va(ba)ddhō varūnāḥ pāsai[h*]

Third Plate: Second Side

48 śai1 tiryā[g*]-yonishu jayaṃ II [14*] Ma pārthivaḥ(va) kadāchitaṁ(t-tvam) vra(bra)hmāsvarā manasa da(ha)-

49 pi(ra) anaушadham2 abhaisharjya(jyam) etat ha(hā)lahala[m*] visha[m](sham) II [15*] Avisham visham=ity=a-

50 hu[h*]3 vra(bra)hmāsvarā putra-pautrikam(kam) II [16*] Lōha-chu(chu)nnā(rūn-
ā)sama(śma)-chu(chu)rṣnaḥ=cha vishaṇ=cha jaraye[n*]-naraḥ I vra(bra)-

51 hmāsvaṃ trishu lōkēshu kaḥ puma[n*] jva(ja)rami(yi)shyati I [17*] Vājāpya-

52 sahā-sahāṇī cha II (I) gava(vām) koṭē(ti)-prada(dā)tē(nē)na bhū(bhū)mī-hartā na su(śu)dhyati I [18*] I ti ka-

53 mala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlā(lam) śri(śri)yam=anuchintya [manu*]syā (shya)-jivitaṇ=cha [I*] saka-

54 lam=idam=udāhritaṇ=cha vu(bu)dhaiḥ(dhvā) na hi puruṣaiḥ para-ki(ki)ṛtayō vilōpya [h II 19*]

55 Vijaya-rāja-saṃvasa(sa)re aṭavisantī variśe5 uktinaṃcha6 vani-

56 ka-suvarṇaṇkāra .Si(Śi)vanāga-Pāṇḍi-suta7 [II*] lā(lāṁ)chhita(tarn) mahārājaṇī [ya*]-mudrēnati8 [II*]

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1 This letter is redundant.
2 Read anaушadham
3 The engraver here has omitted the second and third quarters of the verse viz., brahmāsvarā visham=uchyatē / visham=ekākinaḥ hanti.
4 Read asṭāvimiṇāti.
5 Read varṣē.
6 Read utkṛṣṇaṇā=cha.
7 Read sutēna.
8 Read mudray-ēti.
No. 10—ON A MAHĀSĒNĀPATI SEALING FROM ADAM

(1 Plate)

Amarendra Nath, Nagpur

Majority of clay sealings discovered in the course of excavations at Adam,¹ Kuhi Taluk, Nagpur District, are of miscellaneous nature; however, a few of them have been classified as ‘royal issues’. These issues have affinity with the little known rulers of the Deccan of the early historical period. Of these, one sealing reported from the site is ascribable to Sebaka and another one to Śalankāyana.² The third in the series, issued by a Mahāsenāpati,³ forms the subject matter of the present article. It bears registration No. 2291, and was unearthed from layer two of trench No. YA 6/2.

Of pale brown colour, the near oval-shaped (2.6 x 2.4 cm) clay lump is in a good state of preservation, but unevenly finished. The upper face of the lump shows some cracks on the edges which are formed due to the gentle pressure applied in the course of stamping of the seal. But none of these cracks have caused any damage to the contents of the legend it bears. There are finger marks on the unevenly bulged sides, while the back portion has intersected bamboo-chip mark. Such impressions on the back generally demonstrate that the particular sealing was affixed to some consignment or document as a proprietary or copyright mark in order to protect the interest of the issuer, and minimise the chances of pilferage in transit. Those sealings noted without such marks at the back were votive or extramundane in nature. Turning to the upper plain of the sealing it is seen that the beaded flan of the circular incuse (dia. 1.6 cm) bears twelve early Brahmī characters distributed inwardly. The legend in Prakrit starts clockwise at XII and terminates at XI. It reads: Mahāsenāpatisa Janesirisa i.e., (this sealing is) of the Mahāsenāpati Janaśri (Pl. 1).⁴ The characters, uniformly sized to 3 mm square, are of nail-headed variety and are spaced at an interval of 1-1/2 mm. In the formation of the legend na and sa figure more than once. Incidentally, the looped variety of ta is typical to the Ikshvāku style while the rest of the characters give the impression of Satavahana palaeography of the second century A.D. The medial sign ȧ occurs uniformly, while the strokes for ī show variations specially when compared with si and ri.

1 The site has been identified as Asika Janapada, See Amarendra Nath, 'Toponym of Asika and Asaka, Indica, Vol. XXVII, Bombay, 1990, pp. 87-96.
3 Macron over e and o is not used in this article.
4 The author is thankful to Prof. Ajay Mitra Sastri, Head of the Ancient Indian History and Culture Department, Nagpur University for suggesting the Sanskrit form of Janesiri.
ON A MAHĀSĒNĀPATI SEALING FROM ADAM

K. V. Ramesh

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
Encircled by the legend, the sealing bears three auspicious symbols viz., (i) a twelve spoked chakra in the upper field, (ii) squatting to right a vrishabha in the centre, and (iii) śankha in the lower field. Other than the chakra, the remaining two symbols are feeble. These symbols are perhaps indicative of the religio-political status of Mahāsenāpati Janāsīri. Traditionally, as we know, the chakra and śankha are attributes of lord Vishnu, while vrishabha is a vahana of lord Śiva. Subsequently these symbols, however, were inherited by the Buddhists and Jains to meet their extramundane requirements.

Having described the sealing at length, finally the question arises of placing the issuer in historical perspective. Traditionally mahāsenāpati (great chief of the army, i.e., general) is a synonym of Skanda-Karttikeya. Some epigraphical sources helps us in drawing the analogy. Ikshvaku inscriptions refer to Virupākṣhapati-mahāśena-parigahitasā. Further, in Kadamba inscriptions there is a reference to Kadamba-mahāsenāpati-pratimahā, an obvious reference to Skanda-Karttikeya. However, in the historical context mahāsenāpati denoted feudatory chieftains in charge of small territories. This is corroborated by the Vijayagadh inscription referring to a maharāja-mahāsenāpati who had been raised to the status of a leader by the Yaudhēya-gana. Even some kings like Paushyamitra Śunga, Bhārata, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty and his son Dharasena preferred to be designated as senapati. A sealing of Rudragaṁha of the Magha dynasty of Central India bears the legend: Mahāsenāpatisāya Rudramaghasāya. Another Magha ruler Bharadrabala is also known by this title. On the other hand in Pāla and Eastern Chaḷukya epigraphs senapati has been used to denote official designation. Likewise, the grant of Śrīchandra also uses this term to indicate official designation.

The foregoing survey reveals that the title under discussion was used in three different contexts, viz. (a) as synonym to Skanda-Karttikeya, (b) as an epithet prefixed to a chieftain or a ruler and, (c) as an official designation. The sealing in question falls under the second category. Now it becomes necessary to explore the possible region from where it originated. Let us examine the context in which it was discovered. As noted above it was retrieved from

2 V.S. Sukthankar, “Two Kadamba grants from Srisi”, Above, Vol. XVI, p. 266.
6 Ibid., line 4, in each case, respectively.
7 V.S. Agrawala, “Clay Sealings from Rajghat”, JNSL, Vol. 23, 1961, p. 412. Some scholars have tried to read the legend as Mahāsenāpatrasāya Rudramaghasāya, see Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, Studies in Ancient Indian Seals, Lucknow, 1972, p. 38, n. 3.
layer two which yielded maximum number of coins attributed to Mahāraṭhi, a subordinate ruler of the later Sātavāhana period. Incidentally, Mahāsenāpatis were also semi-independent officials governing under the later Sātavāhanas. Hence to presume its origin within the later Sātavāhana territory may not sound unreasonable. But no direct evidence has been encountered in any of the primary or secondary sources which could associate Janesiri with any of the known mahāsenāpatis of the Deccan. However, the latter part of the name i.e., siri reminds us of the names of the Mahāsenāpatis figuring in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, viz., Maha-Kaṇḍasiri (Maha-Skandaśri) and Vēnuśiśri (Vishnuśri). Even some of the Ikṣvāku names like Bapīsiri, Chathisiri, Chantisiri and Hammashīri had identical endings. We may, therefore, tentatively conclude that Mahāsenapati Janaśri, known from the excavation at Adam, was a native of the Andhra region since names of Mahāsenāpatis ending with siri were more heard of in the lower Krishna valley than in other parts of the Deccan.

No. 11—GUNṬUPALLI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF ŚALANKĀYANA NANDIVARMAN

(1 Plate)

S. Sankaranarayanan, Madras

Gunṭupalli (a hamlet of the village Jilakarragudem, in the Chintalapudi Taluk, West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) and its Buddhist site and epigraphs are fairly well known to the scholars through the writings of Robert Sewell,1 Alexander Rea,2 A. Longhurst,3 R. Subramanyam,4 D.C. Sircar5, I. Karthikeya Sarma6 P.R. Srinivasan7 and the present writer8 too. The subjoined inscription was discovered along with other early epigraphs by I.K. Sharma in 1976 and it has been illustrated twice9 and has been registered as B 44 of A.R. Ep. 1977-78. But the text of the record still remains unpublished and its contents are yet to be examined thoroughly. Hence, I requested Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, for a photograph of the record for my study. However, being a scholar of liberal outlook, Dr. K.V. Ramesh gave me both a good inked impression and a good photograph of an estampage and advised me to edit it in the pages of the Epigraphia Indica. I thank Dr. Ramesh for giving me this honour. I learn that the estampages of the record have been prepared by the Epigraphist Office under the able supervision of Dr. M.D. Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist of that office.

The present epigraph is engraved on what is said to be a big quadrangled pillar, discovered near the caves (stupa site) in the monastery area at Gunṭupalli. It consists of twenty three lines incised on one of the sides of the pillar just below a Brāhmi inscription of the first century A.D., that had already been edited by scholars.10 The passage of centuries has been very unkind only to our epigraph. Hence, none of the lines of it is fully preserved. That is to say, the right end of the record is broken off and lost. However, it is possible to

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2 A. Rea, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities: Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, No. XV, Madras, 1894.
3 A.H. Longhurst, 'The Buddhist Monuments at Gunṭupalli in Krishna District' in A.R.A.Sc., 1916-17, pp. 30-35. In those days Gunṭupalli was included in the Krishna district.
4 The Gunṭupalli Brāhmi Inscription of Khānāvēla, A.P.G.A.S. No. 3(1968) and plates.
9 I.e., by Dr. I.K. Sarma and by Sri P.R. Srinivasan. Of their facsimiles the one given by the former is good.
10 See notes 6 and 7 above.
have a fairly correct idea of what has been lost. The estampage available to me contains also the impression of the above mentioned early inscription. On the basis of the length of the lines of this epigraph, it is possible to surmise that the length of the lines of our present inscription must have been originally 38 cm, even though now it is shorter. That is to say, a portion of two cm in length has been broken off and lost at the end of lines 1-4, resulting in the loss of two or three letters in each of these lines. The loss of letters at the end of lines is progressively more in the subsequent lines. Consequently the length of the last two lines is only 22 cm, 14 or 15 letters being lost at their ends. Again, from the tenth line onwards one or two letters are chipped off and lost also in the beginnings of the lines. Further, from the same line downwards the right half of the extant portion and also the major portions of lines 18-20 are very much effaced. Thus, the present record is lamentably very fragmentary. Yet, one may feel happy that nothing has been lost above or below the extant portion. Therefore, it is certain that the record contained only 23 lines occupying an area of 38 cm (in width) by 61 cm (in height) on one of the four sides of the pillar, individual lines containing about 23 to 25 aksharas each. Thus the extent or volume of the original text seems to have been around 24 or 25 granthas.\footnote{A \textit{grantha} is a unit of 32 aksharas or the extent of one verse in \textit{Anustubh}. Thus our present record proves to be the lengthiest of the known records of the Śālankāyanaś. For, the volume of the texts of other known records of the dynasty seems never to exceed 12 or 15 \textit{granthas}.}

The \textbf{characters} of the record belong to what the epigraphists usually label as the box-headed type of the Southern Class of Brahmi. They are assignable to a period that intervened the time of the Nagārjunakonda Pillar inscription of the Ikshvakū king Rudrapurushadatta\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 125 ff. and plate.} (last part of the third century A.D.) on the one hand and the Velpūru Pillar inscription of Vishnukundī Madhavavarman\footnote{\textit{JAIIRS}, Vol. I, pt. 2, plates between pp. 94-95.} (last quarter of the fifth century). And they are exactly the same as those found on the Pedā-Vegi plates of Nandivarman II,\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 22 ff. and plate.} who, as we shall see a little later, issued the present record also. In fact the alphabets of both these records stand favourable comparison with those of the Vala inscription of Bhūja Suketuvvarman dated in Śaka 322\footnote{Above, Vol. XL, plate facing p. 53.} (400 A.D.). However, the box-heads of the letters in the present record are less conspicuous than those found in the Vala epigraph. The engraving in our record is so clear and beautiful that even in its pitifully fragmentary condition, the epigraph stands witness to the great care the engraver had taken in executing his work.

The \textbf{language} of the text of the record is simple, but elegant Sanskrit prose marked with a small dose of \textit{ōjas} (\textit{samāsa-bhuyastva}, ‘richness of compounds’). The prose text of the main part of the grant is followed by four benedictory and imprecatory verses, all in
Anusṭubh. The composition is clear and the expressions are direct. We find here no abnormal compounds, obscuring the idea which the author wanted to convey. Thus, like the engraver, the composer of the record has also done his job satisfactorily.

With regard to the language of the record we have to bear in mind two more important points—one is particular in nature and the other, general. Coming to the former point it may be noted that the tempo of the language and the format of the text of our record very closely correspond to those of the known Sanskrit copper-plate charters of the Śalankāyana kings. Hence, one is tempted to conclude that the present stone-inscription must be a verbatim copy of a rajaśāsana or royal copper-plate charter issued by Nandivarman II in favour of the donees (i.e., the monks of the Buddhist monastery as we shall see soon); and that these donees got the original rajaśāsana copied on a pillar in the monastery of theirs, obviously with a view to preserve the royal order in a more stable and durable medium, as the copper-plates are likely to be lost. This conclusion gets support from the record itself speaking of a charter issued by the king (paṭṭika datta) as is the case in all the copper-plate charters of the family. Stone-inscriptions being copies of rajaśāsanas or copper plate charters is not new to Indian epigraphy. For the earlier age we have the example of the Nasik cave inscriptions of the Śatavahana king Gautamiputra Śatakarni, dated in his regnal years 18 and 24 (1st century A.D.) which are copies of the original rajaśāsana, which are spoken of in those inscriptions themselves as paṭṭika and nibhānda. Coming to the later age too we have instances like the Konnur Paramesvara temple inscription of Rāṣṭrākūta Amoghavarsha I, dated Śaka 782 (860 A.D.) claiming to be a copy of the king’s copper-plate charter.

Regarding the second and general aspect of the language of our record, we may bear in mind an important fact. As we shall see soon, the record under study belongs to the time of the Śalankāyana king Nandivarman II, i.e., the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. It was exactly during his time that Sanskrit replaced Prakrit once for all in the field of epigraphy in coastal Andhra in particular and in South India in general. It is noteworthy that all the known charters of Nandivarman II and the charter of his successor Skandavarman are in Sanskrit only (see below). All the charters of the predecessor of Nandivarman II including the Dhārīkāṭūra grant of Nandivarman’s father Achāndavarman (the only record of his known so far) are in Prakrit. No doubt Sanskrit had appeared in a few inscriptions of the time.

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1 I.e., as in our present record. See above, Vol. VIII, p. 71, text line 6.
2 I.e., as in the Dharmāśstra. See ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 73, text line 12. See also D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy (Delhi, 1965), pp. 108-09.
3 See above, Vol. VI, pp. 25 ff; particularly p. 29, para. 2. cf. tāmra-śāsanaṁ nōdi bareyisim, ibid., p. 34, text line 34. One finds it difficult to completely agree with the view that this Rāṣṭrākūta record is a spurious one. cf., ibid., p. 27.
4 Above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 1 ff., and plates.
of the Ikshvākūs of the Guntur region (3rd century A.D.). Yet, undoubtedly it was Prakrit that was employed in the very vast majority of the inscriptions of the Ikshvākūs and of those who succeeded them in coastal Andhra viz., the Bṛhatphalāyanas, the Ānandas, the Early Pallavas and the Śālankāyanas, till the time of Nandivarman II.

This process of changing from Prakrit completely over to Sanskrit started in North India a little earlier, i.e., during the time of Samudragupta, who is generally viewed as a contemporary of Hastivarman Śālankāyana, the great-grandfather of Nandivarman II, the issuer of the present charter. Now, if one chooses to compare the elegant poetic language of the Sanskrit inscriptions of the early Guptas, like the Allahabad Praśasti, etc., on the one hand and the colourless prose of the Prakrit records of the last phase of the Prakrit age, such as the Hirahadagallī and Mayidavolu charters of Pallava Śivakandavarman, the Başim plates of Vākātaka Vindhyāsakti, etc., on the other, one cannot easily escape the conclusion that it was the ardent desire for poetry on the part of the kings of the age and of their favourite court poets that must have been mainly responsible for this change-over in medium. May be the poetic genius of Prakrit, the fragrance of which one enjoys in the Nāsik inscriptions of the Śatavāhanas, mentioned above, somehow decayed during the age of their immediate successors.

Now, because the Prakrit epigraphs gave way once for all to Sanskrit inscriptions in coastal Andhra in the South, during Nandivarman’s time, it will be beneficial if we could pay a little more attention, than we usually do in studying epigraphs, to the literary and poetic aspect of the language of the present record. This we will do while studying the contents of the record. Indeed the simple but elegant style of the language of our record seems to supply to the students of the history of Sanskrit prose-poetry style and rhetoric, a useful connecting link between the fourth century A.D. in the North and the less picturesque but beautiful style of the Vishnukundī inscriptions of the 5th-6th centuries in coastal Andhra, a style which was followed the strikingly florid style of the Sanskrit epigraphs of the Pallavas and the Chalukyas of the South in the 6th-7th centuries.

The orthographical peculiarities found in our record are the following: The medial i and 1 are not always distinguished. Of the consonants preceding r, m alone (not other
consonants) is doubled as in tāmṛra (line 1). All the consonants, following r, including sh (see varṣhvinā, line 12) and varṣhpa (line 21) are doubled. The parasavarna rules (the rules of homogeneity) governing the euphonic conjunction of anuvāra with the next consonant are observed correctly not only within the unit words like Veṅgi (line 1), chanda-danda (line 7), etc., but also at the end of the words (padanta) as in paran-dānan-na bhūtān-na (line 22), according to the rules. The upadhyaniya is employed in sandhi in —padabhati-parama— (line 8); and palatal s is preferred to visarga in the sandhis like —yaśas-śaritrasya (line 2) and bhagavatas—Śālākāyana— (line 8).

The text also contains some words of lexical interest like bhagavat-Tāmṛra (line 1), “the god of rising Sun with coppery red colour”; karmman (line 2) “object or result of an action”; mahāraja (line 3) “god Kubera”; rasa (line 3) “desire, craving”; daśabala (line 10) “ten-fold power”; akshullaka (line 12) “great”; shasthendriya (line 11) “the sixth or internal organ, mind”.

The present epigraph refers itself to the reign of the Śālākāyana king Nandivarman II and it contains his royal edict issued from the victorious city (capital) of Veṅgi. The object of the edict was to grant a village or lands in a village, with certain privileges and immunities, in favour of the inmates of the Buddhist monastery, i.e., the one at Guntupalli, from the site of which the present pillar inscription comes. The edict seems to be dated in the king’s fourth regnal year mentioned as sarn 4 standing for sarnvatasare chaṭurthe. The year four is expressed by a ta-like symbol with two antennas. What we have here may represent a stage in the evolution of ka—with two antennas, developing into pta and pka all standing for 4. Again, what we are inclined to read as sarn before 4 looks more or less like a symbol for 40, occurring elsewhere in epigraphs. Hence, it is even probable that the epigraph is dated in the 44th year of the king.

The Śālākāyana king Nandivarman II is already known to us from his own two copper-plate charters, viz., the Kollēru (Kolair) plates of year 76 and the Peda-Vegi plates of year 10. The chronological scheme of the Śālākāyana kings, as worked out last by D.C. Sircar, while editing the Dhārikaṭura grant, assigns this Nandivarman II to c. 400-30 A.D., and the palaeography of our present record goes well with that date.
We have suggested above that the epigraph must have been a copy of a rājaśāsana or a royal copper-plate charter. Hence, just as in the case of the copper-plate charters in general, the contents of the present record also fall into three sections, namely (1) the preamble (lines 1-9), (2) the royal decree proper (lines 10-29); and (3) the conclusion (lines 20-23). Here the preamble commences with the auspicious word Svasti (Hail), and it is followed by the reference to the place of issue of the charter, viz., the victorious city Vēngipura. The students of South Indian history and epigraphy are aware that all the copper-plate charters of the Śālāṅkāyana kings had been issued from the same city which was their royal capital and is the same as the modern Peda-Vēgi near Ellore (also written Ėlūru) in the West Godavari District. Then the preamble introduces the ruling monarch Nandivarman II as the great-grandson of Hastivarman (line 4), as the grandson of Nandivarman I (line 5) and as the son of Achaṇḍavarman (line 7). The author describes Nandivarman II and his three predecessors by employing three or more epithets for each. Here it may be observed that all these epithets are conventional in nature and none of them speaks of any specific political or military achievements of any of these kings. Yet, they are, as we shall see presently, unique in their own way. It is obvious that the author of our record preferred to remain as a poet rather than to act as a chronicler. Hence, to do justice to this early Sanskrit epigraph of South India is to evaluate it first as a literary piece.

The preamble describes Hastivarman in lines 1-4. Though the first two aksharas of his name are lost at the end of fourth line, it is not difficult to restore them with the help of the already known charters of Nandivarman II, mentioned above. Hastivarman's first epithet describes him, by means of a double dose of metaphor, as the very Moon, shining on the clear sky of the family of Śālanka. From the ganasūtra of Pāṇini under his rule 4.1.99,1 we could surmise that Śālanka must have been the sage-founder of the gōṭra Śālāṅkāyana. This gōṭra-name is found as an adjective of the donor monarchs invariably in all the Śālāṅkāyana charters including the present one. And we have actually the expression Śālāṅkāyanasagottō (=Skt. Śālāṅkāyana-sagottā) as an epithet of Achaṇḍavarman.2 The present charter is the only record to give us the stem of the said derivatives.3 But in the Mahābhārata,4 Śālāṅkāyana figures as a famous sage among the founders of Brahmin families or gōtras who were the sons of Kauśika Viśvāmitra.

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1 I.e., naḍ-ādiḥhyah phak.
2 I.e., the Dhāṅkātūra grant. op. cit.
The last epithet of Hastivarmman reads Dharmma-mahārāja signifying "a mahārāja, a mighty king, who loves (or whose main aims are) meritorious acts". The same title or the more ambitious ones dharmma-mahādhirāja dharmma-mahārajanādhirāja were borne by the Vakataka king Vindhyasahti and his father Sarvasena, by the Pallava Śivaskandavarmman of the Prakrit charters, and by the early Kadamba Kangavarmman - all more or less of the age of Hastivarmman. The authors of the records of those kings seem to justify these royal titles by citing the great Vedic sacrifices like Aśvamedha, Vajapēya, etc., those kings claim to have performed. But the author of our Günputalli inscription seems to follow a slightly different path of justifying such claim of his hero. He adds four adjectives to Hastivarmman in defiance of his claim.

The first of these four says that Hastivarmman had acquired a body made of fame that was purified by many and varied meritorious things he created such as the chaturvvaidyasaśālas, Vīshṇugrihas and also perhaps Śivagrihas - all fresh (nava) - besides by performing acts of Dharma. Of these enumerated four items the chaturvvaidyasaśālas signify the pathasaśālas or schools where the four Vedas were taught. The grammarians recognize chaturvvaidyasa in the sense of the student of the four Vedas. We have also epigraphs of later times where sala is used to denote a pathaśālā or college where the Vedas were taught to the students hailing from different parts of the country. In the present Günputalli inscription we have perhaps the earliest epigraphical reference to the establishment of chaturvvaidyasaśālas. The chaturvvaidyas or the students or masters of the four Vedas figure as the donees in both the Kānukollu plates of Śalankayana Nandivarman I (the grandfather of Nandivarman II of our record) and of Skandavarmman (a successor of Nandivarman II).

It seems that the chaturvvaidyasaśālas of the succeeding ages came to be often designated as gaṭikás on account of the ingenious mode of examinations they conducted for testing the

1 The vigraha intended here is dharmma-priyāḥ dharmma-pradhānāḥ vā mahārājāḥ of the sāka-pāṭhīva-type. Cf.(48,484),(953,978)
2 See CA, pp. 272, 358, 360-61.
3 cf. chatur-vedāya-ōbhaya-pada-vrddhiḥ=cha (Gaṇasūtra 93): chaturō vedaṁ adhitē chaturvedāḥ, sa eva chaturvvaidyāḥ in Bhatoji Dikshita’s Siddhantakaumudi under PA, 7.3.31.
4 cf. Śāla Manovat=sv-aishā brahmayuktā virājatā
5 Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 4 ff., and pp. 9 ff. Here in these two records expressions denoting the names of the donees are Rathakāra-chaturvvaidy a and agrahāra-Rathakāra-chaturvvaidy a. The editor of these records had some misconceptions about the meaning of the term rathakāra. This word seems to have been used here primarily as the personal name of the brahmin donee himself, and secondarily as the name of an agrahāra donated to a brahmin named Rathakāra. cf. Rathakīro nāma Brāhmaṇaḥ in Jayaditya Vamanā’s Kāśikāvīpītī and Bhatoji’s Siddhāntakaumudi under PA, 6.2.77 saniṣṭhāyam cha.
proficiency of scholars. Many kings of ancient South India claimed to have established such ghatikas (i.e., chaturvaidyasaalas) and to have attained, by that means, unique merit. In his famous Dānakhānda of the chaturvargachintamani, Hemadri quotes very ancient authorities to the effect that of all the gifts, the gift brahmadāna or imparting Vedic knowledge is the highest and that by making this gift one gets great merit by which one could attain Brahmaloka (the regions of the god Brahmā) from which one never returns (avichyutah).

The same compiler of the dharmaśastras also cites authorities of yore extolling gifts to the deities Śiva, Vishnu, etc., enshrined in the mandapas. There it is said that by giving such gifts one could achieve merits of all the yajñas (Vedic sacrifices) and could enjoy whatever one wants, and above all one could attain total liberation.

In this context it may be noted that making these gifts amounts to give religion to the people and teaching the Vedas and spreading the Vedic culture. That is why these gifts are praised so high. But in ancient India excepting brahmins, not even a king, could give religion to any or teach the Vedas, particularly the karmakānda parts of them. But the kings, and others too, could do all these indirectly by building temples of different gods and by establishing schools for Vedic studies. Secondly, only by creating and maintaining such institutions a king could infuse culture into his subjects and this is what is called prajānāṁ vinayādhaṇa and it was believed to be the bounden duty of every king of ancient India, as the poet Kālidāsa suggests while describing his ideal hero-king Dilipa.

The author of our record tells us that the temples and the Vedic schools which Hastivarman established were new (nava). This probably suggests that there had already been some (or many) such institutions in the region to which Hastivarman added some new ones. From some of the Nāgarjunakonda inscriptions we come to know that the Ikshvakus and others had already established, in the coastal region of Andhra, temples of Śiva, Vishnu, Kārttikēya, etc.

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2 cf. Sarvesham eva dānāṁ brahma-dānam viśishtyate | etc.; and sarvadharma-mayam brahma pradānēbhyaḥ dhikam yataḥ tad-dadat samavānapnoti brahmākām avichyutam | Hemadri uses Brahmadānam as a synonym of Vēdādānam. See Hemadri’s Dānakhānda (Bibliotheca Indica, ed., Calcutta, 1873) p. 517.
3 cf. Ėvam kritēna labhate sarvavayāja-phalaṁ narah // sarvān kāmān svāpnoti nirvānāṁ chādīgacchhati /// ibid., pp. 779 f.
It is also said that Hastivarman performed certain dharmas 'meritorious acts' besides establishing the above temples and the Vedic schools. It is not specified what those acts were. However, in view of the fact that the kings who belonged to the age of Hastivarman had, like him, the tithe dharmamaharaja and justified the same, as we had shown above, by alluding to their performance of great sacrifices, we may here too identify the unspecified dharmas of Hastivarman with the performance of such sacrifices, great and small, as enjoined in the Vedas. For, the word is understood in the ancient Indian tradition primarily in the sense of the sacrifices enjoined. It is also said, in the epigraph, that Hastivarman performed the above mentioned meritorious acts out of his devotion to the god named "Tāmra". (bhagavat-Tāmra-bhaktya kriya ...). Here we find an echo of the famous bhakti-yoga concept propounded in the Bhagavadgītā.

It is not easy to identify the god named Tāmra, to whom Hastivarman is said to have been devoted. For, in the entire well-known pantheon of ancient and medieval India we do not find any god bearing the name Tāmra. Perhaps we may have to take this name in its etymological-cum-conventional sense (yogarūḍha) to mean "the god having coppery red colour". In the Purānic and in the Tantra literature, the Mother Goddess is described to be bright red in colour like the sindūra-flower (sindūrarunavigraham). The god of the planet Mars, called Angāraka, is said to be bloody red in colour and the god Kumāra Karttikeya to be red-bodied. But in the expression bhagavat-Tāmra, the word Tāmra seems to constitute a name rather than a mere adjective; and this excludes the probability of a reference here to the said deities. Now it may be noted that in the Śatarudrīya chapter of the Taittirīya Samhitā the God Rudra Śiva is found described first as tāmra i.e., in the form of the just Rising Sun (asau yas tāmrā) and the Veda then pays homage to that God Tāmra (nāma Tāmrāya cha). In this context it may be noted that the Bōdhāyana-grīhyasūtra describes the Sun God himself as Īśvara i.e., Rudra Śiva (Īśvaram Bāskaram vidyāt). And the
Bhagavadgītā too tells us that the ideal sage would meditate on the Supreme who is coloured like the Sun, just going beyond the darkness, i.e., the Sun, just rising.1 One more thing to be noted here is that: Basing on some other grounds, scholars have already suggested that the tutelary deity of the Śalāṇkāyanas was the Sun God and their bull-crest is indicative of their general Śaiva affiliations even though individual kings of the family worshipped Śiva or Viṣṇu.2 Thus, by the present epithet, the poet author of our present record most probably intends to portray the hero Hastivarman as a person devoted to bhagavat-Tāmra, i.e., Rudra Śiva in the form of the Rising Sun. So, when we could thus appreciate the poet in this manner, we need not find fault with him for employing an obscure word like Tāmra instead of well known synonyms like Sūrya, Rudra, Śiva, etc.

The expression bhagavat-Tāmra-bhākṣyā, etc. in our record indeed recalls to our mind the phrase bhaktyā bhagavatāt Śambhōr-guḥām ētām akāraṇat;3 a description of Viyarēṇa, an officer of the imperial Gupta king Chandragupta II in the Udayagiri Cave inscription (401 A.D., i.e., the age to which Śalāṇkāyana Hastivarman belonged) ; and also the description bhaktyā bhagavatāt Śambhōh ...... sthāpitam Chitraśāṇēṇa lingam, etc., in a Cambodian inscription (7th century A.D.).4 Here it must also be noted that in our present inscription too a reading like bhagavat-Śambhubhākṣyā krita- etc., is not altogether an impossibility.5 On top of all this what is very significant is the fact the Dravidian linguists compare Śambhu, the well-known epithet or name of Rudra Śiva with chembu or sēmbu, a Tamil equivalent of Sanskrit tāmra, "copper".6

Some three syllables in the middle of the next epithet of Hastivarman are lost. Yet, one can be certain that the epithet describes him as one who had won a complete victory over the cravings for the worldly sense-objects of manifold varieties. This epithet reminds us of the Bhagavadgītā passages describing the sthitapraṇī (the man of steady wisdom) as "one who would withdraw his sense-organs completely from the sense-objects, just as the tortoise does its limbs",7 and as "one whose craving for sense-objects has disappeared after he has realised the Supreme".8 Thus the epithets we have studied so far depict Hastivarman as a king with saintly disposition.

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1 cf. anusmārtāt...... Aditya-varṇam
   tāmasaḥ parśāt (Bhagavadgītā, 8, 9).
2 CA, pp. 205-06; HSI, p. 105. See also below.
3 PGI, p. 35, verse 5.
4 See above, Vol. XXXV, p. 112.
5 See the note on the concerned word in the text.
7 cf. yadā sāmbhārāt chāyaṁ kālimō-śāya sarvataḥ
   indriyāṁ-indriyārthabhāya-śāya prajñā pratiśthitaḥ
   (Bhagavadgītā, 2.58)
8 cf. Rasavarjana rasāḥ-py-asya param dīrghaṇtā nivartate ! ibid., 2.59.
In the next epithet, the poet, by employing a simile (upamālanākāra), describes Hasti-
varman as a person gifting away wealth just as Mahārāja does. Who was this person referred
to as Mahārāja who was an ideal person well-known for his liberality? Certainly the poet
could not have used mahārāja merely as a common noun meaning “a great or mighty ruler”.
For, as shown above, Hastivarman himself was a mahārāja (rather dharmamahārāja); and the
figure of speech ‘simile’ employed here demands that the subject of comparison (upamēya)
must be different from the object of comparison (upamāna). Hence, it is imperative that we
should treat the word Mahārāja as a name or an epithet-cum-name of an individual, who had
been acknowledged in the poetic tradition as a person noted for his liberality. So, let us turn
to Sanskrit literature for help. A magical formula (mantra) in the Taittirīya Āranyaka invokes
the god Vaiśravana Kubēra, the mythical lord of all the wealths (dhanādhipa) and of the
Northern direction (uttaradikpāla) and praises him by epithet-cum-names such as Rājadhirāja
‘overlord of the kings’, Kāmēśvara ‘the lord fulfilling all (our) desires’ and Mahārāja ‘the
great or mighty king’. In Sanskrit classical tradition also Kubēra is well-known as a great
king, worthy to be compared with. The universally acknowledged first classical poet
(adikavi) Valmiki describes—through the mouth of Hanumān—his hero Rāma as a king of
the entire universe, like Kubēra-Vaiśravana. The sag-poet Vyāsa too recognises Vaiśravana-
Kubēra as the best among kings, just as Uchchaisravas, the horse of Indra is among the
horses. Similarly, as a generous giver of wealth, Kubēra is proverbial. His exclusive
adjective or another typical name dhananda itself signifies that he is, according to the
tradition, the bestower of wealth. That is why the most bountiful hero of the Mahābhārata,
viz., Karna, is praised as a born bestower of wealth like Vaiśravana-Kubēra. The uniqueness
of Kubēra’s liberality is that he bestows wealth much more than what is requested for.
Hence, in his Kādambari, Bāna compares his hero Śūdraka with Dhanada Kubēra in making
gifts. The well-known Raghu-Kautsa episode in the Raghuvarṇa of Kālidāsa details how

1 Eg., in the well-known simile chanda iva mukham “the face is (pleasing) like the Moon”, the face is different from
the Moon. In the context of the epithet under examination, one should not think of the figure of speech
anavayālanākāra, in which the object of comparison is compared with its own ideal, just as indur indur iva śṛmān
“the Moon is pleasant like the Moon”.
2 cf. Rājadhirāja...namō vayan vaiśravanāya
kurmahē...kāmēśvaro Vaiśravanō dadātu
Kubēryā...mahārājya namaḥ
Tāi. Āranyaka 1.32. dasānti 6.
3 cf. Rāja sarvasva lōkasya devō Vaiśravanō yathā
devō Vaiśravanā (in the Valmiki Rāmāyaṇa (VR) (Madras, 1958), Sundarakāṇḍa,
43.29.
4 cf. Uchchaisravā varō-ivānanāṁ rājāktāṁ Vaiśravanō varah in the
Mahābhārata (MB) Karnaparvan (Poona, 1954),
3.21.
5 E.W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology (Delhi, 1986), p. 144.
7 cf. prasākāde Dhanadāna. The commentator adds-samhitā-āthika-pradāntā. See the Kādambari with comm. (NSP,
1948), p.44.
the hero Raghu thought of going on an expedition to Kubēra for getting 14 crores of gold for the sake of the scholar-bachelor-sage Kautsa; how even before he started, Kubēra poured, in the royal treasury, gold much more than the said amount; and how the liberal Raghu too compelled the unwilling bachelor to receive the entire amount Kubēra had poured. Thus it is certain that following the classical Sanskrit poetic tradition the author of the present record describes Hastivarman, in the present epithet, as a liberal giver of wealth like Maharāja Kubēra.

The last epithet of Hastivarman reads bhūpati-sattama. This should be normally taken to mean "the best among the rulers of the earth." However, Sanskrit lexicographers, like Amarasirtha, recognise san as a synonym of vidvān "the learned one". Hence, the present epithet may as well mean "the most learned among the kings". In the ancient Indian literary tradition, the heroes of poems are always described as masters of many branches of learning. In this aspect the authors of the epigraphs of ancient India did not lag behind. Thus Chēdi Mahāmeghavāhana Khāravēla (1st century B.C.) is described as one glowing with the knowledge of all sciences. The Mahākshatraka Rudradāman I (2nd century A.D.) is praised to have attained proficiency in grammar, economics, music, Nyāyaśāstra, etc. The Śatavahana king Puḷumāvi (2nd century A.D.) claims to be an abode of traditional literature. Samudrag Gupta (4th century A.D.) is said to have earned the title kāvirāja "a king among poets" on the basis of his poetic compositions. The Kadamba king Mayūraśarman (4th century A.D.) claims to have learnt Vēdas by serving well in the guru-kulas. An epithet of the Bhaṇja king Śatrubhaṇja (6th century A.D.) depicts him as a master of subjects like the Mahābhārata, Purāṇa, Itihāsa, Vāyūkaraṇa, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Mīmāṃśa, Chhandas, Śruti, Buddhaprakaraṇas, etc. Therefore, one need not hesitate to accept the second interpretation of the present epithet. It may be recalled that Rājendra Chōla (11th century A.D.) had the title Pundita-Chōla "the learned Chōla", and this title of his has been justified on the basis of the monarch’s liberal provisions for the Vedic college at Eṇnaiyiram. As we saw above Hastivarman also had established chāturvaidyaśālās or Vedic Colleges.

1 See the Raghuvamśa, 5.25 ff; particularly the description nripo=rthikāṃsid adhika-prada=cha, verse 31.
2 cf. sarvva-vidyāvaśātēna in the Hāthigumphā inscription: above, Vol. XX, p. 72, line 2. We give hereinafter the Sanskrit chāḥya of the Prakrit original.
4 cf. āgamanānt nilayasya in the Nāsik cave inscription: above, Vol. VIII, p. 60, text line 27.
5 cf. aneka-kāvyā-kriyābhūti pratishtita-kāvirajāstabdasya in the Allahabad prāṣasti: FGIL, pp. 6 ff., text line 27.
7 See the Asanapāt inscription of the king: ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 12 ff., text lines 11-12.
Hastivarman’s son Nandivarman I is described by the poet by some three epithets in lines 4-5. Of them the third one praises him as a benefactor of, or as one favourable to, his subjects (prajanāṁ hitakara),1 while the other two seem to justify this claim of his. One of the two declares that the chief life-aim of the king is (two-fold), intense mercy towards all (day-ānukampa-parāyana).2 This dayānukampa, a strong dose of mercy, is considered to be one of the chief characteristics of the dhūrodatta or the brave-and-noble-minded hero of classical Sanskrit poems.3 And the other epithet of Nandivarman I (of which a few letters in the middle are lost) seems to tell us that the king gifted away gold, cows, land and live trees in large numbers, and that he thereby earned merit (ānēka-śatasahasra-hiranya-go-bhujivatara-pradānārjita-dharma). The gift of gold, cows and land are very well known from many inscriptions4 and from the Dharmasastra literature.5 But the reference to the gift of live trees is rather rare. However, Hemadri, whom we had already referred to, allots a separate section called Vriksadānavidhi where he quotes great ancient sages prescribing, for various merits and benefits, the gifts of different trees, like sahakāra, āśvattha, jambu, nyagrōda, kadali, chūta, tala, etc.6 That is why we find in one of the Nāgarjunakoṇḍa inscriptions7 one Śivasemba, the Mahatalavara of the Abhira king Vasusēna (3rd century A.D.), claiming to have grown and gifted tālavanas or palmya-groves in some two places. Because Nandivarman I had performed meritorious acts of different nature, he is praised as such also in the Peda-Vēgi plates8 of his grandson Nandivarman II, who is also the issuer of the present charter. This Nandivarman I seems to have reigned for a fairly long period. For we have two

1 cf. sarvalokasya hitē pravrittaḥ in the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta: FCI., pp. 58 ff., text line 7.
2 cf. dhūrita-kārūnya an epithet of Rudradaman in his Junagadh inscription (op. cit.), line 10. Amarasimha recognises dayā and anukampa as synonyms of kripā ‘mercy’. Yet, to avoid a sort of tautology here we may have to take these two in their etymological senses: dayā (day ‘to save’), ‘a mental disposition by which one saves others from afflictions’; and anukampa (anu + kamp ‘to shake’) ‘a disposition because of which one is mentally moved like the afflicted person himself’.
4 See e.g. anukampavaṭo-neka-śatasahasra-pradāyinaḥ (epithet of Samudragupta) in the Allahabad prakṣaṭi, op. cit., line 25; hiranyakoti-śatasahasra-śatasahasra-dāyinaḥ (an epithet of the Ikṣvāku king Chandrājula I) in the Nāgarjunakoṇḍa inscription: above, Vol. XX, p. 16, lines 4-5.
6 Ibid., pp. 1033 ff. In this section of the work it is interesting to read ancient authorities enjoining that every man should grow and gift a number of different trees for the sake of the community; that the trees themselves bear all the heat of the Sun; yet they give cool shades to all who come to them; they bear fruits for the sake of others only; and that they must be grown and gifted. cf. Aśvattha ekam pichumandam ekam nyagrōdham ekam daśa tintriṇikam | kapittha-bilv-amalkat-tri-pañcha-pañcha-ānuravāpipādayi | Narakah na paśyey || ++++ chhāyam anyasya kurvanti | tīṣṭhanti svayam-atape-parā-atape | phalantu cha paramarthēnu svārtha-kā-para | druṁah || ato druṁah sada ṛpyah | (deyah) sarva- kāma-samrdhīhaye || What a commendable ecological awareness of the ancient Indians!
7 JAHI Vol. XV, pp. 186-87. In the said section of Dānakhāṇḍa one reads apatya-phaladās-tālāhe. The printed text is obviously wrong.
records of his reign: (1) the Kānukollu plates issued by the king in his 14th regnal year;¹ and (2) the Dhārākāṭura grant² issued by his son Achaṇḍavarman, as a yuvarāja in the 35th regnal year of the ruling king Nandivarman I.

The next king Achaṇḍavarman, the son of Nandivarman I, is eulogised in the succeeding two lines (lines 6-7) as follows: He would amply reward even the simplest service or favour done to him and he would suitably retaliate even the slightest wrong done to him (įśanmatrā-opakār-āpakra-pratikārasya).³ Another epithet says that he had subdued his neighbouring kings by his valour (pratāpāṇata-sāmantasya). The same epithet is found applied to this king in the Peda-Vēgi plates also, already referred to. Hence, we may rightly conclude that by his military might, Achaṇḍavarman had extended his political influence among the neighbouring rulers of the region. The third epithet describes the king as a bestower of wealth in plenty. The last epithet tells us that this king inflicted violent punishment on those who were on the side of his enemies (dvit-pakṣha-chandaṇḍāṇḍā). This epithet had been manufactured obviously with a view to justify the name Achaṇḍavarman of the king. The poet perhaps takes this name here in the sense of 'one who has no violent person excelling him', i.e., the most violent person.⁴

Achaṇḍavarman's son, the ruling monarch Vijaya-Nandivarman, is described by epithets in lines 7-8. His title mahārāja found in his own Peda-Vēgi and Kanṭēru plates must have been there in our present record too at the end of the eighth line, now broken off. The other titles of his are (1) bhagavach-Chitrarathasvāmi-pādānuddhyāta (only partly preserved) 'meditating on the feet of the god Chitrarathasvāmin'; (2) Bappa-bhāṭṭāraka-padaabhaktā 'devoted to his father, the revered king'; (3) parama-Bhāgavata 'a great devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishṇu)'; and (4) Śalāṅkāyana-vamsa-prabhava 'born in the family of Śalāṅkāyana (the sage). All these epithets, neither more nor less, are found applied to Nandivarman II in his own Peda-Vēgi and Kanṭēru plates also, where the fourth epithet has been shortened as Śalāṅkāyanaḥ, but meaning the same. Again, it may be of interest to note that these epithets alone (and not more) are found assumed also by Yuvamahārāja Achaṇḍavarman (father of Nandivarman II) in his Dhārākāṭura grant,⁵ and also by Vijaya Skandavarman (a cousin brother and a successor of Nandivarman II) in his Kanṭēru and

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff.
³ cf. kathaścida-upakāraṇa kriyenaikēna tushyati ṓ
and apakurvan hi Ramasya sākhād api Puṇḍaraḥ
da sukham prāṇāyaḥ, etc.

the description of Śrī Rāma's two characteristics by Vālmīki. See VR., Ayodhyā 1.11 and Sundara 51.33 respectively.

⁴ The vigrāha intended here is obviously na vidyate chaṇḍāya yasmāt saḥ; sa chāsau varmā cha. cf., Above, Vol., XXXVI, p. 4.
Kānukollu plates.\(^1\) Thus it seems that the court poets of the Śalankāyana kings had set up a unique convention of describing their monarchs only in these set epithets of the nature of the most factual statement. Obviously the Śalankāyana kings were, by nature, avikatthanās,\(^2\) i.e., they did not like to be praised highly.

Having thus introduced the ruling king Nandivarman II, the preamble of our record concludes with the king’s address to the mutudas ‘elders or headmen’ connected with a district and to the grāmēyakas ‘the inhabitants or officials of a village’ in a district. The name of this locality as well as that of the district are not clear. Perhaps they were respectively Bhūtaṭāndaka and Vachadā.

Then follows the second section of the record, viz., the royal decree proper in lines 10-20. A major portion of this section, as we have observed in the very beginning, is very much effaced, damaged and lost. Hence, it is not possible to derive from it sufficient information. But this much is certain: By this decree the king made a permanent (a-chandrarāka-tārakā-pritihi-vī-samā-kālam, line 16) land grant (as the imprecatory verses suggest) in favour of the honourable disciples of the Buddha (-vandyamāna-sphurad-anghrībhyo Buddha-sishyēbhyaḥ, line 19) with certain privileges (majority of them are not readable) like freedom from the obligations of supplying curd etc. (dādhy-atakra, line 18).\(^3\)

The gift of land excluded the lands of the good learned Brahmins of the neighbourhood (sāmanta-bhātavara-bhū-parihāra, line 18). In this connection the following is to be noted. While introducing the donee the Buddha is praised (line 12). Probably the latter was the head of the holy place (sthanavara), obviously a vihāra; he was a refuge of all beings (sarvva-bhūta-śaranāya, line 15), and was an ascetic (yatīvarāya, line 16). It was perhaps he who received the land-gift on behalf of the Buddhist clergy. The king is said to have made the gift for the prosperity or increases of his own clan and family (asmat-kula-gūtra-abhiversebhaya, line 10) and it was made for the maintenance of the residence or hostel of the disciples of the Buddha (bhagavato Buddhasya sishyānām sadmanō bharanārtham, line 11). A person, whose name seems to be [Nā]garāja, is introduced (line 13), perhaps as ruling over Na[ta]-vishaya (line 12), and as having done something for the increase of his own merit, valour, true fame, etc. (atmanah punya-pratāpa-satya-yaśo-bhivriddhayade, line 13). The circumstances suggest that the king made the grant probably at the instance of this Nāgarāja or more probably the latter himself made the grant while the king ratified the same by issuing the charter. The preamble comes to an end with the statement that the charter bearing the royal decree was issued (paṭṭikā dattā) in the (regnal) year four (or forty-four).

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1 See JAHRS, Vol. V, pp. 30 ff.; and above, Vol. XXV, pp. 42 ff., respectively. In fact Mahārāja Nandivarman I (grandfather of Nandivarman II) is endowed only with the single title bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigṛhitā in his Kānukollu plates (op. cit.).

2 Kālidāsa attributes this gentlemanly characteristic, through the mouth of Vālmiki, to the epic hero Śrī Rāma. See Raghuvamśa, 14.73.

3 See the note under the text.
The next or the concluding portion contains the partly preserved four verses. They all praise the greatness of gifting lands and of protecting such gifts; and also imprecate those who disturb the land grants. Of these stanzas, the first three are quite common in Sanskrit charters and the last one is a bit rare. But all these verses are found in the literary works extolling land grants.

Having thus studied the contents of the record in detail let us try to assess its contribution to our knowledge of history. As stated above, it is the solitary lithic inscription and also the lengthiest of the known records of the Śalankāyana. The record adds nothing new to our knowledge about the political history of the kings of the dynasty or of their chronology and genealogy. Yet, it throws light on many aspects of the cultural history of the age and area. Firstly, being written in simple, but elegant poetic prose, this early Sanskrit record does help the students of Sanskrit literary history in tracing a link between the northern style of the fourth century A.D. and the southern style of the succeeding age. Indeed pleasing alliterations like Śalankā-kul-amal-akāśa-saśanka (line 1), upakār-āpakāra-pratikāra (line 6), chaṇḍa-danḍasya-ACHaṇḍaVarmanah (line 7), etc., did herald the more picturesque ones we find in plenty in the Daśakumāracharita of Achārya Daṇḍin (7th century).

The reference to the sage Śalanka as the progenitor of the Śalankāyana is interesting. The name of the sage reminds us of the name Śalankī of the river mentioned in the Baudhāyana-Śatapatha Brahmanas (9th century A.D.)¹ as a tributary of the Mahānadi. This river is the same as the modern Sālī which joins the Mahānadi near Baudh in the Orissa State.² It may not be wrong to assume that the names Śalanka and Śalankī are closely inter-related. It is known from the epics that Viśvāmitra Kauṭika (to whose group Śalanka-Śalankāyana belonged)³ had the holy river Kauṭika on the Himalayas for his sister.⁴ May be, in the same manner Śalanka was also believed to have had Śalankī for his sister. These river-names and their probable connections with the sages are perhaps indicative of these two sages and their immediate descendants having settled on the banks of these rivers before they migrated further South.⁵

¹ Above, Vol. XII, p. 327, text line 23.
² Ibid., note 4; ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 300.
³ See p. 99 and n. 4 above.
⁵ It has been pointed out that Śalankāyana is the name of Nandin, the bull Śiva, which was also the crest of the Śalankāyana rulers (CA., pp. 205-06). However, the word does not seem to have been recognized or used in the sense of Nandin excepting by a few lexicographers of the medieval age. It is possible that the said lexicographers' recognition of it in the said sense is based on a different etymology of the word, i.e., Lāṅkā ayañah yañya saḥ lāṅkāyanaḥ Rāvanah; tēna saha varttāṁ tī śalankāyanaḥ (the initial ś and sa are interchangeable) Nandin. It is well known among the Śaivas, that Rāvana and Nandin, (along with a few others) are put on par in receiving Śiva's prasāda (the remnant of what is offered to Śiva). There is a well-known verse of unknown source running: Bhāp-Rāvana-Chanda-Nandī-Bhirangirī-śāyāh / Mahādeva-prasādo-samāsāvē ghrīnati Śambhavāk. This verse is being recited almost invariably by the Śaivas even to-day while performing Nandipūjā at the end of their daily worship of Śiva. Basing on the said etymology of Śalankāyana (from lāṅkā 'island'), the name seems to have been applied to the sage Vyāsa (the author of the epic Mahābhārata) also who was born to Satyavati in a Lāṅkā or an island in the midst of the Gāṅga. See the Śabdakalpadruma, s.v. Śalankāyana-jivāmsaḥ, cf. also Dvaipāyana (dvipa 'island'), another name of Vyāsa.
The present Gunṭupalli record is also of great importance for our study of the history of Indian religions during that age. The reference to the cult of Rudra Śiva in the form of the rising Sun (Tamra) which, as pointed out earlier, has Vedic sanction in a way, is unique, particularly in the South Indian context. In the succeeding age, i.e., early sixth century, the founders of the Pushyabhūti dynasty in the North, viz., Rajyavardhana I, and his son and grandson Adityavardhana and Prabhākara-vardhanas claimed to be Paramāditya-bhaktas “the most devoted worshippers of the Sun”.¹ But they too did not worship the rising Sun, as Rudra Śiva, as the Śālankāyanas appear to have done.

Chitrarathasvāmin, apparently the family god the Śālankāyanas, has been identified with the Sun-god on the ground that Chitraratha “having a bright chariot” is found recognised in the lexicons as an appellation of the Sun-god.² But this word, like another word, chitrabhaṅgu, “having bright rays” is recognised by the lexicons as an appellation of the Fire-god (Agni) as well.³ Therefore, the said appellation alone may not decide the point. But the reference to the early Śālankāyana ruler Hastivarman’s devotion to bhagavatTamra seems to suggest that the family deity was also probably Rudra Śiva himself in the form of the Rising Sun. May be Chitraratha “one having a bright chariot”⁴ of the Śālankāyana records used as a synonym of Skt. Tamrathö “one having coppery-red chariot” - a chariot which Rudra Śiva is described, in a Vedic text, as riding in the heavens.⁵

The stress in the record on the various gifts said to have been made by the Śālankāyana kings is also significant. Śālankāyana Dēvavarman, perhaps a predecessor of Hastivarman, claims to have preformed the great Vedic royal sacrifice, Aśvamedha, sometime in the early fourth century.⁶ Madhavarman of the Vishnuṅkund dynasty performed as many as eleven Aśvamedhas along with Kratusahasra Sarvamedha and other Vedic sacrifices in the succeeding age, i.e., the later part of the fifth century.⁷ Again as observed above, the kings who were contemporaries of Hastivarman Śālankāyana and who too assumed, like him, the title Dharmamahāraja (or Dharmamahādhiraja) seem to justify that epithet of theirs by referring to their performance of the sacrifice Aśvamedha prescribed in the Veda. On the other hand the author of our record appears to justify that title on the basis of the king having made the gifts enjoined in the Smritis and Purāṇas, and not on the basis of the performances of sacrifices as prescribed in the Veda. This shows that śrama-dharma had gained ground over śrauta-dharma in the Śālankāyana kingdom. This shift of stress was perhaps due to the

¹ See e.g., the preamble of the Madhuban plates of Harshavardhana: above, Vol., I, p. 72.
² CA, p. 205.
³ See Monier-Williams, op. cit., s. v.
⁴ Ibid., s. v.
⁵ cf. Tamrākasa-tamrarathāḥ ito Rudrāḥ parām gatāḥ — the Taistirya Aranyaka 1.7.4.
⁶ CA, p. 205.
⁷ VTT., pp. 13, 169.
traditional texts that glorify the greatness of making gifts over and above the performance of penance and sacrifices.\(^1\)

This much is for the śrauta and the smārta dharmas. From the point of Purānic religion also our record is important. Śalāṅkāyana Dévavarman, whom we mentioned above, styled himself as paramamahēśvara “a staunch devotee of the god Mahēśvara Śiva”.\(^2\) But the case was different with regard to Nandivarman II. For, though as a Śalāṅkāyana he was a devotee of the god Chitrarathasvāmin, he was personally a paramabhāgavata “a staunch worshipper of the Bhagavat, i.e., Vishnu”. Possibly, he was the first monarch, or one among the earliest known kings of the South to assume the title paramabhāgavata. He was a younger contemporary of the great Gupta emperor Chandragupta II (c. 380-474 A.D.), the first known paramabhāgavata among the Gupta kings. It is said that this Gupta emperor was at the root of the great popularity of the Bhāgavata cult.\(^3\) We do not know whether a strong northern Bhāgavata-wind blew southward, reached the coastal Andhra region and converted Nandivarman II into a paramabhāgavata.

The present record is again interesting for the study of the history of Buddhism of the age. The mighty Śatavāhana emperors were personally staunch orthodox Vedists and they performed Vedic sacrifices. Yet, they did readily favour the heterodox religion viz., Buddhism, as their own records reveal. Their golden examples were emulated by their successors in Andhra, viz., the Ikshvākus who were personally Vedists and yet encouraged Buddhism. Our present record stands witness to the fact that this legacy was continued happily by the Śalāṅkāyanas also. In fact this practice was continued in the next age too by the Vishnukunḍis who were very staunch Vedists. Two among them are known to have favoured Buddhism by building monasteries and by granting lands to them.\(^4\) The fact that the Buddhists flourished in the midst of the Vedists is vouched for by our present Guṇṭupalli record itself by referring to the lands gifted to the Buddhists as being located in the neighbourhood of the lands of the orthodox Brahmīns (sāṁanta-bhāṭavara-bhū, line 18) which were excluded from the gift. Thus, the religion of the Buddha lived a healthy life in the midst of the Vedic religion and the monastic disciplines of early days were continued to be practiced (as indicated by the decree part of our record, describing the followers of the Buddha and their sthavīra). All these do testify to the comparative vigour and prosperity

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1 cf. Kṛita-Tretā-Dvāparēśhu tapō yaññah praśasyate / munayostra praśamsantī danam ēkam kalau yuge //

See above, Vol. XXXII, p. 75.
2 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 58.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 136.
that Buddhism enjoyed in the coastal Andhra region, as elsewhere too in the north during the
age.\footnote{1}

In the extant portion of the record we read the names of four geographical units. Of
them, the first one is Vēngipura, the capital of the Śālankayanas. It has been already
identified with the modern Peda-Vēgi,\footnote{2} a village near Eluru, the headquarters of the taluk
of that name in the West Godavari District. The reading of the names of the other three places
is uncertain. We have doubtfully read them as Vachada-vishaya, Bhūtattandaka-grāma and
Nātava-vishaya. Of them the former two are obviously the district and village where the gift
land of the charter was situated. The third geographical unit, viz., the Nātava-vishaya, as we
hinted earlier, could have been a district or an administrative unit over which Nāgaraja might
have ruled as a subordinate. I confess that I am unable to identify any of these three
geographical units. The Brāhami inscriptions from Guṇṭupalli of the first century A.D.\footnote{3}
refer to the locality of the Buddhist site in Guṇṭupalli as Nāgaparvata. This name is not traceable
in the available portion of the epigraph.

\textbf{TEXT*}

1  Sva[...\*] Śrī-Vijaya-Vēngipurā\* [\*] Śālankā-kul-āmal-akaśa-Śāsānkasya
    Bhagavat-Tam[m]ra\*bhaktyā krita-dharmma-nava ..\*\footnote{3}

2  Vīṣṇugriha-chāturvaidya-śal-ady-anēka-vidha-punya-karmma\*paripūta-yaśaś-
    śarirasya\* nāna-praka[r]\*...\footnote{4}

\footnote{1} See R. Sathianathier, op. cit., pp. 228–29. In this context it may also be good to remember that Śaṅkarācārya, the most
vociferous teacher of the age of Vedic revivalism (and also perhaps Kumārila-bhaṭṭa) did not condemn the religious aspect or any religious practice of Buddhism, even though he spared no rain in refuting the philosophy of the Buddhists.

\footnote{2} Above, Vol. IX, p. 58.

\footnote{3} Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 274 ff.

\footnote{4} From an inked estampage and a photograph of an estampage received from the Director (Epigraphy), Mysore.

\footnote{5} The final t is written in diminutive form below the line.

\footnote{6} The reading could be -tāmbra as well. Another probable, but doubtful reading, as stated above, is Bhagavat-
[Sa]m[bh]bhaktyā.

\footnote{7} Some two or three letters that are lost here are perhaps Śīva or śrī Śīva.

\footnote{8} Here the adjective sāleśa, directly qualifies karmma. Hence, the latter word seems to have been used to mean 'kārya' or 'the result of an act', as in the Upanishadic passage 'yasya va ātman vā vikātya' (Kausitakī Upanishad 4.18).

\footnote{9} Indeed He should be realised whose work (result of whose work) is this Universe. See Śrī Śaṅkara under BrahmaSūtra 1.4.6; and the grammatical rule kiśābhāvē karmāni cha manin (Umaśītara, 4.145). In English too the word work means both 'an effort' (or 'act') as well as 'the result of an act'.

\footnote{6} Here the intended vīgraha is dhammāḥ cha Śīva-Vīṣṇu + sāleśa punya-karmāni cha, dharma++ karmāni (a Dvandva compound), kṛiti cha tāni dharma++ karmāni cha (a Karmadhāraya compound); taśb paripūtān yāśa
    śātraṇa yasya, tasya (a BahuVṛtī compound).

\footnote{7} Only the head of ra is visible. The three letters, that might have been lost here, may be restored as viṣhaya.
rasa-vijayasya Maharaja-sadriśa-dhana-visarggasya bhūpati-sattamas [ya]…

varmma-dharmma-mahārājasya prapautrāḥ day-anukampa-parāyanasya-ānēkā-
śata-sahasra-hi…

[ji]ya-taru-pradan-ārijita-dharmmasya3 praṇāna[m] hitakarasya śrī-Nandivarmm-
amahārajasya [pautrabh]4…

tr-ōpakār-āpakāra-āpkāras-pratikārasya pratāp-ōpanata-sāmantasya prabhūtā-
prak[ā]5…

dasya dvit-paksha-āchāṇ-dāndasya mahāraja-Āchāṇdammanarḥ putrōbhagavach-
Chitra6

nuddhyatō bappa-bhāṭaraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ=parama-bhagavataḥ=Śalānkāyana-
vanśa-prabhavō7

=[sama]ljpāyaya10

[als]malt-kula-gōtr-11 abhivṛddhayē-12[dhūtvara]…[daśabala-sukrita-balinas=
tyāga]13

14-bhagavatō Buddhasya sīshyāṇāṃ sa[dmano] bhara[nārtham] shasṭhē[ndri]y15-
ōdbhūt-ānubhūta16

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1 What we have lost here are obviously the three syllables śrī-Hasti.
2 This mutilated expression may be restored as hirnya-gō-bhu.
3 The word dharmma is used here in the sense of ‘merit’ acquired by means of pious acts. cf., the sage of dharmma in line 1 above signifying the pious acts themselves.
4 This word is mutilated. After this, we have perhaps lost some three syllables like ishan-mā.
5 Some five or four letters we have lost here might have been ma-dhana-śra6.
6 The complete expression must have been originally Chitraratha-svāmi-pād-ānudhyatō.
7 What we have lost here is obviously mahāraja-śrī-(five syllables)
8 The reading of this name of the geographical unit is doubtful. Vā is found in diminutive form above the preceding ‘ṛṇmā.
9 The reading of this village-name is also doubtful.
10 The six or seven syllables that are lost here could have been ti । sati chāyam grāmāh.
11 The Amarakōśa recognises kula and gōtra as synonyms meaning ‘family’. But this tautological peculiarity is almost invariably found in all the Śālakāyana records, both Prakrit and Sanskrit.
12 These mutilated expressions in this line remind us of dhātu-vara-parigrītasya (above, Vol. XX, p. 18, inscription B4, line 3); and daśa-bala-balinaḥ puunya-jiśāna-sambhāra-bhārasya (VTT., p. 154). These are the epithets of the Buddha and of the Buddha-sangha as the case may be.
13 About eight to ten akṣharas seem to have been lost here.
14 One letter is broken off and lost here.
15 Shasthrāndriya is the same as manas ‘mind, the internal organ’. Cf. manāḥ shasthāna=tāryāni (Bhagavadgītā, 15.7).
16 Some seven akṣharas seem to have been lost here.
1. varshshino=kshullak²-ānanda-sthavira-Vasup[thählhr̥yaya?] Na[t]a[vishayē a³
2. [Na?]garajaṇa ōtamanah punya-pratapa-satya-yāsō⁴......... vihara-ni⁵
3. 'siddhārthakānām vima .. 'ritaḥ⁷......... tō⁸ .. vasi[nē]⁹-
4. sthanavaraya sarvā-bhūta-śaranāya¹¹....... varishṭhay=ō¹²-
5. [ya]tivarāya a-chandr-ārkka-тарaka-prithi¹⁴
6. [saddhāmasya] vihāra¹⁵ ...dāya-pradēyam¹⁶
7. dadhy=atakra=¹⁷....... sāmanta-bhaṭṭavara-[bhu-parihāram]¹⁸...........
8. [ra]d-anghri [bhyah] Buddhaśishyēbhyyah sa²⁰ ...........
9. kā dat[t]ā [sam] 4²² iti ll Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhu[kta bahu]bhiṣ=ch=ānu²³
21 -tadā phalam l [1 ll*] Shashti-varshsha-sahasra[ni svargge ti
22 ..... 3narake vasāt l [2 ll*] Bhūmi-dānāt=parān=dānan=na bhūtan=na bhāvi
23 5vishyati l [3 ll*] Yathā chandramasō vriddhir=ahany=ahani [jāyatē l tathā] bhūmi-
kritam pu.

1 The single letter that is lost here is evidently sya.
2 The rest of the verse in this line, can be restored as shṛhati bhūmidatā l akṣheptā ch=ānumantā cha.
3 Restore tāny=ēva.
4 The fourteen syllables we have lost here are shyati l tasyaṁ hapāt-pāpan=na bhūtan=na.
5 Restore bha here.
6 The rest of this verse is -nyam sasyē sasyē vivardhatē l
The two inscriptions edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, were found engraved on two slabs built into the ceiling of the Śiva temple at Korrapādu in the Jammalamadugu Taluk, Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh during the year 1940-41. The texts of both these records have been published with brief introduction in the *Inscriptions of Cuddapah District*, Vol. I as Nos. 43 and 46. They are being re-edited here with improvements in reading in view of their interesting nature. They will be referred to hereunder as A and B for the sake of convenience. These two records are in Telugu-Kannada characters, palaeographically assignable to the 8th century A.D. and their language is Telugu. Of these two inscriptions, the first one belongs to the reign period of Kirttivarman who is identical with the second king of that name in the Vatapi Chalukya family who is known to have ruled from 743 to 753 A.D.

As regards the palaeography of A some of the features are comparable to the Turimella epigraph of Vikramaditya I.² In the case of va in vari (line 4), medial a is indicated by a shaft at top of the letter as in ta occurring in the Turimella epigraph. The letter e in ela in line 9 is the only initial vowel found employed in this inscription. The cursive form of mute l occurs in rājul (line 10) and maṟutul (line 12).

Attention may be drawn to the occurrence of initial a and i (lines 1 and 3 respectively) in B. Other features are as found in A. In inscription B, lines 4 to 6 are written in perpendicular alignment to the earlier three lines.

A contains some words of lexical interest such as the archaic expressions paṭṭu³ (lines 5 and 7) meaning either ‘capital’ or ‘seat’ or ‘royal bestowal’ or ‘fief’ and pāla meaning ‘on behalf of’. In the record B, sandhi has not been observed in the case of Perbaña + adhiraju (line 1).

It belongs to the reign period of Kirttivarman II who is endowed with the usual imperial titles. The inscription is not dated. It states that Bānaraju was administering Pambulgi on behalf of the emperor, that Perbaṇādhiraja was administering Lavanur on behalf of Bānaraju and that Kupppadiyara was administering Korpaparu on behalf of Perbaṇādhiraja.

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1 A.R.Ep., 1940-41, Nos. B 418 and 419.
The object of the epigraph is to record the grant of 4 maruturu of land measured by the rājamaṇa measure of the standard of thirteen extended arms at Korrāparīti by Perbhānadhirāja to the deity Aditya-bhataarar (Sun god).

B

Inscription B introduces Perbhāna-adhirāja without any reference to his overlords. In this record, it is stated that he made a gift of one maruturu of land probably to a certain Rachamallu of Majavura. The gift seems to have been made on the occasion of an eclipse (grahāna, not specified).

The mention of the Bānas as the feudatories of the Chalukya emperor Kirttivarman, and as administering on his behalf Pambulgi is of historical importance. It would be of interest to note that in a record at Chāmalurū, one Bānarāju is mentioned as ruling Pambulīggi in the 22nd year of the reign of the king Prithivīvallabha Vijayādītya.[3]

The reference to Bana chiefs in the various records of the Chalukyas of Bādami from Anantapur District, especially from the Tādapatri region, is of considerable importance. All these inscriptions belong to the reigns of Vinyādītya, Vijayādītya and Kirttivarman II.[3] One of these, belonging to the reign of Kirttivarman II, found at Chandana[4] and palaeographically assigned to c. 8th century mentions Bānarāja as ruling over Suramāra-vishaya (Turamāravishaya), a sub-division in the Guttī region of Anantapur District.

It is known that the Bānas, who were ruling over the region covered by the Ceded districts, which included this territory, were subjugated by the Chalukyas during the reign of Pulakesīn II.[5] The main branch of the Bāna family, called Brihad-Bāna,[6] from whom the first Kadamba king Mahāraśarman (c. 332-57 A.D.) levied tribute, migrated from their ancestral dominions to further south, to the Pallava dominions, where they once again paid allegiance to the Pallavas. But, nevertheless, scions of the main family viz., the Perbhāna family, to which the members settled in the Ceded districts are known to have belonged, continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chalukyas as revealed by Vijayādītya’s Koṭṭuru inscription.[7] Another record of Vijayādītya at Dānulapadu[8] refers to one Bhūpādītya who has been identified with Bhujangadī Bhūpādītya of the Perbhāna family figuring in the

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1 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 206-07. It is stated that the mention of rājamaṇa implies a strong central administration. It may be noted that this expression occurs in a similar context in an early Telugu record of 7th century from Uruuru in Cuddapah District. Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 229).
2 Ibid., Vol. XXVII, p. 242.
3 Ibid., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 331 ff.
6 Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 32, verse 15.
7 Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 69 ff. and plate.
Arakaṭavēmula inscription of Śrīvallabha (i.e., Vikramaditya I). A fragmentary record from Peddapasupula in the Cuddapah District mentions a chief Bhupaditya as the ruler of Renādu. Though the name of the overlord of this chief is not recorded in the above inscription, yet it may be surmised that he is identical with his namesake who figures in the Arakaṭavēmula and Dānavulapādu epigraphs. In the Arakaṭavēmula and the Chilamakūru inscriptions, there is reference to the Perbana family (Per-Bānava[ā]. Our epigraphs also make a specific reference to the title Per-Banadhiraṇa held by the Bana chiefs.

The place Pāmbulgi has been identified with Hāvalige in the Gooty Taluk of Anantapur District. It was once the capital of a branch of the Bana family as early as the period of Vijayaditya (696-733 A.D.) of the Chalukya family. Lavanur, the place of rule of the chief Perbanadhiraṇu, may be identified with its namesake in Jammalamadugu Taluk of Cuddapah District. It is on the Kadiri Road, located about seven miles from the confluence of Chitrāvatī and Pennār rivers. The village Korrapariti and Majavura, from where the lands have been granted, can be identified respectively with Korrapaḍu and Majuvur. A village of the latter name is mentioned in Nerur plates of Vijayaditya as having been granted by Chalukya Vikramaditya II.

A.

TEXT

1 Svasti [*]Kṝnti varma.
2 Satyasrāya-Sri Pri[Prithu(thi)viva[Ilabha]-
3 [ma*]hari[adhi(dhi)rāja-parama[svaru*]
4 [la] vāri pāla Baṇarāj[1 Pām]-
5 [b]ullgi patta[gan=]elu vari[pā*]-
6 [la] Perbanadhiraṇu Ṭa[va*]-
7 [nu]ru patta[gan=]elu vari[pā*]-
8 [la*] Kuppadiyāru Koṛrpa-
9 [ru] elu Perbanadhī-
10 Ṭajul Koṛrapariti

5 From ink impression.
6 The ṛpha sign in conjunct letter is clear.
7 In la, the stroke of the lower loop alone is visible with slight traces of the talakattu.
8 Only a part of the letter is seen.
11 pa[du]1 [må]ru råjamåna[mbu*]
12 nàlugu mårutul nela-
13 [n=Å]2ditya-bhaṭararikkin=ichchi[ri*]
14 [dèniki] bakrambu2 vachchu-
15 [vå]nr compound [vå]nr compound
16 [på]ranu[m] vê-gavila[u[m] vê-se-
17 [ru]vulu[m] vê-kanyalu[m] la[chchi*]-
18 [nålvanragu] [!*] Kusala manda-
19 [gå]mbunaku nilpina sattiga7

B.

TEXT7

1 Svasti [!*] Śrī Perbana-adhirāju
2 Majavura Ṛachamallu
3 mårutturlu nela ichchiri grahanā
4 dêniki vakrabu vachchu-
5 vårnu pâčha-ma
6 hâpataku(ku)nragu [!*]

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1 This letter is not clearly engraved.
2 The curve for n length in n=Aditya is slightly seen.
4 Read as bårânasī.
5 May also be read as ja.
6 Stops here.
7 From ink impressions.
No. 13—CHANUGONDΛA INSCRIPTION OF RÄCHEYARÄJU

(1 Plate)

S.S. Ramachandramurthy, Mysore

The subjoined inscription, edited with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore is found engraved on a pillar in the Nāgalingēśvarsvāmi temple at Chanugondla, Kurnool Taluk and District, Andhra Pradesh. It has been noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 1960-61, as No. 28 of Appendix B.

The epigraph is engraved in Telugu language and characters of the 10th century. Palaeographical features are regular for the period and do not call for any special remarks. Initial vowels a (line 8), i (lines 2, 3 and 13) and i (line 9) occur in this record. The following orthographical features are noteworthy. The expression velgadu (dry land, line 4), as a type of land is very interesting in that the suffix gadu may be compared with its counterpart in rēgadu which also denotes a different type of land. The term gadu is the same as the Telugu word kada, meaning ‘ground’, ‘place’ etc. The word velgadu occurs in later inscriptions as veli-nēla or veli-volamu, the suffix gadu being replaced by nēla or vo(or po)lamu, which also mean the same. It may be noted that class nasal is used in the place of anusvāra throughout the inscription, except in the expressions ta(ta)rakambu (line 8) and Bhalasirintha (line 14) where anusvāra is used. The nominative suffix in the expression Nāgeśvarammu (line 1) deserves attention in that the more usual form occurring in this period is “thubu, as seen in “tarakantu (line 8) in the present inscription itself. The use of um as conjunctive suffix in Bharanasiyum=alismā (lines 11-12) is an early feature.

The record is not dated but may be assigned to the 10th century on the basis of palaeography as has already been stated.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word svasti and proceeds to record the grant of land to Śrī-Nageśvarambu, i.e. the temple of the god Nageśvara by a certain Rācheyarājju (lines 1-2). Lines 3-8 give details about the extent of land so granted which are as follows: rēgadu (black cotton soil) : 20 maruturu; velgadu (dry land) : 10 maruturu; tīrtha-vari-chēnu: 12 maruturu and kasila-chēnu: 9 maruturu. Reference to the last two types of lands during

1 While vari-chēnu means ‘paddy field’, the meaning of the prefix tīrtha- is not clear. However, it may be suggested that it may mean land yielding a thick or nutritious variety of rice. cf. Kittel’s Kas-Eng. Dictionary wherein is given the word dindu which means among other things ‘stout, thick, nutritious’, etc.

2 By kasila-chēnu is perhaps meant ‘a field from which underground water was oozing out. cf. Kittel op.cit., wherein the word kasi is given the meaning of ‘to ooze, to tackle, to flow’.
this period is an uncommon feature. Line 9 specifies that the gift-land is situated in (the village) Cheḍullakunda. Lines 10-13 contain the usual imprecatory passage. Lines 13-14 state that a certain Bhalasirigha-bhaṭaralu was the owner of the land, implying probably that the gift-land was entrusted to his care. The figure of linga and the figure of couchant bull facing the linga are engraved at the bottom of the slab intercepting the letters in the last line.

The main interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it refers to a certain Račheyarāju as the donor. Taking the characters and provenance of the record into consideration we may identify Račheyarāju with one of the subordinate chiefs of Raśṭrakūṭa Krishna III (939-66/67 A.D.) whose empire included the Cuddapah-Kurnool region in Andhra Pradesh. An inscription1 from Nāyakallu (Kurnool District), dated Śaka 880 (967 A.D.), belonging to the reign of Akālavarga Prithvivallabha (i.e., Raśṭrakūṭa Krishna III), refers to mahāsāṃanta Nanni-saluṭki Račhamalla as a ruling chief. It is obvious that he belonged to the Chaḷukya stock and that he was ruling the Kurnool region as a subordinate of his imperial master Krishna III. The characters and provenance of the present inscription as also the similarity between the names Račhamalla and Račheyarāju tempt us to identify Račheyarāju with Račhamalla of the Nāyakallu inscription. In this context it may be noted that Chanugondla, the findspot of the inscription in question and Nāyakallu are both situated in the Kurnool Taluk itself and that they are not far from each other. That the chiefs belonging to the Chaḷukya lineage were serving the Raśṭrakūṭas as their subordinates is evidenced by many inscriptions apart from the Nāyakallu epigraph referred to above. The Ballatgi (Dhawwar District, Karnataka) inscription,2 belonging to the second half of the 8th century, refers to a certain Balavarma who is described as Chaḷukya-kula-tīḷa[*]ka and who is identified with his namesake referred to in Vādapalli (Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh) and Korrapadu³ (Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh) inscriptions and in a copper-plate charter of Gōvinda III⁴ and is taken to be a subordinate of the Raśṭrakūṭa king. A mahāsāṃanta Katyara of the Chaḷukya family is referred to as ruling Kōgali-500 and Māsiyavādi-140 as a subordinate chief of Kannaradeva (i.e., Raśṭrakūṭa Krishna III) in an inscription from Bagali (Bellary District, Karnataka), dated 944-45 A.D.⁵ However, the final identification of Račheyarāju of our inscription with Račhemalla of the Nāyakallu inscription will have to await further epigraphical corroboration.

The only geographical name that occurs in this inscription is Cheḍullakunda and it is identical with the findspot of the record.

2 Ibid., 1961-62, No. B 547. Here the name of Balavarma was wrongly read as Kalivarma.
4 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 11 ff. The genuineness of this charter is not above suspicion.
5 SII, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 64.
CHANUGONDLA INSCRIPTION OF RÄCHEYARÄJU
TEXT

1 Svasti [ l*l*] Śrī-Na(Na)gēśvarammunaku R[a]-
2 cheyarājula ichchina bhūmi
3 iruvadi maruturu rēgaḍu
4 padi maruturu velgaḍu
5 tinḍla-vari-chēnu pandrendu
6 maruturu kasila-
7 chēnu tomidi maru-
8 turu a-chandra-ta(ta)rakambu-
9 na i Cheḍullakundan-ichchina
10 datti [ l*l*] dinin=alisinavaru
11 kavilanu pa(pā)ranu Bha(Vā)rana(na)-
12 siyum=alisina pa(pā)pa-
13 mb-agu [ l*l*] i bhūmi galava(vā)ru
14 Bhalasimgha-bhaṭaralu [ l*l*]

1 From inked estampages.
2 Read - vārīki.
No. 14—NĀLĀNṬĀ INSCRIPTION OF DHARMMAPĀLADĒVA,
YEAR 4

(1 Plate)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The inscription edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore was discovered during the excavations conducted at Nalanda in 1977. It is engraved on a votive stone stupa below which are engraved the figures of the Buddhas in dhyāna-mudrā or bhūmisparsa-mudrā. The inscription is in two lines. The average size of the letters is 1.2 cm. On the left side of line 1 is carved in relief the figure of a dharma-chakra flanked on either side by an elephant with its trunk raised up in adoration. The elephant in Buddhist mythology represents the Buddha and recently a painting of an elephant with an inscription engraved on it was discovered in the same place on the pedestal of a colossal broken statue of the Buddha very near the votive stone stupa on which the present inscription is engraved. This carving, however, is unique and not so far met with in Nalanda for, in the seals discovered from that place, representations of the dharma-chakra, flanked on either side by a deer, are generally seen and it has been interpreted as indicating the Buddha’s first sermon at Sarnāth. It is also incidentally the emblem of the Pālas of Bengal. Only in some seals where Gajalakshmi is represented, an elephant flanking on either side of the goddess is found. Above the second line, on a portion of the stone which has been slightly raised up to form a border, a row of lotuses is engraved in relief. The inscription has been published by Shri V. Mishra. Since the reading of the text given by him is incomplete and faulty, the same is being re-edited from a fresh set of stampages taken during my visit to Nalanda in March 1979.

The language of the record is Sanskrit which is not free from errors of grammar and orthography. The characters belong to the East Indian variety of the Proto-Nāgari script of about the 8th century A.D. and they can be compared with those of another inscription of Dharmmapāla from Nalanda itself. The palaeographical features do not call for any special remarks.

1 The first line of the inscription reads as śṛiprachanda-hasti (the impetuous elephant) probably referring to the painting of the elephant on which it is engraved (sec. AR Ep., 1978-79, No. II 42). The representation of elephant is seen as early as the time of Aśoka symbolising the Buddha as found in Girnar, Kālsi and Dhauli (See Inscriptions of Aśoka by D.C. Sircar, p. 16).
2 This appears to be the same image that was caused to be installed by Pūrṇavarman alias Prathamaśiva in the 7th-8th centuries A.D. (AR Ep., 1975-76, No. B. 72; above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 117 f.).
3 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 290.
4 MASL, No. 66, pp. 49, No. S.I., 794.
5 QJMS, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 45 ff.
6 This has been noticed in the AR Ep., 1978-79 as No. B 41.
7 MASL, No. 66, pp. 85 ff.
The inscription begins with a symbol standing for the auspicious word siddham. It may be noted that the same symbol is repeated at the beginning of line 2 wherein it either merely signifies the commencement of a fresh line or may be indicative of the commencement of the effective portion of the text. Then follows the usual Buddhist formula ye dharmā hētu prabhāva, etc. The inscription thereafter refers itself to the reign of Dharmmapaladeva who is no doubt identical with the Pala king of the same name who flourished in the 8th century A.D. Then follows the date of the record which is given as the 4th year of the reign of Dharmmapalā, Vaiśākha pūrṇimā. After this, the purport of the record is given which is, however, left incomplete. It is stated that a goldsmith (survarṇakara) by name Vajjaka did something for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings beginning with his parents. The act which Vajjaka did could probably be conjectured as the construction of the miniature votive stūpa on which the present epigraph is engraved.

Two other inscriptions of Dharmmapalā are already known from Nalanda. But this inscription is interesting since it is the only dated epigraph of Dharmmapalā from Nalanda. It is known that Dharmmapalā had to face great adversaries viz., the Pratihara king Vatsaraja and the Rashtrakūτa king Dharavarsha in the early part of his reign. The present epigraph shows that the region around Nalanda was under the sway of Dharmmapalā in the 4th year of his reign.

TEXT

1 Siddham6 [||*] Ye dharmā hētu prabhāva hētuṁ ta(te)shan=tathāgato ha (hy=a) vyan (va)[dat*] teshām cha yo nirodha evam vadi mahaśrāman[ha*] [||*]

2 Šri Dharmmaprā(pa)ladeva-viṣayā-rajye sanvart 4 Vou(Vai)śākha pūrṇnmasahas || Sū(Su)varṇakara || Vajjakasya8 mata-pi(pi)tri-pūrvāṅgamam9 kṛtva sakala-satva(ttva)-raśe-nratta10

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1 This day is very important in the Buddhist Calendar, known as a thrice sacred day being the day of birth, awakening and death of the Buddha.
2 The word déya-dharmo-yam has been omitted in the inscription.
3 Nalanda plate of Dharmmapaladeva (Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 290 ff.) ; Fragmentary stone inscription of Dharmmapaladeva (MASL, No. 66, p. 85 ff.).
4 History of Bengal (ed. by R.C. Majumdar).
5 From impressions.
6 Expressed by a symbol.
7 On the left side is engraved another Siddham symbol, as in the beginning of line 1, indicating the commencement of line 2.
8 Read déya-dharmo-yam to complete the sense.
9 Read mātā-pitrā-pūrvāṅgamam.
10 Read *raśe-anutīra-jīān-avāptaye.
No. 15—DANA PLATES OF DHRUVASÈNA(II) BĀLĀDITYYA, 
YEAR 314

(2 Plates)

S.P. Tewari, Mysore

A set of photographs of the copper-plate inscription edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was received in his office in 1980 from the Director of Archaeology, Gujarat State, Ahmedabad. As per the information provided by the said Director of Archaeology, the plates were discovered at the village Dana, Kapadvanj Tahsil, Kaira District, Gujarat, sometime in the year 1979.

The plates are two in number having writing on the inner sides only and measuring roughly 33 cm × 26 cm each with raised edges all round for the protection of the writing. There are two round holes at the bottom side of the first and the top side of the second plate for the rings, holding the plates together, to pass through. From the photograph of the seal supplied to us separately, it may be safely concluded that one of the rings had a seal attached to it. On the countersunk surface of the seal is the legend śri-BhatakkhaH which is separated from the figure probably of a bull on the upper half of the seal by two horizontal lines running parallel to each other. Information about the weight of the plates is not available to us. The edges of the lower right and left corners of the first plate and the top left corner as well as the lower right corner of the second plate are broken away, resulting in the loss of a few letters which can, however, be easily restored. Except a few lines at the top of both the first and second plates and some more letters along the left margin of the first plate and the left and right margins of the second plate which are somewhat worn out the rest of the writing is well preserved. There are respectively 22 and 21 lines of writing on the first and second plates. The lines are generally straight and the letters equal in size. As regards the palæography, language, orthography, style and the general appearance of the plates, they have much in common with the published and well-known charters of the king Dhruvasena II Baladitya and, therefore, do not call for any special remarks.

The charter was issued from Valabhi by king Dhruvasena(II) Baladitya who is introduced in lines 1-32, in the style of his other records, as the younger brother of Dharasena(III), son of Kharagraha(I) who was the younger brother of Śiladitya(I) Dharaditya, son of Dharasena(II), who was the son of Guhasena, a descendant of Bhataraka of the Maitraka dynasty.

The grant is dated in the Gupta Valabhi year 314 (633-34 A.D.), Mārgaśīra, ba. 12 which is important for the fact that it fills in the gap in Dhruvasena's reign from 313 to 319 (i.e., 632-638 A.D.). As noticed by the scholars earlier, the records of the time of Dhruvasena, though fairly regular in occurrence before the year 313 and after the year 319, leave a gap of six years (i.e., from the year 313 to the year 319) in between for which period no record of the king was hitherto found. And this non-availability of the records for these years had given rise to the surmise that probably this interval was marked by confusion resulting from

1 See, Ancient History of Saurashtra by K.J. Virji, pp. 72-73 and the appendices V.F.
the invasion of the Valabhi kingdom by Harsha and its aftermath. Now the discovery of our record of the year 314 not merely fills in the gap between the years 313 and 319, but also disproves any claim that Harsha’s invasion had rendered Dhruvasena’s authority ineffective. In this case, the expression śri-Dhruvasena kuśali (lines 32-33) of our record, though stereotyped and conventional, is also meaningful.

The main object of the inscription is to register the grant of the village Dayantaka, included in Mahishaka-padraka of Khēkakāhāra-vishaya, in favour of the brahmana Bhaṭṭi Vishṇu, son of Bhaṭṭisvāmi, belonging to... gōtra and the Bahvricha-sākhā (lines 34-35) who was the resident of Ānarttapura. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the privileges usually attached to such gifts as recorded in the copper-plate charters of the Maitrakas. It may, however, be noticed that the boundaries of the gift village Dayantaka are not enumerated in the record.

The executor of the grant was samanta Śilāditya (line 42) who is generally identified with prince Śilāditya, the son of Dērabhaṭṭa of the Vindhya region.2 He is already known to have officiated as dītaka up to the year 319 (638-39 A.D.) falling in Dhruvasena’s reign. The document was written by sandhīvīgrahādhikrita divirapati Vattrabhaṭṭi (line 42-43) who is already known as the writer of many other grants of the Maitraka rulers like Śilāditya I, Kharagraha I and Dharasena III,3 and whose name has often been wrongly quoted as Vatpabhaṭṭi,4 Chandrabhaṭṭi,5 Vaśabhaṭṭi,6 Vaṣabhaṭṭa and Chatrabhaṭṭi8 also. The present charter is probably one of the last, if not the last, written by Vattrabhaṭṭi, for the records of Dhruvasena issued from the year 319 onwards are found written by Skandabhaṭṭa, the son of Vattrabhaṭṭi. Hitherto, since the last grant written by Vattrabhaṭṭi belonged to the year 313 it was thought by the scholars that, Skandabhaṭṭa took over the office of lekhaka from him as early as about 314 (633-34 A.D.).9 But from our record it is made clear that Vattrabhaṭṭi was very much in office till the year 314.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter under review, Ānarttapura, of which the donee was a resident, has been identified by some with the well-known Dvārakā and by others with Ānandapura (Vadnagar), Mehsana District, Gujarat.10 Ānarttapura is mentioned in the Amreli Museum Plates of Dhruvasena,11 also as the place where the donee of that charter resided. Inscriptions belonging to dynasties other than the Maitraka mention

1 K.J. Virji, op. cit., p. 72.
2 Ibid., p. 76.
3 Bhandarkar’s list Nos. 1340, 1342, 1346 ff.
4 Ibid., No. 1337.
5 Ibid., No. 1338.
6 Ibid., No. 1341.
7 Ibid., Nos. 1349, 1351.
8 Ibid., No. 1345.
9 Virji, op. cit., p. 76.
11 Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 283-86 lines 34-35.
a region called Anartta which is generally located in North Gujarat. It is likely that Anarttapura of the Amreli Museum Plates as also the present charter, is a place situated in the Anartta region. Its name Anarttapura is perhaps suggestive of its having been the principal town of that region.

Another geographical name occurring in our record is Khēṭakāhāra-vishaya which is also referred to in some other Maitraka charters and generally identified with the region around modern Kheḍa, the headquarters of the Kaira District in Gujarat. In the same way Mahishaka-padra may be identified with the present Mahisha in the same District, and it finds mention in other records as Mahishabali situated in Khēṭakāhāra in Surashṭra. About the actual identity of the village Dayantaka it is difficult to be sure, but it is not unlikely that the present village Dana or Dena, from where the charter has been acquired, is the same as Dayantaka.

The date of the record, as pointed out above, is quoted in the last line (line 43) as the 12th day of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśira in the year 300+10+4 which is followed by the conventional endorsement svahastō mama.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Siddhamś [li+] Svasti[l] Valabhataḥ prasabha-pranat-āmitraṇām Maitrakaṇām=
atula-bala-sampanna-mandāl-ābhōga-samsaktā-prahara-sūta-labdha-

2 pratāpāt-pratāp-ōpanata-[dā]lna-mān-ārjav-ōparjjit-āṅurāgād=ānurakta-maula-
bhrīta-śrēṇi-bal=āvāpta-rājya-śriyā para-

3 ma-māhēśvarāt śrī-Bhātar-kād=avvavachchinna-rāja-vanśān=mātā⁶-piṭṛ-
charan-āravinda(nda)-pranati-pravidhaut-āśesha-kalmashaś=saiśavāt=prabṛti

4 khadga-dvitiya-bāhur=ēva samada-para-gaja-bhāt-āspoṭana-prakāśita-
satva(ttva)-nikashas=tat=prabhāva-pranat-ārati-chūḍa-rafta-

5 prabhā-samsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-sanhitā⁷ sakala-smṛiti-praṇīta-mārgga-
samyak-paripālana-praja-hridaya-raṇjan=ānvartha-rā-

6 ja-śabdō r[u]*pa-kānti-sthairyya-gāmbhiryya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ smara-śaśāṅk-
adirāj-odadhi-Tridaśaguru-Dhanēśāni=atiśayānaś=śara-

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1 See eg., the Gwalior Prāṣasti of Bhōja, above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 99 ff.
2 Virji, op. cit., p. 306.
3 Ibid., p. 306.
4 From the photographs.
5 Expressed by symbol.
6 Read "vatiśān=mātā." ⁷ Read samhātis=
7 n-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā trinavād=apāst-aśesha-svakāryya-phala-
prāthan-ādhik-ārtha-pradān-ānandita-va(vi)dvat-suhrīt-pranā-
8 yi-hridayayā pādachār=iva sakala-bhuvana-mandāl-ābhoga-pramōdāh parama-
mahēśvarah śri-Guhasēnas=tasya sutas=tat=pāda-na-
9 kha-mayūkha-sanitana-vistrita-Jāhnavi-jal=augha-prakshālit-aśesha-kalmashāh
pranayi-saṭa-saḥsar=ōpajivyamāna-sampad=rūpa-
10 [lobhā]=iv=āśritas=sa-rabhasam=ābhigamikair=guṇais=saḥaja-śakti(kti)-
śikṣā-viśeṣāsha(vismāpīt-ākhila-dhanurddharaḥ pratama-nara-
11 pati-samatisṛishṭānām=anupalayita dharmma-dayānām=apākartiṇā praj-
opaghātakārinām=upaplavān[ṃ*] darśayita Śri-Sāra-
12 svatyōr=ek-ādhivässasya sanātārāti-pakṣa-lakṣmi-paribhoga-dakṣa-vikramo
vikram-ōpasamprāpta-vimala-pārthivā-śriḥ paramamahēśvarah
13 śri-Dharasēnas=tasya sutas=tat=pādānudhyātās=sakala-jagad-anandan-
ātyadvahuta-guṇa-sama(mu)daya-sthagita-samagra-dīnmandalas=2=samara-
14 śata-vijaya-śobhā-sanātha-mandāla-grā-亚马逊-bhāsuratarānaṣa=3-pith-ōdūdha-guru-
manoratha-mahābhāratah sarvva-vidyā-par-apara-vibhā-
15 g-ādhigama-vimala-maṭīri=api sarvvaṭas=subhashita-lavēn=api sukh-ōpap-
daniya-paritōshas=samagra-lōk-āgadha-gāmbhiryya-hrida-
16 yo=pi sucharit-ātisaya-suvaṭya(vya)kta-parama-kalyāṇa-svabhavah khilīhūta-
Kri(Kri)ta-yuga-nripati-patva-visōdhana=ādhigat=ōdagra-kirttir=ddharrhīṃ-ā-
17 nuparodh-ojvalatari-kri(kri)tārtha-sukha-sampad-upā(upa)śeva-nirūdhā-
Dharmmādvita-nāma paramamahēśvarah śri-Śilādityas=tasya=ā[ṃ]-
18 jas=tat=pād-ānudhyātāḥ svayam=Upendra-gurun=eva gurun-ātyādaradha(va)tat
samabhishashaṇyam=api rājalakṣmi[ṃ*] skandha-asaktam parama-bhadra [i]-
19 va dhuryyas= tad-ajñā-sa(sam)pādan=aika-rasatay=āiv=ōdvahan-kheda-sukha-
ratibhayaḥ=anāyāṣita-satva(tva)-svaṁpattih prabhāva-sampad-vaśikrita-nripa[ti]-
20 śata-śīro-ratna-chchhāy-ōpagūḍha-pāda-pīthō=pi [par-āvajñ-a]bhimaṇa-rasān-
ālingita-manö-vṛttih pranatim=ekāṁ parītyajya prakhyāta-pauru[sh-a]-
21 [stra-kauṣal-ātisaya]-ganatitha-vipaksha-kshītipati-lakṣmi-svāyamgraḥa-
prakāśita-pravira-purushāḥ prathamā-sankhyāādhigama[ṛ pa]-
22 ramamahēśvaraḥ śri-Kharagrahah=tasya tanayas=tat=pād-ānudhyātāḥ sakala-
vidyā-ādhigama-vihita-nikhila-vidvajā(ī)=ja)na-manah-pa[ṛitiṣh-a].

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1 Read sanhāt-.  
2 Read āṃ-ādhigama-.  
3 Read "tarānta-.  

Second Plate

23 tišaya[h*] satva(ttau)-sampaḍa tyāg=audāryyēna cha vigat=ānusandhān=āśa(sa)māhit=ārati-paksha-manorath=ākshabhāngas=samyag=upalakshit=āneka-

24 śāstra-kala-lōka-charita-gahvara-vibhāgō=pi parama-bhadra-prakri(kri)tir=akri(kri)trima-prāśraya-vinaya-śōbhā-vibhūshānas=ṣamara-śata-ja-

25 ya-patēka-harana-pratyat=ōdagra-bāhu-danda-vidhvansita1-nikhila-pratipaksha- darpp-ōdayah svadhah=prabhava-paribhūt-āstra-kausāl-abhīma-

26 na-sakala-nṛpati-maṇḍal-ābhinandita-śāsanāḥ paramamāheśvarah &ri- Dharasenaḥ=tasyānujāśata=pad-ānuddhyātah sach-charit=atiṣayita-[sa]kala- pūrvva-nara-

27 pa[tir]=ati-duṣadhanam=api prasādhayīta vishayānām-mūrttimān=iva purusha- kāra-parivṛddha-guna-anurāga-nirbhara-chitta-vṛttibhir=Manur=iva svyam= abhyu[pa]-

28 pannah prakritibhir=adhigata-kala-kalāpah=kāntimān=nirvṛiti-hētur=akalankaḥ Kumudanathah praṇaya-pratāpa-sthagita-dig-antarālaḥ pradhvansita2-dhvānta-


30 nishnatah prakṛṣṭa-vikramō=pi karuṇa-mṛdu-hṛdayāḥ śrutavān=apy=agarvitah kāntō= pi prāsāmi sthira-sauhrdayyo=pi nirātā dosa[sha]vatam=udayā-

32 samaya-samupajanita-janat-anurāga-paripūdita-bhuvana-samartthana-prathita- Baladiya-dvitiya-nāmā paramamāheśvarah &ri-Dhrusenāḥ

33 [kuśa]li sarvāṇ= eva yathā-sambaddhyamānakam(kan) samajñāpayaty=asti vas=sarvviditah yathā mayā mātā-pitroḥ puny-āpyāyanāḥ=Ānartapura-nivā-

34 [si]...sagōtra Bahvṛchā-sabrahmachāriṇe brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭisvāmi-putra-brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭi-Vishname(ve) Khēṭakāhāra-vishaye Māhishaka-padrak=ānta-

35 rgata Dayantaka-grāmāḥ s-ōdrangāḥ s-ōparikaraḥ sa-bhūta-vāṭa-pratyāyah sa- dhānya-hirany=ādeyas=sa-dāsāparādah s-ōtpadyamana-vi-

36 sṛṭkah sarvā-ṛajakyanāṁ= ahasta-prakṛṣṭhaṇīyāḥ pūrva-datta-dēva- brhamādeya-brāhmaṇa-viṁsatī3-rahitam bhūmi-chchhirdra-nyāyēn=āchandṛ= ārkk-ārṇava-

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1 Read "vidhvansita."
2 Read "pradhvamsita."
3 Read "viṁsatī."
DANA PLATES OF DHRUVASENA (II) BĀLĀDITYA,
YEAR 314—PLATE II

K. V. Ramesh.

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
SEAL

K. V. Ramesh

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
37 [kṣhiti]-sarit-parvvata=saṃakālinah putra-pautr=ānvayam(ya)-bhögya udak= ātisarggeṇa dharmaṃ[dal]yō nisṛshṭo yatō=ṣy=ōchitaya brahmadāya-sthityā
38 [anaya] bhūnjataḥ kṛṣhataḥ karshayataḥ pradiśatō vā na kaiśchid=vyāṣedhē varttītavyam=āgāmi bhadrā-nilapatiḥbhir=apy=asmad=van-sajair=1 anyair=vvā anīn
39 tyāny= aśvārīyaṁ mānushyaṁ sāmānyam cha bhūmi-dana-phalam=avagachchhadḥbhir= ayam= asmad= dayō= numantavyaḥ paripāla-yitavyaḥ ch= ēty= uktam cha [1*] Bahubhi-
40 r=-vvasudhā bhuktā rajabhīṣ=Sagar-adibhiḥ [1] yasya yasya yādā bhūmis= tasya tasya tādā phalam[m [2]*] Yān=īha dārīdrya-bhayaṁ= narendraṁ= ddānāni dharmm-a-
41 yataniṅkṛitāni [1*] nirbhukta-mālīya-pratīmāṇi tāni ko nāma saḍhuh punar= addadita [2*] Shashti- varṣa sahasrāni svargghā mōdai bhūmid[1]
42 āchchhetā ch= anumantā cha tāny= ēva narakē vases[t*] [3[2]*] Dukto= tra sāmanta-Śīlādityah [2] likhitam=īdāni sandhivigrahaḥdhiṅkṛita-divirapati-
43 Vattrebaḥṭitā= Sāṃ 300 + 10 + 4 Mārgaśira ba 10 + 2 [1*] sva-hastō mama 111

1 Read "vam-sajair."
No. 16—PANJIM PLATES OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, ŚAKA 1313

(3 Plates)

S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore.

The copper-plate charter edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was received in 1962-63 from Dr. V.T. Gune, Director of Archives, Panjim, Goa through Dr. G.S. Gai, the then Government Epigraphist for India. The set was then stated to have been in the possession of the former and no other details regarding its actual findspot are available. This was noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 1962-63 as No. A 1.

This set consists of three plates with a ring and seal. The first and third plates are engraved on the inner sides only while the second has writing on both sides. Each plate measures 31 cms by 20 cms and the set weighs 3,410 gms with seal and ring. The seal is attached to the ring which is about 9 cms thick and its diameter is about 9 cms. The seal which is somewhat oval measures 4 cms by 3.75 cms and bears a human figure, on its countersunk surface, having in the right hand a kamandalu and in the raised left hand an object looking like a danda. This figure may represent Vidyāranya, an invocation to whom is given in the beginning of the charter. There are some traces of the sun and crescent on either side of the figure. The plates are deeply engraved as a result of which the writing is well preserved.

The inscription is engraved in Nāgari (lines 1-87) and Telugu (line 88-95) characters of the 14th century to which it belongs. The language is throughout Sanskrit prose and poetry and is mostly free of orthographical errors.

The palaeographical features of the record are regular to the period to which it belongs. As regards orthographical features the following are noteworthy: doubling of the consonant following the rēpha is observed in a few instances (lines 11, 13, 14, 25, 65 etc). There is no regularity in the matter of drawing the top horizontal over the Nagari letters as a result of which in some cases (as in palana, line 76 and 77) the a mātra of the previous letter appears like the prishtha-mātrā of the following letter. Attention may be drawn to the word jāithalā which is of some lexical interest. The word which denotes a coin, as it occurs in the present charter (lines 21, 22, 24), is the result of an attempt to Sanskritize the term jītal which appears to be the original form of the word.

This charter is dated Śaka 1313 (in words), Prajāpati, Chaitra-amāvāsyā, angāraka-dīna and solar eclipse corresponding to 1391 A.D., April 4, Tuesday. However, the solar eclipse actually occurred on the next day (i.e., Wednesday) and on that day the iithi ended at 23.

The purport of the inscription is to register the grant of the village Māchalapura as an agrahāra by Mādhava-maṭrī, who was ruling Gōvā as a subordinate of Harihara II, to

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1 It may be noted that the seal of the Kokke (South Kanara, Karnataka) plates of the same king, dated Śaka 1309, also bears a standing human figure facing proper right, holding a pitcher like thing by the right hand and an open umbrella by the left (AREp., 1928-29, No. A 2; Above Vol. XLII, pp. 118, ff. and plates).
2 D.C. Sircar, Indias Epigraphical Glossary, p. 136. Another Sanskritized form of this name is jithala-līttā.
12 brahmanas of different gotras and hailing from different places.

The record opens with the salutation to Sri-Maha-Ganapati followed by two well-known verses Namas-tungā (verse 1, lines 1-3) and Harēr-hālā (verse 2, lines 3-5). Then the ruling king Harihara II is introduced in lines 5-10 bearing epithets which are already well known from his other inscriptions. This is followed by the introduction of Madhava-mantri (lines 10-18) as ruling over Gōvā on the orders of the king (tan=nirūpita-Gōvā-simhasanē, line 10). He is described as vēd-ōpanishan-marga-pravartak-achārya and śrauta-smārtta-dharmma-nirata (lines 10-12). He is stated to have belonged to Bharadvaja-gotra, studied two vēdas (dvivedī) and as the son of Chauṇḍi-bhāṭa (lines 12-13). He is further stated to have consecrated the deity Saptanāthalinga (line 13). He is described as one who had obtained the kingdom as a boon by worshipping the lotus feet of the god Triyarnbakađēva (lines 14-15). The next three lines extol his valour by saying that his feet were decorated by the garland of the diadems (mauli) of the kings, that he was very skillful in protecting the kings who came from different countries and took refuge under him and that his valour was the very wild fire in burning down the families of the enemy kings which were like forests.

Lines 18-19 state that Madhava-mantri created an agrahāra in the name of his mother Māchānibikā. Verses 3 to 7 (lines 19 to 26) define the agrahāra. The village Gōvāli, yielding a revenue of 128 rāya-tāntkakas and 22 jaithalas and the village Mauli, yielding a revenue of 239 rāja-tāntkas and 12 jaithalas, the total revenue of both the villages being 367 tāntkas and 34 jaithalas, were united (as one village) and were exempted from taxes like panga (pāṅg-adi-sarva-raj-ōkta-bādhābhīh parivarjitam). These two villages, stated to have been included in the Trinśad-vāṭikā-deśa, were not only united but also a single boundary was marked for both (line 26). Verses 8 and 9 (lines 26-29) specify the boundaries of the village, which is here called as Mārchalāpura, so named after Māchānbī, the mother of Madhava-mantri. Lines 31-34 state that an embankment (ṣētu) was constructed to the tank called Mārchalā-samudra, obviously named after Māchānbī, and that a water-fall from the hill on the north-eastern side (probably of the newly created agrahāra) was named as Madhava-tirtha, obviously after Madhava-mantri himself. The waters of Madhava-tirtha and Mārchalā-samudra were given (i.e., allowed to be utilised) for rearing an areca-nut grove which had been newly planted. A village called Brahmapuri, with beautiful buildings, was also created near this (probably areca-nut grove). The date of the charter, the details of which are discussed above, is given in lines 35-37. Lines 37 to 44 register the actual grant of the village. They state that in Dvipa (i.e., Gōvā), in the presence of the deities Saptanāthadeva and Triyarnbakađēva, as brahmanas and purūhitas of his own lineage (nījanvaye) were near by, and having the groups of scholars hailing from different countries with him, Madhava-mahipāla gave away the village Mārchalāpura-agrahāra, for the merit of his mother, to twelve brahmanas, to be enumerated in the sequel, after laying their feet. The village was exempted from let and hindrance and was given away duly documented (śasānt-krītya). Lines 44 to 57 give the list of the donees, the names of their fathers, their gotras and the villages from which they hailed. The details are tabulated below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of the donee</th>
<th>Name of the donee's father</th>
<th>Gōtra</th>
<th>Native place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Keśava-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Atri</td>
<td>Kapila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Viṭhṭhala-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Amadeva-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Naidṛiva</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sōmanathā-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Keśava-paṇḍita</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>Vēra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Iśvara-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Dharma-devajña-Mārṇḍeva-paṇḍita</td>
<td>Gautama</td>
<td>Mallaura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Narasiṃha-kramavīt</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Kapila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Hāmadri-paṇḍita</td>
<td>Bhānu-paṇḍita</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>Vēra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Keśava-saḍāṅgavit</td>
<td>Gōvinda-prabhu</td>
<td>Atri</td>
<td>Kapila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Krishna-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Nārāyanā-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Naidṛiva</td>
<td>Khadga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Keśava-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Piryala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Padmanābha-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Vishnu-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Chandra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Janardana-paṭṭa-vardhanā</td>
<td>Rāmadeva-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Kaśyapa</td>
<td>Kulavana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Vamanā-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Bhānu-bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>Bhallāvali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the donees are said to be Rigved-ādhyāyins. Lines 57 to 61 stipulate certain conditions according to which if any of the donees leaves the agrahāra and migrates to any other place along with his property, his share is to be enjoyed by the remaining donees (ēśāṁ-madhye yō-‘grahāram tyaktvā sthityā sah=ānyatra gachchhati tad=bhagam sthitāh sarvē vibhajy=āśniyub); an outsider, who is allowed into the village with the consent of all (the donees) can live in that portion of the village, which is not otherwise owned, with the permission of the neighbour (or that portion of the village) (a-svāmikē-nīśe pārśvasthā-grih-anumatāyā sarvāḥ sthāpiṭo=bhyagato vaset); one's own portion can be sold or gifted away by himself only with the consent of all (the donees) (sv-āmsa-vikrayām dānam vā sarv-anumatēna kuryāt); if either selling or gifting away is done without obtaining the consent as specified above both the seller and the buyer will be subjected to punishment by the king (vīn-anumatāyā dāna-vikrayau kuryān=vikrēta kṛēta ch=ohbhav=api rājāna dandayau). Lines 62 to 67 specify gifts and taxes which are declared as the mānya of the agrahāra. These include all the gifts (sarvopadāḥ) such as samvatsara-pratipad-dipalik-opayana (gifts of the king and others for the conduct of the festival of illumination on the first day of every sarvōtsara) and some taxes, viz., taravāla-paṇṭjikā, ferry-dues pertaining to the four rivers (chaturasrīdhu nādīshu tāri-paṇṭjikā), all other śūlās and the ten dānakas of the kāruka tax levied on the lekhakas (writers), vāṇijakas (merchants), mālākāras (garland makers), nau-vāhakas (ferry men), rajakas (washermen), sthapati (architects), karmmāras (smiths), kramuki-vikrsha-bandhakas (betelnut gardeners) and charmakāras (leather goods makers) and all other artisans (kāru-prajā). Thus the agrahāra was perpetually granted as a sarvamānya exempting it from all encumbrances (sarva-bādha-vivarjita) in the presence of the pauras, jānapadas and nāgaras of all the dēsas including Shatashtra, Amruruja-12, and Gova-dēṣa-70, etc.
(lines 68-71). Lines 71 to 87 contain usual imprecatory verses (vv. 10-18). Lines 88 and 95 twice register the sign-manual Śrī-Triyambaka-Śrī. Lines 89-92 state that after having examined the relevant copper-plate charters of the Kadamba kings, etc., who had ruled earlier, the villages Kapila, Khadga, Kulavana, Mōrāmb야v-agrahāra, Pariyala and Brahmapuri were given away to the dvādaś-adhikāris, astrologers and others. The charter concludes with the injunction that the gift of these villages, as also that of Māchala-pura should be protected by the future kings.

The importance of this charter lies in the fact that though Madhava-mantri is already known to be the ruler of Gōvā, this is his first charter to be discovered as yet from that region. Secondly, the stipulations laid down while granting the agrahāra are very interesting. We already know about this Madhava-mantri through the Kukkle plates referred to above as also from a stone inscription¹ from the same place bearing the same date viz., Śaka 1309, Kali 4488 (1386 A.D.). Thus the present grant is dated four years later than the above two records.

Attention may be drawn to an inscription² from Banavasi belonging to Harihara II, dated Śaka 1309 (1387 A.D.), in which the Kukkle plates are also dated, referring to a governor of Gōvā, whose name is lost. He is endowed with the epithets Śaiv-ágama-várdhī-vardhishnu-Sudhadaka, durāmatya-duranya-duṣśásana, Rig-yajuh-sām-atharva-veda-vedantga-kauśala, paśchima-parāvara-kalita-Gōvā-nagara-virajamana-ruchira-simhasana, etc. Line 9 of the text of the same inscription refers to a Madhav-āmatya. Hence we may infer that it is he who was endowed with the epithets mentioned above. It is possible that he is identical with Madhava-mantri of our charter. However, it must be noted that he is not described in the present charter as Rig-yajuh-sām-atharva-veda-vedantga-kauśala but merely as a dvivedi. There was yet another Madhava who flourished during the same period³ but he must be considered as different from his namesake referred to in the present charter as the former belongs to Ángira-sagotra while the latter belongs to Bhāradvāja-gotra.

The geographical names mentioned in this record are tabulated below with their probable identification wherever possible:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names as occur in the charter</th>
<th>Probable identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gōvā Dvipa⁴</td>
<td>Goa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mauli-grāma</td>
<td>Maulinguem (15°35' lat; 73°55' long)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vera-grāma</td>
<td>Verem (15°30' lat; 73°45' long)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mallaura-grāma</td>
<td>Malar (15°30' lat; 73°50' long)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Khadga-grāma</td>
<td>Kadgaon (16°10' lat; 73°50' long)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Shatashhti</td>
<td>Salsette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Gōvali-grāma</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Māmini</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² *SII*, Vol. XX, No. 231.
⁴ Dvipa is nothing but a contracted form of Revati-dvipa and is identical with Gōvā. The name Revati-dvipa occurs in the Aihole inscription of Pulakešin II.—Above, Vol. VI, p. 5, text line 6.
Apart from these villages the territorial divisions viz., Gòva-deśa-saptari, Amturuja-12 and Trinśād-vātikā-deśa are mentioned. All these divisions have to be located in the present day Union Territory of Goa.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1 to 9, 11 to 18, Anushtubh; verse 10, Śalini]

First Plate

1 Sṛi (Sṛi)-Maha-Ganapataye namaḥ \ Namas=tuṅga-śira-
2 ś-churhbi-charhdra-chāmara-charavē \ trailokyā-nagar-ā-
3 ranbhā-mula-stambhāya Šāṃbhavē [1 ll]* Harer=11la-vatārasya*
4 dāṁshṭrā-damāḥ sa pātu vah \ hēm-ādri-kalasā yatra dhātri-ksha(chchha)tra-
5 śriyam dadhau \ [1 11*] Svasti, [1 ll*] śrimadh-aśesha-sāmartha-śi(sl)mamtini-
6 simarnta-sīr̥(sīṁh)-
7 dūr-anurahjit-a-charan-āravimde \ uddarhṇa-bhūpal-a-marṇḍala-bhutja-darm-
8 da-charṇḍima-khaṇḍana-kōdamde \ nijā-pratāp-āsādīt-ākhil-ā-
9 vani-marṇḍale \ pūrva-dakshina-paśchima-samudr-ādhiśvare \ śrima'n-ma-
10 hārājādhirāja-rājaparameśvara-sṛi²-vira-Ḥarihararājē \ *
11 rājyaṁ śasati \ tan= nirūpita-Gōva-simhāsanē \ sakalā-ve
12 d-opanishan-mārgga-pravarttak-achāryaḥ \ śrayuta-smārtta-dharma-ma-
13 rataḥ \ pavitrīra-Bharadvāja-gōtṛō dvivēdi Chaumḍi-bhaṭṭ-ā
14 tmajah saptarshi-tapo-murttam-Saptanātha-linnga-pratishtiḥpakaḥ \ *

1 From estampages.
2 On the top of the plate, left of the hole, the following is engraved faintly in Telugu characters : ōṁ namaḥ sṛi-Vidyārṣya-gurubhyyō (bhyaḥ).
3 There is an unnecessary medial ē sign on top of this letter.
4 Read 4-varāhasya.
5 This danḍa is redundant.
PANJIM PLATES OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, ŚAKA 1313

PLATE-I

K. V. Ramesh

Scale: One-Half

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
K. V. Ramesh

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
14 Sri¹ (Sri)-Triyambaka-dēva-charaṇa-kamal-ārchchana-prasāda-labdha-rājy-ō-
dayaḥ sa-mahīpāla-mauli-māl-ālakrīta-charaṇa-yugalaḥ ॥
15 nānā-rāśhra-sarabhūta-śaran-āgata-kshiti-pāla-pālan-ati-chatu-
rah ॥ sakala-vairī-bhūpāla-kul-ātavi-pradahana-pratapa-dvāna-
18 laḥ ॥ sri¹ (śri)man-Madhava-mantryāvah sva-māтри-Machārṇbiku-namadhe-
ymam-agrahāram-akarot ॥ tasya-agrahārasya nirṛṇayaḥ ॥ Gōvāli-grā-
20 ma-sarabhūta-kara-rāya-ṭaṃkakah ॥ saḥ-aśhtāvīrṣatiśatāḥ sa-
dvāvīrṣi jāithalaḥ ॥ [I3*] Mauli-grāma-kar-ādayo navāvīrṣat-sama-
22 nvitarḥ ॥ dvīśatarḥ rāja-ṭaṃkānaḥ jāithala-dvādaś-anvitarḥ ॥ [I4*] evam grā-

Second Plate: First Side²

23 ma-dvāy-ādaya-sarīkhāya=aikatā nigadyatē ॥ sa-saptasashṭītriśatarḥ sa-chātu-
strīṁśa-jāithalam ॥ [I5*] ētad-grāma-dvāyam Trīṃśadvāṭikā-dēṣa-madhyamam ॥
parī-ādi-sarva-
25 rāj-okta-baddhabhiḥ parivarjītām ॥ [I6*] kritvā sarvanamasyam cha tad=grāma-
dvītayān pu-
26 nāh lekāritya=aika-simāntarā kritvā simāḥ prakalpya cha ॥ [I7*] pūrvasyām rājamā-
rgasya prakāro diśi dakshīṇe ॥ Gōvāli-Māmī-madhyā-nimnāḥ paschimataḥ
28 punah ॥ II 8* ॥ bhāṭṭhikā talavalyōscha(ś=cha) tiryag-lagnā-nadī tathā ॥ uttarasyāṁ
29 diśi
30 prāvrīd-vāri niḥśa(sa)rāṇiḥ smṛtā ॥ [I9*] evam prāk-chauṇḥ sim-ārthargataṃ grā-
marth Mārṇchalāpuram=iti sva-māтри-Māchāmba-nām-ārhitāṃ kritvā
31 Mārṇchala-samudr-ākhyaśya tāṭakasya cha [s]etuḥ badhva iśānya-pa-
32 rvat-odbhūta-nirjar-odakasya Madhava-tūrtham=iti nāma'dhēyaṃ vidhā-
ya tad=udakaṃ Mārṇchala-samudra-tāṭak-odakam cha nav-odyamita-pū-
34 gī-vaṇa jīvanāya datvā ॥ tat=samparaṃ ramya-harmyāṃ brahmapurīṃ kri-
tvā ॥ triyōdaś-ottara-trīśat-ādhika-sahasra-sarīkhyē Śākē Prajā-
36 pati-sarva-māṇaḥ(ṛ) Chaitrē māṣy=amāvāṣyāyam=arhārakā-dinē sūry-ō-

¹ There is an unnecessary medial ē sign on top of this letter.
² This āranti is redundant.
⁴ The letter ma is engraved above the letter nā in small characters.
⁵ This āranti is redundant.
37 parāga-kāle | Dvipē sṛ(ṣrī)-Saptanāthadēvasya sva-kula-svaṁi sṛ(ṣrī)-Tri-
38 yambakadēvasya cha sāṁnidhau | sad-ācharana-pavitrikṛita-nij-ānvaye
39 sad-vipra-purōhitē samipage sati | nāna-deśa-samāgata-vidvā-
40 d-vargam cha sāṁnidhāpya | vakshyamanā-naṁa-gotrēbhyō dvādaśa(śe)bhyō brahma-
41 nēbhyaḥ | kramena charana-dvamdvam prakshālya sa-hirany-ōḍaka-dhara-
42 masyam sakala-rāja-bādhā-vivarjitaṁ nidhi-nikshēpa-sahitarī śāsana-
43 kṛitya sva-māṭri-śreyase sṛ(ṣṛ)-Mādhava-mahipālo Mārchalāpuram-agrahāram prada-
44 t | tēsham brahmaṇānāṁ nāmāni gotrāṇi ch=ēchyantē | Kapila grāmā
t l Kesava-bhāṭṭa-putrāḥ l l Gōvindha-bhāṭṭāḥ l l Atri-gōtrāḥ l l tatraivadhāi l l
46 A[maldeva-bhāṭṭa-putrāḥ l l Vīthhalá-bhāṭṭāḥ l l Naidhriva-gōtrāḥ l l Vera-grāma-

Second Plate : Second Side

47 t l Kesava-parṇḍita-putrāḥ l l Sona(ma)nātha-bhāṭṭāḥ l l Kauśika-gō-
48 trāḥ l l Mālaura-grāmāt l l Dharmadevajñā-Mārthdeva-parṇḍita-putrāḥ l l Īśvara-
49 bha-
50 śtāḥ l l Gautama-gōtrāḥ l l 4 l Kapila-grāmāt l Narāṣṭram(sim)ha-kramavid-putrāḥ l l Go-
50 virṇa-bhāṭṭāḥ | l l Bharadvāja-gōtrāḥ l l 5 l Vēra-grāmāt l l Bhānu-parṇḍita-putrāḥ l l Hemārdri-parṇḍi-
51 tāḥ l l Kauśika-gōtrāḥ l l 6 l Kapila-grāmāt l l Gōvindra-prabhu-putrāḥ l l Kesava-sha-
52 dangavidah l l Atri-gōtrāḥ l l 7 l Khaḍga-grāmāt l Narayāṇa-bhāṭṭa-putrāḥ l l Krīṣṇa-bhāṭṭāḥ l
53 Naidhriva-gōtrāḥ l l 8 l* Pīryala-grāmāt l l Kesava-bhāṭṭa-putrāḥ l l Gōvind-
54 bhaṭṭāḥ l l Bharadva-
54 ja-gōtrāḥ l l 9 l Chamdra-grāmāt l l Vishnu-bhāṭṭa-putrāḥ l l Padmanābha-bhāṭṭāḥ l l Bharadvāja-gō-
55 trāh 101 Kulavana-grāmāt l Rāmadeva-bhāṭṭa-putrāh l Janārddana-pattavarddhanaḥ 1
56 Kaśyapa-gotrāh l 11 l Bhallāvali-grāmāt l Bhānu-bhāṭṭa-putrāh l Vāmana-bhāṭṭaḥ l
57 Kauśika-gotrāh l 12 l servē=mi Rug(Rig)ved-ādhyāyināḥ l ēśām madhye yo=grahārām
58 tyaktvā sthitya saḥ=ányatra gachchhati tad-bhagam sthitāḥ sarvē vibhajy=ā-
59 śniyuh l a-svāmike=IRRše pārśvastha-grih-anumatyā sarvaiḥ sthapito-bhyā-
60 gatō vaset l sv-arhśa-vikrayam danam va sarv-anumatēna kuryat l vi-
61 n-anumatyā dāna-vikrayau kurvan=vikṛeta kṛeta ch=obhav=api rānā darṇdyau
62 ll anyaḥ=cha l samvachchha(tsa)ra-pratipad-dipalik-opayana-prabhritayo rājño=
63 nyesham cha sarv-opadāh l taraval-parihjika l chatasrishu nadishu tari-par-
64 jikā l sarva śulkam cha l lekhaka-vaṇijjaka-malakara-nauvahaka-rajakā-
65 sthapati-ka(k)a)rmma-ra-kramuki-vriksha-bahdhaka-charmmakār-adinām=āsēsha-
66 karu-pra-
67 janam dasa-danakani karukam ch=ety=adi sarvam=etad=asy=agrāhāra-
68 sya manyam l evam ša(sa)rvamanyam sarva-bādhā-vivarjitam yāvad=a-charmdra-
69 tarakam=eta-
70 t=saṃtān=opabhōg-arttham l svasya cha l śarach-chamdra-charmdrika-viśuddha-
71 kirttaye
72 šasanikritya l1 paura-jānapad-anēka-nāgarān samnidiḥpaya Shatśhashty=Ām-
73 turuja-dvadaśa-dēśa-Govā-dēśa-saptat=īty=adi-samasta-dēśa-samnidiha-
74 =etat=šasanam2 prayachchhat l bhāvi-nripaiḥ pālana-guna-gadita-punnya-

Third Plate 3

72 labhāy=edam śve(sve) śve(sve) kale paripāliyam l Śamāy=ōyam dharmma-
73 setur=nripānām kale kale pāliy bhavadbhīh l sarvān-etān=bha-

1 This danda is redundant.
2 Sandhi has not been observed here. Read ētāch=chhāsanam.
3 The following is engraved on the top of either side of the hole in modern Nāgarī characters:
   To the left of the hole: 1 Śrī-Nāgēśa-Bāndavāde
   2 Amṛtra-Govā
   To the right of the hole: 1 Rāghobā-Govā(vim)da-bhāṭṭa-krama-
   2 va(vi)m-jōs,
vināh pārthivendrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchātē Ramachandrāḥ || [10*]
Bhubhir=vasu-

dhā datta rajabhīh Sagar-adibhih | yasya yasya yāda bhumiḥ

sta(ta)sya tasya tada phalaṁ(lam) || [11*] Dāna-pālanayōr=madhyē
dānātṛsē(ch=chhṛē)y=0-
nupālanam(nam) [ l*] dānāt=svargam=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutarḥ paddham(dam)
[12*] Gām

perikad=brahmaṁ dasya(sya)d=bhumīm topād=dvījam vadhāt l mocha-
yan=muchyatē pāpād=ā-janma-maran-am̄ntikat || [13*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ

va yo harechcha(ta) vasurādharaṁ [ l*] shashtīr=varsha-sahasṛāni vishtāyāṁ jā-
yatē krimiḥ || [14*] Akshi-pakṣhma-saṃuktśēpa-kṣhayā-kṣhayīṁ jivite [ l*]

yo dvījad=āharet=kshonīṁ tasya-avīchau kṣhayo kṣhayah || [15*] Gāmatt(m=e) kāṁ

ratnikāṁ=ekāṁ kanyama(m=e)kām tath=aīva cha l haran=narakam=āpnoti

bhūmēr=apya(py=e)kām=a[m*]gulam(lam) || [16*] Ėk=aīva bhagini lōke
sāvetam1 cha maha(tu)

bhirāṁ l na bhogyā na kara-grahya vipra-dattā vasumdhara || [17*] Bhūmir-bha-

rya va(ta)thā gavō hiranyam ch=apaharitāṁ n=avedayati rajanāṁ sa

dvijā vra(brahma)-ghatakāṁ2 || [18*]

3Śrī-Triyambaka-śrī
dvaṁ

Anych=cha purvaṁ Kadamb=adi-rajabhīh dvādaś-adhikarīnāṁ jyotīr=2vi
dam=any=aisham cha Kapila-Khadga-Kulavana-Morambvavy-āgrahāra-
Pariyala-Bram(Bra)mapury=adi-datt-āgrahāra-tāmra-śāsanāṁ=āvalō-

cyā tānī dattāṁ samyak paripālyā Machalapur-ādīny=āgrahāra-

ny=asmābhiḥ5 dattāṁ bhavi-nrippair=api palana-guna-gadita-punya-

---

1 Read sarvēśhām.
2 More correct form of this verse is:
   Gävō bhūmīṁ tathā bhāryāṁ ākramya hara mā naya ā
   śrāvayanti hi rājanāṁ brahma-hatyaḥ cha limpati ā

   Above, Vol. IV, p. 197, lines 31-32.
3 Lines 88 to 95 are engraved in Telugu characters.
4 Lines 88 and 95 are engraved in bigger characters.
5 The ṛṣṭha sign is engraved at the beginning of the 90th line.
6 Read asmābhir=
Scale: One-Half

SEAL

Scale: One-Third
94 labhay=emāni śāsanāni sve sve kalē paripalaniyāni [||*]
95 Śrī-Triyambaka-śrī [||*]!

1 On the reverse of the plate the following is engraved in the Nāgarī characters. The dots in between are punctuation marks. Rā, Gō, bha. kra. jō Nā. [b]ā. Amma. Gōvā. On the strength of the matter engraved on the top of the 4th plate the abbreviations can be expanded as: Rā: Rāghobā; Gō: Gōvindā; bha: bhaṭṭa; kra: krama; jō: jōet; Nā: Nāgāśa; [b]ā: bāndivāde; Amma: Amptaṭa.
No. 17—TWO GAŊGA RECORDS FROM
DHRAPARURI DISTRICT

(2 Plates)

M.D. SAMPATH, MYSORE

The two subjoined hero-stone inscriptions edited here with the kind permission of the
Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore were copied from
Kaṭṭarašampaṭṭi1 and Muttaṇur,2 Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamilnadu. These
stones are called Vediyappan. The inscriptions are in Tamil language engraved in Vaṭṭeluttu
characters of the eighth century. Of these two records, the one from Kaṭṭarašampaṭṭi
hereinafter called A, is dated in the forty seventh year of the reign of the Gaṅga king
Śivamāra, while the other from Muttaṇur, hereinafter called B, is dated in the eighteenth
year of the reign of Śripruíśaparumar (i.e., Śripruṣa) of the same family.

A. Kaṭṭarašampaṭṭi Inscription of Śivamara, year 47.

In this hero-stone the hero is depicted with a dagger in his uplifted right hand and bow
in his left arm. He is depicted in fighting stance with his feet firmly set on the ground
and the entire body is seen in its right profile. To the left of the hero is carved a chauri at
the waist level. Below the bow, to his left, is the depiction of a shrine-like object, the
significance of which is not known. There are 4 lines of writing above the sculptured
relief and 3 more shorter lines on the proper right of the sculpture.

As has been stated above the inscription is in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeluttu characters.
Some of the salient features of the script may be examined here. The letters like y, n, and
t have not been well-developed. The letter y has a loop in the formative stage as seen in
line 5, while in lines 3 and 4, the median lines show a curve to the left. The letter t has a
prominent curved upper part (lines 1 and 2) and is little angular with its lower curve extended
horizontally to its left.3 The letter m has a cross-bar on the right side which has taken
the shape of a loop in the course of running hand unlike the earlier form showing a stroke
in the right vertical arm as seen in some of the Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions of this region. The letter
ru (line 1) has a curve at the lower end of the vertical stroke.

The words like araḯaru (line 2), -Iḷaiṟu (line 3) with the euphonic ending is a
characteristic feature of early Tamil inscriptions. But since the record is of the 8th century
by which time the Gaṅgas had gained hold over the region, this might as well be an influence
of the Kannada language. It can be compared with similar expressions occurring in the
records of Mahēndravarman and his successors.4

2 Ibid., No. B 224.
3 A similar form can be seen in the inscriptions of 7th-8th century from Vedartaṭṭakal, Krishnagiri Taluk, Dharmapuri
4 R. Nagaswamy: Cheṅgam Nadukārkal, pp. 6 ff.
The inscription records the death of one Anayandi in a fight which ensued when he fell on Vaniyachadaiyanar Vetakkiyar, a servant or soldier of Telikanllaiaru, the son of Kanda-Vanadi-araisaru who was administering Puramalai-nadu in the 47th regnal year of the illustrious Sivamaraparumar. The fight took place at Kudal where Vetakkiyar had set up camp.

There were two rulers bearing the name of Sivamara in the Western Ganga family of Talakadu. Of these, the second ruler of that name ascended the throne sometime after 788 A.D. in which year his father Sripurusha's reign ended. Since Rachamalla I was on the Western Ganga throne by 816 A.D., Sivamara II could not have ruled for more than twenty-eight years at the most (between 788 and 816 A.D.). As it is, the latest date known for his reign is his 23rd regnal year. Sivamaravarman of our inscription cannot, therefore, be identified with Sivamara II.

On the other hand, we already know from circumstantial evidence, that Sivamara I ruled for as long as 46 to 47 years. His Hallagere plates are dated in Sakas 635 (713-14 A.D.) and were issued in his 34th regnal year showing thereby that he ascended the throne sometime in 679-80 A.D. We know that his grandson Sripurusha, who directly succeeded him, ascended the throne in 725-26 A.D., thus yielding for Sivamara I a reign period of around 46 to 47 years. It is very likely that the hero-stone inscription under study belongs to the very last year of his reign.

Of the geographical names occurring in this record, the territory of Puramalai-nadu, which obviously lay outside (puram) the Malai-nadu, included the Harur and Uttangarai Taluks of Dharmapuri District. Kudal, which was the scene of the fight, has been identified elsewhere with Guadalur near Tirthamalai in Harur Taluk.

TEXT

1 Śrī Śivamara-parumarku yandu nārpatte-
2 Jañadu Kanda-Vanadi-araiśaru Puramalai-nad-a-
3 la avar maganaṛ Telikan-lI[a]i[aru] śevagā Vanigal-
4 ch-chadaiya*[l]aśīr Vettakkiyar Kudal vanduvida a[va]rl-
5 [mē][l*] A[nal]yān(n)-
6 dī nīṛru śe-
7 nṛru paṭṭar [l*]

1 It is mentioned in a record of the third year of the reign of Śivamara I that one Vānapurumāṇ attacked Kudal which was situated in Puramalai-nadu. He was in invective terms with Kanda-Vañadiyamiyar, the ruler of the same division (Above, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 276-77).
5 From inscribed impression.
B. *Muttaṇur Inscription of Śripurusha, year 1 [8]*

This inscription is engraved on top and either side of a sculptured representation in the centre. The hero is depicted with his face turned to his left. He holds a bow in his left hand while his raised right hand holds a pointed dagger. Behind him is carved a jar with a lid. There is a shrine like object in his front, placed below the bow.

As has been stated above the inscription, in 8 lines, is in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeluttu characters. The following *palaeographical* features are noteworthy.

The letter *y* does not show a clearly formed loop. The median semicircle, standing for the middle vertical, is not connected with the boat like base. The letter *t* is little angular in form. The letter *n* has a curved lower portion as in the inscription of Śivamāra I discussed above. The letter *ru* has a loop at the bottom.

The inscription records that while Amarādakkiyar was ruling over the western division of Puramalai-nādu, during the 18th regnal year of Śiripuriśaparumāra (Śripurushavarman), Kāmaityaṉar of Velal-nādu undertook a cattle-raid at Korramangalam and on that occasion Vadamachchattanār, a servant of Amarādakkiyar lost his life.\(^2\)

The name Śiripuriśaparumāra, no doubt, refers to the Ganga king Śripurusha. He may be identified with the successor of Śivamāra I, whose last year is known from his Kaṭṭarasaṃpaṭṭi record dated in the forty seventh year of his reign (725-26 A.D.). We know from epigraphical sources that Śripurusha ascended the throne sometime in 725-26 A.D. Our inscription may therefore be assigned to 743-44 A.D.

The Western division of Puramalai-nādu which was being administered by Amarādakkiyar comprised the area around Krishṇagiri, Morappūr, etc.\(^3\) The place of the cattle-raid, Korramangalam cannot be identified.

**TEXT\(^4\)**

1 Śrī Śiripuriśaparumāruṁku yāndu padi[ne]lţtu[a]-
2 vaḍu Amarādakkiyar Puṟamalai-nāṭtu-mēr-
3 kūṟ-ālak-Kāmaityaṉar Velal-nāṭtu
4 niṟṟu vandu Korram-an-
5 galattut-toruk-konda ṇa-
6 niṟṟu Amarādakkiyar śeṇa-
7 gar Vadamachchattanār
8 pattār[l*]
TWO GANGL RECORDS FROM DHARMAPURI DISTRICT

PLATE II

Scale: One-Half

K. V. Ramesh

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
No. 18—ON SOME GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM AFGHANISTAN

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The discovery of the Bactrian Greek city at Ai-Khanoum is surely one of the most significant gifts archaeology has given to history during the last thirty years. The French team of scholars led by P. Bernard verily deserve congratulations for their momentous findings and all praise for the series of publications arising out of their work1. While the work at the site had to be stopped for reasons beyond the control of the scholars and the complete report

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1 For an up-to-date reference (to the best of my knowledge) to reports on Ai-Khanoum excavations and related studies see the following, some of which I have not been able to get hold of.

A. Excavation reports:


More volumes of Fouilles d'Ai-Khanoum are yet to come out.

B. Related Studies:


of the work done up-to-date is awaited, it is clear from the material remains at the site and the available publications that here we have substantial evidence for a meeting of the Greek, the Iranian-more specifically bactrian or East Iranian-and the Indian elements. But statements made about the date of and its identity do not appear beyond question. Much reliance has been placed on the palaeography, contents and interpretations of some of the Greek inscriptions found at the site. They belong in two groups, one, the earlier monumental ones and two, the later writings on the ostraca found in the “Treasury” of the city. I propose to discuss here only some of them.\(^1\)

In the first group the two epigraphs related to the temenos of Kineas, and one which refers to a dedication made by two sons of Strato are relevant for our discussion.\(^2\) The texts of these as read by L. Robert\(^3\) are as below:

1. Ἄνδρῳν τοι σαφὰ ταῦτα παλαιοτέρων ἀναχεῖ[τα] ἡμᾶς τὰ χριστιανὸν Πυθοῦ ἐν ἡμᾶς. Ἐνθὲν ταῦτα Κλέαρχος ἐπιφραδέως ἀναγράφως εἶσαυτο τιλαυγή Κινέου ἐν τεμένει.

(See Plate 1.1 and Fouilles I, Plate 108)

2. Παῖς ὁν χάσμοις γίνου, ἥβουν ἐχρατής, μέσος ἄβασις, πρεσβύτης εὐδούλος τελευτῶν ἀλυσ.  

(See Plate 1.2 and Fouilles I, Plate 108)

3. Τριβασιός χαὶ Στράτων Στράτωνος Ἔρμη, Ἡραχλεῖ.

(See Plate II.2 and Fouilles I, Plate 109)

These texts may be translated as below.

1. “These wise words to men of previous time, are dedicated sayings of famous men, in the holy Pytho. From where Clearchus inscribed them and set them up in the temenos of Kineas so that they shine far afield.”

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1 I am thankful to Ms. Joyne M. Reycolds, C. Habicht and Jon D. Mikalson for their suggestions and criticism.
3 Fouilles I, pp. 208, 211 and 213,
2. “Being a child, be well-behaved,
   Young man, be master of yourself;
   In the middle of life, be just;
   Old man, be of good counsel;
   On death, be without chagrin.”

3. Triballos
   and Straton [,]
   sons of Straton [, dedicated]
   to Hermes [and] Herakles.

The second group consists of nine of the fragmentary inscriptions on the Ostraca from the “Treasury” of Ai-Khanoum so far published. Their texts are as given below:¹

1. Ετους ξανθη ['- -']
   ἐλαῖον ἐλαῖνο [υ]
   ἀποδεῖκτι α' τὸ μ[εταγγίσθην]
   ἄσθρομον ν ['- -']
   τοῦ ημίο [λ] ὑμνό χ [όα- - -]

   (See Plate III.1 and BCH 1983, p. 320, Fig. 3a-b)

2. ἄπαρα ['- -']
   ἀβυνα τάχερα ['- -']
   ἐλασσον ['- -']

   (See Plate III.2 and BCH, 1983, p. 324, Fig. 6a-b)

3. Παρά Ζήνωνος
   ἱρίθμηται
   διὰ 'Οξηβοῦχου
   χαὶ 'Οξυβαζου ὅρχ φη 'κα "εὐφράγησαι 'Οξηβοῦχης

   (See Plate IV.1 and BCH, 1983, pp. 325-26, Fig. 8a-b)

4. Παρά Τιμοθήμου
   ἱρίθμηται διὰ
   'Οξηβοῦχου χαὶ
   'Ερμαθου τοξ [φ] ημα

   (See Plate V.2 and BCH, 1983, pp. 326-27, Fig. 9)

¹ Out of more than two dozens of Ostraca inscriptions in Greek read by Rapin (BCH, 1983, pp. 315-71) I have listed only nine here because I found them sufficient to represent the content and character of the group. I have followed in general the readings as given by Rapin. It may be noted that some Ostraca have inscriptions in Aramaic which I have not included in our discussion here.
5. Παρὰ φίλισχον
χασαταυα ταξιανή Α
σια Άρμανσου χαι Μ
Ετρα . . . .

(See Plate V.1 abd BCH, 1983, pp. 328-29, Fig. 10a-b)

6. Παρὰ φιλίσχον
γανδαγαχωραγα
ηρίθμη [ηται] διά
[. . . 7-8 . . .] χαι
ηερι. α [Μ] Α

(See Plate V.2 and BCH, 1983, p. 331, Fig. 12a-b)

7. [---] ετος τοι δευτερε---[---]
[--- Ε]ρμακου δεξι μα---
[--- .] 4-5 χαι .υ. νδους ς'
[--- ] μιμαι . τας αναιφορης[---]
[--- ] θ. ου ου.οινος δρα. η'
[--- ] χς

(See Plate VI.1 and BCH, 1983, p. 332, Fig. 13a-b)

8. παρά Στρατάνος
σια Μολοσου χαι
Στράτανος χαι ετ---[---]
.βαρα...δου λαιταρρην. Α
[χασαπανα νανθηνα Μ

(See Plate VI.2 and BCH, 1983, p. 333, Fig. 14a-b)

9. δια χασινου σοκιμου αρ [γυρίνου]
δεδομεναι δια Νικηρα [του]
δεσφρογμαι ανθος Νικηρατος

(See Plate VII.1 and BCH, 1983, p. 338, Fig. 19a)

These texts may be translated as below:¹

1. “Year 24, [---] (contained) in olive oil
the oil jar) partially empty——
? lacking a (stamnos) and a half (contains the oil) ? decanted
from two jars by [---]; [---].

2. "38 (?), from [---]  
	[---] minus [---].  
	[---]

3. From Zenon.  
It has been counted by Oxyboakes and Oxybazos 500 drachms.  
Sealed by Oxeboakes

4. From Timodemos.  
It has been counted by  
Oxeboakes and  
Hermaios (from ?) Taxila (?) ---

5. From Philiskos  
in *Karsapana* (from ?) Taxila,  
10,000; by Aryandes  
and Stra[ton]; ---.

6. From Philiskos,  
*Nandagakhora*ga.  
It has been counted by  
[---] and [---] (? sealed)  
10,000 (?)

7. [---] of the second ---;  
[---] of Hermaios: 44 drachms;  
[---] --- and of Aryandes (?): 7 (?);  
[---] --- the revenue [---]  
[---] ---: 8 (?) drachms (?);  
[---] --- 60 (?) drachms (?)

8. From straton;  
by Molossos and  
? Straton; and ---  
--- and of Tarzos;  
[in *Karsapana* (from ?) Nand (?): 10,000.

9. By Cosmos [ ]  
in silver of good alloy; it has  
been verified by Niker(atos).  
Sealed by Nikeratos himself.

These documents no doubt relate to accounting and storage. Certain items of in-
formation strike us at first glance. They are personal and place names, the commodities counted or measured for deposit, and some numerals. Of the personal names, some are of 'Greek' and others are of 'Iranian' origins. The place names appear to belong to the 'Indo-Greek' political geography. The commodities so far known to have been deposited in the vessels are generally olive oil and coins. The latter includes both the Indo-Greek drachms and Indian Karshapanas. While some of the numerals might refer to the year of deposit most of them refer to the coins. Rapin has discussed these inscriptions, along with others, very thoroughly and one must refer to this notes for a comprehensive treatment of the entire material. My comments in the later part of this paper is limited only to a few points for the time being.

First, let us discuss the three inscriptions of Group I.

Numbers 1 and 2 of this group are engraved on the base of a stele, forming part of a funerary monument. The first is an epigram which informs that a certain Clearchus had carefully recorded certain precepts of wisdom of the famous men of old which were exhibited in the holy Pytho, that is to say Delphi, and set them up, in the temenos of Kineas, so that they can be seen from afar. The second consists of the Delphic maxims to which a reference is made in number 1. This is inscribed on the right part of the same base which carries the text of the first one. The stele on which the whole text of the famous delphic maxims might have been inscribed has not been found. But it has been suggested that since the stele did not have enough space to accommodate the entire text of all the maxims the last of them had to be engraved on the base itself. The text is an exhortation to acquire the fundamental qualities of man at each stage of life.

A fragmentary inscription, consisting of only seven letters, has also been found about one meter from the base of the stele; it is supposed to be the lower left angle part of the stele. It has been suggested that this is a part of the text of the 48th Delphi maxim.

Both L. Robert and P. Bernard find in these inscriptions substantial evidence for their

1 Eg. Greek : Zenon, Timodemos, Philiskos (also see Philoxenos in No. 19 of Rapin's list), Hermaeus, Strato, Nikeratos, Cosmos, and others; Iranian: Oxboakes, Oxybazos, Aryandes, Tarzos and others like Xatranos (No. 15 of Rapin’s list). Sosipatros (=Saśiputra) of No. 18 of Rapin’s list may be an Indic name.
2 E.G. Taxaena in No. 5 may refer to Taxila and Nandaaga-khoraga and Nanda- (?) of Nos. 6 and 8 of Rapin’s list may also refer to an ‘agora’ or ‘chora’ in the Indo-Greek kingdom, its identity being not clear. The fact that the Indian money Kārshāpanas are associated with these place names adds to this possibility.
3 Kasapana is the Pali/Prakrit version of Sanskrit Kārshāpana. These are known to have been minted in silver and copper from about the fifth century B.C. in India and they continued to circulate until the first two centuries A.D.
4 E.g. 24 and 38 in Nos. 1 and 2 might refer to the year of deposit, see infra, p. 185. Other numerals clearly refer to the coins, drachms or Karshapanas.
5 Fouilles I, p. 223, PBA, p. 89.
6 Fouilles I, p. 216.
7 Ibid., loc. cit.
theory that the city of Ai Khanoum which could be Alexandria Oxiana,¹ was founded by Kineas supposed to be a Thessalian.² Clearchus is identified with his namesake who was a well-known peripatetic (from Soli in Cyprus) and one of the direct or indirect disciples of Aristotle.³ It has been interpreted that Clearchus travelled to Delphi on his mission to obtain a first-hand copy of the Delphic maxims for the purpose of getting them engraved on the funerary herōon of Kineas, "to whom was granted the privilege of being buried in the very heart of the city."⁴ This has been taken as indicative of the pious concern of the Hellenistic colonies for the preservation of their cherished goal.⁵

Kineas has been regarded as a Thessalian officer under Seleucus I, and he is supposed to have been the founder of the city, (because his burial has been found in the heart of the city), either on orders from Alexander or from Seleucus I who reconquered the eastern provinces of the empire in the years immediately preceding 303 B.C.⁶ This is not the place to go into the whole discussion of the foundation of Alexandrian cities. But suffice it to say that the myth of seventy Alexandrias has already been cut to size and archaeology has refused so far to oblige. We have yet to find satisfactory evidence for at least the far eastern ones among them. Also, there is hardly any reason to look for Alexandria Oxiana at Ai-Khanoum. Not only it is too far east for Alexander’s route, but the only reference for Alexandria Oxiana in Ptolemy places it in Sogdiana, in the region which lay between the rivers Jaxartes and Oxus.⁷ Bernard is right in rejecting Tarn’s proposal for Termez⁸ but not in suggesting that Ptolemy has “mistakenly made two cities of one.”⁹ So far there is hardly anything in the archaeological and literary evidence to link Ai-Khanoum with Alexander’s invasion, his route and foundation of a city by him in Badakshan. So also, the fate of Seleucus in his encounter against Chandragupta Maurya¹⁰ hardly leaves ground for him to be so able as to order the founding of cities anywhere in Afghanistan, what to speak of so far northeast as Ai-Khanoum. Had he been strong he would not have lost four satrapies to the Mauryan king for a mere pleasantry gift of some elephants, and Stasanoër would not have been allowed to remain untouched in Bactria.¹¹ Whether or not Eucretides named or renamed the city as

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105; *PBA.*, p. 90. He notes that Kineas “could have been simply some important erōgetes, but I wonder if he might not have been the founder of the city.”
⁷ Ptolemy, VI. 12, see also Narain, “On the Foundation and Chronology of Ai Khanoum—a Bactrian Greek city”, (Forthcoming article).
⁹ *PBA.*, p. 92, note 4.
Eucratidia, as suggested by Bernard, too, needs more examination. There are only two references for the existence of Eucratidia, one in Strabo and another in Ptolemy. Strabo does not give its exact or relative location. If at all, it might be in either of the two satrapies, Turiva and Aspionus, which were taken away from Eucratides by the Parthians. Ptolemy locates it in his map much west of Alexandria-Eschate which, of course, is not of help because the identification of Alexandria-Eschate is not certain. But if the latter has to be identified with the modern Chodjend on the Syr Darya, one must find a location for Eucratidia west of it. In any case neither the numismatic evidence nor the historical factors justify associating the city at Ai-Khanoum in any meaningful manner with Eucratides.

The evidence of a Thessalian origin for Kinas and his administrative relationship with Seleucus have been collected assiduously which only L. Robert could do. But he himself has noted that the name Kinas is not epichoric (il n'est pas epichorique, lié à une seule région). Even if the Kinas of Ptolemaic Egypt was of Thessalian origin, and if Thessaly furnished a great contingent to Alexander's army, and if Robert's analysis of the Diodorus XVIII.7.2 is taken into account there is hardly anything substantial to clinch his conclusion that our "Kinas was therefore a Thessalian, and not an Athenian or a man from the Cyclades, and that he was probably a Thessalian officer of Seleucus. Be that as it may, and even if roots of Kinas go to Thessaly, what is there to place him under Seleucus? Hardly anything. Some Greek settlements in Bactria had taken place even before Alexander, in the Achaemenid times. Kinas, and for that matter others, may be considered as "Bactrian" or "Iranian" Greeks in the wider sense, whose ancestors from various Greek cities and nations.

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2 Strabo, XI. 11.2.
3 Ptolemy, VII. 11.
4 For the context of it see Strabo XI. 11.2. Tarn, op. cit., p. 88; Narain, op. cit., pp. 17, 23. These satrapies must have been in Margiana.
5 See the map in Italo Ronca, Ptolemaios, Geographia 6, 9-12, Ostiran nd Zentralasien, Roma, 1971.
7 Tarn, op. cit., p. 118.
8 I think one should look for it in Margiana or in the western parts of Bactria rather than in the far eastern parts of it. If in Margiana, Eucratides, might have renamed Antioch-Merve as Eucratidia. On the other hand Cunningham may be right in stating that Eucratidia corresponds exactly with Khulm (cf. Numismatic Chronicle, 1868, p. 108).
9 Compare the list of all the coins found in Ai-Khanoum (Fouilles I, pp. 203-04; RN, 1974, pp. 6-4; 1975, pp. 23-57; see also Bernard's remark in PBA, p. 92 that coins of Euthydemos predominate. For a discussion on the use of Eucratides' era and related issues see infra)
10 Fouilles I, p. 217.
11 Ibid., pp. 218-22.
12 Ibid., pp. 222.
vanquished by the Achaemenids, had been settled in the region. This is not to deny the importance of our Kineas. Whether or not a Thessalian, and an officer under, or a protege of, Seleucus, Kineas can still be recognised as a citizen of means, a dignitary of the city on account of this epigraphic evidence. It is surprising though that in a monument like the one we are dealing with his home and status are not specified. He might or might not have been the founder of the city.

So also, while the irresistible temptation to identify Clearchus as a disciple of Aristotle is understandable, there is no direct evidence to support it. The inscription only informs us that it was a Clearchus who had carefully recorded and engraved the maxims from holy Pytho and set them up in the temenos of Kineas in order that they could see from afar. The document does not say that this Clearchus was the well known peripatetic Clearchus of Soli of the fourth-third century B.C. He could very well have been a "friend, philosopher and guide" of Kineas who might have visited Delphi and copied the maxims there, or he was a master of the ceremony who had circumspectly or wisely copied the maxims and organised the engraving and setting up of the text. According to Robert this Clearchus had actually transcribed the maxims at Delphi and that "in this well-turned epigram, which is not banal, not just a space-filler, he as insisted that he had made this transcription with care and intelligence, and that since these Delphic maxims circulated with variance it was an act of conscience on his part to bring to his compatriot on the oxus an authentic version of the text. (C'est la conscience de philologue et dans un but moral et, pour ainsi dire, patriotique. Cléarque apporta a ses compatriotes sur l'Oxus un texte authentique, vérifié). But, while I can understand a layman, a "friend, philosopher and guide," asserting this fact in a public document I am not inclined to accept that a philosopher of eminence such as Clearchus of Soli would need to provide such an assurance. Moreover, what evidence do we have for a close association of Kineas with the well-known peripatetic? And, if Clearchus was really the famous peripatetic from Soli, why should not the document, particularly the genre to which it belonged, say that? Announcement of this identity would have surely been of no less importance than the fact of careful copying of the maxim at Delphi. Unfortunately we have no evidence of the travels of the peripatetic Clearchus of Soli. Our Clearchus could be the master of ceremony and not his famous namesake in which case he would naturally take pride and announce the fact that the maxims had been carefully copied and engraved, emphasizing professional excellence.

The third epigraph of this group mentions the names of two brothers, Triballos and Strato, who were sons of a Strato. The short inscription does not give any other information about the individuals and the family but gives two more names which are of gods, Hermes and Herakles I. L. Robert remarks that the elder son Triballos has a rare name but very normal

1 Narain, op. cit., pp. 2-6. It may be relevant here to note that Alexander had sent his Thessalian cavalry home after Ecbatana and even those of them who chose to enlist themselves voluntarily he sent them home before crossing the Oxus because their hearts were no longer in their work (cf. Arrian, Anabasis of Alexander, Bk III. 19: V. 27).
2 Robert is candid in admitting "après tout rien ne le dit ni ne l'indique," Fouilles I, p. 255.
3 Fouilles I, p. 224.
(L'ané a un nom rare, mais très normal). It is related to the name of a tribe of Northern Thrace. He notes that as a personal name this is attested for a slave in Athens in the list of sailors who died in the battle of Arginusæ. It is also known from the epigraph of another slave of the fourth century B.C. in Athens. He draws attention to on the leg of one of the colossi of Abu Simbel in Egypt. On the basis of these references L. Robert thinks that it is not impossible that Triballos in Bactria, like the father of the one from Abu Simbel was a descendant of a soldier or of an officer of the people, Triballos, conquered by Philip and Alexander. He does not think it adventurous (il n'est pas aventureux) to deduce the military character of a part of the colonizers of Ai Khanoum and remarks that the name of Triballos and Triballos brings us to three different and contrasted extremities to the Hellenistic world,

"a la limite derrière du monde grec de cette époque : les Triballos sont proches du Danube; Triballos fils de straton a vécu dans l'Asie Centrale, sur l'Oxus, en bordure du Turkestar : en vue de l'Hindoukouch, du Caucase Indien; Hermolaos fils de Triballos inscriraient le souvenir de son passage sur le Nil àx frontières du soudan. Ce sont les armées conquérantes qui avaient ainsi véhicule ce nom, à la suite d'Alexandre. Tel peut être le pouvoir d'évocation historique qui repose dans un nom."

But this seems to be an ardent imagination. Robert does not provide any evidence to substantiate the linkages. And what is more, he does not take into account at all the two Stratos. If proper names must be discussed to find out the ethnic origin or a meaningful genesis of historical role of a family, I do not see why we should be so selective in favour of one, even if it is exotic or rare, against two, for we have Strato, the son and Strato, the father. L. Robert dismisses consideration of the Stratos in just a sentence in parenthesis "(car, en bactriane, le nom n'a pas du surgir dans la famille de Straton seulement à l'époque de cette inscription)." If Triballos is linked with the tribe of Triballos do we have the evidence to link the Stratos too to the same people? It would be more significant to trace the origin of the senior Strato, the father of Triballos and Strato, the junior. On the other hand, Strato is a familiar name in the history of the Bactrian and Indian Greeks. Not only there were two Stratos among the Indo-Greek kings but also there were others whose names have been read

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1 Ibid., p. 208.
2 Ibid., loc. cit., cf. IG., II.2.1951, 23; F. Bechtel, Die Historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit, Halle (1917), p. 543. (It is much disputed whether it refers to the battle at Arginusae, or whether the inscription is to be dated in the early fourth century B.C.)
3 Robert, op. cit., p. 209.
4 Ibid., loc. cit.
6 Ibid., loc. cit.
7 Ibid., pp. 209-10.
8 Ibid., p. 209.
9 Narain, op. cit., pp. 102, 110-11, 146-48.
on the Ai-Khanoum "Treasury" Ostraca. In the absence of any royal title attached to the name it is difficult to identify them with their royal namesakes. But surely they occupied a prominent status in the city of Ai Khanum. The Strato of the Ostraca inscriptions too may be a later member of this family. But if the inscription can be dated in the middle decades of the 2nd century B.C., which is not out of question, their royal identity may not be ruled out, in which case Triballos would be the "left out" brother, who was either superceded in a succession struggle or who predeceased the brother Strato of the inscription.

It is true, that Alexander's army included not only Macedonians but Greeks from various cities and nations as well as Iranians and mercenaries of different ethnic elements. Thracians were also part of it. But there is no evidence to indicate that the family of Strato, only one of whose sons had a Thracian name, was a part of the band wagon of Alexander. It is already known that there were people belonging to the various cities and nations from Asia Minor and Greece settled in Afghanistan even before Alexander, during the Achaemenid rule. Strato's family could be descended from either the pre-Alexander settlers or from the later wave of them; there is nothing to prove this way or the other. Generally the classical sources give the city or national origins of the key officers and prominent personnel related to Alexander's campaign and to the time of his immediate successors. It is not uncommon for the "new" or "recent" settlers to remember or mention their national affiliations. On the other hand the absence of such announcements is understandable in the case of descendants of old settlers who had lived in the region for several generations and had become a part of the local milieu. So, unless there is definite evidence to bring Triballos from Thrace, and Kineas from Thessaly, either as part of Alexander's army or in the time of Seleucus I, we have no alternative but to accept them as part of the Bactrian Greek melting-pot, where names and identities of diverse nations had already been mixed up.

Thus the contents of these inscriptions do not provide definite connections with known historical persons and their activities, or with known historical events and other prosopographical indications, and therefore some of the vital criteria for dating the inscriptions are lacking in our case. Even the character of the monument does not offer a definitive clue, for according to Bernard it is the inscription referring to Clearchus which "luckily for architecture offers a precious chronological benchmark," and not the other way round. The archaeological contextualisation of Ai Khanoum also is of no help. Bernard admits the uncertainties in both absolute and relative chronology of the different periods of Ai Khanoum and notes "the extreme complexity of the stratigraphy and the architectural phases for the oldest periods."

On palaeographical grounds L. Robert dates the Kineas-Clearchus epigraphs "from the beginning of the third century B.C." and notes later "On ne saurait dire de quand datait

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1 Rapin, BCH, 1983, pp. 328, 334; cf. inscription Nos. 5 and 8 in Group II above.
2 See infra.
3 Bernard, Fouilles I, p. 105
4 Ibid., loc. cit.
5 Robert, Fouilles I, p. 213.
ce document. Du moins est-il assuré qu'il était en place au début du IIIᵉ siècle au plus tard." He dates the Strato-Triballos one "around the middle of the third century, not too early" ("Je daterais cette inscription vers le milieu du IIIᵉ siècle, pas trop tot"). I cannot agree more with Robert in dating the Strato-Triballos epigraph about fifty years later than the Kineas-Clearchus ones. But I find it difficult to agree with him in dating the latter from the beginning of the third century B.C.

Robert observes that the cutting of the Kineas epigram is "assuredly of the late Hellenistic era." Without going into the analysis of the form of each letter, as he did in the case of Aśokan inscriptions from Kandahar, he notes only that "for this epigram, as it happens and as Adolf Wilhelm has shown on several occasions, they chose a type of writing recalling the manuscripts, and that comparisons are to be made with the papyri." He concludes that "this text must be from the beginning of the third century, well before the inscriptions of Aśoka and noticeably before the act of enfranchisement of Hyrcania." Aware of the difference in the forms of letters used in the epigram and the maxims on the same base, Robert notes that this difference is not on account of its chronology but because of its style, and that the maxims are not later in date. The epigram is in the lapidary style recalling the papyrus and that the maxims is in monumental. Robert seems also to give more importance to the similarity and purpose of the monuments at Mileopolis and Ai Khanum than to palaeographic comparisons. This is intricately linked also with his assumptions of the identities and dates of Kineas and Clearchus, but it is interesting to note a irking ambivalence in his judgement when he concludes later,

"On ne saurait dire de quand datait ce document. Du moins est-il assuré qu'il était en place au début du IIIᵉ siècle au plus tard. Il est inutile d'exposer par quelles conjectures on pourrait le situer dans le cours des IVᵉ siècle. entre la date que je viens d'indiquer et la reconstruction du temple de Delphes après 373."

One may note here in passing that it is strange that in spite of this statement of Robert and Bernard's own observation about "the complexity of the stratigraphy and the architectural phases for the oldest period" and "the uncertainties in both absolute and relative chronology," the first stage of the temenos of Kineas has been dated in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C."

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1 Ibid., p. 223.
3 Ibid., p. 213.
4 For the Hycanian document see, Hellenica, XI-XII, chapter VII, pp. 85-91, plate V. This is dated between 281 and 260.
5 Ibid., p. 215
6 Ibid., pp. 222-23.
7 For he dates Clearchus in the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. and feels assured that he was an immediate disciple of Aristotle. But see W. Walbank, Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 241, where he dates Clearchus (c. 340-250 B.C.) and others. If Clearchus had met Megathenes and had read his Indika as is generally agreed it is most likely that Clearchus was closer to the middle decades of third century B.C. and was certainly not an immediate disciple of Aristotle. See Robert, op. cit., pp. 233-34, note 167 for relevant discussion and sources.
8 Robert, op. cit., p. 223.
9 Bernard, Fouilles I, p. 105.
About the writing on the dedicatory epigraph of Strato-Triballos Robert observes that it is “profonde, large et aérée,” and the points for comparison are inscriptions of Hyrcania dated between 281 and 260, the two inscriptions of Asoka in Kandahar of about 250 and at the latest the two examples in Media of the edicts of Antiochus III in 193, both strictly contemporary and however much different in their writing (si différents dans leur écriture). He notes that this inscription is short; it does not have pi, a characteristic letter (ainsi il n'y a pas de pi, lettre assez caractéristique). Robert would date this inscription “around the middle of the third century B.C.; not too early (pas trop tot),” and he cannot say “if it is still under the Seleucid regime or already when the kingdom of Bactria is installed.”

The ambivalence noticeable in Robert's statements in respect of both the Kineas-Cleaarchus and Strato-Triballos inscriptions is understandable. Palaeographical evidence based primarily on letter-forms and style is far less precise and secure than often supposed and one must turn to it for dating only as a final refuge. As Woodhead has observed:

“It is at its most valuable in the early period, in the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries, when the continual and rapid development of the epichoric alphabets and their gradual assimilation to an Ionic koine — — make it possible to suggest, on the basis of the appearance of the letters alone, a date sometimes within a decade or two.”

“By the end of the fifth century the letters and technique of writing them had completed their necessary development.”

“The introduction of new letter-forms may be dated in a general way, on the basis of inscriptions showing the new forms which are themselves datable on other grounds. This helps to provide a terminus post quem which may prove useful in other cases in which no additional criteria will serve to suggest a date. There is, however, seldom a terminus ante quem. Styles once introduced tend to persist, side by side with both earlier and later fashions. The classical style of the fourth century B.C. was never wholly eclipsed, even though the decorated and baroque styles of the Hellenistic period exceeded it for a while in general popularity, and it had — — a marked revival in the classicising movement of the time of Trajan and Hadrian. Monumental inscriptions of buildings or imposing statue-groups and memorials often favoured a purity and simplicity of style at a time when monuments of lesser moment rioted in a profusion of exotic by-forms and a tedious abundance of apices. Thus it has proved possible for the most eminent epigraphic authorities to be widely at variance on the date of a text as assessed by the forms of its letters.”

“Another point to remember is that a style is not everywhere uniform and contemporaneous. A fashion in one part of the Greek world does not necessarily permit a text from elsewhere, showing similar characteristics in its lettering to be assigned to the same period.”

The problem indeed becomes more compounded when this comparison involves a vast geography and diverse cultural elements and transformations, which cannot be ignored in the case of the epigraphs from Ai-Khanoum. The factor of place is no important than that of time. It has been noted that "Greek linguistic influence outside the centres of culture was variable and complex," and "the knowledge and use of Greek differed sharply according to locality even in a homeland of the 'oriental Greeks.' I have already discussed elsewhere the numismatic epigraphy of the Indo-Greek coins and shown how unreliable it is to base conclusions on it alone.  

Something of a parallel to the letters of the Kineas Clearchus inscription may be seen in O. Kern, 4 Inscriptiones Graecae, No. 35 (from Tenos in the British Museum) published as IG. XII. 5, No. 872 where Hiller von Gaertringen compared papyrus hands of late IV-early III centuries, and then consulted M. Holleaux, who suggested late III or early II, and A. Wilhelm, who like Hiller, compared papyrus hands and opted for IV-III centuries. This is an example to bear in mind. Joyce Reynolds and I have compared the illustrations of the inscriptions referred to by Robert e.g. the Teheran text published in Hellenica XI-XII, 6 which has to be between 281 and 261. We can see many points of comparison and occasional differences (notably over the two) but doubt very much if the differences are in any way decisive.

The terms of geographical horizon it is realistic to compare the Ai-Khanoum inscriptions with the four other inscriptions recently discovered in Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia, namely, the two Asokan texts 7 and the fragmentary inscription of the hypothetical son of Aristoanax at Kandahar, and the dedicatory one of Atrosokes at Takht-i-Sangin. The last is nearest in location to Ai-Khanoum and naturally attracts our attention first. Litvinsky and Pichikyan, date this dedication of Atrosokes on the altar "to the middle of the 2nd century B.C., that is to the last decades before the fall of Graeco-Bactria." The two Kandahar inscriptions are separated by only a few hundred yards from each other. It is generally agreed that the Asokan edict there date from about the middle of the third

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2 Ibid., 1944, p. 104.  
3 Narain, op. cit., pp. 156-59  
4 Kern, Inscriptiones Graecae, Bonnae 1913, p. xv.  
5 Ibid.  
10 Ibid., p. 63, also note 214: V.a. Livshits and Ju. G. Vinogradov agree with Litvinsky and Pichikyan, but some Soviet scholars are inclined to an earlier date i.e., "turn of the 3rd century - beginning of the 2nd century B.C."
century. Fraser would like to propose a date of c. 275 B.C. for the fragmentary inscription referring to Aristonax. But his ambivalence is clear when he observes that dogmatism on this point would be rash", that "a date between 300 and 275/250 seems likely to represent the overall limits", and that "this cannot be regarded as providing a precise date for the interpretation and historical context of the inscription. While I propose to deal with the content and interpretation of the historical context of these three inscriptions in a separate paper, I still cannot see reason, at least on palaeographical grounds, to be so confident as

1 Fraser dates the bilingual Aśoka edict of Kandahar in c. 258 and notes that "the date cannot be in doubt within more than a year so (259/8-285/7)"; he gives his reasons, op. cit., 10 and note 18 on p. 15. But this is open to many questions. It is true that the chronology of Aśoka's reign is fairly well settled, cf., P.H.L. Eggemont, The Chronology of the Reign of Aśoka Moriya, (Leiden, 1956), pp. 86, 144 ff, 161 and R. Thapar, Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas (O.U.P. 1961), pp. 32-33, but it is not so in the case of the engraving of his edicts D.R. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, (University of Calcutta, 1955), pp. 244-53; R. Thapar, op. cit., pp. 166 ff. The whole problem of the dating of the Aśoka edicts is being freshly examined in detail by me in a separate paper. It is clear that while the second Kangchar edict (the purely Greek one) of Aśoka is a part of the "Corpus" known as the "Fourteen-Rock-Edicts", the bilingual Kandahar edict does not belong in the category of "Minor-Rock-Edicts" but in the group of "independent" or "special" minor rock inscriptions (i.e., not like MREs, I and II but like the Bhabru edict). The Fourteen-Rock-Edicts is a package of documents, copies of which were engraved in different scripts and languages in ten locations, so far known, spread out in the various regions of Aśoka's empire. So also copies of MREs I and II were engraved in as many as thirteen (or 14) places. (D.C. Sircar, Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 1). It is difficult to imagine that all the ten sets of copies of Fourteen-Rock-Edicts were engraved at one and the same time. But there is no reason to doubt that an individual set of copies were engraved at one and the same time at a particular site selected for it. This is evident, on the one hand, from the sequential arrangement of the fourteen inscriptions of the corpus and on the other hand, from the sequential arrangement of the fourteen inscriptions of the corpus and on the other hand from the varying dates in five of them without conforming to any sequence. Rock Edict Nos. III and IV refer to the 12th year, V to the 13th, VIII to the 10th and XIII to the 8th year after the consecration of Aśoka. And these dates are not the dates of their engraving but of some significant events, royal proclamations or dictations. One can only fix the chronological limits within which they must have been engraved. If the earliest limit can only be the 13th year after Aśoka's coronation the latest can be the 27th year after his coronation, if we follow D.R. Bhandarkar's view that the Fourteen-Rock-Edicts were engraved after the Seven-Pillar-Edicts. This means that these R.Es. were engraved between 256/1 and 242/1 B.C. Without going into the question of whether or not the M.R. Es. and "independent/ Special" minor rock inscriptions were engraved before or after the Fourteen-Rock-Edicts and/or Seven-Pillar-Edicts. The internal evidence of the Kandahar bilingual text indicates only that it could not have been engraved before the ten years were completed from Aśoka's consecration. If not clear how long after the moment of Aśoka's showing of Dhamma to mankind was this inscription engraved at the far western end of his empire. Since this edict represents a summary of Aśoka's general principles of Dhamma, and recounts his own achievements and expresses hope for future, it is more likely that it was engraved in the later, rather than earlier, part of his reign. In any case I do not feel inclined to date it before c.250 B.C.

2 Fraser, op. cit. p. 10.

3 Ibid., loc. cit.
Robert, and following him Fraser, in dating the Kineas-Clearchus inscription at Kandahar before that of Aśoka.\(^1\) Perhaps more discoveries and less subjective approach may help in fixing their chronology.

One small but very significant piece of evidence does not permit much speculation.\(^2\) Unfortunately it escaped the attention of Bernard. Among the bricks used in the construction of the tomb of Kineas there are some of exceptionally large size (53 × 49 cm. × 9 cm.) which were used to cover the sarcophagus. One of these which Bernard has illustrated in his report has a Greek monogram and a Brāhmi letter stamped on it. Both are juxtaposed in an incuse of rectangular frame. The monogram is \(\Delta\) and the Brāhmi letter is for \(\text{ṛ} \) Jha.\(^3\) The monogram is very well known and has been a subject of discussion for long. It is agreed that it consists of three letters which according to some stood for Diodotus and indicated the phase of his career when he was reaching out for independence of Bactria.\(^4\) According to others it denoted the usual mint or moneyer's mark but did belong to the period of Diodotus.\(^5\) It was thought by some to represent Dionysopolis.\(^6\)

The Brāhmi letter \(\text{ṛ} \) (Jha), though the standard and typical form known from the inscriptions of Aśoka, can be later than the time of Aśoka but not earlier. In Aśokan edicts this may be found in as many as thirteen places.\(^7\) But this letter-form hardly registers any change in the century following that of Aśoka.\(^8\) It is important to realise that Aśoka used Kharoṣṭhī script and not Brāhmi for his edicts in Gāndhāra.\(^9\) It is only after him that Brāhmi appears for the first time alongwith Kharoṣṭhī, on some local "Negama coins from Taxila,\(^{10}\) as well as on some bilingual coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles, who were the only Indo-Greek kings to use Brāhmi instead of Kharoṣṭhī, on them.\(^{11}\) These coins and their

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1 Fraser notes that the second Kandahar edict of Aśoka is written in more cursive hand resembling in some respects the poem of Klearchos at Ai-Khanoum (op. cit., p. 14, n. 2). It is not clear if he would date the Klearchos inscription, therefore, later than what has been proposed by Robert.

2 I refer to the bricks described by Bernard in Fouilles I, pp. 9-10, 87-88. Bernard notes (p. 9) that the significance of symbol on the brick escapes him (La signification du second signe nous échappe).

3 See Figure 'a', plate 97 in Fouilles I.


7 C.S. Upasak, The History and Palaeography of Mauryan Brahmi Script, Nalanda (Pata) 1960, p. 69. This is found in Rock Edicts of Girnar, Kalsi, Dhauri, Jaugada and Erargudi, Pillar Edicts of Delhi-Topra, Delhi-Mirath, Lauria-Araraj, Lauriya Nandangarh, Rampurva and Allahabad-Kosam, and separate Rock Edicts of Dhauri and Jaugada.

8 See A.H. Dani, Indian Palaeography, Oxford, 1963, esp. 59-61 and compare pl. V a No. 6 for an example from Barli fragmentary inscription of first century B.C.; VI a, No. 2 for Sanchi series; No. 1 of early first century B.C.; No. 6 for Bharhut series; No. 1 of late first century B.C. It hardly registers any change until at least first century A.D. (See Dani, pl. VIII a 100).

9 A.H. Dani, op. cit., pp. 59-61, who states "it was influence of Greek writing and Greek technicians that gave a new face to Indian Brāhmi" (p. 60). One may also recall the use of Brāhmi by Heliodorus, an envoy of Antialcidas, king of Taxila, to Bhagabhadra in his Beasangar Pillar inscription.

10 E.J. Rapson, "Counter-marks on early Persian and Indian Coins, JRAS., 1895, pp. 865-77.

significance have already been discussed elsewhere. Bactria was not included in the empire of Asoka, nor was it part of the territory ceded to Chandragupta by Seleucus. On the other hand, not only the bilingual coins, with Brahmi legend, of Agathocles have been found in Ai-Khanoum but the Ostraca writings from its “Treasury” inform us about the Kārśhāpanas from Taxila reaching there. Use of Brahmi letter in Ai-Khanoum can hardly be dated before the time of Agathocles, who reigned from c. 185 to 165 B.C. The Kineas-Clearchus inscription therefore can hardly be in any case earlier than Asokan edicts from Kandahar. Most probably it is dated from the third quarter of the third century B.C and not in the beginning of the third century B.C. as Robert thought. Since Robert is right in dating the Strato-Triballos epigraph about fifty years later than that of Kineas-Clearchus one, we would date that inscription in the second half of the second century B.C.

Now returning to inscriptions which I have included in Group II, it is clear that they belong to a different category altogether. These writings on the Ostraca, which were found in the excavation seasons of 1977 and 1978, are documents of administrative nature and deal with accounting in what the excavators call the “Treasury”. The medium and technique of writing and the material on which they are written are different from the inscriptions of Group I. Comparatively they are larger in number but they are so fragmentary that complete restoration of their contents is not possible. But the message of their content is evident from what has survived. While it is not assuring to comment on the nature, date and contents of these writings without examining the material firsthand I cannot help making a few observations on some of them on the basis of the published information and illustrations.

1 Narain, op. cit., pp. 59-60; these coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles are definitely later than the local Negama coins of Taxila (see also Dani, op. cit. p. 60)
2 Bernard, RN, 1974, pp. 7-41; also Narain, JINSI, 1973, pp. 73-77.
3 Rapin, BCH, pp. 329-30. See supra, pp. 128-29, No. 5 in Group II and my translation of it.
5 It may be noted that Strato I reigned from c. 130 to 95 B.C., see Narain, op. cit., pp. 102, 110-11 and the chronological chart on p. 181. Also attention may be drawn to the Strato of Ostraca inscriptions of Ai Khanoum.
6 Most of these inscriptions are written in Indian ink while some appear engraved (gravés) after baking. (Rapin, op. cit., pp. 316-17).
7 They are about forty in number written on thirty different vessels. They include 3 non-Greek writings, one graffitti and one ointment. As against these the monumental inscriptions are few in number which includes a fragmentary one consisting of only seven letters not included in our Group I above in Group II. I have included only nine of the forty from the Ostraca.
8 With the possible exception of No. 3 of Group II there is hardly any which is complete. Most of the selected ones in Group II have, however, only a few words missing. No. 2 has been selected in spite of its very incomplete nature because of the occurrence of the figure which may represent a date. About the fragmentary nature of these writings and their restoration, see Rapin, op. cit., pp. 315-49.
9 Bernard and Rapin, BEFEO, 1980, pp. 10-38; Rapin, op. cit., pp. 351 ff. Bernard and Rapin think that these vessels are part of royal treasury. But I think the possibility that they could be part of a merchant-banker’s warehouse needs consideration.
The “cursive capital type” of these Ai-Khanoum documents have been compared with those of the Mediterranean world, particularly of Ptolemaic administration.\(^1\) Rapin, however, recognises that there is insufficient evidence to determine its typology\(^2\). After making some specific comparisons he admits that “in spite of evident signs of kinship, the comparison with the Ptolemaic palaeography does not allow in itself to date exactly our texts.”\(^3\) His statement that “let us say any way that they do not show any anomaly in relation to the writing current in the III century and in the first half of the second century B.C.,”\(^4\) is not only a weak judgement indeed but it seems misleading. I do not see any reason to travel so far in the west to Egypt to explain the nuances of the writings so far in the east as Badakshan. Neither has any reason for the linkage between the two ends been given. I think it is a local development and clues have to be found in closer geographical limits.

No doubt these inscriptions are palaeographically later than those of Group I.\(^5\) If the dates I have suggested earlier for the Kineas-Clearchus and Strato-Triballos inscriptions are accepted, these writings on the Ostraca may be dated from the second half of the second century B.C., that is, a couple of decades later than what Bernard and Rapin would like us to accept.

Some of these inscriptions have been supposed to refer to a date. At least in one of them “year 24” is mentioned.\(^6\) Perhaps in another the figure 38 might also refer to a date.\(^6\) It is not clear whether these figures refer to a regnal year or a date in calendrical reckoning system.\(^8\) But Bernard and Rapin suggest that the year 24 is related to an era named after Eucratides.\(^9\) This suggestion has already caught the imagination of others.\(^10\) The problem

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1 Rapin, op. cit., p. 355.
2 Ibid., p. 350, “nos textes sont en nombre insuffisant pour permettre de dresser une typologie.”
3 Ibid., p. 350, “malgré des traits de parenté évidents, la comparaison avec la paléographie ptolémaïque ne permet pas, en elle-même, de dater précisément nos textes.”
5 This is accepted by Bernard and Rapin too. Bernard & c., BEFEO, Tome, LXVIII, 1980, pp. 15-19; Rapin, op. cit., pp. 349-51.
6 No. 1 of Group II; cf. Rapin, op. cit., p. 320, fig. 3 a-b.
7 No. 2 of Group II; Rapin, op. cit., pp. 323-24, No. 3, fig. 6. The last letter of before the numeral figure 38 is faintly visible in the Fig. 6a, the sherd broken at that point.
8 Bernard & c., BEFEO, Tome LXVIII, 1980, pp. 24-27, consider both the possibilities but in both cases like to tie it to Eucratides. It may be noted, however, that quite unlike the usual practice the inscription does not give the name of the king to whose regnal year or to whose era it is supposed to refer. Even the one and only instance of dating in an Indo-Greek inscription, i.e. the Bajaur Inscription known before Ai-Khanoum for example the name of the king, Menander, is mentioned after a possible numeral figure (see, Narain, op. cit., p. 144 and Ep. Ind., XXIV, pp. 1-8).
9 Bernard & c., BEFEO, Tome LXVIII, 1980, pp. 24-27; Rapin, op. cit., pp. 367-70
10 Fussman, BEFEO, Tome LXVII, 1980 pp. 36-42; Holt.
of dates and identification of eras are so vexing that I would prefer not to make it unnecessarily more complicated by introducing a new candidate, particularly when the candidate is weak. I have already discussed the career of Eucratides in detail and have shown that the picture drawn of him by Tarn is not justified. Since my last work on the subject I do not find any evidence substantial enough to change the image of Eucratides; though it delinks him from the Seleucid designs, it does not deprive him of the qualities of military leadership, and of his successes, to entitle him to be one of the half a dozen Indo-Greek kings, out of about forty, whose names alone have survived in whatever meager literary sources we have about them. The only new evidence brought to light is the reference in Aelian. It states, in connection with the pearl-oysters of India, that there was “a city of which one Soras by name was ruler, a man of royal lineage, at the time when Eucratides was ruler of Bactria.” This is hardly more enlightening than the information we already have from Strabo and Justin sources much earlier than Aelian. In fact Eucratides’ contemporaneity with Mithridates known from Justin is more rewarding in fixing his date than Aelian’s reference to Soras. For the identity and date of Soras, who must be one of the Chola kings of South India, is unknown. If at all, a reference to Eucratides might help to locate the date of this Chola king but not vice versa. This hardly adds to our knowledge to justify Bernard’s answer to his own question: “Who was then the Greco-Bactrian king powerful and ambitious enough to take around the end of the first quarter of the second century B.C. the decision of creating an era of his own? It cannot be anybody else but Eucratides.” As we have noted, there were other “powerful and ambitious kings also among the Greco-Bactrians in that period.” If we must look for a date in the first quarter of the second century B.C. for the beginning of an era to which the year 24 of the Ostraca might belong there is more than one claimant, e.g., Demetrius I and II, who ruled from c. 200-185 and 180-165 respectively, Agathocles who ruled from c. 180 to 165 and even Antimachus I (190-180). All these kings who were members of the rival family of Euthydemos appear to have much better claims than that of Eucratides in almost every respect. If it is a question of “ambition” and

1 I have discussed the problem of eras in the Kharōshthi inscriptions in detail in my forthcoming books on the Śakas and the Kushānas.
2 Narain, op. cit., chapter III passim.
5 Strabo, XI. 11-2, XV. 1.3.
6 Justin, xlii. 6.
7 Narain, op. cit., p. 53.
8 K.A., Nilakantha Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India (University of Madras, 1972), p. 61, note 1 according to whom Soras is from Sola (Tamil).
10 Narain, op. cit., Chapters III and IV passim. It is relevant to recall here the statement made by Strabo (XI.11.1) about Menander.
11 For their dates and career, see Narain op. cit., Chapters II and III and p. 181.
visibility, the number of commemorative medals issued by Agathocles\(^1\) makes him too as a possible founder of the era used for the dating on the Ostraca. A quantitative analysis of the Indo-Greek coinage found in Ai-Khanoum also favours the Euthydemids as effective masters of the city rather than Eu克拉des,\(^2\) who was in fact an interloper, who, in spite of his success against Demetrius, was murdered in cold blood by either his own son\(^3\) or by a son of Demetrius.\(^4\) Starting of an era and its usage by those who follow depends much upon the popularity of the person or the event, and above all its acceptance by those who come after. A parricide would hardly be interested in either starting or using a reckoning system from the date of Eu克拉des' accession to the throne. Nor would the rival family of Euthydemus and Demetrius be interested in remembering him. Moreover, there is nothing in the inscription itself to link the name of Eu克拉des with the date. The only Indo-Greek king so far known to have been linked with a possible date in an inscription is Menander.\(^5\) We have the option of using the Yavana era starting in c. 155 B.C.,\(^6\) for dating the Ostraca inscription. But we must wait for more evidence before we can exercise that option. Palaeographically too I do not think of any problem in doing so. The inscription will then be dated in 131 B.C. In fact the occurrence of the name of more than one Strato in the Gymnasium as well as on the Ostraca is tempting to find linkages with Menander's family. On the other hand the role and visibility of Agathocles in Ai-Khanoum, use of Brāhmi letters by him and linkage with Taxila do not rule out Agathocles' accession and the occasion of striking the commemorative medals\(^7\) as good reasons for starting a reckoning system.

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1 See for a discussion on the importance and significance of these medals, Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 446-51; Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56. The recent discovery of his medal commemorating his elder brother Pantoleon, probably from Ai-Khanoum, further strengthens our belief (cf. Henri-Paul Francfort, "Deux Nouveaux Tétradrachmes commémoratifs d'Agathoclé", *Revue Numismatique*, 1975, pp. 19-22 for this coin).

2 Compare the number of coins bearing the name of Euthydemus and those who may be associated with his family found at Ai-Khanoum with those bearing the name of Eu克拉des. In the 1973 finding there was only one coin of Eu克拉des (*Revue Numismatique*, 1975, pp. 23-57). Earlier in the campaigns of 1965-68 at Ai-Khanoum there were 7 coins of Euthydemus against 2 of Eu克拉des (*Fouilles I*, pp. 203-05). See also the numbers listed in F. Holt, "The Euthydemid coinage of Bactria : Further Hoard Evidence from Ai Khanoum", *Revue Numismatique*, 1981, pp. 7-44.

3 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.


5 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44; also Narain, "Date of Kaniska" in A.L. Basham (ed.).

6 Compared to Agathocles the commemorative medal issued by Eu克拉des commemorating Heliokles and Laodice is hardly impressive. The gold 20-stater is a freak issued to vaunt a sudden acquisition of wealth by an interloper. A later and not a very well known king Amyntas also issued large silver decadrachms and assumed the title of "autocratour".
that as it may, either Agathocles or Menander, but certainly not Eucratides. Bernard has, of course, not ruled out the possibility of accepting the year 24 as simply a regnal year of Eucratides¹ instead of belonging to an era starting from his accession. But there again, it does not go with the evidence we have about the length of his reign. Twenty four years is more than our evidence permits.² Moreover, there is the figure 38 in another fragmentary writing in Group II. If that too belongs to the same system we have to agree for at least 38 years of Eucratides’ reign which is impossible. Whether or not Eucratides was the last king to have ruled over Ai-Khanum before its destruction, and other details, are matters of more discussion, which I propose to do in another article. Suffice it to observe here that linking this issue with the year 24 with Eucratides is begging the question.

² Narain, op. cit., pp. 53-73, esp. p. 53 and 73.
No. 19—TWO TAMIL CAVE BRÄHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

M.D. Sampath, Mysore.

The two Tamil Cave Brahmi inscriptions edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, were copied by me and included in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 1990-91. Out of these two, one was copied from the caves of Tirumalai hills near Kilappungudi in Sivaganga Taluk of former Ramnad District. The village Kilappungudi is situated at a distance of 25 kms. from Melur in Madurai District. The second one is from the cave locally called Undânikal near the village Vikkiramangalam in Madurai District.

The records under study are classified herender as A and B for the sake of convenience. Record A was noticed earlier by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras, and a paper on the same was presented by Sri N. Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology, Madras at a seminar conducted by the Tamil University, Thanjavur in 1990. The different readings suggested by the members of the above department have not been published so far.

The text reads as follows:

Ekkâtu-ur Kâvitikan koriya pâli-

Engraved on the eyebrow of the cave, this archaic record is not easily visible to the naked eye.

The language of the record is Tamil and the script employed is called Damili or Tamil-Brahmi. Though the name Damili is eminently applicable to the alphabet of the archaic cave records of Tamil Nadu, on the score that their script got so evolved to suit Dravidian phonology, yet the name Tamil-Brahmi has persisted with the academicians. In fact, the nomenclature Tamil-Brahmi has gained near-universal currency on account of our reluctance to accept a more suitable terminology.

It is written in a single line and the engraving is shallow. The record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to c. 2nd Century B.C.

The inscription registers the fact that the cave (pâli) was caused to be scooped out by one Kâvitikan of (the place) Ekkatu-ur.

The interesting feature of the record is the absence of the inherent a vowel value in the consonants, the use of two consonants side by side as full letters instead of a conjunct form (samyuktakshara) as seen in the expression Ekkatuâ. Like the records from Mângulam and other places, this record exhibits the indigenous forms, especially the use of letters for the Dravidian sounds r and n. The medial vowel signs for a and a are identical and the same ca
be distinguished only by invoking a knowledge of the language. The symbol \( u \) (medial) in the word \( Ekkatu\-ur \) stands for the long sound \( \ddot{u} \) only. The above features can be called pre-evolutionary ones. The letter forms \( n, r \) figuring in this record show some similarities to the ones found in the Māngulam records.\(^1\)

This is one of the early Tamil cave Brāhmi records showing the basic forms of the alphabet. To these basic forms have been added special Dravidian sounds like \( r \) and \( g \) to suit the Dravidian phonology. The earliest Tamil cave Brāhmi records have been elsewhere assigned to the pre-Asokan period on account of the occurrence of the rudimentary type of scriptal forms.\(^2\)

The place Ekkatu\-ur may be identified with Erukātur figuring in the cave Brāhmi record from Tirupparaṅkaṇṭam\(^3\) and Ekkátur referred to in the Vaṭṭeluttu inscription\(^4\) from Pillaiyarpatti in Ramnad District.

The term \( Kavi\)ti seems to indicate 'a title'. In the record of the Pāṇḍyas of the 8th-10th century A.D., the expression \( kavi\)di occurs and has been taken to signify a revenue officer and petty official.\(^5\) Kavitikaṅ occurring in the present record is suggestive of a personal name rather than a title. The word \( koriy\)\(^6\)- may be taken to mean 'to scoop out.'

Record \( B \), engraved on the inner face of a rocky out-crop at Vikkiramāṅgalam, was first noticed by Sri N. Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology, Madras. It was subsequently copied by this office in 1990. This place has so far yielded five inscriptions, of which four are found engraved on the beds of the cave and one is found engraved on the eye-brow of the cave.\(^8\)

The language of the record is Tamil and the script employed is Dāmili or Tamil-Brahmi. On palaeographical grounds, this record may be placed later to the record \( A \) discussed above. The present inscription may be assigned to 1st Century B.C., on the basis of palaeography. The text reads:

\textbf{Erayal Ara-iyaṅ caevaṭaṇ}

The purport of the record is that (this bed/cave) was caused to be made by Ara-iyaṅ of Erayal.

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1. See the ‘Corpus of Tamil-Brāhmi inscriptions’ by Iravatham Mahadevan in the \textit{Seminar on Inscriptions} (ed.) by R. Nagaswamy, pp. 69 ff., Nos. 3 and 5.
4. Contra \textit{Corpus of Tamil-Brāhmi Inscriptions}, No. 75.
5. \textit{SII}, Vol. XIV, p. 12; in the Tamil poem \textit{Maduraik-Kāṭchi}, the term \textit{kavi}di is used in the sense of a title given to experienced and capable ministers. The Tamil \textit{Nighaṇṭu} explains this term as ‘an accountant’. It is used in the sense of a title given to a warrior in the Melpaṭṭi inscription of Pallava Kampavarman (See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 144).
The following palaeographical features deserve notice. Vowel e bears resemblance to the ones found in the records at Karungalakkudi and Alagarmalai. Two forms of t are found used, one with the arm branching off to the right of a diagonal (slanting) stem and the other with two arms forking from the bottom of a vertical stem. The final n used in Ara-ityan and chevitaon, has been evolved to meet the needs of Dravidian phonology.

The name Ara-ityan reminds us of a similar name found mentioned in the Tiruvadavur inscription. Sri Mahadevan read the name in the latter record as Ar-itan. The word Arita or Ar-ita or Ara-itya is, in all probability, the tadbhava form of the Sanskrit word Harita, which term occurs as the name of gotra. The place Erayal is not identifiable with any of the modern place-names in the present state of our knowledge.

1 See Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions, Nos. 28 and 43 (Alagarmalai record, No. 14), pp. 63-64.
2 and 3 Ibid., pp. 61, 63 and 65.
No. 20—TANṆIVĀDA GRANT OF VIJAYĀDITYA (II)

(1 Plate)

M. D. Sampath, Mysore

The copper-plate charter edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysor is noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 1917.1 This set of plates is stated to have been received from Sri Ramakrishnakavi, Assistant Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The details regarding the findspot and the place where the plates have been preserved are not known.

The set consists of three plates with raised rims each measuring 22 cms. in length and 8 cms. in breadth. The plates are strung on a ring which has a diameter of about 8 cms. and the seal is little over 5 cms. The ends of the ring had been fixed into the bottom of the circular seal. But they are loose and separable. Each of the plates has a ring-hole with a diameter of 1.5 cm. in the centre of the left margin for the ring to pass through. The seal is stated to bear, on the countersnk surface, the legend Śri-Tribhuvanāntkuśa, engraved in old Telugu characters followed by a floral design or ankuśa with the crescent and star above it and an expanded lotus petal decoration below. The ring and seal are, however, not at present available.

The set together with ring and seal is stated to weigh 812 gms.

The first and the third plates are inscribed on their inner surface while the middle one bears writing on both sides. There are in all thirty two lines of writing equally distributed among the four written sides.

The characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets usually met with in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas. The writing is well preserved and, on palaeographical grounds, assignable to the first half of the 9th century A.D. The characters can be compared with those of the Varppotugu grant of the same ruler.2

The language of the record is Sanskrit prose throughout with the exception of four verses towards the end.

As regards orthography, it may be pointed out that mistakes are few and far between. The practice of doubling the consonant following the rēpha is uniformly observed throughout excepting once in the word Arjuna (line 12).

The charter opens with the auspicious word Svasti which is followed by the stereotyped praśasti occurring in the numerous Eastern Chālukyan charters. The genealogical account

1 AREp., 1916-17, No. A 5.
confines itself to the mention of the grandfather and father of the ruling king and makes no reference to the earlier Chalukya rulers. This omission can also be seen in the Varpponggu grant published elsewhere. The record under discussion belongs to the reign of Vijayāditya (II), the donor of the grant, who is introduced as the son of Sarvalokāśraya Vhshnuvardhana and the grandson of Vijayāditya. A portion of the conventional praise about the donor king of our record nearly follows the description of this king given in the Varpponggu grant.

Vijayāditya I, who is stated to be the grandfather of the donor of our grant, is described as one who had established his rule by defeating through the prowess of his sword all enemy kings, as one who had gifted away gold weighed against his own weight time and again, as one who had blemishless fame as his standard and as the refuge of the entire world. Next is introduced his son Sarvalokāśraya Vishnuvardhana (IV), who is described as an expert in the battle-fields, as one whose feet was worshipped by all kings and as one who is hailed as Manmatha.

His son Vijayāditya (II), the issuer of this charter, is described in glowing but conventional terms. He is compared with the milky ocean and with Yudhishthira, Arjuna, Bhima, Sahadeva and Guha for his many virtues and is described as a king endowed with the three imperial attributes (śakti-traya). He is also given the epithets paramabrahmānaya and paramamāhēśvara. Whereas his grandfather and father are given the title mahārāja, he is endowed with the full array of the imperial titles viz., mahārajādhiraja, paramēśvara and bhaṭṭāraka.

Then the inscription proceeds to record the royal order addressed to all officials and householders residing in Konurunāḍu-vishaya. The details of the grant recorded in the sequel are as follows: The village Tāṇḍivāḍa was granted, free from all taxes, to the two brahmānas Vṛiddha-Maṇḍaśarma and Donaśarma, who were the sons of Donaśarma and Golaśarma and grandsons of Vṛiddha-Maṇḍaśarma who belonged to the Apastamba-sūtra and Gautama-gotra and who was a resident of Varagiparu. The donees are described as engaged in the fulfilment of prescribed brahmanical activities such as learning and teaching, performing sacrifices and causing them to be performed and giving grants, etc. Their bodies always smelt of the smoke and incense of the sacrifices performed by them. The parents of the donees are described in their turn as proficient in Vedas, Vedāngas, Itihāśa, Purāṇa and Niti-śāstra. The grant is stated to have been made on the auspicious occasion of a solar-eclipse (Sūrya-grahana). No other details of date are given in the record.

The issuer of this charter Vijayāditya (II) is assumed by scholars to have ruled from 808 to 847 A.D. Neither our record nor his two other published records viz., the British Museum

1 Ep. Andh., Vol. III, p. 6, text lines 1-5.
2 This place is referred to as the residence of one of the donees figuring in the British Museum plates of the same king (See, Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 416).
Plates and the Varppongu grant furnish any dates for his reign. In the genealogical portion of most of the records of his successors, he is assigned a reign period of forty years but a few of them state the period to be 41, 44 and even 48 years. These differences in the reign period may have been due to the possibility of his joint rule for some years, first as crown prince under his predecessor and next as the senior ruler after his successor’s accession.

After registering the details of the grant proper, the text goes on to enumerate (lines 23-25) the boundaries of the gift village: to the east the river called Kalluru, to the south the village called Prusambu, to the west a river (name lost) and to the north the village called Majjulur. The gift village Tandivada and the villages and rivers bordering it are, however, not identifiable on a modern map.

The executor (ajñapti) of the grant Niravadyēsavatsala, who is described in verse 4 as an expert in the science of polity and as an accomplished in intellect. This official, obviously, bears a name coined after the epithet of his overlord Vijayaditya, who is described in our record (line 11) as Niravady-odara-guna-gan-ālakritah. This epithet Niravadya was originally a favourite of the Vatapi Chalukya emperor Vijayaditya (696-733 A.D.) and was obviously later adopted by his Eastern Chalukya namesake as evidenced by our record.

We know that the Chimbuluru grant of Eastern Chalukya Vijayaditya II was composed by one Bhatta Niravadya, a few years after the issue of the grant under study. In the present state of our knowledge, however, it is not possible to identify with certainty Niravadyēsavatsala of our record with Bhatta Niravadya of the Chimbuluru record.

The present charter was written (engraved) by Aksharalalītāchārya who is also known from the British Museum Plates of the same king in the same capacity. We learn from the latter record that he was resident of Vijayavada. Besides these two charters, he also engraved the Chimbuluru grant of Vijayaditya III referred to above, wherein his name occurs as Aksharalalita and he is described as a resident of Vijayavada. This Vijayavada is the same as the well known town of that name in the Krishna District.

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TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti [1*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Māṇavya-sa-gōtrānāṁ Haritipu-
2 trāṇāṁ Kauśiki-varaprasāda-labdha-rājyānāṁ mātri-gana-paripalitānāṁ Svāmi-Ma-
3 hasēna-pād-ānudhyātānāṁ bhagavaṉ-Nārāyana-prasāda-samāsa(sā)dita-vara-
4 varāha-lāñchhan-e-
5 kṣaṇa-kṣaṇa-vaśikrit-ārati-māndalāṅkāṁ Aśvamēdh-āvabhrīthasnāna-pavitrikri-
6 ta-vapushāṁ Chālukyānāṁ kulam=alambharishnēḥ sv-āsi-dhāra prabhāv-āvarjita-
7 āśe-
8 sha-rājanya-mastak-ākranta-tivr-aika-śāsanas=ānēka-tulā-dhṛita-śrā(śa)takumbha-
9 viśrāṇan-āva-
10 dāta-śārīra-sampado niravadya-ōdara kṛitti-dhvajasya samasta-bhuvanaśraya-śrī
11 Vijaya-
12 ditya-mahārājasya pautrah tat-sūnī2-ati-tumula-ghora-mah-āhava-rangga-paṭutara-
13 nai-

Second Plate: First Side

9 punyah sakala-mahipala-vandita-charan-āravinda-yugalō makara-dhvaj-
10 ābhidhānaka[h] Sarvvalō-
11 kāśraya-śrī-Vishnūvardāhā-mahārājasya priya-tanayah samsta-sāmanta-mauli-
12 māl-alambkrita-cha-
13 raṇa-yugalō nirvadya-ōdara-gūṇa-gan-ālamkritā-śārīrāṁ kshir-arṇṇava yi(i)va
14 Lakṣmi-prasūtir=-dharma-
15 ja yi(i)va satya-sandhah Arjuna yi(i)va nirmmał-ōpētah Bhimasēna yi(i)va
16 Bhūmabālādyā(dhya)ḥ Sa-
17 hadēva yi(j)va Sahadēvamūrttiḥ Guha yi(i)v=āpratihata-śaktih śaktitraya-sam-
18 pannaḥ pa-
19 rama-brahmanyah parama-māheśvarō māṭa-pitṛ-pād-ānu3dhyātah samasta-
20 bhuvanaśraya-śrī-Vi-
21 jayāditya-mahārājādhirāja-paramesvara-bhaṭṭārakaḥ Kōnurunāṇḍu-vishaya-
22 nivāsinō rā-

1 From ink impressions.
2 The words tat-sūnī are redundant.
3 A letter j seems to have been written below ānu. 
16 shtrakūṭa-pramukhan=kutumbinas=sarvvan-ittham=ājñāpayati viditam=astu
   vo='smabhiḥ Varṇgi[pa]-

   Second Plate : Second Side

   17 ru-va(vā)stavyasya Gautama-gotrasy=Āpastambha(ba)-sūtrasy=ātiśaya-
       dharmaṇushṭhāna-para-
   18 sya shat-karma-niratasya Vṛddha-Maṇḍaśarmanṭa[h*] pautrabhyarth(bhyāṁ)
       tat-patrayor-vVeda-Vedāṁg-Ītihāsa-Pu-
   19 rāṇa-niti-sāstr-ārtha-nipunayoh Donaśarman-Goḷaśarmaṇanōh putrabhyām
       adhyayan-ādhyā-
   20 pana-yajana-yajana-dān-ādi kriy-ānushthāna-tatparābhyaṁ anavarata-makh-agni-
       dhūma-
   21 sa(sam)cha[ya]-gandh-ādhivāsita-śartra-nirmalabhyaṁ Vṛddha-Maṇḍa-
       Donaśarmaṃbhyaṁ-āyu-
   22 r-arogy-ābhivṛddhayē Sūryya-grāhaṇa-nimitē(ttam)sarvva-kara-parihāren-ōdaka-
   23 pūrvvam kritvā Tāṇḍiva(vā)da-nāma-gramō dattaḥ asy=avaddhayāḥ pūrvvata[h*]
       Kalārū-
   24 nāmanadī daksinātaḥ Prusambuṇa-nāma-grāmaḥ paschimataḥ [Pa]...

Third Plate

   25 ni-nāmanadī uta(tta)raṭah Majjulūrunāma-grāmaḥ etēśaṁ madhyavatti [\*]
   26 Asy=ōpari na-kalachidbha(d-ba)dhakaraṇiyā[\*] karoti yas=sa pāncha-mahāpataka-
       sarhyu-
   27 kto bhavati [\*] bhagavata Vyāsēn=āpy=uktam [\*] Bahubhir=vvasudha datta
       bahubhiś=ch=ānupālita [\*] ya-
   28 sya yasya yada bhūmīs-tasya tasya tada pa(ph)a)lam(lam) [\* 1*] Svadattāṁ
       paradattāṁ va yō ha-
   29 rēta vasundharāṁ [\*] shasāṭṭhim varsha-sahasrāṇī visiṭṭha(shtā)yāṁ jayatē
       kriṁiḥ [\* 2*] Sarvvan=ē-
   30 va bhāvināḥ pārthivendra[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmahēvaḥ [\*]
       Sāmānyo=’yan-dharmaṃ-seṭu-
   31 r=nripanāṁ kāle kāle pālanyo bhavadbhiḥ [\* 3*] Ājñāptir=asya dharmmasya niti-
       sāstra-viśārala[h*] | buddhi-sa-
   32 mp[u]rṇa-sārnyuktō Nirvadyēśa-vatsalaḥ [\* 4*] Aksharalalit-āchāryēn-ālikhitam
       [\* 1*]

1 The anusvāra is written over the next letter āe.
2 The anusvāra is placed over the letter "bu".
No. 21—HĀTHUNDĪ INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF 
MAHĀRĀJAKULA SĀMAṉṬASIMHADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1345

(1 Plate)

Ram Sharma, Mysore

The inscription1 edited below was first noticed in P.R.A.S.W.C.2 by D.R. Bhandarkar who later on included it in his list.3 The inscription was transcribed by Puran Chand Nahar4 as well as by Muni Jinavijaya.5 It is edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

The record is enlaved on a pillar in the porch of the Jaina temple at village Hāthundī in the Jodhpur District of Rajasthan. The inscription occupies a space measuring $14 \text{ cm} \times 49 \text{ cm}$. It contains 21 lines of writing and each line consists of about 9 letters. The size of the letters varies from about 1 cm to 3 cm. The characters are Nagari and regular for the period to which the inscription belongs. Medial ē is expressed in two ways, either by a śrōmātrā as in rājye (line 7) or by a prishthamātrā, as in karanē (line 8). Of special interest are the forms of ch, dh and bh, cf. the late and early forms of ch in Chatuvihāra and cha (line 15), dha in sādhu (line 11-12) and Vasudha (line 17) and bha in Bhādrava (line 3) and subhān bhavatu (line 16) where it looks like dental sa. The letter k written as conjunct in Śukra (lines 3-4) and with medial u sign in kula (line 6) has lost the loop. Amongst other conjuncts the forms of sya in tasya (line 19) and tta in pradattāh (line 16) looking like sa are interesting. The language of the record is Sanskrit, which is not free from mistakes. The influence of local dialect is discernible at some places like Bhādrava (line 3) for Bhādrapada. The use of the letters j for y in jasya (line 18) and jadā (line 19) and p for bh in pumī (line 19) are interesting orthographical features.

The date of the inscription is Vikrama 1345, first Bhādrapada ba. 9, Friday which corresponds to 1288 A.D., July 23 according to the northern Vikrama era, i.e. Chaitrādi Purnimānta.

The inscription commences with a symbol for Siddham which is followed by a passage paying obeisance to Vitarāga (i.e., Jina). This is followed by the details of date discussed above. It is then stated that śrī-Sāmyasingha (Samaṁtasimha)deva styled as Mahārājakula was ruling over Nāḍula-mandala on that date. The pañchakula consisting of Mahāṁ Lalatā and others appointed by the king under the Śrīkaraṇa i.e., Chief Secretariat6 or Advisory Committee are mentioned next as registering the gift. The object of the inscription is to

1 This is A.R.Ep., 1961-62, No. C 1727.
2 P.R.A.S.W.C., 1907-08, p. 52.
3 Bhandarkar's List, No. 621.
record the annual grant of twenty four drammas denominated as Vaśika-drammas for the service of Mahāvītra, obviously the Jaina Tirthankara in the village Ḥathi-udi by sādhu (i.e., a Jaina devotee) Hēmāka in the Maṇḍapikā (i.e., a little pavilion)¹ erected below the Śāmi tree. Since the Śāmi tree is supposed to contain sacred fire the obvious indication is that the grant was made with the sacred fire of the tree as witness. The usual sense of maṇḍapikā as a customs house¹ does not appear to be applicable in the present case. The grant portion is followed by the auspicious expression śubham bhavatu and the customary benedictory verse Bahubhīr-vasudhā bhuktā, etc. The inscription ends with the statement that it was written by [Thā.] Kapūra-Vijaya.

Several types of drammas have been mentioned in numerous other inscriptions,² but not Vaśika-dramma. We have no means of knowing its exact value. A.K. Majumdar³ surmises that this dramma was a silver coin. P.C. Nahar appears to suggest it to be a record of land grant,⁴ which does not appear to be correct.

The king Mahārājakula Sāmamataśimhadēva has been identified with the ruler of this name who flourished in the Sōngirā branch of the Chāhāmāna dynasty of Jalōr⁵ (Marwar). In the present inscription he has been described as ruling over Nāḍūla-maṇḍala, which makes it clear that Nāḍōl which has passed into the hands of Sōngirā Chāhāmānas during the time of Udayasimha⁶ was still under their sway. Further it is known that Sāmamataśimha was the son and successor of Chāchigadēva on the Jalōr throne. C.L. Suri,⁷ however, considers Sādhadēva as the son and immediate successor of Chāchigadēva and presumes a struggle between Sādhadēva and Sāmamataśimha for the Jalōr throne resulting in the success of the latter. Suri's contention lies mainly on the find of an inscription of Chāchigadēva at Sanpur which is near Nūn where we have got the inscription of Mahārājakula Rāūta Sādhadēva who under the circumstances has been taken as belonging to the Jalōr or Sōngirā branch of the Chāhāmānas. Now, it is, however, not known as to why the Sirōhi branch of the Sōngirā Chāhāmānas has been overlooked by Suri. In that branch Pratāpasimha⁸ appears to have flourished as a contemporary and cousin of Chāchigadēva and it is quite likely that Sādhadēva was Pratāpasimha's son and successor and not of Chāchigadēva.

Two geographical names occur in this inscription. Nāḍūla-maṇḍala referred to in lines 4-5 is the region around modern Nāḍōl. The village Ḥathi-udi (lines 12-13) obviously refers to modern Hathundi, the findspot of the inscription.

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2 cf. Ibid., p. 100. Also see D. Sharma, op. cit., pp. 302-04.
3 cf. op.cit., p. 272.
4 cf. P.C. Nahar, op. cit., where he reads prachchhati bhūmi.
5 cf. D. Sharma, op. cit., p. 159.
6 cf. Ibid., p. 41.
1 Siddham² || ōm namō Vitarāgā-
2 ya || Saṁvat 1345 varshē ||³
3 prathama-Bhādrava⁴ vadi 9 Śu-||³
4 kra-dinē=dyēha śri-Nā-||³
5 dūla-maṅdalē Mahārāja ||³
6 kula-śri-Samyareṅha²-||³
7 dēva-rājyet=tanyukta⁶ śrī-||³
8 Śrīkaraṇē Mahām Lalatā⁷-
9 dī Parnchaku [la*] pr[a]ya*]chchhāti⁸ aksha-
10 rāṇi yathā Śami-tala-⁹
11 padē=dya¹⁰ Maṅḍapīkāyāṁ sā-
12 dhu Hēmakēna Hāthi-u-
13 dī-grāmē śrī-Mahāvirade-
14 va-nē(śe)vārtham varṣam prati Vaśi-
15 ḍadra 24 chatuvirnśi¹¹ cha¹² drāmā¹³
16 pradattāh¹⁴ [||*] su(su)bham bhavatū(tu)ll
17 Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rā-

1 From ink-impressions.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 This punctuation mark is redundant.
4 Read Bhādrapada.
5 Jv (Jainvijaya) reads as Saṁvaratasirnya(ḥa).
6 Jv reads as stra-niyukta. Read Taṁ-niyukta.
7 Jv and PC (Puran Chand Nahar) read as Lalānā.
8 PC reads as prachchhāti bhūmi.
9 The letter lā looks like bhā.
10 Jv and PC respectively read as padētāya and padītāya which make no sense.
11 Read chaturvirinśati.
12 This form of cha is different from that of cha in chaṭu in the same line.
13 Read drāmātāb.
14 The visarga was added after the text was engraved as a result one dot was engraved above the line.
18 jā(ja)bhi[h*] Sagarādivi(bhih) jā(ya) II.
19 sya[ya]dā pū(bhū)mī(mīh) tasya
20 tada phalati(lam)II
21 [Thā.] Kapūra Vitaya lishatun"[II*]
No. 22—OBSERVATIONS ON A SEAL-DIE BEARING INCOMPLETE LEGEND

(1 Plate)

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, Lucknow

The seal-die under discussion is in the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi. The accompanying photographs were kindly supplied by late Sri C. Sivaramamurti, the then Director of the Museum.

The seal shows, in the upper field, the device of Gajalakshmi Lakshmi, being anointed by two elephants one on either side. Below the device is a two-line legend with sunken letters in reverse, in the characters of circa fourth or fifth century A.D. The legend is incomplete, a few letters, both in the beginning and in the end of both the lines, being out of flan. The extant legend reads:

1. ... śvapati-mahadāṇḍanāyaka
2. ... grihita kumārama ...

Fortunately, the legend can be restored with the help of certain sealings bearing identical device and legend unearthed at Bhita, Allahabad District, in the course of excavations conducted by Sir John Marshall and published in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1911-12. There are ten such sealings reported from that site, of which only one, the most well preserved, has been illustrated. This sealing has the complete legend:

1. Mahāśvapati-mahadāṇḍanāyaka-Viṣhnu-ra-
2. kshita-pād-anugrihi śa kumāramātya-ādhikaranasa

"[Seal] of the office (adhirakara) of kumāramātya attached to the mahāśvapati (the great lord of cavalry) and mahadāṇḍanāyaka (great general)." One such sealing, though not so well preserved, was noticed by us in the collection of late Sri Ramachandra Tandon of Allahabad.

The evidence gleaned from other epigraphs shows that a kumāramātya could be attached to the king and could also be appointed as heads variously of a province, district or a city. But, the evidence of the Bhita sealings shows that this official could at times be attached to some senior officer, in this case one who was designated as

1 ASIAR, 1911-12, pp. 52-53.
2 Ibid., under No. 32 and illustrated on plate XVIII, No. 32.
3 See the evidence of Basarh sealings, Ibid., 1903-04, p. 108, No. 8.
4 See ASIAR, 66, p. 51.
5 Vide, Dāmōdarpūr copper-plates, Above Vol. XV, 130 ff; Bāgram copper-plate, Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 81-82.
6 Vide, seal-legend Tira kumāramātya-ādhikaranasa, on a Basarh sealing, ARASI, 1903-04, p. 109, No. 22.
7 Of course there is evidence to show that kumāramātya was at times attached to yuvarāja, vide the evidence of a Basarh sealing bearing the legend yuvarāja-pādya kumāramātya-ādhikaranasa, ARASI, 1903-04, p. 107.
OBSERVATIONS ON A SEAL-DIE BEARING INCOMPLETE LEGEND

—SEAL - DIE

K. V. Ramesh

From Photograph

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
PLASTOCENE IMPRESSION OF THE SEAL - DIE

K. V. Ramesh

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
mahāśvapati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka. Mahādaṇḍanāyaka can and has been translated, variously as 'general',¹ or 'police officer'² or 'judge'.³ But there is a possibility that the title often characterised a feudal lord.⁴

Sealings bearing incomplete legend and device are not uncommon. The most common reason for this feature is that the die used for stamping was larger than the clay lump on which the stamp was impressed and thus a part of the legend or and device remained out of flan. In a few cases it might be due to the improper handling of the die in which case part of the lump of the moist clay might remain unstamped while part of the device and/or legend would be out of flan.

But the die itself bearing an incomplete legend, as is the case with the one under discussion, is curious. The following explanation may be offered for this feature.

It seems that the seal-die of the office of kumārāmātya got broken. There was a pressing need for sealing the documents and hence a new seal-die had to be prepared within a short period. Manufacture of a seal-die entails inscribing the device and letters of the legend in reverse form, demanding both technical skill and time. Hence, as a short-cut stop-gap arrangement, a seal-impression, made from earlier die, was pressed against a wet lump of clay to produce sunken letters and device in reverse form to serve as a seal-die. Incidentally, the seal-impression which was used for making the seal-die was as such did not bear the complete legend, part of it being out of flan. Naturally, therefore, the seal-die under discussion is characterised by the peculiar feature of not showing the complete legend.

The seal-die under discussion is sun-baked and not kiln-baked, and this feature also lends support to the view that it was made in a hurry to meet some urgent need. Impressions from it would have been made by gently pressing it against the moist clay lump, and not by striking, as, in the later case, unbaked as the die was, it would have got broken.

While the seal-impressions of ancient period have been found in large numbers, seal-dies for the same (with the exception of those of the Indus Civilization) are few and far-between, and hence, the find of a seal-die of the historical period becomes more significant than that of a sealing of the same period. Further, the findspot of a seal-die is a far more reliable guide to determine the place of its origin than that of a sealing. While the sealings, applied as they are to letters and parcels despatched to different places, are generally found at places far off from the place of their origin, seal-dies, meant as they are for sealing the documents by the owner of the seal, would

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² Stein, _Rāja Tarāṅgī I_, Tarāṅga VII, V. 951; Marshall, _ARASI_, 1911-12, p. 54; Bhandarkar, _Ibid._, 1914-15, p. 82.
³ Boch, _ARASI_, 1903-04, p. 109; Mookerji, _Ancient India_, p. 331; Banerji, _Age of the Imperial Guptas_, p. 77.
⁴ D.R. Bhandarkar, after citing epigraphic references concludes '... like 'Duke', 'Earl' and 'Viscount' Mahādaṇḍanāyaka was a hereditary title of 'nobility' (CII, Vol. III, p. 95)
generally be found at the place from where letters and parcels bearing their stamp were issued.

Since the seal-die discussed here has been found at Kauśāmbi, it is reasonable to presume that the office of the kumāramātya attached to the Mahāśvapati and mahādandanañayaka Vishnurakshita was located in that city. Further, we may, with good deal of justification, infer that the sealings unearthed at Bhita, referred to above, must have been applied to the letters and/or parcels despatched from Kauśāmbi. In all probability Kauśāmbi was a provincial headquarters of the Imperial Guptas, and Vishnurakshita, who has been designated as a mahāśvapati and mahādandanañayaka, was the governor of Vatsa region, with a kumāramātya attached to him. Bhita, the findspot of the sealings, was a thriving town within this province, probably a tehsil headquarters, in the Gupta period. The Bhita sealings, referred to above, would have been those affixed to the official correspondence of the kumāramātya stationed at Kauśāmbi to a government official serving at Bhita.
No. 23—TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS FROM NELLORE DISTRICT

(4 Plates)

S.S. Ramachandramurthy and S. Nagarjuna, Mysore

The two copper-plate charters, edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, were sent by the then Collector of Nellore in 1918-19 to the then Government Epigraphist for India. However, the actual findspot of these grants is not known. They are referred to here as A¹ and B² for the sake of convenience.

A. Copper-plate charter dated Saka 1225.

This is a set of 3 copper-plates oblong in shape with low rims preserved in only two of the plates and strung together on a copper ring which bears a tiny image of the seated bull fixed on to it like a seal. The plates are written on both sides and they are numbered. They measure about 18 cms in length and 9 cms in breadth. The ring measures about 7 cms in diameter. The bull on it is about 1.3 cms in length and height in the seated posture. The total set weighs about 1217 gms. The writing is well preserved.

The copper-plate grant is engraved in Telugu characters and language of the 14th century to which the charter belongs. The palaeography does not call for any special remarks except that in one instance the dirgha sign for medial ā is indicated by a vertical stroke on the top of the concerned letter as in gurālu (line 28). The size of the letters is not uniform. The letters in the first line of the first side of the first plate are smaller when compared to the remaining lines on that side of the plate. Again, the letters on the 2nd side of the first plate, both sides of the second plate and the first side of the third plate are fairly big in size while the letters on the second side of the last plate are comparatively smaller.

As regards orthography the following features deserve mention. The record consists of many spelling mistakes. In some instances anusvāra is used where it is not necessary. (eg. labdhāmēka for labdhānēka, line 1), which is, however, a common feature of the period. Similarly in many instances dirgha was used where hrasva should be and vice versa (eg. vira-bal-ōtsaha for vira-bal-ōtshaha, line 3; kirti-amganalimitingitafor kirti-amgan-alimitingita, line 5).

In some instances ri is used for ri (eg. alamkrita for alamkrita, line 2; vrishabha for vrishabha line 14); s for ś (saucha for śaucha, line 2; visuddha for viśuddha, line 4; Kārtika su for Kārtika śu, line 25); ś for sh (bhūṣitarum for bhūṣitarum, lines 11-12; dosāna for dōshāna, lines 40, 41); I for l (stala for sthala, lines 16-17; kapāla for kapālā, lines 41); in some cases aspirate is not used where it should be (stala for sthala) lines 6-7; Ahīṣchatra for Ahichchhatra, line 9; lāṁchenalyana for lāṁchchhanulainā, line 15); in some instances aspirate is used where it should not be, as in Śakha for Śaka (line 24); in some cases the consonant following rēpha

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2 Ibid., No. A 11
is doubled (dharmma, line 3; sarvva-mānyamu, line 37); in one instance the consonant following anusvāra is doubled as in pamittamau (line 22). Further, it may be noted that the titles of the members of the guild are in Kannada language, the reason being that this guild had been formed in the beginning at Ayyāvole which is identical with modern Aihole in Bijapur District, Karnataka.

This grant is dated Śaka 1225, Krödhi, Kārttika su. 10, Thursday. If the Śaka year quoted is wrong for 1226, the details regularly correspond to 1304 A.D., October 8, f.d.t. 30.

The object of the charter is to record the grant of privileges for trading in certain articles without paying duty, to a certain Puliyama-setṭi, who, on the orders of the guild, killed Karapākala Kātinayaka who had turned a traitor to the guild.

The record opens with the auspicious word svasti followed by some of the usual epithets of the guild. Then the charter proceeds to state that the samasta-peekkandru of the 18 samayas belonging to the four countries and of Nandya-la-sthalamu assembled in the mukhamandapa of the temple of Gavaraśvaradeva, set up the vajra-bhaiśanīga and granted certain privileges to Puliyama-setṭi for having killed Karapākala Kātinayaka who had become a traitor to all the samayas. This is followed by the date, the details of which have been discussed above. Then follows a list of articles while trading in which Puliyama-setṭi was given exemption from paying duty while buying or selling them (amminavānki konnavānki sarvamānyam). It is further stated that whenever he visits any country the rulers as well as the members of the guild (peekkandru) of those countries should allow Puliyama-setṭi to enjoy this privilege. This is followed by an imprecatory passage in Telugu which says that those who do not honour this grant will incur the sin of killing a thousand tawny cows on the bank of the Gangā. They would also incur the sin of preparing collyrium in the skull of their eldest son.

The importance of this charter, as also of charter B, discussed below, lies in the fact that they throw welcome light on the sweeping powers enjoyed by the merchant guilds.

The merchant guilds of the Nānadeśis and the Virabalaṉjas are early institutions spread all over South India and Maharashtra. The epithets endowed to them are high sounding and stand to test. A record from Balligami in Karnataka, dated Śaka 978 (1056 A.D.) gives a long eulogy of these guilds. Another inscription from Kurugōdu, in Karnataka itself, also gives a string of epithets of these guilds. This is dated Śaka 1099 (1177 A.D.). They are described as stationed at Ayyāvole and hailing from Ahichchhatra (Śrīmad-Ayyāvoleya Ahichchha-tra-vinirggatara). The Kurugōdu epigraph cited above refers to them as śrīmad-Āryā-nāma-pura-mukhya-bhūtar-enip-aynurvvaru. The Āryāpura mentioned here is but the Sanskritized form of the place name Ayyāvole. The present charter further describes them as samaya-dharma-prati-pālakaru which suggests that they were keen on maintaining the dharma.

1 For the significance of some of these titles see below, pp. 22-23
2 The term samasta-peekkandru literally means 'all the several (members)' and in its technical sense refers to any technical guild of medieval Andhra Pradesh. In medieval Karnataka, the exact Kannada translation of this term, carrying the same sense, occurs as samasta-halaru in a number of inscriptions.
5 Ibid., text, line 33
of their samaya. That they were offering very severe punishment, sometimes even capital punishment, to those who violated the samaya-dharma is proved by the charters under study. They were very valorous as evidenced by epithets like anuna-sahasottunga, kirti-amgan-alimgita-nija-bhuja-vijaya-virochita-vira-lakshmi-nivasa-vaksha-sthala, tribhuvanaparakram-onnataram. It is interesting to note that they were taking part in battles. A hero-stone inscription from Hirelingadahalli, Dharwar District, Karnataka, dated in the 10th regnal year of Yadava Ramachandra (1280 A.D.), records that a servant of the Eighteen Samayas died fighting while capturing the fort of Tuluvalli in the presence of the great assembly (Prithvinadu) of the Nagarakhanda-nadu.¹

The titles Chalukyanavaru and Cholkulantakaru attest to their active participation in the political affairs of the country to the advantage of the Karnataka rulers. They were further described as mahisha-gardhabha-vrishhabha-vahanaru which suggests that they used to carry their merchandise on these animals. They were stated to be the worshippers of the lotus feet of the deity Gavaraesvaradeva as evidenced by many other inscriptions. In some places the members of these guilds constructed temples to this deity and made grants for their maintenance.² The fact that these guilds were very widely spread all over South India, Gujarat and Maharashtra is proved by the provenance of the inscriptions of these guilds. The Kurugodu inscription, mentioned above, refers to Lada(ta)-Chola-Malayala-Telumga-Kannada-samastana-nandeshigalu.³ In Tamil epigraphs these guilds are referred to as Valaunjyai and Nanadesit-tišai-āyiratt-āiňuṟuvar.⁴ An inscription from Bhalavi in Khanapur taluk, Sangli District, Maharashtra mentions the Nanadesis.⁵ It is further interesting to note that these guilds were spread over Burma and its neighbouring countries also.⁶ The fact that these guilds were very active, widespread and were functioning till the 18th century is evidenced by a copper-plate grant from Kolār, Karnataka, dated Śaka 1620 (1698 A.D.), which furnishes a long list of 54 villages spread over Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu as falling under their jurisdiction.⁷

Evidently these merchant guilds enjoyed sweeping powers to the extent that they could award even capital punishment to the culprit without the fear of interference from the throne. To try the cases, as can be observed from the inscriptions, the members of the guild used to assemble in the mukha-mandapa of an important temple. It appears that before the trial commences they were setting up the vajra-bhaishaniga. There are different opinions regarding the meaning of vajra-bhaishaniga. Somesekharasarma took it to mean a large cupped spoon.⁸ He draws this information from Edgar Thurston’s Castes and Tribes of Southern India.⁹ P.B. Desai, who also quotes the opinions of Rice, R. Rama Rao and B.A. Saleatore in

¹ AREp., 1932-33, No. BK 107.
³ op. cit., text, line 47.
⁵ Ibid., 1972-73, No. B 38.
⁹ Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. II, pp. 121-23.
his paper “Vajra-baisanige: Derivation and Interpretation”,¹ suggests that vajra-baisanige (Kannada form of Telugu vajra-bhaishaniga) is a sitting posture (same as vajr-asana) and that the members of the business community were sitting in this posture while transacting important business as the fundamental rite of vajrasana at once invested their meetings with solemnity and religious sanction. Now, let us examine the information provided by Thurston. In his work it is stated that a large cupshaped spoon is the ensign of Desai (a sub-division of baliya, same as vira-balanija of the epigraphs in question). This is described as follows: “On the outer surface, all round its edge, are carved in relief eighteen figures, each one being typical of one of the castes of which the Desai is the social head. Under each figure is inscribed in Tamil the name of the caste which that figure typifies. The figures are smeared with red powder and sandal, and decorated with flowers. The menial, taking up the cup, rings the bell attached to it, to summon the parties. As soon as the sound is heard, the castemen, among whom any offence has occurred, assemble, each house in the village being represented by a member, so as to make up a panchayat (council). The Desai’s emblem is then placed in front of him in the midst of the panchayat, and a regular enquiry held”.² Though Thurston gives a long description of this emblem, unfortunately he has not given other details such as the name of the emblem and the material out of which it is made, etc. Nevertheless we may safely presume that vajra-bhaishaniga mentioned in the epigraphs of the merchant guilds is the same as the emblem described above. In this connection we may note the expression ghanta-vrēsi (‘having rung the bell’) occurring in charter B in the context of setting up the vajra-bhaishaniga and ordering the execution of the culprit by the guild. In the light of the above discussion the suggestion of P.B. Desai that “vajra-baisanige of Kannada records was nothing but vajrasana which constituted a peculiar sitting posture…” is untenable.

Of the geographical names occurring in the grant Ayyavole is already discussed above. Nandyala, the head-quarters of Nandyala-sthalamu is identical with modern Nandyala in Nandyal Taluk, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh.

TEXT³

First Plate : First Side

1 Siddham [II*]a Svasti [II*] Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyata-pamchaśata-vira-śāsana-labdham(dh-a)nēka-guna-ganā-

2 lamkri(kri)ta satya-sau(sau)cha-charu3-charitra-naya-vinaya-vipula-vijñāna-

3 vira-balijiga vira-bal-ōtza(tsā)hā(ha) samaya-dharmma-pra

4 tipa(pā)laka visu(su)ddha-guruḍa-dhvaja-rājaman-āgru(mu)nu-

1 Śrīkantha (Dr. S. Śrīkantha Sastri Felicitation volume), pp. 89 ff.
2 Ibid., p. 122. A photograph of this emblem is also given facing p. 123.  
3 From estampages.
4 Indicated by symbol.
5 Read satya-šauch-achāra.
TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS FROM NELLORE DISTRICT
— PLATE I

ia

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4

6

ib

8

10

12

K. V. Ramesh

Scale: Three-Fourths

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
5 na-sahasöttumgga kirty-amgana(n-ä)limggita-nija-bhu-
6 ja-vijaya-vriköchita\³ vira-lakshmi-nivåsa-vaksha-sta(stha)-
7 \a stri(tri)bhuvana-parakram-örtntaratüh śri-

First Plate : Second Side²
8 Baladēva-Vasudēva-Kharṇḍdali-Mulabhadra-varṇś-ōdbha-
9 varum śrimadye(d-A)yyāvola(le)ya-Ahiścha(chchha)tra-
10 vina(ni)rōgatarum Chālukya(ky-ä)nvaryarum Chō-
11 la-kul-ārntakarum chēla(l-ä)bharana-bhūśi(shi)-
12 tarum balumkkē-damḍḍa-ha(ha)starum tamolakke abha-
13 ya-hastarum kava(na)ka-karncha(chu)ukkeyarh Kāma-dēvaru[r\m]

Second Plate : First Side
14 mahiśa(sha)-gārddahva-vri(vri)shabha-vāhanarum śri-Nārā-
15 yaṇa-chakra-lamchenalyana3 śrimatu Gavaṛēsva(śva)radēva-di-
16 vya-śri-pāda-padma(m-ä)raudhakulaina śrimatu Narundyāla-sta(stha)-
17 āamu chālū(lu)mūlā-sahitamaina akhila-nā-
18 lgu desāla va(pa)dunenmide-samayāla samastamaina pe-
19 kkarṇḍrūnu śri-Gana(va)ṛēsva(śva)ra-dēvara guḍi mukham
20 marṇta-pamunamdu⁴ vajra-bhaishanīga veṭṭi

Second Plate : Second Side⁵
21 sarvva-samayālakur drōhuḍaina Kārapākala Kāṭina-
22 yanim boduvaṁ ba[m*]ppinām boḍchi parnttamu dechchina Pul-
23 yamma-seṭṭikī ichchina šā(sā)sana-kramamu yeṭaṁnanu sva-
24 sti[l*] śri-jayabhyudaya-Śakha(ka)varusharḥbu-
25 lu 1225 va(a)guneti Krōdi-sarhvatsara Kārtika su(śu)
26 10 gu nādu Puliyamak=ichchina mānyamu ē-

1 Read vṛ-ochita.
2 Numeral 1 is engraved near the margin to the left of the ring hole indicating the number of the plate.
3 Read lamchchhanulain.
4 Read mukha-marṇta-pamunamdu.
5 Numeral 2 is engraved near the margin to the left of the ring hole indicating the number of the plate.
Third Plate: First Side

27 nūri mā[nya]mu chaitrālu ēnūru ēnugulu ēnū-
28 ru gurālu ēnūru bharāndlu ēnūru varupu-
29 dlu ēnūru miryyamu bāruvulu ēnūrum
30 pōmka perukalu ēnūru cheramalvalu ēn[u]-
31 ru suruvudumalvalu ēnūru pratti malavalu
32 e[nū*]ru uppu e(pe)rukulu ēnūru pōtu perukalu ē-
33 nūru eddu perukalu ēnūru gadidida hasi-

Third Plate: Second Side

34 belu ēnūru mūpu nāsibelu ēnūru enumulu
35 ēnūru āvulu ēnūru sumkkya-dhānyalu ēdu dhānya-
36 lu nūvalu [v]erasina vitalamu dela nāna ppa(pra)ka[ra*]lā nānā-
37 bhaḍḍala vala[na*] amminavāṇki konnavāṇki sarvavāma(mā)nyamu
38 yitādu ye deśamu mimdu naddchanamu a deśasagamla
39 rājulunu a deśa(sa)naga[la*] pekka[m*]drunu miku seli[m*]chēdi chelī[m*]pāni va-
40 ru Gaṁga karata vēyikavu[vi]lalam bodchina doṣa(shā)nam bōuvāru ta-
41 ma peda-kodku kapala(lā)na kaṭuka vaṭṭina doṣa(shā)nam bōuvāru[ll*] Ma[m*]
gaḷa-ma-
42 ha-śri-śri-śri[ll*]

B. Copper-plate charter of the time of Kākatiya Pratāparudra, Śaka 1244

This is also a set of 3 oblong copper-plates with low rims engraved on all six sides. The plates are strung together on a copper ring about 7.6 cms in diameter, the ends of which are fixed into the two arms of the small but thick bracket in the bottom of its fixed bull-seal. The bull is in seated posture and it is shown in full relief to the height of about 3.8 cms. The plates measure about 21.8 cms in length and about 12.2 cms in breadth. The total weight of the set is 2274 gms. The writing is well preserved.

This charter is engraved in Telugu characters and language of the 14th century to which the record belongs. The palaeography does not call for any special remarks except that in one instance the medial a sign (dirgha) is indicated by a vertical stroke on the top of the

1 Numeral 3 is engraved near the margin to the left of the ring hole indicating the number of the plate.
2 Read deśanamigala
concerned letter as in karanalu (line 27). The letters are in uniform size and are well engraved.

As regards orthography the following features are noteworthy: In some instances, as is common during the period in question, anusvāra is used where it should not be (e.g., labdhāṁnēka, line 2; virājitāṁnūna, line 4; parākrāmahānata, line 5); or ru is used for ri (vrishabhā and pṛithvī for vṛishabhā and pṛithvī, respectively, lines 12 and 26; -ālamkrīta for -ālamkṛita, line 2); doubling of consonant following ṛepha can be observed in some instances (e.g., suvarṇa for suvarṇa, line 4; in this case it may be noted that dental n is used instead of cerebral ē while doubling); use of perumāḍlu for perumāḷu (line 31) and tāṁbra for tāmra (line 39) also deserve attention. Further, it may be noted that the titles of the members of the merchant guild are in Kannāda as in charter A. However, in one instance viz., bhūshanālum (for Kannāda bhūshanāram) the local influence can be noticed. On the whole it may be stated that compared to charter A this grant contains less number of orthographical errors.

This is dated Śaka 1244, Durnubhi, Kārttika śu. 5, Thursday corresponding to 1322 A.D., October 15, Friday (not and Thursday).

The object of the charter is to grant certain privileges, as in charter A, to a certain Atena for executing, on the orders of the guild, Ātmamārājad and Sīngharājad, who had turned traitors to the guild.

The record opens with an auspicious symbol followed by the words avighnam=astu and svaṣṭi and proceeds to give a string of epithets of the merchant guild. Apart from the epithets given in Charter A some more are given here. This is followed by the statement that while mahamandalasvāraka Kagatīya Prataparudra was ruling from his capital (modali pātānam) Oromgallu, Ātmamārājad and Sīngharājad, the sunka-karanams of Cherunuru in Pedakamti-deśamu, having turned traitors to the 18 samayas, the samasta-pekkatndru of Chālamūla-paddenimidi-samayalu of Nandyāla-sthalam, which is (an) important (division) in Pedakamti-deśamu, assembled in the mukha-mandapa, of the temple of Chennakēsava-perumāḍlu, set up vajra-baisiga in that mandapa, summoned to their presence the traitors Ātmamārājad and Sīngharājad by ringing the bell (a drohulainā Ātmamārājadu Sīngharājadu deśāla pekkatndru ghanita vṛesī). Then the pekkatndru gave siguru (probably the weapon of execution) and Sambadamu (probably remuneration) to Atena, son of Lōki-setti in order that he may carry out the death sentence pronounced by the guild against the traitors. He duly executed their orders and in appreciation of his service the pekkatndru, on the date quoted, granted certain privileges to him like exempting him from paying duty for trading in certain articles both while buying and selling. It is further stated that whenever he visited other countries, the ruler and the pekkatndru of those countries should allow him to enjoy these exemptions. Then follow the imprecatory passages in Telugu and Sanskrit.

It is interesting to note that in this case the culprits were officials discharging the duty of revenue accounts (sunka-karanalu). These officials were probably employed by the guild itself. From this we may conclude that the guild was empowered to collect taxes for that purpose and employ their own sunka-karanams and that the guild was also empowered to punish to any extent any one who flouted their customs and conventions.

The list of duty-free goods given in this charter as well in Charter A gives us an idea about the merchandise in which these guilds were trading. The list includes elephants,
horses, carts, pepper, rice, arecanuts, cotton, salt, silk, sandal, musk, precious stones, etc.

Of the geographical names occurring in this grant Ayyavole and Nandyala-sthalamu have been discussed under Charter A. Pedakkallu, the headquarters of the division Pedakamti-desam, is identical with Pendekallu in Dronachalam Taluk, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh while Pedakariti-desam is represented by the region around present Pendekallu. The village Chejanuru, which is included in Pedakariti-desam, cannot be identified.

TEXT

First Plate : First Side

1 Siddham || Avighnam=astu || Svasti || Samasta-bhuvana-jana-vinuta-vikhyata-pamchaśata-ko-
2 ti-vistirnaa(rna)-vira-śasana-labdham(bdh-a)neka-bhuri-gun=alamkru(ri)ta satya-saucha-charu1-chah-
3 ritra naya-vinaya-vipula-vijnana-vira-balammija-samaya-dharmma-paripalakaru
4 m suvarna-garuda-dhvajarum virajitam(t-a)nuna sahas-o[t*[t*]uruga-kiṃtyah(ryath)-
5 gan-alingita-nija-bhura-viśala-vaksha[sth[a*]larum tribhuvana-parakram-ōmnata
6 rum śri-Baladeva-Khamḍali-Mulabhadra-vamsodbhavarum Ahi-
7 ścha(chchha)tra-vinirggatarum che[labharana-bhushitarum saranagata-vajra-pamja-
8 rulum ekaika-virarum lokaika-manyarum kadana-prachamdarum ripu-
9 hri(hri)daya=śalyarum marehokkade kavaram para-nari-sahŏdara-
10 rum sad-gun-abharanarum para-samaya-sarvva-dhana-churaka-

First Plate : Second Side

11 raru kanaka-kamchuśike-Kamadevarum balumke-danda-hastarum mahi-
12 sha-vri(vri)shabha-gardabha-vahanarum dvija-guru-devata-puja(ja)-sa-
13 mpam’naru dharmma-charitra-kirtti-bhūshanulum abhima-

1 From estampages.
2 Expressed by a symbol.
3 Read satya-sauch-achara.
4 The letter ga, originally omitted, has been accommodated subsequently in the span between ji and sa.
5 Numeral 1 is engraved in the left margin of the plate in between lines 1 and 2 indicating the number of the plate.
6 The anusvara is engraved in small size between the letters pa and na.
14 na-śobhitarun mahala-saravi-hosavarum huliya misailu'yya-
15 laṭuvarum bëttavan-eri yamri(mri)ta karavarum kësara
16 kichchiduvarum desege bobbiḍuvarum toṭiyamda de kō-
17 ti labhavembarum hoḥa măriyanu challavāduvarum
18 bahamăriyan-eduru gombavarum bārada māripe baliya-
19 naṭṭuvarum hadu(di)nemṭu yōga barangalum svasti samasta-
20 prāṣasti-sahitam śri-Bhagavati-dēvi-labdha-vara-prasadakaru[m]²

Second Plate : First Side

21 Śri-Vasudeva-[chakra*]-lumlcha(chha)narunḥ Śri-Gavu(va)ṭe śvara-dēva-divya-śri-
pā
22 da-padm-ārāḍhakulaina chālū(lu)mūla padunenimidi-samaya-
23 la ubhaya(ya)-nane-dēsi akhila-nālgu-dēsāla samasta-pekkaraṇḍrūnu l
24 Svasti [ [!*]srīman=māhamānḍalēśvara Kākatiyya Pratāparudradēva-
25 mahārajaḷu Orumgallu modali paṭnamugānu sukha-samka-
26 thā-vinodarbhunam-bru(bri)thvirāyamu sēyuchumđamgānu
27 Peḍakarṇṭi deśamulōṇi Čherunūri surīka-karaṇalu Amnamarajū-
28 mnu Sīṅgarājumnu padunenimidi samayalakurnnu samayā-
29 viṇḍhulayi nadavamgānu Peḍakarṇṭi deśanaku mukhyamayina
30 Narṇyāla-sta(stha)lamu chālū(lu)mūla padunenimidi-samaya-

Second Plate : Second Side ⁴

31 la samasta-pekkaraṇḍrūnu śri-Chennakeśava-perumāla mukha-maṁ-
32 dāpaṭunandrhu vajra-baisiga veṭṭi drōhulainu Aṁnamarājuku Sīṁ-
33 garājuku Desāla pekkaraṇḍru gharṇa vrēsi a parṭtagāṇḍu Lōki-se-
34 tī koḍuku Attenaku sīğerumnu sambāḍumumnu ichchī paṃpite-
35 nu a drōhulainu Aṁnamarājumnu Sīṅgarājumnu
36 podichi parṭtamatu sēsi āchāramu sellinṣṭēnu deśāla pekkaraṇḍru mechchi
37 Svasti [ [!*] śri-jayābhhyudaya-śri-Śaka-varushamānu l⁵ 1244
38 agunēṁṭi Durndubhi-saṅvatara Karṭtiṅka śu Gu l a parṭtagāra
39 Attenaku gollena cheṛlu viduvaka ichchina tāṁbra-śasana-krama-
40 m-eṭḷaññamu 1 500 mūmpu asibelum 1 500 gādidi a-

1 Read mtsesal-u°.
2 The anusvāra seems to have been engraved in very small size below the letter ru.
3 Anusvāra is engraved in very small size between the letters ru and ṛt.
4 The numeral 2 is engraved in the left margin just below the first letter indicating the number of the plate.
5 This punctuation mark is unnecessary.
Third Plate: First Side

41 sibelum l 500 enupotula pratti malagalum upp perukalum
42 m nuli malagalum l 500 edla chiratadangalum l 500 miri-
43 yapan perukalum l 500 pomka perukalum l 500 cham-
44 dllum l 500 chaiteralum l 500 enumgulum l 500 gu-
45 rulum pattu nulu gandhamu kasturi muttu mani-
46 kyadi navaratalunum l naa sarakulu emi dechchina-
47 nu amminanu konnanu sarvamanyam l suryya cham-
48 dr arkka sthayiganu istimi ll i pamta gandhu e desamu-
49 mumda nadachinamu a desamu rajulmunu a pakkam-
50 drunu chelimpuvaru [l*] chellimpaka evvaru vakramu se-

Third Plate: Second Side

51 sinaru Varanasini pamcha brahnhmatya* sesina doshana povu-
52 varu tama pedda kodukum jampi kapalana katuca vatina
53 doshana povuvaru stri vadhana go vadhana chesina doshana
54 povuvaru Ganga karata kavulam bodicha doshanam
55 bouvvaru[l*] yawah chandrasya suryasya l
56 yavatishhatu medini l yavad Rama katha lok a tava-
57 d rajyam vibhishana ll Sva datta dvigunan punyam l para da-
58 tt anukulanah l para datt apaharena l sva dattam nishpa-
59 lar bhavetu* ll Sri Govindaya nama[h*] l Mangala maha sri sri [ll*]

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1 Read brahma hatya

2 These two popular imprecatory verses are replete with orthographical errors.
TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS FROM NELLORE DISTRICT
—PLATE IV

K. V. Ramesh

Scalt Three-Fourths

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
No. 24—BARADIPADA COPPER-PLATE CHARTER OF NANDARĀJADĒVA, YEAR 2

(1 Plate)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The copper-plate charter, edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was discovered while digging a field at Baradipada near Narala P.S., in Kalahandi District, Orissa. The plates are now kept in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubanēśvar. They were examined and their impressions and photographs taken when Shri K.G. Krishnan, the then Chief Epigraphist visited Bhubanēśvar in 1980 in the course of his official tour. The charter is edited here with the help of these impressions and photographs.

The plates are three in number and they are rectangular in shape, each one of them measuring 12.4 cm in length and 4.9 cm in breadth. They are strung together with a copper ring, the two ends of which are soldered to the two sides of a circular seal which is 2.5 cm in diameter. The seal is very much corroded and it seems to contain a legend in one line of which only the first letter śri is legible. The writing on the plates is in a fairly good state of preservation although the letters have not been deeply and sharply incised. There are altogether 18 lines of writing distributed on the inner side of the first plate and on all four sides of the remaining two plates. While I, II a and II b contain 4 lines of writing each, III a contains 5 lines of which the last one is made up of only two letters while III b carries a single line giving the details of the date.

The characters belong to the Kalinga alphabet of about the 7th century A.D. and they can be compared with those of the Sumandala plates of Prithivivigrahā-bhaṭṭāraka dated in the Gupta year 250,1 the Kanās plate of Lōkavigrahā-bhaṭṭāraka dated in the Gupta year 2802 and the Gaṅjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja dated in the Gupta year 3003. However, the letter ś does not have a round loop on top of its left limb as is found in the charters referred to above. In this connection, it may be noted that in the above three records, both the round-looped and triangle-looped varieties of ś are found whereas in the present charter, only the triangle-looped type of ś is seen with no inside opening. This probably means that the charter under study is somewhat later in date. Consequently, we are inclined to assign this charter to about the second half of the 7th century A.D.

There are some orthographical errors met with in the record, including certain omissions and commissions and these have been rectified while editing the text below.

The record is in prose. It commences with the auspicious words Siddham (expressed by a symbol) and svasti. It then describes (lines 1-5) Parvatadvāra from where the charter in question is issued. Then is mentioned (lines 5-8) the donor of the grant viz.,

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1 Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 79.
2 Ibid., pp. 321 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.
Nandarājadēva who, it may be noted is not endowed with any of the royal titles although he is described as having his foot-stool illumined by the jewels adorning the crowns of the feudatory kings. The charter then records (lines 8-15) the royal order addressed to the villagers residing in the village Chitalikā registering the perpetual grant of that village to the brāhmaṇas Bhānu-śarmman, Gauri-śarmman and Matri-śarmman belonging to different gotras, charanas and pravaras for the merit of the donor’s own merit and that of his parents. The residents of the above village were asked (lines 15-17) to make over to the donee the customary privileges i.e., bhāga, bhoga, etc. The record is dated (line 18) in the king’s second regnal year and the 9th day (navami). The name of the month is not given. Further, the charter does not contain any imprecatory verses as is usually found in the concluding portions of other copper-plate grants.

The importance of the charter lies in the fact that it introduces, for the first time, a king by name Nandarājadēva ruling over an area included in the present Kalahandi District in the 7th century A.D. The record, however, does not disclose the name of the family to which Nandarājadēva belonged nor does it mention his forbears. It only states that the charter was issued from Parvataadvāra which, from the way it is described in the grant, makes one conjecture that it might have been his capital. This place finds mention in the Terasingha plates of maharaja Tushṭikara1 which on palaeographic grounds have been assigned to the first half of the 6th century A.D. In the endorsement to the said grant, Parvataadvāra is referred to as the place from where the queen-mother Kastubhasayyā (Kaustubhēśvari?) makes a grant. In the main charter, however, the place of issue is Tarabhramaraka from where maharaja Tushṭikara gives the grant. From this, it can be concluded that Parvataadvāra was included in the dominions of maharaja Tushṭikara and it was an important place in his period. It is not known whether the same dynasty to which maharaja Tushṭikara belonged continued to rule the same region in Kalahandi District in the seventh century A.D. and whether Nandarājadēva of the present charter belonged to the same dynasty. In this connection, it may be pointed out that in the Terasingha plates, maharaja Tushṭikara is described as a devotee of the goddess Stambhēśvari whereas in the charter under review, no such description is found with regard to Nandarājadēva.

Parvataadvāra, the place of issue of the present grant, cannot be identified. Dr. D.C. Sircar believes that it might have been situated on a pass between two hills.2 Chitalikā, the gift village also cannot be identified.

**TEXT**

*First Plate*

1 Siddham [**] Svasti [**] Pratimatta-sūchit-ābhinava-ma[ñja]-
2 ni-kusum-ōdgam=ōdhūshita-śakha-pravālant-a-
3 vali-lagna-madya[t*] sāmoda-mudita-mā(pra)bha-

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2 Ibid., p. 276.
3 From impressions and photographs.
4 bhi[h*]śilimukhair=alamkṛita-drumatat-¹ Parvata-

Second Plate: First Side

5 dvarat=paryanta-samanta-makuṭa-mani-mayukha-
6 dyutir=udbhasita-charan-ambh-odbhava-pidho(tho) ma-
7 ta-pitri-pad-anudhyata[h*] śri-Nandarajadeva[h*]ku-
8 śali || Chitalikāyāntapra(t=pra)tinivāsinō

Second Plate: Second Side

9 janapada(dan) samājñapayati praṇātam=astu
10 bhavatam yatham=esha² brahmanarṇam³ Bhānu-[śa]-
11 rmma-Gauri-śarmma-Matri-śarmmaṇa⁴ a-
12 yam grāmō nana-gotra-charaṇa-pravarāṇā-

Third Plate: First Side

13 m²=Śaśāṅk-Aditya-samakalam mātā-pitro-
14 r-atmanās=cha punya(ny=ō)pachayārtham salīla-pū-
15 rvvakam pratipadita[m=i*]ty=a[va*]gamya yath-ōchita-
16 bhāga-bhogadikam=upalayanta[h*] sukhām prativa-
17 sata [ll*]

Third Plate: Second Side

18 [vija]ya-rajya-saṅhvat 2 dina-navami[ll*]
No. 25—AN EARLY INSCRIPTION FROM PARAİYANPATTU

(1 Plate)

P. Venkatesan, Mysore

The inscription edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore is found engraved on an almost inaccessible natural rock at the top of a hill, locally called Šunaippara-kuru, on account of the existence of a natural spring (šunai) which provides drinking water to the people living nearby, roughly some two kilometres away to the north-west of the village Paraıyanpaṭtu in Gingee Taluk of South Arcot District, Tamil Nadu.\(^1\)

It is in Tamil language and engraved in Vaṭṭeluttu characters of about the 6th century A.D. It begins with the salutation namottu. In all it contains five lines of writing. The letters are engraved in bold hand with deep cuttings. Except for a few letters which are damaged owing to exposure to open atmosphere, the inscription, on the whole, is well preserved.

The palæography of the inscription is interesting as some of the letters like \(k\), \(ch\) and \(r\) point to their evolution direct from Brahmi script. A few letters like \(a\), \(m\), \(t\), \(n\) and \(r\) display archaic features of the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet. The dirgha is clearly distinguished by a horizontal stroke on the right side top of letters as in \(mō\), \(pā\), \(nā\), \(mā\), \(rā\) and \(nō\). The dirgha form of \(ši\) is shown by the drawing of a near full round curve whereas the ordinary form of \(ti\) is devoid of this round curve. It is also significant that in the word mānakkār the letters \(k\) and \(ka\) are written jointly. The inscription is characterised by the use of dots (pulli) above consonants like, \(t\), \(r\) and \(i\).

The characters of this inscription may be compared to those of the Tirunāṭharkuṇru inscription,\(^2\) which is also written in similar characters, the major difference being the use of dots (pulli) above the consonants in the present inscription which is conspicuously absent in the latter. The sign for medial \(ai\) in the letter \(kai\) is distinctly shown in our present record by drawing a full curve with a loop on its left side, whereas in the Tirunāṭharkuṇru inscription it is shown merely with a loop, and not with a full curve. The letter \(n\), in the name Arāṭaṇ, is shown fully developed in our present record, characterised by the use of a loop at the beginning, whereas the \(n\) in the word anaśaṇan in the Tirunāṭharkuṇru record is much simpler in form. It is also interesting to note that our present record has been copied from a place not very far from Tirunāṭharkuṇru near Śiṇgavaram, both the places being situated in the same Gingee Taluk.

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\(^1\) This inscription is included in *AREp.*, 1984-85. The inscription was first discovered by the late Pulavar S. Kuppuswamy who was kind enough to supply a photograph through Śri N. Sethuraman.

The characters of this inscription may also be compared with those of the Pulankurichchi inscription\(^1\) though the latter is slightly earlier in date. We find striking similarity in the characters employed in both these inscriptions. The forms of some of the test letters like \(k\), \(t\), \(ch\) and \(n\) show striking similarity in both the records. Also the bold characters, engraved in a fashion common to both the inscriptions, make us to believe that they belong to the same school of engraving. Thus on palaeographical grounds our present inscription falls into the same period to which the Pulankurichchi inscription also belongs.

Some of the letters in our inscription such as \(n\), \(t\), \(r\) and \(k\) are apparently more advanced than those of the Arachchalur inscription\(^2\) in Brâhmi characters. A few letters like \(n\), \(p\), \(r\), \(s\) and \(f\) which appear in our inscription also bear striking similarity with those appearing in the hero-stone inscription\(^3\) from Irulappatti in Dharmapuri District though the latter is also, like the one from Pulankurichchi, slightly earlier than the record under study. The one major difference is that our present inscription seems to have been written by the refined hand of an engraver of the Jaina School. Apart from this marked factor, it may also be pointed out that all the inscriptions referred to above, including the one under study, belong to a stage in which the Brâhmi script was gradually getting transformed into Vâṭeljuttu.

The object of the inscription is to commemorate the death by penance of Ārataṇ, the disciple of the Jaina preceptor Vachchaṇandi of Pânādu. It states that the spot of the inscription is the memorial (niśṭitkai) of Ārataṇ.

The name of the Jaina teacher Vachchaṇandi and the territorial division viz., Pânādu are interesting. Vachchaṇandi may probably be the Vajjiranandi of the Jaina school at Southern Pātaliputra (i.e., the modern Tiruppâppuliyur), which is not far away from the provenance of our inscription. The territorial division viz., Pânādu is, in all probability, the same as Bāṇādu i.e., the the nādu of the Bānas. The Bānas were an ancient line of kings, who also ruled a portion of the Tamil country.\(^4\) This is the earliest so far known inscription, which mentions their territorial division as Pânādu. The names Vâṇagoppâdi-nâdu and Perumbaṇappâdi, etc., are employed in the Tamil inscriptions of the latter period to indicate the territory of the Bānas. This territory probably formed the southern portions of the modern North Arcot District and probably also a portion adjacent to it in the South Arcot District. The village Mēlvannakkambâdi, possibly the corrupt form of Mēlvâṇagoppâdi, may have been the western boundary of Vâṇagoppâdi, and the village Kîlvannakkambâdi near Devikâpuram may have been the eastern boundary of the same division. The provenance of our inscription viz., Pāraiyanpattu was well within the Bāna territory.

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\(^1\) The full text of this important inscription awaits publication.
\(^3\) Above, Vol. XXXIX, part VI, pp. 211-14 and plate.
\(^4\) For a detailed discussion on the Bānas, see Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 229-40.
The inscription is silent about the number of days Aratañ, the disciple of Vachchanandi Aśiriyar, observed fast before his death, whereas it is customary among the Jaina inscriptions to state the number of days the deceased observed fast before his death. The Tirunatharkuṇṟu inscription states that Chandiranandi Aśirigar observed fast for fifty seven days before his death. Another inscription\(^1\) from the same place states that Ilaiya-bhaṭarar observed fast for thirty days and ultimately died.

The provenance of the inscription, which is not very far away from Tirunātharkuṇṟu, where two similar inscriptions are found, shows that this area was one of the strongholds of Jainism in those days.

**TEXT\(^2\)**

1. Namottu [ l* ] Panaṭṭu Vach-
2. chaṇandi aśiriyā-
3. r manakkar-aratañ
4. nēṟṟu muditta [ni]-
5. šitikai [ l* ]

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2. From the impression.
No. 26—TÉRÁLA INSCRIPTION OF SARVALOKEŚRAYA
VISHNUVARDHDHANA, YEAR 25

(2 Plates)

S.S. Ramachandramurthy, Mysore

The subjoined inscription, edited herewith the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, is engraved on two sides of a slab set up in front of the Siddheśvarasvámi temple at Térala, Palnad Taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. The inscription was originally copied during the year 1929-30 and it was again copied in 1977. However, the impressions taken in the latter year contain only 14 lines on the obverse and 10 on the reverse while the original epigraph has 17 and 14 lines on the obverse and reverse respectively. This inscription is published in the Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts, Part IV (hereafter referred to as Corpus) with a fairly good facsimile containing complete text. Since the estampages prepared during 1929-30 are not readily available the inscription is edited here with the help of impressions taken in 1977 and the plate published in the said Corpus. A number of mistakes, including in the reading of the date, committed while editing the inscription in the Corpus, as also the interesting palaeographical features of the record warrant its re-editing in the following pages.

The inscription is engraved in Telugu language and characters belonging to the end of the 8th century to which it is actually to be assigned taking the internal evidence also into consideration.

Some of the palaeographical features of the record are very interesting. Though it belongs to the end of the 8th century, as attested by the internal evidence, some of the letters betray palaeographical features of about the middle of the 9th century. But a close study of the other letters in the epigraph coupled with the positive nature of internal evidence furnished by the text of the record clearly proves that it actually belongs to the previous century. Coming to its interesting palaeographical features it may be observed that many letters appear in their cursive as well as regular forms. The use of so many cursive forms in inscriptions of this period and region is an uncommon feature. The following letters are engraved in cursive forms: n, lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11 and 16; m, line 8; y, line 2; r, lines 3 and 11; v, lines 1, 5, 6, 10, 19 and 27; the head mark of d in ñravidyadi (lines 5-6) and that of h in Bahùdhavya (line 7) is also engraved in cursive form. The longish vertical form of k is an early palaeographical feature.

As regards orthography the following features deserve mention. The use of the conjunct um in Pañchami-um (line 10) is an early Telugu feature, subsequently replaced by un. The use of class nasal in some cases side by side with the use of anusvāra in some others is a common transitional feature of the period in question. The following words are written with class nasals: nenthi (lines 7 and 8); Klompala (lines 12-13) and pasindi (lines 15 and 17). The two instances where anusvāra is used instead of class nasal are: vāramba

1 AREp., 1929-30, No. 80.
2 Corpus, pp. ix and 1-2; plate facing p. 1.
(lines 10-11) and svarabhuna (lines 11-12). The expression anēnti (for a + neṇṭhi), lines 7-8, formed obviously on the analogy of appasindī (for a + pasindī lines 16-17), is interesting. Doubling of the consonants immediately followed by a repha can be noted in a few instances such as Sarvva (line 1), -varddhana (line 2), etc.

The inscription is dated in the 25th regnal year of Sarvvalokāsrāya-śri-Vishnuvardhana-mahārāja, the other details of date being Bahudhānya, Karttika śu.5, Sunday. This king may be identified with Eastern Chālukya Vishnuvardhana IV, as can be seen in the sequel. If this identification is accepted the details of the date would correspond to 798 A.D., October 18, Thursday (and not Sunday).

The object of the epigraph is to record the grant of 100 gold gadyāṇas to the god Siddheśvara at Tērāla. There is a reference to the grant of some land also to the same deity but the details are not clear as the second side of the slab containing those details has suffered considerable damage.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word Svasti followed by the mention of the reigning king and the details of date discussed above. Then it proceeds to record the grant of 100 gold (pasindī) gadyāṇas to the god Siddheśvara by Klómpala Lōkamayya and Jeṭtimayya of Guṇḍabādi. The following portion upto line 21 has suffered serious damage as a result of which we are unable to understand the details about the grant of land (chēnu) which is adverted to in the subsequent lines. The portion from lines 22 to 25 says that 8 putīs of land was donated to the god Siddheśvara. The expression ap-pasindī yichchi ('by giving that gold') occurring in line 17 tempts us to surmise that the gift-land was purchased by paying 100 gold gadyāṇas donated by Lōkamayya and Jeṭtimayya. This is followed by the imprecatory passage according to which those who obstruct this grant will incur the sin of destroying Śripārvata and Tērāmbulu. Then the epigraph comes to a close with the statement that it was written by a certain Maka who was the son of Yacha[.] of Tērāmulu.

As has been stated earlier, the serious mistakes committed in the earlier works necessitated the re-editing of this inscription here. The most important mistake committed was about the date of the record. In the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1929-30 the regnal year was read as 5. Further this Report says, “The only Vishnuvardhana whose 5th year was Bahudhānya is Vishnuvardhana I, but the characters are too late for him. If the record be assumed to be a copy, the date of the grant would be 621-622. A.D.” Subsequently this inscription was edited in the Corpus according to which also the regnal year of the king mentioned in the epigraph was 5. However, Sarvvalokāsrāya-Vishnuvardhana was taken here to be Vishnuvardhana II and as a result the date was equated to 679 A.D., October 6, Sunday.2 Both the Report and the Corpus wrongly read the regnal year as 5 instead of 25. The concerned portion is read in the Corpus as follows: vijayarājya-sa[ṃ] vatsara[ṃ] bul=aru rājyādi ēnagu nēnti. The portion which is read in the Corpus as l=aru rājyādi is actually to be read as l=iruvadyadi. The first letter of this segment is li and not la. In this inscription the medial i is indicated by a circle and the top curve of medial i of li can easily be seen as cutting the subscript y where the latter is joining its

1 Appendix C, p. 61
Tērāla inscription of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvarddhana, year 25—Plate I

K. V. Ramesh

Scale: One-Fourth

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
superscript $d$. Then, in what is taken by the *Corpus* as $rājya$, the first letter is nothing but a cursive $va$ and the second one is $dyā$. A comparison of these two letters with their counterparts occurring elsewhere in this inscription makes the above point abundantly clear and proves the authenticity of the suggested reading. Now, having confirmed that the regnal year is 25 and not 5 we can proceed to identify the king referred to in this record. The cyclic year Bahudhānya and the regnal year 25 correspond only in the case of Vishnuvardhana IV who is supposed to have commenced his rule in 772 A.D. If we accept 772 A.D. as the commencing year of his rule, the regnal year mentioned in our inscription is to be taken as current. Thus we can safely assume that the present inscription actually belongs to Vishnuvardhana IV and not to Vishnuvardhana I or II as is postulated by the *Report* and *Corpus* respectively.

The geographical names occurring in this inscription *viz.*, Tērāmbulu and Gundābādi, may be identified respectively with Teralu, the findspot of the epigraph, and Gundlapādu both in Palnad Taluk, Guntur District.

### TEXT

**Obverse**

1. Svasti [l[*] Sarvaloka(kā)sra-
2. ya-śrī-Vishnu(nu)2varddhana-mā(ma)-
3. harājula3 prava[rdhamā]-
4. na-vijaya-ra(rā)jya-sa[m]-
5. vatsara[m]bul=iru-
6. vadya4 ēnagu-
7. nēnthi(nī) Bahudhavya[n]h=a-
8. nēnthi Ka[Kā][r[*]ttika6 ma(ma)sabu-
9. nā(na) su(śu)ddha-pakshabuna pa-
10. ūchamiyum=Adityava-
11. ramba(bu)naṇḍu Sīddhesva(śva)ra-
12. mbuna Gundabādi Klo-
13. mpala7 Lōkamayyayi(yu)

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1. From estampages and fascimiles.
2. *Corpus* reads Vishnu.
3. *Corpus* reads rājulaku. Obviously, it takes the subscript *nu* in Vishnu of the previous line as *ku*.
14. Jēttimayyayī(yu) vi-
15. dichinā(na) pasinḍī nu-
16. ṛu gadyāṇabulu [ll*] a-
17. p-pasinḍī² yichchī re

Reverse³

18. ...cīa ...
19. ruvōli ...
20. ...r ....
21. mi chaṇḍa [che]nu
22. padināru [e*]nimi-
23. di puṭu ya(ya)dla-pa[tu]
24. dīn Siddhisva(śva)ra[bu]-
25. naku vidisi(chi)na [nē*]la[ll*]
26. di(di)niki ad[d*]am=a-
27. yinavāru Śrip[ṛ]vva[tə]-
28. bunu Terambula-
29. [n=a]lisinava(vā)ru [ll*]
30. [Te]ramula Yacha .
31. koḍuku Maka li.[ll*]

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1. Corpus reads Jēttirayya, obviously mistaking cursive ma for ra.
2. Corpus reads brampesīṇī.
3. Text on this side of the slab as published in Corpus contains many mistakes including confusion in identifying the lines correctly.
TERĀLA INSCRIPTION F SARVALOKĀŚRAYA VISHNUVARDHANA,
YEAR 25—PLATE II

K. V. Ramesh

Scale: One-Fourth

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
No. 27—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF BALAVARMMA

(2 Plates)

K.V. Ramesh and S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore

The three inscriptions edited here for the first time, were noticed in the year 1940-41 and 1941-42 and are referred to hereinafter as A, B and C for the sake of convenience. Inscription A\(^1\) was found engraved on a pillar in a ruined mosque in the village Vadapalli, Miryalguda Taluk, Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh, while B\(^2\) was found engraved on a slab paved on the platform round the dhvaja-stambha of the Keśava temple in the village Korrpadu, Jammalamadugu Taluk, Cuddapah District. Inscription C\(^3\) is engraved on a slab on the platform outside the Śiva temple in the same village. All the three inscriptions, though not verifiably dated, are palaeographically assignable to the 8th century A.D.

The primary interest in these records lies in the fact that they refer to the rule of a Balavarmma in the Nalgonda and Cuddapah region during the second half of the 8th century. Apart from these three records there were three more inscriptions referring to a Balavarmma of about the same period have so far been brought to light. Of these, one is a badly damaged Telugu inscription\(^4\) from Korrpadu and refers to an attack on the forces of Balavarmma by a certain Kaliki. A copper-plate inscription\(^5\), the genuineness of which is doubtful and which allegedly belongs to the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Prabhūtavarma Gōvinda III and is dated in 831 A.D., refers to a Balavarmma as the father of Yaśōvarma and grandfather of Vimaladitya, the governor of Kunigaldeśa. The third inscription,\(^6\) from Ballatgi, Manvi Taluk, Raichur District, Karnataka, which is badly damaged but which palaeographically belongs to the second half of the 8th century, refers to a Balavarmma as Chālukya-kula-tīṭa. It is possible that the Balavarmma of the Vadapalli and Korrpadu inscriptions, being edited now, and his namesake figuring in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa copper-plate grant, the Ballatgi inscription as well as the damaged record from Korrpadu, mentioned above are one and the same. It is also possible that he was a Chālukya feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and that he saw service as an administrator in different parts of the empire at different times.

\(^1\) AREp., 1941-42, No. E 46.

\(^2\) Ibid., 1940-41, No. B 424. The text with plates and brief introduction is published in Inss. of A.P. Cuddapah District, Vol I as No. 42. However, the text contains a few mistakes.

\(^3\) AREp., 1940-41, No. B 421.

\(^4\) Ibid., No. B 422. The language of the inscription is Telugu and not Kannada as mentioned with a question mark in the Report.

\(^5\) Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, pp. 11 ff.

\(^6\) AREp., 1961-62, No. B 547. This epigraph is engraved on the side of the same slab, the front face of which bears an undated inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nityāvarsha (No. B 546). In the said Report the name of Balavarmma has been wrongly read as Kalivarma.
A. Vādapalli Inscription

This inscription which is damaged and incomplete, is engraved in early Telugu-Kannada characters assignable to the second half of the 8th century, the language being Telugu prose. As regards palaeography the following points are noteworthy. Of the initial vowels only a and i occur respectively in the words annaku (line 3) and ichchi (line 4). The letter v (line 1) is engraved in cursive form, the shape being almost round. It may be noticed that the upper line of the letter j (line 2) is not joined with the middle line but is slightly bent at the left end a little above the middle line. As regards orthography it may be observed that the consonant immediately following repha is doubled as in Balavarma (line 1). In one instance the consonant following anusvāra is also doubled (-ṛāṅkuśumdu, line 4) while the same is not observed in the expression rājyaṁbu (line 2). The use of a class nasal as well as anusvāra in the same expression is noticed in -ṛāṅkuśumdu (line 4).

The inscription is dated in the 1st regnal year (prathama-rajaṁbu, line 2) of Balavarma and its object seems to be to record some grant (details lost) to (the god) Muktesvara by [Pa]ṛāṅkuśumdu, probably for the merit of his elder brother (anna). The ruler receives only the honorific śri. No geographical names occur in the extant portion of this epigraph.

TEXT
1 Svasti [I*]śri-Balavarma .
2 rala prathama-rajaṁbu .
3 na annaku Muktisaśvāra .
4 ṛāṅkuśumdu ichchi
5 . [la]iṇa
6 . ka . . .

B. Koppādu Inscription

This inscription is also engraved in early Telugu-Kannada characters of the second half of the 8th century and its language is Telugu prose, which is not free from mistakes.

As regards palaeography, this epigraph exhibits transitional features in the case of many letters as will be shown below. The initial vowel a and i occur in the expressions a nalvaru (line 11) and ichina (line 7) and Inikkurēru (line 10) respectively. The letter k, though still retaining the earlier feature of longish verticals clearly betrays in some cases a tendency towards shortness. There are two varieties of ch- in one form the letter has a dent in the bottom (Chilkut, line 10), while the same is absent in the second (chēnu, line 4 and Chilka, line 5 and ichina, line 7). The letter j can be compared with its counterpart occurring in inscription A. In one instance the letter m is engraved in its cursive form (-ṛvarma, line 2). It is interesting to note that in one case the letter r is engraved in its early form where the right side vertical line does not join the left side line at the top (-rājula, line 2). This may

1 From inked estampages.
THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF BALAVARMMA — PLATE I

A-Vādapalli Inscription

K. V. Ramesh  Scale : One-Third  Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
be compared with its counterparts occurring in lines 12, 13 and 16, where both the lines join at the top. Palaeographically another interesting letter occurring in this epigraph is r. We have as many as four forms of this letter. The first form is commonly met with in the inscriptions of this period. This has two dents, one each on top and at the bottom joining which a vertical line is drawn. This line is cut by a horizontal line running in the middle from the left end to the right (lines 3, 10 and 11). The second is a tripartite form with a horizontal line engraved as in the above case. The vertical line, however, is drawn only in the lower half dividing it into two equal halves. This occurs only once in line 4 (turru) where it is a superscript. The third form is almost roundish and is divided into four equal compartments with a horizontal and vertical line. This also occurs only once (pûrunku, line 6). In the last variety the letter is divided into two equal halves by a horizontal line. It occurs as an independent letter in lines 14 and 18 and as a subscript in line 17 (bûunru). It is not known for certain if this modified symbol has been devised to denote some peculiar regional variation in the pronunciation of the Dravidian retroflex r.

The letter v is engraved in almost a triangular form with a dent at bottom and with a line extending at the top to join the head-mark (line 8). This is a clear evidence of the process through which it developed into its present form.

This inscription is not free from orthographical errors which are duly corrected while editing the text. The consonant following the râpha is doubled as usual (varmma, lines 2, 6).

This is not dated but can be assigned to the second half of the 8th century as has been stated above.

The main object of the epigraph is to record (line 1-7) the grant of a pannaviśa of land, situated to the east of Korapuru to the brāhmaṇa Chilka-paça as a dattī by Balavarmma, who receives the honorific śri. Lines 8-12 record another grant of two villages viz., Krōvūdu and Velval which were to be enjoyed (takinavaru) by four individuals, namely, Narakōlu, Kalaṇcala, Chilkupāra (who is obviously identical with his namesake referred to above) and Inikkūrēru. Though no other details such as the name of the donor are specified, it is obvious that the same Balavarma referred to above would have granted these two villages also. This is followed (lines 13-16) by the usual imprecatory passage. The record ends with the statement that Prithivi-śarva-bûyunru was the writer.

Of the geographical names occurring in this epigraph Korapuru is obviously identical with the findspot of the inscription while Krōvūdu and Velval are not identifiable on a modern map.

TEXT

1 Svasti [||]*śri-
2 Balavarmmarāju(ju)–
3 la Koraparu(ru)ta

1 From inked estampages.
C. Korrapadu Inscription

As in the case of the inscription A and B this is also engraved in early Telugu-Kannada characters of the second half of the 8th century and the language is Telugu. The epigraph appears to be incomplete.

**Palaeographically** this record presents more developed forms compared to the other two inscriptions edited above. The writing is well executed, the letters being of uniform size and beautifully engraved. The initial vowels i, ù and e occur in lins 14, 8 and 5 respectively. The medial u occurring in the expression Korrapari (line 4) is interesting in that its left vertical line is joined at the top with the right vertical line by a horizontal line thus making it appear like the letter r of the 8th century. This may be compared with the other signs of medial ù occurring in the words -cheruvu (line 3) and Kokiyu (line 6). However, in the case of the word Nàdu- (line 13) the left line of the medial u sign touches the bottom of the letter d. The letter ch occurs in two forms, one with a dent at both top and bottom (cheruvu, line 3) and the other with a dent only at the bottom (podichi, line 10). The right side line of the

1 Read türpuna.
2 The letter la is engraved above the line, between the letters ba and va.
3 The letter na is engraved between the letters chi and da in small size.
4 Read dâniki.
5 Read -nâru.
B. Korrapadu Inscription

Scale: One-Eighth
letter b is split in the middle and both of its ends take each an inward loop leaving a gap between each other (Bala-°, line 6). This letter may be compared with its counterparts occurring in the inscriptions A and B where the right side line is vertical with no split. The letter v occurring in this inscription (cheruvu, line 3) may be compared with its counterpart occurring in inscription B, line 8. The letter r both as independent and as subscript, is completely different from its counterparts occurring in the other two inscriptions edited above in that it looks like modern Telugu r (lines 4, 9 and 12). The letter l also is quite different from the letter l occurring in the inscriptions A and B. Here the right side of its line takes an upward curve which is a more developed form (line 6). On the whole this inscription offers more developed palaeographical features which, however, may be reasonably attributed to the individual style of the engraver and need not be taken to imply a much later date for this inscription to that of the other two inscriptions edited above.

This record is free from orthographical errors. The consonant following the rēpha is doubled as in Balavarma (lines 6-7); the use of the verb āruva in the sense of 'having destroyed' is quite interesting.1

This is not dated, but may be assigned to the second half of the 8th century as suggested above.

The object of the inscription is not clear due to its incomplete nature. However, it is in the nature of hero-stone inscription as it records the death of the hero Köki. It opens with the auspicious word Svasti followed by the statement that, while a certain Köki was ruling over Sangramarcheruvu2 and Koṛraparu, the forces (pāgu)3 of Balavarma having marched against him and destroyed (āruva) the village (ūru) (probably Koṛraparu since the inscription is set up there), he (i.e., Köki) fought and died (lines 2-11). A certain Soma-pāra and the village Naḍupārau are referred to in lines 11-13. However, the context in which these two are mentioned is not clear.

Of the geographical names occurring in this record the village Koṛraparu is already identified while the other two viz., Sangramacheru and Naḍupārau are not found on the modern map.

TEXT4

1 Svasti [l*l]*śri [l*l]*
2 Sangrama-
3 cheruvu Ko-
4 ṭraparu

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1 cf. the verb āruva 'to destroy'—Visvanatha Satyanarayana, op. cit., p. 76.
2 While noticing this inscription in the report it was wrongly stated that Sangramarcheru was ruling over Koṛraparu, obviously taking the former to be a personal name.
4 From inked estampages.
5 ēlan-Koki-
6 yu Balava-
7 rmma pagupa-
8 y=vachchi ūru-
9 n=āruva
10 podichi pa-
11 diye [l[*] So
12 ma-pāra
13 Nadupa[rru]
14 idi
15 drōṇu
16 ...
C. Korrapādu Inscription

Scale: One-Sixth

K. V. Ramesh

Ep. Ind., Vol. XLII
No. 28—MÜDIGERE PLATES OF KADAMBA SIMHAVARMAN, YEAR 5

(2 Plates)

G. S. Gai, Mysore

This set of plates was discovered, along with another set of plates belonging to the Kadamba king Vishnuvarman, about the middle of April, 1983, by one Kunji Hanumanna of Mūdigere village in Tarikere Taluk of Chikkamagalur District, Karnataka State. He found them while ploughing his field for cultivation. The plates ultimately reached the hands of A. Sundara, former Director of Archaeology and Museums in Karnataka State and now Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnataka University, Dharwad. Sundara has published this record, along with the other inscription, in the Literary Supplement to the Kannada Prabha daily newspaper dated 7th August, 1983.¹ But the text published by him is far from satisfactory. B.R. Gopal has subsequently edited these two records in his Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions, Vol. I (1985) as Nos. 36 and 38, of which the latter number refers to the present inscription, without illustrations. These texts also contain errors of omission and commission. While editing the grant of Sinhavarman, Gopal observes that the characters of this record are not the usual box-headed type of the other Kadamba records and that the language is also faulty, thereby giving room to doubt the genuineness of this inscription. Since I do not agree with these observations of Gopal, I edit this copper-plate inscription in the pages of this journal from the excellent impressions kindly supplied to me by K. V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy, Mysore.

The set consists of four plates, each measuring 23 cm. in length and 4.5 cm. in breadth. In the middle of the left margin of each plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about 4.5 cm. in diameter and the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of seal. This circular seal, about 4.2 cm. in diameter, does not seem to contain any emblem or writing. While only the inner sides of the first and the fourth plate are engraved, the second and third plates have writing on both sides. In all, there are 19 lines of writing. The inner side of the first plate and the reverse sides of the second and third plates contain the numerical figures 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

The characters of the record belong to the southern variety of the script which is found employed in the other records of the Kadamba dynasty and which may be assigned to the 5th-6th century A.D. The letters show clear serfs at the top with box-headed type in many cases. These box-headed types are more prominent in this inscription than in some other record like the Perbbata grant² of Vishnuvarman and the charter³ of Mrigēśavarman. It may, however, he pointed out that the box-head types in the Kadamba records are not

¹ The details regarding the discovery and description of these plates are taken from this publication.
uniform and while some are squarish, some are rather rectangular while others are of diminutive type. In view of this, the observation of Gopal that the box-head types of the record under study are not of the regular box-headed types need not be considered as a defect.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and, except an invocatory verse at the beginning and two imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is in prose. In respect of orthography, the consonant following r is reduplicated. The language is practically free from errors, except in a couple of cases only. Hence, Gopal’s remark that the language of this inscription is faulty giving room to doubt its genuineness is not justified. Unfortunately, Gopal’s reading of the text-portion, mostly following that of Sundara, is faulty in many cases which has apparently led him to doubt the genuineness of the record. But, as pointed out above, there is absolutely no reason to doubt its genuineness on grounds of palaeography and language.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Kadamba king Simhavarman who is described as the grandson of Krishnavarman I, the performer of the horse-sacrifice (aśvamedha-yajña-yāsōmaya-pratikriteḥ), and as the son of Vishnuvarman who is called a Sārvabhauṃa. The record is dated in the fifth regnal ear of the king and the tenth day of the month of Pauṣha. And the object of the record is to register the gift, made by the king Simhavarman, of five nivartanas of land below the lake called Āsandī in Asandyālūra situated in Sindaka-vishaya i.e., Sendraka-vishaya. This gift was made for the purpose of conducting worship in the Jaina temple (Arhantātām-āyatana), apparently at the place Āsandīlūra.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only record of the Kadamba king Simhavarman discovered so far. Till now, he was known only from the records of his son and successor Krishnavarman II and some scholars even doubted whether Simhavarman ascended the Kadamba throne at all. But the discovery of the present inscription shows that he not only ascended the throne but also ruled the kingdom for some years. He may be assigned to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. according to the chronological scheme of the rulers of the Kadamba dynasty.

In line 7 of the text, Simhavarman has been described as belonging to, on his mother's side, a family the name of which reads as Rāmēya. His mother's name is mentioned as Gāṅgā who was like the universal river Gāṅgā, the mythological daughter born of Himavat mountain (cf. Rāmēyavanśa-Himavat-prasūta-jāgant-mātrī-Gāṅgā-garbha-hrad-adhi-śay-ana-dīg-Gajēndrah). The name Rāmēya, in our opinion, is a mistake for Kaikēya, since we know that these Kadamba kings had cultivated matrimonial alliance with the rulers of the Kaikēya family who seem to have ruled as subordinate chiefs of the Kadambas in some parts of their territory. The Pranavēśvara temple inscription at Talagunda in Shimoga District mentions the queen Prabhāvati as the wife of the Kadamba king Mrīgēśavarman and mother

1 See his Bannahalli plates, above, Vol. XVI, pp. 18 ff; Śivalli plates, C.P. Ins. from Karnataka (ed. by M.S. Nagaraja Rao and K.V. Ramach), pp. 6-7.

2 We have discussed in detail the chronology of the Kadamba dynasty in our forthcoming volume on the Early Kadamba Inscriptions, to be published by the Indian Council of Historical Research.

of Ravivarman and as born in the Kaikēya family (Kaikēya-maha-kula-prasutta). According to the Bannahalli plates of Krīṣhṇavarman II, his grandfather Viśnuvarman is described as the son of the daughter of the Kaikēya family (cf. Kaikēya-sutayām = utpānṇena Viśnuvarmanma-dharma-mahārajena). And the second set of Mūdīgera plates of Viśnuvarman himself describes him as born of the daughter of a Kaikēya ruler (cf. Kaikēya-raja-balika-garbhha-saṁbhūtah). Thus, it is quite likely that Ganga, the mother of Siṃhavarman of our record, also belonged to this Kaikēya family and that the expression Rāmeya is only a mistake for the word Kaikēya, a mistake committed by the writer or engraver of the record.

In line 13 of the record under study, it is stated that the king Siṃhavarman was anointed by one whose name actually reads in the text as Mosava and who was again coronated on the throne by a ruler named Sarvasēna-mahārāja. The expression Mosava is again a mistake for the word Vasava i.e., the god Viśnu, since we know that the kings are described as being first anointed by the gods in the inscriptions. Thus, according to the Tālāgunda inscription of Śantivarman, his ancestor, King Mayuravarman is described as being anointed by the god Śaḍanana i.e., Kartekeya (cf. Śaḍananaḥ yam = abhishiktavan). Gopal, however, reads the word Mosava as Maisada and doubtfully corrects it to Maisada which is interpreted by him as the family name of some chiefs. It is unlikely that such a small and insignificant family of chiefs will enjoy the prerogative of anointing an imperial king like Siṃhavarman and hence this view is unacceptable. That God Vasava or Viśnu anointed him stands to reason and hence, the correction of the word Mosava as Vasava suggested above is justified.

As regards the identity of Sarvasēna-mahārāja, at whose hands Siṃhavarman was crowned, Sundara has suggested that he may be identified with the Vakāṭaka king of that name i.e., Sarvasēna I who founded the Vatsagulma branch of that dynasty. But this Sarvasēna I is placed by scholars in about the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D., whereas the Kadamba king Siṃhavarman belonged to the last quarter of the 5th century A.D., thus leaving a gap of over 200 years. Hence, Gopal observed that there would be chronological difficulties, in respect of this identification but he did not suggest any alternative.

Ajay Mitra Shastri has written a detailed paper on this subject entitled “Mūdīgera plates of Siṃhavarman and Vakāṭaka-Kadamba Relations”. In this paper Shastri has suggested the identification of Sarvasēna of the present record with Sarvasēna II of the Vakāṭaka dynasty whose existence is confirmed by the discovery of Thalner plates of the Vakāṭaka king Harishēna and, as a consequence, containing the name of the father of

4. Ibid., verse 22.
5. CLI, Vol. V, p. XXIX.
Vakāṭaka Devasēna in the Ajanta cave inscription\(^1\) of Harishēna’s minister Varahadēva. Shastri supports his identification by arguing that the - sēna ending names were borne during this early period of 5th-6th century A.D. only\(^2\) by the rulers of the Vakāṭaka dynasty and hence, it may be reasonably concluded that Sarvasēna of Mudigere plates must have been a monarch of this dynasty. Sarvasēna II is assigned to the period circa 410-50 A.D.,\(^3\) while the Kadamba king Simhavarman has been referred to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. To reconcile this difference, Shastri suggests that the Kadamba chronology may be antedated by a few decades to suit his identification and thereby to establish Kadamba-Vakāṭaka relationship. I am sorry that it is not possible to agree with Ajay Mitra Shastri in identifying Sarvasēna of our record with his namesake Sarvasēna II of the Vakāṭaka dynasty. There is no evidence to establish the Kadamba-Vakāṭaka relationship during this period. In the Balaghāṭ plates\(^4\) of the Vakāṭaka king Prithvishēna II, it is stated that his mother Ajjhitabhaṭṭarikā, wife of Narendrasēna, was the daughter of the lord of Kuntala. Mirashi has shown that this lord of Kuntala belonged to the family of the early Raṣṭrakūṭas of Manapura in the modern Sāṭārā region of Mahārāṣṭra.\(^5\) So this mention of the lord of Kuntala does not refer to the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman as once thought of by Dubreuil\(^6\) and D.C. Sircar.\(^7\) And there is no other evidence to establish the relationship between the early Kadamba kings and their contemporary Vakāṭaka rulers. On the other hand, as pointed out above, the Kadamba kings had entered into matrimonial relationship with the rulers of the Kāikēya family. According to the Honmāvar plates\(^8\) of the time of the Kadamba king Ravivarman, his subordinate ruler Chitrāsēna-Mahākēlā of the Kāikēya family issues the grant in his own regnal year, thereby showing that he enjoyed the status of a subordinate ally, possibly because of his relationship with the Kadamba king. For ought we know, king Ravivarman’s mother Prabhāvati may have belonged to the Kāikēya family and hence Chitrāsēna seems to have been his maternal uncle or so. It is important to note that the name of this Kāikēya ruler ends in - sēna, thereby disproving Shastri’s statement that only the rulers of the Vakāṭaka dynasty had - sēna ending names during this early period. With our corrected reading of the text as Kāikēya instead of Rāmeya, Simhavarman may be taken to have been the son of Gaṅgā who belonged to this Kāikēya family. And, in all probability, Sarvasēna of the record also belonged to the same family and was possibly the brother of Gaṅgā and maternal uncle of Simhavarman. Perhaps, as maternal uncle and as an elderly member of the Kāikēya family, he took part in the coronation ceremony by anointing Simhavarman on the throne. In view of this, the identification of Sarvasēna of our inscription with his name-sake Sarvasēna II of the Vakāṭaka dynasty, leading to the establishment of the Kadamba-Vakāṭaka relationship, as propounded by Ajay Mitra Shastri, becomes untenable and hence unacceptable.

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2. Italics ours.
3. CII., Vol. V, pp. VI-VII and XXX.
4. Ibid., No. 18, pp. 79 ff.
5. Ibid., p. XXV.
As regards the geographical names finding mention in the record, the lake called Asandi and the village Asandyalura are to be located near the present village Mudigere, the findspot of the plates. Sendraka-vishaya represented the area round about modern Shimoga District and parts of Chikkamagalur District.

**TEXT**

[ Metres : Verse 1 : Arya ; verses 2 and 3 : Anushtubh ]

**First Plate**

1 Örh² Svasti ll vibav-āmala-jala-śītala-nil[ya]³ ta chchhāyā-pramōda-bhāga-vibhāgi || **[*]**

2 Jayati jay-aika-sthānan=tribhuvana-sakal-ātapatram=iha sad=dharmmaḥ || **[1]**[*]

3 Ōṛh vijaya-Be(Vai)jayanti-vanitāyāḥ s=āṣṭā-daśaka-rājya-vibhakt-āṅgṛayāḥ[4]

**Second Plate : First Side**

4 hridaya-gōchar-ochita-svāmitva⁵-subhagasya Kadambanāṁ śri-Krishnavarmma-dharmma-mahā-rajasya Manavya-sagōtrāsyā Aśvamedha-yajña-yaśomaya-pratikriteh⁶ priya-naptā

5 vasumati-vadhu-mandana-kutuhal-odbhuta⁷ Vishnoḥ Vishnuvarma-Sarvva-bhaumasya

**Second Plate : Second Side**

7 priya-tanayah Ramēya-varnśa-himavat-prasūtā-jagān-mātrī-Gaṅgā⁸-garbbha-hrad-adhiṣayana-di-Gajendrah

8 yasya prasādam=upajivanti praṭā sākṣat-krita- Nabhagā-pratapō=pi yasya parākra-

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1 From the impressions and photographs supplied by the Director of Epigraphy. My thanks are due to Pandit V. S. Subrahmanya for his help in the preparation of this text.
2 Expressed by a symbol carved in the left margin of the plate.
3 Gopal reads ni (śām ?)
4 Gopal reads vibhārtaya[ṛthi ?] yāya.
5 Gopal reads svāminva (nāh va)
6 Gopal reads pratikritāḥ.
7 Gopal reads kutubali-ṭa.
8 Gopal reads garbhā(ṅga).
ma-rasajñatayā ripu-nripati-yuvatinām vadana-kamala-prasāda-sātatyahāri

**Third Plate : First Side**

tyāg-odayo-arthi-jan[e]chchha-kumuda-shanda-mandana-pinda¹-chandr-odayah
aneka-śastr-ārtha-mimāṃ-

savādāt-āma[lä-ma*]tīr=Aditi²-suta-gabhasti-vistāra-samāhāra-jātia-tapaniyāchala-
śikhara-mē
chaka-vilambī³-mūrtti-chchhāya yam=anvarttate pariṣajaran yaś=cha dharm-
ārtha-kāma-praty-ādeśaḥ

**Third Plate : Second Side**

Mo(Vā)sav-a⁴bhishiktas=tad=anu Sarvvasēna-Mahārajanā mūrddhabhisheken
=ābhyaṛchchitah tatā=sva-rājya-pañcha-
me sarvatsare Paushe mase tithau daśamyaṁ sa-śrīman Kadambanām=mahārajaḥ
Simha-
vārmmā bhagavatām=Aṟharāṁ-ayatanasya pūj-ārttham Sindakā²-vishayē
Āsandyalūre

**Fourth Plate**

Āsandi-tatākasya dakshaṇa-pālyah adhastāt rāja-mānēna pāncha-nivarttana-mātram
kṣetran=dattavan
sarvva-parīhāryam-itii uktaṁ=cha Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-
adīhib[i*] yasya
yasya yada bhūmī=taṣya taṣya tadā phalam [2i*] Sva-dattāṁ=para-dattāṁ vva(vā)
yo hareta vasu-
ndhāram [i*] shashti-varsha-sahasrāṇi narakē pachyate tu sa[h i. 3 i. *] iti ii

---
1 Gopal reads manda-sapinda.
2 Gopal reads mimāṃsādātī(ā rā)?-matidaritī which does not yield any meaning.
3 Gopal reads śikharam-eva kavilambini.
4 Gopal reads maisadsa (maisavā ?).
5 Gopal reads Sendraka.
INDEX

By S. SWAMINATHAN, M.A., Ph.D.

The figures refer to pages, 'n' after a figure to foot-notes, and 'add' to additions and corrections. The following abbreviations are also used; au. = author; ca. = capital; ch. = chief; chron. = chronicle; ci. = city; co. = country; com. = composer; de. = deity; di. = division; do. = ditto; dt. = District; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; engr. = engraver; ep. = epithet; f. = family; fe. = female; feu. = feudal; gen. = general; gr. = grant, grants; hist. = historical; ins. = inscription; inscription. k. = king; lo. = locality; l.m. = linear measure; land measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = office; peo. = people; pl. = plate, plates; pr. = prince, princes; prov. = province; q. = queen; reg. = region; rel. = religion, religions; ri. = river; S. = Southern; s.a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; Tel. = Telugu; t.d. = territorial division; tit. = title; tk. = taluk; tn. = town; vi. = village; W. = Western; wk. = work; wt. = weight.

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