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DELIHI: MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS
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31. " i b to v b

32. Gokāk plates of Deśa-Mahārāja

33. Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum—Plates i.

34. " " " ii.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 8, text line 9, for kirtya[rtham] read kirtya[rtham].
10, f. n. 4, for Basavarajā-raγa[e] read Basavarajādeva Raγa[e].
11, l. 8 from bottom, for Kavī japura read Kavī japura.
12, text line 17, for ahāražāhiraγa read mahāražāhiraγa.
15, line 10, for Dvārvati read Dvārvatī.
21, text line 47, for śīmaṇī[ś] read śīmaṇī[ś].
22, text line 86, for “krāṣṭrapura” read “krāṣṭrapura.”
23, last line, for the final form of it read the final form of t.
24, text line 6, for jñānasa[k] read jñānasa[k].
26, line 22, for “in the four-hundredth year” read “in the four-and-hundredth year”.
29, line 4 from bottom, for Gōndla-sahasa read Gōndla-sahasa.
29, line 3 from bottom, for Raγa-mrigendra read Raγa-mrigendra.
32, text line 3, for Kollavi-ganḍa read Kollaviganḍa.
33, text line 42, for Guṇaka-vijayitūḍa read Guṇaka-vijayitūḍa.
34, text line 48, for parita[la] read pariṣṭhā.
35, f. n. 4 for Vol. LXIII read Vol. LXIII.
38, text line 2, for “maṇai (nē)” read “maṇai (nē).”
43, line 12 from bottom, for Maṇḍaladēva read Maṇḍanadēva.
43, line 5 from bottom, for Pānāchchā read Pānāchchā.
45, text line 12, for “yudhāndōs” read “yudhāndōs.”
48, text line 25, for “jaṭāṭa” read “jaṭāṭa.”
48, text line 29, for “πυέγγγ γ” read “πυέγγγ γ.”
48, text line 31, for “πυέγγγ γ” read “πυέγγγ γ”.
49, text line 33, for “πυέγγγ γ” read “πυέγγγ γ”.
49, text line 35, for “πυέγγγ γ” read “πυέγγγ γ”.
49, text line 37, for “πυέγγγ γ” read “πυέγγγ γ.”
50, line 15, for “frequent ly” read “frequently”.
51, line 5, for Vālabha read Vālābhya.
54, text line 19, for “kṣaṇākṣaṁā” read “kṣaṇākṣaṁā.”
54, text line 26, for “vākṣaṁākṣaṁā” read “vākṣaṁākṣaṁā.”
71, f. n. 1, for vākṣaṁākṣaṁā read vākṣaṁākṣaṁā.
77, line 2 from bottom, for “Purāngupta’s mother” read “Purāngupta’s wife”.  
(The correct name of this queen is Chandrādevī (see An. Rep. A. S. I., 1934-35, p. 63).
81, text line 4, for Gōvinda-svāmīnāḥ read Gōvindasvāmīnāḥ.
89, line 18 from bottom, for “interpreted” read “interpreted”.
92, line 2 from bottom, for Pumattavāra read Pumattavāra.
93, line 3, for visēṇimādāya read visēṇimādāya.
95, text lines 15-16, for hīrṣākṣaṁā read hīrṣākṣaṁā.
Page 95, text line 26, for दीर्घाम्बास्य read दीर्घाम्बास्य.
102, line 15, for Nequnjajdaiyan read Nequnjajdaiyan.
104, line 18, for Parasiamaṅgalam read Parasiamaṅgalam.
118, text line 11, for e-k-adhikāvasya read e-k-adhikāvasya.
120, f. n. 1, l. 4, for Mahāvaṃsa read Mahāvaṃsa.
122, f. n. 1, ll. 2-3, for Arantaṅgi read Arantaṅgi.
132, text line 8, for सम्बंधाः read सम्बंधाः.
135, line 18, for Maṭtepad read Maṭtepad.
141, text line 22, for रेषप वितारिनिविविधकृम्भः read रेषप वितारिनिविविधकृम्भः.
146, f. n. 2, for Saptā-bhāgī-ṇaga read Saptā-bhāgī-ṇaga.
148, f. n. 5, for Bhaiyaya read Bhaiyaya.
154, line 9, for Vamsāsthavila read Vamsāsthavila.
155, line 19, for Aihoale read Aihoale.
158, line 5, for Bhōjadēva read Bhōjadēva.
160, line 8 from bottom, for Rānmā read Rānmā.
161, line 8 from bottom, for "Kamalarāja, son of Kōkalla II" read "Kamalarāja, son of Kālīṅgarāja".
164, text line 18, for Kāsyapa read Kāsyapa.
165, text lines 26-27, for prabhātas-tāvād read prabhātas-tāvād.
167, line 13, for Kuruṅkādi Kapā read Kuruṅkādi Kilān.
167, f. n. 3, l. 2, for pārītandam read pārītandam.
169, text line 6, for Pallava-Muttaraiya read Pallava-Muttaraiya.
170, line 14, for Pāppanachchēri read Pāppanachchēri.
170, line 4 from bottom, for Tiru-Anantāsvarattu read Tiru-Anantēsvarattu.
174, line 11, for "i is distinguished from i" etc., read "i is distinguished from i" etc.
175, line 9, for Vāraṇasiyumān read Vāraṇasiyumān.
176, f. n. 3, l. 7, for pāṇi-ūdānāgī read pāṇi-ūdānāgī.
177, f. n. 10, for "to have ruled only for short time" read "to have ruled only for a short time".
178, text line 15, for gāroḍaṃ read gāroḍaṃ.
178, f. n. 1, for dattī read dattī.
179, in the heading of A, for Samvat 257 read Samvat 254.
181, line 9 from bottom, for Hastavapra-ākara read Hastavapra-ākara.
182, line 1, for Kuhudaka read Kuhudaka.
182, line 3, for Bhadāsaka read Bhadāsaka.
184, text line 35, for siraṃ read siraṃ.
184, text line 42, for "वर हिना" read "वर हिना".
187, f. n. 7, ll. 5-6, for Māna-Charanā read Mānābharaṇa.
190, text line 18, for uḷḷiṭṭāraka-ko ru read uḷḷiṭṭāraka-koṛu.
191, text line 28, for Jīnattara[yar] read Chīnattara[yar].
194, text line 29, for "mugat-tukku read "mugat-tukku.
193, line 1, for "Pallavarāyaṇ of Menmalaip-Pallaiyanush read "Pallavarāyaṇ of Pallaiyanush in Menmalaip-Pallaiyanush-nādu ".
193, line 18, for Viran[mb] read Viran[mb].
198, text line 8, for yathābhaṭṭa-saṃpratīṛvāḥṛdhē read yathābhaṭṭa-saṃpratīṛvāḥhrdhē.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 204, No. 34, line 8, 'for Hoyasalas read Hoyasalas.'

209, line 12 from bottom, 'for ghañchaka read Ghañchaka.'

209, line 11 from bottom, 'for chaṭṭa read Chaṭṭa.'

209, line 10 from bottom, 'for Lusañiṅka read Lusañiṅka.'

209, lines 6 and 7 from bottom, 'for Dhōräka read Dhōräka.'

212, line 4, 'for “and r and c (ll. 4 and 11)” read “and r and ch (ll. 4 and 12).”'

218, text line 23, 'for “वैराङ्करस्वस्ति” read “वैराङ्करस्वस्ति.”'

218, text line 31, 'for “पाण्डवस्वस्ति” read “पाण्डवस्वस्ति.”

219, text line 53, 'for कवाजिति read कवाजिति.

225, lines 13-16, 'for Asthañgaṇḍhṛidaya read Asthañgaṇḍhṛidaya.

226, line 4, 'for “they have to be placed before A.D. 1062” etc. read “they have to be placed after A.D. 1062” etc.

227, line 2, 'for Nanarendra read Kanarendra.

228, line 22 from bottom, 'for Gaṅgaikondachōjapuram read Gaṅgaikondachōjapuram.

228, line 5 from bottom, 'for Alppakkam read Alppakkam.

234, text line 14, 'for Kulaiya-divākara read Kulaṭaiya-Divākara.

235, text line 15, 'for =tāngalāmarātā read =tāngalāmarātā.

235, text line 19, 'for Virālājanukku read Virālājanukku.

237, text line 29, 'for =Trdvēgaḍamalai read =Trdvēgaḍamalai.

238, text line 30, 'for ep-kalanē read ep-kalanē.

243, line 11 from bottom, 'for "Manmagāṇḍayan, Konaḍayan, Āchhiddarān” read "Manmagāṇḍayan, Konaḍayan, Āchhiddarān”.

244, line 16 from bottom, 'for Kshatriyaśikhamani-vaḷanāḍu read kshatriyaśikhamani-vālaṅḍu.

245, line 1, 'for Valavarādiṭṭa-Muṇḍendavēlār read Valavarādaṭṭa-Muṇḍendavēlār.

245, lines 17-18, 'for mūḍal śilamu read mūḍal śilamu.

258, f. n. 3, 'for Mahmūḍ read Maḥmūḍ.

263, text lines 12-13, 'for =śvarāḥ(ḥ)तोषीविलिन्योः read =śvarāḥ(ḥ)तोषीविलिन्योः.

and omit notes 3 and 4; and in the translation of verse 5 on p. 266, for (Let people hear) the three guṇas and the prowess of (that god), who possesses a yashtyasana made of gold, etc. substitute (Let these be heard, etc.) the birth in hemaṣṭyasana, the qualities and the prowess of that (god) Kapardin etc. [I am indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., for this correction and the next.]

263, text lines 49-50, 'for =kṣāvān(ḥ)चषा(ḥ)किलत र श्रवण्ड (ः)काभित र विलित ; and in the translation of verse 15, 'for “and whose devotion (to god) resorted to none but himself” etc. substitute “and whose devotion resorted to none but Skanda” etc.

264, f. n. 2, 'for =kṣावा(ḥ)चषा(ḥ)किलत र श्रवण्ड (ः)काभित र विलित; etc., read =kṣावा(ḥ)चषा(ḥ)किलत र श्रवण्ड (ः)काभित र विलित; etc.

268, line 5, 'for “Timmanā-Bhaṭṭa who was the son of Kāmęvara Bhaṭṭāraka” read “Timmanā-Bhaṭṭa who was the son of Konaḍu-Bhaṭṭāraka and grandson of Kāmęvara-Bhaṭṭāraka”.

268, line 16 from bottom, 'for Kaliṅ-garāya read Kaliṅ-garāya.

268, line 11 from bottom, 'for Odhra read Odra.

268, line 8 from bottom, 'for the Narasāpāṭam plates of Vajrahasta II” read the Narasāpāṭam plates of Vajrahasta III”.

268, line 6 from bottom, 'for Pāṇḍyāraṇa read Pāṇḍyāraṇa.

269, line 9, 'for Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōja read Madhurāntaka Pottappi-Chōja.
Page 271, text line 6, for śāstrulavārīki read śāstrulavārīki.
272, text line 38, for dhāra-purvaḥ read dhāra-pūrvaḥ.
274, text line 32, for निजसाृजित्वंः(भ)॥ read निजसाृजित्वं(भ)॥
276, text line 79, delete the figure 2 above चछ्रेवा॥
278, line 17, for Ḫaḍāvāṭi read Ḫaḍāvāṭi.
279, line 9, for Śāraṅgapura read Śāraṅgapura.
283, text line 14, for एकाग्रीरतितम read एकाग्रीरतितम.
286, text line 39, for स्त्रयमनन read स्त्रयमनन.
287, text line 42, for म च च read म च च.
292, line 3 from bottom, for एनंदविरुद read एनंदविरुद.
NO. 1.—MATHURA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: G. E. 61.

BY PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D. (HON.), CALCUTTA.

This inscription, which has not been previously edited, is engraved on a pillar originally attached to a well situated in the Chandul Mandul Bagichi near Rangāvara Mahādeva temple at Muttra. It was discovered there by one Bholanath, a dealer in antiquities, in July 1928 and removed to his place. Later, it was taken possession of by the local Police authorities and was lying in their custody in the Mal godown, Muttra. Thereafter it was secured by the Director-General of Archaeology in India and transferred to the Muttra Museum on the 5th of July 1929 as a deposit from the Archæological Department. It is now lying in the Muttra Museum bearing the No. 1931. In January 1931 Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, visited the Museum and took some impressions of the inscription. He was so good as to send me two excellent estampages, one plain, in one whole piece, and the other inked, in two parts. It is on these estampages that my transcript of this epigraph is based.

The writing occupies five of the faces with which the pillar is adorned and is spread over a surface, about 2' 3" broad by 1' 6½" high. The record, on the whole, is not badly preserved. It may seem that some portion at the end is gone, as the last line contains only the first half of a verse in the Aryā metre. But, as will be shown subsequently, the second half of this Aryā verse could not be engraved, as there was no space available for it between the top and the base of the pillar. The case, however, is different in regard to the third of the five sides of the pillar on which the record is engraved. Almost the whole of this part of the inscription is abraded and completely destroyed. This indeed is a grievous loss, because part of the most important matter contained in this interesting record is thus irrevocably lost to the historian, as we shall see in the sequel. The language is Sanskrit. And the inscription is in prose throughout, except for an Aryā verse at the close, only half of which could be engraved. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are:—(1) the doubling, throughout, of a (l. 5 and 10), of y (l. 8, 12, 14, 15) and of t (l. 3, 8), except in the word kīrti, in conjunction with a preceding r, and (2) the use of the jihvāmūliya in l. 12.

The characters belong to the early Gupta period when they were practically identical with those of the Kushāṇa records. This is particularly the case with our inscription which is found at Mathura from where a number of Kushāṇa epigraphs have already come to light. In fact, it would have been well-nigh impossible to say that ours was a Gupta and not a Kushāṇa record, had it not contained the name of a Gupta king. The letters kh, gh, j, p, m, and v of our inscription have almost invariably flat and angular bases; so also sometimes even the tops of g
and &. But these characteristics are noticeable in the script not only of the Kushāṇa but also of the early Khāṣṭrapa or Nabhāṇa period. Then we have to note the equalisation of the upper verticals, the constant use of the nail-head or wedge, the loop in the left limb of g, the peculiarly developed left member of kk, the slightly convex cross-bar of k and the base-line of n or a bending lower down on either side. These peculiarities our epigraph has in common not only with the Kushāṇa records but also with the Jumāgadh inscription of Rudradāman. The point in which this last differs from the others is that while in the former the medial & and & are indicated invariably by horizontal side strokes, in the latter they are sometimes shown by the vertical slanting strokes placed on the tops of the letters. But there seem to be no palaeographic peculiarities of any kind which demarcate the early Gupta from the Kushāṇa script. It is possible to argue that what is called the eastern variety of Gupta letters, such as is indicated by the peculiar forms of m, s and h, already makes its appearance in the early Gupta records even at Mathurā. Thus Fleet’s Gupta Insca. No. 4, which was found at this place and pertains to Chandragupta II himself, has the letter m engraved throughout in the eastern variety. The same type of m is traceable in a Jain inscription also found at Mathurā but of the time of Kumāragupta I. And further, if we consider the Mēharaul pillar inscription of Chandra, we notice not only m but also s and h of the eastern variety. Scholars are now agreed that this Chandra is either Chandragupta I or Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Where the original site of the pillar was not definitively known. Possibly it was somewhere near Hardwār. It may be to the north of Mathurā, but certainly not to the east of it. We have thus to take note of the record which refers at the latest to Chandragupta II, and which presents the peculiar eastern variety of m, s and h, although it was not put up anywhere in the eastern part of the Guptagāma. It may thus be argued that the eastern forms of these three letters are noticeable in epigraphs from the western part of the Guptagāma and also as early as the time of Chandragupta II, and that, as they are not found in any Kushāṇa record, the existence of this eastern variety at Mathurā and Mēharaul (or Hardwār) is enough to differentiate clearly the Gupta from the Kushāṇa script. This line of reasoning has no doubt an air of plausibility about it, but cannot stand any critical examination. Bühler has already shown that specimens of the eastern variety appear also in an Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Chandragupta II (Fleet’s Gupta Insca. No. 6, IV A), but this he has rightly explained by the fact that it was incised during an expedition of that Gupta sovereign to Mālwā at the command of his minister who was a native of Pātāliputra. The existence of the eastern type of Gupta characters in the Mēharaul pillar inscription may be explained exactly similarly by saying that it was engraved by the officers of Chandragupta II as they were returning from an expedition of world conquest adverted to therein. Secondly, it is a mistake to suppose that these specimens of the eastern variety are not noticeable in the Kushāṇa records also. Nay, in Mathurā itself an inscription has been discovered dated the 14th year of Kamakhya’s reign, which contains the typically eastern Gupta forms of the three letters m, s and h. This also indicates that there is no hard and fast distinction between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta scripts. There is another piece of evidence to show that these eastern forms of the letters sprung into existence in the pre-Gupta period. Thus we know of an inscription found at Gadhā (Jasdan) in Khāṭhiwād of the time of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasāna. It is dated 127 (or 129), and, as it is referred to the Śaka era, we obtain A.D. 205 (or 204) as its English equivalent. If we carefully examine the facsimile of this record,
published above (Vol. XVI. Plate facing p. 237), we find that the letters m and h are incised sometimes in the so-called western and sometimes also in the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. It is thus clear, that these eastern forms of the letters were in existence as early as A.D. 205, the date of the Jasdan inscription, that is, certainly more than a century prior to the rise of the Gupta power. They cannot thus possibly be called Gupta characters at all. And it would be the height of absurdity to dub them as the eastern variety of the Gupta letters especially when the Jasdan record is not only of the pre-Gupta period but is far far removed to the south-west of Pātaliputra.

There are, however, some minor palaeographic peculiarities in our inscription which call for notice here. The ending m in Siddham, with which the inscription begins, looks, however, like the eastern variety of the Gupta m, though in all other cases it is represented by the other—earlier—form of the letter. That it is the ending m is indicated by its tiny shape. The h in mahārāja in l. 1 is represented by a character which looks like v. Possibly its right limb remained unincised inadvertently. Though n is engraved in all other cases with the base-line bending slightly lower down on either side, the n in āgava in l. 10 has a distinct loop on the left as in the later form of that character. This, however, is not unknown to the Kusāna records. The way in which components of the conjunct mā are joined in sambodhanā (l. 12) is worth seeing. The rare n in visākamā (l. 13) and the Kusāna form of a and ā in ll. 5 and 8 are also worthy of note. Similarly, the character for the numeral 50 in l. 4 does not resemble any of the Gupta period shown by Bühler in cols. IX-X. of his Tafel IX., but comes very close to that in col. V. of the Kahantrapa period ranging between the 2nd and the 3rd century A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Chandragupta, son of Samudragupta. The titles coupled with each name are worth noting. They are bhāṣṭāraka, mahārāja and rājādhirāja. The first of these, namely, bhāṣṭāraka is associated pretty frequently with the names of the Gupta sovereigns. But the other title which they almost invariably assume is mahārāja rājādhirāja instead of what we have in the present record, i.e., mahārāja rājādhirāja, an exact replica of mahārāja rājādhirāja which the Kusāna kings bore. It is quite natural in Mathūrā which formed one of the most important districts of the Kusāna kingdom and where numbers of Kusāna epigraphs have been unearthed. This is but another indication of Mathūrā and the surrounding region being wrested from the Kusānas for the first time by Chandragupta II.

The date of the inscription is 61, which, of course, has to be referred to the Gupta era. It is rather unfortunate that the important words in lines 3-5 which contain the details of the date have been effaced. The first part of it tells us to what regnal year of Chandragupta this date corresponds. It is a serious loss that this part has not been preserved. The second part tells us to what kāla or era the year 61 belonged. It seems to be certain that Guptā-kāla is meant. But nothing would have been better if the word Gupta had been preserved. Then again the name of the month also has been destroyed. Fortunately for us the word prāthama has been preserved immediately after the specification of the month. This shows that in the year 61 there was an intercalary month. On the evidence of Jaina works Dr. K. B. Pathak has proved that expired or current Gupta years can be converted into corresponding (expired or current) Śaka years by adding 2411. Thus if we add 241 to 61 Gupta year of our inscription, we obtain 302 Śaka = 380 A.D. We do not yet know whether this Gupta year is current or expired. We leave it undecided for the time being. Now, if we refer to page 42 of Table X of the Indian Chronology by Swami Kāṇas Pillai, we find that there was an additional month only in A.D. 380 and none in 378 or in 381-82 and that in A.D. 380 Āśādhāra was this

1 Ind. Ant., 1917, p. 269.
intercalary month. The lacuna before prathama can thus be easily filled up with Ashadhama-mes. We thus find that the month of our date cannot be Ashadhya. We also find that the date of our record was a current Gupta year. Because this intercalary month came only in A.D. 380 current, the Gupta 61 must therefore be also a current year.

The earliest date we had so far for Chandragupta II is G.E. 82, supplied by an Udayagiri cave inscription of his feudatory chieftain of the Saksadika family. But the date furnished by our epigraph is 61, which is thus twenty-one years earlier. It also sheds some light on the length of his reign. The latest known date for this Gupta sovereign is 84. Therefore Chandragupta II must have reigned at least 32 years.

After the specification of the date, the inscription introduces us to a teacher who was a Mahesvara or devotee of Siva and was called Udita-charya. His pedigree is given. But unfortunately the name of his teacher is not clearly preserved. It is however pretty certain that it was Umapita. The latter, again, was a pupil of Kapila, and Kapila, a pupil of Parasara. We have thus a list of Maheshvara teachers extending over four generations. In fact, Udita-charya has been mentioned as chatuthra or fourth in succession from Parasara. This is intelligible and quite all right, as it is in an unbroken order. But Udita-charya has been also specifically mentioned as dasama or tenth in descent from Vasiga. As no names of the intervening teachers have been given and Udita-charya is specified as tenth in succession from Vasiga, the only possible inference is that Vasiga, though he did not originate any new doctrine or sect, must have been at least the founder of a line of teachers. We will take up this point later on for further discussion, but what we have here to note is that while the living teacher Udita-charya is called merely an Arya, all the others, namely, Umapita, Kapila, Parasara and Vasiga, have received the supreme designation of Bhagavat, which is generally associated with personsages who are supposed to have attained to the rank of the divinity.

The object of the inscription is to record that Udita-charya, who was the Maheshvara teacher living, established two images, called Kapilasvara and Umapitasvara, in the Gurev-agatana. The second part of these two names, i.e., isvara, shows that it was the Lingas that were installed. The first part of these, i.e., Umapita and Kapila, are the names of the teacher and the teacher’s teacher of Udita-charya. It therefore seems that the latter established two Lingas, one in the name of Umapita and the other in the name of Kapila. We have numerous instances of persons setting up idols of Vishnu or Siva either in their own or in their father’s or mother’s name. It is therefore no wonder that Udita-charya put up two Lingas in the names of his teacher and teacher’s teacher. What is, however, noteworthy here is that he installed the Lingas in a place called Gurev-agatana which can only mean “the Teachers’ Shrine.” As none of the gurus of the line to which Udita-charya pertained was then alive, the Gurev-agatana can only denote the place where the memorials of the gurus were established. And we know from this inscription what sort of memorial was set up by Udita-charya in the names of his gurus. They were Lingas called individually after them. The inference is reasonable that Gurev-agatana was a place where Lingas were installed in the names of the teachers who preceded Udita-charya.

This Gurev-agatana reminds us of the devakula mentioned in the Pratimabhasaka of Bhasa which was really “a royal gallery of portrait statues.” Bharata, who is a son of Dasaratha but who does not know of his father’s death, comes to this place, mistaking it for a shrine of four deities. He meets the devakulika who was in charge of this edifice, and learns from him that it was not a place of worship but a Statue-house, the last statue erected there being that of Dasaratha, whereupon he concludes that his father is dead. The case is, however, somewhat different with the devakulas mentioned in the Kushan inscriptions. One devakula certainly enshrined

1 Gupta Inscrip. p. 25.
the statue of the Kushāna sovereign who was the grand-father (puṭākha) of Huvishka. Whether this dévakaṇa was the same as the one mentioned in the inscription of Vima it is impossible to say. If they are not the same, then they are of course different. In that case, at Māt, near Mathura where these Kushāna inscriptions were found, we had not a gallery of royal portraits, as supposed by some, but rather a cluster of dévakaṇas commemorating the different Kushāna rulers. The case is not unlike what we see in the capital towns of the States of Rājputāna. To take the Jodhpur State, for instance. Six miles north of it is a place called Manjor which is be-decked with a number of structures raised to the memory of the various kings of the Rājput family of that place. Some of these look exactly like temples and are also known locally as dévāṇa (=dévakaṇa). The custom prevalent among the Rājputs namely, to erect a com-memorative structure to every departed king seems to have been in vogue also in the Kushāna period. The case depicted in the Pratima-nātaka is, however, different, because it introduces us not to an assemblage of shrine structures, each separate from the others, and each raised to the memory of a ruler that has passed away, but rather to a statue-house which contained the portraits of the dead kings. The Guruv-āyatana adverted to in our record resembles this pratima-grīka more than the different memorial structures huddled together in a place, which seem to have been customary in Rājputāna from the Kushāna times. Guruv-āyatana is thus a shrine which comprised the Liṅgas set up in the name and to the memory of the gurus of that lineage to which Uditāchārya belonged. It may be contended that the resemblance here is not complete unless we could show that these Liṅgas were or contained the portraits of the departed gurus. It has to be admitted that there is some force in this contention. For, in l. 10, immediately after Guruv-āyatana we have the two letters guru, which were originally followed by at least five letters but which have unfortunately been effaced. It may reasonably be asked why guru is again en-graved at all after Guruv-āyatana and whether the letters destroyed cannot be restored so as to answer to this presumption. The reply is that the lacuna can without much difficulty be filled up, and I do not think we shall be very wide of the mark if we restore it to guru-pratima-yutau. The Liṅgas established not only were named after the gurus Upamita and Kapila but also bore their portraits. How this could be possible we shall see shortly.

There is just another point to be considered. We have seen that the inscription specifically mentions Uditāchārya as dosana or tenth in descent from Kuśika and fourth from Parāśara. While the teachers intervening between Parāśara and Uditāchārya are mentioned and are only two, those between Kuśika and Parāśara are not mentioned at all though they were no less than five. In fact, there was no need of mentioning Kuśika at all unless we suppose that he was the most important personage of the line to which Uditāchārya belonged. We are therefore compelled to infer that Kuśika, though he may not have propounded any new religious system, must have at least originated a line of teachers to which pertained Parāśara, Kapila, Upamita and Udita. Who could this Kuśika be? There can be but one reply to this question. Years ago I had occasion to point out who Lakuli was. Lakuli was a great puzzle to scholars and archaeologists. I first drew their attention to a passage which is common to both the Vāyu and the Liṅga-Pa- ṛṇa. On the strength of this passage I showed (1) that Lakuli was the last incarnation of Mahāvīra, (2) that this incarnation took place at Kāyavatā or Kayavatā which was identical with Kārvan, in the Dābhūśāluk, Baroda prast, Baroda State, and (3) that he had four ascetic pupils, namely, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaukushya. The same information is contained in a

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1 J. B. A. S., 1921, pp. 492-3.
2 P. H. S., WC, 1906-7, p. 31, para. 21.
3 J. B. O. R. S., 1919, p. 49.
stone slab inscription, which originally belonged to a temple at Sōmanātha in Kāṭhia\wāḍ but is now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra in Portugal. The inscription is thus known as the Cintra praśasti of the reign of the Chaukura ruler Sāraṇgadēva, and was last critically edited by G. Bübler in Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 271 ff. This inscription corroborates practically all that has been said by the Purāṇas about Lakulli. The order and names of his pupils are however slightly different in this epigraphic record, being, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusha and Maitriya. But this much is certain that in both Kuśika remains unaltered in name and also stands first in the order. The Cintra praśasti however tells us one thing more, namely, that these four disciples of Lakulli were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāṣupatas.1 There can thus hardly be a doubt that the Kuśika of our record must be regarded as the first pupil of Lakulli and that the four Ačāryas mentioned here were of course his descendants. In the Cintra praśasti three Ačāryas are mentioned, namely, Kārttikārāṇi, Vālmikitrīsī and Tripurāntaka, the last of whom was a contemporary of Sāraṇgadēva during whose reign it was incised. Verse 19 of this inscription distinctly tells us that these teachers belonged to the line (gōra) of Gārgya. While the Cintra praśasti thus gives an account of the ascetic teachers who sprang up in the line of Gārgya, the second pupil of Lakulli, our present record throws light upon the line of teachers that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakulli. It appears that while the descendants of Gārgya established themselves at Sōmanātha in Kāṭhia\wāḍ, those of Kuśika were settled at Mathura.

If the teachers mentioned in our inscription belonged to the Lakuliśa sect, it clears up the two or three points of our inscription which were thought to be obscure. The first is how the Līṅgas, if they were installed as memorials to Upamita and Kapila, could also contain their portraits. The second point is why all the dead teachers of this line, namely, Kuśika, Parāśara, Upamita and Kapila, have been styled bhagavat. The third is why the living teacher Uditāchārya has been called ārya. These are the points which were thought to be obscure in the above discussion and were left for elucidation at the end of these our prefatory remarks. Let us now take up the first point: How could the Līṅgas put up in memory of Upamita and Kapila also comprise their portraits? I have alluded to the paper on Lakuliśa which I wrote for the Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc., twenty-five years ago. Not long after, I contributed another on the same subject to the Archael. Surv. Ind., An. Rep., 1906-7, p. 179 ff. This latter contained copious illustrations of the figure of Lakulli whether on the door jambs and friezes of shrines, on the outside walls of temples, or in separate sculptures. I have shown that wherever Lakulli appears he figures as a human being, invariably with two hands, but with his characteristic signs, namely, a lakuta or staff in his left hand and a citron in his right. There are however two representations of his which are singular, and they are both found at Kārvān, the place where this last incarnation of Siva came off and also passed away. Here we have two Līṅgas with the portraits of Lakulli sculptured in front. One of these is in the temple of Nākeśvar and the other, in that of Rājārājēśvar, both at Kārvān. It will thus be seen that the Śiva Līṅga has been combined with the representation of Lakulli into one image. It may be asked: What could be the meaning of this? Now, the Purāṇas and the inscriptions are unanimous in saying that Lakulli was the originator of certain austereities and religious practices called the Pāṣupata- or Māheśvara-yoga which his pupils disseminated. And it is well-known that when a yūgā passes away, he does not die like an ordinary mortal with his last breath going out of his earthly nostrils, but rather by a yūgā feast which enables him to pass it through the brahma-randhra, that is, by breaking his human skull. It is only in this manner that he is absorbed into Brahma, if he is a Vedantist, or into Śiva, if he is a Pāṣupata or Māheśvara. But as Lakulli was a worshipper of

Śiva, we have to suppose that the two sculpturés from Kārvān represent obviously the absorption of Lakuli into the divinity of Śiva. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to suppose that even in the case of Upamitēsvarā and Kapilēsvarā, we had not mere Śiva Lingas set up here but rather these Lingas with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved into them, as is the case with Lakuli in the two images of Kārvān. Upamita and Kapila, being descendents of Kuṣika, must have been experts in the Pāśupatayōga. We have therefore to presume that they too must have passed away like the yōgīn̄s by driving away their prāya-vāya through the brahma-randhra. They must have thereby merged themselves into the godhead of Śiva. This alone can explain why all these departed ascetics of the Lakuli sect have received the divine title of bhagavat. The teacher, Uditaçārya, who is still living and who is not yet absorbed into Śiva, is not, and in fact, cannot, be honoured with this supreme title. He has therefore been merely styled ārya. Here it may be asked whether even this title has at all any significance of its own. In this connection my attention has been drawn by my friend, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, to a verse in the Cintra prāṣasti. It is with reference to Tripurāntaka, the ascetic-teacher of the Gārya line, who has been referred to above. He was a contemporary of the Chaulukya king Sārāya, during whose time the inscription was engraved. The verse runs thus:

Iha rākṣahām = Umēkāntah śrīmān Gaṇḍa-Brihaspatiḥ
Āryaḥ-rājan vinirvāya viśvabhikṣam ca kākṛtā Mahattara

"(Verse 34) Here the illustrious Gaṇḍa-Brihaspati, visibly the husband of Umē, having made him an Ārya, appointed him sixth Mahattara."

What the verse says is that Gaṇḍa-Brihaspati, who was apparently the State Officer in charge of the religious monuments, made Tripurāntaka an Ārya and then appointed him sixth Mahattara. Bühlér himself is not sure whether Ārya and Mahattara referred to officers, or were mere titles. The second alternative was considered by him as more probable. Personally, however, I think that Mahattara denotes an office and frequently occurs in the list of official designations set forth in inscriptions, especially those engraved on copper-plates. As regards ārya, it is worthy of note that Śrīmānśhachchāndās's Abhīśaḷācaṁiṁi gives it as a synonym of prabhā, "a master, an owner."

This fits excellently not only in the Cintra prāṣasti but also in our record. For in the first case we know that Tripurāntaka built five temples of which he legitimately could be an Ārya or owner. In the second case we have seen that Uditaçārya raised two memorial structures to his gurus in the Teacher's Shrine, of which he must doubtless have been an Ārya or owner.

There now remains only one point to be considered—the date of Lakuliya. Uditaçārya, we know, was tenth in descent from Kuṣika, pupil of Lakuli. Uditaçārya's date, that is, the date of our inscription, is G.E. 61 = A.D. 330-81. If we now allot 25 years to each generation, we have to assign Lakuli to A.D. 105-130. This agrees pretty closely with the view I expressed twenty-five years ago, that Lakuli has to be placed as early as the first century A.D. My conclusion was then based merely on the mention, in the Vāyu-Purāṇa, of Lakuli as the last incarnation of Śiva. Evidence of this type will always remain of a somewhat conjectural nature. Epigraphic evidence, on the other hand, is more accurate. We may therefore take it now as well-nigh proved that Lakuli flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D., about half a century later than the time so long ascribed to him.

Along with the stampages on which the accompanying transcript of this epigraph is based the Government Epigraphist was kind enough to send me three photos of that part of the pillar

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2 Martya-kīṣa, paryāya l. (v. 23).
which has been engraved. The inscribed portion is really the shaft which is octagonal, but four of its faces on which the record is incised being well dressed and the remaining four left rough. The top and the base of the pillar have each four sides, only one of which is well dressed. While the fine-dressed surface of the top is sculptured with a trident, that of the base is carved with a standing figure, with two hands, the right of which is set down catching a staff or club and the other held akimbo but also bearing some unidentifiable object. The hair on the head is matted with some curls falling on both the shoulders. The statue bears, apparently, two garments, the upper or uttariya being made fast to the body by a band passing round between the chest and the belly and with one end flowing loose spirally at the proper left as in the case of some Gupta images in the Udayagiri caves. Although the lower part of the body is apparently clothed with a dhoti, the privates are clearly shown like the breast nipples appearing through the upper garment. The last but not the least important point that we have to notice is the third eye in the forehead. All these characteristics point to the conclusion that we have here the figure of Lakulisha. The images of Lakulisha have no doubt been found in numbers, but they all belong to the mediaval period. None has so far been found which is earlier than the seventh century. Again, Lakulisha of the mediaval period is invariably in a sitting posture. It has two hands, one bearing a club or lakuta and the other a malasula fruit. Another special feature of Lakulisha is the membri virile which is shown upraised. But if he is represented in a standing posture, it is impossible to show it uplifted. It seems sufficient if his privates are exposed to view. When this feature is considered along with the fact that in the present case he wields a lakuta and bears matted hair on the head and a third eye in the forehead, there can be no reasonable doubt as to this being a standing figure of Lakulisha. This image is all the more important as it cannot but belong to the fourth century A.D.

We have already seen that only four faces of the shaft and one each of the top and the base have been fine-dressed. This clearly shows that our sculpture is not a pillar but a pilaster which was originally stuck up into the wall of some edifice. And we shall not be far from right if we maintain that it was one of many which decorated the exterior of the 'Teachers' Shrine' mentioned in the inscription. The pilaster was already in existence when the inscription was engraved. This may be seen from the fact that the lines of the record run irregularly and that the second half of the Arya verse with which it should have ended could not be engraved as no space was available for it on the shaft. This is possible only when the pilaster is in situ and the engraver has to suit himself somehow to the exigencies of the case.

TEXT.

1 Siddham [] Bhaṣṭāraka-mahārāja-[rājadhi]rāja-ārī-Samudragupta-sa-
2 tputrasya bhaṣṭāraka-mahārāja-[rājadhi]rāja-ārī-Chandragupta-
3 sya viṇa-rajya-saṁvatsara(rē)1 . [Gupta]-kāl-ānuvarthastāma-saṁ-
4 vatsarē śa-śaḥśthē bī 61 1 . "prā-thamē śukla-divasē pari-
5 chanyāṁ [i] asyaṁ purvvaṁ [yāṁ] [bhagavat-Kuśikā-dāśāmāna bhagava-
6 t-Parāśārach-chatur[th]ē[ṇa] [bhagavat-Kaṭa[la]-vimala-sī-
7 aya-śishyēṇa bhagavat[Upamita]-vimala-śishyēṇa
9 guṇīṇāṁ cha kirtya[ratham-]Upamitaśvajra-Kapilēśvarau

2[For the photograph see A. S. 2., 1930-31, Epigr. Sect.—Ed.]
3 The lacuna may be filled up with Aśkaḍa-māṇa.

*Read viṣaya-pālga*. 
TRANSLATION.

(L.1. 1-5). In the year—of the victorious reign of the Bhattarakā Mahārāja Rājādhīrāja, the illustrious Chandragupta, the good son of the Bhāttarakā Mahārāja Rājādhīrāja, the illustrious Samudragupta—on the fifth of the bright half of the First (Āśāda) of the year 61 following the Gupta era.

(L.1. 5-10). On this aforesaid (titā), (the Līṅgas) Upamitēvara and Kapilēvara (comprising the portraits of) the teachers were installed in the Teachers' Shrines. Ārya Udita-Chāryya, tenth from the Bhagavat Kuśika, fourth from the Bhagavat Parāsara, a stainless disciple's disciple of the Bhagavat Upamita (and) a stainless disciple of the Bhagavat Kapila, for the commemoration of the preceptors and for the augmentation of the religious merit of self.

(L.1. 10-16). (It is) not written for my own fame, but for beseeching the worshippers of Mahēvara. And it is an address to (those who are) the Āchāryyas for the time being. Thinking them to be (their own) property, they should preserve, worship, and honour (them) as (their own) property. This is the request. Whosoever will do harm to these memorials or (destroy) the writing above or below, shall be possessed of the five great sins and the five minor sins.

(L. 17). And may divine Daṇḍa be always victorious, whose staff is terrific and who is the foremost leader.

No. 2.—ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNAKA: SAKA 1182.

By S. SRIKANTA SAHTRI, M.A., MYSORE.

This inscription was first discovered by Rao Sakib P. G. Halakatti of Bijāpur who kindly sent me an ink-impression of it. It is engraved on a stone-slab set up in the temple of Hāla-Sāhukaralinga at Arjunavāda, a village, a mile and a half distant from Hukōri in the Belgaum district of the Bombay Presidency. The stone measures 9 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. The writing covers a space of 6 ft. 8 in. At the top, the figures of the līṅga, Nandī, and a
worshipper cover a space of 1 ft. 4 in.; at the bottom, a space of 1 ft. 10 in. is left blank. The language of the inscription is Kannada, except in the first verse. The virūma is represented by the usual Kannada sign, viz., two vertical strokes. The average size of the letters is about ½ in. The characters are of the regular type of the 13th century A. C., with an occasional reversion to older forms, as in the case of the akṣaraśa, ś, and ṣa. The use of chha in place of tua, as in saivākṣha (l. 46), the employment of two kinds of anusṭrās, and two forms of the secondary e-symbol are to be noted. Numerous mistakes have also been committed by the scribe, as in niṣwarī for niṣvarīga (l. 68), topasakrāvartī for topasakrāvarī (l. 43), vṛitti for vṛttī (l. 56), etc.

The inscription records that during the rule of the Yādava king Kannara of Déva-giri, his feudatories Chāvṇḍa-Seṭṭi and Nāgarasa made a grant of the village Kavilāsapura to Hāla-Basavidēva, an ascetic of the family of Saṅgana-Basava. The importance of the record lies in the fact that this is the first epigraph hitherto obtained which definitely mentions Basava, the restorer of Vīra-saivism during the days of Bijāla Kalajchurya (C. 1160 A. C.). Dr. Fleet had opined that "no epigraphic mention of Basava and Chenna-Basava had been obtained; which is really peculiar if they held the high office that is allotted to them by tradition." Later, while editing the Managōli record, he held that the mention of the names Mādirāja and Basava, son of a Chandarāja might have been the nucleus around which later Lingāyat tradition clustered. But this Basava could not have been the reformer as his parent mentioned in the Managōli record are Chandarāja and Chandrāmbikī of the Kāsypa-gōra, while Mahāprabhu Mādirāja belonged to the Hārita-gōra. In the present inscription Basava is mentioned as the son of Mādirāja, the ruler of Bāgavādi in the Tardavādi-thousand district; and also as Saṅgana-Basava—a name which also occurs in the Vīrāsāsī Purāṇas. He was devoted to the Purāṇas, Jainamas and the Liṅga (l. 9). His descendants had the golden bull (tṛṣṇabha) as their insignia—probably in honour of Basava or after the manner of the Kalajchuryas who had also the golden bull as their dveṣa, being Saivas, not Jainas as depicted in the Bijjalarāṇya-charita and other late works. The founder of the Kalajchurya family, according to an epigraph, was born of Śiva and a Brāhmaṇa girl. The genealogy of the donee Hāla-Basavidēva is not clear as the record is mutilated in vital parts. It speaks of Saṅgana-Basava, then his eldest (agni)...... Next Dēvarājamunipī is mentioned; then a Saṅga, his favourite son Kalidēvarasa; and his son Hāla-Basavidēva. It is possible that Dēvarājamunipī himself was the eldest son (l) of Basava, though the Vīra-sāva works like Bhairavēkatakāvya-katha nātra-vratākara mention that Basava had only one son Saṅga, who died at an early age. Unfortunately it is difficult from the impression, as it is, to decide whether it was four or five generations that elapsed from the time of Basava. In this inscription another Saṅga, the son of Dēvarāja, is also mentioned (l. 37); probably Dēvarāja named his son after his own father Saṅga, the son of Basava, according to tradition—a custom common amongst the Hindus.

The record is a Saivite one, though it can also be claimed for the particular cult of the Lingāyata as it mentions Basava’s devotion to prasāda (l. 42) which acquired a new significance with the rise of Basava. The reverence paid to the Purāṇas, Liṅga and Jainamas, though emphasised by Vīra-saivism, cannot be said to be particularly characteristic of it. Even

1 *Dynasty of the Kannara Districts*, p. 481.
Lākṣuṇika Paśupatas and followers of Kashmir Śaivism are said to have been “jaṅgama-liṅga-
āvatāras” and “mahā-mahābhāvas” and also “Lākṣuṇiṇa-samaya-samuddhara”, i.e., the up-
holders of the Lākṣuṇiṇa-samaya.¹

The date of the record is Saka 1182, Siddhārthi, Chaitra, bahuja Amāvāsyā, Monday, solar
eclipse (l. 46-47). Putting Raudra for Siddhārthi, the date tallies with 12th April 1266 A. C.
which day a solar eclipse occurred.² Incidentally, it might be mentioned that this grant
provides the latest date for the Yādava king Kṛishṇa as we know that the third regnal
year of his successor Mahāśeṇa falls in Vaisākha of Dumbubhi, S. 1185 (1262 A. C.).³
Kṛishṇa probably lived only for a short time after this grant was made.

Chāvīḍa-Seṭṭi, who is the donor of this grant, also figures in other inscriptions. In the Bṛhaṭṭi grant,⁴ he is referred to as having quelled the pride of the Hāsaṇa king, and as having
come to Kukkanur in Belvola division of Kuntala on a tour of conquest. Nāgarasa is spoken of
as the prime minister of Kṛishṇa and as the establisher of the Raṭṭa kingdom (l. 40). It is not
clear whether this re-establishment of the Raṭṭas took place before or after Viśhapa had reduced
them (Cir. 1238 A. C.).⁵ We know that the capital of the Raṭṭas was transferred from Saund-
datti to Belgaum about the year 1208 A. C.⁶ A record of the time of Lakṣmideva II, dated 1229 A. C.,⁷ speaks of Mahāpradhāna Munichaṇḍa also as “Raṭṭa-rajpura-pratikṣh-
āchrāya”, perhaps because of the help he rendered to improve the fortunes of the family.
After 1230 A. C. we hear no more of the Raṭṭa ruling family—the Kṛuṇḍi province having
finally passed into the hands of the Yādavas—though the members of the old family might
have continued to be employed as ordinary officials. Nāgarasa is spoken of as the son of
Divākara-dēva of the Vānuskula and as a devotee of Janardana. Evidently his Viṣṇu-vite
leanings did not come in the way of making a grant to Śaivas—which proves that there
was little of the bitter animosity between the devotees of Viṣṇu and of Śiva as depicted in
later Viṣṇu-śaiva legends. He seems to have also been a patron of literature as indicated by the
title Paṇḍita-pāṛījata (l. 34).

The localities mentioned in this inscription are interesting. The province Taḍḍavāḍi-1000
(l. 8) evidently took its name from the small village Taḍḍavāḍi on the banks of the Bāmā, thirty-
seven miles north of Bījāpur. Bāgavāḍi was the centre of Bāge-50 as mentioned in the Honvāḍa
inscription of Śomēśvara I.⁸ The district Nāḷaṇḍu (l. 49) clustered round the village Nāḷe-
grāma, fifteen miles to the west of Hukeri. The district Kṛuṇḍi (l. 51) was the territory the boundaries of which had been fixed by Raṭṭa Kaṟṟivira I (Cir. 1040—1070 A. C.).⁹ Kari-
īṣapura, the lordship over which was claimed by Hāla-Basavideva, is a village of the same
name seven or eight miles from Nāḷegrāma. In the thirteenth century it must have been in a
very flourishing condition, including within its compass the modern villages of Arjunavāḍa,
Kochchāripe and Mosaraguppi—the Mosaragutti of the present record (l. 69).

Some of the fiscal terms mentioned in the inscription claim our attention. Kottasi (l. 55)
and kuruvanige are perhaps land revenues, assessed from the fields, each of which was sufficient
for the maintenance of a temple (l. 74), while all the minor taxes like sunka, sāda, tāla, sārīge,
boš[*]eya-bādhe, grāma-braya, anke, taṅka, āye, gōsane, mudre, etc., combined, were necessary to maintain the temple of Nāgēsvara (l. 73). Perhaps they corresponded to the term sidhāya used in later Hoysala inscriptions to mean all the aggregate revenues payable to the king. Sumka usually meant a toll on things brought into the village, hejjugi or hejjamka (l. 62) being the great-toll as distinguished from taxes. Nīdi and nīkṣēpā were two of the eight privileges (the others being jala, paśāya, akshiśi, āgāmi, sidhā and sadhya). Other taxes were anke (a poll-tax), taṅka (coingage), gōsane (evidently gōshāya, a musical honour mentioned in the Bēhaṭī grant as grāma-gōshā-sahītaṁ, grāma-dēva-gōshā-yuktaṁ—different from gōshā or a village of cowherds), mudre (tax on right of seal), dues from fairs (l. 77) and kōṣana meyideś (tax on buffaloes).

TEXT.

1 Namas-tuṅga-sīraṁ[4]-chūmbi-chandrā-chāman-chāra
2 va [1]*) traijīkya-nagar-āraṁbha-mūla-staṁbhāya Śaṅ- 
3 bhaṅ || [1]*) Śriyaṁ Śri-Kallināṭham kuṇu- 
4 ge bhava-haraṁ bhakta-brimāk[4]e Gauri-jāyā-kāyā- 
5 nushāṅg-ākajita-lalītā-prāllasad-vāma-bhāgaṁ svīya-svā- 
6 yatta-sakti-traya-maya-mahimāṁ dēva-dāyāṁ-mā- 
7 yā-pāyābhirāya-līlaṁ pranata-jana-durantā-āgha-saṅghāṭta-ālāṁ || [2]*)5 
8 Mattarī T[a[*]davādi-madhya-grāma-Bāgavaḍī-puravā-ādhiśvara Majārājana taṅ̄- 
9 jah Basavarajana mahimye-ēnt-ēndade || Mahāgala-kirtti-purāna-jaṅgama-liṁ- 
10 g-āika-bhakti-nirbhāhara-līlā-saṅgam Saṅgana-Basavaṁ saṅgatiyam 4 mālke bhakti- 
11 yoju(a)- 
12 g-anavaratāṁ || [3]*) Yādava-bhāmipāḷar-śeyāṁ chatur-ad(b)dhi- pari- 
13 teyam niṣarg-ōdayar-āvar-ant-āvarol-āsava-chamū-chaīya-vārdhi Śitāḥa- 
14 kshma-dayitam tad-agra-tanaya-prabhavan nipara Kāśiṁaraṁ samast-ōdahī- 
15 vēlēyin porge belgodeyol-neļalanā nimirechitāṁ || [4]*) Sale bhūḍēya- 
16 rkkalg-ittel-alsade gō-bhūmi-hēma-vastr-ādasālām malev-arasagalo- 
17 l-kōmbhaṁ balavāntaṁ Kāṛarnāṁ pratāpa-saḥīyaṁ || [5]*)9 Svasti [1]*) samasta- 
18 bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛthvī[11]-vallabha aharājādhirāja paramē- 
19 śvara paramabhāṭṭāraka Dvārāват-puravā-ādhiśvara Yā- 
20 dava-kuḷa-kaṁaḷa-kālīkā-vaṅkās-bāhākara yari[12]-rāya- 
21 jagas-jhaṁpe Mājāva-rāya-Madana-Trinēṭra Gūrjāra-rāya-bhayāṅkara 
22 Telumga-rāya-sthāpan-āchāryya ity-ādi-nām-śvali-saṁjāṅkīra[12]

[The context would show that this is a festival. The word means "the big harvest."—Ed.]

* Read -śiraṁ.
* Metre : Anusṭubh.
* Metre : Sārphārā.
* sf is written above the line.
* Metre : Kanda.
* Read nīpaṁ.
* Metre : Utpalāmālā.
* Metre : Kanda.
* Read -Pṛthvi-
* Read -aṅg.9
* Read -aṅg.12
* Read Valerita.
22 áśīνa-t-praṇādh-pratāpa-chakravartti śrī-Kaṁnara-dēvaṁ Dēvagī-
23 riya nele-viṇīdānu sukha-saṁkathā-viṇīdaṁ-saṁvarataṁ rā-
24 jaṁ-goyuttum-ire tat-pāda-padm-āpajivi Chikkana chikka magaṁ vihavakk
25 Kuberaṁe seṣasuvvaṁ rāyaramuṁ mikkhaṁ Bichugī =-au-
27 Chāvuṁdaṁ Pārvatvā-vaiḷaṁ-charaṁ-saṁga-svay-āṁda-bhrī(ṛ)ṁgaṁ Chāvuṁ-
28 daṁ tyāga-bhog-ānubhava-Bhava-sukha-śrī-vadhū-nri(ṛ)tya-ṛaṁgaṁ Chāvuṁdaṁ
sāma-
29 bhōda-prabhr(ṛ)ti-[sa]ka-la-maṅitr-āṅga-vidyā-samudraṁ Chāvuṁdaṁ vīra-vair-
pra-
30 kara-samara-saṁghaṁ(ṛ)a (ṛ)a-āgni-Rudraṁ || [7] a Yene nega[ṛ]d-a Chāvuṁdaṁ
manad-annāṁ
31 Nāgarājana=akhiṁ-2- niyōgaṁ=senippa Divākaradēvama putraṁ Vāpas-ānva-
32 y-ānābara-mitraṁ || [8] a Tyāga-gutakke tāy-vane samasta-nri(ṛ)pāla-niyōga-va-
33 rttanā-śīrge nivāśam-ihṣara viṣiṣṭhāra tōṣhaṇa-pōshaṇaṁ[ṛ]=ollāga-
34 ram-ṛ recourse pariṣṭānaṁ Nāgaran-ā Janārddanaṁ bha-
35 kti-bhara-prabhav-ānurāgaṁ || [9] a Saṁgana=Saṁsvana agra………………7 kaṁ
36 Dēvārīja=munipana tanayaṁ Janagama-puruxaṁ………….ra
37 Saṁgana priya-sutan=senippa Kālidēvaramaṁ || [10] a Kālidēvamuni-
38 pan-ātmaja sale mājagadolage mereva mā[n]ya=dēvam gelidam asa(ś)na-
39 besanava10 chhalar-ahikaṁ Hāla=Basavideva-munisaṁ || [11] a Svasti samasta-
40 bhuvan-āśreyani12 mahā-māhēsvaram14 Kāvilāsa-purava-
41 r-ādiṁ(ṛ)varurum suvaṁṇna(varṇa)-vrisabha13-dhvaṁ [ṛ] saṣṭhi-purātha14-pāḍ-ār̥c-
chaka-
42 ruṁ mahā-liṅga-jāṅgama-prasāda-niyata[ṛ]m[ṛ]n sama-
43 ya-bhakti-sanpaṁna(panna) śrī-Basavarjana-āṁ(n)vayaram-appa tapa-chakra-
44 [va]ṛtii17 vīra-brati Hāla=Basavidevaṁge ṛ mahāpradhamān ṛa-
45 tā-rājya-pratishtā-āchāryyanum-appa Nāgarasaru S(ṛ)aka-varuṣhaṁ sāsira-
46 da-nūra-yeṃbhatta-yeraḍaneya Siddhārthti(ṛṛ)Śama-vachharaṁ a Chai-
47 tra bahula amāsē Sōma-vāra sūrya-grahaṇapadallī Hub[ge]-
48 reya Sōmanāthaḍēva sarin[ma]dhiyali a Chauḍī-Setṭiṇar-ā

1 Metre : Kanda.
2 Metre : Śravakāra.
3 Read =akhiṁ.
4 Read =niyōgaṁ[ṛ].
5 Metre : Kanda.
6 Metre : Utpalamāla.
7 The letters erased are probably ja Saṅgaṁa.
8 Probably the missing word is śaraṇa.
9 Metre : Kanda.
10 Read =saṁh.
11 Read =śam.
12 Metre : Kanda.
13 Read =śravānaṁ.
14 Read =śavaraṁ.
15 Read =vriṣabhāna.
16 Read =purātha.
17 Read =tapas-chakravartti.
18 Read =sahavatāra.
49 ṭihā-śivā(aśa)manḥ besaṅgaḥulu Nūle-nādo mukha [manitanañ] Kavīśalasa- 
46 tīṛṭṭaṁ] 
50 nālku-yugada purāṇ-ōktadvi bānda ksha(ō)trav-ad-ēṁḍ-emdaṁ Čr(ṛ)ita-[yu]- 
51 gadañi Kavīśa-muni Kavīḷānaṁāya trēṭeyāi Āṅkarāja-muni ā. Āṅka- 
52 nātha dvāparadalli Mahārāja-muni Mahāśiṅgadeva kāli-yugadaḥ. 
53 Kārīṭāja-muni Kālīdeva nāma[∥*] i(t) muniṅaḷu mukha [samasta-gaṇeṣ∥*]va- 
54 rāvramāṇya-sāṅkṣāya-sāṁpīya-sāymyaq[∥*]avanku pāde- 
55 da Ma[h]rāṅgagārīge Āṅkanātha-vasarī aṅkāvala tāla-vṛtti[∥*] ko- 
56 ttasi kuruvanige i(t) haḷi Māṇḍhibha-chakravartti biṣṭa dhaṅṇy[∥*]amma a- 
57 tirrht(th)akku adu s[amastha]y-embdan Chavuḍi-Setṭiyarō kēli[∥*]du Nyāg- 
58 rasařu tāvu ekasthār-āgi Kavīḷāśapuraṇa-bhage Svayambhū-Ma- 
59 liṅkarṇa Saṅgamēvara ś Nāgēvara ś yi mṛğu-liṅgaṅakaṁ aṅga- 
60 bhūga raṅga-bhūga jirun-[d]ē[h]ārakkanā pāṅgēya jāṅgama-a- 
61 rāḍhaneṅğā kottasī kuruvanige tāla-vṛtti[∥*] aṅkāvala Kūmēdi- 
62 nāḍalou saluvamaka hejjuṅgiya-habba voṁbhattu-dina duṇka 
63 nīr-e[∥*]jina parīḥāra yinḥ-inunāṁ sarvā-arāhda(a)- 
64 sarvav-namsayavāṁ mādī Chavuḍi-Setṭ[ṣa]yaru Nyāgarasu 
65 yatīraṇa Hāla-Basavāvēṇaṁ pūrvva-dattav-emdu 
66 dhārā-pūrvvakāṁ mādī koṭṭharā Chavuḍi-Setṭiyara ni- 
67 yamadīn Nyāgarasuṇa pūrdaṁ paṇḍava tōreyā kū- 
68 didā haḷaṛi nīruvar[e] mērey-aṅga mēge kalukāṭa-gege 
69 Basava-gōḍī baḍaṅgalu Mōsarguttī ś rāva-vidī[du] muḍalu 
70 jarnēḥi-galla kaṇi Kuchēhaṅgōḍīyaṁ bandha haḷaṁ nīruvar[e] 'temkā- 
71 lu tōreyā kūjamā yī chaturu-sim-abhyāntara Kavīḷāpaṇu- 
72 radalā sunka sāda tāla sārīge baṅ-[e]jega-būḍhe graḥ(a)ma-braya ni- 
73 dhi niṅkalpa anke 'taṁkā  āge 'goṁane mudre Nāgēvarake ś Mallēsvaran- 
74 ko kuruṇvanī Saṅgamēsvarake ś pāṅgēya jāṅgama-ār[a]tha]- 
75 nege kottasīg e(i) dharmamakē [e(i)du viṅvarav-emdu Nyāgarase(ru) koṁ[∥*]ja 
76 sāsana[10] [∥*] nā[ikum] paṭṭaṅgaṅgalu Nūle-nādoḷage saṁteṅgaḷa 
77 āya-dāya ipatiṅ kōsana meyinde sunka hadinen- 
78 ṭu samayavu aruvata[12]-mūvare baṇapu-bhakutki bhēdav-a- 
79 lā Kavīḷāśapurāvē sāsana[12]-vane Basavārjanē sāsane[12]-en- 
80 du vubhya-nāṇāde[14] mūnure-daṃḍaṅgalu koṁ[∥*]ja [s(s)sāsana] [∥*].

1 Read Kavīśa-.
2 *ni is written above the lines.
3 Read mukha-.
4 Read uttivi-.
5 Read śīva-.
6 Read śīvā-.
7 Read śīvī-.
8 Read jīvī-.
9 Read śīvā-.
10 Read dharmamakē.
11 Read kōsana-.
12 Read aruvata-.
13 Read sāsana-.
14 Read sāsana-.
ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. Invocation to Śiva.
V. 2. Invocation to god Kallinātha.
V. 3. Praise of Saṅgana-Basava who had unflinching faith in the Purūñas, Jaṅgamas and Leṅga.
V. 4. The Yādava rulers held sway over the whole earth bounded by the four seas; among them was Simhāna, the possessor of numerous horses. The son of his eldest son was Kannara who brought the whole earth under the shadow of his royal white umbrella.
V. 5. Praises of Kannara.

L. 16-24. The refuge of the worlds, the lord of Fortune and the Earth, the king of kings, Paramēśvara, Paramabhūtaraka, lord of Dvāravati, the best of towns, the sun to the lotus of the Yādava family, destroyer of the world of hostile kings, a Trīṇātra (Śiva) to the Kāṇa, the Rājā of Mālava, terrifier of the ruler of the Gūjarās, the establisher of Teḷugnarāya—Praṇāha-pratāpa-chakraya Kannaradeva was ruling at Dēvagiri in peace and wisdom; the dweller at his lotus-like feet.
V. 6. Bichugi, the younger son of Chikka, was the younger brother of Malla; Malla's son,
V. 7. Chāvupaḷa, worshipper of Śiva, was well versed in arts of diplomacy and war and a veritable Rudra to his foes.
V. 8. His dearest friend was the Niyōgi Nāgarāja, son of Divākanadeva of the Vēṇasa family.
V. 9. Praises of this Nāga.

V. 10 & 11. Saṅgana-Basava's eldest............., Dēvarāja's son, the foremost among the Jaṅgamas........ Saṅga (His I) favourite son was Kaliḍēvara. The son of Kaliḍēva, the lord of ascetics, is Hāla-Basavidēva, the best of men in the three worlds, who has overcome the pain of hunger and thirst.
L. 39-50. The refuge of all the three worlds, Mahāmāhēśvara, the lord of Kavilāsapura, the best of towns, who had the insignia of a golden bull, was the worshipper of the feet of 63 Purūtas, believed in Leṅga, Jaṅgamas and Prāśada and was the descendant of Basavarāja. Such was Hāla-Basavidēva. Mahāpradhāna Nāgarara, the establisher of the Raṭṭa kingdom, and Chauḍi-Setṭi requested him for the history of Kavilāsa-tirtha of Nūle-nākuṭ, on Monday, the new moon (tithi) of the dark half of Chaitra, during a solar eclipse in the year Siddhārthi (corresponding to) the Śaka year 1182, while residing at the temple of Sōmanātha in Huligere.
L. 50-55. These give the history of the place during the four yugas.
L. 55 & 56. The emperor Māndhātā gave to the god under the name Ankanātha, this village (i.e., Kavilāsapura), the fields and the dues from them, viz., kottas and kuruvanige.

L. 56-66. Hearing that it had before been granted to the god, Chauḍi-Setṭi and Nāgarara together gave it to the prince of ascetics, Hāla-Basavidēva, along with the taxes kottas, kuruvanige, tajavritti, ankavala in the Kāṇpdī province and tells on one hundred cattle-loads during the festival called Hejjuggiya-haba, for renovating the temples of, and conducting worship to, the gods Svayambhu-Mallikārjuna, Saṅgamaśvara and Nāgēvara and also for the purpose of feeding Jaṅgamas.

L. 66-76. At the command of Chauḍi-Setṭi, Nāgarara made an allotment of the dues from the village of Kavilāsapura, the boundaries of which are specified. Of the dues from Kavilāsapura the tells, sāda, lāya, sūrige, bāṭiye-bāde, grāma-braya, anke, tānda, ēye, gōsāne, mudre and nīkhī and nilēphē were assigned to Nāgēvara; the kuruvanige to the god Mallēśvara and kottasige to the god Saṅgamaśvara and for feeding the Jaṅgamas.
L. 76-80. The four town-guilds gave the dues from fairs in Nûle-nâju, the tax on buffaloes and tolls. There is no difference between the eighteen castes and the sixty-three Basaju devotees. The nânâdësi and mumurâdañyas made this grant with the consideration that the place of the grant is Kavîjâsapura and the donee Bassvarâja.

No. 3.—A NOTE ON THE ARJUNA VâDA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNARA.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACUMUND.

In the transcript of the Arjunava inscription published above, Mr. Srikantha Sastri’s reading of the tenth verse is defective and, I think, requires correction. It is true that portions of the verse are damaged. But the impression would show that only one letter is completely lost in l. 35 and two more letters, one of which occurs in the same line and the other in the next line (l. 36), are partly mutilated and can be restored with certainty. Since the letters vâgaññ and the ś sign of the mutilated letter in l. 35 are clearly visible, the broken letter with which the ś vowel is connected might be safely read as ṭ. Only one more short letter will be wanting to complete the metre of the verse and that letter which is now lost must have been jā. In the next line, the bottom portion of the mutilated letter and the ā sign attached to it would indicate that the letter in all probability was Kā. With this restoration the verse will be read as:

l. 35 Saṅgana-Basavana agrāja liṅgañkaṁ
l. 36 Dēvaraja-munipana tanayāṁ [1] janagama-parusāṁ [Kā]vara-
l. 37 saṁgañḥ priya-sutan-epippa Kaliḍēvarasaṁ

Accordingly the translation of the stanza will be like this:

"Saṅgana-Basava’s elder brother who was absorbed in the liṅga was Dēvarajamunipra; to his son [Kā]varasā, who was a touchstone to the Janagamas, was born the dear son Kaliḍēvarasaṁ."

The verse, thus, becomes very important from a historical point of view, for it supplies us with the genealogy of Saṅgana-Basava and his descendants for three generations.

This has not been properly made out by Mr. Srikantha Sastri in his interesting article, and I should like to elucidate it here. From the next verse (i.e., v. 11) we learn that Kaliḍēva’s son was Hāla-Basavidēva, the donee of the present grant; and lines 8 and 9 tell us that Saṅgana-Basava was a son of Mādirāja, the lord of Bāgavādi. Thus, the inscription supplies us with the following genealogy:

Mādirāja

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dēvarajamunipra</th>
<th>Saṅgana-Basava</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kāvarasa (cir. A.D. 1185-1230),</td>
<td>(cir. A.D. 1160-1185),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaliḍēvarasa (cir. A.D. 1210-1235).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hāla-Basavidēva (cir. A.D. 1235-1260).

As a matter of fact, it is in this genealogy that the value of the inscription chiefly lies; for it enables us to determine the period in which Saṅgana-Basava flourished and to identify him with the great Liṅgāyat reformer of that name. The record tells us that Chauḍi-Seṭṭi, a minister of the Yādava king Kannara (i.e., Krishṇa), and his friend Nāgarasa granted the village Kavijāsa-
pura to the ascetic Hāla-Basavidēva in Śaka 1182 (=A.D. 1260). If we suppose this to be the last year of Hāla-Basavidēva and allot him a period of 25 years, his date would be about A.D. 1235-1260. As we have seen above, two generations intervene between Saṅgana-Basava and Hāla-Basavidēva. Allowing roughly 25 years for each generation we get A.D. 1160-1185 as the approximate time of Saṅgana-Basava. According to the Basavurājadevārā Ragaḷe, the Bāṣava-Purāṇa and the Chenno-Bāṣava-Purāṇa, the great reformer Basava, who was also known as Saṅgana-Basava and who was the son of Mādirāja of Bāgavādi, was a minister of the Kala-churya king Bijjala, who, we know, ruled from A.D. 1156 to 1167. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Saṅgana-Basava of the Arjunavāda record is identical with the ‘Apostle of Liṅga-yatīsm’ of that name. Thus we have in this record the first epigraphical confirmation of the tradition regarding the contemporaneity of Basava, the reviver of the Vira-śaiva faith, with king Bijjala.

No. 4.—CHAUDALA GRANT OF HARIHARA: SAKA-SAMVAT 1313.

By G. V. Acharya, B.A., Bombay.

The plates bearing this inscription were purchased by the Superintendent, Archeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, from Mrs. Da'Cunha of Bombay for the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, where they are at present exhibited. The source from which they came originally is not known. They are three in number, each plate measuring 10’ by 6½”. Their edges are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface to serve as rims for protecting the writing. The second plate is inscribed on both sides, while the first and the third, on one side only. All of them are in a good state of preservation. No ring or seal is attached to them. In weight they are 267 tolas.

The inscription incised on these plates is written in Nāgāri script and Sanskrit language. The invocatory as well as the genealogical portion of it (vv. 1-10, ll. 1-36) is in verse but the rest (ll. 37-91) is in prose. It opens with invocations to Śiva, the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu and the Earth (vv. 1-3). Then the city of Vijayanagara is described (v. 4). According to verses 5 and 6, Saṅgana was born in the family of Yadu, his son was Bukkarāja and his son was Harihara. In the next verse we are told that king Harihara ruled the earth bounded by the northern bank of the Kṛṣṇa, the eastern ocean, the Setu and the western ocean. Verses 8 and 9 relate to the conquest of Gōvā, the capital of Kōṅkana, from the Turushkas by the minister Mādhava, and the re-consecration there of the images of Saṅtanātha and other gods. Next comes the description of Mādhava, who is stated to be the son of the Brahman Chāṃśuḍa of the Bhāradvāja-Āṇgala. He was governing the province of Kōṅkana under the orders of the king. He was the expounder of all the Upaniṣads, the illuminator of the Śaiv-aṅgamas, the author of Kāvyas, performer of Mahādānas and the teacher of Nītisāstra (v. 10 and ll. 37-40). While he was seated on the throne at Gōvāpurā, on the date specified, he made the gift of the village Paramarāpa in the Varasa-janapada, forming it into an agrahāra and renaming it Chau-dalāpurā, after his father, to 21 learned Brahmans of different gōtras. The object of this charter is to record this gift. The concluding portion states that the minister Naraharidēva purchased two of the granted eritix from their holders and made a gift of them to Vīthala-Paṭṭavardhana of the Kāṣyapa-gōtra. This Naraharidēva, we learn, belonged to the Atri-gōtra and was the son of Brahmarasa. He was a disciple of the (sage) Vidyāśāṅkara and had been installed by Mādhavarāja (ll. 41 to 91).

The grant was issued in the Śaka year 1313 expired and the cyclic year Prajāpati, on the new moon tīkhi of Chaitra and Wednesday at the time of the solar eclipse; during Aśvai-nakṣatra
and Priti-yog. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai’s *Ephemeris* the date regularly corresponds to A.D. 1391, April 5, Wednesday, on which day there was a solar eclipse.

The Mādhavarāja of the present grant has to be identified with Mādhava, the minister of Bukka I, who figures in the Hāromuchchali-agrāhāra inscription of A. D. 1368, which also describes him as the son of the Brahman Chārvuṭa, the Upanishāvanmārga-pratiṣṭhā-guru and a follower of the tenets of pure Śaivism as taught by the Śaiva teacher Kāśīvīlaśa-Kriyākālī. That the grant under publication mentions him as a scion of the Bhāradvāja family (aṇavaya) would support the identification, for Bhāradvāja is only a division of the Āūgirasa-gūrā. This Mādhavarāja also figures as a minister of Harīhara II in another grant of the same year, i.e., Śaka 1313, which was published long ago. The account given there agrees with that of the present document though it omits the name of Mādhava’s father and gives the name of his mother, i.e., Mahābhātikā, and of his elder brother Bhāskara. Some of the verses are common to both of those charters (vv. 5, 7, 8 and 9 of the present grant). The details of the date recorded in them are practically the same, though the months are differently named. The charter that has already been published wrongly gives Vaisākhā in place of Chaitra. Both the grants were issued on the same date, i.e., on the 5th of April, 1391 (A. D.). As has already been pointed out by Kielhorn, and is substantiated by the present grant, the date concerned pertains to the amānata month of Chaitra. As Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar has shown, Mādhava flourished between A. D. 1347 and 1391. The conquest of Gōvī by Mādhava mentioned in these records must have happened before Śaka 1309 (=A. D. 1383) as in that year he was already known as the ‘Lord of Gōvī’. The copper plate alluded to above shows that Naraharidēva, the minister, was sent to Goa to succeed Mādhava as the governor of Jayantipuramāṇḍala after the latter’s death, which must have happened shortly after the issue of the present grant. Vidyāśāṅkara, the guru of Naraharidēva, was another name of the famous Vidyāśāṅkara, the guru of the brothers Mādhavāchārīya and Sīyāṇa, who considered him as an incarnation of Mahāśvēnā.

The list of the donees mentioned in the charter is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Gōrā</th>
<th>Father’s name</th>
<th>Name of the Donee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kāyapa</td>
<td>Rāmādēva-Paṭavarthana</td>
<td>Vāmana-Paṭavarthana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vāsishṭha</td>
<td>Mahādēva-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Dimāṭā-Bhaṭṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Nārāyan-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Ajja-Bhaṭṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kāyapa</td>
<td>Rāmādēva-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Hari-Bhaṭṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Nagādēva-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Kēśava-Bhaṭṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Vāsishṭha</td>
<td>Viṭṭhala-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry who noted this fact (d. S. R. 1907, 68, p. 244) has not identified him with Mādhava the Śaiva minister of Bukka I.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Vāsishtha</td>
<td>Mahādeva-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Hari-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ātrēya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jān-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Parāśara</td>
<td>Rāma-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Mallāra-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>Nāraṇa-Jyōtirvid</td>
<td>Gaṅgādhara-Jyōtirvid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Mahādeva-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Dāmodara-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ajjain-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Mahādeva-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>Naraṇa-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>Viśṭhala-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Śekha-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ātrēya</td>
<td>Mallinātha-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Naraṇa-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Viśṭhala-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Narahari-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Vāsishtha</td>
<td>Gōrvinda-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Ananta-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Ajjain-Bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Kēśava-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jānu-Bhaṭṭa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Śaṇḍjilya</td>
<td>Bhimadeva</td>
<td>Harihara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Aṁkaṇa</td>
<td>Parīmappa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these ērītās, Nos. 9 and 10 were purchased from their holders and donated to Krishṇa-Paṭṭavardhana, son of Viśṭhala-Paṭṭavardhana of the Kāśyapa-gōra, by the minister Narahari-dēva.

**TEXT.**

[Metres: Vv. 1 and 2, Anushṭubh; vv. 3, 4, 6, 7 and 10 Sārdulavikrīṭta; v. 5 Vasantaśīlā; vv. 8 and 9 Indravajrā.]

**Plate I.**

1 ओगणाधिपतिे नमः । नमः प्रियः ।
2 य । नमस्मुङ्गिर्युक्ताचद्वाचारवर् ।
3 वे । वैलोक्यनगरारभससू लक्षभाव शंभवः॥१९॥ अ- ।
4 यक्षे अग्नि लोकाकोलः प्रियविनः । यथा ।
5 इंद्रकुरे सुराधरसतमस्वायती ॥२॥ कंदलं कः ।
6 मठेक्षरः विणितमालामलं ।
7 वर्गाण तत्वस्ते द्रवविलितलालमाक्ष ।
8 य च [स्थिः ।] किंगविविशिष्योऽवूरयकशः ।
9 य च नेव वल्लिकाकाळी यथ स्थाति ।

1 From the plates as well as from the impressions.
10 भूतान तद्रथा रथ रसा(स) रसा॥(२६) क्षाय
11 तो भारकेव विकुलके देवकेय कणोसुः। रातितिस्मे । या कलेपरिवर्तिनीः।
12 तत्कथमथे विकायकायति नगरी चारातितिस्मे । या कलेपरिवर्तिनीः।
13 मयुर पुरव जन्तुवर्गः।(३२) श्रेष्ठमण्डः।
14 चक्रमणबिनशुष्कं कुष्कुष्कं श्रेष्ठमण्डः।
15 उसमणद्वेषाया मनो दस्तुरिताः॥(३४)
16 [वेय]गो वर्तमानवाय वायुवस्य शोभा
17 गमासनि संगरामभीमोः। चोकरा।
18 ज रति विक्रत्यं भुवेष तामथातिहीदय
19 मध्याजोकायाः॥[३६] तत्कन्नुम्भपन्द्र प्रागः।
20 वाणवधिधिजसदविकुटिमुखरुपिनायतामः।
21 य तु महासामनः॥(३८) विकुटिमुखरुपः। चोकरा।
22 सचासामि रति चोपुः चाकायाः।[यु] (३८) चाकाया।
23 दिंश चारेष्यराशिः यो वहुमुखः।

Plate II; First Side.

24 लां॥[३८] भाक्षायसरिवेशरस्ततादापृवपत्यायि।
25 वरीरानीविरावसन स्वापु(प)भिमभूसनः। चे।।
26 व्रतशिष्यामानसमभिमभिर्मके राजाधीरा।
27 जातिक्षेत्रानोपानवीक्षतिभिखनितपदावरे।
28 महीकक्षू॥[३८] तत्कन्नाय भाषवस्कवीरिः दिगः।
29 जिगियुपमश पलन । मोवाभिः कौक्षराजः।
30 धानेमनेम मोहश्रक्षद्वावे॥[३८] प्रकृतिहितः।
31 वे तु शक्षसंघालक दीशा भुवकरोः।।
32 एवमुखितान्ताकाना श्रीसमागहदितुः
33 पासुआः॥[३८] भाराजसदनितान्तवधः।
34 गिरावपितामुनसाधिक्षुपुरुषत्वद्वा श्रीवीरिः。
35 सावः। सामकोक्षानि० चरित्रवीरीयपारा।
36 चाकाय परमोक्षद्वस्यकालेऽविवाक्षारोः
37 न्युन॥[१०८] स च निनितानिकविकेशवविनिपदः अः।
38 कती श्रीवासनानो प्रकृतिविता काव्यानि कर्ता।

*The stroke is not necessary.*
39 श्रावणानां विधाता नौतिग्धोपदेश सबकः
40 युरांकली सापवराजी गोवापुरवरसिंहसासः
41 नमदिखाखात (व्याक्ति) पाषाणके वर्णां चौराहीः
42 तरजयोदशमानीताया वर्षान्नागानां
43 तिसंकस (व्याक्ति) चैतमासे प्रमाणात्माया सीमावरे जः
44 छिन्नोन्दकमणे पुष्टितं प्रतियोगी सुरूपः
45 रागे पृष्ठकाते वारसनामलजपे वर्षान्नागानां
46 पनातरासि करतस्नाता चौडालापारिशानानः
47 मधुरार्कां जला योगिनो (युत) [न] वर्षान्नागानां

Plate II: Second Side.
48 भाषुतेजसे विद्यायपरिषेभ: पर्वतमरीतायः
49 जनकस्माता वायुभिष्टमारीतायः एकविश्वितमारीतायः
50 भव: स्वेतस्मां प्रादतु! तेजां नाममोक्षः
51 वरणे यथा काश्यपगोत्रेश राजाप्रतिहारः
52 चन्द्रपुजार वामनपुजार राज्येतरेका
53 वासिष्ठगोत्रेश महाराजभ्रुपुजार दामोः
54 दरभुश मितरेका। वासिष्ठगोत्रेश नारायणः
55 भ्रुपुजार वालभभ्रुपुजार कास्मी दामोः
56 प्रोक्तर राजाप्रतिहार दीर्घासि
57 मितरेका भारतागोत्रेश नागार्थभ्रुपु
58 चस्केशभ्रुपुजार मितरेका। वरमाणे च
59 स्क विश्वभ्रुपुजार केशभ्रुपुजार मितरेका।
60 वासिष्ठगोत्रेश महाराजभ्रुपुजार चिन्मयः
61 चस्केश मितरेका भारतागोत्रेश महाराजभ्रुपु
62 चस्क जातभ्रुपुजार मितरेका कामसि
63 रामभ्रुपुजार मैकारभ्रुपुजार मितरेका कामसि
64 प्रोक्तर नारायणोपिते संगापु
65 वृषतिवीर मितरेका भारतागोत्रेश महाः
66 देवभ्रुपुजार मोदेवभ्रुपुजार मितरेका भाः
67 राजलागा (गो) चस्क भ्रुपुजार महाराजभ्रुपु [ह]
68 धरिरिका भारहांगोवरया नारणभेदः
69 पुज्ञा महादेवमद्धा द्वितिरिका भार.

70 धारमोचव विकलमद्धुपुज्ञा श्रमभेदः
71 धरिरिका भारीयोवाच सक्षात्मकमभेदः
72 पुज्ञा नारणभेदा द्वितिरिका भाराष्ठे
73 गोवरया विकलमद्धुपुज्या नरहरिमहेसः
74 द्वितिरिका वासिष्ठवाच सर्व गोवििमद्धुपुज्या
75 धरिरिका चाँदद्वितिरिका भाराष्ठे
76 धरि भारमद्धुपुज्या क(क) श्रमद्धा द्वितिरिका
77 भाराष्ठे भारमद्धुपुज्या जानुभेदः
78 धरिरिका शिष्णव शर्मविन्यास(पु) चयनः
79 धरिरिका शिष्णव द्वितिरिका भाराष्ठे भारभेदः
80 वस्य पंश्यपुरुषिनिराया एवंवशितान्त्रिता
81 यानां नामोदीविवरणः तत्र मैलाबद्धा श्रिति
82 संगमर्यादानितिविदे द्विति च पवित्रार्यानितमसं
83 भृति ब्रह्मदानवजी विशारदकाराकपलकोः
84 नस्तावैवेदो संविधितो माधवारिको भकः
85 प्रतिष्ठा: त्रिवेदवरस्तुनाम ए(सं)विश्वम्
86 रजा राजसनसदि तद्यमामि विलवाणप्रविष्टाः
87 रजनसमथ समयविन्निन क्रीला ते ज्ञे वे
88 शती कामपनिकाय विकलपवषुपुज्यस्य
89 कथा पदखंडवनामि कि(क) क्ष्रीयोवरयुपसर्व सं
90 बायुतमण अते(रे) शwebdriverाधापुरवें सं
91 प्रदाताः

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verses 1 to 3. Invoke Siva, Vishnu in the form of the Boar, and the Earth.

V. 4. The impregnable city of Vijayanagara in the Kannäšaka country which lies to the south of Bhāratavarsha excelled the city of Indra.

Vv. 5 and 6. In the family of Yadu was born Saṅgama; his son Bukkaraṇa, the conqueror of enemies, was ruling that city. To him was born Harihara, the destroyer of his enemies.

* Read "प्रभाकरण".
* The stroke is no necessary.
V 7. While this king was ruling the earth from the northern bank of the river Krishnā to the Šetu and from the eastern to the western ocean, his feet were worshipped by all the kings.

Vv. 8 and 9. By his command, Mādhava, the chief of ministers, set out with a large army to conquer the quarters and captured Gōvā, the capital of Koṅkaṇa. And having killed the Turushkas who were established there, he re-instated the gods Saptanātha and others who had been removed by them.

V. 10. By Harīharā's command this minister Mādhava, the moon to the ocean of the Bhāradvāja family, the son of the Brahman Chāmunḍa, was protecting the Koṅkaṇa country and re-establishing the Dharma which had been destroyed by the wicked.

Li. 37 to 41. This Mādhavaraṇa, the conqueror of all kings, the expounder of all the Upaniṣads, the illuminator of the Śaiva-gāmas, the author of kāvyas, the performer of mahādānas, the teacher of nitiśāstra, being seated on the throne of Gōvā, the best of cities.

Li. 41 to 50. When 1313 Śaka years had elapsed, on Wednesday, the new moon (tīthi) of the month of Chitra in the year Prājñāpāti, the sun being in the constellation Āśvinī, the yōga being Pṛiti, during a solar eclipse, gave to 21 Brahmanas, who were of good birth and learned in the fourteen vīḍyās, who were devoted to the six karmas and were the students of the Rīk-sāhā, the village of Paramarūḍa in the Vārāsa-janapada, making it into an agrahāra called Chauḍālaṇḍa after his father's name.

Li. 50 to 81. Names, etc., of the donces (see list above).

Li. 81 to 91. The minister Naraharīdeva, son of Brahmaraṇa, who had been reared up by the favour of (the sage) Vidyāsāṅkara, and was installed by Mādhavaraṇa, purchased two of these wittis from Mauiśra-Bhāta and Gaṅgādhara, the astrologer, and gave them in the royal court before the Brahmanas and other inhabitants of the village to the learned Brahman Krishna-Paṭṭavaradhana, son of Viṭṭhala-Paṭṭavaradhana.

No. 5.—KOROSHANDA COPPER-PLATES OF VISAKHAVARMAN.

BY G. RAMDAS, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These are three copper-plates which were discovered by a cultivator of Koroshanda, a village six miles to the south of Paralakṣimiḍi in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency, while he was ploughing his field. The inscription incised on them has been edited by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, but without any facsimile. Owing to certain defects in the reading, re-editing of this record is necessary and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in this journal.

Each plate is 7½ long and 2½ broad and has a ring-hole about ½ in diameter on its left side. I found neither a ring nor a seal attached to them. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on their inner side but the second plate bears writing on both sides.

The alphabet of the plates resembles that of the Peddavargi plates of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II and of the Bhṛhatprāṣṭhā grant of Umavarma. The inscription under notice is written in Sanskrit and is in prose throughout, except for the two imprecatory verses bahuḥkī ṭc., and shasṭiḥ etc., which come at the end. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted: (1) consonants are generally doubled after r, e.g. sarvav (l. 5), sarmma (l. 6), karttveyaṁ (l. 8) and svarge (l. 12); (2) the upadhānīya is used in line 4; (3) the final form of it
occurs in line 8; and (4) the numerical symbols for 7 and 20 occur in lines 8 and 9 respectively. The symbol for the latter figure is rather noteworthy.

The inscription records that Mahāraja Viśākhavarman, "who was a worshipper of the gods" and "devoted to the feet of (his) father", granted the village Tamāpyāka in Kōrāsā-ḍaka-Paṁchāli to Viśnuśvarman, Śrīśarāvarman, Agniśarman, Nāgāśarman and Śīvara-śarman, all of whom belonged to the Ātriya-gōtra and were the residents of the village Śabarabhēnda. The grant was made for increasing the merit of the donor's father who was in heaven. The date of the grant was the 20th day of the 7th fortnight of Hēmanta in the 7th year (of the king's reign).

The family to which Viśākhavarman belonged is not stated in the charter. But from the Chacacolī grant of Indravarman we learn that the division Kōrāsā-ḍaka-Paṁchāli, which is also mentioned in the present grant (1. 2), formed a part of the Kaliṅga country. This would suggest that Viśākhavarman was a Kaliṅgādhipati (i.e., the chief of Kaliṅga) like Umavarman of the Bṛhatprāśṭhā grant, Chapāvarman of the Komarti Plaṭes 2 and Śaktivarman of the Rāgūla plātes.

Of the places mentioned in the charter, Śrīpurā, where the king resided at the time of the grant, may be the Siripuram (18° 53′ N. Lat.; 83° 50′ E. Long., Indian Atlas) which now forms part of the Zamindary of Viṅgulavala in the Vizagapatam district. It is only 3 miles south of the Nāgāvali river on whose northern bank Varāhavartini, the well-known district of Kaliṅga, was situated. Siripuram is not far away from Viśākhapatnam (modern Vizagapatam) which is said to have been designated after the god Viśākhasvāmin who was worshipped there. Possibly Viśākhavarman, the donor of this grant, built a temple in that locality and named the god enshrined in it after himself. Kōrāsā-ḍaka-Paṁchāli must have comprised the region around the modern village Korosāhpādā where the plates were found. Tamāpyāka I am not able to identify.

TEXT.

First Plate; Second Side.

1 स्त्रेंय[ी] विजयमायुरवत्मन[ः] वयमहारवपादम: चोमहाराजश:
2 विषाद्रवर्गों कोराशर्मकपादि: तपोपकश्चे कुरुबिनः
3 समाजायति वस्येष गामोक्षाभिङ्गप्रयवाधरलादामा

Second Plate; First Side.

4 सुराकाश्चन्द्रश्चनाम मुहूः जहाप्रायत्वय चाहद्वराश्रयकातः
5 धम्मेऽहारं कला सर्वकर्मयो परिशुद्ध भावियस्तूते
6 भ: स्वप्रभेद्विद्वन्दवक्रयाकोमदीयाय गुनोम्यायाय गुणगम्यविद्वम्यः(शः)

Second Plate; Second Side.

7 भ: सन्त्रस्तस्त्रवेजस: पुरुषसंतमयविश्वासोपयायां
8 कर्तम्यास्मिति[ः] शास्मोमिककोवृद्ध:[ः] साधन्तु ६ हेसम ६
9 चतु च वासस्वरूपः हो यो की दिवस २०

2 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.
4 From the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.
5 Read स्वामाय.
6 Cf. G. H. Ojha's Palaeography of India, plate LXXII (lower), last column.
Third Plate ; First Side.

10 बहुतिन्यात्रा दत्ता वसज्ञ वसुभाव्यः [*] यस्य यस्य
11 यदा मृति[क्षेय] तस्म तदा फल[म्न] [*] एष्ट विष्मकार्यः
12 खर्मे मोदित मृतिदि[:] [*] बालेस्य वानामला च तानेव नरके
   वसेत् [*]

No. 6.—SADDO ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 104.

By Sten Konow.

Saddo is a village on the left or eastern bank of the Panjkor river, to the west of the Katgal pass, on the road from Swat to Chitral, where a bridge leads across the river.

Cunningham discovered a stone inscription in Kharosti characters at this place, and his servants copied it 'under great difficulties, and not without danger'.

When I prepared the edition of Indian Kharosti inscriptions for the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum I did not succeed in my efforts to get estampages or photographs of the record, and I could therefore only reproduce Cunningham's plate, without any attempt at an explanation.

I owe it to the kind assistance of Mr. Hargreaves that I can now publish a reliable reproduction. On the 29th October 1930 he sent me two estampages, prepared by Khan Bahadur Mian Wasiud Din, who had been good enough to add the following information: 'The inscription is situated on the rocky bank (left) of the Panjkor river, between the ruined and existing bridges, which are only a furlong apart. The inscribed boulder is quite smooth and naturally sloped like a camel-back, with no sign of dressing. It is outwardly 5½ × 2½ in size, of a dun-buff colour, like the rest of the bluff jutting out into the river. It is only 45 ft. upstream from the broken pier of the ruined bridge, and being on the same level, is submerged in the current for four months in the year, i.e., May to August. It is therefore at the mercy of the torrent which carries a timber trade, besides trees and other things, when inundated.'

We learn from this note that more than one bridge has been constructed in this place, and we also understand why the inscription has suffered so much in the course of time. A comparison of Cunningham's plate will, however, show that not much has disappeared since his copy was made, and also that his assistants have faithfully reproduced what they could see on the rock.

The characters are Kharosti, of the same type as in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription. Some details will be mentioned below.

The inscription covers a space measuring 3½ ft. by 1½ ft., and contains remnants of four lines, of varying length. The height of the akharas is 3 to 5 inches.

In l. 1 Cunningham's plate has five akharas, of which only the first and third are visible in the estampages. The first is a distinct mo in the plate, but the estampage shows that the left bar is prolonged upwards and perhaps ends in a curve to the left. I have not met with a

ma of this shape in any other Kharoshthi inscription. The nearest approach to our akṣhara is the mu of danamukh[0] in the Dharmarājakā inscription No. 1, and it is possible that we should read mu here. The second akṣhara visible in the estampage can hardly be anything else than dhe. In one of my estampages the e-stroke is unmistakable, and the akṣhara itself is almost identical with the da of the Mathurā elephant inscription*.

I cannot make anything out of these letters. If the intervening akṣhara were mu, we might think of an old form of mruvṣa, which must, in some way, be connected with Saka rre, gen. rrundā, king. But I should not like to suggest such an explanation.

In l. 2 the first akṣhara which can be read stands below the dhe of l. 1, and is so like the du of Takht-i-Bāḥī II. 1, 6, that I have no hesitation in reading so.

Then follows an akṣhara consisting of a damaged vertical, of which only the top and the bottom remain, continued in a horizontal, bent downwards into a shorter vertical, which is curved forwards at the bottom. So far as I can see, we can only read sa.

The ensuing akṣhara is evidently da, cf. the da in Takht-i-Bāḥī I. 4 and in the Pājā record.

It is followed by ma. In one of my estampages the right-hand bar is bent backwards at the top, but this bend is absent in the other estampage and in Cunningham's copy, wherefore we cannot well think of an irregularly placed e-stroke.

Then comes a distinct šra and two hooks, which I take to be the numerical figure for 4, twice repeated.

What can be read is accordingly duṣadana-šra 4 4. and, though the names of the months are not abbreviated in other Kharoshthi records, I restore, with some confidence, chaḍuṣadana[é] Śra 4 4, in the four-hundredth (year, on the) 8, (of) Śravāṇa.

It is true that other Kharoṣthi inscriptions present šatimaś for 'hundredth,' but this form is probably due to the analogy of ordinals such as satimaś, aśiśaś, and Pali has satimaś.

What precedes chaḍuṣadana cannot be read. The existing traces can, however, be reconciled with the reading sabasārae, which we have before satiśaśaś in the Takht-i-Bāḥī inscription.

L. 3 had already almost disappeared when Cunningham's copy was made. The two first akṣharas are, however, legible, being sa, very similar to the sa in l. 3 of Takht-i-Bāḥī.

The ensuing 10-12 akṣharas are quite obliterated, though the first two or three bear a certain resemblance to the unidentified letters following sa in Takht-i-Bāḥī. They probably comprised some term for 'time,' and the name of the person who had the inscription executed.

Under the akṣharas kada of l. 2 there are traces of a letter which is like the di of l. 2 of Takht-i-Bāḥī and one might think of restoring pradā-istavidāte.

Then follows a fairly distinct esa.

At the beginning of l. 4 some akṣharas have been lost. The first akṣhara of l. 3, however, runs down into the line so that not more than two or three letters can be missing. After the gap comes a distinct ye, and it is tempting to restore setuye or seduye, cf. Sanskrit setu, causeway, bridge. It seems to me as if it were possible to trace ye. We should then have the sentence praśistavidāte esa setuye, this bridge was set up, but the reading is highly uncertain.

The next word is certainly garuheas, but I cannot explain it. Garua is evidently the regular Prakrit form of Sanskrit guru, heavy, but hrā remains unexplained. Garuhea may be a name, but is more probably a noun meaning something heavy.

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* Ibid., Pl. X, I.
After sa one akṣara is lost, and then follows what looks like an e. I tentatively read garu-<i>kshans</i>, for the sake of the heavy...

It will be seen that my reading and explanation are rather unsatisfactory. The only thing which seems to be certain is that the inscription is dated in the year 104, and it can hardly be doubted that the era is the same as e.g., in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription.

In my edition of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in the <i>Corpus</i> I have assumed that the first year of this era coincided with 84-83 B.C., in accordance with certain calculations made by the Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk. The date of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription was identified by him with the 10 March, A.D. 19, and our record would, similarly, belong to the 16 June, A.D. 20.

My chronology has, however, been severely criticized, especially by Professor Rapson, who thinks that we must make use of the Vikrama era, which was, according to him, established by Azes, as proposed by Sir John Marshall. The date of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription would then correspond to 45 A.D., and the Sasso date to 46 A.D.

In the introductory remarks to my edition of the <i>Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions</i> (<i>C. I. I.</i>, Vol. II, Part II) I have maintained that it is impossible to refer the dates in the old series of these records to the Vikrama era, if the Sojiśā inscription of the year 72 is dated in it, and I agree with Professor Rapson that such is the case.

But then he maintains that he has proved that the Amohini tablet is dated in the year 42 and not in 72, and his arguments have been accepted as final by Professor Charpentier and Mr. Jayaswal. The latter scholar goes to the length of asserting that throughout the range of Indian epigraphy nowhere does the symbol appear in the soiśa figure that reads 70, and everywhere it reads 40, as if we had to do with a well-known and frequent sign.

I have not been able to accept Professor Rapson's learned and ingenious deductions, for several reasons. And now the Central Asian manuscript remains collected in Berlin have brought fresh light.

In a masterly article Professor Lüders has examined the decimal symbols occurring in certain old manuscripts written in early Kusāṇa characters, and shown that the symbol must there mean 40, because it is found in a continuous numbering immediately after 39. The St. Andrews cross occurs at least twice in page numbering, where the symbol is used for 40, and since all the other decimal symbols except that for 70, are used in other folios, the St. Andrews cross can only mean 70. Professor Lüders has further traced the origin of the figure. It is formed from the symbol for 60, which occurs in a shape resembling a Kharoṣṭhī ja, by adding a stroke to the left.

Professor Rapson remarks that much of the perplexity which scholars have found in their attempts to arrange the chronology of the Sakas and the Kusāṇas seems to be due to the belief caused by the reading “year 72” that the Great Satrap Sojiśā ruled so late as the second decade of the first century A.D. And it would certainly make it impossible to refer the dates of the Amohini tablet and the Pañka plate to one and the same era.

Mr. Jayaswal's chronology, on the other hand, which leads to such results as that the Takht-i-Bahi inscription is dated in the year 20 B.C., discards the unanimous results drawn from Chinese sources by leading sinologists such as Chavannes and Franke, and I must leave it to those who know Chinese and Chinese literature to judge about its merits.

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2. The date of the Amohini tablet of Mathurā, in <i>Indian studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman</i>, Harvard University Press, 1920, pp. 49 ff. in another paper, which will be published in the <i>Acta Orientalia</i>, Professor Rapson maintains the same view, against Professor Lüders.
4. J. B. O. R. S., xvi, p. 245.
After the manuscript of this paper had been sent to press, Sir John Marshall's excavations at Kālāwân have brought to light a new record, which shows that Professor Rapson was right in referring the dates of the Takht-i-Bahi and some other early inscriptions to the so-called Vikrama era, and that the Saddo record accordingly belongs to A.D. 46.

I have discussed the new epigraph in the October number of the J.R.A.S., and prepared a paper on it for the *Epigraphia*. It shows that I was wrong in explaining the word *Ayasa* in the Taxila silver scroll as corresponding to Skr. *ādāyasya*, and that it cannot therefore be utilized for calculating the era used in a series of Kharoshthi dates. We must evidently accept Sir John's explanation, that *Ayasa* is the genitive of the name *Ayu*, *Azes*.

For reasons specified in the *Corpus*, I cannot, however, accept Sir John's further explanation, that *Ayasa* characterizes the era as instituted by *Azes*. It must, I think, have another meaning, viz., to distinguish it from another reckoning, with which the inhabitants of Taxila were familiar.

And it seems to me that we have distinct indications to the effect that such an era existed, and was looked upon as a Saka institution. The reading of the Shahdaur inscription is uncertain and does not prove that it was designated as such. The matter would be different if Professor Thomas is right in reading *sa* before the *ka* with which the inscription on the Taxila silver vase seems to open.

Mr. Hargreaves has been good enough to let his deputy, Mr. Dikshit, make a careful examination of the original, especially with a view to find out whether any letter preceded *ka*. He reported that no trace could be found. A plaster cast of the initial portion of the inscription, which Mr. Hargreaves has kindly sent me, seems, however, to show traces of an obliterated *sa*, and it is, besides, difficult to see what *ka* can be unless it is the remaining portion of *saka*.

It was in order to distinguish the era used in the Taxila silver scroll from this Saka reckoning that the word *Ayasa* was added, and it was chosen, because the inhabitants of Taxila were so well acquainted with it from the numerous *Azes* coins that it was looked upon as a kind of symbol of the whole Parthian dynasty. The era was not, however, instituted by *Azes*, but by an Indian ruler, who made an end to Saka dominion in another quarter, viz., in Mālava, just as the Parthians had done in Taxila.

We must necessarily draw the inference that two different eras are used in the older series of Kharoshthi records, one old Saka reckoning, and the Vikrama era. To the former we must apparently, *inter alia*, refer the Māira well, the Mānsekra, the Shahdaur, the Patika plate, the Taxila silver vase, and probably also the Loryan Tangai, the Hašttaṅga, and the Skāraṅ Dherī inscriptions, to the latter, e.g., the Takht-i-Bahi, the Saddo, the Panjāb, and the Taxila silver scroll records.

With every reserve I finally give the text and translation of the Saddo record:

**TEXT:**

1 \(\text{mu} \ldots \text{dhe} \ldots\)
2 \([\text{sambatsaræ cha*}] \text{dušadam[š*]} \text{śra.} 4 \ 4\)
3 \(\text{isa} \ [\text{pra*}jñātavide*] \text{esha}\)
4 \([\text{sedu*}] \text{ye garuheasa[rtha*]}\)

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1 *C.I.I.,* Vol. II, Part I, No. IX.
2 *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1931, p. 4.
3 *C.I.I.,* No. XXX.
TRANSLATION.

In the 104th year, the 8. Śrāvaṇa, at this [instant, by . . .] was set up this bridge, for the sake of heavy . . . .

No. 7.—CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.

BY K. V. SUBRAMANYA AIYER, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The late Dr. Hultzsch noticed this inscription long ago but did not give the text nor a critical analysis of its contents. In consideration of its historical importance I am editing it below. It seems that the record is not in its original position, for the different portions of it lie in different places, though in the same sanctuary; viz., the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram. One piece is found in the floor of the mukha-mandapa and the other is built in the roof of the said temple. Both these pieces, in my opinion, go to make up section I of the record though some portions of it, especially at the middle and at the end, are not forthcoming. Similarly, the third fragment is found in the floor and the other fragment marked B-1 is to be found in the roof. These fragments put together would make up section II of the record, though here too, some portions have not been secured as yet. Each of the fragments A and A-1 contain an equal number of lines incised on them. The portion of the record giving the date (l. 8) which is found on the fragment A, seems to continue on the fragment marked A-1. Of the other section, 49 lines are engraved on the fragment marked B and 30 on the slab called B-1. I think that lines 16 to 45 of B continue on B-1 for, when put together, they read continuously.

The section marked I gives the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukyas. Among the kings mentioned in it we find the names of Vijayāditya-Guṇakālga, i.e., Vijayāditya III, Chālukya-Bhīma I, Kollavigunda, i.e., Vijayāditya IV and Chalukya-Bhima II (ll. 3-4). This Bhima is compared to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma and is described as a warrior distinguished in many battles. After him comes Dānārṇaṣava whose footstool, we are told, was made lustrous by the diadems of potentates like the Vaidumba and who was a worshipper of the God Paramēśvara Parama-bhaṣṭāraka Bhimāśvara. After this, the inscription gives the date in the following words:

[Sa]yāka-nripa-nava-sata-samkhya-ī . . . shu yācāhu tribhir-oddhīkṣāhu etc.

The letter ī which follows the words nava-sata and is clearly visible on the stone would indicate that the mutilated word is viṁśa. This being the case, the date of the inscription must be 923 SA (or 924 current) which corresponds to the year 1001-2 of the Christian era. The paleography of the inscription would support this surmise.

Section II introduces Dānārṇaṣava-Nripakāma (l. 17) stating that by defeating the armies of his enemies and despatching Kāmārṇaṇa to heaven he accomplished all his desires. It then speaks of a chief called Jaṭāchāḷa-Bhīma-nripati, giving a number of his epithets, like the following:—Sāṅgārma-vijaya, Arasar-ādharaṇa, Sukavi-chintāmaṇi, Kirtti-Dīlīpa, Saty-āvatāra, Samar-aikavīra, Paragaṇḍa-rākṣasa, Dīna-kalpadruma, Bhūpala-Mēru, Acharita-vīra, Vikrama-Dhana-Śāyiya, Saṇjaṇya-dhavala, Dushṭa-kāl-ānala, Asaṅga-Vikrama, Bhavan-ākāmikā, Acharā-Bhagiratha, Kārmuka-Rōma, Apurāṇa-Dadhichī, Vanī-ābhirāma, Abhinav-Āntaka, Sōrya-kula-vāya, Rāja-Makaradvaja, Vikrānta-Chakrāyuḥa, Samasta-rāj-āgrīya, Gōḍala-saha, Māna-samāpuraṇa, Raṅga-nṛṣṭendra, Vira-Narasimha, Karikāla-Chōla, Arirāja-bhīṣaṇa, Tyāga-makārṇava, and Nāra-lōka-Rudra. Thereafter comes a mutilated passage in Telugu (ll. 40 to 47) which describes some achievements of this chief, namely, Jaṭāchāḷa-Bhīma. The
inscription ends by saying that "such a distinguished person was captured by king Rājarāja". It is true that only the initial letter of this name is now preserved, but there is no doubt that it should be read as Rājarāja. We know that it was Rājarāja who was ruling over these parts in the Śaka year 923-4.

The fact that the chief who was captured by Rājarāja is herein called Karikāla-Chōla and that he claims descent from the Solar dynasty (Sūrya-kula-vāsa), would show that he was of Telugu-Chōla origin and that he was in possession of the Eastern Chālukya territory during the period of confusion which followed the reign of Dānārāṇaya.

Though fragmentary, this inscription is very helpful for settling some of the doubtful points in the history of the Chōlas and of the Eastern Chālukyas. We know that Rājarāja I conquered the Vēṇgī country about the 14th year of his reign (A.D. 999) and the Kaliṅga country in the next year (A.D. 1000). The Tiruvālāṅgādu plates of Rājarāja I report that he defeated an Andhra chief named Bhima1. We also know that Rājarāja invaded the Vēṇgī and Kaliṅga countries about A.D. 999-1000. We have to see who this Bhima, whom he had routed, was. That he was the Eastern Chālukya king Vīnasalāditya who bore the surname Muniṇḍi-Bhima and Bīrunakṣa-Bhima2 seems to be unlikely, for his dates do not go so far back as A.D. 999-1000a. Here it may be noted that the so-called interregnum in the Vēṇgī country had just then come to an end and that no Chōla king prior to the time of Rājarāja I had anything to do with the political situation in the Vēṇgī or Kaliṅga countries. Among the Eastern Chālukyas, we know of no king of the name of Bhima who came after Dānārāṇaya and whom Rājarāja I had defeated in A.D. 999. The present inscription enables us to settle the question of his identification definitely, for while revealing his name it states that he was captured by Rājarāja I. Evidently, this chief got possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions in the confusion caused by the deposition of Dānārāṇaya. Though Dānārāṇaya was dispossessed of his kingdom about A.D. 973, he appears to have lived till A.D. 1000.

The second point of interest in the inscription is contained in the statement that Dānārāṇaya slew or defeated king Kāmārṇava, who, to judge from the name, must have been a member of the Eastern Gaṅga line. In this connection, it may be said, that the Vēṇgī and the Kaliṅga countries were fighting each other for some generations prior to the time of Dānārāṇaya. King Gunaṅga-Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-888) claims to have conquered the Gaṅgas and to have received a tribute of elephants from the king of Kaliṅgaa. Kollavīṇgāda-Vijayāditya IV also claims to have conquered the ruler of Kaliṅga in A.D. 918 and to have ruled over the forests of Trikalīṅga3. Vikramāditya II (A.D. 925) is said to have held sway over the countries of Vēṇgī and Trikalīṅga6. The fact that Dānārāṇaya-Nṛpiṇkāma despatched to heaven or defeated Kāmārṇava, which the inscription under notice has brought to light, is not only new to history but it also proves for certain that the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṇgī and the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga were inimical towards one another. That the Kāmārṇava who was defeated by Dānārāṇaya must be identified with Kāmārṇava IV, i.e., the father of Vajrahasta IV, may be shown by working backward the period of rule of the Eastern Gaṅga kings from the date of accession of Vajrahasta V which fell in A.D. 1038b. Since Madhukāmārṇava, Guṇḍama II,
Kāṁarṇaṇa V and Vajrahasta IV are reported to have reigned for 19 years, 3 years, 6 months, and 35 years respectively, before the accession of Vajrahasta V, we get A.D. 989 or thereabouts for the end of the reign of Kāṁarṇaṇa IV. And since that king is said to have ruled for a period of 25 or 30 years his reign must have lasted from A.D. 950 or 955 to 980. These dates fall within the rule of Dānārṇaṇa which commenced in A.D. 1970. It is very likely that the Eastern Gaṅgas made a counter invasion on Vēṅgī which must have eventually resulted in the deposition of the aggressive Dānārṇaṇa and given occasion also to the Telugu Chōla chief Bhīma-nṛpita to acquire possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions. Perhaps Dānārṇaṇa continued to live after his deposition, for the Chollur plates of Kulōttunga-Chōla II attribute to him a reign of 30 years, a period that exactly covers his actual reign of three years and the so-called interregnum of 27 years which immediately followed it, as reported in other Eastern Chālukya charters. What favoured these events seem to be the internal dissensions that were prevailing in the country for a long time as is clearly disclosed by the rule of kings Yuddhamalla, Bādaṇa and Tāla of the collateral branch of the Eastern Chālukyas. It would not be wrong, therefore, to surmise that the deposed king Dānārṇaṇa applied for help to the Chōlas against his enemies. In this connection, the following facts revealed by the Chōla and the Eastern Chālukya records are worthy of note, Vimalāditya’s coronation is stated, in his Rajastapaṇḍi grant, dated in the 8th year of reign, to have taken place in Śaka 933 (A. D. 1011). Since his predecessor Chālukya-chandara Saktivarman is said to have reigned for 12 years before this date, his accession must be placed in A.D. 999, which is very near the date when the Chōla king Rājarāja I invaded the Vēṅgī country. The invasion of Rājarāja I resulted in placing over the Vēṅgī country a member of the direct line of the Eastern Chālukya, namely, Saktivarman, whose brother Vimalāditya was married to Kundavā, the daughter of the invading Chōla king. In view of these facts it may be safely be surmised that the Chōlas must have helped Dānārṇaṇa at the time of his difficulties. This inference is further supported by the fact that the Chōla invader Rājarāja I captured Bhīma-nṛpita, who was then in possession of the Eastern Chālukya dominions, and proceeded straightway against the Kālīṅga country and subdued it.

The date of the accession of Saktivarman to the Eastern Chālukya throne being A.D. 999, as shown above, the period of the so-called interregnum of 27 years in the Vēṅgī country and the rule of Dānārṇaṇa for 3 years before it, must fall in A.D. 972-3 to 999 and A.D. 970 to 972-3. Dānārṇaṇa’s fight with Kāṁarṇaṇa and his deposition will have to be placed in A.D. 972-3. It may be observed here, in passing, that the Śrāṣṭrakūṭa power in the Deccan became practically ruined about this time when Siyaka Harsha, the Paramāra king of Mālū, pillaged their very capital, namely, Mānyakēṭa, and Tāla II, the first member of the revived Chālukya line, ousting the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, extended his rule right up to the borders of the Eastern Chālukya and the Eastern Ganga kingdoms. Possibly it was about this period when there was so much of confusion in the Deccan that the Telugu-Chōla chief Bhīma-nṛpita, also called Karikāli-Chōla and Jaṭā-Chōla, of the solar race, found it possible to capture a portion of the Eastern Chālukya dominion.

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[4] As copper-plates attribute only a reign of 7 years to this king the 8th year must be counted from the date of his nomination to succession.
The Telugu portion of the inscription under publication, though very much mutilated, would inform us that this chief engaged himself in fighting the rulers of Agga as well as Kaliqta, took possession of a fort which could not, perhaps, be seized by Béta-Vijaya-ditya and that he constructed tanks and made gifts to the temple of Bhūmēśvara.

TEXT. 1

I

1. yakṣaṁ-śvaro-prabhūti.... u-śvarāya dadatā vadatalaḥ ka ēva Chōja-Triṣṭēra-vasudhā-patiṇā samānaḥ l- śvaḥati Śrīma-tarm(tām)-maku....


3. pari(ī)tanām Chōja-nām ku[...].[y]āditya-GuṇakāmāŚiva-Chālukya-Bhūma-nripa-rāmā...alankṛita-Chālukya-vahṣa-pradīpāyamāna-Kollavi-gaṅga-pri.....

4. dēvyām Gya(ū)ryām Kumāra.... m Bhūm-āpār-āvāraḥ Bhūmā- parākrame pravartana-mah-ākavaḥ dig-antar-āstana-darp-pantaṅ-jhā yathā yōga.....


6. kati-sūtra-prabhūti-vichitra ...nek-ālāṅkā-śālakṛita-anāma-rāpam-anūly-anēka-rānana-dyuti-paṭala-virachit-śindra-chāpam-aṅkāri.....

7. jākārthaṁ-avasitvāva[...].[b]hajakti-namram rachit-aṅjali-putam Bhagavataḥ Paramēśvarasya Paramabhaṭṭaraksasya śrīmat-Bhūmēśvara.....

8. kanṭa-saṅkhyā-va[...].[s]u yateṣu śrībhīṣṇuśrībhīṣṇu tathastu trībhīṣṇu-ahārīṁ bahuḥ-satrīṁ bahuḥ-bhūmēśvaraḥ devasya Bhī.....


10. li-yugē Śauryādī-śharmā... rτham-śaha nipatiḥ Chōja-Triṣṭēram bhavaḥ l. Bhūṣḥ-bhavah-bhavishyavan-bhūmītir-dāna-satryataḥ.....

II

1. nāpi bhavishyati l- chintyāḥ-chintā.....

2. le dhāvan ayandana-yādasi sapura.....

3. tūpī-śīmara-mahārāpavan-a[pu].....

4. patasyati Parachakra-bhima-ripavi[...]

5. tṛaiya-vidāla-maṇḍapa-vīsa.....

6. jēṣu Bhagadatta ēva turage.....

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1 I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., the Kanarese Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for this information.
2 From the ink-impressions prepared by Mr. V. Venkateshwar Ayyar, B.A.
3 Read -ādita.
4 Read -ādita.
5 Read -mānām.
6 Read -nāca.
7 Read -ṣa.
8 Read -parānrasaḥ which might stand for -parānasāraḥ—Ed.]
9 Read -rījūn...
10 Read -ādīmu...
11 Can the symbol between Ṣām and Ṣa be taken as Ṣāñca?  †
12 Read nipatāḥ-Chōja.  †
7 tatara Sātakra[t]j-api svṛggan-tanō
8 masu sthēyat(d)-bhuvī yīvad-arka
9 shu bahushv-ath-aśīt Karikāla
10 sāśāvē Krishna-nrippasya vā[cha]
11 bhīhatya mad-ōddhatān apa
12 chukō[p]a sajjāta-samagra-manyuḥ
13 ntyai sumukhat-prachandaṇaṁ-nyayuyu
14 śchalam sva-bhagani-padam-Andhrama
15 naḥ prāk sāmanta-māṇya-ṭavika-dri
16 na durinīkho-dhāt da-ṛīvā-māṛuta-vasād
17 Dānārṇava-ṛipakāmō yo yuddhi sa-sakala-sainyam-abhīhatya-dēṣam
18 m-avinōtt pariṇaṁ-ūśaḥ cītram su-ṭūram-ṛi api čhrū. rmnmannam Kāmārṇa-ṇāvan-divam-ani
19 bhūt vyaktam vyāśiṣmapatitv-iti vaiparītya Kāmārṇavam bhuvī nayan
20 t vinayād-anva-bhūpatahTyāga Karṇam-api rūpataya Manojam tejō
di
21 si samad-ān(t)makam yaḥ Sa āśīmān-ṛatāchola-Bhim-nripatiḥ sat-ṛiḍa-Bhūriśravā
d
22 thā yōgataḥ - Sasy-śāṃya chataḥ sva bhūshaṇa-chayam Bhī
d
23 maṇḍali-śhākānaṁḥ - Gaṇḍabhūriśravāḥ - Saṁgrāma-vijayāḥ
d
24 ga-dh vaginalḥ - Arasar-ābharaṇaḥ - Sukavi-chintāmaṇiḥ - Sau
d
25 kṛttiti-Dūpāḥ - [Saṭṭy-āvatarah - Samar-aika-virah - Viṭrabaṭa
d
26 .. raṅga-mallaḥ - Paraganda-ṛānāsaḥ - Dina-kalpdrumāḥ
d
27 ndraḥ - Bhūpāla-Mṛuṛḥ - Achalita-viryaḥ - Chaturangī-Rā
d
28 Vidvādharah - Vikrama-Dhanajayaḥ - Saujanya-dhvalaḥ
d
29 nañcaḥ - Dushṭa-kāl-analaiḥ - Asī[r]hāya-Vikramaḥ - Kara
d
30 .. yag-āchaṁraḥ - nagavīya-Bhiraḥpatīḥ - Satya-Ma
d
31 rañcaḥ - Bhuvan-aika-dipī(pa)ka[h] - Āchāra-Bhagṛathāḥ
d
32 Kāṁuka-Rāmaḥ - Aṭtibhanitiyam - Apuraṇa-Dadhičīḥ
d
33 naḥ - Vanit-ābhīrāmaḥ - Abhīnaḥ)n-antakāḥ - Sūryakula-vāsāḥ
d
34 Sundarāḥ - Raṅa-Makaradvajah - Budha-jaṇapārah - Sanyakta-Bhā
d
35 Vikrānta-Chakrāyudhaḥ - Samasta-raja-āgrēyaḥ - Raṅga-kula
d
36 raḥ - Gondaja-Sāhasaḥ - Mana-sampūrṇaḥ - Khaṣṭiṣya-kula
d
37 [ā]ṛah - Chalaranga-Rāmaḥ - Raṇāṅga-mṛigendraḥ - Vira-Narasimhaḥ
d
38 haḍvah - Karikāla-Chōlaḥ - Arīra-a-bhishapaḥ - Su
d
39 ī - Tyāga-mahāṛṇgavah - Narāla-Rudraḥ [*] Sakala-bhū
d
40 sthīra-sāmīya-gājananadh-yo-Anīga-Kālinka-patīlī nājā
d
41 īrālōṭī pariṅkiṭi-Roḍḍalair-antu māṛqṇa ĕ
d
42 liyure kōṭuka Bēṭunu Guṇaka-vijayitaṇḍu
d
43 krambu sādhīchē sādhīchē guнакonī Bhirīsṛva
d
44 ma-ḍjadiyalu gāluṭkambu diggayaḷu kaṭi-sūtra-bahu

*Read svṛggan tanō
*Read su-mahā-prachandaṇa
*Read svṛ-hūpiṇī
*Read bhūpatiḥ
*Read sād-ṛṣṇa
*Read Budha-jaṇ-ādṛṇa
*Read Raṇa-rāmaṇa
No. 8.—NIVINA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DHARMARAJADEVA.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund.

The charter under examination consists of three copper-plates which were found in 1929 in a field in the Nimmaṇa village of the Kudala taluk in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. The plates were sent by the Collector of Ganjam to the Government Museum, Madras, where they are now deposited. They are held together by a ring the ends of which are fastened into a circular seal. Each plate measures 7 1/2" by 4 1/2" while the diameter of the ring is about 3 1/2" and that of the seal 1 1/2". The rims are slightly raised and the plates are rounded at the corners. Including the ring and the seal, they weigh 77 1/2 tölæs, approximately. The first plate is engraved on one side only but the remaining two are incised on both the sides. The inscription which they bear consists of 52 lines of writing. The first plate has 11 lines, the second 22, each face of it having 11 lines; but the third plate has 13 lines on the obverse and 6 on the reverse side of it. Owing to corrosion, which has caused holes in the plates, the inscription is badly damaged in several places, though practically the whole of it can be made out with the help of the other known records of the Salibhadra family to which it belongs. The seal is marked with the crescent, below which is found a couchant bull in relief. The sign-manual of the king was possibly written below the bull but the letters of the legend are much worn out and the name cannot be read with certainty. The first two letters are śrī and mā and the last letter is yya. There are traces of three letters between them.

The characters belong to an early type of the Nāgari script and bear much resemblance to those employed in the Ganjam plates of Nāgibhadra-deva.1 As Kielhorn2 has already made a detailed study of the script employed in these records, I shall make here only a few additional remarks. The initial ŋ and ṇ are denoted in the present record by two different signs though they seem to have been mixed up; e.g., ār(śi)īd (l. 12), an(śy)ē (l. 25), ālalāṅika (l. 34) and āsmit(śīna) (l. 35). For medial u, also, there are two signs, one is the ordinary sign for u with a rounded curve to the left, as, e.g., in pāṇu (l. 21) and bhāsa(d)-uṣṇām (l. 21), while the other is indistinguishable from the sign of ŋ. The sign for Avagraha has also been used, though only once, in pratiprjāpādi(ta)ṃ-ṣmat (l. 42). The Anusvāra is marked in two ways: (1) by the usual dot on the top of the letter as in bhīmāṅgu(maṇ)ī (l. 4), or in śtu(m)-aṅgu(maṇ) (l. 8) and (2), occasionally, with a dot and a hook below it both added to the right of the letter as in oja(r)ājā (l. 19) and Phāskāyuṇ (l. 31). It may be noted that the latter sign has been used only at the end of a pada or a verse.

The grant is written in incorrect Sanskrit prose and verse and has been very carelessly incised, so much so that, not only have many words been wrongly spelt but letters and even words have been left out in several places. Words like viśhaṅka (l. 40) (for viśhayika), Dīkṣita (l. 39) (for Dīkṣita), Vachchha (l. 40) (for Vatsa), rīshi (l. 40) (for rīshi), tāmerv (l. 42) (for tāmra), found

in the text are evidently Prakritic. The portion showing the boundary of the gift village is written in a vernacular which appears to contain a mixture of Telugu and Oriya.

As regards orthography the following points may be noted. Bu and su are not distinguished: A consonant is usually doubled in conjunction with a superscript, but exceptions are also found e.g., dayālu-narapati (l. 22), pradarpād (l. 30), kala(kāla)jaikhīr-bhūta (l. 18), etc. Final s is changed into m in -vaktām (l. 23), prāptavām (l. 27), bhāvām (l. 30), etc.; s is used in prāṣāṇa (l. 6), Kālīgha (l. 8), etc. sides by side with m in vakhā (l. 15), kalasīka (l. 16), etc. Vowel ri is wrongly used for ri in suṣṭita-Tīrśa (l. 31), tribhuvana (l. 5), dhārūrt (l. 15), etc. Rāpha has been dropped in many places and in all such cases the following consonant has invariably been left undoubled as e.g., kōmalai va(hidā)na (l. 1-2), and dula(hi)na (l. 18). Visarga has been wrongly used in eva (l. 1), eyakara(h) (l. 3), api(ka) (l. 11), and wrongly dropped in kau(k)ā (l. 3), vā(hidā) (l. 7), bhūt (l. 9),vā(hidā) (l. 10), prābhu (l. 12), vā(hidā) (l. 18), etc. Other errors and peculiarities have been noticed in the foot-notes accompanying the text.

The grant was issued by the Paramabhūta-raka Mahāraja-deva Paramatā-rama-Dharmarājayadeva alias Mūnabhtī of the Śalīdhava family from the fortress (kōta) of Aalatha-gamapura in the Kōnda-magada. Its object is to register the gift of the village Nivāna, situated in the Khiśiagāra-vishaya, to a Brāhmaṇa Savaridēva Dikshita of the Vachchha (Vats-sa)gīra, the Pañcharshi-pravara and anupravara, Chandogya-charaṇa and the Kauṭumha school (of the Sāmavēla). Lines 42-46 give in detail the boundaries of the gift village. In l. 47 an additional grant of two timpiras (1) (of land 1) seems to have been made. The Dīkṣita seems to have been an abhaṣapātalika but his name is not preserved. The seal was fixed (laṅchita) by Jayasimha. The name of the engraver is not legible.

Besides the present grant only five other complete records of the Śalīdhava kings are known. They are: (1) the Ganāṁ Plates of the time of Sāsāṇkarāja, (2) the Khurdā Plates of Mādhavarāja; (3) the Bugūḍa Plates of Mādhavaravarma, (4) the Pārikud Plates of Mādhymarājayadeva and (5) the Kōnda-magada Grant of Dharmarāja. Of these, the first two are written completely in prose and the rest, like the present record, are composed partly in prose and partly in verse. Many of the verses found in this record also occur in the Bugūḍa, Pārikud and the Kōnda-magada Plates.

In the grant under publication, the portion containing the date (l. 47) reads: Samevat [Vaij.] dāka-nudi-prahmaṇa-paśka-devi[gya]. Probably we have to restore the commencement as Samevat [9]. From an examination of the plate it becomes clear that the broken space would not allow any numerical sign to be incised before Vaij, the whole space being covered by the partly

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1 The word occurs also in the Pārikud Plates (l. 44) in the form timpira which Banerji reads as tīmpīra. Its meaning is not clear. The expression dāka-nudi-prahmaṇa-paśka-devi[gya] in the Pārikud Plates suggests that the word refers to measurement of land.

2 There are also two incomplete records of this dynasty, viz., (1) Puri Second Plate of Mādhavaravarma-Sainyabhīta alias Śrīnovāsa, (the Bengali monthly) Sāhita for the year 1319 (B. S.), p. 395 and pl. and (2) Tekkali Plate of the time of Mādhymarāja (III) [J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV. pp. 165 ff.]. The latter mentions four other rulers after Dharmarāja. I may mention here in passing that the Plate shows the reading paśka-devi[gya] in l. 19. Thus the name should be Alaparaja who was the uncle's son of Rājakshāhī and not a son of Mādhya, marta (II), as understood by H. P. Skttr: Cf. Mr. V. Mīra (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVI. pp. 175 ff.) and Mr. S. Rajagura (Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. VII, pp. 165 ff.). Here it may incidentally be remarked that Mr. Rajaguru's reading of the date in the Puri Plates is incorrect. The date is evidently regnal.

3 Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff. and Plates.
missing vowel sign in this letter. Moreover, the signs for the numerical figure 9 and the final t are so much alike that it is not impossible that the scribe finding two similar signs on the document omitted one of them, either through inadvertence, or because of his not understanding its significance. If this supposition is correct, then the date of the inscription would be the second day of the bright fortnight of the 9th year of the reign of Dharmarāja.

In our present state of knowledge it is not possible to determine the exact dates of all the Śailōdhava rulers. The only certain date about this dynasty is found in the Ganjām Plates of G. E. 300 (=619-20 A.D.). In the other dated inscriptions either the reading of the date is uncertain, or only the regnal year is given. According to Kielhorn,¹ the Buguda Plates should, on paleographic grounds, be placed in the 10th century A.D. If this scholar is right in his assumption, then the rulers mentioned in the Khurdā and the Ganjām Plates are to be regarded as remote ancestors of the homonymous rulers mentioned in the Buguda and other Plates. But in that case we have to admit that no history of the dynasty is available for three centuries or more. In spite of the apparent paleographic difficulty, can it not be possible that Mādhavarāja Sainyabhūta of the Ganjām and the Khurdā Plates may be identical with Mādhavarāman Sainyabhūta of the Buguda Plates? But to accept this view we have to assign long rules to Mādhavarāman and some of his successors.

There may also be another ground in dating the Buguda grant to an earlier period. Both in the Kōṇḍējḍa grant and the present record mention is made of a king Trivara,² an ally of the rebel Mādhava who was probably a younger brother of Dharmarāja. Both Mādhava and his ally were defeated by Dharmarāja at Phāsikā as a result of which Mādhava is said to have died broken hearted near the Vindhyapāda. We do not know of any ruler of the name of Trivara from inscriptions. But we know of one Mahāśiva Tivaradēva belonging to the Sōmavāraśī rulers of Mahākōśala. Two of his inscriptions are known which are dated in the regnal years 7 and 9. Paleographically, these inscriptions have been assigned to the 8th century A.D.³ The name Trivara of the present record and the Kōṇḍējḍa grant may have been Sanskritised from the wrongly supposed Prakrit form of Tivara and, if he is the same as the ruler of Mahākōśala, the present record as well as the Kōṇḍējḍa grant should be assigned to the 8th century A.D. It may be possible that Mādhava, when defeated at Phāsikā, sought the help of the neighbouring powerful king of Mahākōśala, and, having been defeated for the second time, was forced to leave his own country, take shelter in that of his ally and to spend his last days somewhere near the Vindhyapāda (Satparā range), which was, at that time, within the realm of Tivaradēva. In that case the Pārīkud grant may have to be placed towards the end of the 7th or the early part of the 8th century of the Christian era and in spite of the apparent paleographic difficulty the Buguda and the Ganjām Plates might have to be assigned to one and the same ruler.

It is to be noted that in the Ganjām Plates of Mādhavarāja II, he is stated to be a feudatory of Saśāṅka. In the Pārīkud Plates, Madhyamarājadēva bears no titles of a supreme ruler, though he is stated to have performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice. This last incident shows that he claimed the rank of a Chakravartin. In the Kōṇḍējḍa grant the horse sacrifice is referred to (I. 43), though neither Madhyamarāja, nor his son and successor Dharmarāja, bears any titles of a paramount

¹ Above, Vol. VII. pp. 100 ff.
² The name has been read as Striva in the Kōṇḍējḍa grant, but I would ascribe the s to sandhi.
³ His date will be about the middle of the 8th century if Prof. Bhandarkar is right in his assumption that Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjān Plates of Amēghavaraha I (Above, Vol. XVIII. pp. 243 ff.) as being defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūta Gōvinda III, was the ruler of Mahākōśala. We know of only one Chandragupta in this family who was the son of Nannadēva and consequently a brother of Tivaradēva whom Chandragupta appears to have succeeded.
sovereign. But in the present grant Dharmarāja is given the titles Paramabhūṣāra, Mahā-
rajādhirāja and Paramābhūṣa which were borne by independent rulers alone. In our present
knowledge of the history of Orissa, it is difficult to say definitely whose subordinates the
Śailodhavas were after the rule of Saṅkha was at an end, but it is not impossible that
sometime after the breaking up of Harsha's empire Madhyamarāja declared independence and his
successor used all the titles befitting an independent ruler. I cannot, however, account for the
omission of such titles in the Kōṇḍeṣa grant.

It appears that there has been, from the beginning, a misconception regarding the names of
certain Śailodhava rulers. The name read as Yaśōbhita till now, should correctly be Ayaśōbhita.
It was pointed out in the Kōṇḍeṣa grant\(^1\) that in l. 22 the plate read narapatīr-yaśōbhita.
This reading is authenticated by the present grant also Banerji's correction\(^2\) into narapatīkha
yaśōbhita is thus not justified. Wherever this name occurs the sandhi seems to have been over-
looked. Even Dr. Hultsch appears to have done this for, in the Ganjam Plates of the time of
Saṅkha, he changed the reading into mahārāja-yaśōbhita although the inscription gave it
quite correctly as mahārāja-yaśōbhita.\(^3\)

When Professor Kielhorn first published the Bugudha Plates he was under the impression that
Madhavavarman was the son of Sainyabhita (II). Dr. Hultsch pointed out that Sainyabhita
was only a surname of Madhavavarman II\(^4\). In the same way, there is nothing in these ins-
criptions to show that yaśōbhita, i.e., Ayaśōbhita and Madhyamarāja were different persons.
Mr. R. D. Banerji in his article on the Pārkud Plates, though accepting the analogy of the Bugudha
Plates, was of the opinion that Madhyamarāja was probably a son of yaśōbhita\(^5\) (i.e., Ayaśōbhita)
II, while Mr. Y. R. Gupte writing on the Kōṇḍeṣa grant presumed, on the same analogy, that
yaśōbhita was the surname of Madhyamarāja, though he was unable to prove his point. The
difficulty of both the scholars was due to the misunderstanding of a passage in the text. The
last pāda of verse 12 in the present inscription, which occurs in other grants also, was wrongly
read by Banerji as madhyamarājadēva-guna-dhīr-rāyaṁ-pitāḥ prāptavān while the correct
reading is rājyā-m-pitāḥ prāptavān. The verse under reference simply means that the sages leave
their homes and perform various austerities in seeking after divya-pada while Ayaśōbhita II
got the same abode, i.e., mokṣha in his own kingdom.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant Kōṇḍa has been identified by Kiel-
horn with Kung-yū (or gu) of Yuan Chwang. Cunningham identified Kōṇḍa, the capital
city of the province of the same name, with Ganjam while Ferguson placed it 'somewhere between
Kuttack and Aska'\(^6\) in the Ganjam district. We find from his records that the Chinese pilgrim
journeyed south west from the Oja country, through a forest, for over 1,200 li and reached Kung

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\(^1\) Above, Vol. XIX. p. 266, note 2.

\(^2\) Above, Vol. XI. p. 255, l. 21.

\(^3\) On the same analogy it may be possible that the name in 1.12 should be read as Ayaśōbhita. In fact, the

internal evidence of the grants of this dynasty shows that the names should be Ayaśōbhita and Ayaśōbhita. In

Khurā Plates we find sīr-sainyabhīṣaṇa pātra (pātra) pravara-vipulāmala-yādānum satatam-aśrayah-bhīṣaṇa

śrutam-yāśōbhīṣaṇa etc. Similarly cf. verses 8 of the present grant and note the expression yathārtha-nāmā,

for Ayaśōbhita cf. verse 6 in the text of the present record where this bravery in battle is described. (It may,

however, be pointed that the Gaṅga king Hastivarman appears to have borne the bīrūda of Ayaśōbhita—

Above, Vol. XVII. p. 332.) In the case of Sainyabhita we probably have to take the name as a bālevihāri com-

pound (Śānti, II. ii. 23-24) meaning thereby 'of whom the army was afraid.' The epithet pratīkopa-c trimmed-

sādhu given to Sainyabhita in the Khurā Plates, seems to confirm this explanation.


\(^5\) Above, Vol. XI. p. 283.

\(^6\) See Watters, On Yuan Chwang's travels in India, Vol. II. p. 197.
yū-t'o. As the inscriptions of the Śailodbhava dynasty mentioning Kōngōda-maṇḍala have been found at Cuttack, Khurda, and Ganjam, we may well conclude that all these places were within the province of Kōngōda. In all probability the province extended from the southern bank of the Mahanadi and included within it the northern portion of Ganjam. The country outlying the northern bank of the Mahanadi was probably the Wu-t'u or Oja (Skt. Odra) of Yuan Chwang, while the southern part of Ganjam was within the Kalinga territory. According to the same pilgrim the capital city of Kung-yu-t’o was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea. The Ganjam Plate of Saṅsāka mentions that it was situated on the bank of the Śālima river. I have not been able to find the name elsewhere. The trace of the ancient name may, however, be found in the small river Sāli which is fed by the Chilkā lake. This part of the country would answer well to the description of the Chinese pilgrim. But at present no place recalling the name of Kōngōda is found on the bank of this river. The village Kōṅkōda situated in the Rāmagiri Agency of the Ganjam district, however, reminds us of the ancient name of Kōngōda, though the former could not have been the site of the capital city mentioned by Yuan Chwang.

Of the other place-names mentioned in the present record the name of the viśhaya of Khīḍāṅgahāra may be recognised in the village Khīḍāṅgi in the Kudala taluk of the Ganjam district while Nivinā is undoubtedly the village of Niminda in the same taluk where the plates were found.

TEXT.

[Metres: Vv. 1, 4 and 12, Śārdulavikrāṭa; vv. 2, 10, 11 and 14, Srsgārā; vv. 3, 6, 7, 9 and 13, Vasatārīlakā; vv. 5 and 15-17, Anusṭabh.]

First Plate; Reverse.

1 Om śivasī || Indrōrd-ndhautā-nrṇjāla-[taatubhi]r-ivai vaśīśṭā kara[ḥ] kōma-

2 [r*-] va(ba)dha-anēr-aruna[ḥ] ephurati-paṇi-maṇi[ṛ] [r-] ddīgha-prabhō[sō] m[ḥ]subhīh

[*] [Pārvīvatyaḥ]** āśā-kachā-

3 graha-vyatikaraḥ(ṛ)-tāvṛtta[va]ndha-sālāhā Ganō-abhā[ḥ]-pluti-bhūnā-bhūmā-kapi-

ka[ḥ]** Śambhū-rejāta[ḥ]**

4 pāntu vaḥ[ḥ] [1 ||] Śūmāninī[ḥ] (Śūmai-nuchhī) r-ṇa(ma)bhāt(ta) ārūḍh-achalpati

tēta) kāho-bhajita-vaḥ[ḥ] kahēmāyā[ḥ] gambuhrās-tāva-va-

5 śēr-athā divasakara[ḥ]** bhasma(bhāva)d-alōka-kāri(ṛi) [hādi sarvāvya chendos-tṛi-

(tri)-bhūvaṇa-bhāva[nā+pṛ] rakaḥ-chi(ḍ)pi

6 vāyō rājā sva(sa) Sthāṇu-mūrtit-jayatī Kali-mala-kahālanō Mādhā[vēndraḥ || 2[||]

Prāṇi(m)sur-mahābhāka-

7 ra-pivara-chāru-vā(bā)luḥ[ḥ]** kriṣṇā-sava(śma)saihchaya-viśāla-vivēka-dahṣṭōḥ** (ḥ) rājiva-

kōma-dal]-ayata-ḥo-

8 chan-āntaḥ (ḥ)** khyātaḥ Kaliṅga-jañitasa[janatasa] Pulindasenaḥ || 3[||] Tān-

ēūtihān(ṛthāṁ) guṇi(pāni) sa[ṛ]*śāvamahātōtaṁ na-

1 See ibid., Vol. II. p. 195.
2 See Indian Sheet Atlas, No. 74 (India and adjacent countries series).
3 From impressions and the original plates.
4 Expressed by a symbol.
5 Portions within square brackets are either broken or not clear and have been restored on the authority of other published records belonging to the same family.
6 Read saśchaya-viśāla-viśāla-viśāla.
7 The mark of punctuation is superfluous.
9 śatā bhuvvōr-mmaṇḍalāṁ  (||) śaktō-yaṁ* paripālanāya(ya) jagataḥ kō nāma
[sa*] śyād-ītī || pratyādhiṣṭa-vi-
10 bh-ātasevāṇa bhagavā(n)m-ārādhita(taḥ) [svāśvata(m)] tach-chī(tt-śa)gunām vi-
[dhīṣur-]diśa(dā)*-va(vā)-ničhāḥ(m) | Svā(Svā)-
11 yambhō(ḥū)raj-piḥ(piḥ) || [4 ||] Sa śīla-sa(sa)kal-ō dhaṇḍe tēn-ā[py-
āloka] dhūrata (||) [pa]rikalpitaḥ(ta)-

Second Plate; Obverse.

12 [sad-van śaḥ*] pra(bhū|h*] Saīlōdhava[h*] kṛ[ta]ḥ [||5||] Saīlōdhavasya kula-
[jō-Rajānabha] [ā]sid anāsakri-
13 t-kritabhiyām vi(dv)iṣhad-anigamānām || jyōtisya śnā-pravāha-samaye svā-
dhiya(ēvā*) sārdvāham-ā[k]ajmpīto nayā-
14 na-pakṣa(ṁ)kṣa)ja[l]eṣu cha[ndraḥ] || [6 ||] Tasy-ābhavad-Vivu(bu)dhpāla-sama-
sya sānūm(sun)h Sīna(Ś)iyabha iti bhūmi-
15 patīr-garīya[na*] yam prāpya nāga-gaṭā-gaṭa-laḥ(dh) pra-śa[da]viṣya[ṁ*] mumū-
[da]* dhāritis(tri) || [7||] Tasy-āpī va[n śe]-
puravṛd[hi][pi]* sūbhi(ḥ)ai-charitē(trair)-niṣṭhāḥ kalanā[k]h| kha-naḍāla-
17 na syē[12] || [8||] Jātō-tha]tasya tanaya[h sukṛtī samasta]*-simantini(ni)-naya-
naśatā[da] puruṇdarikāḥ(pupuḍarikāḥ) [||]jāri(Sā[yn]yabha iti-
18 ti bhūmipurīr-mahākṣa-kūmabhūṣṭhi(ī)-dalana-dulā(du)[r]lait-āsīdhāṛ(ṛ)ḥañ || [9||] Kala-
yārī[ā] bhūta-dhāritis(tri)-piṭābhīr[13]-u-
19 pachiś-ānya(ṁ)ka-pāyāvatārāiḥ || nītā[14] yēśāṁ kathā-bhi(pī) pralayam-abhi-
mātā kirti-ā(m)pālair-ajā[ś]rahn [||]*
20 yajñ[ā]na)ti-tair-Avināṭha-prabhṛtibhib-arṣama raṃvitā[17]-tripati-[uruv[ī]]m-adṛṣṭi-ār-
āṭri(tri)-pakṣavāṃśya kṛiti-patū-
21 nā Śrīnīvaśēnī(ṇa) yānā(ṇa) || [10||] Tasy-ōḍhāthis-aṅkār-mamaḥ(d) dva [ja-
nan-ōḍbhāvat(d)-uṣṭhān[ā]t-ōjāḥ || [18] sūrō mā-
22 ni(ni) dayūr-marapati-Ayasōbhītadēvas-tanūjāḥ || (||13) mātaṅgāṇaṃ(ṇa)-yō-sti-tu-
[ṅa]na[20]va(ba)hala-mada-mu-

1 This mark of punctuation is superfluous.
2 Read nēkaptām bhuvor maṇḍalam.
3 Other inscriptions of this dynasty have saktō gaḥ.
4 Read bhōṣatān.
5 Read -sakal-ōbbhdī.
6 Read -bhīṣatān.
7 Read -sakal-ōbbhdī.
8 Read -sakal-ōbbhdī.
9 Read āsōd-gānā.
10 Read prabhūdha.
11 Read Ṛgveda.
12 On the impression the last syllable looks like "dūm. But what looks like an anusūra is only a hole in
the plate.
13 The Koḍḍaṭa grant reads: cunātha. Read prapāṭha.
14 Read Kātāmavāya.
15 There are traces of another sign before pa ś. Either it was a mark of punctuation wrongly put or the plate
read śripa by mistake.
16 Read -pap-avatānīr-nāinā. The marks of punctuation before nā are unnecessary.
17 Read nambahītā.
18 The marks of punctuation are unnecessary.
19 Depa unnecessary.
20 Read "au.}
Second Plate ; Reverse.

23 chāḥ(chāḥ) chauru-vaktrāṇ(ktrāṇ) prachandandru庭(q̄dāṇ) vaddh-akarṣhītī khināh
pur-nair-api navatā yat-kṛtaṁ(tah) sampragākśha(bhāh) 11 || 11*\

24 Keśīdd-vṛ(va)nya-mrigēṇa sāṛddha[m*] ramat(e)ntē) tattāṁ(thā) sthitī-līlayah(yā) *
keṣīḍ(ch)-chārdhīdhv* j-a-mukhī mayīkha-

25 kirāṇa-jval-śāvali-prēkṣaḥah(pah) [*] kēchit śāla-guhḍaṛēṣu niratā dhūm śāvali(ī) pā(yi)na[h*] a-

26 nē(nē) vāyu-phal-āṅhu(bu)-bhakṣa-niratā[k*h] kēchī[n*]-nī(m)-āhārkāh ||
tham yēga-jushō vīhāya vāsati[m*]

27 dhyāyānti dīvali padān 5 chitraṁ(m)Madhyamajādēsa-trigunāṅ-dhrid rāyān
π[π] tat-prāptavāṁ(vān) ||[12]||Tasyā-ābha-

28 vat-sakala-sāstra-vśēṣhva-vedi 5 ārī-Dharmarāja iti sūnur-aḍhitī(ḍhīta)-ṭāstr

29 ti-ni(m)nirmala-yasaḥ parivardhamāna[m*] pādau Harē-rū(iva) na māyati mārti-lōkāh 11 ||[13]|| Rāyam lavdhā(bhāvā) pra-

30 darpād-avigapita-tayā 12 Mādhavō jē(jē)yēsha-bhāvāvā(vān) || tasyā tasmād-apas-trān 5 krita-vishama-matī[ir*]-vīgra-

31 he Phāsikāyām yuuddha-krōbhēna(ṇa) la(bha)grā nirātīparam-assau sanāra
(srijas Ŧriv̄[r]ākhyah 14 pa-

32 ścām(scām)-tēn-api sārddhān punar-api vijitā(ō) Vindhyā-pāṭēṣu jirṇāt
(jirṇāḥ) ||[14]|| Śas[ryaḥ] śrīrauvaṇaḥ

33 rājya-ekākya(kaḥ) māda-mā(kā)rakṣaḥ || sarvān śrī-Mānabhitasa na[rv]kār-
am-upasthitā(tah) ||[15]||6 Ala-

Third Plate ; Obverse.

34 tālaṅghapura 14-kōtā Parama-mahāśvaro mātā-pīṭr-pāṇānuḥya(tah) Pa-

35 rama-bhata(t)ārākāha Mahārājā[h*]dhirāja[?] paramēśvara[h*] 5 śrī[ma*]d-Dharmarāja[h*]-
jadēvaka[h*] kusāla || Āsmitā[ta]-Koṅgō-

1 Read baddha-ekarshaya-akhināh.
2 Pārīkud and Koṅjdēḍja grants have yun-ntah apraptdhah.
3 Pārīkud grant reads : sārddhām-ekarshaya-tathā.
4 What looks like an anusvōra above ti is merely a depression on the plate.
5 Dāvāda unnecessary.
6 Read sahara-āsūna as in the Pārīkud grant.
7 Pārīkud grant has two verses (12-13) in this connection, while Koṅjdēḍja grant omits one. Here we have only the first half of the previous verse and the whole of the latter, the second half of the former being omitted most probably, by oversight. [Reading given in both is wrong. One should expect something like, Ke chīrd-
surja-mṛghēḍa kārīkam-achīrinī tēmasuāchāhī līlaya—Ed.]
8 Pārīkud and Koṅjdēḍja grants read niyātā.
9 Read dēna-pura-dhrid rōgē-pī.
10 Read mārtītsa-lōkē. The suggestion to read mohak-ṛita in the Koṅjdēḍja grant is not correct. In the Teṭkali Plate the reading is na māyā na mārtītsa-lōkē. It is to be noted however that the root mā (in the Div-ūḍī group) is ātmanēdi.
11 Verses 13-14 of the Koṅjdēḍja grant have been omitted from the present record.
12 In the Koṅjdēḍja grant also the reading is tayō which has been wrongly read as kūyā ; tayō has been used here in the sense of protection.
13 Read with the Koṅjdēḍja grant : dēsād-asamā-apdeśam.
14 Read Trīvṛ-ākhyaan or Trī as in the Koṅjdēḍja grant. In the former case, however, the metre suffers.
15 Koṅjdēḍja grant records two more verses after this.
16 The reading of the first letter is not very certain.
17 Ja is written in a small letter between nī and pa. Evidently it was inserted later, on finding out the error.
18 Read Āsmitāna.
No. 9.-TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS.

By R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

About the beginning of the 10th century A.D. a branch of the Paramaras of Mâlwâ was founded by Dâmbarasînîha, the younger brother of Vairisînîha of Mâlwâ. The rulers of this
family may be called the Paramāras of Vāgada from the name of the territory over which they ruled and which comprised the present Bānswāra and Dungarpur States. These rulers, who were subordinate to the Paramāras of Mālwa, had for a long time their seat of Government at Uthūnaka, the modern Arthānā in the Bānswāra State in Rājputāna. The two inscriptions edited below belong to the rulers of this family and were found in the Bānswāra State. These documents, together with the one already published,1 throw much light on the history of this branch of the Paramāras.

A.—PANAHERA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHADEVĀ OF MALWA:

[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 1116.

This inscription has already been noticed in the Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1916-17.2 It is engraved on a stone slab which is built into a wall of the temple of Mandesar (Maṇḍalēśvara) Mahādevā at Pāṇāhērā in the Bānswāra State of Rājputāna. The slab is broken into pieces and at present only the two sides, right and left, are available, the middle portion being altogether missing.

The inscription is written in the Nāgari characters of about the 11th century A.D. But ī in īva (1.20) and ī in īśānēna (1.2) have forms which are generally found in the inscriptions of an earlier period.3

The inscription consists of 38 lines of writing and is written in verse with the exception of a few words in ll.1, 26, 36 and the concluding portion of 1.38 which are in prose. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

In respect of orthography the following points may be noted: v and b are not distinguished as in vāndhavo (1.8), vālavat (1.19), etc.; s is used for ś in suṇḍhārā (1.9), kīśām (1.11), śrīrā (1.16), etc. and ś for s in atr-āṣṭ (1.20), tapaśā (1.34), etc.; consonants with a superscript or subscript r are usually doubled as in yair-ṃuśūkha (1.12), darppō (1.14), -dhaṭṛī (1.11), pathra (1.13), etc.; anureśvara is used for nasals in kaśāṅka (1.12), bhūjaṅga (1.3), etc. as well as at the end of stichs and hemistichs as in mahāvālām (1.26), phalaṃ (1.33), etc.

The inscription is a prasantī of the Paramāras kings of Mālwa and their subordinate rulers, the Paramāras of Vāgada. It consists of two parts: the first part in 25 verses is given to the Paramāras of Mālwa and the other part, beginning from verse 26, to those of Vāgada. Its object is to record the foundation of the temple of Manḍalēśvara (Śīva) at Pāṃśulālēṭaka (Pāṇāhērā) and various endowments in that connection, by the Paramāra ruler Maṇḍalīka. After the usual praise of the god Śīva in the first five verses, the inscription gives, in verse 6, the familiar legend of the origin of the Paramāra family from the sacrificial fire on the Arbudān mountain. It then describes the army of some king, evidently an early Paramāra ruler, and the scene of a battle (vv. 7-9). Muṇjadēva is then mentioned (v. 10) who is said to have won victory in a battle (v. 12). Sindhurāja is spoken of in verse 13 and his army is extolled in this as well as in the next two verses. Verse 16 states that from him sprang a king whose name is not preserved in the inscription but which was most probably Bhōjarāja. The next four verses are devoted to the

2 Pp. 2 f.
praise of this king and his army. King Jayasimha is mentioned in verse 21 and the splendours of his army are likewise described, while his superiority and control over other kings are spoken of in the next four verses. Here ends the first part of the inscription.

The second part commences by saying that in the Paramara family was born Dhanika, who built the temple of Dhanesvara near Mahakala (at Ujjain) (vv. 26-27). After him, his brother's son Chachcha became king (v. 25). Verse 29 tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost in the present portion of the record, gave battle to Khottigadeva at Khalighattha on the bank of the Revya (Narmada) in the cause of Siyaka and went to heaven. Verse 31 introduces Satyaratna who is said to have received a fortune from king Bhoga and fought with the Gurjaras. He married Raja of the Chahamana family from whom was born Limbaraja (vv. 32-33). His younger brother was Mandalka, who took General Shishunala prisoner and handed him over to Jayasimha (vv. 34-37). Mandalka is glorified in verse 39 and is said to have built the temple of Mandesvara (Siva) at Pamsulakhetaka (vv. 45-47). This king Jayasimha is said to have assigned to the god, for defraying the expenses of worship, one vinishpadaka on every bull (that passed) on the road and also some land at Pamsulakhetaka. Mandalka also granted this temple to his own spiritual welfare, some lands and a garden behind Nagna-tadaga and (the temple of) Varunesvari together with some rice-fields as well as lands in the villages of Natrapata, Panaichi and Mandaladana (vv. 47-52). The date is given at the end as Vikrama-Samvat 1116 (A.D. 1059). The inscription was engraved by Asara, son of Kayastha Sridhara of Valabhi.

As to the personages spoken of in the inscription, kings Siyaka, Minjadewa, Sinduraja, Bhogadewa and Jayasimhadewa are the well-known Paramara rulers of Malwa. Up till now only one copper plate inscription dated V. 1112 (A.D. 1055) of the time of Jayasimha (I) has been discovered, so this inscription carries his reign to a further period of some four years. Among the rulers of Vagada, Dhanika, Chachcha, Satyaratna, Limbaraja and Mandalka are mentioned in the inscription. The names of Kaukhadewa and Chaupa, the two rulers after Chachcha, which are found in the Arthuṇa Inscription of V. 1136 are not preserved in the present record. The battle fought against Khottigadeva at Khalighattha (v. 29) is evidently the one mentioned in the Arthuṇa Inscription of V. 1136 (verse 19) as being fought by Kaukhadewa against the Rashtarkuṭa king of Karpata.

From verse 36 of the present record, Mandalka who is called Mandaladewa in the Arthuṇa Inscription, appears to have been the feudatory of King Jayasimhadewa (I) of Malwa.

Many of the localities mentioned in this inscription may be easily identified. Thus Pamsulakhetaka (v. 39, 46) is the village of Panaheera where the inscription was found. Natrapata (v. 50) is the village called Natawarya lying about two miles to the west of Panaheera. Desulapata is the modern Dihwar situated about 4 miles south-west of Jagapura. Bhogyapura is the village Bhagor which stands about 3 miles to the north-west of Panaheera. Panaichi is now called Panaheera and is situated at a distance of about 4 miles from Panaheera. Mandaladana is Madala of the present day and is about 4 miles to the west of Natawa. Nagna-tadaga (v. 48) is a tank called Naglatalava and is to be seen at the foot of the temple of Mandalesvara at Panaheera. Khalighattha (v. 29) was evidently the name of a ford on the bank of the Narmada. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

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1 For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. I. p. 168.
2 Above, Vol. III. p. 46.
TEXT.\footnote{From an impression.}

1 ॐ चो नमः शिवाय ॥

2 शाक्तिलिया सुब: प्रपायकर्ति

3 पुत्र दिनितापूर्वकेविषायुभी: । भूष: स्वादेशज्ञानोऽभोजः(स)पञ्चशास्तीयोऽभिम: संघिनः: श्रेयोऽऽसुरी कारकविन्दः ।

4 बुद्धते कुकुद्व(फ) हरि: ।

5 सेराकारुः(क)दयोऽस्कर: यथे काश कान नाथ मे वर्तति भिष्माय भवत: प्रक्षगुलशिवपियो हर: पातु व: \[II\] पचायवेः(क)वेः

6 सदसंस्कारान्त सुकुं चाल्लामराणवकल्पन द्रास्तीति दुर्दैव । वेलु: पीलुघठातुर्गम-\footnote{Expressed by a symbol. [It is preferable to read the symbol as siddham.—Ed.]}
TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS.

7. चन्द्रसूर्यजयसिम्हेनका: सामान्ता: कानकाय: आदि

8. राजा योमुंजैव: मस्तनि जीतना वा (वा) धृति यथा कोृति:

9. कुंजी कुंजी ग्रीष्मा प्रकटितवाक्य गीते। नक्वरमी: [१००]

10. सन्नद्यक (स) नातिमय सौक्यमुत्तूल तुष्यभवावोस्:

11. विविधंकुंजरचंद्रसंग्रहसंगमः आकाशमंगलाभावाधारपरिश्रामः (क) शुभगीराकः [१०१]

12. [व] प्राप्तमाण: वच: ते दृष्टुं का (कंघ) नामिता:

13. भट्टाचार्यानं: परमर्ती (क) अव विफळाका [१४] [२] तपादजातवः
TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS.

20

चानाग(ग)च्छरकरव(व)चित्तो रक्षा(ह)च्छ[य] पार्विनी

ध्वजा धीर्षीका द्वेश(ह)र दव ध्वजाककाश्य: ||

21

रे...

ध्वजाकाश्य: रक्षको यथा राजस: ||

वर्धनामव(ह)-

ल(त)धातुरुत्सहस्तप: ||

22

रे...

ध्वजाकाश्य: रक्षको यथा राजस: ||

वर्धनामव(ह)-

ल(त)धातुरुत्सहस्तप: ||

23

वर्धनामव(ह)-

ध्वजाकाश्य: रक्षको यथा राजस: ||

वर्धनामव(ह)-

ल(त)धातुरुत्सहस्तप: ||

24

जयु: सहजयेव वेन सहजयेन्द्र

ध्वजा: धातुप्रमाणमादिवर्क(ह)पोत[ख]नो देवकी ||

25

भृद्धार्य नयविनययथापितसहस्तप: खम्बस्य क्षितिका ||

वर्धनामव(ह)-

ध्वजाकाश्य: रक्षको यथा राजस: ||

वर्धनामव(ह)-

ल(त)धातुरुत्सहस्तप: ||

* Correctly जयु. The first syllable is lengthened for the sake of the metre.
लोक द्वाय लक्ष्मा तथा(र)भुप: इ.२६\[१४\] सू(श)रस्वामी नमः।<br>शोपो वि-<br><br>26 पवित्र<br>कंदधारम्: कामिनीविषायोऽसमानान्तमुद्रा द्रास्ती को<br>राजशुभीस्मंडलं मंडलोत्: इ.२४(२१)\[२२\] चापि च। भृगो त्व<br>० — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [२९]
<br>० — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [२९]
० — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [२९]
० — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [२९]
० — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [२९]
रेवादाय रसे कलेव शास्त्रेः सृष्ट्व(श) मध्य(व)लेः। चापिन्त जयस्मिन्तय<br>सत(श)
<br><br>27 गजसमन्वितं(श) इ.२६(३०)\[२५\]
[२५] जययसी शीर्षसारवंशी यथः प्रभु: योजयसिन्धेव:। जात:<br>प्रसा(श)खासु च यत्त तुम्तसामातुपूढः — — — — — — — [२०६(२२)
०]
[२०]
[२०]
भव्याकायं संदिर्मं चारिपोपलांश्चारिके:। यशो(व)गमिनः।
28 प्रेमगणीसिद्धस्मरके दोपके-<br>नन्दकालमध्यं नयनायादयसंहितय:। इ.२८(३८)\[३०\] वुषां<br>सुधिसुपारतवानमिष्य। य: फः — — — — — — — — — [२२]
<br><br>29 कुष्कितायणीम्: दिनमेक्षमिष्य। दिवि वर्षसंस्करणां सिद्धिम(श)वं<br>पुनर्व महीयतम: प्रभवेत्। इ.२०(४१)\[२३\] ह(श)हदाम० — — — — — — — [२२]
<br><br>30 यहि पक्षपदमेहुक्यां तर्कविवधारणां(श)सपालिस्कृतेऽय:। निक्कला<br>-<br>स्मृतिः(श)खर्षणया निविष्ठ(श)दिवि च पर्यंत(श) रेष:। इ.२२(४१)\[२३\]
<br><br>31 राजा यो(व)जयस्मिन्तय च भयेव भवायेव सतिः। इ.२४(४४)\[२२\]}
32 भोगद्वय तथा ।
दन्तं चारोंकैक सिंहे(य)व(ि) सिंह(ग)व(ि) सिना(ि)धर्म वस यथा वषोऽथे व वारसि सुभागा दतारावः ।
...
...
...
...
33 सामारिक वलन ॥४४(४४)॥
नाहापाषकामिः भुरवा दुहलपाके । भोगपुरे च वानाखामप्रा संडद्रकः ॥४४(४५)॥ एवतेतु परा निषु ॥
...
...
...
...
34 रः ललनानुपरमकारसुखितामामोः
भोगनिमिन् शामाइत्व चारोंकैक सिना(ि)धर्म वस ॥५२(५२)॥ पुरीं सलाद्वस्सु
भुरवादिकण्य व ॥१७॥ म.......
...
...
...
...
35 यः ।
तेनानि न(ि)व (ि) कारवः सच सविदा ॥५४(५४)॥
भरतो भुविमारव कारविवीं शिववेस(ि)वि । चिन्तकदेव(ि)न्य सामागी Standard नको वेसवाहुपाद [ि]
...
...
...
...
36 मलल(ि)दशकिः सव राजनायुधात वृहः ।
न नास्य सिन(ि)सर्वदिषि वस लोक(ि)शिव वस्तु नास्य(ि)शिव ॥५५(५५)॥ यतः ॥
...
...
...
...
37 काच गरी भवेत् ।
तस्मां नमां नामवाति (ि) सिन(ि)सर्वदिषि वस चारवेल्त ॥५६(५६)॥ चारवेल्त चारवेल्त
प्रखणीस(ि)चससुकुटपाराह्सुपौरितिनः ।
...
...
...
...
38 काच गरी भवेत् ।
तस्मां नमां नामवाति (ि) सिन(ि)सर्वदिषि वस चारवेल्त ॥५७(५७)॥ चारवेल्त
प्रखणीस(ि)चससुकुटपाराह्सुपौरितिनः ।
...
...
...
...

¹ Danda is not necessary.

This record was found at Arthūna in the Bānswāra state in Rājputāna and is now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer. It consists of thirty-one lines of writing, covering a space of 1½" x 1½". Excepting a few letters, the inscription is well preserved.

The characters are Nāgarī of a type which was common in Rājputāna during the period to which the record belongs. The average size of the letters is about ½". The letter ś is differently written in lines 15 and 21.

The language is Sanskrit throughout. With the exception of a few words at the beginning of ll.1 and at the end of verses 29, 30, and 31, the record is written in verse.

In respect of orthography it may be noted that v is used for b in vahūṣa (l. 2), vādha (l. 12), etc.; n for ṇ in minnā ṣa (l. 7); s for ś in sāṣa (l. 15), nasvāra (l. 19), etc. and š for s in śalāṃ (l. 31). Consonants with a superscript ū are doubled in -patr-ṇāṇā (l. 2), sarvāṣṭavāda (l. 7), etc. Amuṣāra is used for nasals in Maṇḍalika (l. 2), chaṁblacka (l. 16), etc. Rules of sandhi have been frequently violated. Jātā and ā has been used in lines 29 and 30.

The subject of the inscription is the foundation of a Jain temple and the consecration of the image of Vrishabhānātha at the town of Utthānaka during the reign of Vijayarāja, the Paramāra ruler of Vāgāja. After paying homage to Vitarāga in verse 1, the inscription records in verse 2 that Maṇḍalika of the Paramāra lineage killed the general Kanka and Sindurāra. It then speaks of Maṇḍalika's son Chāmundeśvara as having destroyed the army of the lord of Avanti in the Sūthāl country. Verse 3 speaks of his son Vijayarāja, who was a brave and famous ruler and a conqueror of his foes. The inscription then turns to the description of the Jain family of whose descendants caused the temple of Vrishabhānātha to be built. Verses 4-5 inform us that in the territory of Vijayarāja there was a town called Talapūṭa, the residence of Ambaṭa, a learned Jain physician and jewel of the Nāgarā family. His son was Papaka, who knew the whole of Ayurveda (v. 7). He had three sons, Alaka, Sāhasa and Lallaka (v. 8). Alaka was benevolent, well versed in history and a pupil of Chhatrasāna of the Māthura family (vvs. 9-11). He had three sons by his wife Hōla. The eldest was Pahuka who was well versed in Śastras and who became a recluse (vv. 15-14). His younger brother was Bhūṣāna, a pious Jain whose glories are described in verses 15-19. He had two wives, Lakṣmaṇa and Śīli. By the latter he had three sons, Alaka, Sādhaṇa and Sāntimukhya. It was Bhūṣāna who established this Jain temple (vv. 20-22). His younger brother was Lallaka. His elder brother Pahuka had a son named Ambaṭa by his wife Śīkā (vv. 23-24). Verses 25-26 and the prose line between them inform us that an image of Vrishabhānātha was established by Bhūṣāna in the town of Utthānaka in the year 1166 of the Vikramā era, while Vijayarāja was reigning in the province of Sūthāl and that the image was consecrated on Monday, the 3rd day of the bright
half of Vaisākha of the same year which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 5th April, 1109 A.D. The next two verses inform us that 16 verses from the fourth as well as the first verse were composed by the learned Kṣatuka whilst the rest was the work of Bhātuka, son of the Brahman Śāvēra who was the son of Bhāhā of the Valla family. The praśasti was written by the Śāndhikyaṇahika Vāmana, son of Kāyaśthā Rañjapa, of the Vāl Abha family (v. 29). The inscription was engraved by the viśāhika Sāmakā. The praśasti practically ends with line 26. The next five lines, which seem to have been added later, are herein styled vim-anvādana.  

As regards the personages mentioned in the inscription, much is already known about Manḍalika and Chāmuṇḍarāja from other inscriptions. The inscription A says that Manḍalika took general Kanha prisoner and handed him over to king Jayasimhatādera, whereas in the inscription B he is said to have killed him. Again, in the Arthūnā inscription of V. 1136, Chāmuṇḍarāja, son of Manḍanādeva, is said to have overcome Sindhurāja, whereas in the present record Manḍalika is said to have killed him which would be impossible unless the two Sindhurājas were different persons, or the word ‘Sindhurāja’ was used in the general sense of ‘a ruler of Sindhu’. Thus the facts mentioned in inscription A and the Arthūnā inscription of V. 1136 do not agree with those found in the present record. The former inscriptions are earlier and, perhaps, more reliable than the present record. 

Vijayaśrī, in whose time this inscription was written, was the last known ruler of the Vāgāda branch. No trace has yet been found of his successors. It is known, however, that Vāgāda, after a few decades, went under the control of the Guhila king Sam tartarśina of Mewār, who established a kingdom there in about V. 1236 (A.D. 1179) and thus became the founder of the present State of Dungarpur in Rājputāna. 

As to the places mentioned in the inscription, Uttarānā is the modern Arthūnā which is about 28 miles south-west of Bānswāra. Talapātaka is now a village called Talavādā lying about 12 miles to the south of Bānswāra. 

The genealogy of the Paramāras of Vāgāda according to the inscriptions now available would stand thus:—

1 Dambarasimha  
(younger brother of king Vairisimha of Mālwā).

2 Dhanika

3 Chachchha

4 Kamkadeva

5 Chāndaṇa

6 Satyaśrī m. Raṣṭāri

7 Limbarāja

8 Manḍanādeva or Manḍalika (V. 1116)

9 Chāmuṇḍarāja (V. 1136)

10 Vijayaśrī (V. 1166)

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1 [This, I understand from Muni Pumavijaya of Pātana, is some small Digambara-work.—Ed.]
3 See Dr. Barnett's remarks in the last para. on page 396 of Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV—Ed.
TEXT.

[Metres:—Va. 1, 13 and 14, Mālini; vv. 2, 5, 6, 22 and 30, Sārdūlaśavikṛṣṭa; vv. 3, 25, 26, 31, 32 and 33, Aryā; vv. 4, 11 and 17, Vasantāśilakā; v. 7, Sraghrā; v. 8, 20, 23, 24, 27-29 and 34-38, Anuṣṭubh; vv. 9 and 10, Mandākānta; vv. 12 and 21, Upendravejra; v. 15, 16 and 39, Sīkharīṇ; v. 18, Pṛthva; v. 19, Harini.]

1. चहि प्रानी नमो वेदोङ्गाय
व जयते निन्दोङ्गचारोङ्गातोङ्गतितविवकोङ्ग \\nपरस्मयतोमिन खितं युरस्थार्यवस्मय पञ्चपालस्चिद्विवकोङ्ग).

2. यात्रान्तरर्वमायमान्ति योमेंद्रोङ्गाभिव महाय च ज्ञातिसतस्यावलोक दत्तात्मृकोङ्ग \\nछेदीन्द्रितालङ्गक रत्ताम्मुन्दरार्की तीयें विसंगिनिन प्रभुलालावनि व(ह)श्रीम कृषि जा

3. देश्य सही(ह)राय]
कीर्तिकेश्वरज्ञाति[मा] तथा सुरी बहुतव अग्नि विनर्मय िा। सुमगी जितार्वंकी गुहावरपथ्यानिधि सुर्न। इन्द्रक पत्तनवर तच्छपाथां
पंजालास्निति—

4. महेन्द्व राजक \\nप्रस्तुतसुदर्भदेवब्रजावतविस्मारकस्विन्दानायकर[चा]र। तस्कराय- 
रवयोगविकरण्यहंगः श्रीहासकुकु यवहंगवा सत्राहस्विव खर[की]भवत्। 

5. योमान्त्र(व)तस्करः कलिव(व)सहहैती भिवत्रा(थ) मयोग्रोजेक्षयः निवृत्तात्मक- 
प(स)सरी देवतालक्षण: 

6. धारिः ज्ञापेनात
व्याख्याचमावनयगुणेन्द्रन[व] मलतिता श्रुतयाः विद्वे दुले सत्त
देशी च देशेशर(रो) इत्याकसकु दुः समाजन ज्ञानमानकवथ- 
प्रपी(भो)डः

7. प्राववः \\nप्रभुवंत्रविशिष्टक्रियाः परहृत शुद्धियाः \\nनित्येन्द्रवेदेद्वद्विहितसकल- 
कुकलुकायरत्वा । नित्येन्द्रवेदेद्विहितसकल- 
प्रभुवंत्रविशिष्टक्रियाः परहृत शुद्धियाः \\nसुप्रस्तुतचतुर्गुणस्वाता

8. लक्ष्मणाः साहस्याय साहस्याय पर्युंजक: यस्तत्ताव: सहस्विशेषमया \\nसाहसामन्ताध्युतकैलिनितालकः \\nसेवामिद्दुतत्त्तरगुणय—

*The strokes are redundant.
*Expressed by a symbol.
*Dash unnecessary.
18. दुर्दारि च दुर्दारि च दुर्दारि च
dhumātya[ha] dhumātya[ha] dhumātya[ha]

19. लिखायमुदारि पुनःनयचायमुदारि पुनःनयचायमुदारि पुनःनयचायमुदारि

20. संबिधि दिनकालेनवचतरासंबिधि दिनकालेनवचतरासंबिधि दिनकालेनवचतरासंबिधि


22. विवेचनसंयुक्ताः विवेचनसंयुक्ताः विवेचनसंयुक्ताः


24. न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ

25. न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ

26. न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ

27. न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ न युलायत कहतानात्तवृ

1. Danda unnecessary.
2. Perhaps we have to read नि-साय नि-साय[?]-Ed.
No. 10.—MATHURA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28.

By Sten Konow.

In a field opposite the Chaurāśi Jaina temple in Mathurā, 200 yards due south of the Govardhan Road, is a well called Lāl Kūvā. Some eight or nine years ago a pillar of red Mathurā sandstone was found here, and left on the surface till it was deposited in the Mathurā Museum, as No. 1119, on the 13th June, 1929, at the instance of the late Pandit Radhakrishna.

The pillar is 6' 7" high and 11' 8" broad at the bottom. Up to a height of 2' 7" it is square, above that, octagonal.

The pillar bears an inscription, 14" high and 11" broad, consisting of thirteen lines. The height of individual letters varies between 1/4" and 1". The beginning of ll. 12-13 has peeled off. In other respects the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.1

The characters are Brāhmī of the Kusāna type. In ll. 1, after the word siddha, we find the crescent-like stroke with a bar in the middle, which occurs in two other Brāhmī records, in the same position. Bühlert2 explained it as a stop, of the same kind as the crescent used after

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1 Read प्राप्तियां.
2 स्मरण is written on the left hand margin with the sign of kūka-pada before it.
3 After my manuscript was sent to press, the inscription was published by Mr. Jayaswal, J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, pp. 4 ff., and noticed by Mr. Harit Krishna Deb, Indian Historical Quarterly, VIII, pp. 117 ff. These papers have not brought me to modify my views.
4 Indian Palaeography, § 3, O. 5.
the first edicts in the Kālai version of Asoka’s inscriptions. It is, however, possible that it is used to denote final m.

Of numerical symbols we find those for 1, 3, 5, 8, 20, 50 and 300.

The characters are well cut, but the shape of individual aksara is not always quite the same. Thus the long ā is sometimes straight, and sometimes curved; cf. anādhānām, l. 8, where we find both forms used side by side. In śā, l. 2 and 4, it is placed about the middle of the bar, in śā, l. 6, at the bottom. The u-mātra, which also stands for ā, is a straight downward stroke after n (l. 4), p (ll. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9-13), m (l. 6) and h (l. 10); an upward slope after t (ll. 3, 4) and ā (l. 4); a downward slope after k (l. 7) and r (l. 2), and a forward stroke after t (l. 11). R is straight in ll. 1, 6, 7, 12, while the bottom is curved to the left in ll. 2, 3, 5, 12, 13. The central bar of ya in dhāriya, l. 5, is bent to the left, so that the letter looks like a yē. The object was perhaps to avoid its running into the subscript ya standing above it.

There are some cases of carelessness. The anusvāra is frequently omitted; cf. viśā, l. 1, if we should not read siddha; puṇya, ll. 9, 11, and several plural genitives. Short vowel is written for a long one in nivi, l. 3; nivi, l. 11; yachatra for yachātra, l. 9; patina side by side with patīnā, l. 3; pibastitanām, l. 9, etc. Other mistakes are tutō for tatō, l. 3; babhakshitaṇa pibastītanām for babhukshhitānām pibastītanān, l. 9; anādhānām for anādhānām, l. 8; sārājī for sārāyē, l. 11; visarga before t, l. 10, etc.

Some of these inconsistencies and mistakes are due to the fact that the writer attempted to write Sanskrit, but was not able to do so correctly. The language is the mixed dialect, though the Sanskrit element is exceptionally strong. Thus the ri-vowel occurs in viśādhā, l. 3; kriṇa, l. 8. The form lauvira for lavaṇya, l. 7, may be of interest, because the origin of this word, which makes its first appearance in the Āśvalāyana-Suṅgasūtra and the Chhandogya-Upanishad, is not known. It is, however, not probable that the ri is anything else than a misunderstood Sanskritization. The three s-sounds are distinguished as in Sanskrit. The word baku, l. 7, seems to be certain, but I cannot explain it. R-compounds such as pr, br and tr are preserved throughout, and the ts in saṅvataśār, l. 1, is also in accordance with Sanskrit phonetics. Similar cases are, however, well known from other inscriptions in the mixed dialect and from the North-Western Prakrit. Forms such as brāhmya, l. 5, yachatra, i.e., yachchātra, l. 9, priyāb, yēśā, tēṣām, l. 10, are Sanskrit.

There are, however, numerous Prakritisms. Compare prastā, l. 7; depapadra, l. 10; aūkā, l. 6; sahāśita, l. 6; sālāyē, l. 6; prithivīyē, l. 11; the frequent shortening of the termination of the genitive plural; pronominal forms such as ayaṁ for iyaṁ, l. 1; taṁ for tad, l. 9; etāṁ for etad, l. 8; dinnā for dattā, ll. 3, 11; dhāriya, l. 6; chaturūdhī for chaturūdhī, l. 4, etc.

The record is dated on the first day of Gurppiya in the year 28, and we learn from ll. 9 ff. that the Dēvaputra Śahi Huvishka was then on the throne.

Gurppiya is the Macedonian month Gorpiion, corresponding to the Indian Prāghaṇapada, and this is the only known example of the use of a Macedonian month in a Brāhmi inscription. We have, on the whole, no other example of the use of the Macedonian calendar in Mathurā, and it is a priori likely that the person at whose request the inscription was drawn up was a foreigner, from a country where that calendar was known and used, i.e., that he came from the North-West. This inference is also borne out by other considerations, as we shall see below.

The Hidda inscription is dated in the same year as our record, viz., on the 10th Apellaiion 28. According to Dr. van Wijk’s calculations the corresponding Christian date is the 24th November 156 A.D., and that of our record, the 19th August 156 A.D.
As set out in the introduction to my edition of Indian Kharoshthi inscriptions in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part I, this dating is based on the assumption that the epoch of the era used in these inscriptions is the year 128-9 A.D., and I am still convinced that it cannot be put earlier, but may be later. The common opinion among scholars in India and Europe is, however, apparently that we must refer them to the historical Saka era.  

This theory is not based on any indication in Indian sources, but simply on the assumptions that the founder of the era was a Saka, and that this Saka must have been Kanishka, the most famous of the Kushāṇa rulers of India.

I have no doubt that the former assertion is correct. Dr. Fleet’s remarks about this point are unanswerable. The only question is about the individuality of this ruler. I fail to see how it is possible to get away from Dr. Fleet’s remark that the Saka era is emphatically a southern reckoning. It must have been instituted in commemoration of an event which was of importance in the history of Southern India, but was of no consequence for the development of Northern India. Else it would be difficult to account for the fact that it has not with certainty been traced in northern inscriptions before the year A.D. 862.

As I have stated in the introduction to the Corpus, Vol. II, Part I, we have a tradition about its introduction in the Kālacārṇyakathānaka, to the effect that it was introduced by a Saka ruler who repeated an elder Saka conquest of Mālava, and uprooted the dynasty of Vikradīya, the ruler who had, in his turn, overthrown the earlier Saka conquerors. It is expressly stated that the narrative is an incident, introduced in order to explain the origin of the Saka era: eyam pāśunigam somakkhayam Saggakālaṇaya sattham. It is evident, therefore, that the author of the text knew a tradition about a Saka ruler, who effected a reconquest of that part of India, and that this second Saka conquest was commemorated through the introduction of the historical Saka era, to replace the reckoning introduced by Vikramādiya. And we know from Chinese sources that a similar tradition about a reconquest was known at a much earlier date. For the Hou Han-shu states that Yen Kao-chien, i.e., Wima Kadphises, again extinguished T’ien-chu or Shen-tu, and, according to Professor Karlsgreen, the Chinese word for again cannot be twisted to mean anything else than again, afresh. Now Yen Kao-chien’s predecessor, K’iu-tsiu-k’io, i.e., Kujiula Kadphises, did not conquer T’ien-chu, and the word again must therefore bear reference to an earlier conquest by kindred tribes. The author of the Hou Han-shu had heard about this earlier conquest, and introduced a reference to it, perhaps without noticing that some confusion was, in this way, introduced into the narrative.

It is, I think, unavoidable to draw the inference that two ‘Saka’ conquests of T’ien-chu were believed to have taken place at the time when the Hou Han-shu was compiled, i.e., in the fifth century A.D. And the author states that his narrative is based on the reports of Pan-yung towards the end of the rule of the emperor An-ti (107-125 A.D.). In other words, the story about the two conquests was known in the first half of the second century A.D., and it has evidently been the same tale which was handed down in India and made use of by the author of the Kālavāchārnya kathānaka.

The only old traditional account of the introduction of the Saka era which we possess seems, accordingly, to indicate that it was due to Wima Kadphises. It is not necessary to assume

1 Cf. especially Professor Rapson, J. R. A. S., 1930, pp. 186 ff.
3 In face of facts drawn attention to by the late Haraprasād Sāstri, Ep. Ind., XII, p. 230, I do not understand Professor Rapson’s remark that Dr. Fleet has proved that “later research, however, has shown that there was no such King Vikramādiya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A. D.”
that he effected the reconquest in person. That may have been done by one of his governors or generals, e.g., by Nahapāna. And subsequently the Saka rulers of those reconquered districts began to date their records from this reconquest, through which their rule had been established.

There are also other considerations which speak against ascribing the introduction of the historical Śaka era to Kanishka. It is hardly possible to deny the justice of the remark made by M. Sylvain Lévi about the defeat of the Yue-chi Shāhi by Pan-ch'ao and about the Yue-chi ruler paying tribute to China in A.D. 90, that “it was not Kanishka, at the apex of his reign and power, who consented to such a humiliation”.

So far as I can see, weighty reasons speak against the theory that Kanishka’s era was the historical Śaka era. It cannot be proved simply by being repeated, without any real reasons. We cannot definitely settle the question about its epoch, but we can confidently state that it was not A.D. 78.

Traditional tales, corroborated by epigraphical evidence, lead to the conclusion that Kanishka added a large territory in Northern India to the Scythian Empire, and it is not to be wondered at that his era was introduced everywhere in the north, though an old Śaka era still lingered on in the North-West, and even seems to have been occasionally used in Mathurā.

Our inscription brings an addition to our knowledge about the chronology of his successors, in so far as it reduces the interval between Vāsishtha and Huvishka to some few months. The latest recorded date of Vāsishtha is some day in the third month of Hēmanta, i.e., of Pausha, in the year 28, and our record shows that Huvishka was on the throne less than eight months afterwards. He is designated as devaputra Shāhi, and the imperial title is not applied to him in any record before the year 41. It is therefore possible that another Kushāṇa was the real suzerain at the centre of Kushāṇa power, in Badakshān. But it is evident that the person at whose request our record was drawn up in Mathurā owed allegiance to Huvishka.

The purport of the inscription is to record the endowment of a punyaśāla, a hall for acquiring merit through distribution of alms, with an akshaya-nīcī, i.e., a permanent endowment, wherewith the capital could not be touched. On behalf of the donor, about whom I shall make some remarks below, two śreṣṭhas or guilds were entrusted with the management of 550 puruṣas each. The name of the first śreṣṭha is written in the part of the stone which has been broken off, and I can only read the last two aksharas rāka. The second was the samitakara-śreṣṭha, i.e., probably the makers of samitā, wheat-flour.

Out of the interest realized from month to month the expenses are to be covered for serving hundred Brāhmaṇas in the hall, and for daily keeping some provisions at the door for the benefit of hungry and thirsty indigent people, and distributing them on the same day (supposing sādyam to be synonymous with sadyaḥ), viz., 3 āṭhaka of groats, one prastha salt, one prastha śāku, 3 ghataka and five maṇḍaka harita-kalāpaka. The reading saktunā, i.e., saktunām, is uncertain, the akshara kṛt being apparently identical with kṛt in kṛteṇa, l. 8. The meaning of the word śāku is, as already remarked, unknown to me. Harita-kalāpaka must be bundled fresh vegetables. The measures āṭhaka and prastha are known, the latter being a fourth of the former. I do not know anything about the size of the ghataka, jar, and maṇḍaka, bowl.

The punyaśāla is characterised as prāchini, i.e., evidently “eastern,” perhaps in order to distinguish it from another, western hall. It is further said to be chatudī, i.e., chaturādi, opening towards the four quarters.

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1 J. A. IX, ix, 1897, p. 26, Ind. Ant. XXXII, 1903, p. 422.
2 Cf. the Kanḍāli Tīlā inscription of the year 299, if this is a genuine record.
The principal donor is designated Kānasaraṁkāmāṇaputra Kharatāravatī Vakanaṇapati.

The first term may be compared with Kūshāṇaṁputra in a Brāhmī inscription on the pedestal of a statue found by Pandit Radhakrishna at Māṇ near Mathurā and described by Professor Vogel. Mr. Jayaswal has explained this word as ‘son of Kūshāṇa’, taking Kūshāṇa to be the name of Wima Kadphises’ father, whom he identifies with the Mahāraja Gushapya of the Panjter and the Mahāraja Rājaśīrāja Kūshapya of the Taxila silver-scroll inscriptions. He finds the same name in the Kuei-shuang-wang of the Chinese Han Annals, which is said to mean, “according to the established Chinese system,” ‘King Kuei-shuang’, i.e., ‘King Kushan’, and in the last word of the coin-legend shaonano shao Kaneshki Koshano, where Koshano is explained as Kaušhāṇa meaning ‘descendant of Kaušhāṇa.’ I am afraid that these statements cannot well be upheld.

To judge from estampages which I owe to the kind assistance of the Government Epigraphist the beginning of the Māṇ inscription is Mahāraja Rājaśīrāja dēvaṁputrō Kauśhaṇaṁputrō (śaḥhi Vamata) kauhaṇasya, essentially as read by Professor Vogel, i.e., a string of titles in the nominative, followed by a name in the genitive, a feature which is well known from other sources. Here Kauśhaṇaṁputra follows after dēvaṁputra, i.e., ‘a gods’ son,’ and not ‘God’s son,’ and similarly Kauśhaṇaṁputra might mean ‘a Kaušhāṇas’ son,’ ‘a Kaušhāṇa scion.’ At all events the inscription does not in any way prove the existence of a personal name Kaušhāṇa.

I am not in a position to form an opinion about Chinese grammar. But Sinologists have not apparently thought of translating Kuei-shuang-wang as ‘King Kuei-shuang,’ no more than of rendering Sāi-wang as ‘King Sai.’ The T‘iien Han-shu says about Ta-hia that there were five principalities: Hiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun and Kao-fu, each under one hi-hou. The Hou Han-shu states that the Yüe-chi divided the country into five principalities, giving the same names, only correcting Kao-fu to Tu-mi. It further relates how K‘iu-tsiu-k‘io, the hi-hou of Kuei-shuang, attacked the other hi-hou and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang. These statements can hardly be reconciled with Mr. Jayaswal’s new explanation.

Further the form Koshano in the coin-legends cannot represent Kaušhāṇa. The legends are written in Saka, and in Saka koshano, i.e., kauśhana, cannot be anything else than the gen. plur. of a base Kaušha, which is rendered Kiu-sha in the Chinese translation of the Kalpaṇāsvātītīkā, where it is stated that Kanishka belonged to the family of the Kiu-sha. We accordingly know that the name of Kanishka’s family was Kaušha, and Kauśhāṇaṁputrō might accordingly be two words, Kaušhāṇaṁ putrō, a son, i.e., scion, of the Kaušhas, as proposed by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, who reads Kauśhāṇaṁ putrō. So far as I can see, that reading is probable, but also Kaušhāṇa can very well be the gen. pl. of Kaušha. On the other hand, an adjective Kaušhāṇa might be formed from Kaušha, just as we have Saka balyāna, lordly, from balya, lord, and the existence of this derivative is proved by the use of the inflected base gushana, kushana in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions mentioned above.

1 A. S. I. 1911-12, pp. 120 ff.
2 J. B. O. R. S. VI, pp. 12 ff.
3 In the present connexion it is not necessary to give the Greek letters of the legend.
4 We do not know this ruler from other sources. If there was an interval between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, as stated by Sir John Marshall, A. S. I. A. R. 1912-13, p. 8, he may have been a successor of the former.
5 Mr. Jayaswal’s attempt to show that Wima Kadphises is meant is not convincing.
7 Atvaghosa, Sārīlādkāra, traduit par Édouard Huber. Paris 1908, p. 158. The Sanskrit original has [ku]ṇo, but the name of the family is not found in the fragment, a. Lüder, Bruchstücker Kalpaṇāsvātītīkā des Kaušhāṇa, Leipzig 1926, p. 67.
8 S. P. A. W., 1914, pp. 642 ff.
I therefore think that Kushāṇa[putra] in the Māt inscription must mean 'Kushāṇa-scion.' And similarly I would translate Kanasarukamānaputra in our record as 'the Kanasarukamāna-scion,' or, 'the scion of the Kanasarukamas,' though it is possible that Kanasarukamāna is the name of a person.

It would be possible to read prāchīnakāna Sarukamāna putrēṇa, by the scion of the eastern Sarukamas, but that would necessitate the assumption of rather many slips in one word, prāchīnakāna in that case standing for prāchīnakāṇāṃ, and the other alternative seems to be preferable.

I am unable to offer any explanation of Kanasarukamāna, Kanasarukama, for saruka cannot well be separated out and compared with the ethnic name Sarauca, mentioned by Trogus, for which other sources have Sakarauloi, Sakaurakoi, and Sacaranca.

The other designations of the donor, Kharāsalāpatai and Vakanapata, i.e., the ruler of Kharāsalē and Vakanā, are likewise unexplained. Vakanapata is evidently the same title which occurs as Bakana[putra] in the Māt inscription, where the person who erected the chapel of Vamatakakshma is described as Bakana[putra] Humā. It is possible that Bakana, Vakanā is the well-known Wakhān, which occurs as Vokkāna in other sources, such as the Divyāvadāna. But it would be unsafe to consider this identification as certain. If it should prove to be right, it would perhaps be possible to connect the incomplete Humā... following after Bakana[putra] in the Mathurā inscription with the old name of Wakhān represented by Chinese Hu-mi, or that of the capital, Chinese Ho-mo.

As pointed out by Chavannes, Badakhān remained the stronghold of the Yue-chī down to the fifth century. After their dominion had been established in Mathurā, it would be natural for chiefs from the North-West to pay occasional visits to that place, and the use of the Macedonian calendar in our inscription seems to point to a north-western origin of the donor. He was not an Indian, but came from abroad.

TEXT.ś

L. 1 SiddhānŚ Sāhivatsarē 20 8 Gurpṛiya āyāma puṇya-
L. 2 śālā prāchini Kanasarukamāna - putrēṇa Kharāsalē-
L. 3 rapatin[a] Vakanapatinā akshaya-nivī dinn[ā] Tu(ta)tō vṛ[i]ddhi-
L. 4 tō mās-ānumāsām suddhāsya chatudisi puṇya-śa[lā]-
L. 5 yaśā brāhmaṇa-satam parivishitavyaṃ divaśe diva[ṣē]
L. 6 cha puṇya-śālāyē dvāra-mūllaḥ dharīya sādyaṃ saktunāś a-
L. 7 dhaṇā 3 lavṛīṇa-prasthō 1 śaku-prasthō 1 harita-kalāpaka-
L. 8 ghaṭak[a] 3 mallak[a] 5 etsaṃ anādh[ā]nām śritāṇaṃ datavya[ṛhś]
L. 9 babhaktishēṇa pibasitānāṃ Yach[a]tra puṇya[ṛhś] taṃ dāvaputraṣaṃ

śProl. 41, 42 : Deinde quo regnante Sesthicae gentes Saraucae et Assiāei Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos. Reges Thracorum Assiāei interitusque Sararvacum.ś
śś To avoid misunderstanding I may state that I cannot accept Mr. Jayaśwal's explanation of these terms.śś
śśś T'oung Pao II, viii, p. 187.
śśś For the facsimile see plate facing page 6, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVIII (1932).—Ed.
śśś Perhaps siddha.śśś Read anītānā.śśś Read anāthānāḥ.śśś Read babhaktishēṇa puṇya[ṛhś].
L. 10 Shāhisya Huvishkasya¹ yēshaṁ* cha dēvaputro priyaḥ tēshām =api punyaṁ*
L. 11 bhavatu sarvāyī² cha prithiviyē puṇyaṁ* bhavatu akshaya-nivi³
dinn[a]
L. 12. . . . . . . . [r]āka-śrēṇi]yē purāṇa-sata 500 50 Śamitakara-śrēṇi-
L. 13. [yē cha*] purāṇa-sata 500 50

TRANSLATION.

Success. In the year 28, on the first day of Goropiaos, this eastern hall of merit was given a perpetual endowment by the Kanasarukamānā-scion, the lord of Kharāsalēra, the lord of Vakana. From what is cleared off month for month from the interest therefrom hundred Brāhmaṇas should be served in the open hall, and day for day, having kept it at the entrance to the hall, on the same day three ādhaka groats, one prastha salt, one prastha ākau, three ghataka and five mallaka of green-vegetable bundles, this should be given for the sake of destitute people, hungry and thirsty. And what merit is herein, may that accrue to the Dēvaputra Śahī Huvishkha, and also to those to whom the Dēvaputra is dear, and may the merit accrue to the whole earth. The perpetual endowment was given to the -rīka-guild, 550 purāṇa, and to the flourmaker-guild, 550 purāṇa.

No. 11.—ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA.

BY PROFESSOR J. PH. VOGEL, PH. D., LEIDEN.

In addition to the important inscriptions from Nāgarjunikondā edited by me in this journal,¹ Mr. Longhurst’s excavations on that Buddhist site have yielded some more epigraphical documents which it is my intention to publish in the present paper. As regards the site, on which these records have been discovered, and the peculiarities in language and script noticed in them, I may refer to my previous article.

Ayaka-pillar Inscriptions belonging to Stūpa No. 5.

At the south-eastern foot of the Nāgarjunikondā Hill and about two furlongs from the Great Stūpa or Mahākētiya there is a group of ruined buildings consisting of a monastery (No. 4), a stūpa (No. 5), two apsidal temples and a roofless maṇḍapa. The site of the stūpa was marked by a large mound of brick débris overgrown with jungle and locally known as Itikarāḷābdhō. A pillar inscription from this site published under the letter G in my previous paper records the foundation of a monastery by a Queen Bhāṭ(t)īdevā, who calls herself the daughter-in-law of Vāsethiput(t)īya Śrī-Chātāmula, the consort of Mādhāriput(t)īya Śrī-Virapurisadāt(t)īya and the mother of Śrī-Ehuvula-Chātāmula, who evidently was the then reigning king. The eśhāra, which according to this inscription was dedicated to the Masters of the Bahusūt(t)īya sect, is no doubt the ruined monastery (No. 4) found on this site.

In the course of Mr. Longhurst’s explorations two more inscribed pillars have come to light here. They are āyaka-pillars and must, therefore, have belonged to the stūpa No. 5. The information contained in these two epigraphs agrees with what is found in the pillar-inscrip-

¹ Looks almost like Purisakṣaya.
² Read sarvāyī.
³ Read -mīn.
⁴ Vol. XX, pp. 1-37.
tion G. They are, however, valuable, because they settle some doubtful points in the latter inscription which has suffered much from exposure. The new inscriptions, which I call G2 and G3, also supply the full date which is the second year of the reign of King Siri-Ehuvula-Chāṭamūla, the sixth fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

The inscription G2 is remarkable, because the method of spelling shows an attempt at greater accuracy than is the case in the other inscriptions. Double consonants are indicated in several instances (putta, samkappasa, Purisadattasa, bhavyāya, Bhāṭṭidevāya) and even in patti where the doubling of the consonant is wrong. In the same way we find a ligature in Veṅgangha, paṭṭhapito, Ikkhākunāṁ, pakkhaṁ. This practice, however, is not universally followed; we find a single consonant in agīhoma, savadeha, saṅsārakāraṁ, and in the genitive ending -sa.

The final s in siddham (l. 1) is expressed by a small letter written under the line.

**Ayaka-pillar Inscription G2.**

**Transcript.**


**TRANSLATION.**

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, a monastery provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahuṣutiyaṁ[ṇ]i sect by Mahādevi [Bhāṭṭidevā], (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārājasa Veṣṭhapitassa Sīri-Chāntamūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, who is favoured (absorbed?) by Mahāsena, the lord of Veṅganghas, the offerer of Agnihota, Agniśthoma, Vajapeya, and Aśvaṃdeha, the giver of many crops of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (and who is) the wife of Mahārājasa Māṭhāripitassa Sīri-Virapurissadatta. In the second year of (the reign of) Raṇa Veṣṭhapitassa Sīri-Ehuvula-Chāntamūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, the sixth 60 day of Summer, the tenth 10 day.

**Ayaka-pillar Inscription G3.**

**Transcript.**

(L. 1) Siddham namo bhagavato (l. 2) Buddhasa Mahārājasa Veṅganghabhakpati-Mahāsena- (l. 3) [pa]jñamadha-samkappasa agihot-[ī]gīhoma-vājape-[ī]jñamadha- (l. 4) yājisa hiraṇga-koṭi-go-sata-sahasra-halasa-sahasrapadāyissa savadeha apah (l. 6) tihata-samkappasa Veṣṭhapitassa Ikkhā[kuna] (l. 7) ri-Chāntamūlaśa sumhāya mahārājasa (l. 8) Māṭhāripitassa Ikkhākunāṁ Sīri-Virapu- (l. 9) risadattasa bhavyāya mahādeviya Bha- (l. 10) tidevāya deyyadhamena ayaṁ Devi-yi (l. 11) hāf[o] savajāhatiyo achariyānaḥ [Ba-] (l. 12) hūsuni-[ī]gīhoma paṭṭhapito Raṇo Sīri-Ehu- (l. 13) vula-Chāntamūlaśa saṁsārakāraṁ bitiyā gimpan-pakkha (l. 14) chaṭham 6 divasaṁ dasamam.

**TRANSLATION.**

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, the Queen’s Monastery, provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahu-
sutta sect by Mahādevi Bhātidevā (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārajā Vāsirāpitṛjaya Siri-Chāntamāla, of (the house of) the I[k]khākus, etc., (see above, sub-G 2), (and who is) the wife of Mahārajā Mādhāripitṛjaya Siri-Virapurisadattja of (the house of) the I[k]khākus. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla, the [sixth] fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

Inscription on carved pillar found near Stūpa No. 9.

Next we have an inscribed carved pillar found underground near stūpa No. 9. This stūpa, measuring 42 feet in diameter, is an isolated monument near a fortified hill which stands on the south-western side of the valley and not far from the river. The pillar which is rounded at the top is carved with five panels placed one above the other. The carving has suffered from exposure; but, as far as we can see, the subject of the reliefs does not appear to relate to the Buddha legend or to any of the jātakas. In the third panel there is apparently the same royal personage, attended by five women, of whom three seated on the floor seem to be making music. The next one shows a corpulent male person, perhaps a king, seated in the midst of four females, one of whom seems to hold a chāmara. In the fourth panel there is evidently the same royal personage, attended by five women, of whom three seated on the floor seem to be making music. The fifth panel shows an elephant mounted by two persons and surrounded by four marching attendants. The man seated on the neck of the elephant must be a rāja, as is evident from the parasol visible over his head and held by the attendant sitting behind him. The scene exhibited in the fifth or lowermost relief is very curious. It shows a group of eight men; most prominent among them is a bare-headed corpulent person who seems to hold a staff in his left hand. He wears sandals, but for the rest his dress is remarkably simple. Notwithstanding the plainness of his attire, he must be a king, for behind him we notice an attendant holding a parasol, the emblem of royalty, over his head. On his right there is another attendant holding a vessel in both hands. The other persons of which the group is composed have the appearance of monks. In the midst of the group there is what looks like a heap of stones. Possibly the supposed stones are intended to be seen in perspective, so that in reality they are meant to be placed in rows on the ground. In that case, however, there is no reason why the legs of the attendant holding the vase should be partly concealed.

The inscription, which we call L, is engraved immediately under the last-mentioned panel. It consists of thirteen lines of close writing. The letters are small and partly worn like the carvings above. The result is that in several places the reading is uncertain. The main purport, however, is perfectly clear. The inscription records that the pillar was set up by the sisters, mothers and consorts of King Vāsiṁ/pyutṛjaya Siri-Chāntamūla. The names of these ladies, thirty in number, occupy lines 7-13 of the inscription. It is dated in the twentieth year of the reign of King Chāntamūla's son, King Mādhāripitṛjaya Siri-Virapurisadattja.

As the pillar was evidently erected in memory of the deceased king Chāntamūla, perhaps on the spot of his cremation, there is some reason to suppose that the five reliefs carved on it relate to that ruler and that we may recognise him in the corpulent personage who occupies a prominent place in three of the five panels. The royal elephant-driver in the fourth panel would then likewise represent King Chāntamūla. In the fifth panel he seems to be shown in the act of performing some ceremony, perhaps a donation, as may be surmised from the vessel held by one of the attendants.

Pillar-inscription L.

Transcript.

(L. 1) Sidhām Mahārajasa asamedha-vājisa aneka-hiraṇa-kūṭa-padāvīsa (l. 2) Siri-Chāntamūla sata putasa raño Mādhāriputasa [Ikhākunā] Siri-Virapurisadattasa (l. 3)

1 See my remarks in A. S. R., 1929-30, Epigraphical Section, under Inscriptions from Nāgarjunikōnda.—Ed.
2 Possibly ingot or gift-money.—Ed.

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājaṃ Māḷharuputṛṣa Śīri-Viraṃpurisadatuṣa of the house of the I[k]khākus, the son of Mahārāja Śīri-Chaṃtāmāla, the offerer of an Aśvamedha, and the giver of many crores of gold, in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the second day, this pillar (has been eroded) by the sisters, mothers and consorts of the late Rājan Vāsi[t]hi[ṛ]putṛṣa Śvāmin Śīri-Chaṃtāmāla, etc., (see above, sub-G 2), (to set), by Sunitisirīya, Khaṭdāsirīya, Vibhaṭhavisirīya, Miśaṣṭirīya, Samuṣirīya, [Nāga-vaṣṭusirīya, [Nāgaṣirīya, Khaṭdakoṭisirīya, Mahisāṣirīya, Ratnavatirsirīya, Mūlāṣirīya, Ayakoṭisirīya, Maduvatirsirīya, [Nāgaṣirīya, Rāmaṣirīya, Golāṣirīya, Velisirīya, Edhisirīya, Khaṭdāsirīya, Satīsirīya, Parājatisirīya, Paṭṇītatisirīya, Sivanāṣirīya, Samudāṣirīya, Bapīṣirīya, Nadiṣirīya, Ayasirīya, Ratuṣirīya, Śīvanāgaṣirīya and by the subhaṭarikās Sarasikā and Kusumalatā.

Fragmentary pillar inscriptions (M 1-19) belonging to the monastic hall (maṇḍapa) of Chaṃtisirī.

Not far from the Mahāchetiya and close to the eastern side of the first apsidal temple which, according to the long inscription on the pavement, was founded by Chaṃtisirī, the maternal aunt of King Śīri-Viraṃpurisadatuṣa in the 18th year of his reign, Mr. Longhurst discovered the remains of a large stone-paved hall. A number of stone pillars belonging to this building are still extant, but all in a broken condition. The tops of the pillars are provided with a groove or mortice to receive the longitudinal beams of the roof which must have been of timber. The pillar-shafts are inscribed, but, owing to their mutilated condition, not a single inscription has been preserved entire. Altogether twenty fragments were recovered, two of which can be pieced together (M 4). In some cases several lines of the epigraph are partly preserved (M 1 consists of eight lines), but some of the smaller fragments contain only a single word (M 16, 18 and 19).

Immediately above the inscription, the pillars were adorned with the carved figures of two recumbent animals, probably lions, turned sideways. From this we can tell that the two largest pieces (M 1 and 2), where these animals are visible over the lettering, must contain the upper portion of the inscription. One of the small fragments (M 16), too, shows a recumbent animal, perhaps a bull, so that the few aksaras preserved on it must have belonged to the first line of the inscription. By comparing these three fragmentary inscriptions, we arrive at the conclusion that the epigraphical records engraved on the pillars are not identical and do not represent a single text. On the other hand, the preserved portions show recurring passages.

1 There is amvaṭa above this letter and the abhara is more like . The reading might be Kasiha. — Ed.
2 Pa krit sopagata, Skt. svapagata, Et. 'gone to heaven'.
3 It seems to read cha days. — Ed.
4 Ep. Ind., vol. XX, p. 21, First Apsidal Temple Inscription E, plate III.
5 In the same way the pillar on which the inscription G is found bears the figures of two animals (Huns?) running to the left. Cf. Ep. Ind., vol. XX, plate V.
which are also found in the Śāyaka-pillar inscriptions belonging to the Mahāchetiya and in the first Apsidal Temple inscription E. This resemblance leads us to assume that the inscriptions on the pillars of the monastic hall, though somewhat different in their wording, were meant to record the same fact, namely, the foundation of the pillared hall or maṇḍapa by the same lady Chāntisiri (or Chāttisiri), who was the foundress of the adjoining Mahāchetiya and the Chetiya-ghara or Apsidal Temple. Like these two edifices, the pillared hall, too, was dedicated to the Masters (Āchāriyas) of the Buddhist sect of the Aparamahāvīnaseliyas.  

The date of the foundation is preserved in the two combined fragments (M 4); it is the 15th year of the reign of Sirī-Virapurisadatta, the 8th fortnight of the rainy season, the figure indicating the day being lost.

It would seem at first sight that the fragments which were recovered, do not indicate what kind of building it was, the foundation of which the inscriptions were meant to record. One of the fragments (M 11), however, retains the akṣaras -ta and -ru which can easily be restored into maṇḍava. It should be remembered that the first Apsidal Temple inscription E refers to a stone hall, surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya (savana-vīya[ṛ]a) chāttisāla-purāṇābhāṣān sara-maṇḍava[ṛa]). There can be little doubt that this stone maṇḍapa is the stone-paved hall with its inscribed pillars of stone which had been built three years before. No trace was found of the chāttisāla mentioned in the inscriptions.

The inscriptions found at Nāgarjunikonda enable us to draw up the following chronological list showing the order in which the various Buddhist buildings were raised.

Reign of King Mātharīputta Sirī-Virapurisadatta.

6th year.—Mahāchetiya founded by Chāntisiri and dedicated to the Masters (Āchāriyas) of the Aparamahāvīnaseliya sect.

14th year.—Second apsidal temple founded by the nun Bodhisiri.

15th year.—Pillared maṇḍapa founded by Chāntisiri and dedicated as above.

18th year.—First apsidal temple founded by Chāntisiri and dedicated as above.

20th year.—Carved pillar erected in memory of the late king Vāsethīputta Sirī-Chāntamūla by his sisters, mothers and consorts.

[20th year.—Five Śāyaka-pillars erected near the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at the village of Velagiri (now Jaggyyapeta) by the artisan Śiddhattha.]

Reign of King Vāsethīputta Sirī-Ehuvala-Chāntamūla.

2nd year.—Monastery (No. 4) founded by Bhāṭṭīdevā, the mother of the reigning king, and dedicated by her to the Masters (Āchāriyas) of the Bhaṭus̥utiya sect.

11th year.—Monastery (No. 5), founded by Kodabalaśiri, the sister of the reigning king and consort of the king of Vanavāsa, and dedicated by her to the Masters of the Mahisāsaka sect.

Pillar-inscriptions M 1-19.

Transcript.  

Pillar-inscription M 1.

(l. 1) Mahārajasa asamedha-yājisa (l. 2) aneka-hiraṇa-koti-padāyisa Sirī-Chāntamūlāsa (l. 3) sahodara bhagini mahāsenāpatisa (l. 4) mahātalavara-Vāsethīputasa Pūkiyānān (l. 5) Kamdarasīsa bhāri[y]a mahātalavari Chāntisiri (l. 6) [alaṇṇo jāmātukasa rājñīna

1 Sanskrit Aparakṣita (1).
2 Sanskrit Bhaṭṭaratya, Pali Bhaṭsuṭṭita.
3 Sanskrit Mahīśakā, Pali Mahīśaskā.
4 Owing to the very incomplete condition of these inscriptions we have abstained from giving transcriptions.
Mātharipu[ra]sa Ikāku[na]m (l. 7) [Siri]-Viprapurisadatasa āyuvadhāni ke[ya]j[ke] (l. 8) [sapaśo] cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukhanī[va]pā[na]yā...  

**Pillar-inscription M 2.**


**Pillar-inscription M 3.**

(l. 1) atiḥhitam-anāgata-vatamāna[ke]... (l. 2) apano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāpathaṇāya (l. 3) mahāvihāre mahācetiya-pādamūle pavajitaṇaḥ (l. 4) [nānā]desa-saman-āgataṇaḥ mahābhikku-saṅghaṣa pa[rīgahe] (l. 5) Siri-Viprapurisadatasa vasasanaṇya saṃv 10 [*+*] 5 vā... (l. 6) Aparama[h]avinasiyāṇaḥ pari[gahe] sa-chātu[sā]la (l. 7)... [pa]jpp[īṭh]apa[nā]nīti

**Pillar-inscription M 4.**

(l. 1) [nī]yutan[ā] chaṭusāla-parīgahe ... (l. 2) [Siri]-Viprapurisadatasa saṃv. 10 [*+*] 5 vā pa. 8 [di]va ...

**Pillar-inscription M 5.**

(l. 1) ... [Kaṇḍasirisa] ... (l. 2) ... [mā]jātā Chāṭṭhitisiri ap[a]no jāmāṭaṇa[sa] (l. 3) ... [raṭṭhanā Māṭharipu]-tasa Ikākunām (l. 4) ... [āyu]-vadhanike vijaya-vijayike (l. 5) ... [hita-su]kha-nivāpathaṇāya bhaga[vato] (l. 6) mahācetiya-pādamūle ...

**Pillar-inscription M 6.**

(l. 1) savathesu apatihata-saṅkhapasa ... (l. 2) Ikākusa Śīri-Chāṃtapalas sa[ḥ]ḍa[ra] ... (l. 3) mahāṭṭalavasa Vāsīṭhipu[s]a ... (l. 4) mahāṭṭalavari ... (l. 5) Māṭha[rputasa] ...

**Pillar-inscription M 7.**

(l. 1) ... ni ... (l. 2) Kaṇḍasirisa ... (l. 3) Chaṭṭhitisiri apano ...

**Pillar-inscription M 8.**

(l. 1) ... [asa]me[di]hayāja ... (l. 2) ... [sa]ta[sa]hasa-hala-saṭasahasapadāyisa ... (l. 3) ... [apati]ṭhata-saṅkhapasa Vāsīṭhipu[sasa] ... (l. 4) ... [bhag̥gini mahā]saṇṭapatisa ...
Additional Prakrit Inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda (II)
Pillar-inscriptions M 1—9.
Pillar-inscription M 9.
(l. 1) ... aghoth-[ālgīthama-vājapeya-] ... 
(l. 2) ... padāvya saśathesu ... 
(l. 3) ... [Vā∫i∫hiputasa Puk[jyana∫] ... 
(l. 4) ... Ikkākunāḥ Sirin-Virap[i]risadastasa] ... 
(l. 5) ... [a∫pano ubhaya-kulasa ...]

Pillar-inscription M 10.
(l. 1) ... na[ān] nānādesa-saman-[āgatānāh] ... 
(l. 2) ... api cha apano ubhaya-kulasa at[īchhita] ... 
(l. 3) ... nikapaulke parināmetuna ma ... 
(l. 4) ... parigahe savani[yuta∫] ... 
(l. 5) ... pati∫hapitam ... 

Pillar-inscription M 11.
(l. 1) ... nivāsaṭhanāya ... 
(l. 2) ... tasa ... 
(l. 3) ... n-āgatānāh ... 
(l. 4) ... dhiva ... 
(l. 5) ... na∫ ... 
(l. 6) ... [ma∫]tava∫ ... 

Pillar-inscription M 12.
(l. 1) ... -sa vasā- ... 
(l. 2) ... nikap[nike] ... 
(l. 3) ... parigahe ... 
(l. 4) ... vā pa 8 ... 

Pillar-inscription M 13.
(l. 1) ... ma ... 
(l. 2) ... agho∫[-a∫] ... 
(l. 3) ... neka-hirāmna-koti-go[-satasa∫asa] ... 
(l. 4) ... [-padāly∫[no] ... 

Pillar-inscription M 14.
(l. 1) ... [saj]vajātan[∫yuta∫] chatusāla ... 
(l. 2) ... atano ubhaya-kulasa ... 
(l. 3) ... [ke] parināmetuna ... 
(l. 4) ... pu∫ta ... 

Pillar-inscription M 15.
(l. 1) ... [putasa] ... 
(l. 2) ... [mahācheti∫[ya[-pādamūle] pavaj∫[tānāh] ... 
(l. 3) ... [mahābhi∫hku-san∫[gasa] ... 
(l. 4) ... na pari∫nāmetuna ... 

Pillar-inscription M 16.
(l. 1) ... [-parjigahtasa

1 Traces of another line are discernible below this line. See line 11 of inscription C 3 above, Vol. XX, p. 16.—Ed.
Pillar-inscription M 17.
(l. 11) [Siri-]Vira[purisadatas] ....
(l. 2) [ve]jaike api[cha] ....

Pillar-inscription M 18.
(l. 1) mahāsenapa[tisa] ....

Pillar-inscription M 19.
(l. 1) [Siri-]Virapu[risadatas] ....

Āyaka-pillar Inscription N belonging to Stūpa No. 9.
The Stūpa No. 9, to which we have had occasion to refer above, must have been provided with āyaka-pillars in the same manner as the Mahāchetiya. But only one inscribed pillar was recovered on this site, and the inscription engraved on it is incomplete. The preserved portion contains nothing but a string of names, so that a translation is superfluous.

Transcript.
(l. 1) rinamkānaṁ Mūlasirinaka[sa] Sidhatha- (l. 2) [ka]sa Chadanukhaṣa Pudhinakasa bālikā(ā) (l. 3) Mahatuvaṇika Sidhāthāṇamikā Jakhana ....

Addenda and Corrigenda to the previous article.
In the First Apsidal Temple Inscription E, translation, read 'stone hall' instead of 'stone shrine' (sela-mañṭaveśa[ni]) and 'chaitya-shrine' instead of 'chaitya-hall' (chetiya-ghara).
The Second Apsidal Temple Inscription F, line 3, contains the following passage:—Kavīṭakasale makāchetiyaṇa pūva-dāre sela-mañṭaveśa. As explained in the Glossary (p. 35) the text has Kavīṭakasole; but as in the Nāgarjunikonda inscriptions errors with regard to vowel-marks are very common, I ventured to correct the word into Kavīṭakasole, which would correspond to Sanskrit Kaṇṭakasailē. Cf. Puvasele (Skt. Pūrśasaile) in the same inscription.
At the time it had escaped my notice that an inscription from Amaravati contains the genitive singular of the nom Kaṇṭakasolaka, meaning 'a resident of K'. As here the vowel-mark attached to the s is clearly the o-sign, we shall have to assume that, after all, the reading Kavīṭakasole is correct. The form with 6 agrees, indeed, more closely with Ptolemy's Kaṇṭakasolaka. The entry in our 'Glossary of Geographical Names', s.e. Kaṇṭakasala should be corrected accordingly.

In this connection it may be pointed out that another Amaravati inscription makes mention of a locality, probably a town, of the name of Vijayapura. It is, of course, impossible to decide whether this place is identical with the Vijayapuri referred to in the second Apsidal Temple inscription F, line 2, in the following passage: Siriparate Vijayapuriṇa-pūva-diśābhāge vikāre Chula-Dhaṇḍaṅgaṁviryaṁ chetiya-gharaṁ sa-paṭa-saṁhitāṁ sa-chetiyaṁ sa-vaiṇyutāṁ kāritāṁ vaśikāya Bodhisiriya. It may, however, safely be inferred from this passage that the town once situated in the valley of Nāgarjunikoṇḍa was named Vijayapuri. For there can be little doubt that the Pālaviya-kara mentioned here is the Apsidal Temple, on the stone floor of which the long inscription is engraved. All details tend to corroborate this assumption. Not only does this building enshrine a chaitya, measuring 5 feet in diameter, and is paved with

1 J. Burgess, The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggaṇṭhāpaṇa, p. 106, No. 54.
stone slabs; but, what is more remarkable, it is associated with a monastery (viśāra) and both edifices are raised on the southern and higher end of a hill, now known by the name of Nāharāḷabādū, which rises on the eastern side of the valley in which the town of Vijayapurī was once situated.

The 'Glossary' contains the word Aparamahāvinasaḷyā which is the name of a Buddhist sect. It is of some interest that an Amaravati inscription mentions a locality Mahavanasaḷa. The vowel-marks are not very certain and we may perhaps assume that the correct form of the name is Mahāvanasaḷa or Mahāvinasarā. The inscription in question does not give any clue as to the position of the place, but in all probability it was situated in the lower Krishna valley.

GLOSSARY.

agihot-āgithoma-vājapey-śamedha-yājī (G 2, l. 2; G 3, l. 3-4; L, l. 4; M 9, l. 1; cf. M 13, l. 2).
adariya (G 2, l. 7), ajarinya (G 3, l. 11).
oṭichkta-ṇāgata-ṇaṭamānaka (M 2, l. 4; M 3, l. 1 ex conj.).
anekha-hirāṃata-koṭi-gosatasaḥasā-hala-satasaḥasā-padaṇī (G 2, l. 3-4; M 8, l. 2; cf. M 9, l. 2 and M 13, l. 3).
anekha-hirāṃata-koṭi-padaṇī (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 2).
Aparamahāvinasaḷyā (M 2, l. 5; M 3, l. 6).
Ayaṅaṭusiri (L, l. 9), a personal name.
Ayaṅaṭi (L, l. 13), i.e. Ayaṇaṭi=Skt. Ayaṇaṭi.
āsamāda-yājī (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 1; M 8, l. 1 ex conj.).
āyuvalanike (M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3; M 5, l. 4).
Ikhāyu (G 2, l. 4 and 7; G 3, l. 6 and 8; L, l. 2 ex conj., and l. 6; M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 3; M 6, l. 2; M 9, l. 4).
ubhaya-kula (M 9, l. 5; M 10, l. 2; M 14, l. 2).
ubhaya-loka-hita-sukhā-nivāgasāhaṇyā (M 1, l. 8; M 3, l. 2; cf. M 5, l. 5 and M 11, l. 1).
Edhisiri (L, l. 10), a personal name.
Kāṇḍasiri (M 1, l. 5; M 2, l. 2 ex conj.; M 5, l. 1 ex conj.; M 7, l. 2).
Kusumalātā (L, l. 13), a personal name.
Kandaṅkotisiri (L, l. 8)=Skt. Skandaṅkotisiri, a personal name.
Khandasāgaravimaka-mālā (M 2, l. 2; cf. M 5, l. 2).
Khundasiri (L, l. 7 and 10).
gimha-pakkha (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13; also G, l. 10)=Skt. grīṣma-pākha 'a fortnight of Sumer.'
Golasiri (L, l. 9), a personal name. Cf. Golā in Bharhut inscription. Lüders' List, no. 836; also no. 596.
Chadamukha (N, l. 2), i.e. Chadamukha=Skt. Chandamukha, a personal name.
chāṭusala-parīyakata (M 4, l. 1). Cf. sa-chāṭusala, and chāṭusala in E, l. 2.
Chāḍīntisiri (M 1, l. 5; M 5, l. 2; M 7, l. 3).
chatha (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 14 ex conj.), i.e. chaṭha 'sixth.'
Jakhana ....... (N, l. 3), a personal name (l). Cf. such proper names as Yakkhaśi, Yakkadīna, Yakkhi and Yakhila. Lüders' List, nos. 329, 211, 254, 500, 344, 376, 580, 546.
jamati (M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 2).
thanbhā (L, l. 13)=Skt. stambha ' pillar'. Cf. selatharabhā in C 2, l. 8.
devathāma (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 10)=Skt. devatharma 'a pious gift'. Also in footprint-slab inscription (Ep. Ind., vol. XX, p. 37).

¹ Burgess, op. cit., p. 91, No. 35, plate LVIII. Cf. p. 105, No. 49, plate LX.
Devi(l)-eihāra (G 3, ll. 10-11) 'the Queen's Monastery'.

Naddiśiри (L, l. 13), i.e. Nandidisiśiśa U. Naddiśiśiśa, a personal name. Cf. the name Nandisiśiśiśa in Nāsil cave inscription. Lüders' List, no. 1127.

Nāgarasusiśiśa (1) (L, l. 7), a personal name.

Nāgarasiri (L, ll. 7 and 9), a personal name, also found in Jaggayyaapatap inscription. Lüders' List, nos. 1992-4.

nānāasa-saman-āgata (M 3, l. 4; M 10, l. 1 ex conj.).
nikāpana (M 2, l. 4; M 10, l. 3; M 12, l. 2), a word of uncertain meaning. Also in E, l. 2.
patipadā in footprint-slab inscription (Ep. Ind., vol. XX, p. 37). The word apparently indicates the object on which it is found.

Paniṃtaśiśiśa (L, l. 11) =Skt. Panītāśiśa, a personal name.

Parajitāśiśa (L, l. 10), perhaps =Skt. Pārijitāśiśa, a personal name.

parināmetuṇa (M 10, l. 3; M 14, l. 3; M 15, l. 4).
pāvajita (M 3, l. 3).
Pūdhinaka (N, l. 2), a personal name.
Pūkṣya (M 1, l. 4; M 9, l. 3).
Baiṣīśiśa (L, l. 11), a personal name.

Bhavuṇīṭya (G 2, l. 7; G 3, ll. 11-12; cf. G, l. 8).
bālīka (N, l. 2) 'a daughter'.
būtiya or būtiya (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13; also G, l. 9; L, l. 3) =Skt. deviśiśa 'second'. Cf. bīya and bīśa (Pischel, Grammatik, §§ 82, 165, 300 and 449).

Buddhi in footprint-slab inscription (Ep. Ind., vol. XX, p. 37), i.e. Buddhi, a personal name.

bhaginī (M 1, l. 3; M 8, l. 4 ex conj.). In footprint-slab inscription from Nāgārjunikonda (Ep. Ind., vol. XX, p. 37) we have the form bākini.

Bhaṭṭādevi (G 2, l. 6; G 3, ll. 9-10).
bhariya (M 2, l. 5; M 2, l. 2) and bhaya(ya) (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 9) =Skt. bhāryā.

maṅgava (M 11, l. 6 ex conj.), i.e. maṅgava =Skt. maṅgava.

Māthariput(t)a or Mādhariput(t)a (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 8; L, l. 2; M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 3; M 6, l. 5 ex conj.).

Madudisiśiśa (L, l. 9), a personal name.

Mahatvānīka (N, l. 3), a personal name.

mahācetiya-pādamāla (M 2, l. 5 ex conj.; M 3, l. 3; M 5, l. 6).

mahātalavara (M 1, l. 4; M 6, l. 3).

mahātalavari (M 1, l. 5; M 6, l. 4).

mahādevi (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 9; L, l. 6).

mahādhiṃka-saṃgha (M 3, l. 4).

mahāsthāra (M 3, l. 3).

mahāśeṣapati (M 1, l. 3; M 8, l. 4 ex conj.; M 18, l. 1).

Mahisarasiri (L, l. 8) =Skt. Mahēśvararāśiśa, a personal name.

Mīśasiri (L, l. 7) =Skt. Mīśṭasiriśa, a personal name. Cf. the name Mīśi, i.e. Mīśi in F, l. 3.

Mulasirinika (N, l. 1), a personal name.

Mulasiriśa (L, l. 8) =Skt. Mulasiriśa, a personal name.

Moda in footprint-slab inscription (Ep. Ind., vol. XX, p. 37), a personal name.

Ratnasirisiri (L, l. 8), a personal name.

Rāhitāsiśa (L, l. 12), a personal name.

Rāmasiri (L, l. 9) =Skt. Rāmaśriśa, a personal name.
vasanāya (I, 1, 3; M 3, 1, 5), a term of uncertain meaning.
vāsa-pakha (I, 1, 3) or vā. pa. (M 4, 1, 2; cf. M 3, 1, 5; M 12, 1, 4) Skt. varsha-pakha ‘a fortnight of the rainy season’.
Vasisthiputa or Vasishthi-puṭa (G 2, ll. 4 and 7; G 3, l. 6; L, l. 5; M 1, l. 4; M 2, l. 1; M 6, l. 3; M 8, l. 3; M 9, l. 3).
Vijñāthavisirī (I, 1, 7), a personal name. Cf. the name Vījha=Skt. Vindhyā, Lüders’ List, no. 579.
Virūpa(k)hapati–Mahāsena-paśihata (G 2, 1, 2; G 3, 1, 2).
vihāra (G 2, 1, 7).
vimānya (I, 1, 3) ‘cent. th.’
vejāyike (M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3; M 17, l. 2) and viyāya–vejāyike (M 5, l. 4).
sun-gata (I, l. 3), i.e. sun-gata=Skt. svarga-gata ‘gone to heaven’.
sa-çātusala (M 3, l. 6).
Sattisiri (I, l. 10), a personal name. Cf. the name Sātila, Lüders’ List, no. 259.
Samudasiri (I, l. 11), i.e. Samudrasiri=Skt. Samudraśri, a personal name.
Samusiri (I, l. 7), a personal name.
Sarasīṭā (I, l. 13), a personal name.
suvijātiniyuta (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 11; cf. M 4, l. 1 and M 14, l. 1).
svatāccha–apatiha-saṁkripa (G 2, l. 4; G 3, ll. 5-6; L, l. 5; M 2, l. 1 ex conj. ; M 6, l. 1 ex conj.; M 8, l. 3 ex conj.; cf. M 9, l. 2).
svaniniyuta (M 10, l. 4).
samāvahāra (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13) ex sahuva (M 3, l. 5; M 4, l. 2).
sahodara (L, l. 6; M 1, l. 3; M 6, l. 2).
sūmi (L, l. 6 ex conj.) Skt. sūmin. A royal title found associated also with the name of the Andhra king Śrī-Pulamāvi. Cf. Amarāvati inscription no. 1. Burgess, Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati, p. 100, pl. LVI, no. 1.
Śidhatthaka (N, ll. 1-2), i.e. Siddhatthaka=Skt. Siddhārtha, a personal name.
Śidhatthānikā (N, l. 3), i.e. Siddhāthāninkā, a personal name.
Śiri-Ehuvela-Ĉātampāla (G 2, l. 8) or Ėhuvela- (G 3, ll. 12-13).
Śiri-Chantamula (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 7; L, ll. 2, 6; M 1, l. 2; M 6, l. 2).
Śiri-Virupārasadatta (a) (G 2, l. 5; G 3, ll. 8-9; L, l. 2; M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3 ex conj.; M 3, l. 5; M 4, l. 2; M 9, l. 4 ex conj.; M 17, l. 1; M 19, l. 1 ex conj.).
Śivanāgāsirī (L, ll. 11 and 12), a personal name.
Śunītsirī (L, l. 6), a personal name.
śrīnāha (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 7; cf. F, l. 3 and G, l. 5)=Skt. śrīnāha ‘a daughter-in-law’.
sūbhāthārikā (L, l. 12), a word of uncertain meaning.
hīrāna-koti-go-satasa-sahasa-hala-sata-sahasa-paddhī (G 3, ll. 4-5; L, ll. 4-5).

POSTSCRIPT.

For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that two words, apparently consisting of seven and two aksharas respectively, occur on an uncarved stone slab found near Stūpa No. 9. A third inscription, evidently a single word of four aksharas, is cut on the base of a carved slab belonging to the same monument. The lettering of these short epigraphs is partly indistinct and I have not succeeded in making out their meaning.

¹ Can it be vansatāra?—Ed.
No. 12.—THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA.

By Hirananda Sastri.

Some sixteen years ago the archeological exploration of the ancient site of Nalanda was taken up by our Department and it has been continued all these years. During this period very valuable seals or sealings have been found but they have not been fully described anywhere as yet. In the memoir which I am writing on Nalanda I intend to notice them in detail but as that will take some time to come out I propose to publish here a few of them as specimens. These relics of the past, minor though they might be called, are invaluable not only for the past history of Nalanda but of Northern India as well.

For the sake of convenience these seals or sealings—I shall call them seals—might be put under two main heads, namely, Religious or Ecclesiastical and Secular or Civil. Under the former head I would classify those seals which are either votive or are connected with some religious congregation, communities or monastic orders, and under the latter head I would put such of them as are personal, whether they belong to royalties, officials or private individuals or are related to offices, villages and village communities. The majority of these seals are votive and Buddhistic, a number of them only giving in Sanskrit or in Prakrit the well-known formula

वीभाषा तुषारवीभाषा तिलकवीभाषा त्वाकारो चावस्य ।

tapas vo niruddha eva varah mahavarmam: ||

which, we are told, Asvajit read to Sāriputra, and is usually interpreted1 as

'Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause
The cause has been told by Tathāgata;
And their suppression likewise

The Great Śramaṇa has revealed.'

This formula is found written usually in the northern script of about the eighth century (A.D.), and even later, not only on the seals or plaques but also on a number of images, stones and bricks, excavated at Nalanda. Some of these seals or plaques only give a Buddhist text, while others bear the figure of the Buddha, single or accompanied by the attendant Bodhisattvas, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, with or without the above-mentioned creed formula. Some have a text or the representation of a stūpa or stūpas. Such seals or impressions were, evidently, meant for offerings, or for being taken as mementoes. Among the seals connected with Buddhistic Congregations or Saṅghas, the majority belong to the Mahāvihāra of Nalanda and give the legend:

चोनाभद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भद्भ�्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्यभ्य�

meaning

'Of the Community of the Venerable Monks in the Mahāvihāra of Śrī-Nalanda.' The symbol they bear is practically the same as the one connected with the 'Preaching of the Law' (धर्मसूत्र) by the Buddha. They are mostly circular in shape and the device, which occurs in the upper field above a line of dotted ornament, consists of the Wheel of the Law flanked by two gazelles, recumbent, with heads upraised, looking towards the Wheel. This device is a copy of the insignia of the monastery at the "Deer Park" where the Buddha first turned the "Dharmachakra" (=Wheel of Law). It is an appropriate symbol for both the places. At Sarnath or the Deer Park the Great Teacher preached the First Sermon. At Nalanda many bhikkhus were engaged in expounding or preaching the 'Law'. To form an idea of what this device is,

1 Kern, Indian Buddhism, p. 25.
reference is invited to the seal of Dēvapālādēva, attached to the copper-plate I excavated at Nālandā in 1921, which has already been published in this Journal.¹ That the Pāla kings of Bengal had adopted this symbol as their insignia is evidenced by their grants, a number of which have now been published. These rulers were very liberal patrons of Buddhism and the insignia was quite appropriate for them. But whether they adopted it from the symbol of the monastic order of Nālandā or whether the Ārya-bhikṣu-saṅgha of Nālandā took it from their royal patrons I cannot say for certain.

The other group, i.e., the Civic or Secular seals, is historically much more important. A few of the seals or plaques coming under this category have already been noticed by the late Dr. Spooner,² Mr. Dikshit,³ and the late Mr. R. D. Banerji.⁴ I need not recapitulate what has been stated by them in regard to these seals including the seal of King Bhāskaravarman of Prāgyōtisha.⁵ At present I want to make a special notice of the two seals of Sarvavarman Maukhari and of Harsha of Thānēsar which were recovered in a much better state of preservation than the other specimens of the seals of these potentates. The original of the Asīrgadh seal is not forthcoming, and the Sompat seal, as represented by the facsimile⁶ given by Fleet, is too worn to give a clear reading. Consequently, these clay plaques are very valuable in that they help us in settling the reading of the legends and vouch for the genuineness of those two documents.

The seals of King Sarvavarman Maukhari.

One of the two seals of Sarvavarman, which I reproduce here, is almost entire, and might well be called, rather, a replica of the Asīrgadh seal. The other is cut into two parts, almost perpendicularly, but gives the whole of the legend, excepting some of the initial letters of lines 3-6 and, perhaps, of line 7 also. The transversal break about the middle has damaged all the eight lines of it though the damaged letters can be restored easily. It would appear that these two seals are the impressions taken from different moulds or dice. A close inspection of the facsimile published by Fleet would show this. For instance, if we compare the symbols for kha in the word Maukharī, occurring in the last line of the Asīrgadh seal, and the seal marked A, we shall see that they are not identical. Similarly, in A1, the symbol for la in line 6 is practically clear but it is not so in the Asīrgadh specimen. There are other differences also which is needless to dilate upon here. But it is significant that the defects in the reading of the legend noticed by Fleet in the Asīrgadh specimen are to be met with in these two plaques also, as I shall show while giving the text below. The device is quite distinct in all these specimens. It shows a bull in the centre, walking to the proper right and decorated with a garland going round his body—though broken in A1. Over him there is, on the other side, an open umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers. In front we see a man leading the bull and carrying a curved double axe in the right hand and a standard with a wheel on the top in the left. Behind the bull we see another male figure having in the left hand a long handled double axe and a chowrie stick in the right hand, apparently to drive the bull on. The exact significance of the whole symbol is not clear. The bull usually stands for dhāraṇa; भोज द्विभमव्य भमः.⁸ The two male figures are, perhaps, the chāyudālas, who want to kill the
animal. The idea underlying the emblem seems to be that the tampering with the seal is as
leinous as the killing of a bull or violating the dharam.

As to the text of the legend, there is hardly any difference from what was given by Fleet.
One might say, it rather confirms his reading and is, practically, alike in all the three specimens.
It runs as given below: the slight difference which is seen here and there is pointed out in the
foot-notes.

TEXT.

1 Chatus-samudr-ākākrānta-kirttiḥ praṭāp-ānurā-gopanat-ānya-rājā(ā)
   varṇa-āharam-
   vyavasthā-

2 pana-pravṛjita-chakkra- Chakkradhara iva praṇānām-artiharah[ 1 ] śri-Mahārāja-Hari-
   varmnā[[8]]
   Tasya

3 putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō Jayasvāminī-bhātārikā-dvēyām-utpannāḥ śri-
   Mahārāj- Adityava-
   rmmā[[9]]
   Tasya[ 1 ] puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō Harshagupta-bhātārikā-dvēyām-
   utpannāḥ śri-Mahārāj-

4 j-Eśvaravarmnā [ [/ ]] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyāta Upagupta[ 10 ]-bhātārikā-
   dvēyām-utpannā

5 j-Eśvaravarmnā [ [/ ]] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyāta Upagupta[ 10 ]-bhātārikā-
   dvēyām-utpannā

6 Mahārāja[ 11 ]-rājadhirāja-śri-12 Isānavarmnā[ [/ ]] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō
   Lakshmīva-[ 13 ]

7 ti-bhātārikā-Mahādevyān[ 14 ]-utpannāḥ-paranamaḥśvarō[ 15 ] Mah-

8 hārājādirōja-śri-Survaravarmnā Maukhariḥ [/ ]

The genealogy shown in these seals up to Isānavarmnā is identical with that given in the
Harsha inscription which I published in this journal long ago.16

The seals of Harsha or Harshavardhana.

I may publish here only one of the seals of Harsha of Thānēsar. The Somat seal which
Fleet reproduced 17 in 1888 must have belonged to some plate which is not forthcoming. The
Nālandā specimens so far recovered seem to be the impressions taken from some independent
moulds. As we see even nowadays, the originals are only the negatives which, when pressed at
the time of sealing documents, give the positives. Several specimens of the seal of Harsha

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1 Like the Asāragh seal both these specimens give ṛajā for ṛājā.
2 The varṇa is left out in these seals also.
3 I think it is śri in all the three documents. Cf. the symbol in line 8.
4 The letters putras and the t of śas are lost in A1.
5 It is clearly dvēyām in both these seals.
6 Letters rmmā (tārga) are missing in A1.
7 The length mark is obliterated in both the seals.
8 Both these seals give Mahā.
9 The obhāras j-Eśvarāv are missing in A1.
10 In both these seals, too, the symbol after ś is more like ṕa than ṕa; cf. Fleet, C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 220,
   t. 3.
11 The length mark is not to be seen in both the seals. The initial letters maha(ā)ṛ are lost in A1.
12 Both these seals give śri; cf. the śri symbol in line 8. The hiatus in śri-Īsānā 15 is intentional, evidently.
13 The Lo symbol is clear in both these seals and the reading Lakshmīva is pretty certain. Fleet’s conjec-
   tural reading of this name is therefore correct.
14 A distinctity gives Mahā 15 though the length mark is not so clear in A1.
15 O mark is clear in both.
16 Vol. XIV, pp. 110 ff.
17 C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 231 f. and plate XXXII-B.
were excavated at Nalanda and are all broken or fragmentary. The one reproduced here, marked B on the plate, consists of two fragments which, when put together, seem to form a complete seal, excepting some letters about the middle of almost every line of the legend and the proper right portion of the upper field, containing the device together with the head of the recumbent bull. Owing to the transverse cut the specimen is broken in twain. The seal appears to have been oval in shape, the axes being about 4\(\frac{1}{2}\)" and 5\(\frac{3}{4}\)", measuring the surface encompassed by the first curve going round the written portion and the emblem. The legend consists of twelve lines of which the five lines at the end are written in letters smaller than those seen in the rest. Evidently, the engraver found that he would not be able to manage the whole legend in the limited space and had to reduce the size of the aksharas after writing out the first seven lines. Like the inscription on the Sonpat seal the legend in this specimen is written in the flowery script of the seals of Sarvavarman. The Sonpat seal is larger and the legend is written in bigger letters. Possibly that also had twelve lines of writing, though they are not distinct on the facsimile given in the Corpus. According to the transcript given by Fleet they also ended like the lines in the present specimen. The legend on the seal under notice is, practically, a genealogical table of the family of Harsha or Harshavarman, the pedigree being identical with what is given in the Madhuban and the Banskhera\(^2\) copper-plates of this potentate.

**TEXT.**

1 Symbol\(^1\) [\[\]] Mahārāja-śri-Nara[vardhanas=ta]\[^{a}ya\] puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyāta[\[^{ha}\]\] Śrī-Vairini-

2 dāvyām=utpannah paramādityabhaha[ktō Mahā]śrī-Rājyavardhanah[^{hi}]Tasya puttras=tat-pā-

3 d-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-Apsarōdāvyām[^{a}]=utpannah[ḥ para]mādityabhaktō Mahārāja-śrimad-

4 Ṣadityas=vardhanah[^{hi}] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-[Ma]ḥāḥṣenauguptādāvyām=

5 Ṣrī=Maḥāḥṣenauguptādāvyām= u[tpa\(^{*}\)]=Maḥāḥṣenauguptādāvyām= Maḥāḥṣenauguptādāvyām= u[tpa\(^{*}\)]=Maḥāḥṣenauguptādāvyām=

6 dr-ātikrānta-kīḥ[ttīḥ] pratāp-ānurāg-ōpa[nat-ānya] rājō varṇāśrama\(^{7}\)=vyavasthāpanā

7 pra-śrī=Maḥārājādhirāja-śrī-Pra[bbhākaravar]dhanah[^{hi}] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ

8 atīśayita-

9 pūrvvarāja-charitō dāvyām-amala-yaśomatyām [śrī]=yaśomatyām=utpannah[ḥ] param-

10 hataḥ Śrīga-

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\(^1\) See above, Vol. I, pp. 72 f.
\(^3\) śrū or siddhih.
\(^4\) Such letters are taken from the Madhuban and the Banskhera copper-plate inscriptions.
\(^5\) Fleet gives Maḥāḥṣenauguptādāvyām instead, but the question marks would show that he was not sure of his reading. The name is clearly Apsarōdevī.
\(^6\) Possibly the length mark was shown in two ways: by a stroke above the top line, and by projecting the top line onwards and giving a small bend to its end.
\(^7\) Fleet gives sa[ṛ][ṛ][ṛ]-nāpanā in his reading of the Sonpat seal.
\(^8\) The Madhuban and the Banskhera records show sūndhī here—"ōtiṣā"
9 [ta i]va parahit-anurataḥ paramabhaṭṭā[ra]ka-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Rājyavardddhana-
[ḥ]**] ta-
10 sy-ānjarasat-pād-ānudhyātāḥ paramabhaṭṭā[rā]kā-Mahādevi-Śrī-Yasōma[tyār]h dē-
11 vyām-[śev-śc]pannah paramamā[ḥē]śvān Mahēśvara i va sarvva-sa
12 tv-ānukampaka[h**] paramabhaṭṭāra[ka]-[Mahā]rājādhirāja-Śrī-Harshah[***]

The text of this seal is not entirely identical with that of the Sonpat seal as deciphered by
Fleet, nor with the genealogical portion of the above-mentioned copper-plate grants. The
difference, however, is not material and the pedigree is practically the same. The name of
the king as given in this and other specimens recovered from Nālandā is not Harshavardhana
but only Harsha. The latter name is found not only in the two copper-plate inscriptions, but
also in the Sign-Manual or autograph on the Banskhara plate. The facsimile of the Sonpat seal
is very indistinct. A genius like Bhagwanlal Indraji or an epigraphist of the type of Fleet alone
could make so much out of it. While giving the name Harshavardhana Fleet could not help
marking that the three aksharas vardhanas are rather small and cramped in the centre of the
bottom of the seal. Other differences need not be pointed out here.

Out of the official seals the beautiful specimen bearing the legend—

1 Nagara-bhuktau kumār-āmāty-ādhi-
2 karaṇasya [||**]

which is written in the Gupta script of about the 6th century A.D. under the standing figure of
Lakshmi, flanked by an elephant, is reproduced as C in the accompanying plate.

Among the seals belonging to dignitaries or private individuals the one of Śrī-Paśupatīsiri
marked D on the accompanying facsimile, looks noteworthy. On paleographic
grounds it may be relegated to about the 7th century A.D. The legend on it reads as
follows:—

1 Vijit-ārati-gaṇasya nyāyavatō rāja-
2 vṛtti-nipuṇasya sva-guṇ-abharaṇasya
3 Śrī-Paśupatīsirīhasya la[kśma-śedah] [||**]

This may be rendered as:—

'The token of the illustrious Paśupatīsiri, whose excellences are his ornaments, who
was just and expert in (performing) royal service and who has completely conquered the
group of (his) foes.' The use of the word lakṣma, meaning 'token', is significant, for it clearly
proves that such seals were used as tokens sent in support of the genuineness or authenticity
of documents despatched along with them.

Of the remaining two seals reproduced here, one marked E on the accompanying plate,
is specially interesting in that it enables us to comprehend the import of the word 'jānapada'.
The device we see on this seal consists of a seated male figure, nimbate, with left hand holding,
probably, a ghāta or maṅgalakalāsa, the right, a rosary or akshamālā (?) and flanked by a tree in
a railing or enclosure and on a platform. Below this device there is a short legend of two lines
reading:—

1 Purikā-grāma-jā-
2 napāsya [||**]

*Eka is used for the sake of emphasis—both were uterine brothers.
and means ‘(The seal) of the Jānapada or Community of the Purikā-village.’ Obviously, the word jānapada is not used here in the sense of ‘deśa’, which is the dictionary meaning of it, but has to be taken in the sense of community or unit or corporate body. In the collection at Nalanda I have now found several other ‘jānapada’ seals which are being described in the Memoir.

The other seal, marked F on the accompanying plate, belongs to the village of Pādapāk (or ‘g) and the legend which it bears reads:—

Pādapāg-grāmasya [”]

In several cases these seals, whether they belong to royalties, offices, communities or villages, either show long, flat or rectangular grooves, or have holes drilled right through from top to bottom. Evidently, they were meant for being tied to documents by means of strings, cloth, or palm-leaves. Some of these seals appear to be sun-dried and were probably fastened when they were still fresh or wet and then dried in the sun. Others were probably burnt in some kiln and kept ready for future use. No document has yet been found at Nalanda with any of these seals and it cannot be determined how they were fastened. That such seals or tokens were tied to letters by means of a thick and strong sūtra or string may be inferred, however, from the following description of the lēkha-hāra or courier from Krishña, the brother of Sṛharsha, which Bāga gives in the Harshacharitam:—

भयं तन्निनियमनस्त्... चतुर्विद्विभवत्वनिन्तितात्तत्तरात्रि:...

Then he beheld the messenger entering as he was brought before him,—his legs tired and heavy with the long journey, with his tunic girt up in front by a mud-stained strip of cloth, the knot hanging loose and fastened up by a rugged clout swinging behind him, and having his head wrapped with a bundle of letters, which had a deep division pressed into it by a very thick thread that bound it:............’ Such seals as were found in their entirety, like the one of Paśupatisimha, were probably fastened to strings whose ends were secured on the documents themselves either by being sealed with the same seal or by another seal or token. The string might have been of hemp or of cotton. In the hole of one seal I have recently seen a piece of white ‘khādi’ cloth. In the absence of any specimen cannot be determined whether these documents or books, etc., were written on wood, leather, palm-leaves, paper or any other material. But an idea as to how these seals must have been tied to them can be formed from the description of the remarkable documents which Sir Aurel Stein discovered at Niya and has described with good illustrations in his Ancient Khotan and Serindia. These seals were usually broken when a document was read after its receipt to avoid forgery. That is the reason why they are found more or less damaged. This is done even nowadays. In ancient India it was rather the potter’s mud or clay which was generally used instead of the shellac or sealing wax, and the lēkha-hāroka was like the harkāra of to-day.

POSTSCRIPT.

My recent examination of the whole collection has led me to the valuable discovery of several seals representing the Gupta kings Narasimhagupta, his son Kumāragupta, Budhagupta and Vainyagupta, and also the kings [Bha]gavachandra, Supratishtita-varman, and others. The Gupta seals would show among other points of historical interest that the name of Kumāragupta’s mother has to be read as Mitrādēvi and not Śrīmatidēvi or Lakṣmīdēvi, and that of Puragupta’s mother, as Vainyadēvi not Vatsadēvi. All these seals are being fully treated in my forthcoming monograph on Nalanda.
No. 13.—BAIGRAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE [GUPTA]-YEAR 128.

By RADHAGOVINDA BASSAK, M.A., DACC.

This copper-plate was discovered in 1909 near a wooden structure which surrounded an old well opened by some tenants of Rai Sahib Kumudnath Das, Zamindar of Hilil, while excavating a tank at Baigram (P. O. Hilil) in the District of Bogra, Rajshahi Division, Bengal. One more copper-plate, which was found along with it, was taken away by the coolies and has not yet been secured. The document under publication was kept with one Pohatu Akandar till it was brought to Hilil early this year by Babu Krishna Chandra Saha, Manager of the Rai Sahib's estate. Afterwards Babu Jyotirindranath Das, Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, presented it to the Gauja Research Society, Howrah, and it is now in the possession of that Society. Babu Niradabaran Mishra Chakravarti, Secretary of the Society, brought it to my notice and gave me a set of its stampages on which my reading of the inscription is based. It is very gratifying, indeed, that within the last few years we have recovered eight valuable records of the Gupta period from North Bengal itself (i.e., ancient Pundravarshana-bhakti). Out of these eight documents, seven have already been published, viz., the Dhanaidaha copper-plate inscription of the time of Kumara Gupta I; the year 113, the Five Damodarpur copper-plate inscriptions, and the Paharpur copper-plate grant of the Gupta year 159. The eighth forms the subject of the present paper.

Like the seven charters already published, this inscription is also a deed of sale and registers the purchase by private persons of khila (fallow) and vistu (homestead) land belonging to the State for the purpose of donation to a temple. The Faridpur copper-plate grants, marked A, B and C by Fargiter, are also of the same type. The general procedure followed in ancient Bengal for purchasing State lands by private persons as laid down in this grant is identical with that given in the Damodarpur grants or in the Paharpur copper-plate inscription. The intending purchaser of a State land had to submit an application to the administrative authority concerned and the Government had to refer the matter to the record-keepers before giving the required sanction.

The plate measures 9" x 5", approximately, and bears writing on both the sides of it: the obverse side has fifteen lines and the reverse only ten. The left side of it is somewhat protuberant in the middle and this part was circular at its end with a portion cut off and lost. The hole here would show that a seal was probably attached to the plate, though it is not now forthcoming. The writing is well executed and the document is fairly well preserved.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and are almost similar to those used in the Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2, which also belong to the same period. As in the Damodarpur, the Dhanaidaha and the Paharpur copper-plates, here, too, the medial $\tilde{a}$ is at times indicated by means of a hook-stroke attached to the lower right side of an aksara as, for example, in grämi (l. 2). The form of $\tilde{u}$ in räpakä (l. 6 and 14) is also noteworthy. As one would ordinarily expect in the inscriptions of this period, the letter $b$ is distinguished from $v$ in this document also (see, for example, Bäla-maä 1.2 or bódhayanti 1.3). The sign for the conjunct letters $hm$ and $hy$ appears to be almost identical. The form of the four-lettered conjunct sêchhêy occurring in the word apavicchhêy in l. 19 may be noted. The form of the medial $\tilde{e}$ and $\tilde{a}$ in the letters $m$, $t$ and $r$ requires attention (see, e.g., $\tilde{m}k_{a}m$ in l. 9.

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2 Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.
3 Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 99 ff.
mōdatē in l. 23 and paĉyaṭā in l. 22. This form of e is to be found with the letter s also, as, for example, in vasēt (l. 23). The sign for the lingual l is used in nālāḥyān (ll. 18-19). The form of the final t and m, often joined with the preceding letters slightly below the top line, as, for example, in vasēt (l. 23), vasūndharaṁ (l. 22), is also noteworthy. The numerical symbols for 100, 20, 8, 10 and 9 are found used in line 25 and those for 3 and 2 in line 18.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose excepting in the three imprecatory verses found in lines 21 to 25. As in some of the Damodarpur plates (Nos. 1 to 4) and the Faridpur plates (Nos. A, B and C) the superfluous k is found in this inscription also, as in kārīṅtaka and śrīvītika (l. 4). Sandhi has been neglected in some places, as, in ṣaṁyāa avadhitā (l.10) and ṣaṁyā akshaya in line 17.

As regards orthography the following peculiarities require attention: (1) Consonants are usually doubled before y, as in ṣinārīkya (l. 6) (but in the same word in line 12 k seems to be single) and pāḍāmuddhyādah, (l. 1). (2) The consonants k and t are doubled before the subscript r; e.g., vikṣrayā (ll. 6 and 12) and kṣhettvā (ll. 5 and 11). (3) The consonants k, g, t, th, d, y and v are doubled after the superscript r; e.g., ṣaṁdūrtkā (l. 5 and 11), svargā (l. 23), vamiḍa (l. 20), rājārthā (l. 12), chaturudda (l. 19), saṁyavakārṇya (l. 20) and pūrve (l. 23) respectively.

The inscription is dated in Saṁvat 128 on the nineteenth of Māgha. This saṁvat evidently refers to the Gupta era and the record undoubtedly refers to the reign of the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I whose dates, known from coins and inscriptions, range from 113 to 136 G.E. Consequently the year given in the inscription must correspond to the year 447-48 of the Christian era. It may be noted here that one of the Damodarpur plates of Kumāragupta I is also dated in this very year, viz., 128 of the Gupta era. The use of the Gupta saṁvat was current in North Bengal during this period. The name of the reigning king is omitted in this inscription as well as in the Pāhāpur plate. Evidently the words Bhāṭṭāraka-pāda in lines 1 and 13 refer to the reigning sovereign, viz., Kumāragupta I.

The object of the inscription under publication is to record the purchase of three kulyavāpas of revenue-free khaṭa (fallow) fields and two drōnas of satha-vāstu (homestead) land belonging to the State and lying in two localities connected with Vāyigrāma, viz., Trivṛtā and Śrīgōhāli, by two persons named Bhāya and Bhāskara for the purpose of making a donation, to meet the expenses of flowers, perfumes, etc., required for daily worship and occasional repairs to the temple of Gōvindasvāmin which was founded by their father Śivanandin. The name of the place whence the charter was issued was Paṇchanaṅgari, possibly the district (vishaya) headquarters. The administrative officer, who was in charge of the district court (vishaya-ādhikaraṇa) and approached by the two intending purchasers of the State land, was named Kulavṛiddhi and had the title of Kumārāṅkha. The application was granted and the land was sold to them in accordance with the decision of the Government record-keepers (pustapālas) arrived after the land was properly surveyed and measured by means of the nādas in use there. The members of the vishaya-ādhikaraṇa, the other Government officers, as well as the chief householders of the villages concerned were addressed by the head of the vishaya regarding this sale of the land by the Government after having received its price at the fixed rate of 2 dināras per kulyavāpa which was in vogue in that vishaya. These persons were directed to maintain the grant as a permanent endowment according to the principles of akshaya-nīci.

It is not unlikely that like the Kōṭivarsha of the Damodarpur grants and the Khāḍā (tāpāra of the Dhanagirā plate, the Paṇchanaṅgari of the inscription under publication was one of the vishayas of the old Pṛṇāvaradhana-bhūkhi; but I am unable to identify it, nor am I able to locate Trivṛtā and Śrīgōhāli. I cannot say for certain if the village named here as Vāyigrāma
is the village of the same name that is mentioned in No. 4 of the Damodarpur grants. If they are identical, the village must have been situated somewhere on the boundary line between Kōṭi-varsha and Pañchanagar. That Baigram, where this plate was unearthed, is the ancient Vāyi-grāma mentioned in this plate (l. 2) cannot be doubted. Consequently it may reasonably be assumed that the localities mentioned in the inscription were situated somewhere near Hili in Bogra. The name Śrigohālī, however, reminds us of the names Vaṣa-Gohālī and Nīvata-Gohālī of the Pāhārpur inscription.

A note on the relation in value between a dināra and a rūpaka coin as met with in this inscription may well be added here. The name dināra is of foreign origin and is derived from the Latin denarius, as we all know. The word rūpaka occurring in this inscription, I think, requires an explanation. As two drōgas of land are priced at 8 rūpakas in lines 6 and 14 of the inscription it appears certain that 8 rūpakas are equivalent in value to ½ dināra because 1 kulyavāpa (≈8 drōgas) is explicitly priced at the rate of 2 dināras according to the prevailing custom of sale described in the inscription. Hence 1 full dināra will be equal to 16 rūpakas. We may, therefore, surmise that the term rūpaka, which may ordinarily stand for a coin of any variety, refers to silver coins in this charter. In Kautilya's Arthaśāstra the word rūpa seems to mean a coin which may be of silver or copper, i.e., rūpya-rūpa (silver coin, e.g., paṇas) and tāma-rūpa (copper coin, e.g., māsha). The officer who examines coins or controls currency is called Rūpadarśaka in that work.1

As regards the different rate of price of khila and vāstu land we find that in some of the Damodarpur plates the rate was three dināras for a kulyavāpa (tridīnārika-kulyavāpa), but in our inscription as well as in the Pāhārpur one, we have the rate of two dināras for a kulyavāpa (deviṇārika-kulyavāpa); whereas in almost all the Faridpur plates the rate is that of four dināras for a kulyavāpa (chatudīnārika-kulyavāpa). This difference may have been due to the difference of localities and also, probably, to the character of the land sold.

From the Pāhārpur inscription it has become clear that one kulyavāpa of land is equal to 8 drōgas, for there 12 drōgas are totalised as one and a half kulyavāpas and the same result is also obtained by reference to the money value proposed in the grant in accordance with the prevalent rate. The formula found in some Sanskrit lexicons for one kulyavāpa being equal to 8 drōgas is, therefore, established.

The most striking point of historical importance that can be mentioned in this connection is that in our inscription also, as in the other North Bengal grants of the Gupta period, we find the same administrative system in force during the age, viz., that the vishayapati, who enjoyed the use of the usual title of Kumārāmāya, were appointed to be in charge of the vishay-ūdhikarṇas by the Gupta emperors, unquestionably on the advice and approval of the higher officer of the larger unit, the bhukti, or the uparika-mahārājā. The prevalence of such a procedure of administrative relation between the different Government authorities is supported more by the other North Bengal inscriptions of the period than by the present one, as Kulavṛiddhi, the vishayapati, is here described as directly meditating on the feet of His Majesty (Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda). But this probably alludes to the fact that the appointment of such an administrative head of a vishaya by the bhukti governor required the sanction of His Majesty, the imperial Gupta monarch. The position of Kumārāmāyā Kulavṛiddhi here must be exactly the same as that of Kumārāmāyā Vētravarman of Kōṭivarsha appointed to his responsible post by uparika Chirātaddatta, who himself enjoyed the favour of the imperial ruler, paramadāivata, paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājā-dhirāja Kumāragupta I, as mentioned in Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2 of 124 and 128 G.E., respectively. Kulavṛiddhi and Vētravarman must, therefore, have been contemporary officers under the same sovereign in the two separate vishayas in North Bengal.

1 Dr. Shamsaṣṭri's Translation, p. 99. Cf. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's remarks above, Vol. XX, p. 81.—Ed.
Attention may be drawn to the curious fact that in this new grant we do not find any reference to the Board of Advisers mentioned in the Damodarpur grants Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5, as having aided the Vishayapatis of Kotivarsa in the administrative work of the Vishay-adhikaranya, the four members forming that Board being (1) the Nagara-pretshika (the President of the town-guild), (2) the Prathama-sarthavāha (the representative of the merchant class), (3) the Prathama-kulika (the representative of the artisan class) and (4) the Prathama-kāyastha (probably, the chief scribe,—the head of the Government officials). The absence of such a reference in a document of the year 128 G.E. (Damodarpur grant No. 2 of Kumāra-gupta's reign being also of the same date) belonging to a different part of Pundravardhana bhukti is difficult to explain, excepting on the tentative theory that Kotivarsa (of Damodarpur grant No. 2) was perhaps a more important Vishaya where Government had to keep better administrative arrangement for the Vishay-adhikaranya than in Pañchānagarī of this grant, which may have been a newly formed district at the time. It may also be noted that in this inscription we do not come across the name of the bhukti Governor known from two of the Damodarpur grants (i.e., Nos. 1 and 2).

TEXT.

First Side.

1 Svasti [\*\*\*] Pañchānagaryā Bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Kumārāmāya-Kula-

                        vriddhīḥ-stad-vishay-ādhikarayaṇaḥ-ea

2 Vāyigrāmika-Trivṛttā(tā)-Śrīgohālyōh Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān-samvyaavahāri-pramukhaṁ-
grāma-kutumbināḥ kusālaṃ-amu-

3 varṇya bōdhayanti(ti) [\*\*\*] Vijnāpayatōra(tō) tr-aiva-vāstavya-kutumbi-Bhōyila-

                        Bhāskarāv-āvayōḥ pītra Śivamāndi-

4 nā kāri[taka]-Bhagavatō Gōvinda-svāmīnāḥ deva-kulas(a)-tad-asv-alpa(tad-

                        adō-lpa)vṛttikah(ām) [\*\*\*] Iha vishayē samudaya-

5 bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshētrāṇām-akūniḥ-pratikarāṇaḥ šasvad-āchandr-ārka-

                        tāraka-bhōjyānaṃ(āṃ)-akṣaya-nīvyā

6 dvi-dinārikka-kulyāvāpa-vikkrāyō-nuvrittās-tad-arhat = āvayōs = sakāsāt-shad-dinārān-

                        āshṭa cha rūpakān-āyī

7 [kṛ]tva Bhagavatō Gōvindavāmīnō dēvakulē [khal]pda-phuṭta\* pratisāṃsk(a)śa[k]ra-

                        karāṇya gandha-dhōpā-dipa-

8 sumanasa[m*] pravarttanāya cha Trivrītāyām Bhōgī(yi)layaḥ khila-kshētra-

                        kulyāvāpa-trayaḥ Śrīgoñāyās(ā) = ch-āpi

9 tala-vātak-ārtham* sthala-vāstunō dṛṅavāpaṁ-ekān Bhāskarasy-āpi sthala-

                        vāstunō dṛṅavāpān-eha dātu-

10 m-[tī] [\*\*\*] Yatō yushmān-bōdhayāma[h*] Pustapāla-Durgadatt-Ārkadāsyaūr-

                        avadhārayaṇa = avadhṛita-

11 m-ast-īha vishayē samudaya-bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshētrāṇāṃ([n*] šasvad-

                        āchandr-ārka-tāraka-bhōjyānaṁ dvi-di-

12 nārīkya-kulyāvāpa-vikkrāyō-nuvrittāḥ [\*\*\*] Ėvaṃviddha-pratikara-khila-kshētra-

                        vikkrāyē cha na kaschid-rāj-ārthā-

13 virōḍha upachaya ēva Bhāṭṭāraka-pādānām dharmma-phala-shad-bhāg-āvāpti=

                        cha tad-dīyatām-iti ētayaḥ

* Read *sphuṭta*. Phuṭta is evidently a Prākrit form.  
\footnote{Read 'sah-avadhrīta'.}
TRANSLATION.

[II. 1—3] Bliss! From Pañchanaṅga Kumārāṇa Kuḷavṛddhi, who meditates on the feet of the Bhāṭṭāraka (i.e., the king), informs, after enquiring about their health, the adhikaraṇa (court) of the vishaya and the village-householders, along with the Brahmāṇḍas and others and the Chief-officers (Sampyavaḥāra) of the two localities named Trīvṛtā and Śṛigālī connected with the village named Vāyigrāma.

[II. 3—6] Bhūyila and Bhāskara, two family headmen residing in this locality, thus apply,—The (building) of the temple of Lord Īśvara Gōvindaśvāmin founded by Śivanandī, father of us both, is poorly endowed. In this vishaya prevails the procedure (the rate of the field) of the village-kṣetra for each kulavāpa of shrubless fallow fields, which do not yield any revenue (to the State), the lands being purchased in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment, to be.

Read ča-ākāra.

This word put before the abbreviated totalisation of the amount of land purchased does not appear to me explicable. [Phraja (Skt. śāla) in line 7 would suggest that it might stand for Skt. śāla meaning low land.—Ed.]

The Pāñcarāja plate gives tāl. (l. 19) which is a much better reading.—Ed.

[* This must be the reading in the Pāñcarāja plate also, where in the place of svakaraṇa (l. 19) it would be better to read svakaraṇa as in this plate.]

This word seems to be the name of the vishaya in charge of Kuḷavṛddhi. It may also be suggested that it may have been the name of the district headquarters where the court (adhikaraṇa) of the vishaya was situated.
enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure, and free from (the liability of payment of) any kind of taxes.

[ll. 6—10] So design to make a grant to (me), Bhöyila, of three kulyavāpas of khila (i.e., waste) land in Trivṛita and one dṛṇavāpa of vāstu (i.e., homestead) land, for (dwelling) site (tala) and paths (vātaka) in Śrigohāli, and to (me), Bhāskara, one dṛṇavāpa of homestead land for the purpose of repairs to the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin when damaged or dilapidated and for the performance of the daily worship with perfumery, incense, lamp and flowers, by getting from me an income of six dināras and eight (silver) coins.

[ll. 10—13] Since we inform you that it has been determined by the record-keepers, Durgādatta and Arkkāsi (thus)—there exists in this viṣaya (the procedure of sale at the rate of two dināras for each kulyavāpa of shrubless fallow fields, which are beyond the possibility of yielding revenue (to the king), to be enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure. Moreover, there can be no objection (out of fear of any loss) on the king's behalf in the matter of such sale of khila fields, free from taxes; (rather) there is (possibility of) some income for the Bhātāraka-pūjā (or the king) and also of the acquisition of one-sixth of the religious merit (accruing from such an act). Hence the (land) should be given (by sale).

[ll. 13—18] Thus on making an income of six dināras and eight (silver) coins (rāpakas) from Bhöyila and Bhāskara for the sake of the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin, three kulyavāpas of khila fields in Trivṛita and one dṛṇavāpa of vāstu land in Śrigohāli were granted (by sale) to Bhöyila and one dṛṇavāpa of vāstu land in the very same place (i.e., Śrigohāli) to Bhāskara, by the execution of a copper-plate (charter) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment (akṣaya-nīvān), thus the total measurement of land (sold) being three kulyavāpas and two sthala-dṛṇavāpas (stated in figures as ku 3 and sthaladrō 2 respectively).

[ll. 18—21] (So) you shall make over (to the two applicants the portion of land) by fixing their boundaries on four sides with marks of chaff and charcoal which will be permanent, after having defined (the area) by the measurement of 8 × 9 reeds by the hands of Darvākārma, in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, and shall preserve it for all time to come by the principle of perpetual endowment. The present and the future administrative agents and others also should preserve it out of regard for religious merit.

[ll. 21—25] (Here follow three imprecatory stanzas.)

[ll. 25] (Here the charter ends.) The year (vasa) 128, the 19th day of Māgha.

No. 14.—MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHASTHAN.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR.

This interesting inscription in Mauryan Brahmi was discovered at Mahāsthān on the 30th of November 1931, by one Baru Faqir of the Mahāsthān village in the Bogra District of Bengal. Mr. G. C. Chandra, who was then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, acquired it for the Department, and it was for some time lying in his office at Calcutta. Under the orders of the Director-General of Archaeology, it has now been deposited in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Soon after the discovery of this plaque, a very brief account of its contents, I am told, was printed in the columns of a Bengali daily of Calcutta, the Bāiga-bāngi, though I have not seen it at all. The account which has appeared in the Liberty, dated Friday, 22nd April, 1932, p. 4, I was able to see, but it does not touch any important detail of this epigraph. My transcript
and account of it are based upon an impression sent to me by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, and a photograph forwarded later by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Director-General of Archaeology in India. Recently when the plaque was deposited in the Indian Museum, I was able to inspect it personally, and found, what I knew long ago, that it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of carefully examining the original whenever possible, as impressions and photographs are often not enough to enable a scholar to prepare an accurate transcript.

The inscription is incised on a piece of hard limestone which measures 3½ × 2½ × 1½. Though it is in a fragmentary condition, yet it is possible to determine, more or less approximately, what was its original extent. That no complete line was engraved after the last line of this fragment can reasonably be inferred from the space remaining blank at the end, which is not less than what we find between any two actual lines of this epigraph. Again a careful examination of the stone shows that the original surface of its sides is still traceable here and there and that many letters, consequently, cannot have been destroyed from the sides. Thus while etām is the last word of l. 2, dhāmiyān is the first word of l. 4. It is thus clear that the sides of the inscription have not been much damaged. One or two letters at the most may have been obliterated from each side whether at the beginning or at the end. Line 1 of our fragment cannot however be really the first line of the original inscription. But even here we may be pretty sure that more than one line could not have been so effaced.

The fragment, as it is, contains six lines of writing in Brāhmī character of the Mauryan period. The alphabet remarkably resembles that of the Asokan records. The only difference that is perhaps worthy of note is that the vertical part of the letters s, p, b, y and s is a bit more prolonged than is generally seen in Asokan inscriptions. Our record again has one peculiarity which it shares in common with the Kālši recension of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Asoka. It is in regard to the letter s which occurs also in a form resembling sh. That these two forms do not mean two different letters in our inscription, namely, s and sh, is quite certain. The word saṃva-giyānam occurs twice, once in l. 1 and once in l. 3; and whereas the first letter in the first case is a clear s, it has the form of sh in the second. There can however be no doubt as to saṃva-giyānam being the word intended. The sh-looking letter must therefore be regarded as a cursive form of s and has consequently to be read as s, and not sh. Similarly in regard to sulakhit (l. 2) and su-itiyāyikasi (l. 5), the first letter in each one of these words is evidently su, but whereas the former character is distinctly s, the latter looks like sh. This sh-like form is noticeable, as remarked above, in the Kālši copy of Asokan Rock Edicts. Up till including Rock Edict IX, the regular form of s is alone noticeable. In Rock Edict X the sh-like form occurs side by side with the regular one, but the former is almost invariably prevalent in the subsequent Edicts. Perhaps Hultzsch is not right in reading it invariably as sh, as it seems to be but a cursive form of the regular s.

As regards the language of our inscription, it is the same as the one used in the Pillar Edicts of Asoka. It was the language of the Madhyadēśa influenced by Māgadhī or rather the court language of Magadha. Here we have to notice the change of r to l and of the ending o to e. These are the peculiarities of Māgadhī. We have, on the other hand, the dental s only as in the Pillar Edicts, and not the palatal s which is the third characteristic of Māgadhāna according to the Prakrit grammarians. The locative singular ends in si, and never in e. As regards Orthography, we have to note first that the doubling of consonants caused by assimilation is not graphically shown. We have also to note the constant use of the perpendicular stroke as a vīrāma or stop to mark the words and the clauses of the record. Instances of such upright vīrāmas may be found in the Kālši and Sahasrām Edicts of Asoka though there they are sometimes inserted meaninglessly. To give one instance, Kālši Rock Edict XIII has the following: āha- [ś] sāhā-
The transcription of our record is as follows:—

1. nena Sa[r*]va[r*]gy[a]na[m] [Galadana]a | Dumadina-[mahā-*]
2. māte | sulakhite Pudanagala | e[t]aln
3. [ni*]vahipisati | Sāhiva[r*]gyana[m] [cha di*]ne [tathā*]
4. [dhā*]niya[m] | nivahisati | da[r*]g[a*]hiya[yi*]k[e] c[evā*]-
5. [tiya*][yi]kasi | su-atiyayika[s]i pi | gaṇḍa[kehi*]
6. [dhāni*][yi]khi esā koṭhāgāle kosam [bhara*]-
7. [niye]

We have seen that the inscription is a fragmentary one. We cannot therefore entirely do without some amount of conjecture while interpreting it. The record, however, can be treated best by considering it line by line, and word by word. The fragment begins with the two letters nena. The word originally must have been either sāsana or vachanena, more probably the former. If we carefully examine l. 1, at the most one letter could have preceded nena with which our fragment opens. Thus whether this word was sāsana or vachanena, the first letter of it could not have been engraved in the present l. 1 of the fragment but rather in the line preceding it which has now been lost. Similarly, the words [sāsa*]nena Sa[r*]va[r*]gy[a]na[m] [Galadana]a, punctuated by the virūma of l. 1, make no complete sense as they stand. They surely must have been preceded by some words in the line previous which is now broken and which told us what was the exact nature of the sāsana and who the ruder was that issued it.

The next word is Suvagijñānam, as it stands. The same word occurs in l. 3 as Suvagijñānam, where the anusvāra after su is distinct. The word may be equivalent to the Sanskrit Suvagijñānam, which, however, yields no good sense. It may stand for varṇajñānam, 'of the class-fellows, or the clansmen', with saṁ prefixed to it. But this prefix saṁ remains meaningless and inappropriate. Besides, what is meant by saying that something was given by sāsana to 'Galadana of the clansmen'? Who were these clansmen? Why is their name not specified? It will be better to insert another anusvāra this time after ca, and read the whole word as Suvagijñānam, 'of the Saṅvāhu (tribe)'. The insertion of an anusvāra after ca cannot be unjustifiable in view also of the fact that in l. 2 we have Pudanagala, which obviously stands for Pus χanagala. That Vānigya is, like the Vajjī, the name of a tribe can scarcely be doubted. And just as the confederation of the different Vajjī clans is sometimes called Saṅvāhu, it is not impossible that the various Vāngī clans were similarly summed up under the name Saṅvāhu. We shall dilate upon this point later, but what we have here to note is that the second word in l. 1 is in all likelihood intended for Saṅvāhu which yields good sense and which can also be read as such, having regard to the fact that in old inscriptions an anusvāra is not unfrequently omitted.

The third word in l. 1 cannot be read with certainty as the upper part of its letters is damaged. It reads like Galadana≈(Sk.) Galārdanasya. It seems that Galadana was a leader or chief of the Saṅvāhīyas, to whom something was granted by sāsana. The next word, though a little damaged, is pretty certain and reads Dumadina. Then followed two letters, the first of which is partially preserved and the second completely lost. Thus first is either s or m. These two letters together with the first two, namely, māte, of the second line formed one word, which is marked by a virūma. Thus the letters intervening between this and the preceding virūma may be read either as Dumadina[sa] (a)māte or Dumadina-mahārnate. The former alternative is less preferable, because the force of sa after Dumadina is undetermined. Is it a genitive termination, or a part of an individual's name, whatever that may mean? If the former is the case, it makes no
sense. If the latter is the case, according to the language of the record we should have expected \textit{Dumadināsaka=Dumadināsaka=Dumadinēsika}. Thirdly, \textit{amāte} cannot here be equivalent to \textit{amātya} which in this inscription would run into \textit{amātīye}. All things considered, it is safer to accept the second alternative, and read the two words together as \textit{Dumadinā-mahāmāte} "the Mahāmātra (called) Dumadīna?".

The next letters of the second line placed between two \textit{virāmas} can be read without doubt as \textit{sulakhite Pu[m]yamagala}. There can similarly be no doubt as to \textit{Pu[m]yamagala} standing for the Sanskrit \textit{Pundranagara}, "from Pundranagara". The change of the Sanskrit \textit{tō} (=\textit{tab}) into \textit{te} need not puzzle us. It may be compared to \textit{Ujenite} and \textit{Takkasūlāte} of Dhauli Separate Rock Edict I (Sections AA and BB in II. 23-4 of Hultzsch's \textit{Asoka Inscriptions}). But what does \textit{sulakhite} mean? Here too the ending \textit{te} must be equal to \textit{tō} (=\textit{tab}). But what about \textit{sulakhite}? Does it stand for \textit{sulakshini}, or for \textit{sulakshinī}? Either will suit excellently. The next clause indicated by the \textit{virāmas} contains the two words \textit{et[ta]n} \textit{[at]ap[pi]ya nama=etan niraśaśayati}, "will cause it to be accomplished". The word \textit{etan} here in all likelihood refers to the \textit{sādana} or grant which must have been specified in the first original line, which has now been obliterated. What the exact nature of this grant was we do not know. But we will hazard a conjecture about it when we come to treat of the ending portion of our epigraph.

The next clause is rather difficult to handle. The first word, however, can be read with certainty. It is \textit{Sāmakaḥ* gṛyānam}. The letter following is either \textit{v} or \textit{ch}. The next letter is lost, but the third is most probably \textit{ne}. This last seems to have been followed by two letters which are now lost. The last word of this clause is \textit{dhānīyāṁ}, which occurs in l. 4. No letter seems to have preceded it in this line at least, as remarked above. \textit{Dhānīyāṁ} may thus be taken as one word and as equivalent to \textit{dhānīyaḥ} = 'paddy'. The whole clause may perhaps be restored to \textit{Sāmakaḥ* gṛyānam} [cha] [dvta*] [tathā*] \textit{dhānīyāṁ}, "and likewise paddy has been granted to the Sāmakaṇāya".

The letters intervening between the next two \textit{virāmas} read \textit{nivahisati}, which does not form a clause but is one word, so that we have to take it along with what is placed in the next pair of \textit{virāmas}. This last comprises letters, some of which have been destroyed and baffle well-nigh all ingenuity at restoration. It consists of two words, the first of which is pretty certain, namely, \textit{dva[j]tiya[n]i}. The other word also ends with \textit{tiyaj[ka]ṇi} of which \textit{yaj[ka]} is to be found in the next line, i.e., l. 5. \textit{Yaj[ka]} must have been preceded by \textit{yā} in the same line, though it is now effaced. The remaining \textit{t} must have been engraved in the preceding line and formed the ending letter of that line. Before this \textit{t} there must have been two letters, of which one only has been partially preserved. This last looks like \textit{d} and comes immediately after the word \textit{dva[j]tiya[n]i}, noted above. But in the case of this letter the joining bar between the two uprights of \textit{d} is very narrow and not as broad as that of \textit{d} in \textit{Pu[m]yamagala} in l. 2, or in \textit{ganṣa[k]a} in l. 5. Possibly, what looks like \textit{d} is the preserved portion of \textit{d}, and this word may perhaps be restored to \textit{d[ec]a[j]tiya[n]i}. The whole may thus read \textit{nivahisati dva[j]tiya[n]i yaj[ka]ṇi} [dva[j]tiya[n]i] [yaj[ka]ṇi], and may be translated as follows: "the excess (aṭṭa) of adversity) to the town (\textit{daniya}) during the excess (caused) by the superhuman agency will be tided over". It seems that there is a reference here to a \textit{dai[v]tiya}, that is, to a transgression or adversity caused by the gods or superhuman agents. Further, it seems that this \textit{atiya} had overtaken the \textit{daniya} of the Sāmakaṇāya. This \textit{daniya} may be Pundranagara itself or some place not far removed from it where the Sāmakaṇāyas were settled. Thirdly, it seems that one measure that was devised to combat this adversity was the doling out of \textit{daniya} or paddy. This shows that the \textit{dai[v]tiya} that had befallen the Sāmakaṇāyas must have been no other than a famine.
The next batch of interpunctuated letters is *su-attiyikasi* pi. But these two words by themselves do not form a clause; and have therefore to be taken along with those that follow. Of these only *gamđika* has been preserved in l. 5. At least two more were originally incised in this line, but they have now been destroyed. The next line, which is the last preserved one, has lost at least two letters at the beginning and three at the end, but those that have been preserved can be clearly read as *[yikehi esa kothāgiye kosaṁ]*. The lacunae may be tentatively filled up as follows: *gamđika* [keki*] *[dhāni*] *yikehi esa kothāgiye kosaṁ* [bhāṇi] *[yikehi]*. The whole may thus be rendered into English: "when there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury may be replenished with paddy and the *gamđika". Here two things are mentioned, (1) *kothāgiye* = *kosto* = granary, and (2) *kosa* = *kossa* = treasury. Corresponding to *kossa* we have the mention of *gamđika*, which means "a coin of the value of four cowries". The *yikehi*, with which the last line begins, can thus be easily restored to [dhāni*]yikehi = dhāṇyaṅkaṁ, as it corresponds to *kothāgiye* and as we know it has already been mentioned as being distributed among the Sāṅvāṅgiyaśas. What we have thus to understand here is that as soon as the time of superabundance returned, they were to remit *gamđika* coins into the royal treasury and paddy into the royal granary.

Ll. 3-4 refer to the doing out of paddy to these people. It is thus perfectly intelligible why at the end of the record they have been asked to return the corn. But why should there be any mention of *gamđika* coins at all at this place, as they have not been referred to above? Were the *gamđika* coins anywhere mentioned as being distributed among the Sāṅvāṅgiyaśas, which they were expected to pay back into the treasury with the return of prosperity? We have said above that the first original line of this inscription has been lost, which told us about the nature of the *sāsana* granted to Galadana (Galārdana) of the Sāṅvāṅgiyaśas, who is mentioned in l. 1 of the preserved portion. And it is not at all unreasonable to surmise that this *sāsana* referred to the *gamđika* coins which were handed over to Galadana for disbursement among the Sāṅvāṅgiyaśas and which they were asked to refund as soon as the day of plenty dawned upon them.

The inscription may thus be briefly summed up as follows: It appears that some ruler of the Mauryan period, if not of the Mauryan family, had issued an order to the Mahāmātra stationed at Pundranagara with a view to relieve the distress caused, apparently, by famine to the people called Sāṅvāṅgiyaśas, who were settled in and about the town. Two measures appear to have been adopted to meet this contingency. The exact nature of the first order is not clear as the first original line of our record has not been preserved. But it may be surmised that this measure consisted of the advance of a loan in *gamđika* coins to Galadana who, presumably, was a leader of the Sāṅvāṅgiyaśas. The Mahāmātra of Pundranagara was entrusted with the execution of this order. The second measure consisted of the distribution of dhāṇya or paddy from the granary.

We may therefore translate the text as follows:—

"To Galadana (Galārdana) of the Sāṅvāṅgiyaśas (was granted) by order. The Mahāmātra from the highly auspicious Pundranagara will cause it to be carried out. (And likewise) paddy has been granted to the Sāṅvāṅgiyaśas. The outbreak (of distress) in the town during (this) outburst of superhuman agency shall be tided over. When there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury (may be replenished), with paddy and the *gamđika* coins."

We now turn to other matters revealed by the critical consideration of our epigraph. The inscription stone, Mr. Chandra told me, was originally picked up near a tank not far removed...
from a high mound, where excavations were being conducted and which is presumed to contain the remains of a stūpa. Whether any characteristic parts of a stūpa were recovered in this work of exploration is not known. I am informed that no such definite results have been achieved. On the other hand, we have to note that the words esa kothāgīle occur in the last line. The word esa shows that the stone plaque was originally stuck into the granary itself from which paddy was doled out. And if our inscription stone, when it was discovered, was lying not far from its original place, the monument which is being cleared of debris at present may after all turn out to be, not a stūpa, but the royal granary into which the plaque was originally fixed.

Our historical gain from a critical study of this record is by no means inconsiderable. In the first place, it places beyond all doubt the identification of Pundravardhana with Mahāsthānā, which was proposed by Cunningham half a century ago. In his account of Bhasu Bihar, four miles to the west of Mahāsthānā, he remarks that the Buddhist remains at that place corresponded both in description and position with those noted by Yuan Chwang at the Po-ship-p'o monastery, which was situated just twenty -li or four miles to the west of the capital of the country of Pun-na-fa-tan-na which transcribed itself into Punnavaradana but is intended for Pundravaradana.1 "This city," says Cunningham "the pilgrim places at 690 -li, or 100 miles, to the east of the Ganges, near Rājmahal. Now, this description corresponds exactly with the relative positions of Rājmahal and Mahāsthānā, the latter being just 100 miles to the east of the former." 2 The suggestion of Cunningham was shortly thereafter confirmed by the Karatōyā-māhātmya, which was first published forty years ago. This Māhātmya mentions many holy spots which are all found at present in Mahāsthānā. But the Māhātmya, though it calls itself Karatōyā-māhātmya, purports to describe the sacred sites of Pundra or Pundravaradhana-kahatra. It is thus evident from it that the present Mahāsthānā is identical with the old Pundravaradana. Now, Mr. Prabhas Chandra Sen, who has edited the Māhātmya for the second time and for the Varendra Research Society, rightly points out that one verse from it is cited by Sarvānanda (1159 A.D.) in his Tīkā-sarveśasam on the Amarakōśa and two in the Smritichandrika by Devanahatī or who is himself quoted by Hemādri (12th century). 3 This shows that the Karatōyā-māhātmya is a composition which could not have been later than 1190 A.D. We may thus take it that the identity of Mahāsthānā with Pundravaradana was known before the twelfth century A.D. But this identity is now placed beyond all doubt by what our inscription tells us. It tells us that two remedial measures to alleviate the distress of a famine were contemplated and that the Mahāmātra of Pundranagara was charged with the execution of them. One of these measures consisted in the distribution of paddy from the royal granary, which, as shown above, must have been situated in Mahāsthānā itself as the inscription speaks of it as esa kothāgīle. As the kothāgīle was thus in Mahāsthānā and as the Officer who was to dole out paddy from it to the Saṁvāṇgīras was the Mahāmātra of Pundranagara, it is quite clear that Mahāsthānā is identical with Pundranagara. And this identity between the two is now established by evidence not of the twelfth century A.D. to which the Māhātmya belongs, but of the fourth B.C. to which our record has to be assigned.

The second point of historical interest that we have to note is the manner in which the state in Ancient India endeavoured to combat the ravages of a famine. In this connection one is reminded of what Kautilya says in his Arthaśāstra: "durthīkhe rāja-bija-bhakt-ôpraḥan kriyā-ānugrahān kuryāt. Durgā-situkarma vā bhakt-anugrahīvā, bhaktasamvidvāpām vā. "During a famine, the king may show favour by giving grattis seeds (bija) and food (bhakta). Either he (may carry out) work in forts and on dams with the distribution of food, or he may distribute food grattis (without exacting work)." It will be seen from this passage that the state in ancient times

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encountered the contingency of famine either by starting works of public utility or by a free distribution of food. Neither of these, however, seems to be adverted to in our inscription. There is absolutely no mention of any public work being started in the interest of the famine-stricken people in Pundranagara. Mention is doubt made of the distribution of paddy, but this paddy seems to have been given neither gratis nor in lieu of any work in the fort or on an embankment but on the distinct understanding that it shall be returned to the State District Granary as soon as the days of plenty and prosperity were restored. Here again what was given to the Sāivāṅgīyas was not annaṁ or boiled rice, but rather dhānāṁ which is unhusked rice. This paddy obviously must have been used as seed for sowing operations and, also, when husked, must have served the purpose of food. It may now be asked: Why money was at all distributed among the Sāivāṅgīyas? In this connection we have to remember that in East Bengal where nature is so plentiful a famine can take place only through the inundation of a river. Mahāsthān or Pundranagara is situated on a river, namely, the Karatōyā. And when a town is settled on a river, the floods cause devastations not simply to the crops in the fields but also to the buildings and huts which are perched on its borders. To meet this contingency, a money-grant has to be made to the people whose belongings have been washed away or seriously affected by the floods. This is perhaps the only explanation that can be given of the disbursement of gauḍāka coins among the Sāivāṅgīyas. What again we have to note here is that this disbursement of money and this unhusked rice were made to this people without any interest. If they had been charged with any, there would have been some reference to it in our record. Or it may be that they were tacitly understood to return the money at the usual rate of interest.

Perhaps ours is not the first known inscription which relates to the putting up of a granary as a fortification against scarcity of food. Of practically the same period is a copper-plate found at Soghaura “about fourteen miles south-east from Gorakhpur”. This was first edited by Bühler in the Vienn. Ori. Journ., Vol. X, pp. 138 ff and Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, pp. 261 ff., afterwards by Fleet in JRAS, 1907, pp. 510 ff., and lastly by Prof. B. M. Barua in Ann. Bhand. Ori. Res. Ins., Vol. XI, pp. 32 ff. A cursory glance at its contents will convince anybody that it refers not to one but two granaries. But the inscription, in spite of the fact that it has been revised thrice, has not yet been properly punctuated, read and interpreted. The last line should have been read atīyāṭikaṇa svā gahānaya ā nothing should be taken in excess (of plenty). Our record speaks of two atīyāṭikas, one of which is su-atīyāṭika. It is this atīyāṭika which is probably understood at the end of the Soghaura copper-plate. Similarly, this last epigraph speaks of the granaries being stored with various provisions. In fact, if any fourth scholar makes an attempt to again revise the Soghaura inscription in the light of our record, he may be able to show that the former also is an order to some Mahānāṁśa, probably of Śrāvasti, to open the two granaries and distribute their contents when any dire contingency called for it. In fact, the idea of counteracting the ravages of a famine by the erection of granaries and store-houses is pretty ancient in India and it is not therefore a matter of surprise if the Mahāsthān inscription also advert to the measures commonly employed by the state to combat the devastations caused by a famine in ancient Bengal.

Let us now see what further light our record throws on the ancient history of Bengal. It is unfortunate that the first line of the inscription has not been preserved. The name of the ruler, if any was mentioned, is thus lost irretrievably. But as the alphabet and the language of our record are exactly like those of the Ashoka edicts, it is not impossible that he was a prince of the Mauryan dynasty. We have already seen that the language of this epigraph is the language of Madhyādēśa influenced by the Māgadhi.1 It was really the language of the Mauryan Court.

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1 For a more detailed consideration of this point, see D. R. Bhandarkar’s Aśoka (2nd Ed.), p. 200 f.
in Magadha, which, owing to its outgrowing imperialism, had spread not only over the whole of Madhyadēśa but also over parts contiguous to it. Places like Kāśi in the Deha Dun District, Dhauli in the Puri, and Jangabhāja in the Gajjān District, where also the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka have been found, were never included in Madhyadēśa, and yet we notice that these recensions are couched in the Madhyadēśa-Magadhi dialect which had become the līngua franca of almost the whole of North India. We now see definitely that this līngua franca had spread even to Bengal and was in vogue there as early as the third century B.C. as our inscription conclusively proves it. It is true that Brahmanism took a long time to spread over Bengal. In fact, there is no evidence to show that Brahmanism had any firm hold over this province earlier than the Gupta period. The Aitārīya-Bṛāhmaṇa, no doubt, speaks of the sage Viśvāmitra as having adopted Sūnāhēpā as his son and caused much chagrin to the first fifty of his hundred sons, who were therefore cursed by him "to live on the borders of the Aryan country". The descendants of these exiled sons of Viśvāmitra, we are further informed, formed the greater bulk of the Dasyus, and one of these Dasyu tribes specified in the Brāhmaṇa was the Pundrās, who at that time must have been settled round about Mahāstānā and can be still recognised in the Pāsos, an aboriginal caste in Bengal. The utmost that this tradition mentioned in the Aitārīya-Bṛāhmaṇa indicates is that some scions of the Viśvāmitra family carved tiny kingdoms in the countries of the alien tribes. This does not, however, show that Aryan culture had spread to the Pundrās or any other country, far less imbibed by the people there. The Aryan culture seems for the first time to have been disseminated in Ancient Bengal by the Jainas. This is clear from the fact that the Kalpasūtra, an ancient scripture of the Jainas, mentions, not one, but three śākhas, of the Godāśa Gaṇa of Jaina monks, named after the three places in Ancient Bengal, namely, Tāmralipti, Kōṭīvarsha and Pundravardhana. Of these Tāmralipti is the same as Tamuk in the Midnapur, Kōṭīvarsha, the same as Bāgarh in the Dinajpur, and Pundravardhana, the same as Mahāstānā in the Bogra District of Bengal. It is curious to note that while Bihār and Kosala were taken up by the Buddha and his adherents, Bengal was selected by Mahāvira and his followers for their proselytising activities. It is true that no traces of this original Jainism are now left in Bengal. But even as late as the middle of the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies to the Nirgranthā Jainas being numerous in Pundravardhana. Very recently a copper-plate charter was discovered during excavation at Pāhāpur in Bengal, which is dated G.E. 156-477 A.D. and registers a grant for the worship of Arhats at a Vihāra situated not far from this place and presided over by the disciples of the Nirgranthā preceptor Gunaṇandarī. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Jainism, especially Nirgranthism, having been prevalent in Bengal up till the 7th century A.D. And it is these Jainas settled in Tāmralipti, Kōṭīvarsha and Pundravardhana, who for the first time and in the pre-Mauryan period appear to have carried Aryan culture to ancient Bengal. This, however, at the most, may explain the employment of the Brāhmi alphabet in our inscription, but the use of the court language of Pāṭaliputra is a clear indication of Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, being included in the Mauryan dominions.

The last point of historical interest that we have now to consider is: Who were the Saṅgaṇīyaśas, supposing that was the name really intended? Saṅvaṇīyaśas in the first place reminds us of Saṅvaṇījīs. We know that to the account of Fu-li-chih (= Vṛijī) by Yuan Chwang a note is added by the commentator, saying that "Fu-li-chih was in 'North India', and the north people called it the San-ja-chih (or Saṅvaṇījī) country". On this point Beal makes the following per-

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2 It is curious that the Pundrās of even so late a period as that of the Pūrāṇas are placed in Chhota Nagpur in Cambridge Hist. of Ind., Vol. I, p. 317 and Map 5.
3 Aboor, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.
tinent comment: "The country of the Vrijis or Sa̱hvi-vrijis, i.e., united Vrijis, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vrijis or Vajjis, one of which, viz., that of the Licchhavis, dwelt at Vaśāli." Just as the eight confederate clans of whom the Vajjis were once the most important were called collectively the Sa̱hva-vajjis or the United Vajjis, it is not at all unreasonable to conjecture that there were some confederate clans in East Bengal who were similarly conglomerated under the collective term of Sa̱hva-vajjis. This shows that the most prominent of these at the beginning was the Varṇiyas, after whom the confederation was styled the Sa̱hva-vajjis or the United Varṇiyas. The second point to be noted here is that the people of East Bengal are now called Vaṅgas, and it may be asked where was the necessity of coining a name which is an obvious derivative from it, namely, Vaṅga. If we now turn to the Vāyu and the Maṇḍū Purāṇas and study the chapters dealing with Bhūvasa-vīṇāsara, we find that they mention the two allied clans, Pravaṅgas and Vaṅgeya. But be it noted that there is none which has been called Vaṅga. Secondly, the second of these names, namely, Vaṅgeya comes so close to the Vaṅga of our inscription, that our inscription being earlier than any one of these Purāṇas and being a genuine record of its time, Vaṅga must doubtless be considered to be the original name, and the reading Vaṅgeya of the Purāṇas thus becomes a corrupt form of it. Again, the fact that Pravaṅgas are coupled with Vaṅgeya (wrongly called Vaṅgeyas) in these early Purāṇas shows that they were confederated clans and fell under the Sa̱hva-vajjis. And further the reference to the Sa̱hva-vajjis in connection with Puḍranagarā goes to indicate that the Puḍras also belonged to the Sa̱hva-vajjis confederacy. And just as in the time of the Buddha the capital of the Sa̱hva-vajjis confederacy was Vesāli which was the headquarters not of the Vajjis but of the Licchhavis who were then prominent, it seems that in the time of our inscription the capital of the Sa̱hva-vajjis was Puḍranagarā, which was the headquarters, not of the Vaṅga but of the Puḍras after whom it was undoubtedly called Puḍranagarā.

No. 15.—JUBBULPORE KOTWALI PLATES OF KING JAYASIMHADEVA

KALACHURI YEAR 918.

BY RAI BHADUR HIRALAL, B.A., KATNI.

While digging for the foundations of a new Kotwali building at Jubbulpore two copper-plates were found in a stone box and were, in the ordinary course, sent over to the District Superintendent of Police, Mr. A. G. Scott, who gave them to me for decipherment. The letters were so thickly covered with accretions of ages that they were not visible except a few here and there. The crust had become exceedingly hard and could not be removed locally. I, therefore, sought the aid of the Archaeological Chemist through the Director General of Archaeology in India with the result that Mr. Mohammad Sana Ullah, M.Sc., F.C.S., thoroughly cleaned the plates without injuring any letters, but he could not help where the copper had corroded. Thus many letters, especially in the first plate, have been damaged, as would appear from the accompanying plate. The original plates are now deposited in the Nagpur Museum. The first plate gives the genealogy of the donor in verses many of which are common to other records of the family. The second records the grant and also gives the usual imprecatory and benedictive stanzas.

The plates measure 14" x 9¼", each weighing 6 lbs. There are altogether 40 lines in the record, 20 on each plate, both of which are written on one side. It appears that the writer did not care

to mention the name of the engraver who in order to immortalize himself engraved 3 more lines on the back of the second plate in much bigger characters than those of the grant, the letters averaging 3” against 2” of the record. In fact, the engraver commenced the record with that size, but after writing 11 letters in the first line he, probably, made a calculation and came to the conclusion that the whole would not go within the two sides of the two plates, so he reduced the size. Had he not made the initial mistake his name also would have come within that space but as it did not, he apparently induced the head of the Department of religion to compose a eulogistic verse about the latter to serve as an excuse for engraving on the reverse of the second plate before he could insert his name.

The characters of the record are Nāgari and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography there is nothing special to add to what has been noted in respect of other Kalachuri records previously found. V has invariably been used for b in single letters but where the latter forms part of a compound letter its older form has been used, see, e.g., abja (l. 1), abdhi (l. 2), etc. The old form of i with two dots and a comma-like figure below them is conspicuous in the record.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village Agarā near Akharauda at the time of a lunar eclipse on Saturday, the full-moon day of Āśvinī in the (Kalachuri) year 918, i.e., the 30th September 1167 A.D. The donor, the P. M. P. Jayasimhadēva, the devout worshipper of Mahāśvara and the lord of the three Kaliṅgas, after bathing in the Rēvā (Narmadā) at Tripuri, the well-known Kalachuri capital, made the grant to Paṇḍita Dēhāṇa Śarmā, son of Paṇḍita Dāmōḍara of the Agastya-gūtra, with 3 pravartas, in the presence of Self, the Queen Consort Kālanādevī, the Heir-apparent, the Prime-minister, the Royal Preceptor Vimalāśīva, the Royal Priest, the Head of the Department of religion Paṇḍita Rāghava, the Chief Scribe Ṭhakkura Vatsaraśī, the Sāndhivigāhika (Minister for Peace and War) Ṭhakkura Purushōttama, the Pratiṭhāra (Chief Warden) Kamalasimha, the Dushtāsādāhya (Mentor of criminals) Parmaśīva, the Mahāśaṁanta (Generalissimo), the Akṣapāṭhākī (Record Keeper), the Judge, the Aśvasādhanīka (Equerry), the Treasurer and the inhabitants and political bodies of the gift-village for augmenting the religious merits of self and his parents. It appears that all the village rights, including a variety of taxes, were transferred to the donor. The village is given to the extent of its limits with boundaries marked on its four sides, with pasture for cows, with lands and water, with mango and nāku trees, with salt-pits, with mines and quarries, with the right of ingress and egress, with forest and river-bank lands, with trees, groves, creeper and plant gardens and grass, etc., with the river and mountain, with revenue and taxes levied at the resting place or camping ground, with pasture dues, toddy dues and lands not available to tenants, with Ghāṭa (river-crossing) dues, village headman’s dues and tax for mending the incorrigibles and the District rates.

These details give a glimpse of the revenue administration during the 12th century A.D. This record mentions some peculiar offices and taxes, which are usually not found in other records. The office of Dushtāsādāhya which I have translated as Mentor of Criminals may be identical with that of Dauḥśādāḥṣādhanīka usually found in the inscriptions of the Pillas. Pamattavīra seems to be a mistake for or a corruption of Prahātri. The transfer of the river and the mountain

1 The name suggests that he probably belonged to the line of the Śiva ascetics of the Mattamagāra clan—See Banerji, Haikouya of Tripūrī and their Monuments (Mem. A. S. L.), pp. 110 ff.

2 The two officials Vatsaraśī and Purushōttama, are mentioned also in the Kumābi plates—See Banerji, Haikouya, etc., p. 29 and J. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff. and Vol. XXXI, pp. 116 ff.—Ret.

3 According to R. B. Dayaram Sāhī (See Above Vol. XIV, p. 105 and Head of the Office of Accounts), according to Dr. Barnett (Ind. Vol. XI, p. 149).

4 It is very likely that Dushtāsādāyas are represented by the present day Dusādās, a criminal tribe, as suggested by Dr. Hironaunda Sastrī.
and of the district or provincial rates appear to indicate abandonment of sovereign rights in favour of the donee. Dvāśādyā, which I take to be a tax for mending the incorrigibles, presents a new feature. So do the Pṛacūrāṇa chari ravañati kīñcana viśvimāddōya which are the forerunners of the modern dues for occupying camping grounds, for grazing cattle, extracting toddy, and crossing rivers. Kāmata was a rigid form of home-farm, which is still referred to in law books, but has become practically obsolete.

On the top of the first plate ॥ ॥ is written in small letters, which apparently means दान or gift No. 2 given on the same day. The mark was probably meant for the writer's guidance.

The genealogy of the donor as given in the plate starts from the beginning of the creation, that is, from Brahmā born from the Lotus emanating from the navel of Vishnu. Brahmā's offspring was Atri, from whose eye was born the moon. From the latter was born Bodi, from whom sprang Pururavas, in whose family Bharata was born. In the latter's family was born that highly glorious Flavia, who allowed the title of King only to the moon. He was the ancestor of the Haivā Princes, from whom sprang the Kalachuri race. In that family there was a prince named Yuvarājadeva, who purified the town of Tripuri, so that it became like Indra's city. Then came Koka whose son was Gāngēya-deva, who died at the foot of the holy tree at Prayāga with his 100 wives. His son, the victorious Karnadeva, succeeded him. He founded Karnavati and married a Huna lady Avalladēvi, from whom was born Yasa-kārṇadēvi. His son was Gayakarnadeva whose consort was Alhanadēvi. From these were born Narasimhadēva and Jayasimhadēva, the latter being the donor of this grant. He occupied the gaddi during the waning portion of the Kalachuri supremacy, for the line came to an end during his son and successor's rule. Jayasimhadēva succeeded his brother Narasimhadēva, who, we know from other records, was on the gaddi in 1155 A.D. The present record of Jayasimhadēva, of whose times three other records have been found, brings him nearer to his brother's reign by at least 8 years.

The geographical names occurring in the record are the well-known Tripuri (present Tewar, 6 miles from Jubbulpur), the river Bēva or Narmada near it, Karnavati, the present Kanvel, a part of Tripuri and the villages Arā and Akharanda, both of which are untraceable at present.

The charter was prepared by an officer called Daśamālīn or Daśamalika, named Vatsarāja, son of Dharmā and grandson of Abhyuddhara and engraved by the silversmith Talahaṇa, son of Pālaḥaṇa of the Kōkā family.

**TEXT.**

[Metres.—Malini, verses 1, 9, 12; Aupachechhandasika, v. 2; Vasanatilaka, vv. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16; Arā, v. 6; Sātinī, vv. 11, 18; Indravajra, v. 13; Anushtubh, vv. 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and Sardulavikrīdita, vv. 17, 30.]

**First Plate.**

1 सिंहम् ॥ [२ ॥] भी नमो ब्रह्मणे ॥ जयति जलजनामस्तथया नामि- 
सरोः जयति जयति तस्मातकालविन्ध्यः ॥ अभि जयति स तस्म- 

2 प्रत्यय्यिनिद्रनिश्चरणेण [२ ॥] जयति जयति जवालाविन्ध्यः ॥ [२ ॥] अभि 
को(को) धनमाणिष्ठा [२ ॥] राज्यसह च मातमश्यावा च भवन्ते ॥ अभि 

1 Reading seems to be de 2 which may be an abbreviation of deya 2.—Ed.
2 See Hira's List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar (1st edition), Nos. 31, 35, 44
3 Expressed by a symbol.
3 मूळ राजा गमनागमनस्गंगाराजस्व:। [२ ॥०] पुरे पुरवस्मिरसमाप
सुतुङ्क्वस सागरारिग्न्यवनस्य। वामोदनसामः।
4 भगमतीप्रभोया यशोवर्धिका क सुक्लवन्तुमिरिथुरारा च। [३ ॥०]
चतुर्भुय| निकल | [गतन]हिर्समसिंधुपूपद्वस्तुस्नृतविविलकोपः। | स-
5 साविन्द्रपक्षनाभिरणाइरिविश्वभरति भरतो व(च)भूव। [४ ॥०]
हर्षा[भुतिक]पुनस्तुम्भवस्तुतशोवाहे गोविः जयविधिकमुः।
6 स कांघसः। | केशु[ह ब]स्यहवपान्यपूर्वपूर्वः साहित्यः। राजान्ति नाम श्रायलक्षण
चतुर्मयः। [६ ॥०] [स] सिमाचलल इव कलेक्तविविलायसः।
7 त जातिविश्वातः भृगाः। | सुकामिनिक| विवामकताः। पूर्तं महापितविं.
भिः। [६ ॥०] तन्त्रायं नाय्यान्तः प्रवरं [सन्त्रों] पीरद्रों| भिव
पूर्ण विः।
8 पूर्ण पुनः। | पायारदय-आधुनानमाजासागरानामावेदकिरिक्युः। यवरज
देवः। [७ ॥०] सिंहः। सः वर्तितिसंहस्तुः। सतुः।
9 [मार्हू]पदविज्ञातामालामधुसः। | कोक्ससपरिवाच[तुड्ड]वी[चित्]संचानसंघ[च]चतु-
रः। वमुच्चाराः। [८ ॥०] सरकारमणिषंहरितः।
10 चाः। [स्मना]को नाम[परि]ह| लचवन्दोङ्गः। | विश्वस। कुमिल्ला-
पासी वैर्य[ण] कि। जलमोहितं मधुद्वं। येन गायिकः। [८ ॥०]-
पुयोमास खंड धलितारिखुर्जेंसंसूक्तालेः। [स] नामस्मोचीणि।
12 [काष्ठ|देव]। [१० ॥०] चाय्य। [घ]म [य]सा। [व]दिव| दायावर।
[कोक]ण्ड। [च]व। [सा]व्याय:। फिरों बालों। [ब्र]हस्स्वाचो। धन [काष्ठी-
वतीति वलहणः। [पिर] नग्ना[भ]दले।
13 कः। [११ ॥०] च [जनि] क लहरीः। गावकानं तेन क्षण-
नवयजननिष्ठा लङ्कया विश्वदा वहः। | [श] गायिकः। गायिकः।
14 कः [चितेऽर] नाम[पी] कवी। [व]म: काष्ठ| देव। [१२ ॥०] [नायकञ्चा] [भूर्| तुलकर्] आभिमन्युक्तं चतु प्रातिः। | यथाथर्यवेदतविती-
कांत (कच) फळ svens.
No. 15. JUBBULPORE PLATES OF KING JAYASIMHADEVA, YEAR 918.

Second Plate, first side.

15 स्वरस्वर्ण धरातीलक मराठा। [१२] ब्रम्हवशकर्मचारी श्रीनारसिंहजी -

16 शं प्रसिद्ध्वार्त्तित। परम प्रिवृंदज्वर निष्णु, प्रकृतियु्भानु। सीम्यसार -

17 तत्त्वात्मक विज्ञानित ज्ञेयसिद्धां। श्रीरामचरित मणि निपत्तामालान।

18 तनं व(व)लिन विकल्पां। [१६] नर्तक सुरुङ्गबर्मुख नवरात्रां चुने।

19 श्रीसम्प्रदाय संस्कृतिसार एवं ज्ञानी परम युक्तिः। [१७] परेत्यही एकाचन -

20 महाराजभिषेक परमेश्वर श्रीवाण्ड्वाद्यातुमात्य परमेश्वर महाराजाधिकार -

21 शर विकल्पाध्यापिन्म निजभूमीविशेषभाषितं गाथांति नर्तित। राजवाचिपिति श्रीमाजयसिद्धां।

22 न। महाराजः यों केलकर्णे। महाराजपुत्र। महाबाबा यों -

23 शर विकल्पाध्यापिन्म जुषुलिंगिक। दीपगुप्तां विमलशिव। महाराणिक। धर्मप्रथान -

24 दुर्गाधिक श्रीप्रसिद्ध। महामायमात्र। श्रीरामालिका। प्रमुखाऽ -

25 शर निवासाकृति जनपदां विशेष यावट्या मानवित वो(व) धर्मांने समाजार्थयति च।

26 न सुदृढ लोकमायें तिरी स(ग) निवर्त निरपेक्षी सीमांची राज्यां विशिष्टाकाळाची श्रीमाध्यकर्म लोकानिधी -

27 रामायण पुष्करमतिबद्ध शब्दांधकाणीं पुराण नाम: समोपायकेतुरा -

28 सजिलाख, सामांतकल, सत्वाधार, सत्वाधार, संग्रहार्थ, सयाल्रेव, सजल -

29 नदीतिर्थ्यान्तित। गंगार धरानित। विज्ञानित। विशिष्टादेशित। दु:साधाराना -

1 The name of Vatsaraṇya seems to have been omitted here through oversight or modesty, Vatsaraṇya being himself the writer of the charter as mentioned below, l. 40 of the text.
30 सह चाष्यभोजन चिप्पराय्य प्रकृति वैदिकताय प्रकृति वैदिकताय
31 संदेश स्वामी। रामनाथादादात्तू। गौरवमाल शासनशाला। 
32 श्यामी भूमी शाश्वत रामराम। सामाय मूर्यभूति द्वीप पाराण 
33 नाम नाम। जय जय दर्शन मूर्यभूति च (त) च तदा पारा। 
34 दामूलमंगव [३२] तदागाना संक्षेप द्वीपद्वार राम। गार 
35 कोटिप्रदान भूमिकान न श्रद्धाल च [३१] प्रदत्ता परद्वाय 
36 यो यीत र - 
37 सुन्दर। ये श्रवण। सुन्दर। न जगत्व [२२] 
38 धन धन सहस्राण्य स्वर्ण वस्ति सूतिको। या चन्द्रा चामुला च

Second Plate, second side.
No. 16.—NALANDA INSCRIPTION OF VUPULASRIMITRA.

By N. G. Majumdar, M.A., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The stone bearing this inscription, which is now in the Museum at Nalanda in the Patna District, was recovered in two fragments from the latest stratum of Monastery No. VII at Nalanda in the course of excavations carried on there in 1928-29 and 1929-30. I edit the inscription from the original stone and from a set of excellent engravings kindly furnished by Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, B.A., Officiating Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle. For a number of suggestions I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Ootacamund.

The writing, which is very neatly executed, covers a space of about 19½ by 8½ and consists of 15 lines. The average size of letters is ½". The characters are a form of Nagari that was current in North-eastern India towards the end of the Pala period. The only point that calls for notice is the way in which the superscript r is indicated, namely by a short slanting stroke attached below the mūra, which, in many cases, is difficult to recognize. Palaeographically the inscription should be placed between the Gayā inscriptions of the time of Navapāla (cir. 1030 A.D.) and the Bodh-Gaya inscription of Jayachandra (cir. 1183 A.D.). The record to which it bears the greatest resemblance is the Govindapur inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara in the Indian Museum, dated in Saka year 1059, i.e., 1137 A.D. The inscription, although not dated, may, therefore, be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century A.D.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the phrase Oṁ namō Buddhāya at the beginning, the text is in verse throughout. There are thirteen stanzas in all, composed in a variety of metres.

The inscription calls itself a praśāti (l. 15), recording the benefactions of a Buddhist ascetic named Vupulasrimitra. It opens with an obeisance to the Buddha which is followed by a hymn (V. 1) addressed to the divine Dharmachakra and Tārā. Then it tells us of an ascetic named Karupāsrimitra of Sōnapura, who went to heaven when his house was set on fire by an army of Vāṇāla (V. 2). His disciple was Maitrīsrimitra (V. 3) whose disciple again was Aśokaśrimitra (V. 4) and Aśokaśrimitra’s (disciple) was Vupulasrimitra (V. 5). Vupulasrimitra made an offering of a casket (mañjūśaka) at a temple of the god Khasarpāṇa, for the Projaṁpurasamudrā manuscript and four images at its alms-houses on the occasion of a festival (V. 6), carried out repairs to the monastery of Pañjouma (i.e. Buddha) at Chōyanḍaka, and installed an image of Jina Dipankara (i.e. Dipankara Buddha) at Harshapura (V. 7). At Sōnapura, he built a temple of Tārā, with an attached court and a tank, effected the reconstruction of cells (V. 8), and, evidently at the same place again, presented a gold ornament for the embellishment of a Buddha image (V. 9). Lastly, he erected a monastery which he made over to the Mitrās (V. 10), that is the line of ascetics to which he himself belonged. Where this monastery was erected is not stated; but there is no doubt that it was at Nalanda and identical with the building in whose deśī the inscription has been discovered. In Verse 13 the eulogy is stated to have been manifested by Kanakāśī and Vaiśishtha, the former being apparently the composer and the latter the writer or engraver.

Of the geographical terms mentioned in the record, Chōyanḍaka and Harshapura are not known from any other sources and for the present remain unidentified. Sōnapura is identical...
with the place of that name occurring in the inscription ārī-Sōmapura ārī-Dharmapālalādeva-mahāvihārē, etc., on certain terracotta sealings discovered by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in his excavations at Pāhārpur in the Rājshāhi District of Bengal. According to the evidence of these sealings, there was a monastery, named after the Pāla king Dharmapāla at Sōmapura which has been identified by Mr. Dikshit with Pāhārpur. This place must have gained considerable repute as an important seat of Buddhism in Northern India during the Pāla period. A Bodh-Gayā inscription mentions the mahā-vihāra or “the Great Monastery” of Sōmapura. In Taranātha’s History of Buddhism it is stated that king Dēvapāla, the son of Dharmapāla, built a Buddhist temple at ‘Sōmapura’; and, according to the Pañ-cas-jan-tāng, the same king built the Great Monastery of “Sōmapura” after his conquest of Vaiśalī or North Bengal. It however appears probable from the information supplied by the Pāhārpur sealings that the monastery owed its foundation to Dharmapāla, and not to his son. Further references to the monastery at Sōmapura are found in the Tibetan translations of certain Buddhist Sanskrit works, e.g., the Dharmadāyavedapivali and the Mādhyamakaramāntrapañcita. The latter was translated by the great scholar Dipankara Śrīnāma (11th century A.D.) with the help of Vīryasiddha and Jayśeṣā at the Sōmapura-vihāra. The cells renovated by Vīpuĉāsmitra at Sōmapura must have belonged to the great monastery consisting of some 177 cells, which have now been laid bare at Pāhārpur. Vaiśalī, which is probably East Bengal, is mentioned in the Tūrṇalai inscription of Rājendradeva I and in the Buddhist Sanskrit text Dākārāvata.

TEXT.

[Metres—vv. 1, 2, 8, 10, 12, Sārdaivikśīrā: v. 3, Maṇḍakrānta: v. 4, Śikharini: v. 5, Mālinī: v. 6, 11, Vasantatilakā: v. 7, Indravijā: v. 9, Upājāti: v. 13, Anuṣṭhāb.:]

1 Īśā namō Buddhāya|| Astu svastya-anāya vah sa bhagavān ārī-Dharmamāchakraḥ krīḍā-yam-nāmā śrustvāvan-Bhavō-sthira-vapur-nirvam-uttāmyati tatra śrīghāna-lāsana-āpita-rasūlī samsārya

d

3 maṁ yō Vaṅgāla-balair-upāyā dahanā-kahpaj-jvalaty-śravaḥ samādhi-śaranjārā-ārvinda-vagālī; Buddhāya yatīḥ divaḥ || [27] Taś-śrībhikkha-vratam-parichitaṣe śrīta-smṛta-kirtīṣe śishyā-śāradāyāb


[38] Praśchāyō-py-ānusvāry-ādavya-

5. [it is possible that Dēvapāla built the monastery and named it after his father.—Ed.]

* Expressed by a symbol.

* Read — ras- Mitra.
Nalanda Inscription of Vipulasrimitra.
Om! Adoration to the Buddha!

(Verse 1). May the divine and illustrious Dharma-chakra bring you prosperity hearing whose name, even to some extent, Bhava (i.e., worldly existence), restless in body, gets exhausted and lifeless; thereafter besprinkling him with the nectar juice of the Law of Śrīghana (i.e., Buddha),² may the goddess Tārā, the Deliverer of the world, place him, free from rebirth, at the foot of the Buddha.

(Verse 2). In the illustrious Sōmapura there was the ascetic Karupāśritrītṛā, so called on account of his compassionate disposition,³ abundance of merits, and his efforts towards

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¹ Read prajñānāma-mahājñānavā yaśasvā.
³ The three qualities indicated in the three components of the name, i.e., karuṇā (compassion), śīfa (splendour), and mātratva (benevolence) are here referred to.
the welfare and happiness of living beings; who, when his house was burning, (being) set on fire by the approaching armies of Vangāla, attached (himself) to the pair of lotus feet of the Buddha, (and) went to heaven.

(Verse 3). The disciple of him, who was celebrated for his uninterrupted religious observances and possessed bright and appropriate fame, was known as Maitrīśrīmitra. He was invincible (in argument), endowed with merit and the talented amongst talented men, and possessed of energy and desirous of his own prosperity for the sake of living beings, like the Sun himself.

(Verse 4). The disciple's disciple (of Kāraṇāśrīmitra) was the ascetic Āśokaśrīmitra of blemishless character. Good qualities, not finding, as it were, an abode which they sought for, had (at last) taken refuge in him and remained inseparably attached. There in his heart full of good qualities dwells the mother of the Buddhas in eight thousand (verses).

(Verse 5). After him there came Vipulāśrīmitra of extensive and bright fame, the very source of the delight of righteous men. He was of ever increasing beauty like the moon in the bright hall (of the month), washing away (i.e., brightening) the entire night by nectarine digits [or who wiped away all blemishes by (his knowledge of) the elegant arts].

(Verse 6). With the casket, executed by him with skill, at the great temple of the illustrious Khasarpapa (i.e., Avalokiteśvara), the mother of the Jinas (i.e., Prajñāparamitā) incessantly moves about. He also presented in the alms-houses four images on the occasion of a festival.

(Verse 7). He also carried out varied repairs to the monastery of Pitāmaha (i.e., Buddha) at Chāya, and (installed) an image of the Jina Dipaṅkara at Harśapura.

(Verse 8). In the illustrious Sōmapura, with a view to dispel entirely the Eight Great Fears of the people, that meritorious person built a temple of Tārini (i.e., Tārā) adorned with

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1 There seems to be a pun on the words mitra and udaya. The former would mean 'the sun' and 'friend' and the latter 'rise' and 'prosperity'.

2 The allusion is evidently to the fact that he was thoroughly conversant with the text of the Aṣṭaṅgaśārikā Prajñāparamitā. The goddess Prajñāparamitā is 'the mother of all the Buddhas', e.g., in Aṣṭaṅgaśārikā (Bib. Ind.), p. 529. She is often identified with Tārā, e.g., in verse 2 of the inscription of Chālukya Vikramaditya VI (Ind. Ant., Vol. X. p. 185). That is why Tārā is also called 'the mother of the Buddhas'.

3 The casket offered by Vipulāśrīmitra at the temple of the god Khasarpapa (who is the husband of Tārā or Prajñāparamitā) must have been so nice that it never left the deity (i.e., the manuscript); in other words the holy manuscript was thereafter invariably exhibited in the casket. It is not clear where the temple of Khasarpapa stood.

4 For the use of sattra in a Buddhist inscription see Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. V. p. 29, l. 15. For other references see P. K. Acharya, Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, pp. 615 ff. The alms-houses must have been those adjoining the temple.

5 The term Pitāmaha, which is usually applied to Brahmā, here stands for the Buddha and is used in this sense in an inscription of the time of Kanishka on the pedestal of a Buddha image from Mathurā (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 97) and in another Kushān inscription also engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image noticed by Cunningham at Bhātī near Allahabad (A. S. R., Vol. III, p. 48, Pl. XVIII, C; Kern, Indian Buddhism, p. 94; Lüders, List of Brāhmi Inscri., No. 910). The appellation Pitāmaha is suggestive of the idea of Adh. Buddha who in the Buddhist pantheon occupies a position almost analogous to that of Brahmā.

6 The goddess Tārā is supposed to have the power to save humanity from eight kinds of fears (J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 67; Mem. A. S. L., No. 20, p. 18). In Sarvajñāmitra's Vangālā-nātra eight stanzas are devoted to the description of these eight 'fears' which are shipwreck, lightning, elephant, robber, lion, serpent, feters and demons. These are also enumerated, but with some difference, in two hymns to Tārā in an inscription of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI (Ind. Ant., Vol. X, pp. 159, 187) and illustrated in a bas-relief in the Darbār Cave at Kanheri (Cave Temples of India, p. 358, and Pl. LV, fig. 1).
a court and a tank, and further effected the renovation of the inner and outer parts of four
cells—(a work) in which alone the eyes of the world found repose.

(Verse 9). He offered a charming gold ornament to the Buddha with the object of keeping
men in (the path of) Enlightenment, and there (i.e., at Sāmāpura) (engaged) in such meritorious
deeds, he lived like an ascetic for a long time.

(Verse 10). That meritorious person having made this monastery an ornament of the
world, which manifests itself, surpassing in a wonderful manner the palace of Indra, made it over
to the Mitrās. The Teacher, the lord of the three worlds, who has a special taste for (good)
residences, forgot while here, (even) the abode in Śuddhāvāsa heaven, whose interior is difficult
of access owing to the multitude of seekers.

(Verse 11). (His) fame, by which the earth was decorated, arose in various places as if to
deprive Hari of his (exalted) position. May that flowing nectar of the eye (viz., his fame) remain
triumphant so long as the vow of Mahānagarita (i.e., Mahānghōsha or Mahānuṣtri) is not fulfilled.

(Verse 12). May the pure merit, the (only) measure of comparison (with which is) the
etherial space, that may accrue to me out of these famous achievements, even as the receptacle
of nectar that came out of the ocean, eternally contribute to the attainment by the denizens
of the three worlds of the unique place from which the Jinas (i.e., Buddhas) can visualize the
whole universe (as distinctly) as an object under discussion placed on the palm.

(Verse 13). Kanakakrī and Vasishtha who, (respectively) in the matter of dialectics and
arts, purify the hearts of men, have given expression to (this) eulogy (one by composing and the
other by engraving it).

[P.S.—Recent excavations at the Satyapir Bhīṣa at Pāhārpur outside the great monastic
quadrange have brought to light a Buddhist shrine of about the 11th–12th century A.D., in
the courtyard of which several circular sealings impressed with the effigy of eight-handed Tārā
and the Buddhist creed have been found. This is very likely to be the temple of Tārā built
by Vipulāsimitra referred to in verse 8 of the present inscription. The courtyard has a number
of small votive stupas.—Ed.]

No. 17.—TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA (II)

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S., COIMBATORE.

The inscription edited below comes from Tiruchchendur in the Tinnevelly District. Only
a few lines of it contained on the first face of the slab were copied in 1903 and the inscription
was registered as No. 155 of that year's collection and as being engraved on a slab, set up in the
1[I should prefer to take chaṭavahu laukṛtā in the sense of 'on the four groups of cells (forming the monas-
tery).' Actually there are about 45 cells on each side of the monastery, and we have
clear evidence of a wholesale renovation taking place about the commencement of the 12th century A.D., both
in the inner and outer sides of the monastery. It is some work carried out on a magnificent scale that
must have been 'a singular feast to the eyes of the world'.—Ed.]
2The line of ascetics to which Vipulāsimitra belonged.
3In a work called the Mahānāgari-Buddha-kāha-gua-yaṁ, Mahānuṣtri is supposed to have taken his 'Bodhi-
śatra' vow: "I do not wish to become a Buddha quickly, because I wish to remain to the last in this world to
save its beings."—Poussin, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (Art. 'Mahānāgari'), Vol. 8, p. 405 and n. 2. The
idea which, therefore, the writer seems to convey in the above verse is that the donor's name should last as long
as the world endures. Cf. Kāraṇḍavyūha—T'T)na Avatāro-rasa-śrīs-tāja na paramśriṁ bhauma, sarva-
śatāḥ sarva-dhikṣhitaḥ sarva-pramāṇākṣhitāh gīvat an utarūṇaṁ sarvāk-sambhāvau na pratīkṣāpi bhaṁvaru, etc.
4The speaker is evidently Vipulāsimitra himself.
5This is Sukhāvatī. Cf. Srigītā-stōra, verse 77.
second prākāra of the Subrahmanyatemple in the village. During the field season of 1912, when I happened to inspect the village, I examined this inscription carefully and found that it was an extensive record incised on two sides of two large stone-slabs. On this occasion I took the impressions of the entire record and transcribed it in situ, satisfying myself that it was complete. The inscription was again registered as No. 26 of the year's collection for 1912 and an abstract of its contents given on pages 48 and 70 of the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for that year. The written faces of the slabs measure 4' by 2' 6" and 4' by 2' 3".

The left top corner of the first slab is broken and the commencing portion of the first three lines has suffered some damage. But for this, the record is well preserved.

The inscription is engraved in the Vaṭṭelutta alphabet of the 9th century A.D. and is in the Tamil language. The only Grantha letters found used in it are Śrī (l. 1, 111, 133, 160 and 169) and sai in upāsaiyār (l. 3). The following paleographical peculiarities are worth noticing:—The rare letters ḍyam (equivalent to a vañca), which is indicated in modern Tamil by three dots, is represented in this record by a horizontal line with a dot marked above and below, like the division-sign (see abhyam-āgra, l. 35). Two forms of ya occur, one with an inward and the other with an outward loop: for the former see the ya's of yāndu (l. 1), upāsiyār (l. 3) and yār-āiyār (l. 5); and for the latter see ya in Mārā (l. 1). Long ā is generally distinguished from the short a as in nū of nāru (l. 8), or ā of tompūrār (l. 10) and nū in nāru (l. 12 and 21); but in the case of ku and kā, no such distinction is made. One and the same symbol is employed to represent po and pō except in l. 43. In line 51, short pū gets the length stroke. The vowel u is hardly distinguishable from nā. The cross stroke of ka is generally indistinct (see mūr-ādutkāgra in l. 61 and polān-kāsu in l. 71) and there are several instances where it is completely absent, as in sīru-kañiyan-umidu in l. 42. Nā is written as a wavy horizontal line, as in nāli at the beginning of l. 29 and 93. In a large number of words found in this inscription, vowels have been used in the middle ignoring the rules of sandhi as is the case in the early epigraphs like the Vēḻvārī plate of Neṭunjālaiyan. In all places where the word ivargal occurs the r is elided and this elision is quite common in epigraphs from the Malabar Coast.

The document under notice contains some words of etymological interest. One of them is kāyam. I think it may be derived from the Sanskrit word kāhara (pungent) which becomes khāra in Prakrit and kārum in Tamil. As ya is often substituted for ra, kārum becomes kāyam; cf. vēngār and vēngiyām, peruvār and peruvāiyām. The change of ra into ya is illustrated by the Tamil adaptation of the Sanskrit words dār and vārikulikā which change into vāy and vāykkāl in Tamil. The word kāyam has hitherto been taken to mean exclusively ‘asafoetida’, but our inscription clearly says that the five spices, pepper, turmeric, cumin, small nutmeg, and ceylon pepper formed the five kāyam and thereby proves that the popular meaning of kāyam as ‘asafoetida’ does not cover the full connotation of the word. The word kāyam has to be derived from kārūnapāṇa through its Prakrit form kārāpana. Poli is the contracted form of pothi (interest) which occurs in modern Malayalam as polišu: these words are derived from the root poli, ‘to increase’. Another somewhat puzzling word is pāṭara (l. 6). It seems to me to be a compound formed from the roots pō and tā and a contraction from ‘pāṭangōdi tāru’ meaning

1 [The three blanks to be seen in the accompanying plate (i) at the close of l. 41 to 46, (ii) at the close of l. 86, (iii) at the commencement of l. 102-105 seem to have been accidentally caused by the falling off of small pieces of the inked estampago.—Ed.]

2 The phrase nītsa-nītsadra-polā-bāyaṭākkuru occurs in No. 148 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894. Here the phrase ‘polā-bāyaṭākkuru’ shows that the word kāyam was used as a general name for ‘more than one’ article and not for ‘asafoetida’ alone. Compare the use of the word in ‘upp-ōdu nēy-pō-ayir kāyam poyā aśiyan kipp-āru pēy-chhurāiyūn-bāy’.
"having given to be taken." This mode of forming compounds would seem to be rather rare in Tamil. The word abigam (ll. 35, 58, etc.) is seldom met with in inscriptions; but it may be noted that it has been correctly employed to denote the exchange value of money in grain. Another noteworthy form of a word is ēri used in place of āga, "in all: together." In this sense the word is rarely used though its significance is quite clear in the common expression ēri-karattu, "adding together or subtracting." Nāru of nāru-amidu occurring in line 54 along with the items betel leaves (ērṟṟai) and areca-nuts (ādai-kkāy) is another unusual word. It may be considered a disrēchol (a dialectical word) in Tamil taken from Malayalam where it is still used in the sense of "slaked lime." A variant of this word is niṟum which means "powder, ash" (cf. niṟu-pūtta-nērṟṟu, "fire covered over with ash"). Nāṟṟṟum is still another word of etymological interest. It is used in this and many other Tamil epigraphs in the sense of "a grain measure," generally made of iron and is akin to Tamil nāṟṟṟum, denoting an iron nail, used for stringing together leaves of palm leaf manuscripts, an iron style or an arrow made entirely of iron (cf. Sanskrit Nārācha = an arrow). Another similar word is nāṟṟṟangī, generally spelt as nāṟṟṟangī = the iron bolt. The restriction of the terms nāṟṟṟam and nāṟṟṟangī in Tamil to articles made of iron and a subsidiary use of nāṟṟṟam in the sense of "molten lead or iron" indicate that all these words must have had an old Tamil stem nāṟṟṟ meaning "iron" or "metal." The commentary on Nārācha in the Sanskrit lexicon Amara explains it as lōhanayai bājañī (=an iron arrow). Children explains Nārācha as "an iron weapon of some sort, an arrow or light javelin." Apparently we have here one of the loan-words for which Sanskrit is indebted to the parent Dravidian tongue. The words niṟṟu and nihadi used in this inscription are analogous to the forms niṟṟdam, niṟṟam and nittam in other inscriptions, all of which seem to be derived from Sanskrit niṟṟram. Still another rare word, also occurring in the Ambasamudram epigraph of Varaguna-Mahārāja, is tumi, of which the meaning can be ascertained from certain references in the Tamil Sangam works. In line 266 of Perumbāṉāṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ瑀 occurs the phrase pungai tumittu, which has been rendered by the commentator as "cutting the branch of the pungai (tree)." It also occurs in 1. 72 of Mullaiṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ瑀 may be taken to mean "vegetable to be cut into pieces and fried".

The object of the inscription is thus stated: in order to meet the annual requirements of the temple of Subrahmanya-Bhaṭṭāra, which was the deity in the central shrine (Tirumūḍāṭṭānam) at Tiruchchekūr, Varaguna-Mahārāja, made a grant of 1,400 kāsu and entrusted the amount to three of his officers, viz. Irppaikkuṭṭi-kilaiyaṉ, Šāttamperumāṉ and Alāṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟṟ瑀 in the stipulation that the money should be lent out and with the interest accruing therefrom, the annual requirements of the temple should be met, the capital always remaining intact.

The items of expenditure included rice for offerings to the god and for bali; plantains; sugar; vegetables (the last according to this inscription were sold by weight); kāsu for seasoning articles; green gram required for the special kind of preparation called kummaṟṟum and for pori; betel leaves and areca-nuts (which were priced), and lime (not priced); ghee required for perpetual lamps, chain of lights, for seasoning curries and for the anointment of the god; milk, curd and the water of the tender cocoonut including tender kernel which were necessary for the bathing of the god; honey, unguent and barks of certain trees and crude camphor used as incense; turmeric; pachchai-kapīṟṟum and sandal required for the smearing of the deity; cloth required for covering images and for use in the kitchen (as towels); and flowers, etc. The preparation called kummaṟṟum, for which the chief requirement is stated to be green pulse, is not in present use. On the other hand, the word is now used to denote a mixture of slaked lime and sand.

1 In some of the Tamil inscriptions, this word seems also to be employed to denote "a channel" or "lance."
Even in literature it occurs but rarely. The early Tamil commentator Nachchirakkippiyar annotating text-line 195 of Perumbuduruppavadai states that the preparation called *pulukku* is "what is boiled well" and notes "that it may also mean *kummaivam*. From this statement of the commentator as well as from the requirement of *kummaivam* detailed in this and other inscriptions, it may be inferred that the preparation consisted of well-boiled green pulse, perhaps with the addition of a little sugar. At present it is called *pulukku* in Malabar.

On special occasions, which are said to be three, viz. 1Mārgal-Tiruvādnavi, Māsi-Makham and Vaiyēśi-Vēkākham, some of the items of expenditure have to be doubled.

The inscription is highly important for determining the relative values of money, weights and measures prevalent in South India and furnishes excellent data for reconstructing the economic conditions of the period. The amount of 1,400 *kāsū* given by the king to the temple at Tiruchchendur was divided into 16 unequal portions and invested with different bodies. The attached table at the end of this paper shows how the capital was to be distributed, what amount of interest had to be paid in paddy accrued annually from each investment at the rate of 2 *kālam* per year and what expenses were to be met from the interest thus realised. The recipients of the amounts were (1) the *ūrā* of Arimantapam included in Gaṅgagamangalai and the nagaṟattār of Māṇavirappatīram, both situated in Vaḻudi-valanāṉdu; (2) the sabbā of Kaṭṭiraiyamangalai in Śrivallabhavālanāṉdu; (3) the sabbhās of Tiṅgay included in Parāsumamangalai, Māramangalai and Tengakku... llur, all situated in Parāntaka-valanāṉdu; (4) as well as the sabbhās of Avanipākharanagalai, in Aminagara-valanāṉdu and Puliyādi, Kiraṅgu, Śadāṅgavikurichehi and Kaṭṭugōmaṅgalai, all situated in Kuṭanāṉdu. These bodies were required to pay annually interest in grain calculated at 2 *kālam* for one *kāsū* per year to be brought and measured in the premises of the temple. Further, it will be observed that among the bodies of men with whom the amounts were invested there were the nagaṟattār, the *ūrā* and the sabbhaiyār. "Nagarattār" is used only in the case of a single place, whose name ended with the termination *pattinam*; it is not unlikely that it represents a commercial guild in a town, as distinguished from "ūrā" and "sabbhā" which must be taken to be non-Brahmanical and Brahmanical assemblies in villages entrusted with certain powers in the administration of the country. In cases of default it was enjoined that a fine, which varied according to the amounts lent out, together with double the quantity at default should be realised (apparently by the bodies) and paid to the temple. The prohibitive rates of fine amounting in some cases to nearly 20 per cent of the capital plus the payment of double the quantity of paddy agreed upon to be given must have been intended to safeguard the regular performance of the various functions in the temple. It is expressly stated that the interest in grain should be paid in heaped measures according to a standard metal measure specially used for this purpose. This is the sense that can be given to the phrase *polī nirai-maddi-nāṟuyam.* Apparently the ordinary measures differed widely from these special measures; thus while a *kurupi* of interest paddy contained 6 *naḷī* and a *kālam* 15 *kurupi*, the ordinary *kurupi* measure had the capacity of 8 *naḷī* and a *kālam* of 12 *kurupi*. A *kālam* of interest paddy fell short of the ordinary *kālam* by 6 *naḷī*. That the measure (*kāḷ*) used for measuring interest paddy had the capacity of 6 *naḷī* is made clear by another inscription which has the phrase *poliki kuruppadāna aru-naḷī-kkalāl.*

Throughout the inscription, the rate of interest is stated to be two *kālam* of paddy per year per *kāsū*. Since it is also stated that the purchasing power of a *kāsū* was 10 *kālam* of paddy, the annual interest on money lent amounted to as much as 20 per cent which seems to indicate the

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1 [These festivities occur on or about the full-moon days of the months of Mārgaśirsha, Māgha and Vaśiśṭha respectively, when the moon would be in conjunction with the constellations of Ardrā, Maghā and Vaśiśṭha respectively.—Ed.]

scarcity of gold bullion or coin at the time of the record. It is worth noting that our inscription states that 3 measures of paddy yielded 1 measure of rice, while in other inscriptions it is stated that 5 measures of paddy gave 2 measures of rice. As the actual yield of rice from paddy is nearly a half, it must be considered that ample provision had been made in these epigraphs for meeting incidental charges such as wages for the different operations like husking, pounding, etc. The prices of some of the commodities are worthy of note. One kāśu could fetch the following quantities of the various articles, viz. 10 kalam of paddy, 1,000 plantains, 7 tulām and 65 palam of sugar, 20 tulām of vegetables, 60 nāli of kāyam, 1,220 puru of betel leaves, 10,100 areca-nuts, 150 kālaṇju of karpūram or 112 nāli and 1 uri of turmeric.1

Ancient Tamil works of the Sangam period mention kāśu, kāyam and poṇ among the coins current in South India; but it has nowhere been stated what fraction of a kāśu was represented by a poṇ or kāyam. Nachchinārkkānjiyār in his commentary on Śivakāchintāmaṇi states, however, that kāyam means a poṇ-kāśu. The latter word might mean either the coin called poṇ or a gold kāśu. As such, it is of interest to observe from this inscription that both kāyam and poṇ were gold coins equal in value, each being one-tenth of a kāśu. This ratio between a poṇ and a kāśu is obtained from item 8, where we find that 94 kāśu and 5 poṇ yielded an interest of 189 kalam at the rate of two kalam per kāśu. Now applying this value of a poṇ in item 1, we find that a kalam consisted of 15 kūrūṇi; and from item 2 we obtain that a kūrūṇi contained 6 nāli, and that a nāli was equal to 2 uri. Item 7 states that for meeting the daily requirements of ten nāli of flowers, which were sold at 150 nāli of flowers for one kāśu, or its equivalent 10 kalam of paddy, 240 kalam of paddy were required annually, from which we gather that a year was treated as consisting of 360 days for purposes of calculation. From the expenditure detailed in items 4 and 8, it is clear that 1 uri was equal to 2 ulākku and that 1 ulākku was made up of 2 alākku. Item 9 makes a provision of 50 kalam of paddy for meeting the annual expenses of (1) rice required for bali-offerings at 2 nāli per day, (2) 4 aṇai of cloth at 2 1/2 aṇai per kāśu and (3) 8 aṇai of cloth at 2 aṇai per kāśu. For (1), 24 kalam of paddy were required, and for (2) and (3), 26 kāyam were necessary and this was met from the balance of 26 kalam of paddy the money equivalent of which was 26/10 kāśu (10 kalam being the value of 1 kāśu). Since 26/10 kāśu = 26 kāyam, 1 kāśu was equal to 10 kāyam. From items 14 and 15 we learn that 1 tulām was equivalent to 100 palam and that 1 kalaṇju equalled 10 kāyam by weight. From this inscription we thus obtain the following tables of money, weights, measures, etc.:

**Money.**

| 10 poṇ or 10 kāyam | = | 1 kāśu |

**Weight.**

| 10 kāyam | = | 1 kalaṇju |
| 100 palam | = | 1 tulām |

**Measure.**

| 10 ševiḍu or 2 alākku | = | 1 ulākku |
| 2 ulākku | = | 1 uri |
| 2 uri | = | 1 nāli |
| 6 nāli | = | 1 kūrūṇi |
| 15 kūrūṇi | = | 1 kalam |

**Number.**

| 4 adukku | = | 1 puru |

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1 See lines 39 ff., 59 f., 110 ff., 122 and 197 of the Text given below.
The inscription belongs to the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna-Mahārāja (II). The date portion occurring in the second line of the record is lost, but so much of it is seen that the year opposite is found to be thirteen. In the seventh line, the day of the regnal year of the king is given as 5001 in words which yields 13 years of 365 days and 256 days. We may take the days as referring to “the year opposite” and not to the entire regnal year. Examples of similar dating are found in a few inscriptions. No. 502 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 is dated in the 13th year and 3090th day as well as in the 8th year opposite to the 13th. Similarly also No. 534 of the same collection is dated in the 4th year and 1745th day as well as in the 4th year opposite to the 4th. Again in No. 509, the year given at the commencement of the record is “13th year and 1445th day” while in the body the same is indicated by “3rd year opposite to the 13th”. These instances are sufficient to make it clear that the days given refer only to the number of years and days passed after the first mentioned year and not to the entire regnal year.

The inscription is silent regarding the ancestry of the king, as stone records in the Tamil country generally are. There is nothing in the name of the king to enable us to say to which of the two Pāṇḍya sovereigns, who bore the name Varaguna, this record must be ascribed. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu script employed in the record shows that it must belong to the ninth century A.D. and since both the Varagunas lived in this century and were separated only by a single reign, paleographical indications are not of much value. There are, however, internal indications to prove that the record belongs to Varaguna II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription and the divisions to which they belonged, occur Valjadi-valanaḍu, Kaṇṇunga-mangalam, Māravankaḷikkar crossing, Parantaka-valanaḍu, Varaguna-mangalam, and Śrivallabha-valanaḍu which at once indicate that they must have been called after the Pāṇḍya kings Pāḷiya-śalai-Mudukkuṭumīṃ-Perun Valjadi, Kaṇṇunga, Māravarman (of which name there were more kings than one), Parantaka (also called Neṭtiṇṭakadiyay and Śrīvara), Varaguna-Mahārāja I and Śrivallabha respectively, all of these being reputed names in the genealogy of the Pāṇḍya kings furnished by copper-plates. The inscription also mentions a village Avanipāṭekkaramangalam which must have been called after the name or title of a king and as I have shown in the Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy for 1929-30 (p. 72), this Avanipāṭekkaram is identical with Śrivallabha, the son and successor of Varaguna-Mahārāja I. The mention of the names Śrivallabha-valanaḍu and Avanipāṭekkaram-mangalam precludes the possibility of the inscription being one of Varaguna I. We can, therefore, definitely assign the present inscription to the reign of Varaguna II. The Aiyaramalai rock inscription places this king’s accession in A.D. 862. The date of this record must be a little later than A.D. 874, that being the equivalent of the 13th year of his reign.

A word may now be said about Iruppaikkudi-kilavan, one of the trusted servants of king Varaguna-Mārāya through whom the gift amount of 1,400 (gold) kāṭu was sent. His proper name appears to be Etṭi Sāṭṭan from a stone epigraph recently secured from Erukkatangedi (No. 334 of 1929-30). He is stated to have been honoured with the title of Iruppaikkudi-kilavan by king Śrivallabha. The inscription gives a long and interesting account about him, mentioning several acts of charity including the construction, repair and improvement of several palaces, temples, tanks, embankments, water-channels, sluices, etc. It is clear that he must have been a great and energetic administrator and the programme of his charities and public works testify alike to his catholicity and tolerance, as to his solicitude for the rural population in an arid tract.

We know of no other Valjadi in inscriptions except this king. It is, however, possible that there was more than one king of this name, e.g., Ugra-Peruvaljadi.
The present inscription resembles in many respects the Ambāsamudram record of Varaguna-Mahārāja. Both grants were made with the express object of defraying all the expenses that have to be incurred from day to day and year to year in connection with the religious services in a temple and go into minute details about these. There is a striking similarity in the phraseology of the two. Both state that the principal should remain undiminished and that only the interest should be utilised for meeting the expenses. The annual rate of interest in both cases is identical, viz. two kalam of paddy for one kāšu. From the Ambāsamudram inscription, just as in the Tiruchchendūr epigraph, it can be gathered that a kalām of interest paddy consisted of 90 nālī and a kurumi was equivalent to 6 nālī. But the prices of articles varied considerably during the interval between the two grants, some of which have been noted below for easy reference. It is noteworthy that whereas the prices of certain commodities obtaining at the time of the Ambāsamudram inscription had fallen by a third at the time of the Tiruchchendūr record, in certain others (e.g. vegetables) there was a sharp rise of 300 per cent. And since it cannot be said that these fluctuations were due to difference of locality (the two localities not being far removed from each other) the inference is inevitable that the difference is to be attributed to the difference in time between the two records which cannot be less than 40 years.

Prices of articles (A—Ambāsamudram. T—Tiruchchendūr).

1. 1 nālī of paddy for 2 plantain fruits
   1,000 plantains for 10 kalām

2. 30 nālī of paddy for 1 nālī of ghee
   20 Ditto

3. 3 nālī of paddy for 1 nālī of curd
   2 Ditto

4. 1 palām of sugar was obtained for 1 nālī and 1 uri of paddy
   7 tulām and 65 palām for 10 kalām

5. 10 palām of vegetables cost 1 nālī of paddy
   20 tulām of vegetables cost 10 kalām of paddy

6. 6 nālī of paddy for 1 anāku of kāyam
   1 kāšu (10 kalām) fetched 60 nālī of kāyam

We may now note a few facts concerning the geographical terms that occur in the inscription. At the outset it may be said that all the villages and divisions mentioned are situated in the Tinnevelly District. Tiruchchendūr is 18 miles east-south-east of Śrīvalkuṇṭam on the sea. Koṅkai and Maṅamaṅgalam are in the Śrīvalkuṇṭam taluk and Nallūr and Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalam are in the Tiruchchendūr taluk. Of these, Koṅkai was an important place in the Pāṇḍya kingdom noted for its pearl fishery. Both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy mention it, the former under the name of Kolchi or Korkoy. Mr. R. Sewell states that Maṅamaṅgalam is the

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4. Majumdar: McGrindle’s Ancient India of Ptolemy, pp. 53-8, 78.
5. Ibid., p. 312. No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918 agrees with this inscription in stating that Koṅkai was in Kuja-nāḍu. From an inscription at Akkāšāli (No. 165 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903) we learn that it formed part of Koṅkai and had in it Akkāśāli-Ivaramuṅgalaiyār. It is further stated that Koṅkai was surmounted Madhurantakarnallur and that it was in Kuja-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uta maṅgalakani which was a district of Rājārāja-Pāṇḍināḍu.
site of ancient Korkai and that Akkāsālai is a place not far from it. From the inscriptions of the former place it is seen that it was situated in Parāntaka-vaḷaṇāṇḍu. As such, it must be identical with the place mentioned in our inscription as being located in the same division. The division Parāntaka-vaḷaṇāṇḍu itself must have been called after Māraṇādaḷiyaṇa aśvins Ṛṣabha-parāntaka (circa A.D. 770). It is a point worthy of note that while Korkai belonged to the sub-division Kuḍa-ṇāḍu, Māraṇāṅgalam, a place quite in the vicinity of it, belonged to a different sub-division. Both Māraṇērī and Māraṇāṅgalam in the Tinnevelly District were called in ancient times Māraṇāṅgalam. While the former was situated in Tiruvalludi-vaḷaṇāṇḍu, the latter was in Parāntaka-vaḷaṇāṇḍu. Since Māraṇāṅgalam of our record is stated to have been a place in Parāntaka-vaḷaṇāṇḍu, we have to identify it with the one near Korkai, and not with Māraṇērī. Valjudi-vaḷaṇāṇḍu in which were situated Varaguṭaṇaṇḍu, Karavāḷaṇaṇḍu, Tyambakamaṇḍuṇḍu, Gaṅgaṇṭaṇḍu, and Mānaviraṇḍuṇḍu, was also called Tiruvalludi-vaḷaṇāṇḍu or Valjudi-vaḷaṇāṇḍu or Valjudi-ṇāḍu and had in it Ajāve-Tirunagar, the birthplace of the Vaishnava saint Nammāḷavār, and Śrīvaiyuktham. Varaguṭaṇaṇḍu is one of the 18 sacred places of the Vaishnavas in the Pāṇḍya country. It is celebrated in the hymn of Nammāḷavār, and is known from his days as Varaguṭaṇaṇḍu, that being a shortened form of Varaguṭaṇaṇḍu. It is 18 miles north-east of Tinnevelly. We have already shown that this place must have been called after Varaguṇa I. Another place mentioned in the inscription is Kiraṇūr. It was the headquarters of a division in later times. The sub-division Amitagaṇa-vaḷaṇāṇḍu occurs in another inscription of Tiruchchendū under the same Anudaguṇa-vaḷaṇāṇḍu.

1 Nos. 157 to 161 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. These inscriptions state that Māraṇāṅgalam was called Devindravallabha-chaturvedimaṇḍu and that it was a bruheṇḍuṇḍa in Parāntaka-vaḷaṇāṇḍu, a sub-division of Mudikopāḷa-vaḷaṇāṇḍu which was a district of Rājarāja-Pāṇḍyaṇḍu.

2 See No. 467 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909, and Nos. 483 and 487 of the same collection for 1916.

3 Nos. 174 of 1895 and 402 of 1909.

4 The 18 places are:—(1) Tirumālaruṇṭhirai, i.e. Alagarnalai, 12 miles north-east of Madura; (2) Tirukkōṭṭiyur, 27 miles north-east of Māṇi-Madura; (3) Tirumayam, 45 miles to the south of Trichinopoly in the Pudukottai State; (4) Tiruppuṇḍai, 6 miles to the south of Rāmnād; (5) Tiruttankai, 13 miles west of Sāṭṭur; (6) Tirukkōṭṭiyur, half a mile east of Madura; (7) Śrīvillipūṭur, 22 miles west of Sāṭṭur; (8) Tirumālukkōṭṭuri, 7 miles north-west of Madura; (9) Tirukkurongo, i.e. Āḷvār-Tirunagari, 19 miles east of Tinnevelly; (10) Televilimangalam, i.e. Irāṭatīruttiruppattai, 25 miles north of Tinnevelly; (11) Śrīvaramaṇḍai, i.e. Vannamalai, 18 miles south of Tinnevelly; (12) Tiruppuṅudugi, 7 miles east of Tinnevelly; (13) Tirupperai, 24 miles northeast of Tinnevelly; (14) Śrīvaiyuktham, 16 miles east of Tinnevelly; (15) Varaguṇaṇḍu, 18 miles northeast of Tinnevelly; (16) Tirukkuṇḍalai, i.e. Perūngalam, 26 miles north-east of Tinnevelly; (17) Tirukkurungudi, 26 miles south of Tinnevelly; and (18) Tirukkōṭṭur, 26 miles east of Tinnevelly.

5 This is the 4th stanza of the second ten of the 9th hundred commencing with the words Puṭṭapadikākṣaṇa Varaguṇaṇḍaṇḍu Vaṅgkundam mānā, etc. The date of birth of Nammāḷavār as calculated by the late L. D. Swamikunnal Pillai is 4th May, A.D. 788, corresponding to Pramāthi, Vaṅgikā, on. 15, Viśakā, Friday (See his Indian Ephemeris). He must thus have been a contemporary of Varaguṇa I, after whom the place was named.

6 In the case of Varaguṇaṇḍu and Śrīvaramaṇḍai (Nos. 15 and 11 of the above list) it is obviously out of place to take maṇḍai as a feminine suffix like alli and to derive them from deities bearing the names Varaguṇa and Śrīvara. They are undoubtedly named after the Pāṇḍya kings Varaguṇa and Śrīvara.

7 No. 470 of the same collection for the year 1916.

8 No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.
TEXT.

First slab; First face.

1. Sāra Kō Varaguṣa-Varāyanu rāṣṭu
2. daṇḍ-ḍir pādiṇ-mūrga ṭvṛ-ṭṇu Tiru-
3. Suppiraman[']niya-Varāgar-upāsaiyā-
4. ṭna Tiruṭutṣṭaṭṭā-ppaṭṭa[']ṛkku mudoal-kēdāman[']-ppoliṭṭ[i]ā-
5. ga kōṇṭu sēluttvav-āga uδaiyār-ādiyār-āg[a]2 Varaguṣa-Mārayar pō-
7. tū-kkōṣum aiyāratt[i]-opṛ-ṇāḷaṛ-kōṇṭu-vanda nūrai-kurāyā-ppa-
8. laṅ-kaḍu āirattu[']-ṇa-ṛgṛu [']['] i-kaḍar-śūda-nāṭṭu-ppkkra-ārār kalīŋ
9. mudoal-kēdāman[']-ppoliṭṭ[i]-kkōṇṭu sēluttvav-āga vaṭta nūrai-
10. kurāyā-ppalāṅ-kaḍu tōṇnṛr-ā[r]u pōṇg-eṭṭu [']['] i-kaḍal oru-kā-
11. sukku ṣṭṇuvarai poli nūrai-madi-nāryātāl iru-kala-nell-āga va-
12. nda nēlu nūṛṛu-tōṭnṛṛu-mukkalāṇy ṭṇadāṇ kuruṇ[']['] i-n-
13. xellē niyadippadī iva[r][']a[k]a kōṇḍu-vandu sēlutt-kaḍaṇavaṇa [']['] xāli-
14. arīṣikkā mu-nuṇālī nell-āga-stūrv-amudūṇikkā arīṣ[i]['] xennaṛ-xī-
15. tal oru-pōdaikkā nā-gālī-āga nāṛgū pōdaikkā arīśi xennṛ-xī-
16. 1 pādiṇ-ṛg-nālī [']['] Mārga[']-ṭiruvādira[r]ā-śaśi-Makaman Vaiyāśi-
17. Viyākanum padī ināṭi sēluttvavad [']['] i-pāraśu sēluttvad ku-
18. tukkarpadī i-tēvekkōṭy irubatt-aṇju kāsi daṇḍam adam pa-
19. ṭtu-chēcheluttādū vīṭṭa mūḍal-iratiyūn-kujippadū [']['] i-nāṭṭu Na[l]-
20. lūṛ-ṛār kāḷī['] marpaṭi “poluṭṭ-āga vaṭta nūrai-kurāyā-ppala-
21. n-kaḍu nūṛṛu-arubatt-eṭṭum poṇ[g-ṛgṛy] kāl [']['] i-kaḍal-ṣṭṇuvarai po[l]-
22. nelli nūrai-madi-nāryātāl mu-nūṛṛu-muppaṭṭ-elu-kalaṇṛy mu-[kk]-
23. ṭṇu nā-ṛgli uri [']['] i-nellē niyadippadī tūrv-amudūṇikkā iva[r][']['] xā-
24. l kōṇḍu-vandu sēlutt-kaḍaṇavaṇa nālī neyy-amudūṇikkā irupadi-
25. [nālī] nell-āga-stūrv-amudī nivēḍikka-ppasūvin-ṇaru ney oru-
26. pōdaikkā uḷakk-āgavum [']['] kāri tumikkavum porikkavum oru-pōdaikkā ā-
27. lakk-āgavum [']['] nāṛgū-pōdaikkā neyy-amudī nāḷi uri [']['] nāḷi-ttaie[']-
28. a midūṇikkā iru-nāḷi nell-āga-stūrv-amudī nivēḍikka-staie[']-amīdu
29. oru-pōdaikkā nāḷi-yāgavum kīṭṭukku-staie[']-amīdu oru-pōdaikkā u-
30. rīy-āgavum nāṛgū-pōdaikkā-ppasūvin-rīy-taie['] aru-nāḷi [']['] oru-kāśu-
31. kku nūrai-madi-nāryātār-padī-kala-nell-āgav-āga [']['] xīrām[']
32. vāḷai-ppaḷattīṇukku oru-kāś-āgavum [']['] elu-tulāṭ-arubatt-aimba-
33. la-čēṛaṛakaraikku oru-kāś-āgavum [']['] irupadin-tulān kāri-amidūkku
34. oru-kāś-āgavum [']['] arupadi-nāḷi kāyattīṇukku oru-kāś-āgavum
35. āḥgaṇ-āga [']['] stūrv-amīdu nivēḍikka vāḷai-ppaḷa-amīdu o-
36. ru-pōdaikkā nāṛgū-pōdaikkā-kkara-vāḷai-ppaḷa-amīdu pa-
37. diṇ-āru [']['] śaṛkara-amīdu oru-pōdaikkku oru-palam-āga nāṛgū-pōda-
38. kku-čēṛaṛakara-amīdu nāṛg-ppalam [']['] kāri-amīdu kāy-kkara oru pu-
39. li[i]-gari oru pūlukku-kkari oru pori-kkari oru ēṛ['][']
40. kkari-amīdu nāṛgūyukku oru-pōdaikkku [pādiṇ-][palam-āga][']['] nā-

1 Read poliṭṭ[i]ā. 2 Read aiyāratt[i]. 3 Read kaṣīṛg[i]. 4 Read kaṣīphil. 5 Read aiyāratt[i]. 6 Read raśīṛum-. 7 Read aiyāratt[i]. 8 Read aiyāratt[i]. 9 Read raśīṛum-. 10 After ēṛi, the letters ṭka seem to have been engraved and erased. 11 The phrase pādiṇ-palam-āga is a correction from kkaṣīṛg-amīdu.
41 gu-pōdaikkku-kka-rī-amidu nārpadiṇḍa-palam [¹] kāyaṁ niḻag-[amidu]
42 manṬi]-amidu śīraka-amidu śīru-kaduŋ-amidu kottambai[r]-amidu
43 ēri-kkāyaṁ aindu [¹] ivai oru-pōdaikkku mu-čhe-veišt-āga nāngu-pōj-
44 dākku-kkāyaṁ uḷakkkē iru-veištīt [¹] Māg[al]-i-Tiruvādāra[²] Māsī-Мака-
45 mum Vaiyyāśi-Viyyakānaṁ paḍī ḍaṭṭi śeluttuvadu [¹] i-p[a]-
46 ruśu śeluttadu kuttukkkārpa[dl] i-tīvarkkēy aṁbadu
47 kāśu dāṇḍadum paṭṭu-čeche-luttaṭadu viṭṭa mudaļ-iraṭṭiun²-ku-
48 ḍuppadu [¹] i-māśṭṭa-čeChāliyutta-årar kain⁴ mēpaḍi
49 poliṭṭ-āga² vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā-p[p][a]-kāśu irubattu-nā-
50 nū pop aṁdēy-nukkāl [¹] i-kkāśal oru-kāśukku āṇḍuva-
51 raī poli nīrai-madi-nāra-yattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nello

First slab : Second face.

52 nārpatt-ōbādini-kalaṇēy iru-kūruṇi nāļi
53 uri [¹] i-nellāl niyadippadī [tį]ru-amiduqkkku iva[¹]ka-
54 āi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kka-qqavaka [¹] nāli-ppara[n]ppukku nā-
55 li-ulakkka-ppaṣar-agavum nāli-ppaṣarqukku iru-nāli nēl-āga-
56 vum kummuṇat[u]qkkku-ppaṣarq-ppara[n]ppu oru-pōdaikkku u-
57 ri-yagā nāngu-pōdaikkku-čehe-rusa-ppaṣarq-ppara[n]ppu iru-nāli [¹]
58 oru-kāsukku nīrāi-madi-nāra-yattāp-paṇin-kala-nell-āga-
59 ga [¹] āi-rat⁴ -iru-nūr-iruṇpadu pargu veṛīlaikkku oru-kāśā-
60 gavum [¹] pa[dl]rāṭt - oru-nūr-adaikkkāy-amidiqukkku oru-kāś-āga-
61 m āghu-āga [¹] i[n]-amidu oru-pōdaikkku nēv-adukk-āga nā-
62 nū-pōdaikkku ve[l][ai]-amidu mānru parru adaikkkāy-[al]-
63 du oru-pōdaikkku-[p]-aṅg-āga nāngu-pōdaikkku-adaikkkāy-
64 amidu āmavṣ-āru [¹] nūr-amidu veṛūvad-iqduvadu [¹] Mā-
65 rge(a)-i-Tiruvādāra[²] Māsī-Makanaṁ Vaiyyāśi-Viyyakānaṁ-
66 m paḍi ḍaṭṭi śeluttvadu [¹] i-pa[a]-ku śelu-
67 ttadu kuttukkkār[p]dil i-tīvā[r*]kkēy aindu kāśu
68 daṇḍam[ml] paṭṭu-čeche-luttaṭa viṭṭa mudaļ-iraṭṭi-
70 Varaṇumamalalat-tu-čehe-vaiyā[k]-kai[n⁴] mēpaḍi po-
71 lūḥt-āga⁵ vaḷṭṭa nīra[i]-kuṇaiyā-ppaṇa-kāśu nūr-oru-
72 padu [¹] i-kkāśāl oru-kāsukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīr[i]-ma-
73 di-nāra-yattāl [iru-kala]-nell-āga vanda nello iru-nā-
74 r-[irubadin-kalaṁ [¹] i-nellāl niyadippadī iva[r*]
75 ga koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kka-qqavaka [¹] nāli-neykku iru-
76 padi-nīl nell-āgastiru-nand-viḷakkku oṣnuqkkku [nʃ]-
77 ya(d) ney uru-āgā-rtiru-nand[ā]-viḷakkku aiṇi[(k)]qkkku-
78 [su]l[v-naru ney niyadu iru-nāli uri [¹] āndiyanmpadu
79 ti[t][u]n-k unus-śeygiru ḍi[p]-ma[lai] kaṭta-[p]paśuviṇ-ṇaru-ne-
80 y niyadu ulakkku [¹] i-pa[a]-ku śeluttaṭa kuttukkkār[p]dil-
81 l i-te(i)val[k]kēy panmarad-arai-kkāa daṇḍamum paṭṭu-čeche-
82 ḍuṭtadu viṭṭa mudaļ-iraṭṭiun²-kuṭṭadum [¹] i-nū[i]
83 ttēvādāga-ppiramadēyam Tiyambahakamangalam Ira-
84 [ṇjāl]vālimalgalattu-chchavayār kași1 mērpaḍi po-
85 [lī]tīt-āga2 vaitta nirai-kuṣaiyā-ppalaḥ-kāsu mu-
86 ppatt-iranrēdi i-kkāsāli oru-kkāsukku ājñuvarai pol[i] ni-gai-
87 madi-nārāyattāl īru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu arupa-
88 ttu-nāl-kalam [*] i-nnellāl ira[rj]gāi niyadippadī koč-
89 ād-vando selutta-kkādvana [*] nālī* pppalukku īru-nālī ne-
90 l-āga-ttirūmaṇjāpam ādi-aruḷa-ppāśuvin-pāli niya-
91 di nā-gaili [*] nālī-ttarukkkku īru-nālī-nell-āga-stti-
92 ruṇāṇjāpam ādi-aruḷa-ppāśuvin-raiṭi niyadi nā-
93 nālī i-ppariśu seluttādu kuttukkāpadi-
94 l i-ttēvārkkāy aiṇdu kāsu daṇḍanum paṭṭuch-
95 cheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iraṭṭiun*-kuṭuppadu

Second slab; First face.

96 i-nnāṭtu-kēhaikāmangalattu-ppadum ālamṇaṭṭattu ni-
97 rār kaṽi1 mērpaḍi polīṭṭ-āga2 vaitta nirai-kuṣaiyā-ppalaḥ-kāsu pa-
98 di-[a]rū i-kkāsāli ājñuvarai poli niyai-madi-nārāyattāl i-
99 ru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu muppatt-īru-kalam [*] i-nnellāl ira[rj]gāi
100 [niya]kkippadī [ko]n[ū]-vando selutta-kkādvana [*] or-īlaṇ[ul]kkku nālī nēl-ā-
101 ga-ttirūmaṇjāpam ādi-aruḷa iliṇa rulaivu utpaḍa niyadi īru-nālī u-
102 laķku [*] nālī-ηaṭṭrukku nāl-ηaṇu-āga niyadi ṣiṇu iliṇaṛ eṝtu [*] i-
103 ppariśu seluttādu kuttukkāpadi-l i-ttēvārkkāy aiṇdu-kāsu da-
104 ndamum paṭṭu-čcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iraṭṭiun* kuṭuppadu [*] i-nnā-
105 [i]tu Mānvaṇirapāṭṭiṇātta nagaṇarattai kaś[ī]i1 [mē]ppadī polīṭṭ-āga2 vai-
106 i-nnāṭtu-kēhaikāmangalattu-ppadum ālamṛṇaṭṭattu ni-
107 ājñuvarai poli niyai-madi-nārāyattāl īru-kala-nell-āga vanda ne-
108 lu īru-nūṛu niṛpaṇi-kalam [*] i-nnellāl ira[rj]gāi niyadippa-
109 di koṇḍu-vando selutta-kkādvana [*] oru-kkāsukku nirai-madi-nārāyattā-
110 padu-kala-nell-aṅgam-āga [*] nūṛ-aiṁbadi-pāli nartum-pāṇi oru-
111 kāsāgā [k]aś[ī]i1 [n]aṭṭhanṇamatiṣṭi oru niyadi alakkka kkkādvva nartum-pāṇi-
112 [nālī] [*] i-ppariśu seluttādu kuttukkāpadi-l i-ttēvārkkāy irubat-
113 t aiṇdu-kāsu da[ṇ]damum paṭṭu-čcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iraṭṭiun* kuṭup-
114 [p]adu [*] Śirivallabha-valaṇṇatū-ppiramadēyam Kattarāmaṇjāpam-čchhavaiyā-
115 r kaś[ī]i1 mērpaḍi polīṭṭ-āga2 vaitta nirai-kuṣaiyā-ppalaḥ-kāsu tonu[n]ru-
116 nāggu popai-aiṇdu [*] i-kkāsāli oru-kkāsukku ājñuvarai poli niyai-madi-nārāyattā-
117 l īru-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli nūṛ-ekattu-ṛupadum-kalam [*] i-n[ne]-
118 liāl ira[rj]gāi koṇḍu-vando selutta-kkādvana [*] nālī-ṛohi[rj]payarrru-pp-
119 rkkku nālī-ulakkku-pppayarrrgavum [*] nālī-pppayarrukku īru-nālī-nell-ā-
120 ga-pppori ija niṣadam [si]ḥppal-yaaṇi ṭuppi niiyadi ur(ij)u[i]kku* alakkka-kkkādvva
121 aṭṭanka-ṇkkādvva
122 aṭṭanka-kkkādvva
123 mēhī pūṣi-aruḷa mēr-gol śiṇatta pāṭṛ-ṇaṭja niyadi mūlkkku [*]
124 [o]viya[ṇ]ujum pāṇḍaiṣum* or-aṇai oru-kāsu pāraṇa oru-nūṛai muṭṭiṇi

1 Read kaś[ī]i
2 Read niyati-āga
3 Read niyai-madi-nārāyattāl īru-kala-nell-āga vanda
4 The is of nālī looks like ḫā
gaļuku nāl-aṇāiy-āga őr-āṇḍu nāgur-nūraikku vẹn-kūrāi padin-ār-aṇai [\*\*] i-
paparīṇu sēluttādu kuttukkanāppadil i-tēvārkēy irupatt-aindu
kāsu daṇḍanum paṭṭu-chenchelluttādu viṭṭa mūḍa-irāṇṭu\*1-kusuppamu [\*\*]
Parāntaka-vaṇāṁṣṭu-ppiramadeyam [Paraśuṣuma]gañṭu-ttegel-kījaka Tī-
P[ṇṭ]chhavaivār kauiṇ\*1 mārpaṇī ṣapoliūṭ-āga vaitta nīrai-kuṇaiyā-ppa-
ū-kījāsu iruhatt-aindu [\*\*] i-kkkāsd oru-kuṇāikkku āṇṭuvāraī poli nīrai-mādi-nā-
rāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vandu nellu aṁbadi-kalam e-mnellā-
1 īva[r\*\*\*]gañ ṽoṇḍu-vandi śelutta-kkaṇḍava ṣa [\*\*] nāṭi-arīṣikku mu-nnāti nel-
l-āga-ttiru-ppalikkku niyadi arīṣi sēnna-rīṭṭal oru-pōdaikkku nāiyī-āga i-
rāṇḍu pōdaikkku arīṣi sēnna-rīṭṭal iru-nāli [\*\*] oru-kuṇāikkku nīrai-mādi-nāryāttāl
padin-kala-nell-āhgam-āga śi-mādai-papalī-kkāṣṭu mēṛkāṭṭikkku [p]ppadāvai ṣiṇai i-
raṇḍ-arai-kkaṇam pṛerāṇa oru-maṇi aṛu-tīguḷakkku ṣra-ṇaṇv-āga őr-āṇḍu iruṇḍu mu-
raik
ku-pḍuṭvāvai nāl-aṇai [\*\*] kal-puṇaikku-ppadāvai ṣiṇai iruṇḍu-kkaṇam pṛerāṇa oru-
muṇai mu-ttiṇ-
 gaļuku r-anāy-āga őr-āṇḍu nā gu-muṛai[k\*\*\*]ku-pḍuṭvāvai eṭṭ-aṇai [\*\*] i-paparīṇu
sēluttādu kut-
tukkāppadil i-tēvārkēy kījāsu daṇḍanum paṭṭu-chenchelluttādu viṭṭa mūḍa-
l-irāṇṭu1-kusuppamu i-nnāṭi-ppiramadeyam [\*\*] Mārmaṅga-iṭtām
chhavaivār kauiṇ\*2 mārpaṇī pōliūṭ-āga vaitta nīrai-kuṇaiyā-ppa-
laṁ-kūsā nūṛi-āmbatt-irajj-arai [\*\*] i-kkkāsd oru-kuṇāikkku āṇṭuvāraī
poli nīrai-mādi-nāryāttāl iru-kala-nell-āga vandu nellu nu-nūṛ-
l-ain-kalam [\*\*] i-mnellā īva[r\*\*\*]gañ ṽoṇḍu-vandi śelutta-kkaṇḍava ṣa [\*\*]
oru-kuṇāikkku nīrai-mādi-nāryāttāl padin-kala-nell-āhgam-āga [\*\*] śi-tūpam
śīdāriṃghukku vënḍum uṛu[p\*\*\*] agil-utpadā-kkaṇāpum-tēnu[na] ni-
yadi arai-kkaṇam vitāī pṛa iṛuva ṣa [\*\*] śi-karpakira-agattu-κkāṣṭu mēṛkā-
tikku vẹn-kūrāi ṣiṇai īḷ-arai-kkaṇam pṛerāṇa oru-muṇai aṛu-tīguḷakkku
nāl-aṇay-āga őr-āṇḍu iruṇḍu muṇaikku vẹn-kūrāi eṭṭ-aṇai [\*\*] nāli-ttair4-amadiṅk-
ku iru-nāḷi nell-āga-ttiru-ppalikkku-pṛasvin-rōy-tair\* niyadi nāḷi [\*\*]
tattai koṭṭiṇgukku-kkoṛa nellu-ttaiṇa [nāṛ]-kala[je]y padinʾ\*k-
ruṇi nāḷi uriy-āga őr-āṇḍu pannināṇḍu tīnguḷakkku vēṇḍum nellu nīrai-
mādi-nāryāttāl ainbatt-eḷu-kalam*

Second slab ; Second face.

i-nnāṭi-ppiramadeyam Tepṛakku. . . . . . .
llūr-chhavaivār kauiṇ\*3 mārpaṇī ṣapoliūṭ-āga vaiṭṭa ni-
raï-kuraivāy-ppaṇalī-kījāsu arapadu [\*\*] i-kkkāsd oru-kuṇāikkku āṇṭu-
varai poli nīrai-mādi-nāryāttāl iru-kala-nell-āga vandu nellu
nūṛ-irupadīn-kalam [\*\*] i-mnellā īva[r\*\*\*]gañ ṽoṇḍu-vandi śelutta-
kkāṇḍaṇa [\*\*] oru-kuṇāikkku nīrai-mādi-nāryāttāl padin-kala-nell-āhgam-
ka [\*\*] śi-udāiy-ājai ṣiṇai miṃgro-kuṇāi pṛerāṇa oru-maṇi mu-ttiṇgukku

\* Read \*gus\*.
\* Read \*kujug\*.
\* Read \*sidāriṃghukku\*.
\* Read \*poliyūṭ-āga\*.
\* The letters in brackets look like \*g\*u.
\* Read \*tattai\*.

To make up the total of 57 kalam in this item the word padīn ought to be padīn-oru.
There is some blank space in this line after eḷu-kalam and space for another line below, in which should have been incised the words i-paparīṇu sēluttādu kuttukkanāppadil i-tēvārkēy aṁbada kāsu daṇḍanum puṣā-
chhuluttādu viṭṭa mūḍa-irāṇṭuin-kusuppamu.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of lines</th>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Name of village</th>
<th>The body of persons with whom money was invested</th>
<th>Amount invested</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9—10</td>
<td>Kudanādu</td>
<td>Korkai</td>
<td>Úrār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>19—48</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Nallūr</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>48—69</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Śaliyam</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>69—82</td>
<td>Valudi-valanādu</td>
<td>Varagusamaṅgalam</td>
<td>Sabhāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>82—95</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Iranavālināṅgalam included in Triyambaka-maṅgalam.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>96—104</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Alambattam included in Gaṅgoimaṅgalam.</td>
<td>Úrār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>104—114</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Mānavirapaṭṭinam</td>
<td>Nagarattār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>114—127</td>
<td>Śrivallaḥa-valanādu</td>
<td>Kaṭṭaraināṅgalam</td>
<td>Sabhāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>128—140</td>
<td>Parāntaka-valanādu</td>
<td>Tinni included in Paraiṣu-maṅgalam.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>140—153</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Māranaṅgalam</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>154—164</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Teppakka...īḷār</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>164—173</td>
<td>Aṃitaguṇa-valanādu</td>
<td>Avanipāṭikaraṁaṅgalam</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>173—182</td>
<td>Kudanāju</td>
<td>Puliyōśai</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>182—192</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kṛṣṇur</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>192—201</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Śadāṅgavikuruchchik</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>201—210</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kudunāṅga-maṅgalam</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate per kāsū</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td>Object for which the interest was utilised</td>
<td>Fine in case of default</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kalam</td>
<td>kurūsi</td>
<td>nāli</td>
<td>uri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kalam</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These two copper plates were purchased along with five others by the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India from the widow of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha of Bombay. The place where they were found originally is not known.

These plates measure 11½" by 8½" and are joined together by means of a thick copper wire which passes through them. Only one side of these plates has been used for writing the record which consists of thirty-two lines, nineteen being engraved on the first and thirteen on the second plate. A copper seal which is oval in shape is affixed to the ends of the copper wire and bears the legend "Śrī-Brhatakkaḥ" which is usually found on the seals of the dynasty to which Śilāḍitya belonged.

The inscription has not been incised very carefully and consequently it contains many mistakes. Only a portion of it is incised neatly but the engraving of the rest (ll. 13-19) is very thin. It is written in Sanskrit and, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, the whole of it is in prose. The alphabet belongs to the Western variety of the Northern script of the seventh century A.D. As regards orthography, signs for i and ī have not always been distinguished, probably owing to the carelessness of the writer; anusvāra and vibhāga have been omitted in several places, e.g., sa[ti]ya □uka (l. 5), sāmānyam[ś] (l. 22), atiśayam[ś] (l. 6), -kṛṣṇa-phalas (l. 7), etc.; n is used for anusvāra in vaṇa- (l. 3, 27) and n in anu-sa (l. 14) and anu-ni-sa (l. 18); n takes the place of y in praṇaM (l. 4). In addition to the usual dāṇḍa a dot has been used in two places to mark the punctuation, e.g., l. 29 after Vyāsena and l. 33 after Vairabhaṭṭāna. The upadhaṃśya occurs thrice, in ll. 10, 19 and 23, and the jihāṃśula only once, in l. 17. Usually consonants have been doubled when used in combination with the superscript r, e.g., mārya- (l. 5), sīhārya-dhārya-gāṃbhīrya (l. 6), etc. The numerical symbols for 2, 4, 10, 90, and 200 are to be found in the last line.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Śilāḍitya I, who was the son of the illustrious Dharasena, who was the son of the illustrious Gahasena, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshippers of Śiva. Like other records of the later kings of Valabhi this inscription also omits the names of the four sons of the Śena-pati Bhaṭārka in the genealogical portion of it. The grant registered in these plates was issued from the victorious camp at Deviśaras on the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra in 292 G.E. (circa 610-11 A.D.), and was written

1 Read sā yā yā ka... 
2 Read śrī śrī śrī ka...
by the Sandhvigrñhādhiśrīta (minister of peace and war) Divirapatī Vatrabhaṭṭī. The Dūtaka was Kharagraha, probably the younger brother of the king and heir-apparent, who succeeded Śilāditya I.

According to this grant, two hundred pādāvartas of land in the village of Bhadrēṇiyaka in the Bāra-Vanasthali were given for the worship of the Sun-god established in that village. Out of these two hundred pādāvartas, one hundred lay to the east of the arable land received as a gift and owned by the Brāhmaṇa Prabhandaṭā, to the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brāhmaṇa named) Rudra, to the north of the daṇḍaka (chain of hills) called Baratīkā, and to the west of the junction of the boundary of the village of Goppara-vāṭaka. Of the remaining hundred pādāvartas the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece of land (lavā) at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity (bhīṣikha), and now made over to the Sun temple along with the other piece of land. The land was granted for the maintenance of the worship (pājā) and its other accessories, viz., bath (unapana), sandal (gaṇḍha), flowers (puṣpa-mālā), lamp-ōli (ōpita-māla), vocal and instrumental music (vāḍya-gīs) and dances (nṛitya), the cost of sacrifices and offerings (bali-chara-satru), the maintenance of the servants of the god (pādāvula) and the cost of repairing any damages (kṛṣṇa-pratīṇāṇamakāra).

I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant, viz., Devisaras (l. 1), Bhadrēṇiyaka (l. 19-20, 22), Bāra-Vanasthali (l. 22), Baratīkā-daṇḍaka (l. 23) and Goppara-vāṭaka (l. 23).

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Īmā svasti [I*] Vijaya-sandhīvāراد-De[v]īsarō-vāsakā prasabha-praṇaḥ-

2 saha-prahāra-sīta-labha-praṇāḥ-pratāp-pratāp-āpanata-dāna-māṇ ārj骏-āpārijit-ānurāgād-anu-

3 rājya-áriya parama-māṁśa-varta-Śrī Bhata(tā)rkkaś-ayvavachchhina-śāja-vāhān-māṭā-

4 sī(śa)śavāt-prabhūtī khaḍga-dvisāya-bāhir śīva samada-parama-gaja-gaṭa śphōtana-

5 trā-prahā-saḥ[s]aṣṭa-pāda-nakha-rāṃsi-bhātis-sakala-smriti(t)i-prajita-mārgga-

6 rūpa-kānti-atihṛitya-dhaṛṛya-gāṁbhīṛya-buddhi-saśka(m)pādām Śmaṇa-śāśān-Ādirāj-śoṣṣa-śanti-Drisasaguru-Dhanśān-atiṣayāna[ḥ*] saras-āśa(ga)ṭ-ābhaya-

2 This Vatrabhaṭṭī has also been called Vasiṣṭha (No. 1341 of List) and Vasiṣṭha (No. 1349). The readings Vatrabhaṭṭī (No. 1337, i.e., the present grant), Chandrabhaṭṭī (No. 1338) and Chatrabhaṭṭī (No. 1345) are misreadings. The members of the family to which Vatrabhaṭṭī belonged seem to have held charge of the War Office under at least eight princes of the Maitraka dynasty for four generations, viz., Skandabhaṭṭa (apparently the father of Vatrabhaṭṭī), Vatrabhaṭṭī, his son Skandabhaṭṭa and the latter's son Anabha. — Ed.]

3 [If the two dots after lavā are to be treated as equivalent to 2, then the two pieces of Bhāskhaka land together consisted of 100 pādāvartas.—Ed.]

4 This though not so specified must have been the saṣādala, probably consisting of the Vanasthali twelve (f), Vanthali, an important place in Junagadh State, may be suggested as the modern equivalent of the place, although it was known as Vamanasthali in the medieval period.—Ed.]

5 The boundary of Baratīkā (probably a village) and the way leading to village Bhadrēṇiyaka as also a well belonging to the god Śilāditya are referred to in the Dhāṅk grants of G. E. 290 issued by the same king Śilāditya I. It is likely that the lands mentioned in these two grants lie in the same locality.—Ed.]

6 The text is edited from the original plates in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

* Expressed by a symbol.

† Read prabhūtī.
7 pradāna-paratayā triṇavat-adipāt-śādha-sva-kārya-phala[ḥ] prārtthān-ādik-
ārtthā-pradānānandita-vidvat-suhrtā-prāṇaya(ṣiḥ)-hṛdayāḥ pāda-
8 charīva sakala-bhuvana-manḍalābhojagrumādāh parama-māhēsvañā Ārī-Guha-
9 senas-tasya sutas-tat-pāda-nakha-mayukha-santāna-visṛj
10 tā-Jāhnavijal-anugha-prakshanīt-śāhākalmashāḥ āpancit-saṣṭha-sahāsāṁ-pāvajyamānā-sam-
11 pad rūba(pa)-lohabhī rv-āritaita śarabhasanā-a-
12 bhāgālakarī-guruśais-sahajā-saktī-ākāśvī-sāṃśāvā ukhila-bala-dhānurddharāḥ =
pratha-nama-nampati-samatisrīchā(nā)[m] anupalavītā
13 dharmama-dāyanāh śa matākātā praf-paṃghāta-kāriṃn āpapalavānāṁ darśayitā
še Śrī-Satasyasvatiyoyēk-adhvānasa sva(sa)hitārātāt paksahā-
14 kshēma-ba(pa)rībhōga-dakshā-vikramā(mō) vikram-āpasaṁprāpta-vimala-pārtthiva-ārīh
parama-māhēsvañā Ārī-Dharsāo(sē)n(s)as-tasya sutas-tat-pāda-ānu-
15 dhyātas-sakala-dījagāḍānandān-adbhuta-guṇa-samadā[yā]* oṭhagīta-samagama-dīg(ā)-
maṇḍalas samara-saṭa-vijaya-sābhā-sānāṣa māṇḍalāgara-
16 dyuti-bhāsratar-āṇāṣ(a)−piṭḥ-ōḍūha-guru-manorathā-mā(mā)habhāras sarvva-vidyā-par-
āpara-vibhāg-ādhigamamavimala-mātri-api sarvva-
17 viṣṇuḥsakta lavān-āpi sukhōpapādānīya-parītēḥ samagama-lōkā-gāmbhērya-
hrīdayāpi sucharī-ātiṣayā su-
18 vyākta-para-kalyā(līga)svabhāvāḥ khilābhūta-Kīrtā-yuga-nripatī-ātma-sādhana-
ādhigat-ōdagra-kīrtitra-dharmaṃ-ānu(mu)pārōdhi-ōjvalata-
19 rikrit-ārtī-ha-sukha-sampad-upācēva-nirūḍha-Dharmadeitya-dvītiya-nāmā para-
parama-māhēsvañā Ārī-Sūlīditya-kāyā-sākes sarvva-
20 v-viṣṇukta-viṣṇukta-drāṃgikā-mahattara-sāulika-chaunrōddharānīka-cha-bhāṣa-bhāṣa-kumā-
 śāma-yā-hita-hita-ācāra-yāḥ-cha yathā-sanab-
21 dhyanānākān samajñāpayaty-astu vas samvidītām yathā māṣā-pitr[ṛ]ḥ-puny-
āpyāyanāyā Bhrārē

Second Plate.

20 niyaka-grāmā(ṣa)-niy(vi)sht-ādītyādīva-pādānāṁ pūjā-snapana-gandha-pushpa-mālā-
dipa-tail-adipayōgī vādyā gītā-ñītyā-
dy-ārthī vālī-cha-ṣu-ṣār-āsarpayāya pādāmāla-prajīvā(vā)nāyā(ṣa) ṽāvakulasa
cha khanḍa-ṣphutita-pratisankāryā
22 cha Bāra-vanasthāyān Bhadrāyikā-grāmē pūrvva-amīnī brāhmaṇa-Prabhanda-sa-
sakta-brahma-dēyā-khēḍi-pūrvvaṭāḥ Rudra-
23 satīk-brahma-dēyā-khēḍi-daksinātā Baraṭik-kāṇḍa-kāṭī uttātaḥā Goppara-
bā(ṣa)̄jata-[grāmā]-sināk sandhā-aparaṇā pādāvaraṭa-ṣaṭaḥ
24 tathāśāṃkā-ēva grāmē bhaiśkhamānī lavan-śat-pādvārarta-ṣaṭaṁ bhaiśkhakam
cha sōrāyaṁ sōparikaraṁ savātā-bhūta-pratyayāṁ sudhāyāṁ
25 hiraśyādēyāṁ sadaśaṇaraṇāṁ sōtpadyamānaṁ-vishti sarvva-rājakīyaṁ saha-
26 prakshāpanīyānī pūrvva-prattā-brahma-dēyā
27 varjītāṁ bhūma(mī)-chchhida-nāyēn-schandṛ-ārāk-ārōṇava-khala(ṇi)-sarit-parvavā-
samakānakāṁ dharmma-dīyatyā nṛśṣaṇīṁ yataṁ u-
28 pari-li[k]hītā-ṣṭhītāḥ bhuyāmaṇānaṁ na kāśīḥ-vyāsēdhē vartītāṁRyan-āgāmī-
bhrāda-nripatiḥbhīr-ṣṣṭi-asna-advāja-anīr-vaṇvā anītāṁ-

1 Read vissāñjīvatāḥ.
2 Read dharmama-dāyanām =apāksatāḥ.
3 [The visarga is superfluous or it may be the numeral sign for 2.—Ed.]
4 Read viśīṣṭikāta.
No. 19.—THE PIRANMALAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA: SAKA 1440.

By V. Venkatasubba Aiyar, B.A., Madras.

This inscription is engraved on the south wall of the 'Sundara-Pândya-mañḍapa,' in the Maniagāñthēvāra temple at Piranmalai in the Ramnad district. The surface of the stone containing the inscription is not specially dressed for engraving, but the record is in a good state of preservation.

The language of the inscription is Tamil prose and the alphabet is Tamil with a slight admixture of Grantha letters at the beginning and the end. A few orthographical peculiarities such as the use of šeka in place of (i) ška (1.3) and of (ii) ša (1.1); of šr for šr (1.9) and non-adherence to Sandhi rules (11, 5, 10, 12 and 13) are worthy of note.

Some of the revenue terms used in the record require explanation:—

Kañamañ (1.11). This word is used in Tamil inscriptions and literature in the sense of a tax, mostly on land. It also seems to include any assessment levied on an industry or a profession; cf. the taxes Šekku-kañamañ, Tōšik-kañamañ, Tařik-kañamañ, etc.

Kaniikkai (1.12). This term literally means 'a free gift' or 'voluntary offering.' Čaniika in Telugu denotes a tribute paid to a superior. Compare the term Pañai-Kaniikkai which is a contribution made for the maintenance of an army and also the terms Kaniikkai-pattri or Nañtuk-Kaniikkai.

Veiñukai (1.12) may be explained as a fee paid along with an application or request.

Viniyōgam occurring in 1.12 may be rendered as 'a fee collected for a common purpose'; cf. the terms Nañtuk-viniyōgam, Sahā-viniyōgam, Olai-eñuppu-viniyōgam and Vāsai-viniyōgam.

The present record is dated in Saka 1440 in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler Krishnadeva-Mahārāya, 'who conquered all countries.' The astronomical details of date given in it viz., Mithuna, Bañavāya, Tuesday, Vṛiddhi-yogā and solar eclipse, point to Tuesday, June 8, 1518 A.D., as its equivalent, when there was a solar eclipse visible in India.

The object of the inscription is to register the tax-free grant of the village Mālūr in Šōla-pândya-vanajal, by Poḷḷ无偿mañtha-Pōḷḷajinn, the chief (arasa) of Arantāngi, for offerings and worship to the god Nallamaṅgaibāgar at Tirukkoṅkai, during the early morning service instituted after his name in the temple.

1 Mark of punctuation expressed by a dot.
2 Read vasē [**] iti **
3 No. 201 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
4 In the Annual Report of South-Indian Epigraphy for the year 1923-24, p. 66, the cyclic year is wrongly read as Sañnya, but it can be read as Vēguhlānya (or Bhūdhānya) which was current in Saka 1440.
The importance of the record lies chiefly in the mention made in it of Pōppambalanāthaśa Toṇḍaimāṇ, the foremost of the chiefs of Arantaṅgi. This town, now a terminus of the Tanjore District Board Railway and a taluk headquarters rose to the position of an important principality in the beginning of the 16th century, when there was a generalunsettlement in the Pāṇḍya country. The rule of the Pāṇḍyaśa of Madura was, by this time, restricted to the extreme south of their dominions, comprising the present Tinnevelly district, the northern part of the Pāṇḍya territory having been lost originally to the Vāṇakāvaraiyars and latterly to the Nāyakaś of Madura. Upon the spoils of the original Pāṇḍya kingdom rose the Nāyakaś of Tanjore and Madura and the Sētupatiś of Ramnad, all of whom gradually formed hereditary principalities wielding considerable power in the country. In the struggle of these principalities for power, Arantaṅgi with its central position soon rose to prominence. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the principality of Arantaṅgi as made out from inscriptions, of which about 25 have so far come to light, revealing the names of a number of chiefs, whose rule covers a period of nearly a century and half.

In inscriptions, the chiefs of Arantaṅgi have the distinct appellations ‘Arantaṅgi-arasu’ and ‘Toṇḍaimāṇ’. The latter title, which is the earlier of the two, means ‘the king of Toṇḍai’ or ‘Toṇḍaimāṇḍalam’, i.e., the Pallava country, the traditional capital of which was Kānciḥpuram. Several chiefs with this distinguishing title and claiming Pallava descent are met with in inscriptions dating from the 11th century A.D. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, some chiefs claiming descent from the Pallavas and bearing the title Toṇḍaimāṇ seem to have served as local officers and become potentates in the extreme south. One such chief who lived towards the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. was Karupākara-Toṇḍaimāṇ of Vāṇḍvāṉjēri (i.e., modern Vāṇḍai) in the Kumbakonam taluk, the hero of the Tamil poem Kaliṅgamuttapparāḷi. A few other chiefs bearing the title ‘Toṇḍaimāṇ’ are met with in inscriptions found chiefly in and around the Pudukkōṭai State not far from the Arantaṅgi region. It is possible that they were the ancestors or close forbears of the Arantaṅgi Toṇḍaimāṇ chiefs. A Toṇḍaimāṇ chief by name Vajattu-vāḷ vítta-Perumāḷ, claiming to belong to Vēśaṅga-nāṉu, a district to the north-east of the Pudukkōṭai State figures in a record from that State, dated in 1201 A.D. A record of the Pāṇḍya king Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulāsēkharar also mentions this chief and another makes provision for the ‘Vajattu-vāḷ vítta-vandhi’ (a service named after the chief) in the 19th year of Jaṭāvarman Kulāsēkharar. In the Tamil poem Kappārkkēi the hero is a certain Karumaṅkkan, a chief of Kappalur near Pudukkōṭai. He is there styled a Toṇḍaimāṇ and described as a minister and a general of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya. A record from Nandalur in the Cuddapah district mentions

1 In Seg-Tamil, Vol. VI, p. 318, this title has been explained as “the vassal of an overlord”. The earliest reference to the name Toṇḍaimāṇ in the Pāṇḍya country is found in an inscription dated in the 5th year of Rājendra-Chōḷa I, i.e., A.D. 1016 on the Nārīṭāmalai hill (vide ‘A General History of the Pudukkōṭai State’ by Radhaswamin, p. 113). There is also a reference to Toṇḍaimāṇ in the Mahārāmaṇ of Ceylon. While chronicling the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, this text says that the Pāṇḍyan king Kulāsēkharar on being defeated by the Singhalese troops of Ceylon, who supported his rival, fled to the mountains of Toṇḍaimāṇ, that Kulāsēkharar then attacked the Singhalese forces at Pon-Amaravati (a village in the south-west of the Pudukkōṭai State) and was again defeated, and that with the help of the ruler of Toṇḍaimāṇ and some other chieftains, Kulāsēkharar once more opposed the forces of Ceylon and was once again defeated. The hill where Kulāsēkharar-Pāṇḍya is said to have concealed himself is probably no other than the Nārīṭāmalai hill in the Pudukkōṭai State.

2 Vide A General History of the Pudukkōṭai State, p. 115.
3 No. 38 of 1914 of the Madura Epigraphical collection.
4 No. 438 of 1918 of the same collection.
6 No. 594 of 1997.
Toṉṭaimāṅṟ alias Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyark who was a minister of Jaṭṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya. This inscription is dated in the 17th year and the astronomical details given therein point to A.D. 1293, March 14, Saturday, as its English equivalent. It seems very likely that the Toṉṭaimāṅṟ referred to in the Nandallur record is identical with the minister Karunāṅkikkan mentioned in the Tamil poem. Though these records show that the Toṉṭaimāṅṟs were among the potentates of the territory around Aranṭāṇgi during the 13th century A.D. none of them assumed the title 'Aranṭāṇgi-arāśu' (lord of Aranṭāṇgi) before the end of the 15th century A.D.

Besides being the Toṉṭaimāṅṟs or Pallavas, the chiefs of Aranṭāṇgi appear to have been connected in some manner with the Perumāḷs of Tinnevelly, for we find a lithic record from Eṭṭiyattai in the Aranṭāṇgi taluk mentioning Tirunelvēlip-perumāḷ Toṉṭaimāṅṟ as the chief of Aranṭāṇgi. This record is dated in the cyclic year Virūḍhin and mentions the signatory Nirmambalavajiyāṇ-Kālīnagarāṇ who figures in another epigraph in the same place dated in Śaka 1364 (= A.D. 1442) and may therefore, be assigned to A.D. 1469. About this time Jaṭṭavarman Arikērāḷiḷa alias Pāṇḍra-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1429-1463) and his brother Kulaśēkharaḷa (A.D. 1429-1473) were ruling the Tinnevelly and adjoining districts. The Aranṭāṇgi chiefs subsequently came under the yoke of the Vijayanagara Empire and accepted its suzerainty as is evidenced by the present record. Ekappurmāḷ, the father of Pōṇḍambalanaṭhath-Toṉṭaimāṅṟ, the donor of the present record, seems to have been a very pious ruler, for we find him in inscriptions making gifts to temples and instituting services therein called the 'Toṉṭaimāṅṟ-śandhi' after his name. Among the titles of Pōṇḍambalanaṭhath, special attention may be drawn to Kāṇḍiṇpuravaradhiśvara 'the lord of Kāṇḍiṇi, the best of cities' and Eḷu-nāṭiyūr Yijannāṭirai-kovād-perumāḷ 'the hero who levied tribute from Ceylon in seven days'. The title Kāṇḍiṇpuraraṇādhīśvaram assumed by him suggests that the family of Aranṭāṇgi Chiefs claimed Pallava descent. The other title indicates the important part played by the chief in Ceylon on behalf of his overlord. Pōṇḍambalanaṭhath calls himself a devotee at the feet of Perumāḷ Āṉduyaiya-Tambirāṅṟ. He was in power for over half a century (circa 1514-1569 A.D.) and acknowledged the overlordship of the Vijayanagara king Krishṇarāya at least between Śaka 1436 and 1452. His territory was not confined to the limits of the present Aranṭāṇgi taluk. Inscriptions mentioning him are found in the Pudukkoṭṭai State, in the present Aranṭāṇgi taluk and at Pirāṅmalai in the Rammad district.

1 No. 125 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
2 No. 126 of 1916 of the same collection.
3 In an earlier record (No. 290 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) from Tiruvaraṅgāḷam, dated in Śaka 13905, Rudhirāḷ, three chiefs of Aranṭāṇgi, viz., Aḷajiyamagaṇaḍa-Purumāḷ Toṉṭaimāṅṟ, Sūrya-deva Sundara-Pāṇḍya Toṉṭaimāṅṟ and Mequniga-Perumāḷ KulaŚēkhara-Toṉṭaimāṅṟ are mentioned. The Śaka date in the record seems, however, to be wrongly cited for Śaka 1365 for, it is only about this time that we meet with two of the above-mentioned chiefs in other inscriptions. Moreover in this inscription there is a small gap in the date portion to justify this doubt.
4 See also Nos. 312 and 313 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
5 No. 140 of 1903 from Pirāṅmalai is the only record that refers, to the invasion of Ceylon by Krishṇadēvārya. It is dated in Śaka 1440 and also mentions the chief Pōṇḍambalanaṭhath-Toṉṭaimāṅṟ. It is known that the predecessors of Krishṇadēvārya were collecting tribute from Ceylon. Considering the shortness of time (i.e., seven days) within which Pōṇḍambalanaṭhath is said to have achieved this feat, it is possible that the reference is only to a successful expedition to Ceylon to collect some arrears of tribute on behalf of his overlord Krishṇadēvārya. Probably this feat of the feudatory was transferred to his overlord in No. 146 of 1903 noted above. An actual invasion of Ceylon during Krishṇadēvārya's reign is not necessarily meant.
6 Āṉduyaiya-Tambirāṅṟ is the name of the god at Āṉduyaiya-kōṭi, a village in the Aranṭāṇgi taluk and associated with the life of the saint Māṇikkavācaka.
7 No. 312 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
8 No. 240 of 1930 of the same collection.
Poṅgāmbalanātha was succeeded in the Arantaṅgi principality by Āṇḍiyappa Achyutanāyaṉa-Tōṉḍaimāṇ, son of Tyāgarāsa Narasā-Nāyaka, who had also the titles achchomariyāḍāṇ and aloivilaiṇḷāṇḍan and whose earliest date so far known is Saka 1499 (= A.D. 1571), not far removed from the latest known date of Poṅgāmbalanātha, viz., A.D. 1569.

The line of Arantaṅgi Chiefs is at present supposed to be represented by the Zamindar of Pāḷiyavanam in the Puduṅkoṭṭai State.

The chiefs of Arantaṅgi so far known from epigraphical sources are:

1. Kumārkha-Tōṉḍaimāṇ (1426 and 1443 A.D.),
2. Sūryadēvar Sundarapāṇḍya-Tōṉḍaimāṇ (1443 A.D.),
3. Malavallappurmai-Tōṉḍaimāṇ,
4. Āḷagīya Manavallappurmai-Tōṉḍaimāṇ (1443 and 1453 A.D.), his son
5. Lakkanaṇḍamāṇaṉya-Tōṉḍaimāṇ or Lakkappadaṇṇaṉya-Tōṉḍaimāṇ (1453 A.D.),
6. Tirunelvilippurmai (1499 A.D.),
7. Ekappurmai-Tōṉḍaimāṇ (1481 and 1499 A.D.), his three sons
8. Tirāṇi-Tīṟṟṟāṉ-Tōṉḍaimāṇ (1497 A.D.),
9. Āruṇāchu-Nāyignā-Tōṉḍaimāṇ (1499 A.D.) and
10. Poṅgāmbalanātha-Tōṉḍaimāṇ (1514-1569 A.D.), his son
11. Varavindāṉa Tōṉḍaimāṇ (1536 A.D.),
12. Āṇḍiyappa Achyutanāyaṉa-Tōṉḍaimāṇ, son of Tyāgarāsa-Narasāṉyaṉa (1577 A.D.) and

Of the places mentioned in the record Mēḻur is the modern village of the same name about 16 miles north-west of Madura. Tirukkoṉukkuṟṟam (i.e., Pirāṅmalai) is said to have been in Tirumalai-nāḍu which must have taken its name from the modern village Tirumalai in the Šivaṅga taluk. The territorial name Sōḷapāṇḍya-valanādu is significant and the division must have been formed after the establishment of the Chōḷa viceroys in the Pāṭṭiya country, who specially called themselves Sōḷa-Pāṭṭiyas.

TEXT.

4 yōg[um]m pē[ṛrga]-iṟṟai-nā[ Sūriya-gir[r[a]-puṇṇiya-kāḷat[ Tīrumalai-nāṭṭt-Tirukkoṉukkuṟṟatu[10 Nāyin[ar Nallamaṇgaiṿăgar[ Aṟa[n]tāni[r-araru[ a[n]cchamari-

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* No. 511 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. From the records so far available, it is not possible to say whether Varavindāṉa Tōṉḍaimāṇ, the son of Poṅgāmbalanātha succeeded his father as the chief of Arantaṅgi.

* A General History of the Puduṅkoṭṭai State, p. 84.
* From Nos. 299 of 1914 and 238 of 1930; Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 mentioned above appear to be brothers.
* Known only from a copper-plate record. Vide Sāḷa Tamīḻ, Vol. XII, p. 441 ff.
* Read bābhohairutappa.[
* Read dōkkhiṃa.
* The word varaham is expressed by a symbol.
* Read aparapa-chcharatru.
* The nakkatra is not given.

10 Tirukkoṉukkuṟṟam is also known as Dakkhiṃa-Kallīsām in Nos. 193 and 213 of 1924.
5 [yādana]-perunāl 1alaivilaṉjāda-perunāl 1mugilin-kiḷ-ṉiṟiyum-]la-Vaṇṇiyar-miśra-ghaṇḍan āṭțukku-āṇai-vaḷaṇģum-perunāl āṇu-nāḷaiyll Yījān-taikaṇduṇa-perunāmal
6 1 kō pongāḍa . . . . [yādana]-perunāl Kāṭchiruparravār-āṭṭiṟuṇār 1Avudaiya-Tambirāgaṟ-sriṇaṟdha-bhaṅkant Śkappennula-Tongaiyamānār pattirān
7 Poṇṅambalanāṭha-Tongaiyamānār Naṅyār Nallamaṅgaṟbāvarkku [ū]bhiyamāga saṭṭiṅa sīru-kāḷaḻhannalppadi amudapadi [sattu]ppadi uḷḷiṇṭu
8 vēṇḍum nittam-nīṟādaṅgaḷukku nam-[pēṟā] kaṭṭiuṇa Poṇṅambalanāṭha-Tongaiyamānār-sandiyāga amudusveyyum-padjikkku ku-
9  ḍutta [yīp]gāyinā . . . . dēvadāna 4nāmaṭṭukkāṇi-āga Śoḻa-Pāḍiyam-valaṇṇāṭtu
10 Mēḷur peru-nāṅgellanikk-ul[paṭṭa]-
11 dum sa-hirany-oḍaṅka-dhārā-pūrvam-āga ti[rūnāmat]ukkāṇi-āga chandādityavar ēllappūlu-kuṭṭettappadiḷḷē idukku uḷḷiṇṭu
12 nīḍha-nikkeḻa-bāṉaiya-kūpa-[ta]ṭākkadiyum Tambirāṅkarē urittāga kaṭavadāgavum ivv-ūṟku varum kaṭamai kā-
13 nikkai vēṇḍukō vinīyōgam marṟum epēṟpaṭṭa4 vari uḷḷai(pā)dhiiyum kaḷjituk-kuṭṭettappadiḷḷē chandādityava-
14 rēlla sarvaṃāṇṇyav-āga tirunāmattukkāṇi-āga7 aṭṭuvheviṭṭ-kollavum kallulum sembillum veṭṭikko
15 nū tirunāmattukkāṇi-āga chandādityavaṛsella anubhevittuk-kollavum ēnta
16 daṇmatuṭku agitam paṇi-
17 gavai Gaṅgaikkaraiyil kapilaiyum brāmannagaiyum mātā-pisāvaiyum guru-
18 vaṇyum koṇa [dō] hattilē pō-
19 gaṅkaḍavāṅ-āgavum4 ēnta nēḷī saruvamāṇṇiyam-āpparri anubhevittuk-kaḷḷavum Ēraṃ
20 tāṅgi-kaṇakku Ēdiyaṟṟēkkunallāṅ Karpūrak-Kāḷingasāyanae ēntuṭtu [||*]

1 The title ‘alaivilaṉjāda’ is not newly borne by this chief. (Vide Nos. 205 of 1924 and 173 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.)
2 With the title Vaṇṇiyar-miśra-ghaṇḍan compare the titles Vaṇṇiyar-āṭṭam-tavittac and Sōrimuva Vaṇṇiyas assumed by the Sēṭupati Chiefs (Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions : Burgess and Natesa Sastri, pp. 73 and 79 and Truvendacare Archaeological Series, Vol. V, p. 13, foot-note 7). Local tradition confirmed by one of the Māṇkenz Manuscripts says that two feudal chiefs of the Vaṇṇiyas caste, who were ruling at Tiruvaiyαilhuram near Chingleput, defied the authority of the Vijayanagara king Krishnadāvarāya. Since these chiefs were turbulent and wielded considerable power, their humiliation was considered to be a real feat by their conquerors. An inscription of Īḻavāraṇu E gives him the title ‘the lord who took the heads of the 18 Vaṇṇiyas’ (Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions No. 11, p. 150). The Vaṇṇiyas who had migrated from India as soldiers accompanying the successive Tamil invaders to Ceylon and settled permanently in the island, gave frequent trouble to the Ceylonese kings as well. The titles of Īḻavāraṇu, Poṇṅambalanāṭha-Tongaiyamānā and the Sēṭupat'i of Rammū regarding their exploits have reference to the help they rendered to the Ceylonese kings in subjugating the Vaṇṇiyas.
3 The title Kāṭchiruparravārāṭṭimāva may be interpreted as ‘one hailing from Conjeeveram’. The chieftain Pullavgala-Siddarāṣtra (A. R. 1922, para. 144) and Vijaya Gaṇjaṅgopāla Madhumūḍandāva (A. R. on S. L. Epigraphs 1923, para. 91) also assumed this title. It may be noted here that this biruda borne by Krishnapaṇiya Nāyaka (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 339), indicates that the original home of the Madura Nāyakas was Conjeeveram. But in the case of Jāḻavaiyam Sundara-Pāḍiyam (see. 1251 A.D.) (S. L. I., Vol. V, No. 432), this biruda was assumed to commemorate his conquest of Kāṭchirupa and the subjugation of the original Pallava dominion.
4 The gaps in this line may be filled with the letters kēku and meyru.
5 Read idukkuṭṭappad.
6 Read epēṟpaṭṭa.
7 This phrase is again repeated to emphasize the grant made.
8 There is a symbol in the inscription after this word. It appears to be a contraction for some words as inda dharmam or inda grāmam.
9 Read * Kāḷingāraṇa.
TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the illustrious Mahāmaṅgalakāra Kiśṇadēva-Mahāraja, who conquered all hostile kings, who chastised the kings that were false to their words, who took every country that he saw and who did not give up any country that he had taken, who was the lord of the eastern, southern, western and northern oceans, who was pleased to come out (glorious) after taking all countries,—was pleased to rule the earth, in the Śaka year 1440 expired, corresponding to Bahudhānya, during Uttarāyaṇa, in the month of Mithuna, on Tuesday, when the amāvāsyā of the dark fortnight was current, at the holy time of the solar eclipse and Viḍhīī-yogā,—on this day, I, Pogamalānātha-Ṭoṇḍaimānār, the son of Ekkaperumal-Ṭoṇḍaimānār, the chief of Arantāngi, who knew no fear, who was never perturbed, . . . . 1 who could present an elephant in return for a lamb, who levied tribute from Īlam (Ceylon) within seven days, . . . . , who was the lord of Kāchī, the best of towns, and a devotee at the sacred feet of the god Āvudaiyai-Tambirānār—having given the (land) situated within the four great boundaries of Melur in Śōlaṇḍya-valanālu as tirunāmatukkāi with gold and libation of water to last as long as the Sun and Moon, to (the god) Narinār Nallamaṅgaibāgar at Tirukkoṇkalurum in Tirunallai-nāḍū for the daily requirements of offerings and worship during the Pogamalānātha-Ṭoṇḍaimānār-sañdi (service) in the early morning to the god Narinār Nallamaṅgaibāgar, instituted after my own name—(the rights over) its treasures and hidden deposits (in this land), its water and stone and its wells, tanks, etc., shall be exclusively enjoyed by the Tambirānār (god). And as the taxes including kōḻnai, kōḻikkai, vēḻukol, vinaiyikam and other dues accruing from this village had been remitted, it shall be enjoyed as a tirunāmatukkāi (temple land) and a sarvamānya freehold) as long as the sun and the moon last. The deed shall be engraved on stone and copper and the land enjoyed as tirunāmatukkāi, as long as the moon and the sun last.

He who obstructs this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow, a Brāhmaṇa, (his own parents and teacher) on the banks of the Ganges. In the aforesaid manner the land shall be taken possession of and enjoyed as a sarvamānya. This is the writing of Aṭṭiṟṟkkumalai Karāṇa-Kāliṅgarāyaṉ, the accountant of Arantāngi.


BY K. N. Dikshit, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This fragmentary plate was handed over to me by the Political Agent, Baghelkhand Agency, who could not give me any definite information regarding its findspot, except that it came from some place in Nāgod State. It has therefore been named after the name of the village granted.

The plate measures 5⅞ in length and 3⅞ to 3⅜ in breadth. It consists of the left half of the first of two plates forming the complete grant, as is clear from a comparison with other grants of Hastin and the portion of the round ring-hole preserved in the centre of the first line, through which the plate appears to have been broken. The missing portion of the plate has been conjecturally restored where possible from other published grants, particularly from the Majhagām copper-plate of the same prince. The average size of the letters is ⅜. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They do not present the nail-headed forms of letters as in the Majhagām plates of Hastin. Attention may also be drawn to the form of ṭ without the

1 The term mungili, ‘EEL/trigum-iṭh, Varuyi māthu action, is left untranslated. The latter part means ‘the proud conqueror of the Vaiṣṇivas of Ceylon’. If ‘mungili’ could be taken as a proper name like Mugaladi, the phrase may be construed as ‘the proud conqueror of the Vaiṣṇivas of Ceylon who were at the beck and call of Mungaladi’.

loot at the end, and ṣh with an acute angle at the lower left limb as in Devādhya, l. 2 and Yajnavāla, l. 10, which are not found in other records of this king.

As regards orthography, the doubling of the v and ḍh following r as in pravrddha, l. 2, pūrvvāyām, l. 3, and bhur-veda, l. 14, and the use of b for v in sambatsara, l. 3, are noteworthy. The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose.

The plate records the grant of a village (ıt) called Navagrāma in the rāṣṭra of the Pulinda chief (apparently a feudatory of the nṛpipati-Parivrājaka), by the Mahāraja Hastin in the year ninety-eight (increased by hundred). The donees were several Brāhmaṇas of the Parāśara-gūtra and Mādhyanandika-śākhā (of the white Yajurveda).

The year 198 of the present plate must be considered to be the last date of Hastin whose son and successor Sāthakaḥ issued the Betul grant in the year 199. The earliest known date of Hastin being 156, the year of his Khōh copper-plate, he must have enjoyed a long reign of over 43 years. The known dates of Hastin (156, 163, 191 and 198) and Sāthakaḥ (199, 209) are undoubtedly to be referred to the Gupta era, as the expression gupta-nripa-rāja-bhukta indicates. The range of dates of the contiguous family ruling from Uchchakalpa, viz., 174 and 177 for Jayanātha and 191, 193, 197, 214 for his son Sarvanātha, is not only parallel, but the latter prince was at one time a contemporary of Hastin as recorded in the Bhumarā pillar inscription. Now assuming that Jayanātha’s rule extended for at least one or two years after 177, the period common to the reigns of Hastin (156 to 198) and Sarvanātha (179 to 214) is 179 to 198. The particular year to which the joint record is to be assigned is fixed by the specification of the year as Mahā-Māgha samvatsara of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter. Now the only Mahā-Māgha samvatsara, which was current during the period (179-198 G.E.), was that which began in the Gupta year 189, in July 508 A.D. and the date of the Bhumarā pillar must therefore be approximately October 508 A.D. It is thus impossible to refer the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings to the Kalachuri era (which began, 72 years earlier than the Gupta era), as this would entail a reign of at least 70 years for Sarvanātha (191 + 247 = 438 A.D. to 508 A.D.). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently upheld this view, originally proposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, chiefly owing to the difficulty of finding an intercalary Ashādha in the year 191 of the Shāwalti plates of Sarvanātha, if referred to the Gupta era. The difficulty is not, however, insurmountable, as it is very probable that the succeeding month of Śrāvaṇa that has been actually shown as intercalary in the tables attached to Pillai’s Indian Chronology may have been antedated by a month, according to some Siddhānta followed in this locality; or, what is more probable, the month intercalated (which according to the rules of intercalations was Śrāvaṇa) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul plates of Sāthakaḥ. It is thus clear that the dvit-Ashādha of the Shāwalti plates must be considered to be the same as the first Śrāvaṇa, which commenced

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1 Possibly Navagrāma was the division in which the village was situated, but the number of missing letters is too limited to admit of this alternative.

2 The number of donees would seem to be seven, i.e., three Brāhmaṇas and their respective sons, the last named having two sons.


5 Ibid., pp. 110-1.

6 Ibid., p. 105 of Introduction.

7 Above, List of Northern Inscriptions, No. 1196, p. 159, n. 5.


9 According to the mean system of the first Ārya Siddhānta, the intercalary month in the year 510-11 A.D. was Śrāvaṇa (Sewell, The Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar, p. 368).

on 8th June as a pūrṇimānta month, which was apparently followed in this locality. The date of the Sōhāwal plates must thus be understood as being equivalent to 17th of June, 510 A.D.

The mention of the Mahāśvayuṇa saṃvatsara with the (Gupta) year 198 enables us to fix the date of the present record within a narrow compass. The year 198 G.E. commenced on 9th March, 517 A.D. and the Mahāśvayuṇa saṃvatsara ended on or about the 23rd April, 517 A.D. and the present record must be dated within these limits. The missing month may therefore be supplied as Chaṭṭa (in which case the fortnight must be the bright fortnight) or Vaisākha. The date of the Betul plates of Śakīkṣābhīṣa, which has been calculated by Kielhorn to be 15th September (or October), 518 A.D. is thus about 18 months later than the date of the present grant, and it is sometimes within this period that Hastin was succeeded by his son.

The reference to Pulinda-rāja-rāṣṭra in the present inscription indicates that the dominion of the chief of the Pulindas was included within the territory of the ariyati-Parivrājaka family, and is probably the region comprised of the northern slopes of the Vindhya range. The Pulindas are first mentioned in the Aūrīṛga Brāhasapa, along with the Śabarās, with whom they have been always associated and sometimes confounded.

The locality Navagrāma is too common to admit of definite identification.

TEXT.

1 Namō Mahādeva || Svasty-as̄ṭanavatya-[u[tārē-bda-satē] Gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktau śri-]
2 mati pravardhamānē Mahā Śvayuṇa-sambha(va)tsa[a] [rē, māsa, paksha . . . . .
3 ma-asāyāh sambha(va)sa[mā-sa-divasa-pūrvvāyān u[rīpati-parivrājaka-kul-ōtpanna] mahāra[j]
4 Dévādhya-pranaptra mahāra[j]-Śri-Prabhāṇjana-[naptra Mahāra[j]-Śri-Dāmōdra-
5 sutēna gō-sa-]
6 -hasra-hasty-aśva-hiraṇya-ānśika-bhūmi-pradēna [guru-pitṛi-mātri-pūjā-tatparēṇa-
7 aṭyanta-dēvā-]
8 brāhmaṇa-bhaktēn-ānśika-samara-sata-vija[y] [yinā sva-vahā-ānūda-karēṇa Mahā-
9 rāja-śri-]
10 Hastinā Pulinda-rāja-rāṣṭra[Navagrāmakā[kō ]][nāma grāmaḥ pūrvv-
11 āghāṭa-parichehhdā-maryādayā sōdra-]
12 ngāh sōparikarō-chāṭa-bhāṭa-prāvēśyō [māttē-pitṛē-ātmanaḥ-scha puay-
13 abhikriddhayō]
14 Parāsara-sagōtṛēhyō Mādhyandina-Va[jasanēya-sabrahmahārībhyyō-mībhyyō]
16 nasvāmi-tat-putra-Gopayajnasvāmi-[Brāhmaṇa . . . . . yajnāsvāmi-tat-putra-
17 Bhaṭṭa-Śanibhuyajnasvāmi-Bhaṭṭ-Śaṇā-Ya[j]svāmi-mībhyyō putra-pautṛ-āṇvay-
18 opabhōgyah]
19 tāmra-sāsanēc-[aghāya]hārō-tiṣhita[*[h chaum-varijam tad-asman-kul-ōṭthaṁ-
20 mat-pāda-pīṇḍ-ō-]
21 pa[jivibhir-vvā kāl-āntarēshv-apī na [svāgḥāṭa karṣīyāḥ ] ēvam-ājñaptē
22 yō . . . . . .

1 Varāhamihira, IX-29. Majumdar, McRitchle's Ancient India, pp. 156-7, 160.
A.—The Amrāpur Stone Inscription of the reign of Śiṅghaṇa—Śaka 1133.

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly sent to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is in a temple of Śiva called Ambikēśvara at Amrāpur (ancient Anbāḍāpura), a village about 28 miles from Buldana in Berār. It is inscribed on a stone built into the wall above the lintel of the gate of the garbha-griha. The whole record which consists of eight lines covers a space of 11" in breadth and 1' in height. The size of letters varies from 1-7" to 9". The characters are Nāgarī. The initial a occurs in anukata-√ in ll. 1-2 and Anbāḍāpura in ll. 5-6, the initial i in Bhāṣā in l. 7 and the initial u in Dēnāyaka in l. 5. The medial ē is shown in some places by a prāthamārā (cf. Bhāṣā in l. 7). The language is incorrect Sanskrit. The whole record is in prose. As regards orthography we may note that the letter 'ī' is doubled in two places after the preceding 'r', viz., chakravarti in l. 4 and kirtanē in l. 7.

The inscription states that in Śaka 1133 when the cyclic year was Prajāpati, Dēnāyaka was the governor (of the territory round Anbāḍāpura) in the victorious reign of Śrīmat-Pratāpachakravarti Śiṅghaṇadēva. In that year a person named Maṅgala, the son of Bhāḍēva, built a tōrana (?) in the temple (kirtana) constructed by Padumana(Pradyumna)sthē who was a resident of Anbāḍāpura.

The date does not admit of verification for want of details; but the cyclic year for Śaka 1133 (expired) [=1211-1212 A.D.] was Prajāpati as stated in the inscription. Śiṅghaṇadēva, who bears the title Pratāpachakravartin in this record, is evidently the Yādava king of that name who ruled at Dēvagirī in the first half of the 13th century A.D. There are at least three different dates for the accession of this Yādava king, each supported by a number of regular epigraphical dates, viz., 1122, 1129, and 1132 Śaka years. Śaka 1133 (expired) is, however, the earliest certain date of Śiṅghaṇa's reign and the present record is also the earliest inscription of the Yādavas of Dēvagirī found in Berār. It is likely that Śiṅghaṇa was actually crowned in Śaka 1132 although he may have been associated with government as Yuvārāja in the lifetime of his father for some seven years and succeeded him in 1129 Śaka. It is also possible that the last of the 'accession' dates, viz., 1132 Śaka, may have been calculated from some important event in his reign, such as the conquest of the Karnāṭak, which is alluded to in the Dōṇ inscription. Anyway he must have won several victories before Śaka 1134, the date of his Māṇḍi stone inscription, and it is reasonable to assume that in one of these early campaigns he annexed the Berār or the country round Anbāḍāpura where we find the present inscription.

TEXT.

1 Svasti Śrī [[*]], Śākē anūka-
2 tē-√ 1133 Prajāpati saṁva-
3 taarē svasti śrīmat-pratāpachaṅka-
4 vartti-śri-Sīṅghaṇadēva-vijaya-rajaē

1 The inscription is not at the temple of Bhāvanī as stated by R. R. Hirala in his List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berār (Second Ed.), p. 153. The latter is on an eminence at a short distance from the temple of Śiva.


3 No. 79 of the Bombay-Karnāṭak collection for 1927-8.


5 This expression which means also in figures is out of place here, as the date is not expressed in words.
B.—The Bārṣi-Tākli Inscription of the reign of Hēmādridēva—Saṅka 1098.

The inscription, which is edified here from an impression kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is at the temple of Bhavānī in the village of Bārṣi Tākli, twelve miles south-east of Akola in Berār. Its existence was noticed by Mr. H. Cousens, who has also described the temple in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1902. "It (i.e., the temple) consists of a shrine and a maṇḍapa or hall, both being freely decorated upon the exterior with bands of mouldings and figures. The maṇḍapa is curiously arranged with regard to the shrine, being attached as it were sideway to it, the open side of the maṇḍapa with its entrance being on one side or at right angles to the doorway of the shrine. The plan of the maṇḍapa is rectangular, while that of the shrine is star-shaped. Four decorated pillars support the central ceiling of the hall. The principal figures around the outside of the temple, excepting Gānapati, are the females Mahākāli and Maḥishāsura-mardini, occupying important positions. The ceiling is particularly well decorated, the marginal panels being very much like those of temple No. 1 at Balsane in Khandesh."

The inscription is engraved on the wall of the maṇḍapa facing the entrance. As in the case of the Rāṃṭek Lakṣmaṇa Temple inscription, the surface of the wall was first rendered smooth with lime plaster before the inscription was incised in it. When Mr. Cousens saw the temple it had already been much damaged. When I visited the place in December 1931, I found it in a still more deteriorated condition as the lime plaster was gradually scaling off from the wall. The whole record covers a space of about 3' 3" broad by 11" high. The average size of letters is about \( \frac{3}{4}\). The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit and excepting the introductory Om Svasti and the particulars of the date the whole record is in verse. Originally it must have consisted at least of twenty lines; but the last six lines of the record are almost completely gone. Of the first fourteen, again, nearly half the portion on the right hand side is destroyed owing to the peeling off of the lime plaster and though a few words and letters here and there can be read, they do not give much coherent sense. The verses are not numbered, but single and double dayās are, in some places, used to denote punctuation. The orthography calls for few remarks; \( s \) is occasionally employed for \( ś \), e.g., in Vaisākha in l. 1; the anusvāra is incorrectly used in addition to the following nasal in many places, e.g., Nimādaṁ in l. 3, ṣpatamāṁ in l. 4, etc. The consonant \( t \) following \( r \) is occasionally doubled as in kirttvaḥ and varṣamāṇo in l. 5. The final dental nasal is changed to an anusvāra in kṛtām in l. 8, dāvām (l. 9).

As stated by Mr. Cousens, the temple is at present believed to be dedicated to Bhavānī. I found, however, no image of the deity in the garbhagṛha. There were, instead, three round stones (the central one being somewhat more elongated than the rest) covered with vermillion on a finely carved pedestal. There was also a stone figure of Nandin (Śiva’s bull) in the maṇḍapa facing the deity which may easily have been brought from elsewhere. The crude symbols of divinity are in striking contrast to the rich carving on the four central pillars and the ceiling of the

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1 Read Dūṇāyaka bhūktārē.  
2 Read kritē.  
3 Read "para-vāstavya.  
4 The last line is very indistinct.
mapāpa. It may, therefore, be presumed that the original image was destroyed when the place was occupied by Muhammadans and the present stones installed at a later date. It is also doubtful if the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of Bhavāni. The benedictory stanza in the beginning of the record is in praise of Hari (Vishnu). The building is referred to in l. 10 as the temple of Hari (Hari-vėma). It is noteworthy that in addition to the figures of Mahishāsuramardini and Gaṇapati noticed by Mr. Cousens, images of Narasimha and other deities of the Vishnu cult occur on the door frame of the garbhagṛha as well as on the exquisitely carved pillars of the mapāpa, which support the Vaishnav origin of the shrine. It seems, therefore, certain that it came to be dedicated to Bhavāni, when the original image of Vishnu had been destroyed and the people had, in course of time, lost sight of the deity in whose honour the temple had been originally erected.

The fragmentary state of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. After the customary benediction, the inscription mentions the name of Gaṭāma who was born in the family of Danturāja. It then proceeds to describe a battle in which a young king, who is perhaps identical with Ḥemādrīdeva mentioned later on in l. 6, defeated Rājala, the son of Maulūdēva, who was advancing on the capital, confident of success, on account of his large forces. The king is further stated to have converted his capital Tekkalī into the holy city of Benares by his virtuous deeds. The inscription then gives the genealogy of his hereditary ministers, who belonged to the Vālabhyā-gōtra, Bhillama, his son Palama, his son Māila, and his son Gāmiyā or Gāmaya, who was apparently the donor of the present record. He is described in line 10 as having built 'a temple of Vishnu in this town (evidently Tekkalī), of which the midday sun formed the chara finial, the quarters the fringe and the sky the blue umbrella'. From lines 11 and 12 we know that Gāmaya excavated, for the use of the people, a deep tank, smiling with lotuses in bloom. In line 13 we are told of the building of a well (vāpi). In line 14 two brothers are referred to, but their names have been lost. The inscription seems to have closed with the usual imprecatory verses as appears from a half-verse preserved in the last line.

The date of the inscription is stated with full particulars as Thursday, the seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha in the Durmukha Samvatsara=Śaka 1098, the Nakshatra being Pushya, the Yōga Ayushmat and the Karana Vanjia*. According to D. B. Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris, the cyclic year for the Chaitrādi Śaka 1098 expired was Durmukha, as stated in the record. The seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha, however, fell on Saturday and not on Thursday as stated in the inscription. In Śaka 1099 (expired) that tithi fell on a Thursday and the nakshatra was Pushya as mentioned in our record, but the cyclic year was Hematica and not Durmukha as required. The date would, thus, appear to be irregular, but there are so many instances of only one detail of the date being stated wrongly in epigraphs. According to the view adopted by D. B. S. K. Pillai in his Indian Ephemeris, the Śaka date, as used at present, denotes expired years, but the name of the cyclic year denotes the current year. Accepting the discrepancy of one year in the number of Śaka years and treating the cyclic year mentioned in the record as expired, we find that Vaiśākha Sukla Saptami in Śaka 1099 (Durmukha expired), (i.e., Hematica current), ended at 12 ghaṭīkās (4 h. 45 m.) on Thursday after apparent sunrise and the nakshatra was Pushya which ended at 51 ghaṭīkās (20 h. 25 m.) after apparent sunrise. This combination of a Thursday and the Pushya Nakshatra (an amrita-siddhi-yōga as it is-called) is considered specially auspicious and probably represents the time when the original image of the deity was installed in the temple. The karana for the seventh tithi on Thursday was Vanjia, but the yōga was Śūla and not Ayushmat as stated in the inscription. This discrepancy may be explained away by taking Ayushmat
yōga in the derivative sense of ‘a conjunction leading to longevity’, but the insertion of the expression between the nakhatra and karaṇa rather indicates that it was used in its technical sense of a particular yōga. It is also possible that the framer of the record purposely substituted Ayusmat for Śūla, as the latter is not an auspicious yōga. This discrepancy in respect of yōga is not very important; for, as D. B. S. K. Pillai has observed, ‘the investigation of yōgas is a matter of altogether secondary importance in historical and chronological research.’ The date may, therefore, be considered as identical with Thursday, the 7th April 1177 A.D.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces a new line of princes that ruled at Tēkkalī which must be identified with modern Bārsī Tākli in Berār. The founder of the family was one Danturāja. The names of this prince and of Ghaṭāma who was his descendant are not otherwise known. At the time of the inscription Hēmādrīdeva was reigning. Three persons of this name are known to the history of the Yādava period: (1) Hēmādrīdeva of the Nīkūmha family, a feuatory of the Yādavas, who was ruling at Patna in the Chālīsa region of Khāṇḍesh sometime after Śaka 1128 (1207 A.D.); (2) Hēmādrī defeated by Khōḷēśvara, the famous general of Bhillama, as mentioned in the stone inscription dated Śaka 1150 at Amba; and (3) Hēmādrī Pandit who was a minister of Rāmadēva Yādava and is mentioned in the Thāṉa inscription dated Śaka 1194 (1272 A.D.). Of these the first and the third are out of the question—for the former was ruling in Khāṇḍesh and not in Berār, while the latter was only a minister and flourished nearly a century later. Again prima facie it appears doubtful if our Hēmādrī who was ruling in Śaka 1098 could be identified with the second prince named above, who was defeated by Khōḷēśvara sometime before Śaka 1150. Even if we suppose that the battle in which he was defeated was fought early in the reign of Siṅghaṇa who ruled from Śaka 1132 to 1169, there is a difference of at least 34 years to be accounted for between the two dates. There is, however, one circumstance which renders this identification possible in the present state of our knowledge. Our inscription mentions that Hēmādrīdeva defeated Rājala, the son of Māluguḍēva, who invaded Tēkkalī with a large army. Now two princes of the name Mālugu (or Mallugu) were reigning at the time—(1) Mallugu, the Kalachuri prince who, according to the Mārdi stone inscription dated Śaka 1134, succeeded his brother, the Kalachuri prince Sōma or Sōvidēva whose last date is Śaka 1096, and (2) Mallugu, the father and predecessor of the Yādava king Bhillama (Śaka 1109-1113). As to the first alternative, it is clear that the Kalachuri Mālugu was reigning for a short interval between Śakas 1097 to 1098 as we have a record of the second year of his reign dating from Śaka 1098. From other records, we know that his younger brother Saṅkama also began to rule in Śaka 1097 as his second and eighth years were Śakas 1098 and 1104 respectively. The only hypothesis on which this can be explained is that of joint rule by the two brothers. As the present record mentions that Hēmādrīdeva defeated Rājala, the son of Mālugu, this alternative is not entirely ruled out, but it is improbable that the Kalachuris could at this period engage in offensive warfare so far away from their capital, Kalyāṇi. As to the second alternative, we learn from the Vratahaṇḍa of Hēmādrī Paṇḍit that Mallugu, the Yādava king, took a town named Parṇakhēta from his enemies and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala. The early Yādava princes were ruling in

1 Indian Ephemera, p. 20.  
Sênaṭēśa, corresponding to modern Khândesh; Parṇakheṭa must, therefore, be situated somewhere to the east of Khândesh, possibly in Berâr.1 We may note again that Khôlēśvarā, a general of the Yadava Siṅghâna, defeated one Hêmâdri of Parṇakheṭa.2 Putting these references together it seems quite plausible that Mallugi defeated the father or some elder relative of Hêmâdri of the present inscription, while the latter, when he was a mere boy, vanquished Râjâla, the son of Mallugi, who was advancing on Tekkâlī with a large army; finally Khôlēśvarā defeated Hêmâdri early in the reign of Siṅghâna. If Hêmâdri was a young man in Śaka 1098, as the present inscription seems to imply, he may have continued to reign as late as Śaka 1132. The other persons mentioned in this record, viz., Bhîllâma, Pâlama and Mâîla, were ministers who served the royal family and must not be confounded with some of their namesakes in the dynasty of the Yadavas.3

**TEXT.**

1 ची || चीं सङ्कित क्री शकः १०८५ [दुःखि कंवऽने] वेसाखः माने शालपने सम्मा गुरी दिने युधिःशय वास्मिनैति(ति) वर्मिः [वर्णशब्दाथुः] .........

2 जयते । तृतिस्वरः[८] गंगकिरो राज्याय वर्णनिनिहास्य[५] चित्तिततथाय । गिय मति नुसराथिः वाणितात्कालिकाः भिरिक्षिताः[५] । .........

3 वा[८] [हुः] दयास्वरूपः भूमीभूमिः[१०] दुःखिः । तत्समुत्ततः स्त्रियवारणायान्यरः चौवात्रयाया[७] । [२५] निलोपांजिलनारात्मविनितावदनारुः[७] । ......... ग्रामं सतः । [वर्मा] ... रा वाया (?) । .......

4 च [२५] मिनिविरो[१२] महिनिलश्वर[७] स्वयमतेहन भूमिकेतिवर्युः । जियाय सनावत्तलवल्लटदीवर्यो राजसङ्कारश्वन[१३] । खारं [खारा] । ......... याव श्रीगं पा । .........

5 धिकवाहिया[१४] रायविवि धुलक्वात्वरूपः[१५] वरुणविस्वितिफङ्ग(म) मण्डलकरादिनः द्या-भाजणः[१५] चारां चारां चारां च तेषां लकाय च[८] । ग्रामं धार्येण भ्रमिः क-

6 [द्रा ?] च[१६] नवलवलीप्रैंताः[१७] [२५] उलवाहिनवपयुः कालिपणाः नवचाली[१८] शमानिलभेन कवादगापी[७] [सुः] । ......... मोरं विंग राम-सुः रामः [२५] तेकः[२५]

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1 There is a village called Pitkhed about 4 miles to the south-west of Bārī Tīkli, which I would identify with Parṇakheṭa.
2 G. H. Khare, Sources of the Mediaval History of the Deccan, Vol I, p. 64. I read नेिदिया in place of नेिदिया. [The name नेिदिया also occurs in an unpublished plate from Berar.—Ed.]
4 Express by a symbol.
5 Metro: Malāṇi.
6 Read नवतारा.
7 Read नवतारा.
8 Metro: Upanāṭi.
9 Metro: Śāśvatākriṣṭīla.
10 Metro: Vasantātilābā.
11 Metro: Anuśṣapti.
12 Metro: Anuśṣapti.
13 Metro: Anuśṣapti.
7 ली राजस्थानी खा थंगारुण्ये कली गुणे। वांचारी हना तैं विलासः\
सुधरियकैः।[१८] प्रापः पुपार विरचिते सुकैः कविसिद्धेः विधाय निवरता\
ही। खजनी समस्या।[१९] जानी कुमारां प्रज्ञा शा।\
8 ्शालेयां मनो मलिया निध्वायनमशोकः। शुरू[१८] थोमाः भीमृमो नाम\
तथा भ्राता। पुत्र। पालस। पुष्करिकैः। "सापादूबूहवनामादेशसुतः...कही।\
उत्कृष्टम् गुणे।[१८] यश।...क्रम(त)।नान।\
9 [प] नीयने। भतिजात्तेष मांसौ तनः समुद्रपातः।[१८] इश्वरमणरोजः\
प्रकाशत चविपत्तुमुखपाताकाव्यः। तन उदय गाम्य(म) यायद्वाह(क्षान)\
रूपिरिव।...हेतुतेः(स) सलिष्या।[भिबचिन्नी] दरिद्रः।[१८] भा।\
10 धर्मिन्द्र दिनपी कविबिश्ववृहृदचक्षुकने विनितम्मालिकाद्विष्टः।[विष्णु[१८] तन: उत्थिमिः[१०] तैं पूर्ण तन नेला।परोविष्ट कष्ठ नभो विभासः।...\
सारः।[१८] यशो दिन।\
11 प्रसलनाः।[१८] चक्षूः स तनः जनमनाम्य(क) सर्वभावपालनकर(क) नकरः।\नसावरणः लालीशुप्ति(क)। पार्थिपिः प्राप्त यद्य सुविष:।[१८] "प्रसिद्धम्[१८] .......समी।[कूहिन्ना०--०] करः।\
12 नि। करिश्रवकृषिताः पितसागरम्।[१८] इम्ती। इसिनमवः सागराणाः।[१८]\नियत सुक्तसूत्रः गाम्याञ्जनः।।[१८] उल्लोपः। न सुर्खः।[विष्णु]....।\दिराहसः।\
13.... अभिषेष पीयवाहमा। प्रतिनिधितवसः पुरुषे स्वभाव वापी।[प्रतिविषतः।\
सुकुलतरणि निर्मिष्यैं म]।.......
14.... नामाः।[१८] तन्त्र बंधु बमुखुः। गुणवानिः।.......
19 [१८] तनाण्ड दामाद दासोऽह| मम दत्त।(तिः) प्रतिपाधः[१८] नाम ताता।.... लीया।....

1 Métro: Vanadatilabā. Read प्रापः।
2 Métro: Śālīnī.
3 Read नीयनाम्।
4 Read नीयनाम्।
5 Métro: Indravijāra।
6 Métro: Anukkābhā।
7 Métro: Manuśvāpa।
8 Read कविसिद्ध।
9 Métro: Uśravijāra।
10 Métro: Mālini। The amended reading विद्वामा दा०गणाः द्राहे एव बहुत्तिना। भाषा: Which should have been विद्वामा चामा।
11 Dupōr unnecessary。
12 Métro: Indravijāra।
13 Métro: Anukkābhā।
The accompanying plates of Karkka Suvarṇavarsha, which are being edited here for the first time, were referred to by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajit in his *Early History of Gujarāt* which he contributed to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume I, Part I. At page 125 of the above work he briefly refers to their contents but does not give any information about their findspot or the circumstances in which or by whom they were discovered. He refers to them as the Surat plates and, therefore, presumably they were found in or near that city. But nothing definite is known about the findspot of the plates beyond what Dr. Bhagwanlal has said in the above book. I have, therefore, continued his nomenclature of the present record, though I can adduce no definite evidence to connect them with Surat. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Calcutta University, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* and I am accordingly editing them now.

The **plates** are three in number. Their size, which is fairly uniform, is 13-6" by 7-6". The thickness is about 0-1". The edges of the plates have been raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The plates have been strung together by means of a ring passing through a hole which is at the centre of the proper left side, about 0-7" from the edge. The ring is about 0-4" in thickness and 3-2" in diameter and its edges have been secured by means of a circular seal about 1-11" in diameter. On its counterstruck surface there is an image of Garuḍa, who is in human form with wings on either side. He is sitting with folded hands and crossed legs, the soles of his feet touching each other. The **seal** does not bear any legend.

The inscription is written on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The last plate, however, has only 7 lines, whereas the fully inscribed sides have, on an average, about 18 lines. After engraving nearly half of the first plate, the engraver, it would appear, anticipated that the space at his disposal would require smaller characters and more compact lines; in subsequent lines of the record we, therefore, find the average number of letters in each line increased from 38 to 55. This economy in space is probably responsible for the third plate having only 7 lines.

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation; the surface has been partly damaged in a few places, but the record is perfectly legible except at the beginning of l. 45 where the first two letters are doubtful. The surface of the plates was not dressed very carefully; as a result there are depressions some of which look like anusvāras (cf. nēka l. 13) and some like medial vowel marks (cf. vrddhyā l. 44). In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes; thus he has crossed out the medial ś mark of kā in khādga in l. 40 and of jā in jāmānugāṁ in l. 55, and in addition to the correction in kā in l. 51 he has crossed out the letter ryṛṣ so as to change kṛyyā into karṣiṇyā. In some cases he has also made up his omissions by supplying the omitted letter or letters either immediately below the preceding or succeeding letter (cf. ko of vrśkāmba l. 27, kā of mahāsāvyūgṛ l. 32, pha of phalācīpi l. 33, ryṛṣ in śaurṛyena and yā in sadāśāyāyā l. 39) or at the bottom of the plate (cf. ārāṛī in the bottom of the first plate, and tathā sāsanaṇḍā and kāṭēṇa svat at that of the third). A kākapada is usually, but not invariably, written to draw attention to the corrections. But the plates were not very carefully revised, and as a result, four letters inadvertently omitted in verse 25 remained to be supplied and several wrongly repeated letters, words and groups of words remained to be crossed out. (See notes te l. 38, 43, 45, 49
52, 55, etc.) The horizontal stroke of ška in šhu in ṛaṇasārvarishu l. 3 has been carelessly omitted, whereas it is wrongly introduced in pra of prabhya in l. 49. Slipshod execution is seen in parirjatē l. 24, where the short stroke to the left of the vertical stroke of ṛa, instead of being engraved at the centre, is relegated to the bottom and is allowed to merge in the medial i mark of the letter; in the next letter ġi the engraver allowed his instrument to slip to the right of the left lower limb of the letter and this unnecessary line meets the medial i mark of ġi. As a result ṛrigā can be recognised only on the plate. The loop at the head of sthāhiḥ in sānumsthaiḥ l. 25 must again be attributed to carelessness.

The characters belong to the northern class of the alphabets and are similar to the characters of the Paithan, Waśi Dīndori, and Rādhapura plates of Gōvinda III. There is no admixture of the southern forms to any extent whatsoever, except perhaps the śka in Rāṣṭrakūṭa in l. 8, which shows a bend in the left limb, characteristic of the southern alphabets. The general form of the characters is similar to the Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. Attention may be drawn, however, to the medial ā sign in the case of ṛa and ā which is a semicircle open upwards, attached in the latter case sometimes to the central horizontal stroke (cf. bhājō l. 19) and sometimes to the topmost one (cf. tasyātmejā l. 6). Medial u is usually denoted by a small stroke to the left as in the case of mu and śhu; in the case of ru, bhu l. 4, tnu l. 8, Dhu l. 22, this stroke is transferred to the right owing to the presence of a stroke to the left in these letters; sometimes, however, a curve is attached at the end of the vertical to the left to denote the medial u, as in su. The final forms of ma, na and ta occur in the record; the first two are denoted by a short slanting stroke attached to the right of the vertical (cf. yogam l. 42, dhrmāṇām l. 62, adhikārikā l. 43), while the last one is denoted by the ordinary form of ta without, however, its small vertical and mātra, but with a slanting line placed at a distance to the left (f. caṣāt l. 54 and dadyāt l. 57).

It may be pointed out that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records of the period to which our record belongs use three different varieties of alphabets. The purely southern variety, the precursor of the modern Kanarese, is used in the extreme south and is illustrated by the Kaṇabha plates of Gōvinda III1. In the central and northern portions of the empire two varieties were being used side by side, one the successor of the Valabha alphabet and the other, the Nāgarī which was gradually displacing the former. The Sāmāṅgaī plates of Dantidurga,2 the Talegaon plates of Ayam I, and the Paithan,3 Waśi-Dīndori,4 and the Rādhapura5 plates of Gōvinda III are all in the Nāgarī script, while the Baroda plates6 of the present donor, Tōkhaḍā7 plates of Gōvinda III, and the Baroda plates8 of Dhrua I exhibit the successor of the Valabha alphabet, showing the traces of both southern and northern influence.

At the end of the record are engraved, nearly at the middle of the last two lines, two pādachihnas which are apparently intended to symbolise the foot-prints of Mālāvīra, the principal object of worship at the establishment to which the grant was made.

The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. No Prakritisms are to be traced in the document except perhaps in the spelling of the proper name Mālāvīra where, if that reading is correct, we have an example of an original d being changed into ḍ. On the whole the language is correct, but a few mistakes occur. Thus there is a wrong sandhi in prathamābūdhibhānā l. 39 and in mukhaṭaiḥ-cha śābhānā l. 5 we have the accusative for the nominative, due no doubt to the

2 Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 275.
4 Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 158.
5 Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 189.
unconscious influence of the preceding word khogam. In ll. 47-49 the object of the grant Dhāshu-
vāpi is treated sometime as masculine and sometime as feminine.

With respect to orthography the following points are to be noted:—(1) Va is written
throughout for ba; (2) in a conjunct of which r is the first member, the second consonant is doubled
with very rare exceptions as in Stambhadhīr-bhujavālād l. 31, arthikṣu and yathārthapāta in
l. 33 and sārtha and Prārtha in l. 39; (3) a visarga before a following pa or pha is denoted by the
sign for upadhmāniya in 4 cases (see ll. 1, 41, 58 and 59), but in 8 other cases the upadhmāniya
mark has not been used (see ll. 11, 22, 28, 33, 37, 39, 40 and 47). (4) Whether this record uses
the jihvāmālya symbol is a knotty question. Cases of a visarga followed by a ka occur in ll. 7,
10, 14, 19, 23, 38, 42, 50, 57, etc. The conjunct consonant used in all these cases really looks like
a mk (cf. mku l. 38), but that combination is inexplicable. One is tempted to read it as sk, but the
normal form of sa in the present record is different; we have besides two clear cases of ska in
skandhāvāra l. 44 and yāsakara l. 58 and this form is entirely different from the one seen in
the combination of a visarga and a following k. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that
what looks like the form of m in the combination of a visarga with a following k is a
symbol for jihvāmālya. It may be pointed out that in several other records the symbol for
jihvāmālya is also very much similar to the contemporary sign for the letter m. (cf. Ante
anuvāra before a ā or ā is denoted by the guttural nasal, cf. vaśālāh l. 51; in other cases it is
sometimes converted to the nasal of the class to which following letter belongs and sometimes
denoted by a dot. (6) The rules of sandhi are usually observed except in the portion dealing
with the locality and its boundary; see ll. 46-48. The formal part of the record is in prose, the
rest of the record, excepting the introductory letter ḍh, is in verse. The verses are not
numbered, but at the end of each verse there is a punctuation mark usually consisting of two
short vertical strokes, except at the end of v. 38 where we have only one stroke, probably
by mistake, and at the end of v. 36 where it is altogether dropped, probably owing to the
wrong repetition of a number of letters in the last pāda of that verse. There are no punctuation
marks to denote the end of the half verse, the only exception being v. 35, where we have the
punctuation mark usually used at the verse-end.

The present charter contains the grant of a field to a Jain establishment at Nāgasārikā
or modern Nauśāri. Ll. 42-47 inform us that when Suvarṇavarsha Karkkarāja, the son
of Indrarāja, was encamped on the bank of the Vāṇikā the grant was on the full moon day
of Vaiśākha of the Saka year 743 elapsed (corresponding to Sunday the 21st of
April 821 A.D.) Hiranyavāga, which was apparently the name of a field irrigated by a well
belonging to or constructed by a person named Dhāshu, to the Jain teacher Aparājita, who was
a disciple of the most revered Sumati who in turn was a pupil of Ma(l)avādin1. It is a pity that
the value of the fourth letter of the proper name of the last-mentioned personage should be
doubtful. The letter can be read as ri, di or dī. It is quite clear that the engraver has
proceeded to modify ri, which he had first written; whether he has changed this letter to di
or dī is not clear. It is obvious that the proper name in question could not have been Malavādin,
but Mallavādin; the former hardly gives any sense, and it is, therefore, quite possible that one l
may have been inadvertently omitted. Mallavādin, who was apparently the founder of the Jain
temple and the attached Matha at Nauśāri, is very probably the same personage who wrote a
commentary called Dharmottara-tippayaka on the Nyāya-bindu-tikā of Dharmottarācārya.
Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa has pointed out2 that this Mallavādin may have lived
either in the first half of the 9th or in the second half of the 10th century A.D. Our charter

1 The reading is clearly Maladhāri and not Malavādi, to judge from the facsimile—Ed,
2 History of Indian Logic, pp. 194-5.
shows that the first alternative is nearer the correct date. Since a disciple of Mallavadin's disciple is the recipient of a grant issued in 821 A.D. it is obvious that Mallavadin could not have flourished in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.; he must be placed in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. This conclusion will be untenable if we accept Dr. Vidyabhusana's view that Dharmottaracharya, on whose work Mallavadin wrote his commentary, flourished in c. 847 A.D. But this view itself is wrong, since it is based upon an unproved assumption that king VanRAPa was ruling in Bengal in c. 847 A.D.

Mallavadin and his disciples belonged to the Sesa-saanga, which is described as a branch of the Mulasaanga which constituted the main Digambara Church. According to the Pustavaliika, the Mulasaanga branched off into three other sub-sections known as Dava-saanga, Nandi-saanga and Sesa-saanga sometime in the 1st century A.D. It is with reference to this division into four sections of the main Digambara branch that Mulasaanga is called chaushtaya in our grant. The information of the Pustavaliika is thus confirmed by epigraphical evidence. There is at present a Jain temple at Nausiri called the Parsvanatha temple with two Mithas attached to it, one for the male and the other for the female ascetics. The present temple belongs to the Svetambara sect and its buildings, which are being renovated at present, are said, according to local tradition, to have been built by Vastupala in the 18th century A.D. Vastupala may have quite possibly provided buildings to a Saanga that was already flourishing in the locality; in that case the antiquity of the Svetambara Jain establishment may antedate the buildings in which it is now located. The Mulasaanga establishment of Nausiri to which Karkka gave the present grant was most probably different from the present Jain temple since it belonged to the Digambara church, which seems to have disappeared in subsequent centuries.

After the syllable Om the record opens with a homage to the god of Jinendra in v. 1. The next 39 verses give the Rashtrekuta genealogy of the main branch up to Amagahavarsa I and of the Gujarat branch up to Karkka Suvarnavarsa. Since most of these verses recur in other published Rashtrekuta records it is unnecessary to give an abstract of their contents here. Attention will, therefore, be drawn only to a few salient points. The genealogy begins with Govinda I, the names of his father and grandfather Indra Priyehhakarakasa and Daniwarman respectively, which are given in the Konnur inscription, Sanjana copper-plates of Amagahavarsa I and the Daasavatara cave record do not figure in this grant. The name of Dantidurga is not passed over in this record, nor is the credit of the overthrew of the Chalukyas given to Krishna I in preference to Dantidurga as is done in the Waj-Dinjori and Radhanpur plates of Govinda III, Baroda plates of the present donor and Kapadyan plates of Krishna II. The bravery of the next ruler Krishna I is described in the next 7 verses (12-18), but the description is all conventional; his wars with the Gagras and the Eastern Chalukyas are not even referred to, the only historical event mentioned is the overthrow of Rakhapa. The record, however, does not give any clue to the identification of this opponent. The successor of Krishna I, Govinda II, is not passed over as is done in the Baroda plates of the present donor, Kapadyan plates of Krishna II and the Bagamara plates of Indra III, but the circumstances of his overthrow by his younger brother are not mentioned. The next 6 verses (20-25) describe the career of Druva. All these verses, with the exception of v. 25, are already known to us and contain only conventional eulogy. V. 25, however, which, so far as I am aware, does not occur in any other records so far published, is...
historically important. The expression ‘Gāṅga-a-richa-sandhi-nirādha-vīprīṭha-kīrīṭ’ used in this verse to describe both Śiva and Dhrūva clearly refers to Dhrūva’s victories over the Western Gāṅgas and possibly also over the Pālas and Gurjaras. The expression can mean ‘One whose fame is increased by the imprisonment of a son of the Gāṅga family or lineage’ and would thus be referring to the imprisonment of the contemporary Gāṅga ruler Śivamāra, which is mentioned in several other records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It is interesting to note that some of the Gāṅga records also admit indirectly the truth of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa’s claim. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa plates, alleged to be issued by Śivamāra’s son in 797 A.D., are no doubt spurious, but the statement made in them that Śivamāra was entangled on all sides in difficulties seems to have been based on a genuine historic tradition. The Gaṅgavādipura plates inform us that Śivamāra put his younger brother Vijayāditya upon the throne who, like Bharata, knowing the earth to be his elder brother’s wife, refrained from enjoying her. This statement, especially the Rāmāyana episode recalled in the simile, makes it clear that Śivamāra was absent from the kingdom probably in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prison, and that his younger brother was trying to carry on the struggle against the conqueror in the absence of the de jure ruler. In the expression Gāṅga-a-richa-sandhi-nirādha I further see a reference to Dhrūva’s campaign in the Gangetic Doab, where according to the Sanjān and Baroda plates, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pāla and Gurjara armies. To the poet’s imagination, the mighty forces of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invader, crossing the Ganges, may well have appeared to have repeated Śiva’s feat of obstructing the flow of the river.

The next 6 verses (26-31) describe the exploits of the next ruler Gōvinda III, but the description is all conventional. The only historical event referred to is the rebellion of Stambha; Gōvinda’s brilliant campaigns against the kings of Southern and Northern India are altogether passed over. A verse in the Rādhānāpur plates of Gōvinda III states that he had opposed his father’s plan of abdication in his favour, pointing out that he was quite content with the Kauṭhikā or necklace, the insignia of a Yuvarāja. The Kāvi plates, however, distinctly state that Gōvinda obtained the kingdom from his father at a formal coronation. V. 30 of our record supports the Kāvi plates, inasmuch as it refers to Gōvinda receiving, not his yaunavārīya, but the imperial title rājādhipōra-paramāśvaratā, from his father at the time of his own coronation. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether Dhrūva had actually abdicated in the closing years or months of his reign. On the one hand it is possible that the expressions Rājādhipōra-kalasātā and rājādhipōra-paramāśvaratām may have been used rather loosely by the Kāvi and the present plates to denote yaunavārīa-kalasā; on the other hand, grown wiser by the treatment which he himself had given to his elder brother Gōvinda II, Dhrūva may have realised that installation as an heir-apparent was no guarantee against a war of succession and may, therefore, have actually abdicated in favour of his favourite son to avoid the chance of his succession being opposed. Under these circumstances it will be difficult to decide in favour of either of the two alternatives until we get more evidence on the point. Vv. 32-40 refer to Amōghavarsha I, his uncle Indra and the latter’s son Karkka, the donor of the grant. All these verses are already known to us from other records, but v. 39 of this record combined with its date gives very valuable historical information. The verse in question tells us that Amōghavarsha I was reinstated on the throne by his cousin Karkka, when a number of Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories had rebelled against him. The rebellion in question was already known, but when it started and how long it lasted...
could not know definitely until now. Its time could be given only vaguely as sometime between February 817 A.D. and October 835 A.D. For, the Nausâri plates of the present donor issued in February 817 A.D., while referring to the succession of Amoghavarsha I, do not refer to the rebellion; while the Baroda plates of his son Dhrūva, issued in October 835 A.D., contain a reference to the signal services rendered to his cousin by Karkka in quelling the rebellion of the proud and wilful Râșṭrâkûtas. The date of the present record is 21st of April 821 A.D.; it closely copies the Nausâri grant of the present donor, and the only information it supplies to us about the grantor is his reinstatement of his cousin Amoghavarsha I upon the imperial throne. It is, therefore, clear that the rebellion broke out and was quelled completely between February 817 and April 821 A.D. When Amoghavarsha was restored to the throne he was still a boy of about 12, and the government must have been carried on in his name by some regent, probably by Karkka himself. The present record is thus an almost contemporary document with reference to the rebellion and it gives the credit of quelling it to Karkka; later records of the Gujarât branch also concur with it in this respect. The recently published Sanjâni copper-plates of Amoghavarsha I, however, tell us that it was with the help of Pâtâlamalla that the boy emperor could regain his throne. This discrepancy can be explained in two ways: (1) Pâtâlamalla may have been another relative or feudatory of Amoghavarsha, who may have co-operated with Karkka in overthrowing the confederacy against the boy emperor. The Gujarât branch records naturally ignored him and give the entire credit to Karkka who belonged to it. (2) Or, Pâtâlamalla may be the same as Karkka, the former being an epithet of the latter. Pâtâlamalla is obviously a biruda rather than a proper name; Dr. Bhagwânâlî Indrajit aversthat it was a biruda of Karkka, but cites no authority for his statement. It is not improbable that the late scholar made that statement on the authority of some unpublished Râșṭrâkûta record (e.g., the Baroda grant of Dhrûva II of the Gujarât branch, dated 867 A.D., which is referred to by him but yet remains to see the light of the day); but so far no published Râșṭrâkûta record assigns to him that title. I am inclined to hold that Pâtâlamalla was a biruda of Karkka; had Pâtâlamalla been a different man, a relative or feudatory of Amoghavarsha, who co-operated with Karkka in restoring him to the throne, it is difficult to understand why the Sanjâni plates, which describe in detail the rebellion and the consequent anarchy, should altogether ignore the services of Karkka, while eulogising those of Pâtâlamalla. It is possible to argue that the omission of Karkka in the Sanjâni plates is deliberate; his descendants, who ruled after him in Southern Gujarât, had rebelled recently against the imperial authority of Amoghavarsha I and therefore the latter may have naturally ignored the services rendered by Karkka in a grant issued by him, while the memory of the rebellion of the Gujarât branch was still fresh. This explanation is possible, but I prefer to believe that one day we may find a record showing that Pâtâlamalla was a biruda of Karkka Suvarṇavarsha.

Most of the verses of the present record are already known to us from published records. Vv. 2-21 are identical with vv. 1-20 of the Nausâri grant of the present donor; vv. 23-24 and 26-28 are identical with vv. 21-35 of the same record. V. 39 occurs in the Baroda plates of Dhrûva, the son of the present grantor, and vv. 22 and 40 occur in the Paithâna grant of Govinda III.

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5. The long war lasting for as many as three generations mentioned in the Baroda plates of Dhrûva II (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 197) in which Dhrûva I lost his life and his son and grandson were ousted from the throne, was fought with a king named Vallâsaha, who could have been no other than Amoghavarsha I. I have discussed this question in detail in my forthcoming book, 'The Bhâshtrakûtas and their Times.'  
ll. 38-39 and 41-42. V. 25 alone is a new one and its historical significance has been discussed already.

After recording the grant in prose the charter recites the usual imprecatory verses and concludes with a couple of verses in praise of Jainism. The charter claims to contain an autograph of Karkka, but it should have been in proto-Kanarese characters as is the case with his sigmanuals in his Baroda and Nausari grants. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the duet of the words 'Svasthayam mana sri Karkkarajasya trimad Indraraja suñoḥ' really represents that of Karkka's own handwriting. The charter was drafted by Nārāyaṇa, son of Kulapatra Kāśī Durgabhāṣa, who was the chief foreign minister of Karkka. He is obviously a brother of Nāmāditya, who had drafted the two other known copper-plate grants of the present donor,—the Baroda plates of 811-2 and the Nausari plates of 817 A.D.; for, the latter two documents describe Nāmāditya as a son of the foreign minister Kulapatra Kāśī Durgabhāṣa. The present charter shows that the career of Nārāyaṇa was more successful than that of his brother Nāmāditya, since he succeeded his father in the important post of the Chief Foreign Minister.

Most of the copper-plate grants of old were drafted by a sandhivigrahika or foreign minister. I have not yet seen any attempt to explain the connection of the office of sandhivigrahika with the drafting of land grants. The connection is, however, established not only by copper-plates, but is also known to Śrauti literature. An anonymous verse quoted by Vijnānēvara on Yājñavalkya-smṛti, I, 320, says:—

Sandhivigrahakāra tu bhavēd-yas-tasya lēkhakāh
Svayamā rājā samādhiṣṭhaḥ sa likhēd-rājusāsanaṁ

Vijnānēvara himself says, 'Sandhivigrahakāra (śāsanaṁ kārayatī) nānyena kīnacīt.' Yājñavalkya lays down in I, 319 that a land grant should contain an account of the genealogy of the donor. A glance at the numerous grants that have been published shows that this dictum of the sage was usually observed in practice. The genealogy had naturally to refer to the exploits of the ancestors of the donor, material for which was expected to be preserved in the archives of the foreign office, and its head was, therefore, expected to draft the charter containing the names and exploits of the donor and his ancestors.

Of the localities mentioned in the plates almost all can be identified with certainty. Nāga-sārkā is modern Nausāri, about 20 miles to the south of Surat. The Pūrāvi is obviously the river Pūrap on the banks of which Nausāri is situated. Of the two villages Ambāpāṭaka and Sambapura, the latter is untraceable, but the former is obviously the same as Āmāḍpur, situated on the Pūrāvi or Pūrā on and about 5 miles from Nausāri. Mr. M. K. Nadkarni, the Subba of Nausāri, informs me that this village was some centuries ago called Āmāḍpur according to the local tradition. The river Vānki, on the banks of which the army of Karkka was encamped when the gift was made, is the Vanki creek about 30 miles to the south of Nausāri. The only place that thus remains to be identified is Sambapura. This village was to the north of Ambāpāṭaka or modern Āmāḍpur and, therefore, it cannot be identified with the village of Sampur in Kamrej Taluka, since it is 35 miles from Nausāri. It has now probably gone out of existence.

TEXT.

[The following metres have been used:—Anuṣṭubh:—vv. 2, 24, 32, 41-45 and 49. Āryā:—vv. 12-15, 22, 27-29, 33, 40 and 50. Indravajrā:—vv. 23. Upaśīti:—vv. 5 and 20. Gītā:—v. 8. Pusapitāgrā:—v. 48. Vānkiyādī:—v. 1. Vasantatindrā:—vv. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 25, 26, 30, 36-38. Sārāvāda:—vv. 11, 18 and 31. Srautasī:—vv. 17, 19, 34 and 35.]

1 From the original plates.
1. चैव । निर्णय नस्लकारणं तनयमाणं प्रतिष्ठितस्य [१] 

2. ब्राह्मणं धातु सदाबिजातिकानं जयमुखर्षि विनिनिर्माण। [१५] स क्रे।

3. मम संस्कृतम् श्रीवृन्दस्य विनिद्विद्विनैक्षक्कस्मिन्नर्गस्त दत्ते 

4. सूक्ष्म- [०] सक्तसृजस्यस्मिन्नर्गस्त अस्य [२५] दत्तकरण 

5. च समम् च [२५] सव [२५] चारास्मुद्र [२५] च साधन: [२५] च चक्रम् [२५] 

6. इंदुर्तिकाः सिद्धकारकाः [४] सत्याक्षराः ज्ञानिः विद्विद्विद्विनैक्षक् 

7. स्वरूप- [२५] चित्र- [२५] जीवाक्षरां दत्ते गीतमयिन्या। [७] न श्रवण: 

8. निद्रास्मिन्नर्गस्त चित्रकारकाः [१५] चाराः चित्री चित्रित छांडः 

9. ज्ञानसंस्कृतस्य स्वरूपस्थापणम् [२५] भौमाः [७] मधुरमिलाः [२५] 

10. ज्ञानसंस्कृतस्य स्वरूपस्थापणम् [२५] मधुरमिलाः [२५] 

11. धर्म- [२५] चित्रकारकाः [२५] कर्माणि वेदं साधनमयिन्यां 

12. वर्तना [२५] जीवते राज्याचित्रम् वेददत्तम् [२५] चारास्मिन्नर्गस्त दत्ते

1. Expressed by a symbol.
2. Read श्रवणः
3. Read श्रवणः
4. Read श्रवणः
5. The central horizontal stroke of श is missing.
6. Read श्रवणः
7. Read श्रवणः
8. @clipped above. @ draws attention to the correction at the bottom.
9. Letters क्षामा which were omitted while engraving this line are written at the bottom of the plate.
10. See introduction for the symbol of श्रवणः
11. @clipped above. @ draws attention to the correction at the bottom.
12. Read श्रवणः
13. Read श्रवणः
14. Read श्रवणः
15. भौमाः here is a variant of भौमाः in other Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants—N. P. C.
16. Read श्रवণः
17. Read श्रवणः
18. Read श्रवणः
19. Read श्रवणः
20. Read श्रवणः
21. What looks like an भौमाः is a natural depression on the surface of the plate.
The scribe or the composer has joined together the two words in a *sandhi*, without taking notice of the half-verse end, as required by rules of prosody.

1. Read "वङ्गेवा".
2. Read "छक्कसः".
3. Read "मुहुः"
4. Read "होः"
5. Read "हेयः"
6. Read "भानः"
7. Read "हिङ्गकः"
8. Read "क्रियः"
9. Read "वर्तः"
10. Read "भानः"
11. Read "वर्तः"
12. Read "शांसः"
13. Read "होः"
14. Read "वर्तः"
15. Read "शांसः"
16. Read "मुहुः"
17. Read "वर्तः"
18. Read "शांसः"
19. Read "वर्तः"
20. Read "शांसः"
21. Read "वर्तः"
22. Read "शांसः"
23. Read "वर्तः"
24. Read "शांसः"
25. Read "वर्तः"
26. Read "शांसः"
24 चति सति ख्रप्पासुनुनानिकामासिवर्तीपर गुणयश्निऒ सत्ब्रह्मानिषिद्विः

25 यजनुर्वेषीविकारसुन्दरीनवे:।।[२२।।]

26 वीठे:।।[२२।।]

27 विपकवाकू मानकनेत्रसिद्धे विगुणितसौधी।।

28 तिगुणितसौधी।।[२३।।]

29 तिगुणितसौधी।।[२५।।]

30 तिगुणितसौधी।।[२४।।]

31 विच दलां राजाश्रितमेहंशरतं खण्डित।।

---

1 Read "नामः".
2 Read "दामः".
3 Four letters are missing; the reading given is conjectural.
4 The engraver's instrument has slipped to the left of the first vertical in श्री.
5 Read कौमिल:।।[२५।।]
6 The letter क. omitted while engraving, is written below the line, under the letter श्री.
7 Read कौमिल:।।[२५।।]
8 Read दामः.
9 Read दामः.
10 The letter श्री is repeated by mistake.
11 Read दामः.
12 Read दामः.
13 The letter श्री omitted while engraving is written below the line, between सा and श्री.
14 Read दामः.
15 यज्ञसर्वसिद्धग्रामप्रियां
16 तिगुणितसौधी।।[२४।।]
17 This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

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33 मुखभूमियाँ भुवि [१४] नाथवी अंत मात्रार्थ्यधारति प्रज [१⁵] श्रीमान्हराजस्वाजि [१⁶] स्वतृता राजाभवेशी : [१५] श्रवणु यथार्थ- [१⁷] याप्राम्व द्वारा वाचाविण्य- 

34 श्रम [१⁸] ललितार्थ प्रामांमार्थ्यधारति प्रज [१५] राजाभवेश्यो 

35 रक्षा [१⁹] रामदग्मायुद्धक प्रामांमार्थ्यधारति प्रज [१५] श्रवणु यथार्थ- 

36 पारा [२०] स्वयं स्वतं वर्ष जिलाधिकारियों चरितविश्ववस्त्रो दोः प्रियो द्वारा दृष्टान्तर्याषण। [२१] रामदग्मायुद्धक प्रामांमार्थ्यधारति प्रज [१५] 

37 यथपुन यथार्थ निजानिधितं राष्ट्र [१५] यथागताभिधियों अप्रवाहार्थ वाक्य- [२२] केशौ [२३] श्रवणु यथार्थ- [२४] स्वर्णरूपमार्शक दृष्टान्तर्याषण। 

Second Plate: Second side.

38 श्रमदग्मायुद्धक प्रामांमार्थ्यधारति प्रज [२५] अश्रवणु यथार्थ विशेष रिकार्यायुद्धक प्रामांमार्थ्यधारति प्रज [२६] यथार्थ- 


40 श्रमदग्मायुद्धक प्रामांमार्थ्यधारति प्रज [२२] अश्रवणु यथार्थ विशेष रिकार्यायुद्धक प्रामांमार्थ्यधारति प्रज [२५] यथार्थ- 

41 वाङ्गवल [३२] जिनवा योगरंगिनीविरतस्याय अध्ययन [२६] चालु चरितधम प्रवाही [२७] श्रवणु यथार्थ- [२८] चित्रदानपरम्पुष्थक प्रज [२९] अश्रवणु यथार्थ- 

---

1 Read "का" विशेष भीम।
2 Read "रा" न्याय।
3 The usual spelling of this king's name is श्रम।
4 Read समग्र।
5 This letter रा is superfluous.
6 वु was first omitted; it was subsequently written below the line under the preceding letter श्रम between two vertical lines.
7 Read "श्रम्"।
8 Read निशक।
9 A letter first written before श्रम has been subsequently crossed out.
10 Read "श्रम"।
11 Read प्राप्त।
12 Read "श्रम"।
13 Read अन्त।
14 Read "श्रम"।
15 Read अन्त।
16 Letters अन्तर्गतेऽ श्रम are repeated by mistake.
17 This letter रा is superfluous.
18 Read "श्रम"।
19 Read "श्रम"।
20 Read अन्त।
21 प्राप्त।
22 श्रम is written below the line under श्रम which was originally written after प्राप्त by mistake but was subsequently crossed out.
23 Read अन्त। The letter अन्त is written below the line between अन्त and प्राप्त।
24 Read अन्त।
25 Read "श्रम"।
26 Read "श्रम"।
27 Read प्राप्त।
28 The engraver had first inscribed अन्त, but the medial अन्त stroke was subsequently crossed out.
29 Read अन्त।
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>42 मंदिरयोगपुराणम् [४५] स च समस्तितात्वस्यामीयस्यवासस्याधिपतिः पर्ययोऽवर्ष्या समस्तितात्वस्यामीयस्यवासस्याधिपतिः काले विबधवते यथा मया नृतीकाले</td>
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<td>43 विवाहवाधिपतियाः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतियाः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतियाः काले विबधवते यथा मया नृतीकाले</td>
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<td>44 समस्तितात्वस्यामीयस्यवासस्याधिपतिः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः काले विबधवते यथा मया नृतीकाले</td>
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<td>45 अवस्थापतियाः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः काले विबधवते यथा मया नृतीकाले</td>
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<td>46 समस्तितात्वस्यामीयस्यवासस्याधिपतिः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः काले विबधवते यथा मया नृतीकाले</td>
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<td>47 अवस्थापतियाः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः काले विबधवते यथा मया नृतीकाले</td>
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<td>48 अवस्थापतियाः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः काले विबधवते यथा मया नृतीकाले</td>
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<td>49 अवस्थापतियाः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः काले विबधवते यथा मया नृतीकाले</td>
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<td>50 अवस्थापतियाः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः पुनरात्मवासस्याधिपतिः काले विबधवते यथा मया नृतीकाले</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Read "प्रियेन"
2. Read "अवस्थापतियाः" 3. This letter या is superfluous.
4. The letters शाति are wrongly repeated.
5. What looks like a second slanting stroke to the left of श is a natural crack on the surface of the plate.
6. Letters अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ
7. Letters अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ अभ
8. Read "नामेम" or "नामेम"
9. The letter श is slightly doubtful in the impression, but fairly clear in the original.
10. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
11. तथा is wrongly repeated.
12. Read "गुप्ता"
13. The word सो is wrongly repeated.
14. Read "करा"
15. The letters शो are wrongly repeated.
16. Read "पुष्करिणी"
17. Read "हामा"
18. Read "सोमा"
19. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
20. Read "सोमा"
21. Read "चाँद"
22. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
23. Read "सोमा"
24. Read "हामा"
25. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
26. Read "सोमा"
27. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
28. Read "सोमा"
29. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
30. Read "सोमा"
31. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
32. The letters शो are wrongly repeated.
33. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
34. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
35. The word शो is clearly in the feminine, but while mentioning its adjectives, the scribe hesitates throughout this passage between the masculine and the feminine.
36. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
37. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
38. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
39. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
40. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
41. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
42. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
43. Read "व्यासश्रवण"
44. लीला रति
45. व्यासश्रवण
51 शतो वा न कैसीटिविपञ्चन भारिाणा। "तत्त्वाविकाकस्यंस्यं समाः भूभूदासेनायकस्यं विकुण्डलायंनिग्राहीं।"

52 याण्डरापालमनवकाल् धर्मसहितं च जोवितसंराजयं धर्मसहितस्विपिक्षेयम्। परिपलंकश्वना।" यथाज्ञातविकाद्वात्।

53 "तमिनदार्चिन्द्राक्ष्टियाक्ष्मानकं वातुमोदित स पंचः।" जितेकपालकृष्णपालवैवेद्य्यादी दिशान। "तत्सिद्धि वर्षः।"

54 श्राणां जन्मः सन्ति भूमिमातः। यात्रा धर्मसहिताय तन्नाथ नरं संसूचितः।" विभेद्यादी। तीव्र्योषं। गीतः। ज्ञायते।

55 भूभूदासेनाय करति धी। "हरिदः" श्राणाः। नेरनाथभासं करति धी। "हरिदः।" श्राणाः। जन्मः। ज्ञायते।

Third Plate : First side.

56 च नराधिप | [**] महाराजसहमति। [**] चेड़ दानार्थेयसमानं [**] बुधग्रामध्ये भूमीं। राजसहमताराजनिधिं। [***] यथात्। यथात्। भूभूदासेनाय करति। [***] तदा फलं [**] जन्मः।

57 प्रथमः सुवृमः भूमिमातौरुपस्तावै गावः। [***] लोकविषयं तन्न्यभविः। दर्शी। यथात्। [**] यत्तपति। [***] जन्मः।

58 धीमात्राः स्करियाः [***] नविनव्यावः प्रेमसिद्धिं नाम साधः। [**] निपतं भ्रातवरादुद्विनं। [***] दशिन कलंदलापक्षविलङ्कं। विसमसुमन्विचारं। यथात्।

59 विसमसुमन्विचारात| [***] धी पुश्चति। [***] विश्वामिद्राता। [***] यथारूपम्य। करति। [***] विश्वामिद्राता। [***] विश्वामिद्राता। [***] करति। [***] विश्वामिद्राता। [***] करति। [***] विश्वामिद्राता। [***] करति। खासोंमयमध्ये। समं च। करति। [***] विश्वामिद्राता। [***] करति।
Note.—Vv. 2-21, 25, 24 and 26-38 have been translated by Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, pp. 142 ff., while editing the Naṣārī plates of the present donor. The first two lines of v. 25, which he has declared to be unintelligible continue to be so to me as well. Vv. 39 and 40 have been translated by Hultzsch in Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, pp. 201-2.

V. 1. Victorious is the gracious gospel propounded by the best of Jinās, which is a perpetual abode of prosperity, which is clear in its entirety, which is based upon the (seven) metaphysical viewpoints (Nayṣa), which prohibits (recourse to) evil ways and which brings about beatitude to one with a controlled mind.

V. 22. Whose (Dhrūva)’s glory, resembling in colour a mass of lunar rays, is sung with zest by swarms of Vidyādhāra damsels seated on the top of the divine (i.e. Mūrā) mountain.

V. 25. Who (i.e. Dhrūva) alone here (in this world) appeared as Paramārvāra (i.e. supreme ruler; i.e. god Śiva;) since he had made his own the paraphernalia and glory of Viṣṇu (i.e. a king named Śiva;) or ii, who had appropriated to himself the high bull banner and ‘ashes’; since he was accustomed to take proper care of (or furnish) his strong and towering forts; (or ii, since he was in the habit of decorating (his consort) Durgā who is the very essence of the most magnanimous;) and since his fame had increased by the imprisonment of a scion of the Gāṅga family or by the obstruction of the flowing current of the Ganges (by his armies) (or ii, who had increased his fame by interrupting the continuous flow of the Ganges) (when it was lost in his matted hair).

Ll. 42-48. And now that king śrī-Karṇaṇarāja alias Suvarṇavarāha who has acquired (the right to the use of) all the five musical instruments and who is the chief of great feudatories, notifies, while in good health, to all the provincial governors (Ṛṣṭhrapātis), district officers (Viṣṇāppatis), village land-lords (Grāmāppatis), village heads (Grāmākaraṇas), revenue clerks and their subordinates (Yukta and Niyukta), the officers among the village elders (who were the descendants of) the (original) colonisers (of the villages) (Viṣṇa-cuṇa-ḥattārāhīkārinas) and other officers concerned:

1 Read सैंभु.
2 This refers to the famous Saptā-bhaṣīṇa doctrine of Jainism which is a peculiar feature of its philosophy.
3 There seems to be an allusion here to the annexation of Gāṅgavādī whose ruler’s name was Śiva-māra. It is also possible that this adjective may refer to the use by the Rāṣṭhrapāta of the image of seated Śiva as their Māhākaraṇa, but then it would not be particularly appropriate for Dhrūva.
4 These five instruments were śrīga, lalāka, bhaṁg, jaya-gaṇaṇī and tamattā. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 96.
5 Since both Grāmāpattis and Grāmākaraṇa are mentioned, it is clear that one of these forms, preferably the former, is to be understood as referring to village land-lords.
6 Since these officers are mentioned after the village headsman and before the village elders, it is likely that they may denote the village accountant and his assistants.
7 For the interpretation of Mahātāra as a member of the village council, see Altekar, History of the Village Communities in Western India, pp. 20-22.
8 The expression kānana is obscure; it occurs again in the grant of Dantuvarman. (Ann, Vol. VI, p. 292.)
Let it be known to you that for the enhancement of the fame and religious merit of myself and my parents was given by me,—while staying in the victorious camp on the bank of the holy Vanikā,—the field called Hiranyakāyōka (irrigated by) the well of Dhāśu, situated to the north of the village Ambāpātaka, attached to śrī-Nāgasārikā whose boundaries are as follows: — to the east (the field watered by) the well of Śrīdhara, to the south a stream, to the west the great river Piṇāvī, and to the north the (public) well of Sambapura; — to the glorious preceptor Aparājita, the disciple of revered śrī-Sumatī, who was the disciple of Mallavādīn (belonging to) Śīna-sāṅghā, a branch of the fourfold Mūla-sāṅghā, for the purpose of (daily) worship, cooked rice offerings, and the repairs and renovation of the monastery (vastika), which is an ornament of Sambapura and is attached to the temple of Arhat, situated within the boundaries of śrī-Nāgasārikā.

Ll. 48-53. This (field), as determined by its boundaries, has thus been given (by me) with the discharge of water, after having bathed, on the full moon day of Vaṣākha, when seven centuries increased by forty-three (years) had elapsed according to the era of the Śaka king, to be enjoyed by successive disciples as long as the sun, the earth, the oceans, the rivers and the mountains endure, along with the right to receive the revenues in corn and gold, exempt from the exactions levied or the entry of the irregular and regular soldiers, and interference from all the royal officers. While this field is being enjoyed or caused to be enjoyed, tilled or caused to be tilled or assigned (by the donor or his successors while) leading the life proper for a (Jain) preceptor, nobody whatsoever is to cause any hindrance. Similarly this gift should be confirmed and protected as in no way different from their own donations by future kings; whether our descendants or not, realizing that prosperity is as ephemeral as the lightning and remembering that the religious merit of the gift of land is common (to all the rulers ruling for the time being) and that the life is as unstable as a drop on the edge of (a blade of) grass. Whosoever, owing to the clouding of his mind by the cover of darkness of ignorance would snatch away or consent to (this grant) being snatched away, would incur the five great sins as also the (five) subsidiary ones. And it has been observed by the divine Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas:

(Here follow the usual imprecatory verses.)

Ll. 59-62. The donor who has seen (the contents of) this document writes in his own handwriting his opinion that this (engraving) is in accordance with (the charter originally granted). This is my own sign-manual, of śrī-Karkkariṣa, son of Indrarāja. This (charter) was drafted by me, Nārāyana, the son of Durgaśāṅkha, of noble extraction, the principal foreign minister.

V. 49. May the system of Jina, which hates evil and which is as efficacious as the thunderbolt in destroying the mountains, (in the form) of other theories, be (ever) successful.

V. 50. Victorious is the Dharma preached by Jina, ever compassionate to the six classes of animate beings and which shines in this world as the greatest-jewel of all other religions.

1 In Gujārāt, fields are often known after the names of the wells irrigating them. The well by which this field was irrigated was apparently constructed by an individual named Dhāśu.

2 Charuhaśi is enjoined in Hinduism, but not in Jainism. The inclusion of this phrase in the present record is due to the absentmindedness of the drafter, who, accustomed to include this expression in Brahmical grants where it was appropriate, allowed it to remain in the present grant also, forgetting that it was in favour of a Jain establishment.

3 This sentence is rather enigmatical. If the reading were to be amended as Śāmanāḍityāśākha the translation would be "The (principal) writer (in the secretariat office) of the donor certifies that..."
No. 25.—THE CHANDREHE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA: THE KALACHURI YEAR 724.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The inscription which is edited below was discovered by the late Mr. Beglar, one of the Assistants of the late Sir A. Cunningham, at Chandrēhi or Chandrēhā, a small village near the banks of the Sūpa close to its confluence with the Banāś. It lies in lat. 81° 32' E and long. 24° 18' N (Rewah Topographical Survey Sheet No. 291 of 1877). The village is situated in the State of Rewah in Baghelkhand Agency of Central India and is noted for the existence of ancient ruins, two buildings among which are still standing, viz., a temple of Śiva and a fine Śaiva monastery.

The inscription which has already been noticed by Kielhorn is incised on two slabs of stone of the same size which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door. Altogether there are twenty-seven lines of writing which are unequally divided, the first slab, marked A in the text below, bearing fourteen lines and the second, marked B, thirteen. The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is on the whole in a very good state of preservation. Except for a few stray letters the writing is clearly legible.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and with the exception of the invocation at the beginning and the second half of the concluding line, which are in prose, the whole of the record is in verse. It has been carefully incised and mistakes are very few, e.g., svāvād for śvāvād (l. 12) and -charaṁ-jāgāti for -charaṁ-jāgāti (l. 15). As regards orthography the following peculiarities may be noticed: n is used for anvāvāna in hansā (l. 2) and dḥvānā (l. 18); consonants with a superscript or subscript r have not always been doubled, e.g., t-muni (l. 19), kārya (l. 14), gurūr-guru (l. 23), ṣātra (l. 13), mahākāra (l. 18), etc.

The characters belong to the Northern variety of the Indian alphabet of the 10th century A.D. and bear great resemblance to the Bilhari Inscription of the Kalachuri Yuvarājadēva III. The principal peculiarities of this alphabet are the presence of two acute-angled triangles in the lower part of kṣ, cf. bhāt (l. 1), the looped form of th where the loop is not yet open, cf. tathā (l. 1) and the angle at the back of d; cf. omphād (l. 1). There is no acute angle in the lower part of p or at the bottom of v, m, and y. Two different forms of ph have been used, e.g., phāpi (l. 1) and sphātri (l. 2). R is wedge-shaped and one loop of r is longer than the other.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a monastery (mātha) and the excavation of a tank and a well by a Śaiva ascetic named Prabodhasiva who also repaired and re-excavated a well formerly caused to be excavated by his preceptor Prasāntaśivā. This inscription and the Gurgsi inscription of Prabodhasiva provide us with the spiritual genealogy of the Rewah branch of the ascetics of the Mattamayāra clan whose full genealogy has been discussed elsewhere.

The present record throws light on the date of erection of the temple of Śiva at Chandrēhā which was the first specimen of its kind to be discovered. We learn from verse 17 that Prabodhasiva built a monastery close to the temple erected by his spiritual preceptor Prasāntaśivā (vv. 21-22). Therefore the temple of Śiva which stands within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery must be the temple erected by Prasāntaśivā. According to the date given in this inscription the
monastery itself was built or completed in the Kalachuri Chödi year 724 (≈973-3 A.D.). Thus Prasāntaśīva's temple must have been constructed in the earlier part of the tenth century. The date of another ruin near Chandrēhe is also fixed by this inscription. From verse 7 we learn that Prasāntaśīva had built another ārama near the confluence of the Śoṇa at the foot of the Bhramarā hill. The place is still called Bhramarsen and is referred to by Beglar.¹

The date is given in the last line as [Kalachuri] Samvat 724 Phālguna śūdi 5. For want of further particulars it is not possible to verify the exact date but it would roughly correspond to March 973 A.D. The pūrāṇa was composed by the poet Dhamśaṭa, son of Jēkla and grandson of Mēhuka. It was written by Dāmōdara, son of Lakṣhmīdharā and younger brother of Vāsūdeva and was engraved by Nīla kāṭha at the command of sūtradhāra Sūrākā.

I edit this inscription from the original in the monastery at Chandrēhe which I visited twice with the help of Rai Bahadur B. N. Zutah, President, and Rai Bahadur Pandit Janki Prasad, M.A., L.L.B., Home Member, of the Council of Regency, Rewah State.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 12 and 13 Śikharī; v. 2 Mandākṛanta; vv. 3, 4 and 8 Śārālavikrīḍita; vv. 5-7, 9-11 and 18 Prithō; vv. 14, 16 and 19 Hari; vv. 15 and 17 Vasantākā; v. 20 Anushtubh.]

A.

1 Orī namāḥ Śivāya || Phaḍī-śvāṣa-正当me svanad-amara-nady-ambhasi cha yaj-jaṭājūt-āmbhōdā nayana-śikhi-vidyud-vilasa || tathā chūḍā-chandra-dyuti

2 nikara-dhārēva kakubhaṁ kapalām mālā tulayati sa śarvaḥ vijayate || [1/[*]

3 Hansa-āyēni hasita-mahāsān saṁhataṁ-saṁkarasya śphāl-bhūta vadanam-abhūtō

4 nāga-charma-śvītasya || kīchīt-kāṣṭha-chchhavi-kalashitā maṅga-niryan-mrīghanāca-chchhāyaṁ svacchhān apadī dadhati sampadaṁ vō dadatu || [2/[*]

5 Chārī-saṁcharaṇa-praśīṭa-charaṇa-vyā

6 pāraṇā-ghūraṇīta-kalpaṁ-kunḍa-namat-phāṇaṁ[va]-paṇaṁ vidrīṇaṁ dig-vāraṇaṁ || dōṛaṁ-dhāraṇāḥ-akāṇḍa-chalita-brahmaṇḍa-khaṇḍaṁ mūద bhūyaṅ-ān víṣṇa

7 kvaṇa-śaṅkarakaṁ Āvāṇī-paṭeṣaṁ-tāpyaṁ || [3/[*] Śrīman-Mattamayura-santatir-iyāna Gaṅg-eśa lōka-tāryaṁ pūyaṁ yastra Purandaraṁ kriṣ-tapā jājūṁ
gurū bhū[f]āyīyaṁ || sīṣyas-ta

8 sya Śīkṣāśivāḥ śīkhi-saṁśā-viñ(i)bhrat-tapas-tējasā dipatvāṁ vinipāṭit-āndha-tamas[ō nirvāṇa-mārgē sthitāḥ || [4/[*] Tatō Madhumati-patēḥ kriṣṭa-mahā-tapa

9 s-saṁchāhāya Prabhāśivāya ity-abhūt-sakala-sāva-chāḍāmaṇīḥ anēka-nripa-vanditaṁ

10 sa Yuvārājadvēna yas-tapō dhana-patēḥ kriṣṭaḥ-charaṇa-pūta-gōł-lagnikaḥ || [5/[*]

11 Praśāntāśivā-chaṇḍramāsa-taṇīt-asaṁ tasya śīṣyōv-havat-tamaṁ-pramaṁ-ādya-prakṣaṇa-samaṇuṇaṁ[va] sūciḥ || va(ba)bḥāra guṇishu śīyam kumuda-kalpa-sāvēṣu yaḥ samyujvala


13 ra vidiyāṁ janāra-muni-sakhaṁ praśānt-āsramāṁ svā-pūda-pada-paṅkthibhib pavita bhūtālo yaḥ kriṣ || [7/[*] Dēv-ādyaṁ-gat-ēndra-saṁsādi madā gandharvavīdyādharai-

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. Om! Adoration to Śiva. Victorious is that Śiva (Śāivā) in whose piles of matted hair, (being like) a cloud and in the flaming waters of the divine river (Ganges), dark with the hissing of snakes (on Śiva's body), flashes like lightning (in the form) of the fire of (his third) eye and whose garland of human skulls elevates the quarters even as the shower of the collected effulgence of the moon on (his) crest.

V. 2. May the mass of lustre of the heart of Śaṅkara clad in an 'elephant skin' which is as white as the geese which is spread around his face and which is slightly darkened by the reflection of his (dark or blue) neck (and) which (therefore) bears the clear splendour of the moon* emerging from a cloud, bring you prosperity.

V. 3. May the Tāṇḍava dance of the lord of Chandi (i.e., Śiva) give you pleasure, which caused the hood of the lord of the snakes (e.g., Śeṣa) to be bent down owing to the hollow on the earth revolving on account of the movements of the feet (of Śiva) skilled in practising the chāṇḍī step (in dancing), which (dance) put to flight the elephants of the cardinal points on account of the revolutions of his rodlike arms, which (dance) vainly suddenly caused commotion in parts of the universe (and) which (vast accompanied by the) up sound of the ādamaru.

V. 4. May the uninterrupted succession of the illustrious Mattamayūra (clan) purify the three worlds, like the Ganges; in which (clan) was born Purandara, who had performed austerities (tapas) and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (who was) Śikhasiva (who was) like the fire, (and) who through the lust of his austerities became a lamp (lit. bore the qualities of a lamp) illuminating (lit. standing m) the path of final beatitude and having destroyed the intense darkness of ignorance.

V. 5. After him (who was) lord of Madhvat came Prabhāvasīva who had accumulated great austerities (to his credit), who was worshipped by many kings, who was the crest-jewel of all Śaivas (and who) was made to accept the end, sanctified by his feet (i.e., was induced to settle in his territory by free gifts of land, etc.), by Īvāra-rajadāva.

V. 6. Thereafter came his disciple Prasāntasīva, (who, like) the moon, (was) pure, whose real self was manifested in his attempts to dispel ignorance (or darkness), who whitened all the quarters with the rays of his bright fame who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Śaivas, as the moon bestows splendour on the higa night lotuses.

V. 7. He, the virtuous, whose food was fruits, the stalk of the lotus and (edible) bulbs, who had the Munis as his companions, and who had sanctified the face of earth by his footsteps, built an incomparable hermitage, well-known to the people, at the confluence of the river Śōna and at the foot of the Bhārāma hill covered in dense forest of Priyāla trees.²

V. 8. Whose fame was incessant and with delight in every (month of) Māgha² high tone by Gandharvas and Vidyādhas, in the assembly of Indra in the celestial gardean and by Nandin, who for the pleasure of Śivalexed his attention to instrumental music, (to enable the God to hear his devotee's fame sung) & by the charioteer of the sun who lolling his head (from one side to the other) in an ecstatic mood let the reins of the horses slide from his hands.

V. 9. Prabodhāsīva, the foremost among all his (Prasāntasīva's disciples) just as Parasurāma was of the end of Madana (i.e., Śiva), who had conquered all enemies, who had

1. Apparently the moon with slight dark spot on its surface is likened to the splendour of the laugh, while the cloud in the vicinity has counterpart in the elephant skin—Ed.

2. Buchananis Latifānā.

3. This month being the oor of the Siva-rātri festival is particularly revered to Śiva—Ed.
placed the earth under obligation by bestowing riches on the qualified (and) who had adorned the faces of the quarters by his fame.

V. 10. Who betimes, was like Kumāra (i.e., Kārttikeya), whose one hand was manifested in pouring libations on high tongues of fire (as Kumāra one hand was engaged in pacifying his fierce peacock), who had always abjured the company of women, who had shown the effect of his own power (or weapons) on exalted kings (or high ministers), who was devoted to (Śiva), the enemy of the mind-born (i.e., Kāma) (as Kumāra is the favourite of Śiva) and who had performed (all) the duties towards the gods (just as Kumāra carried out the slaughter of the demon Tāraka, a duty imposed upon him by the gods).

V. 11. Who, after investigating all the scriptural knowledge of God through meditation and performance (of religious duties), to living on greens (āśāka), roots of water plants (śālāka) and fruits such as amalaka, priyāla and (as roots) mūla, caused the world to wonder by practising austerities, even in (his) boyhood on the bank (lit. on the surface of land) washed by the river (Śoṇa), imitating his spiritual preceptors?

V. 12. Who, having obtained greater auspiciousness (of being) in a friendly manner (or as the sun) setting his auspicious foot on the heads of (wondering) kings (just as the sun, having reached high altitude emits his powerful rays on the mountains) (and) performed the duty of dispelling ignorance (or darkness), who was worshipped as a god by all at the beginning of the age (a king). What more (to say)! He has pervaded the three worlds with his prowess (just as the sun spreads heat over the three worlds).

V. 13. Who, through the expedients (of excavating, breaking and ramming) masses of heavy stones built a wonderful way through mountains, through rivers and streams (as also) through forest and thickets, as Rāma (did) the sea. The achievement of the great proclaims great wonder in the world.

V. 14. At night, this hermitage (āśrama) saw the people the semblance of lightning on account of the phosphorescence of plants (browning it), resembling lightning, (that) of clouds on account of the (dark) bees flying at the sides of main peaks, (that of thunder) on account of the roars of lions causing the skies to echo (and that opere) on account of the air being cooled by the sprays of the waters of the Śoṇa.

V. 15. In this place herds of monkeys kiss the o lions, the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness; so other (lower animals), re (natural) enemies, take leave of their antipathy; indeed, in forests devoted to austerities this of all become peaceful.

V. 16. Near the temple built by his preceptor,śa Prabodhāśiva caused to be built this high and big monastery (māṭha) (which was whith his own fame, resembling the white clouds; he also caused to be excavated, close to the ain, a well with copious water and a tank, called the Sindhu.

V. 17. On account of his devotion for his preceptor caused to be deeply re-excavated (and re-built) with beautiful masonry of heavy stones, which was excavated by Praśāntaśiva, at this place, (but which) had become dilapidated out of (the passage of) time, and full of wood.

V. 18. There was a Dīkhita named Māhuka whose fame known in the earth. He who was the foremost among good men,egot a son named Jñāna womb of Amārika. To him was born the poet Dhāmasa. He composed this prātikārista composition.

[The process of road-making described here is strikingly similar adopted by modern engineers in metalling roads and we may thus conclude that 'macadamizing'—unknow in Hindu India. The word 'must be taken to mean here 'crushing' or 'ramming' of metal and apparently survives in Hindi धार and Bengali धम्बर =a rammer.—Ed.]
V. 19. Let this fame (of this work) last as long as the divine stream (i.e., Ganges) wandering through the mass of matted hair of Śiva, with its waters shattering over the rocks of Himādri (the Himālayas), whose billowing waves purify the earth, proceeds to the ocean (lit. lord of rivers) along the path (shown by) Bhagirathā.

V. 20. This praśasti was written, in excellent letters, by the learned and famous Dāmādara, who was the younger brother of Vāsudēva (and) the son of Lakshmīdhara.

Inscribed by Nilakaṇṭha according to the orders of the (master) mason Sūrāka. The year 724, the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna.

No. 24—THE NALA INSCRIPTION AT PODAGADH; 12TH YEAR.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The record edited below was discovered in the spring of 1922 by the late Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, the then Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and myself when we were touring in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam district, Madras Presidency. We had gone thither to examine the Telugu inscriptions at Koṇḍakamburu in the Malkangiri Agency, brought to the notice of the Department by F. G. Butler, Esq., I.C.S., the Assistant Agency Commissioner at Koraput, and the Nāgarī inscription at Doḍra, a village situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Podāgadha, reported by Mr. Burrows, the late Forest Officer, Jeypore, in the year 1916-17. Our attention was drawn to the inscription at Podāgadha by the Duffadar of the Umarkōṭ Thāna office who accompanied us as our guide. It was no small surprise to us to be led at the end of our tedious journey to the slab bearing the inscription leaning against the natural rock at a height of 40 feet from the ground level. This was a veritable epigraphical oasis in the desert and barren Agency tracts.

The approaches to the hill are thickly shaded by the tall teak trees of the forest. Within a furlong from the foot of the hill, as we approached it, we observed some sati stones (nearly a dozen) lying scattered in a group which gave us hopes of some useful discovery. Not far from this spot was a ruined Śiva temple with fallen roof and dilapidating walls and entrance, with the Nandī (bull), Gaṇēśa and other associate minor sculptures lying about it. There was a well-watered pond also within a few yards of it embowered by a thick-set bamboo grove. All these human associations brought home to us the impression, suggested by the discovery of the Nāgarī inscription at Doḍra, that the Agency tracts are now only a fallen country like the adjoining state of Bārān. The provenance has been described at some length only with a view to indicate the extent of the decadence that has come over a country, which, judging from its few known inscriptions and monuments, once enjoyed a civilised and cultured life in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The Agency tract seems well worthy of a systematic study by scholars owing to the wealth of antiquarian and ethnographical material it contains, although it has now relapsed into primeval jungle.

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1 [Sewell in his List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency, Vol. I (p. 317) refers to an inscription on the rock in Dēvanāgari characters at Podāgadha, which is possibly the same as the present inscription though his information, derived from local sources, appears to have been rather inaccurate. The stone door-way referred to in his account as being close to the inscription is probably the entrance to the ruined Vishnu temple referred to in verse 5 of the inscription.—Ed.]

2 Nos. 286 and 287 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for the year 1922.

3 No. 282 of the same Collection.

4 No. 283 of 1922.

5 For the inscriptions of this State, see Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, p. 160; Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.; Vol. XII, p. 242; see also R. B. Hiralal's List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Bihar.
The Podāgaḍh hill and village shown as 'Poragarh' in the Imperial Gazetteer Atlas (Vol. XXVI), Plate 42, lie on the north-western frontier of the Jeyapore Agency bordering on the Bastar State. The way to the hill and the inscribed slab lie from the Nowrangpur side, through the village of Bhanḍārīgūḍa which is only a small cluster of insignificant huts. The inscription has been reviewed in the Madras Epigraphical Report for the year 1921–22, page 95, where a plate of the record has also been given.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit verse. The epigraph consists of twelve or possibly thirteen verses of which the first is a variety of the Āryā metre while the others excepting verse 9 (which is Vāmāsthavila) are Anusūthub. The inscription begins with the expression "Siddham". Verse 1 contains a glorification of Hari in His aspect as the essence of victory. Verses 2 to 4 describe the recovery of the lost sovereignty by Prince [Skanda? ]varman,1 son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, and his repopulation of (the capital) Pushkari. Verses 5 and 6 record his foundation of a [pū]dayāla or foot-print of Vaiṣṇu, for the worship of which he made the gift of a holding and of some money in the shape of bhūri-dakshāṇā the proceeds of which were to be availed of for the feeding of Brahmans, ascetics and the destitute. In verse 7 the holding is made permanently tax-free in the name of the Purusha (Highest Being) and non-interferable by state officials. Verses 8 and 9 give (apparently) the warning of the sinfulness involved in the violation of the charity and the promise of salvation, through the grace of (god) Vāsudēva, to those that conform to the good path of kings and maintain the donation. Verse 10 gives the date of the setting up of the inscribed monument, perhaps under the personal supervision of the prince, as the 27th day of the Mādhava (i.e., Vaiśākhā) month in the 12th year. Since we have no materials to determine the exact date of the commencement of king Bhavadatta's or his son's reign it is difficult to give the English equivalent of the date. We may, however for the present, reasonably refer it to the 12th year from the date of accession of or the recovery of the lost crown by prince [Skanda]varman. Verse 11, which is partly damaged, mentions the General (śeṇāpati) Pritibhāgavata(?) who is described as devoted to his master. He was probably the executor of the charter like the ājañapti of the Eastern Chālukya and the sāndhivigrāhika of the other copper-plate records. The writer of the record is said in verse 12 to be Jānturadāsa, the son of Chaulī, and the engraver is probably the person mentioned last, vīrī, Viṣvarūpa, son of Aja.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern type of alphabet and closely resemble those of the Taḷāgunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman 3 which has been assigned by Professor Kielhorn to the first half of the 6th century A.D.4 and those of the Mālava inscription of Kumāragupta of the Mālava year 493.5 The comparatively more developed forms of the letters ja, tha, dha, ba, ma and ya and more ornamental signs of the secondary i, rī and ya employed in the Kāshmir inscription, suggest an earlier date for our record. The anusvāra is marked by a small round loop in the Taḷāgunda inscription while in our record it is denoted only by a point also shows its earlier character. The record may therefore be assigned to the latter half of the 5th century A.D. The letter tō is written without the loop which is found in ma, as in the inscription referred to. The final m is denoted by a

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1 The name is much blurred in the inscription and I have given here only the most probable reading. But I do not feel quite certain of the correctness of the restoration.

2 Bhavadatta of the present record can be tentatively identified with Bhavattavarman of the Rithapur plates. The suffix varman which is certainly applied to the son's name has been apparently dropped in the father's name owing to metrical difficulties. In the Rithapur plates the dropping of da of Bhavadatta is obviously a scribe's mistake.

3 Above, Vol. VIII, p. 24 and plate opposite page 32.

4 Ibid., p. 31.

5 C. I. I., Vol. III, pl. XI.
miniature ma written after the previous letter and near its bottom, e.g., siddham in line 1, Pushkarin in line 4, etc. The jihvāmālīya is employed in one case, viz., in jananyāḥ-kriyāṇā (l. 4). The upadhyāmiya is employed in the compound words pītuḥ-pīṭāmaha (l. 4), māh-pārthikina (l. 10) and bhārtuṣṭhā-prasā (l. 13). The consonant following the rēpha is, in some cases, doubled as in almost all records but aspirates following it are left single. The consonant preceding the rēpha is also doubled in a few instances (e.g., vikrama in l. 2; vayatikramādhyāyā in l. 10). The word mukhya is written as mukhya (l. 2).

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first stone record of the Nala dynasty hitherto discovered. The Nala kings have been known directly only from the Rithapur copper-plates of Bhavatavarman and indirectly by the mention of their defeat by the early Chalukyas of the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian Era. The Western Chalukya king Kirtivarma I (A.D. 567-597) claims to have destroyed them. He is also stated to have destroyed the residence (milaya) of the Nala kings. They are described as the traditional enemies of the Chalukyas at whose hands they suffered defeat like the Mauryas of the Kōṅkaṇa.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, speaking of the family of Nala kings defeated by Kirtivarma I remarks that what province it ruled we do not know. Dr. Fleet depends upon the mention of the Nalavādi-nilaya made in a copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I of about A.D. 667 that there is a probable indication that the territory of the Nala kings lay in the direction of the Bellary and Karnīl districts. The mention of the Nala kings in the Aihole inscription may be taken to indicate that they were the enemies of the Chalukyas on the north-east while the Mauryas of the Kōṅkaṇa and the Kadambas of Vaijayantī were their enemies on the north-west and the south-west respectively. The provenance of this inscription and of the Rithapur plate localises them in the southern part of the Central Provinces and Berar including the Bastar State. On the extreme east the kingdom might have included the northern part of the Jeypoore Agency (Vizagapatam district) from which our inscription comes.

The town Pushkarī mentioned in the inscription (probably the capital of the Nala kings) cannot be identified.

**TEXT.**

1 सिस्मम || हरिषा जिलं जयति जेष्ठि[व]या गुणासुतिबोहुस्रि तितवह सा [1*] ननु भगवा[न्ति]  
2 जयो तत्वं चाधिलेता [व] || [1*] यौनतावशयुक्ताश्च विक्षुमचिपित  
3 सुपस्चतसास्त्व चतुर्भावानविशिष्टान्तम [9*] || [1*] भाटमाऔथ राजान्  
4 शुवाभावाश पकरोऽ  [1*] पितुपितामश्चानाश जन्यवादकि[ख]लिना [नन] [11*]

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1 rājarādhīn (l. 3), pājārthāsan (l. 6), sarvavācha (l. 8), visarjītsāman (l. 8).  
2 tripoṭkṣa-Bhavatavatayya (l. 3) and dharmavrthakā (l. 5); but cf. pājārthāsan in the above note.  
3 Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.  
4 Above, Vol. VI, p. 4.  
7 Ibid., p. 282.  
8 From inked estampages prepared by myself.  
9 It is also possible to read as सुवर्षामालविशिष्टाम.
5 ज्ञान धर्मनिवास मद्यावस्थानिनी सर्वार्थ ज्ञान धर्मनिवास मद्यावस्थानिनी सर्वार्थ ।
6 नर्मदा नामसुरार्त नामसुरार्त नर्मदा नामसुरार्त नर्मदा नामसुरार्त ।
7 अद्वयन को अद्वयन को अद्वयन को अद्वयन को अद्वयन को ।
8 यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा ।
9 देवस्थान ॥ देवस्थान ॥ देवस्थान ॥ देवस्थान ॥
10 अनुजसन्नाति अनुजसन्नाति अनुजसन्नाति अनुजसन्नाति अनुजसन्नाति ॥
11 सभा नर्मदा जीवनानि सभा नर्मदा जीवनानि सभा नर्मदा जीवनानि सभा नर्मदा जीवनानि ॥
12 सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र ॥
13 सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र ॥
14 सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र ॥
15 सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र ॥
16 सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र सत्यसमुद्र ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Victory! The praise of (His) qualities (in such (words) as "Hari was victorious, is victorious (and) will be victorious," is not that (i.e., appropriate). For, verily, the Divine (Hari) is himself the conquer, the object to be conquered and the conqueror. 7

(Vv. 2 to 4). This foot-print (or sanctuary) 8 was made by the illustrious king [Skundavarman, the noble son of king Bhavadatta—who was the foremost (scion) of the glorious Nala family (and) repelled his enemies by his valour—(on) having reclaimed the lost royal prosperity which had fallen into other hands (or was unsettled) and having repeopled the deserted (town of

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1 Read सराक। [There is no room for more than three letters at the end of the sixth line. The second half of the fifth verse may therefore be possibly restored as प्रयास पूर्ण दोषाकर्मकालम ॥ —Ed.].
2 [Read सत्यवर्ग।—Ed.]
3 The Rihapur plates of Bhavatavarman have the expressions दशमास्ति गुणास्ति and सत्यसमुद्रिति; (above, Vol. XIX, p. 103, ll. 12-13 of the text. Cf. also above, Vol. XI, p. 2, l. 9 of the text).
4 This might be restored as सत्यसमुद्रिति—Ed.]
5 [Read सत्यसमुद्रिति—Ed.]
6 [Reading is दशमास्ति। One pada is apparently lost at the ends of the lines 14 and 15. The existing two padas in l. 15 seem to be the second and first padas respectively of an Ashvaghosha half-verse. —Ed.].
7 Compare this statement with the description of Vashyu as "विजयो जया" given in verse 16 of the Vihaañeśvaraṇiṇī.
8 The word padamala is evidently used here in the sense of a sanctuary; see above, Vol. XI, No. 19, p. 193. —Ed.
Pushkarī, with the hope of obtaining religious merit for his father, other ancestors and mother and desiring welfare for himself.

(Vv. 5 and 6). And for His worship in this (temple), with (libation of) water and with abundant dakṣiṇā ...... a holding (purā)¹ for the Supreme Being (Purusha) to last as long as ...... the Sun and the stars. The proceeds have to be used entirely for the (free) feeding in a sātra of Brahmans, especially of ascetics, of the poor and of the destitute......

(V. 7). This (holding) (shall remain) impenetrable to State servants and permanently tax-free to the son of the noble [Chakradrīpa....... as may be suitable.

(V. 8). This order (of the king) was composed and recorded on the pillar in front (of the temple). Whoever causes damage to this (shall incur) great sin.

(V. 9). Whoever transgresses the order of the king, that low-born (one) will commit offence against the king; he who will conform to the good path followed by kings will for long find refuge in (god) Vāsudeva.

(V. 10). This pillar was caused to be planted by the king, personally, on the sacred twenty-seventh day in the excellent month of Mādhava (i.e., Vaiśākha) in the twelfth year (of his reign).

(V. 11). Thus was promulgated (the ordinance) on all sides (i.e., everywhere) by the General Prīthvīrāgavata (who was) devoted to his master (and it) was composed by Mālin of poor intellect (alpabuddhi).²

(Vv. 12 and 13). The edict) has been written with devotion by Jānturādaśa, the son of Chauṭil,³ (and engraved) by Viśvarūpa, the son of Aja (who is) devoid of qualities (and aspires for good qualities !)

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No 25.—A NOTE ON TILAKWADA PLATES OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJADEVA OF V. S. 1103.

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., SATARA.

These plates were discovered in 1917 in Tilakwada, a pēṭā mahāl under Sankheḍa, in the Baroda State, in the bed of the river Navīda and are now preserved in the oriental section of the Baroda Central Library. They form the last two of the three plates which made up the complete grant. The late Mr. J. S. Kudjākar, M.A., Curator of Baroda State Libraries, exhibited them and read an article on them at the First Oriental Conference held in Poona in November 1919 which was subsequently published in its Proceedings,⁴ and again in his own Journal, now extinct, called Library Miscellany.⁵ The present note deals specially with the historical bearings of the plates.

The first of the extant two plates begins with the description of a sovereign named Bhōjadēva, who is said to have destroyed all the enemies by his great valour. His feudatory was Sū(Sū)rāditya born in the family of the Śravāṇabhadras and who had migrated from Kānyakubja (modern Kanauj). Sū(Sū)rāditya was helpful to Bhōjadēva in making his rule firm by slaughtering the (enemy) warriors in the battle with Sābhāvāhana as well as the warriors of other princes. Śūrāditya’s son was Jāśorāja who was enjoying Saṅgamakhētamanḍala.

¹ Though the word ‘purā’ generally means a ‘town’ or a ‘city’, it appears in certain inscriptions to have a special reference to the tax-free lands possessed by temples or Brahmans. The latter are referred to in Kānarese inscriptions as ‘Brahmapurā’ or ‘Brahmapura’; see Ep. Carn., Vol. VI, Kadur Nos. 10, 125; Vol. XI, Chitradurg No. 12; and Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 47; Vol. V, pp. 18, 22, 150; and Vol. VI, p. 203, Text l. 23. Dr. Kielhorn suggests that it might have been some establishment set up for Brahmans.

² This epithet also in the next line is prompted by modesty.

³ [Probably Chauṭil of this record is the same as Chulla, the writer of the Rithapur plates of Bhaṭavatavarman. (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 103)—N. P. C.]


⁵ Vol. VI.
The charter records the grant by Jasōraja of the village Vīṇāhāja and one hundred measures of land in the village Ghaṇṭāpallī to a Śaiva ascetic Dinakara for the worship of Ghaṇṭēśvara (Śiva). The writer of the grant was Sōhika, son of the Kāyastha Aiyala of the Vālabbhāya family.

The inscription being incomplete gives us no clue as to the antecedents of king Bhōjadēva, whose feudatory issued the present grant. But there can be no doubt that Bhōjadēva mentioned here is the famous Paramāra king of the same name. The earliest date so far found for Bhōja is V. S. 1076 from the Bāṇswārā plates and the latest is V. S. 1099. The latest date of Vākpatī Muṇja is V. S. 1050. He was succeeded by Sindhrurāja and the latter by Bhōja, evidently, some time before V. S. 1076, the date of the Bāṇswārā plates. For Bhōja’s successor Jayasiṃhā, we have V. S. 1112 as the earliest date in his Mādhāṭā plates. It is evident therefore that Bhōja died some time before V. S. 1112 and after V. S. 1099. If there is any truth in the popular tradition that Bhōja ruled for 55 years, we shall not be far from truth if we assign to Bhōja’s reign the approximate period from V. S. 1055 to V. S. 1110. The Bhōjadēva of the present record of V. S. 1103 must therefore be identical with the Paramāra Bhōja. The contemporary Chau-lukya ruler of Northern Gujjaraṭ was Būma I, but his rule does not seem to have extended much to the south and east of his capital. In the Lāṇa country (Surat and Broach Districts) another Chau-lukya family was ruling which did not acknowledge the power of the Chau-lukyas of Anahilapāṭaṇa as may be seen from the Surat plates of Kirtirāja of Śaka 940 and of Tribhuvanapāla of Śaka 972. We know also that the Paramārās were not new to the province of Gujjaraṭ in the time of Bhōja. For the two grants of the Paramāra Siyaka of V. S. 1005 recently found at Harsola in Ahmadābād District and the incomplete grant of V. S. 1026 of the same king found in Ahmadābād show us that part of Gujjaraṭ at any rate was in the hands of the Paramārās during the time of Siyaka.

At Kaḷavaṇa in the Nāsik District an undated grant of the time of Bhōja is found which leaves no doubt that Bhōja’s power was at this period acknowledged there. Moreover speaks of Bhōja’s defeating the kings of a number of countries including Lāṇa and Gujjaraṭ. In the Beḷmā plates of Bhōja of V. S. 1076 the village granted may probably be located in Gujjaraṭ. All these indications point to the fact that the Paramārās were connected with Gujjaraṭ in the early days of the rise of their family and had gained influence over a considerable tract of country under king Bhōja in Gujjaraṭ and elsewhere in its neighbourhood.

No account is given of Śāhavāhana who was among other kings subdued by Bhōjadēva with the help of Śaṅdrātya. Śāhavāhana no doubt stands for the word Chāhamāna as the change

2 From a MS. of Rājaśrīpanaḥ.
3 From a MS. of Aṃitagātī’s Subhāṣītaratnakaracakāna.
8 Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff. See also my note on the grant published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. V, p. 222. There is reason to believe that the date of this grant, which mentions a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra, must be confined to V. S. 1102-1104 and was therefore nearest to the date of the present grant.
9 Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 322 ff.
10 In fact I am led to believe that the Paramārās had no footing in Māḷiṇī before about V. S. 1027, a short time before Siyaka sacked Māṇyakhēṭa as is known from the Pālpalasukhā-Nīlamālī of Dhanaṇḍa, since the Pratīgad inscription of Pratīhāra Mahāndrāpaṇa of V. S. 1008 shows that Māḷiṇī was governed by a Pratīhāra governor. See above, Vol. XIV, p. 177.
of a to cha and ve to ma is common. The Chāhamānas of Nāḍol were hereditary enemies of the Paramāras of Mālā; Chāhamāna Sōbhita, son of Lakshmana, is styled lord of Dhārā in an inscription which showed that he had defeated Vakpati Muṣija, the king of Dhārā, and become for some time the lord of the city and the surrounding country. Sōbhita's son, Bāhirāja, again, is said to have routed the army of Munjārāja. Chāhamāna Aṇahilla of the same family is said to have slain Sādhana, a general of king Bhājja. To avenge this defeat and death of his dānḍāniyaka Bhājja might have waged a war with the Chāhamāna king and defeated him with the help of Śūrāditya of our inscription.

Though the actual construction in the record may be taken to denote that Śūrāditya of the Śravaṇabhādras family, whose son issued the present grant, had migrated from Kanauj, it is equally possible that the family of Śūrāditya had migrated from Kanauj at an earlier date. We know that the Pratihāras of Kanauj were sovereign lords of Gujerāt for some time as is evidenced by the Wañhāna plates of Mahāpāla and the Ua plates of Mahendrāpāla. In their pola days it is not surprising if some fortune seekers like the ancestor of Śūrāditya founded a principality in Gujerāt. The same Śravaṇabhādra of his family denotes that it was probably a Khatriya family like the Ustamabhādra family of Saka Ushavadāta's Nāsīk inscription.

The reason why this grant, though it belongs to the time of the sovereign Bhājja, does not contain the usual relief of Garuda of the Paramāra family must have doubt be that the record was issued by a feudatory of Bhājja and that the latter had nothing in fact to do with the actual issuing of the grant. The Kālavanā plates also, issued by a local authority under a feudatory of Bhājja do not contain the usual Garuda and snake seal of the Paramāras. It must at the same time be noted that more space in the record is devoted towards the praise of the sovereign family than of the family of the actual donor of the grant.

The grant was issued on Monday, the Amāvasya (sūma-parem) day of the month of Mārgaśīra in the year 1103 of Vikramaśīra. The Christian equivalent of the date, as kindly calculated for me by Mr. K. N. Dikshit is most probably Monday, the 11th November 1045 A.D. taking the month as the Pūrṇimā and the year as a Southern Vikrama Year, which should be ordinarily prevalent in the locality in question.

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No. 26—KAROD INSCRIPTION OF RATNADEVIII—CHEDI SAMVAT 933.

By N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab affixed to the temple of Lakheśvar (Lakshmaneshvara) in Karod, a village in District Bilaspur, C. P., 37 miles from the district headquarters. It has been noticed before but is published here for the first time. It contains 28 lines of writing covering a space of about 3" broad by 1'5½" high. The size of the letters is about ½". The writing has suffered a good deal the whole way down, particularly towards the proper left. The

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characters are Nāgarī of the 12th Century A.D. The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of Oṁ namoḥ Śivāya at the beginning and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The verses are all numbered, their total being 44. The orthography does not call for any special remark with the exception of the facts that avagraha has been frequently used where necessary and v and b have not been distinguished.

The inscription is important as it gives a complete genealogy of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur down to Ratnadeva III. It has been noticed by several scholars but owing to the damaged condition of the stone the information so far given was meagre and unsatisfactory and also contained several errors. I cannot claim to have deciphered the whole record but I have been able to make out with a fair amount of certainty all that is important in it. The inscription is divided into two parts, the first containing verses 1-19 and the second verses 20 to the end. Like several other records of this dynasty the present record is Śiva. The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva and the third of that of the Moon to whose race the Kalachuri family is said to belong. The next verse brings in the princes of the Haihaya lineage of whom Sahasrārjuna is said to have imprisoned "the overlord of Lākṣā." In verse 5 Kōkalla and his eighteen sons are mentioned after whom comes Kālīgarāja—one of the younger if not the youngest of Kōkalla's sons—who by propitiating Bāṅkēśvara or Śiva obtained the overlordship of Tumāṇā. He was followed in regular descent by Kamala, Ratnadeva (I) and Prithividēva (I). Verse 6 speaks of Prithividēva's son, Jájalladēva (I), who defeated in battle Bhujabalā, the lord of Suvarṇapurā. In the next two verses are described the exploits of his son and successor Ratnadeva (II), who defeated the king Chōdčangarā, the lord of Kālīgaḍā. His son was Prithividēva (II), who is credited with defeating the king Jātāśvara (vv. 9-10). His son was Jájalladēva (II) (vv. 11-12). After his death his elder brother (?) Jagadēva 'came from the Eastern countries' and became king (v. 13). The next verse (v. 14) speaks of the able rule of this king. Verse 15 gives the name of his wife as Sōmalādēvi. Their son was Ratnadeva (III), who is glorified in the next three verses (vv. 16-19).

The second part, an imperfect account of which was given by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar1 for the first time, begins with verse 20 in l. 15. It gives the pedigree of Gaṅgādhara, a minister of Ratnadeva (III) and also an account of his various charitable and pious deeds. There was one Dēvadhara belonging to Kāśyapa-gōtra. His son was [Rāja]dēva. The name of his wife occurs in l. 16 but is now not quite legible. Probably her name was Jivā. They had a son named Gaṅgādhara who afterwards became a minister of Ratnadeva (III). The rest of the inscription is devoted to the praise of Gaṅgādhara's virtues and records his benefactions. It appears from verse 25 that when the kingdom of Ratnadeva was in a critical situation, most probably when the king was engaged in fighting a powerful adversary, Gaṅgādhara, through his wonderful ability, restored the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. We also learn from verse 27 that it was through the advice of this capable minister that Ratnadeva made his kingdom free from all foes. Gaṅgādhara had two wives named Rāmā (?!) and Padmā. The former gave birth to two sons Prada and Jijāka while the latter had one son born to her named Khadgasinha. Verses 30-40 mention a series of charitable and pious acts performed by Gaṅgādhara. He built a temple of Śiva, which is evidently identical with the Lakhnēśvar temple at Kharod where the inscription is found. To the south of this temple he constructed a maṇḍapa made of well seasoned wood for the habitation of the ascetics. He also built, evidently at the same place, a beautiful maṇḍapa for Śauri (Vishnū). On the top of a hill to the west of Ratnapura, he constructed a temple of Ekāvīrā which resembled a Pushpaka.2 In the forest of Vāḍada (nārī Vāḍada) he built a maṇḍapa for 'the enemy of the

1 PRAS. W.C., 1903-04, pp. 53 f.
2 For a description of Pushpaka see P. K. Acharya, Indian Architecture, pp. 113-14. [The temple of Ekāvīrā still exists on a hill to the west of Ratnapur—Ed.]
3 Bhandarkar reads Nēṣavatī and Hirāli Vanaśabdā.
(three) cities, i.e., Śiva, as well as extensive temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇeśa. In the fortress (dūrga) he built a temple for the goddess Durgā. He also seems to have dedicated a shrine to the Sun (Rāvi) at a place the name of which is not clear and also erected a Śiva temple at Pārātha. To the north of Ratnapura he built a temple for Tuṣṭī (=Dhuṇḍhī)-Gaṇapati.) He also had tanks excavated in the villages of Tipuraṅa (fl), Girahali (fl), Ulūva and Sēṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaṟṟaʳrraṟṟaṟṟaʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrraʳrra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶rra昶}
is found in other records of the Ratanpur kings and may therefore be accepted as correct. Suvarṇapura of verse 6 is probably identical with Sonpur on the Mahānadi, the present capital of the homonymous state now transferred to Bihār and Orissa from C. P. But we are not aware of Bhujahala the ruler of Suvarṇapura from any other source. Suvarṇapura is mentioned in the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Sūmēśvaradēva and the Jatesuṅga Duṅgī Plates of Mahāśivagupta which show that Sonpur was at an earlier time under the suzerainty of the Sūmavān Śī rulers of Trikaliṅga. Only two chiefs of Sonpur are mentioned in the Sonpur Plates, viz., Abhimanyudēva and Sūmēśvaradēva. This as well as other inscriptions of the rulers of Ratanpur show that their relations with the Eastern Gaṅgas, their immediate neighbours on the east, were not friendly. Chōjagaṅga, the lord of Kaliṅgaṅga who was defeated by Ratnadēva II, is identical with the Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōjagaṅga. The king Jaṭāśvara who was defeated in battle by Prithvidēva II is no other than Kāmāraṇava, the son of Anantavarman Chōjagaṅga as we know from an inscription in the āstāna-mahāpura at the Mukhalingam temple dated Śaka 1070.

My reading of verse 13 in the text throws some new light on the genealogy of the Ratanpur kings after Jájalladēva II. Kielhorn and following him, Hiratal, were under the impression that Sūmālaṅka was the wife of Jájalladēva II and that Ratnadēva III was his son. No other inscription of Jájalladēva mentions the name of his wife. But in verse 13 of the present inscription it is clearly stated that after the death of Jájalladēva II, Jagaddēva, probably his elder brother, came from the eastern countries and became king. The reading appears to be jāgaśaṣya and not =putra or =saṅgha. If Jagaddēva was the son of Jájalladēva the succession would have been in quite a natural order. But if Jagaddēva was the elder brother of Jájalladēva and thus the eldest son of Prithvidēva, as the reading of verse 13 appears to show, I do not understand why he did not become king after the death of his father Prithvidēva II. The most plausible explanation seems to be that Jagaddēva was all the time engaged in a conflict with the Eastern Gaṅgas and was thus obliged to be absent from the capital and that owing to his long absence Jájalladēva took the reins of government in his own hands. The verse under consideration seems to imply that Jájalladēva’s death took place somewhat suddenly and that was probably the reason why Jagaddēva hastened back from the eastern countries to take charge of the government.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription several have already been identified by Hiratal. Thus Tumāna, the original capital of the Ratanpur Kalachuris, exists under the name of Tumāna in the Lāpā Zamindari of Bilāspur. Suvarṇapura, as has been pointed out already, may be Sonpur. Ratnapura is the present Ratanpur and Nārāyaṇapura and Pōraṭha are still known by the same names (the latter as Portha) and are situated, respectively, about 20 miles S. W. and 30 miles N. E. of Kharod. The name read as Vanavāsī by Hiratal, I have read as vana Vājada which may be Balodā near Kharod. If the reading Sōṃdārā is correct, it may be identified with the present-day Sendri between Bilaspur and Ratanpur. Uluvā is probably the same as Ulba in Raipur District. I cannot identify the other places mentioned in the inscription.

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1 Above, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff.
3 B. C. Majumdar identifies this Sūmēśvara with the king defeated by Jájalladēva as mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription (above, Vol. I, pp 32 ff.). Hiratal, however, identifies this latter Sūmēśvara with the Nāgavān Śī king of Bastar. If Mr. Majumdar is correct in his identification, then Bhujahala would be only a bīrāla of Sūmēśvara.
5 [Baloda, 30 miles north of Kharod, must be the Vādā of this record. Being the headquarters of a forest range, it is aptly called Vādā. Baloda (or Baloda Bazar, as it is called) is the headquarters of a Tahsil in Raipur District, but there is no forest in its immediate vicinity.—Ed.]
In editing the Amōḍā Plates of Prithvīdeva I, Hiralal suggested that the term Vaṅkēśvara, which is found in the present inscription also, might refer to an "aboriginal" local deity. In Sanskrit and Prākrit vaṅka has the same meaning as Skt. vaktra and the latter is a name of Rudra according to the Anēkārthaśāstra of Dharapādīśa. Thus Vaṅkēśvara may signify Śiva and the word īśvara added after Vaṅka would point to the same conclusion. This explanation seems quite justified as we know that the Kalachuris of Ratnapur were adherents of the Śaiva faith.

I edit this inscription from an impression found amongst those received from the office of the Director General of Archaeology in India by the Government Epigraphist for India.

TEXT.

| Metres : vv. 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 25, 26, 42, Śārdulacirādiṣṭa ; v. 2, Śikhārīṇi; vv. 3, 30, 41, Srādhaṇā ; v. 4, Bhujaṅgaprayāṣita ; v. 6, 8, 36, 38, 39, Āryā ; v. 11, 13, 15, 17-19, 27-29, 31-35, 37, 40, 43, 44, Anushūbh ; v. 12, Mālinī ; v. 16, Mandākāṇḍāṇi ; v. 20, Upajāti ; v. 21, 23, 24, Vasantatilakā ; and v. 22, Vaṅkāthāvīlā. |


5 t-sūnāvō-śhēṭādāsā khyātō [hy-e?] ṣhu laghuḥ Kaliṅgānripatiṛ-vVaṅkēśvar-ārā-dhanāt | Tummiṁ-ādhipatiḥ suṭō-sya Kamaḷaḥ śṛī-Ratnavās-tataḥ Prithvī-

dēvā-narśevā[ṛ]ō=ḥbhavat-atāḥ | [kehō-īśa]-chūḍa-maṇip[ś] |[5] ] [Jājallādōva-]| nipatiṛ-ta-

6 t-sūnur-ābhūṭ-Suvanōṣpusha-nāthām | Bhujav(ab)aṁ-sa(ab)aṁ chakṛē nija-bhujav(ab)aṁ-lataḥ samīkṛ yaḥ[6] | Āśī-ṛ-taṇavō nay-ōchita-matiḥ kehō-īśa-chūḍā-


8 Prithvīdeva-nipatō-tataḥ samabhadav-yan-mauli-[dē]-ōḷasad-ratn-ārcehīr-nichayēna raśītīnam-Umabharrtuḥ pad-āvja(bja)-dvayam | jītvā yēna Ṣaṭēśvarō nara-


9 Gaṇḍ-ōdbhādi-maṇ-āhu[bu]-ni[jrjita]-kari-tvā — — vyājataḥ kīṁ vācyah sa jagat-trayā-mathā-kṛit-āvāśō yaśas-tāpasaḥ | yasyō-[ōv]lana-kīrṇa-bhūti-kapikā-


1 See above, Vol. XX, p. 77.


No. 27.—THE UDAIYARGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN ; A.D. 988.

By Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Madras.

This inscription* is engraved, along with some other Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century A.D., on the west wall of the central shrine in the Anantăvāravāmin temple at Udaīyargudi, a hamlet of Kaṭṭumāṇārīkōyil, in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot District. The village is celebrated in the hagiography of South Indian Vaishnavism as the birth-place of Nāthamuni and his grandson Yāmunāchārya, also called Ājāvandā, the spiritual preceptor of Rāmanuja. In the inscriptions, the place is called Viranārayana-chaturvē地maṅgalam, the same as the Viranārayanapuram of Vaishnava literature and our inscription further describes

* Read Saurī. Probably the length is introduced for the sake of the metre.
* The metre is irregular here.
* Here in this and the next line enough space for 3 or 4 letters is left unscripted.
it as a brahmadāya on the Northern bank (evidently of the Coleroon). Most probably, it was an agrahara founded by Parāntaka I Viranārayaṇa (A.D. 907–53), whose inscriptions are also found in the Anantīśvara temple.\(^1\)

The inscription consists of eight lines of almost equal length, and occupies a space of about 12' by 13'. Except for the loss of some letters at the end of the first and second lines, it is in a fair state of preservation. The size of the letters is on an average half an inch, some of the ligatures being 2' high. The characters employed are Tāmīr and Grantha. The writing is of the regular type found in the Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century. The chiselling of the letters is very good and hardly excelled in its beauty by any stone inscription of the period outside the Tanjore temple. In general appearance, our inscription strikingly resembles the Tāmīr part of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla,\(^2\) allowance being made for the difference in the material on which the inscriptions are engraved. The loops in 𓊺 are fully developed; but not so in 𓊷. Medial द and ध are clearly distinguished though not always; the first two lines contain several instances where the distinction is maintained, while द is written exactly like the subsidiary द in pārapaṇḍuḍum and māmāmaṇḍuḍum in line 3, and in अद in line 7. Medial य and छ are sometimes, but by no means always, distinguished from य and उ by loops, the loop indicating length in य being placed at the end of the left arm of the curve indicating य instead of at the end of the right arm as at present. The long य is best seen in the letters Śrī and Vy in श्री and श्री in कप (line 7). The long द is sometimes indicated by the short u-sign attached to the main letter and followed by the द-sign as in mālīṣuṇṭ in line 4 and māmāmaṇḍuḍum in line 6; the regular sign with the loop occurs in Kottaiyūr in line 4, māmaṇḍuḍum in line 5, and twice in Vennaiyūr in line 6. Though the length of these medial vowels is not always indicated in the inscription, I have added it in my readings where necessary. The letter य is invariably written in the Grantha form as in some of the Uttamārūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I and in the Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla. The puli is not marked.\(^3\) Ligatures are almost invariably in Grantha form; ला is written in two forms in line 6—Palla and Malla—in the one case, a Grantha la placed over a Tāmīr la and in the other, two Tāmīr la-s placed one above the other.

As regards orthography, a tendency to omit त is noticed in such forms as śeṇa (lines 2 and 3 and 4). The only other feature calling for notice are the insertion of य in mīy-pidāyai in line 5.

The language of the inscription is Tāmīr. The construction of the second sentence (II. 1–4), the most important in the whole inscription, is much obscured by its faulty grammar. It gives a list of the names of some persons involved in treason, and of their relatives, but the first five names in the list are in the nominative case, while the remaining eight are virtually in the genitive as indicated by the possessive suffix isda attached to each of them and by the phrase summing up the whole (ēraṇētra) being clearly employed in a possessive sense. Line 4 also contains a similar confusion of case endings.

The object of the inscription is to record an endowment by Arāyān Bharataṇ alias Vyāṣagajamalla-Pallavaraiyaṇ, the son of Nakkap Aravaṇaiyaṇ alias Pallava-Muttaraiyaṇ, the lord of Vennaiyūr. The aim of the endowment was to provide for the supply of drinking water in a māṇḍapa before the temple in which the inscription is engraved, and for the daily feeding of fifteen Brahmans. The endowment took the form of land, and in the narration of the

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\(^{1}\) Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1920–21, p. 440 and Appendix B, Nos. 533, 547, 548, etc.

\(^{2}\) South Indian Inscriptions, Vol III, No. 128. [While in the Uttama-Chōla plates, the letter for त is almost a plain vertical stroke without any curve at the top as in the sign for medial long द, in the present inscription the symbols for both of these have a curve at the top, usually open on the proper right side.—C. R. K.]

\(^{3}\) [The puli is marked in a few cases: द्व, see māṇḍapati p-paruṇaṇi p-paruṇa in I. 1, though in the rest of the inscription it is not so.—C. R. K.]
circumstances of the purchase of the land by the donor, the important historical fact is disclosed that Āditya II Karikāla fell a victim to assassination at the hands of some persons who, to judge from their names and titles, must have been highly placed Brahman officials of the army.\(^1\)

The inscription opens by stating that in the second year of Kö-Rājakēsīrivarman, a letter (śramukham) was sent by the Emperor to the Great Sābhā of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdīmaṇgalam (line 1). The letter is next reproduced (lines 1-4). It recounts that Sōmaṇ ...\(\ldots\), and his younger brothers Rāvidāsa and Paramēsvara had been found guilty of treason (drōhikēśa) for their murder of Karikāla Sōja ‘who took the head of the Pāṇḍya’ (II. 1-2); the properties\(^2\) of these three persons and their relatives specified (II. 2-3) were to be taken over\(^3\) by Brahamā-śirījan of Koṭṭaiyūr and Chandrasekhara-bhaṭṭa of Puḷḷamāṇgalam (l. 4); the Sābhā (lāŋgānum) were to arrange, in co-operation with these two persons, for the safe at current prices of all these lands and to remit the proceeds to the Treasury in accordance with the king’s order (l. 4). The letter concludes with the statement that it was written out by Kurukñidī Kīḷāṇ (l. 4). In accordance with this letter, the lands of Rāvadāsē (either the second of the traitors named above or more probably his udappirandā Malaiyanūrāṇ), Rāvadāsā’s son and his mother, situated in the western pīldāgai of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdīmaṇgalam (line 5) were bought from the sābhā by Bharataṇ alias Vyālāgajamallam. The property purchased comprised, according to an old measurement (palambādī), two (vedi) and three quarters and one-twentieths, and six residential houses (line 6), and the price paid was 112 koḷaṇjū of gold (lines 6-7). In the month of Mēṣha in this year, on a Sunday which was a Puraṭṭādi, day, Bharataṇ gave this land and these houses to be utilised in the Anançasvara temple for the purposes specified (lines 7-8).

The astronomical details given in line 7 will be seen, from a reference to Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai’s Indian Ephemeris, to be correct for Sunday, the 15th April, A.D. 988, which would fall in the third regnal year of Rājarāja I, whose accession has been fixed by Kielhorn between 28th June and 25th July 985 A.D.\(^4\) The regnal year cited in our inscription is the second, and this must be understood to be, not the current, but the expired year. The chronology of the record, its reference to the murder of Karikāla ‘who took the head of the Pāṇḍya’, i.e., Āditya II, the elder brother of Rājarāja I, and its palaeographical peculiarities alike point to the identity of the Rājakēsari of this inscription with Rājarāja I who began his rule in A.D. 985. In fact there is no other Rājakēsari in the period after Āditya II whom the facts recorded in the inscription suit so well.

The interval between the close of the reign of Parantaka I and the beginning of that of Rājarāja I is still one of the rather obscure periods in Chōla history. The order of succession of the kings who ruled in this period is far from clear, and the length of each reign does not lend itself to precise determination. There is no doubt, however, that the immediate predecessor of Rājarāja

\(^1\) [There is nothing to suggest that the officials belonged to the army.—C. R. K.]

\(^2\) See n. 1, p. 170 post.

\(^3\) The expression perattandū makes it appear like a gift to these two persons. But in view of what follows this cannot be understood literally. The expression has to be read as ‘perattandū’ in the sense of ‘nominate’; cf. 8. I. I., Vol. III, p. 404, l. 126 and p. 429. If the sense intended were ‘obtain’ the original should be papa.—C. R. K.]

\(^4\) The second of the traitors named at the beginning of line 2 is called Rāvidāsānaṅga Paṭtachāvā-Brahmā-

bhrījan. The name given in line 5 is Rāvadāsē, a slightly different form, though it is possible that the sign of medial ē preceding ṛa in the beginning of line 2 or at the end of line 1 has not come out in the impression. But Rāvadāsē is here called a Kramavītta and has the alias Malaiyanūrāṇ, facts which strengthen the doubt that he may be different from Rāvidāsē of line 2. But the preceding phrase i-śrī-mukhādī naṣāḥ, māyāṅgalu vám man’s that the same man was mentioned in the letter reproduced earlier in the inscription; and this may be a reference either to Rāvidāsē or Malaiyanūrāṇ of line 2. The surname ‘Malaiyanūrāṇ’ clearly proves that the reference is to the latter of the two persons.—C. R. K.]

I was Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōja, who had a reign of about sixteen years (A.D. 969-85). Of Āditya II, the Parakṣari 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya,' we have inscriptions bearing the fifth regnal year. He was the son of Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōja, and it is generally admitted that the period of his rule must lie between the end of Sundara-Chōja's reign and the commencement of that of Uttama-Chōja. The latter was the son of Gaṇḍarādītya and most probably a baby at the time of his father's death. This was doubtless the reason why the succession passed to a junior branch of the family, and Ariṅjaya, his son Parāntaka II, and his son Āditya succeeded one after another. After Āditya, we find Uttama-Chōja ruling for sixteen years before the crown passed to Āditya's younger brother Rājarāja. The Tiruvāṇāgādu plates of Rājaṅdra-Chōja I seem to furnish a clue which, when interpreted with the aid of the present inscription, enables us to trace the probable course of events. Verses 69 and 70 of these plates state that though on the death of Āditya, the people, in their eagerness to witness the destruction of the increasing darkness of Kali, desired Arumōji-varman, i.e., Rājarāja, to take up the reins of government, he, the true Kahaṅtariya, did not desire to rule his kingdom so long as his paternal uncle coveted it, and that Arumōji was made the Yuvarāja by Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōja who became king.

Though the Tiruvāṇāgādu plates and other Chōja records tell us nothing of the manner of Āditya's death, the reference to the increasing darkness of Kali looks like a thinly veiled allusion to the state of anarchy that prevailed at the sudden demise of the late king. The people's wish to have Arumōji as king, Arumōji's unwillingness to accept the throne when his paternal uncle coveted it, and the recognition of Arumōji as heir-apparent, may be taken to indicate the troubles of a disputed succession ended by a political compromise by which Uttama-Chōja was indeed to enjoy the fulfilment of his heart's desire, but the succession was to revert to the ruling line, viz., that of Ariṅjaya. A certain Madhurāntaka Gaṇḍarādīttaṅ is found in the service of Rājarāja I, and it is probable that he was a son of Uttama-Chōja. If this view is correct, he must be taken to have acquired his exclusion from the succession which was the direct result of Arumōji having been made the Yuvarāja at the time of Uttama's accession. Apparently the choice before Arumōji after his brother's death was between a civil war with his paternal uncle and a compromise such as the one actually adopted; Arumōji preferred the latter course, and his wisdom seems to be commended in the phrase Kahaṅtariyaḥkhaṅtavacchā (v. 69) of the Tiruvāṇāgādu plates.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Malaiyāṇuṁ and Koṭṭaiyāṇu cannot be identified without more details: Pulļamāṅgālam may be the same as Pulļamāṅgai, a village near Paśupatiyōli, about nine miles south of Thanjore. Venṇaiyāṇuṁ-nādu may be the same as the subdivision of Vaḍagarai-Rājaṅdrasimha-valanādu in the Śoḷamāndalam. If that is so, Venṇaiyāṇuṁ must be included in the list of villages in the nādu given by Venkayya.

I edit the text from a set of stampages received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

TEXT.

1 Svasti Šrī [[*]] Kō-Rajaṅkāsari-varmamarkku yāṇu 2-āvadu Vaḍagarai-brahmadeśyam Šrī-Virāṇāraya[ṇa]-chchaturvēdimangagalattu-pperaṇgi-pperumakkalukku Chakravarti-śrīmukham Pāṇḍiyana-ittalai-konṭa Karikāla-Sōjanai-kkonṭu drōhika-
[[-]n] Sōma[ṇa].............................rāmbi

1 South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, Nos. 135, 139 and 144.
2 South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 204.
3 Ibi., p. [14].
5 The stone is damaged here but there can be no doubt about the missing letter.
6 There is a gap of seven or eight letters here. They must form the rest of the name of the first drōhi followed by iva.
TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Hail ! Prosperity ! (In the) second year of (the reign of) King Rājakēśarivarman, the order of the Emperor (addressed) to the members of the Great Assembly of Śrī-Viranārāyaṇachaturvedimangalam, a brāhmaṇdēya on the North bank:

1 Length is marked by the sign for secondary ā.
2 The signs for ā and r are lost just below the missing letter noticed in note 5 above.
3 A gap of the same length as at the end of line 1.
4 Cancel the second mā mag.
5 Read "kiḷāyūt".
6 See n. 4, p. 167 ante.
7 The length of subsidiary ā in na is expressed by the sign for subsidiary ā. The letters āpy and āy seem to have been corrected from the original āyus and to.
II. 1-2. Sōmaṇa..., his younger brother Raviḍaṇa alias Paṅchavān Brahmādhiraṇa, and his younger brother Paramēśvaraṇa alias Irumugicēhōla Brahmādhiraṇa have been guilty of treason as they murdered Karlikalaṇa who took the head of the Pāṇḍya;

II. 2-4. We have ordered that the (properties?) (of these persons), of their brother Malaiyaṉar, of their younger brothers and sons, of their wives......, of the elder brothers of their father and their children, of their fathers-in-law (lit. of their uncles who have given their daughters in marriage to them), of their uncles who are brothers of their mother, of the persons who have married their sisters, and of their sons-in-law—all these (properties?) shall, in accordance with our command, be obtained by Brahmaśīrṣaṇa of Koṭṭaiyūr and Chandrasēkara-Bhaṭṭa of Palla-
maṅgalam.

II. 4-7. You shall, in the presence of these (two) persons and in pursuance of what they say and in pursuance of our command, sell at the prevailing price and remit (the amount) to the treasury. This is the writing of Kurukūḍi-kilā. When this (letter) was received, the lands of the three persons, viz., Malaiyaṉar āliṣa Raṇavāṭa-Kramavīṭṭa of Pāṇpanahēhēri, who is mentioned above in the letter, his son, and his mother Periyamaṅɡai-cēchēhē, these lands in the paṭṭu known as Dēvanmaṅgalam in the western pīṭāgai of Viraṇārāyaṇa-chaturvēḷamāṅgalam and including, by the old measurement, two and three quarters and one twentieth (of a cēn) and six residential houses, these lands and these houses, were bought of the members of the Sābhā of Viraṇārāyaṇa-chaturvēḷamāṅgalam by me, Bharataṇ āliṣa Vyaḷapajjamaḷa-Pallaṇavaiy, son of Nakkān Aṟavaṇaiy, āliṣa Pallaṇa-Mūttraṇaiy, (a resident) of Vēṇpaiyūr in Vēṇpaiyūr-nādu, after payment of one hundred and twelve kaḷaiṇi of gold.

II. 7-8. In the month of Mēṣa in this year, on the Pūraṇṭāḍi day which was a Sunday, I, Araiyan Bharataṇ āliṣa Vyaḷapajjamaḷa-Pallaṇavaiy, endowed these (lands and houses) in order that, as long as the sun and the moon endure, one Brahmin, who supplies water in the (manṭapa called) Three-thousand-six hundred āliṣa Nīhiyaṁbalam in front of the Āṭvār shrine in the temple of Tiru-Anantaisvarattu-Bhaṭṭiṇakara of this village, may get ten nāḷi of paddy every day and one kōśa in a year, and that fifteen Brahmins may be fed every day, (provided that) among these sixteen, five sīvaiṅgis shall be fed. The sacred feet of the members of the maḥāsabha who protect this charity (will be borne by me) on my head.

1 The gap after āpi invaṇgaṇa and before yam in line 3 greatly obscures the meaning. The space is just enough for two letters, and I think the first of them is most probably sa. Some word like saṇi in the sense of 'portion' or 'share' may be suggested. The general sense is, however, clear from what follows, and I have followed this in filling the gap in the translation with; (properties!). No. 112 of 1911 is another instance of the confiscation of the properties of persons found guilty of treason (drāhika) in the reign of Rājaṟaṇa III.

2 Literally, 'of those who have married their children'.

3 [See ante, p. 167, f. u. 2—C. R. K.]

4 The pronouns 'āṅgaḷam' and 'Īveḷam' are at first puzzling; but a little consideration shows that the former must refer to the members of the Sābhā to whom the letter is addressed, and the latter to the two persons to whom a part of the confiscated rights was assigned by the king. What this exactly was is not clear on account of the gap noted above—n. 1. I have understood Ḍaṅkāṭi in its abstract sense. Though Ḍaṅkāṭi also means 'superintendent', the meaning hardly suits the present context. [The expression means 'under the supervision of these people']—C. R. K.

5 Literally, 'at the price which one peasant gets from another'.

6 That tālaṇa means 'treasury' will be seen from the following: 'Nilaṁ naṁ viṁśi paṁḍi kulakāṇi-māryār dāṇḍa-tāḷaṇa ṭadu evam ēru ēru śrīnukaṇa vara.......āka-topāru kaśe...māryār dāṇḍa-tāḷaṇa vaittum' (No. 553 of 1921); and 'Vaiśyālaṁ nag koḷa(varu muniṟṟu iruṇḍu pavaṇīyaṇu pōṇamiṟṟu pōgār sōvam pōṁri pōkkartattu kacippēṭṭa tāḷaṇa vaitum taravu kēṟē ēru māhā-sabhaṁkṣṇa-kaḷaiṇiṟṟa vara.' (No. 379 of 1922).

7 'Aham' and 'saṇi' occur in the sense of 'house' and 'house-site' respectively in the Utabaṁśa inscriptions of Parantaka I.

8 [This number includes also the water Brahmin—C. R. K.]

THE PALANPUR PLATES OF CHAUULKYA BHIMADEVA (V. S. 1120).

BY K. N. Dikshit, M.A., CALCUTTA.

These plates were received from Palanpur by Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., LL.B., of 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, who brought them to me for decipherment and for the preparation of impressions. They consist of two unusually thick (1/2 to 3/4") plates joined together by a ring 13" in diameter, passed through a hole 3/4" in diameter in the middle of the edge of the longer side. Only the inner side of the plates is inscribed, in all there being 16 lines of bold writing. The dimensions are 71/2" by 41/2" of which about 1/2" of the rim has been raised on all sides to protect the writing. The thickness of each plate is 1/4" but there are two knobs on either side of the ring where the thickness is about half an inch. The plates weigh 1064 tolas.

The characters of the record are Devanagari and the language Sanskrit prose calling for no special remarks. The engraving is full of mistakes. The document refers itself to the reign of the Mahârâjâdhirâja Bhimadeva I apparently of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujarât, who was encamped at Nâ, its object being the grant of 3 halas of land at a village named Varanâsvâdâ to a Mûrtha Brâhma named Jânaka. The boundaries of the land are specified as: 'to the east, the way to the village Vāra-Asavâli; to the south, the village Pâdara; to the west, the way to Chhûmîriyâlâ; to the north, the field of Kēsava and Vâla.'

The date of the grant is mentioned as the fifteenth of the bright half of Pausha in the Vikrama year 1120. It is further stated that the grant was made by Bhimadeva, on the occasion of the Uttarayana parvac or winter solstice. Now the particular coincidence of the full-moon day of Pausha and the uttarayana occurs neither in any of the possible equivalents of Sâmavat 1120, taking the year as northern or southern, current or expired; nor within a few years on either side. It is therefore apparent that either the details of the date are wrong or that the actual date of issuing the grant was somewhat later than the date of the donation. In the latter case, it is probable that the date of issue of the grant was 3rd January 1064 A.D., while the Makara-sakrânti or uttarayana which occurred on 25th December 1063 A.D. was the occasion of the king's donation.

The date of the grant is interesting inasmuch as it is the last recorded date of the Chaulukya Bhimadeva. According to Mûrtaunga in his Prabandha-chintâmani, Bhimadeva's accession took place in V. S. 1078 (1022-3 A.D.), which must be regarded fairly accurate, inasmuch as we have V. S. 1076 as the last recorded date of his predecessor Durlabharâja. From the testimony of the Muhammadan chroniclers it is apparent that Bhimadeva was the ruler of Gujarât and Southern Kâthiawâr at the time of the well-known sack of the Sômanâtha temple in 1024 A.D. (circa 1080 V. S.). The first epigraphical date for Bhimadeva known from his Râdihanpur and Mûnâjaka grants is V. S. 1086. The next reference is in the Mount Abu Vimala temple inscription, where it is stated how in V. S. 1088 (1031-2 A.D.) Vimala, who had been appointed daśâpatai by Bhimadeva, founded the temple. The duration of the reign of Bhimadeva as given by Mûrtaunga was from V. S. 1078 to V. S. 1120, but practically no records of the latter part of his long reign have survived. The date of another donation made at the Vimala Shah temple by a minister of Bhimadeva in V. S. 1119 can now be definitely accepted as made within the monarch's reign and lifetime. The date of the accession of Bhimadeva's successor Karûnadeva is given by Mûrtaunga as V. S. 1120; Chaitra sudi 3 Sanau. It is clear that this date can be reconciled with

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1 Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff.
3 Above, Vol. IX, pp. 48ff.
4 Above, Vol. XIX, List of Northern Inscriptions, No. 137.
that of the present grant, only on the supposition that the year used was the Southern Vikrama year commencing with the month of Kārtika. Bhimadeva must therefore have died during the period between Pausa and Chaitra of the Southern Vikrama year 1120. On verification, however, the date of Karṇa's accession as given by Mārutuṅga appears to work out regularly only for Saturday, 12th March 1065 (≈Southern V. S. 1121), which is more than a year removed from the date of the present grant. The first epigraphical dates for Karṇa are those provided by his Navsāri grants dated Śaka 996 and V. S. 1131 (≈1074 A.D.).

The writer of the grant was Kākkaka, the son of the Kāyastha Vaṭṭēvara, who appears to belong to a family of hereditary scribes of the Chauncyās. Thus we know the Kāyastha Vaṭṭēvara to be the writer of the Rādhanya grant of Bhimadeva and Kākkaka himself to be the writer of the Navsāri and Sūnak plates of Karṇa. The Dūtaṇa was the illustrious Bhogaditya, the minister of peace and war, who also figures in the Navsāri plates.

Of the geographical names, Iḷa, the place of the king's encampment, can possibly be identified with the modern Iḷol, a petty state in the Mahākṣatīa Agency, to the south-east of Pāṇāpur. The ending -ol of place names in North Gujarāt (e.g., Halol, Kalol, Palol) is to be considered the local equivalent of pura, through ur and ul. Ilāpurā can thus be a good Sanskrit equivalent to Iḷol. I am unable to identify the other places.

TEXT.

First Plate.

Öm² Vikrama-Samvat 1120 Pauṣa śūdi 15 ady-ēha kāla Iḷa-
vasī-āsīmad-vijaya-kaṭakā samasta-rāj-āvalī-virāj-
ta-mahārājādhira-śrī-Bhimadevaś svabhujyamāna-Ḍhānapa-
hāra-pathakā samasta-rājā-purashāni janapadānās-cha bōdhaya-
ty-asu vaḥ sarvīsīmat yathā ady-śtvārīṣāna-ś-parvāṇi Mahēśva-
ram-abhyarchya pitrō-śātmanās-cha punya-yasābhivyādhyāy Moḍha-Brā-
hmaṇa-Jānakīya Varaṇāvadā-grāme(mē) Pāṭu-satka-kashtē 
Vivaka-satka-kashtē cha iti hala-tayasya halaṁ 3 bhūmi1

Second Plate.

śāsanaṣṭa-dakṣa-pūrvam-asmābhīḥ pradattāś syāṁ-ēna purva.10
śām(śām) Vara-Asavali-grāma-mārgaḥ | dakṣipāśyam grāma-Pāḍrahaḥ | pa-
śimāyāṁ Chhitrāyāyā-mārgaḥ | uttarasāṁ Kaśaṇi11-Vālaṇyōḥ
kāṭram-Śtīr chatur-āghāṭ-ōpalakṣhīyaḥ bhūmer-āsṛyāḥ pa-
ripānthaṇā kùn āpi na kāryā | līs(khi)tam-śīlān śāsanāḥ kā-
yathā-Vaṭṭēvara-suta-Kēkkakēna | Dūtaṇā śra mahā-sān-
dhīvigrāhika-śrī-Bhogaditya iti12 śrī-Bhimadeva14 11

3 Expressed by a symbol.
4 Read parasāṁ.
5 Read śtvārīṣāna-.
6 Read yādō.
7 Read bhūmi.
8 Read śūrmaṇi.
9 Read śaṁ-cha.
10 Va looks like da.
11 Read Kaśaṇi.
12 Read vastra.
13 The symbol after ś either stands for a punctuation mark or abbreviation of ś.
No. 29—HALDIPUR PLATES OF THE PALLAVA CHIEF GOPALADEVA.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACUMUND.

The existence of these plates was brought to the notice of Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, by Mr. S. V. Haldipur, B.A., LL.B., M.B.E., Officer Supervisor, Judge Advocate General’s Department, Army Headquarters, Simla. They were discovered several years ago when digging in the garden belonging to Mr. Haldipur’s family in Guddeshital at Haldipur, a village in the Honavar Taluka of the North Kanara District, Bombay Presidency. I now edit the inscription engraved on them from ink-impressions as well as the originals kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. K. N. Dikshit who obtained the plates on loan from the owner.

The plates which are in an excellent state of preservation are three in number, each measuring about 6½” in length, 2½” in breadth and 1” in thickness. The first and the third plates bear writing only on one side while the second is written on both sides. Their rims are slightly raised in order to protect the writing from damage. They are strung together on an almost circular ring which has a diameter of about 2½”. The ends of the ring are soldered on to the back of the seal which is circular in shape, with a diameter of about 1” Together with the ring and the seal the plates weigh 96 tolas.

On the seal is shown in bold relief the figure of a rampant lion facing the proper right. The head of the animal is erect, its mouth open, the right forepaw raised and the tail twisted over its back. The Uruvapalli grant of the Pallava king Vishnu-gopavarma and the Pīkira grant of Simhavarman of the same dynasty bear on their seals the figures of the same animal. In the monolithic shrine at Siyamangalam excavated by the Pallava king Mahendra-varman I and the Uṇḍavalli caves, also attributed to the Pallavas, we find representations of the lion. The figure in the Uṇḍavalli caves bears a striking resemblance to that found on the seal of the present grant. Thus the emblem of a Pallava chief on the present seal confirms the view expressed by the late Mr. V. Venkayya that “along with the recumbent bull usually associated with the emblem of the Pallavas, the lion was also the Pallava crest at some period of their history.”

The characters of the inscription belong to the southern type which were in use in the Kanarese country during the eighth century A.D. The writing is beautifully executed and there are hardly any mistakes in engraving. The characters are round and upright unlike the longish and slanting ones found in Early Chalukya grants. In general appearance the alphabet of our grant is certainly earlier than that of the Maṇḍapa Plates of the Rāṣṭakūṭa king Gōvinda III dated Śaka 732, and the plates of the same king bearing the date Śaka 726. It closely resembles the characters of the Aṇja inscriptions of Udiyāvara in the South Kanara District which the late Dr. Hultzsch has assigned to about A.D. 800 and those of the Kovalavēṭṭu grant of the Western

5 Dubreuil, The Pallavas, p. 33; the author is, however, of the opinion that the caves were the work of the Vishnukumādas.
6 A. S. R., 1906-07, p. 232, i. n. 6; see also above, Vol. XI, p. 343.
7 Journal of the Mystic Society, Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 82.
8 Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, plate facing p. 129.
9 Above, Vol. IX, pp. 15 ff. and plates.
Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha for whom we have a sure date in Śaka 710 and who began to rule, according to the Devarahaṅḍi plates, if they are accepted as genuine (and I think they can be), in A.D. 726. But the most striking resemblance the present grant bears in respect of paleography is to the Anupiṅgu inscription of the 6th year of the reign of the Early Chālukya monarch Kṛśṭivarmar II (i.e., A.D. 752), the form of every letter except I being exactly alike in both the records. As regards individual letters in the present epigraph, we have the initial vowel a in aneṣa (ll. 3 and 4), arunārvaru (l. 7), ardhān (l. 14), arunāru and agraḥāra (l. 17). The initial ā occurs only once in Arīḍa (l. 8). The curves at the ends of these two letters have not yet closed completely at the top. The initial i consisting of two dots below a double curve occurs thrice in Iḍeṣeṣa (l. 13), in ñdu (l. 16) and itaḥ-param (l. 17). Initial ē occurs in line 13 and o in line 16. Among medial vowels ē is distinguished from i by a small loop in the circular ē sign (cf. Lakṣmī with nivāsa, l. 3). Medial a is marked in two ways: when it is attached to the letter r it is denoted by a hook bending downwards at the proper left of this letter but in other cases it is denoted by a U-shaped symbol at the bottom of the letter to which it is added (cf. puruṣa and guna in line 3). In medial a the length is indicated by the addition of a downward curve. No distinction is made between short and long e and o. Medial āi is made up of two strokes, one attached to the serif or the talekaṭu of the consonant and the other to the letter itself, both placed on the proper right (e.g., Kāi in Kāśi śā, l. 2). Medial o is merely a combination of the ē and the a strokes, the one on the proper right and the other on the proper left of the consonant. Among the consonants, the epigraph contains the letters n, j, b and l which along with kh (not found here) furnish, according to Dr. Fleet, the leading test letters in determining the approximate period of undated records. The ŋ which occurs only once in tenkavgā (l. 12) differs from j only in the absence of the centre prong. We have j in rōjā (l. 2), jana (l. 4), rōjēna (l. 6), gōtraja (l. 8), janaṇi (l. 16) and as a second member of the conjunct consonant in peljavan (l. 14). B appears twice, first in bāku (l. 5) and a second time in konhe (l. 15). All of them are of the earlier type found in records prior to the ninth century. L is used more frequently and though it is of a cursive type, the down-stroke of the letter on its proper right side is not yet prolonged up to the top of the letter on the left (e.g., vallāha and Pallāca in line 1, vipula in line 4, tale in l. 8, etc.). According to Fleet this form of l cannot be placed much before A.D. 800 in records coming from Western India. But it should be noted that this cursive form of the letter already appears in the Rāygaṅ Plates of the Early Chālukya king Vījayaśidhṛtya dated Śaka 625 and in the Bopagaṅ Plates of the same king dated Śaka 640. The record includes final s (l. 9) and r (ll. 10, 17 and 18). Lingual q can be distinguished from the dental d by the lower part of the letter turning upwards and ending in a loop as in ṇdu of paduvcaṅ (l. 12) and ḍe of mūde (l. 16). But the distinct form of q is not shown in qa of Chanḍamahāṇḍina (l. 5) and qa of karṣapīṇḍam (l. 15) and, as Fleet has remarked, “it was seldom, if ever, the early practice to use the distinct form of the q in the combination qa.” The Dravidian j as well as l are represented in the record, the former in arunārvaruv (l. 7), Nēyḍalge (l. 13), nīrṣya, (l. 14), nīrṣirpattentu (l. 15) and arunāru (l. 17) and the latter in kalani (l. 11), Peramale (l. 12), Gārapāli (l. 12), aśvīr (l. 17) and aśvūr (l. 18) and as the first component of the conjunct consonants in ṣdu (l. 10) and peljavan (l. 14). These two letters differ considerably from their later varieties used, for instance, in the

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1. Ibid., 1918, p. 42.
3. Below, p. 204.
6. From inscriptions in the possession of Mr. K. N. Dikshit.
Mantravâdi and Sîrûr inscriptions of Amôghavâtsa I while they are almost exactly similar to those in the Angi geri inscription and the Kendur Plates of Kirttivarman II and the Hatmati inscription of Krishna I. Thus paleographical considerations point to the middle of the 8th century A.D. as the probable period of the present record.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and Kanarese. Lines 1 to 6 are written in Sanskrit prose and the rest in Kanarese prose which may be considered among the oldest specimens of the language. Particular attention may be drawn to the following linguistic and grammatical features. The accusative termination am as in bhâgâman (l. 9), itdâm (l. 17) and Vărânasîyâmân (l. 18) is found only in early records like the Pâtâdakal inscription of Vikramâditya II in which we find deyulâman (l. 2), idâm (l. 8) and the Bhäuser inscription of Mangalâsa which has itatdam (l. 3). In later records this case suffix is an or an. In masculine nouns ending in a the dative termination ge is preceded by n as in gôtrajânga and Panyârâge (l. 8). With this we may compare the datives namaråge and odayânge found in the Udyâvara inscription of Raçasâgarâ and Svêtâvâhana, and mâtthuryânge (l. 5) in this inscription of Kappe-Arabhaṭṭa of about the 8th century at Bhäuser. In other inscriptions of this period the nasal n takes the place of the dental n (cf. Dharegâsainge in the Udyâvara inscription of Prithviśagâra). The genitive suffix is long â and not short a as found in later records (e.g., Kâsânsoppâlaya in line 9 and Neydolgeyâ in line 13). Instances of this form of the genitive are found in the Lakshmeśvar pillar inscription of the Yuvarrâja Vikramâditya (II) (cf. Porigorâga, socageyâ, etc.), but obviously it is seldom used in records of the Later Châlukyas of Kalyâni. The peculiar forms vâdagâna (l. 11), pâruvânga, tehâna (l. 12) and mûdâna (l. 13) (which denote the four points of the compass) involving a double yâ are, so far as I am aware, found nowhere else either in epigraphical or literary Kanarese. Characteristic of the archaic nature of the language are the verbal nouns apponge (l. 8) and oždôrâ (l. 18), with which may be compared the words apponge and enovge in the Lakshmeśvar inscription referred to above and utâorge and parâdâgorâ of the Pâtâdakal Inscriptions of Vikramâditya II. The adverb ušpanihâ meaning 'as long as (they) exist' is another archaic formation. The word kalanî which denotes a wet land or a rice field is not generally found in epigraphical records later than the 10th Century. With the rather rare expression bhukt-amühukoṭtin used in the sense of 'to be in continued enjoyment' we may compare bhukt-amûbhâgam of the Lakshmeśvar pillar inscription. The imprecation found in the present grant, viz., those who destroy this will go to the world of those who destroy Varaṇâsi, etc., occurs.

1 Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 201.
2 Above, plate facing p. 206.
3 Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 162.
4 Ibid., p. 60.
5 Ibid., plate facing p. 204.
6 Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 205.
7 Ibid., Vol. X, p. 61.
9 Above, Vol. IV, p. 189.
10 According to the sîrâstraśatbuṭhâdîśirîyagam-graṭu-pratihâpam of Nâgânâma's Bhâhâbhâhâkâra R. Narasimhachar's edition p. 25, sîrâstra No. 62), the earliest extant Kanarese grammar of the 12th century A.D. the dative termination ge is preceded by an anuvâra. It is thus evident that the forms used in our grant had become obsolete by the time of this grammarian.
13 It may be noted, however, that the genitive suffix long â and the accusative suffix am are allowed optionally by Nâgârma in the sîrâstra dirgh-adâkshasyasâsthyâ yathâkshyam (Bhâhâbhâhâkâra, No. 67) and devâ-gadâyâ vâ swât (Ibid., No. 68) but the examples he cites to illustrate the latter appear to be from the works of two writers who lived before him, etc., Haripâla and the poet Bhuvanakârâ.
15 On this word Rao Sahadh R. Narasimhachar has kindly written to me as follows: '*Usually we have the adverb uśpanihâ but here the form is uśpanihâ. May it be for uśta-ubhâpanihâ?*'
also in lithic records of an early period (cf. The Udiyāvara Inscription of Vijayāditya). The significance of certain incomes, the halves of which were granted to the donee, viz., *kolaguppe peljavasi, kānasoppu* and *vāral* is not quite clear. I may suggest, however, that *kolaguppe* may denote a heap (*kuppe*) made up of the share due to the state on every *kola* (a measure of capacity) of the produce. *Javasi* may mean a tax in kind on *javasa* (Skt. *yavasa*) meaning meadow grass; *peljavasi* would then be a tax levied on big (*meadows of*) straw. *Kāna* or *kān* means forest and *soppu* means foliage in Kanarese. *Kānasoppu* may therefore be a tax on the foliage of the forest used by the cultivators for manure and other purposes. In Tamil *vāral* means spoil; and it is not unlikely that it had the same connotation in Kanarese. The words *kara-pīvān* and *komba-gārodam* are obscure and do not occur in any of the Kanarese inscriptions so far published.

The orthography of the record does not call for any remarks except that -entu has been engraved for -entu in line 15, that the name of the donor is written as *Gopala* instead of *Gopāla* in line 16, that *ha* has been written for *ḥa* in lines 5 and 18 and that there appears to be a superfluous *anuvāra* at the end of the word *padajam* in line 16. These mistakes are apparently due to the engraver.

The donor of the grant was the Pallava chief *Gopala-deva* who also bore the surname *Vikrama-ditäya–Satyārāya* (l. 1). It is clear that he belongs to the well-known lineage of the Pallavas as he is twice described as Pallavaraja (l. 1 and 6) and, as noted above, uses the lion-crest of the Pallavas. The phrase *Kākēya-vané–sabhav-adhāta-pradāhāna-puruśa* (l. 2) might only indicate that he was connected with the *Kākēyas* probably on his mother's side. In line 5 we are told that he was the son of *Caṇḍamahāśena* and that he was the lord of the city *Payvegunda*. The record does not tell us anything more about the donor beyond bestowing some ordinary praise on him. The object of the grant was the equal share (i.e., half) of the village *Kāsaṇipalli*, (l. 9) along with certain incomes, the details of which are given (l. 14-16), to *Sīgītale–Panyāra* of the *Hārita-gōtra* (l. 8). Similar instances of the endowment of a moiety of the taxes (*arāhadaṇa*) also occur in Nos. VI and VIII of the inscriptions of Udiyāvara. As we learn from line 17 that the village had six hundred pieces of land the portion granted must have consisted of three hundred pieces. The grant was made in the presence of the *mantri*, the *purūhitā*, the *śrīkaraṇa* the one-thousand and the six-hundred. The last two were probably the *mahājanas* (the Brahmanical Assembly) and either the *nāḍu* (non-Brahmanical Assembly) or the *nagara* of the place. As *Kāsaṇipalli* appears to be a village it is likely that it did not have the *nagara* or the merchant guild. The reference to such bodies merely by their numbers is not uncommon.

1 Above, Vol. IX, p. 23.  
2 I am indebted for this suggestion to Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar.  
3 Since *kara–prođam* is specified as 128 it appears to me that it denotes the gift of a lump sum (*piṇḍa*). If so, *kara* may be taken to be the *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *kara* (*kārahāpana*). *Kara–piṇḍam* would then mean the *kārahāpanas* paid in a lump unlike the taxes noted above, of which the donee was to receive a half. This explanation seems to gain strength by the use of a somewhat similar expression in an inscription, of the 11th year of the Chālukya king Pratāpachakravarti Jagadekamalla II (No. 503 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915); the passage runs as: —*tannā lōtiya manneyaṁ kātikery–āya–āya varve–āya–āvdhi varve–āva prati kaneratu gadyānana piṇḍa–śāsānu ekambhaṇi–dāra–pavrakāra nāḍi keśa*. Here the twelve *gadyās* (gold coin) were granted as a lump sum.  
4 Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21 and 23.  
5 An inscription of about the 7th or 8th century at Aihole (*Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VIII, p. 287) calls the five hundred *mahājanas* of the place as simply the "five-hundred". The *mahājanas* of Chintallī in the Gadag Taluka who are stated to be fifty-six in a Rāṣṭrākūṭa record of Śaka 819 (No. 104 of the Bombay-Karnatāk Collection for 1926-27) are referred to merely as the "fifty-six" in another lithic record of the same place (No. 101 of the same collection). Similarly while the one-thousand *mahājanas* of Lokkiṅgudi are designated as such in an inscription (No. 51 of the same collection) of that place, another inscription (No. 52 of the same collection) describes them as the "one-thousand".
Till now no Pallava chief was known to have ruled in North Kanara or on the West Coast. Since there is little doubt that Gopāladēva was only a feudatory chief, it is not likely that he was directly related to the imperial Pallavas of Kāṇchi who continued to rule till the Chōla King Āditya I took possession of their territory towards the close of the 9th century A.D.⁴ The only family that claimed connection with the Pallavas of Kāṇchi and is known to have been flourishing in the 8th century was that of the Nojamba-Pallavas. But their sway was then confined to portions of Tumkur and Chitaldroog Districts in Mysore and part of the Anantapur District in the Madras Presidency. Chaḍjamahāśēna, the father of Gopāladēva figures in this record for the first time. The only Chaḍjamahāśēna known to Epigraphy was a Chāhavāga and is referred to in an inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 898 from Dhōlpur.⁷ A Chaḍjadēna of Kāṇchi is, however, known to have been defeated by the Kadamba king Ravivarman in the 6th century.⁵

The Kaikēyas who seem to have given a princess of their family in marriage to Chaḍjamahāśēna of the present record are known to have contracted similar matrimonial alliances with the Ikshvākus², probably of the Telugu country, and the Early Kadambas of Banavāsi. The wife of Krishnavaṃra I of the Kadamba dynasty was a Kaikēya princess³ and Mṛgēsvāra-varman, the brother of Ravivarman was married to Prabhāvatī who was born in the noble Kaikēya family.⁴ On the authority of the Purāṇas Pargiter places the Kaikēyas in the Panjab² but no information is available as to when and how they came to the south.

The record is not dated but, as shown above, it can be assigned on paleographic grounds to the middle of the 8th century. Other internal evidence also supports this view. We know that Satyāśraya was a distinctive and well-known birūda of the Chālukya kings and among the Early Chālukyas of Bādami there were two kings of the name Vikramāditya. The surname Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya of the donor of the present grant would therefore lead one to infer that either Gopāladēva himself adopted the name of his overlord the Chālukya Vikramāditya, most probably the second of that name, or that Chaḍjamahāśēna who owed allegiance to the Chālukya king named his son after his suzerain. This grant might therefore either belong to the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733-34 to 746-47; or in the absence of mention of any paramount sovereign it may not be impossible that it was issued at a time when the central authority of the Chālukyas had become weak and, along with other feudatory chiefs, Gopāladēva also tried to assume independence. The Chālukya power had not only waned towards the end of the reign of Kīrtti-varman II, the latest date available for whom is A.D. 757, but a portion of their territory had also been conquered by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga. But it was Krishna I who dispossessed the Chālukyas of all their territory and established the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy by ‘transforming into a deer the great boar’ which was the emblem of the Chālukyas.⁸ Since Krishna I must have ceased to rule sometime between 772, the date of his Bhāndak plates⁴ and 775, the date of the Pimpāri plates of Dhārāvarsha,¹⁰ the final overthrow of the Chālukyas may be placed somewhere about 770. Thus our record may have to be allotted to a period between 735 and 770.

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² No. 12 of Kiellhorn's List of Inscriptions of Northern India. But we know of an earlier Chaḍjamahāśēna who was the king of Avanti and father of Vāsava-dātā so well known to Sanskrit literature.
³ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 25.
⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 15.
⁷ Ancient Indica Historical Tradition, pp. 264 and 293.
⁹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.
¹⁰ Above, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff. Gōvinda II for whom we have no dated records seems to have ruled only for short time before 775.
Of the places mentioned in the grant Payvegundu can be identified with Haigunda, a village about 12 miles east of Horavar, on the bank of the river Saravati. Peramale has probably to be identified with the modern village Heravali which lies at a distance of about six miles north-west of Haigunda; and Tanvalji may be the same as the present Tumboli, also close to Haigunda.

**TEXT.**

**First Plate.**

1. Śvasti [**] Viṃkramaṭīya-Satyaśraya-śri-prithuvi(thvi)-vallabha-Pallava-
va-rāja-Gōpāladeva-sya Kaikēya-vaṁśi-ōdhēva-ōdēhata-pradhāna-pur-
bushayas aṅkā-guṇa-gaṅgā-āmāṅkita-prasēvya-Lakshmi-nivā-
sa-vaṅkha-śhāhāsya aṅkā-raṇa-vipula-śatrū-jaṇa-prabhāsana-ka-
ri-kā-kār-kār-bhū-dvayasya Cāndamahā(a) sēṇa-patrasya Payve-

**Second Plate; First Side.**

6. gundu-pur-ēśvarasya Palava-rāja dattā 1 [**] Mantri-prōhita-śrīkara-
ṇumā sāśāvirvaruḥ arunāvirvaruḥ sahitam tattvā prāsāda-pranasa-
pponge Aṃda(Hārā) gōṭarājāya Simṅgita-Pānērānge Kāsarīpa-
1. Bīmā sams-bhāgānān chandra-sūryaar-vījāpanān sarvā-virudhā-ma-
hitam Gōpāladeva[r**], kottār bhūk-tānubhāttān salutt-indu [**]

**Second Plate; Second Side.**

11. Manā-dānānuma Palage-gaṇṭaṁ modā-ūge kaḷānīyaṁ vādāganaṁ śīme
12. Peramale pāṇyaśrayā śīme Tanvāḷi Gārāpāḷi teṅkānā śīme
13. Neydalgeyā ēri mūdanaṁ śīme Iḍeṇṭṭādā vācāga-
14. nuṇā niriraga [**] Kojagūppe peljavasi ardham kān∽opin-ardham
15. vāral-ardham kāra-piṇḍam nūr-irpatt-entsaṇān kōmbē gārodham pa-

**Third Plate.**

16. dēvan maṇṭa(entiṇṭu) mūḍe jāmāli ondu [**] Idu Gōp(a)ḷaḍēvārā da-
17. tī iṭaḥ-param-dān-āśivōr ārāṇuṛ bhūmi agra-
18. hā(a)ramū Vāraṇāsīyamān-alidhā lōkakke saḷvār [**]

**TRANSLATION.**

Lines 1-6. Hail! This is the gift of the Pallava chief Gōpāladeva alias Viṃkramaṭīya-
Satyaśraya, who was the favourite of Fortune and Earth, the chief among the exalted personages
born of the Kaikēya family, who was adorned with a multitude of virtues and whose breast was the
abode of the (goddess) Lakshmi, who had a pair of arms which resembled the elephant's trunk
in shape and which had destroyed the hosts of enemies in several battles, who was the son of
Cāndamahāśēṇa and the lord of the city of Payvegundu.

Ll. 6-10. Gōpāladeva, attended by his minister, the prōhita (family priest), the Śrīkaraṇa
(officer of Accounts), the one-thousand (maḥāyana) and the six-hundred (ṣāḍya) granted, free from all opposition, to Simṅgita-Pānērāga of the Hārīta-gōṭra who had earned his (Gōpāladeva's)
favour the equal share (i.e., half) of the village Kāsamāḷi (to be enjoyed) as long as the sun and
the moon exist. *(This estate) was in (his) continued enjoyment.*

1Read Pallava-rājaśaya dattā.
Three times the actual size.
TWO UNPUBLISHED VALABHI GRANTS.

LI. 11-14. (The portion granted was as follows) — The house site and the rice-fields beginning from (the place called) Palage-gānta. The northern boundary (of this was) the (village) Peramaḷe, the western boundary (consisted of the village) Tāngavāḷi and Gārāpāḷi, the southern boundary (was) the embankment of the (tank called) Neydālpere and the eastern boundary (was) the lake on the north (of the hill called) Idevēta.

LI. 14-16. (Besides this) he was granted one half of the incomes kuleguppe 1 and pelja vaṣṭi, one-half of kāna-coppa and one-half of vāral and a lump sum of one hundred and twenty eight karsa (kāraḥājāpam) 2 , and a pair of eight māfeces.

LI. 16-18. This was the gift of Gēpāladeva. He who destroys this will enter the world of those who destroy this agraṭāna comprising six hundred lands and Benares.

No. 30.—TWO UNPUBLISHED VALABHI GRANTS.

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

A.—Bantia Plates of Dharasena II [Valabhi—] Sarvāvat 257.

While examining the old records of the Watson Museum, Rājkot, I found two impressions of two plates of a Valabhi grant hitherto unpublished. On the cover of the impressions the late Mr. Vallabhi J. Acharya, formerly Curator of the Watson Museum, had made the remark that the impressions were given to him by a vernacular school master of the village Bantia, in the Bāṇḍavā tāhā in the south-west of Kāthiāwar, in 1904. It seems that the late Mr. Acharya was not successful in obtaining the original plates. My efforts to trace them have not yet been successful. But considering the importance of the inscription I think it proper to publish it here with the help of the impressions only.

Unfortunately the impressions were not properly taken and being kept in the files for the last 22 years the paper has become very fragile. It is clear, however, that the two plates were in a perfect state of preservation, and formed a complete grant. Each plate measures 12 by 8 in and contains two holes meant for the rings. The first plate contains 17 and the second 15 lines of writing.

The characters are those usually used in Valabhi grants. As regards orthography it is sufficient to note that the name of the grantor king is spelt as Dharasena (l. 15) instead of Dharasena as is usually found in the grants. The symbols of Śūraṇāṭiyas and Upśūraṇāṭiyas are used only once in l. 15 and l. 30 respectively. The word bhūka (or datta, as in some grants) is left to be engraved after bahubhir-evasudhā in l. 30. The record is however generally free from mistakes.

The record opens with the name of the place, viz., Valabhi from which the grant was issued. Then as usual the genealogy of the Maṅṭraka family from Bhāṭakas, the founder, to Dharasena II, the donor of the present grant is given with poetical description of each ruler, which is identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasena II. The donor is a Brāhmaṇa named Dēvatatta, of Śāḍīya-gōtra and Maṅṭrāyanyya-Sākaka (l. 20). The property granted consists of a village named Bhāṭaka- (or Bhadraka) patra (dra) i in the northern part (uttarapatti) of Kaun-diyapura in the Surishṭāra (l. 11, 17, 18). The purpose for which the grant was made is, as usual with grants to Brāhmaṇas, for the maintenance of the five sacrificial rites (l. 20). The names of officers (ll. 15-19) who were addressed by the grantor king as also the privileges (ll. 18-19) accompanying the enjoyment of the grant are the same as in the grant of Dharasena of Sam.

1 For the explanation of these terms see above p. 176.
2 The meaning of tāhā pāṭhānam is not clear.
3 The place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa is not mentioned.
The grant was written by Skandabhāṣa, the minister for peace and war (l. 31), and the Dūtaka was Chirbhira (l. 32). The date of the grant is the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaisākha of the Gupta-Valabhi Samvat 254 (l. 32) when there was a solar eclipse (Sūryā-daśa l. 22).

Both the Dūtaka and the writer in this grant are the same as in the seven grants* of Dharasena II of Sakh 252. In his grant of Sakh 269, however, the Dūtaka was a different person.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grant, it is well known that Valabhi is modern Vārā in Kāthiāwār. The village of Kaundinyapura can be identified with Kočinār in south Kāthiāwār. The village Bhaṭjakapada in the Surāśīras cannot be identified.

Of Dharasena II as many as twelve grants are known: seven of these are of Sakh 252, one of Sakh 269, two of Sakh 270 and the remaining two being fragmentary do not give the dates. The most interesting point about the date of the present grant is the mention of a solar eclipse on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaisākha in Sakh 254. Though as many as 9 grants were issued by Valabhi kings on the amāvāsyā-day (mostly on the amāvāsyā of Vaisākha), it is only this grant that makes mention of a solar eclipse. It is also probably the earliest mention of an eclipse in an epigraphical record. According to Mr. L. D. Swaminān’s Indian Ephemeris (Vol. I, part I, pp. 220 f.) there was a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra (i.e., Vaisākha according to the Pūrṇimā calculation) on 19th March 573 A.D. which may be taken to be the date of the grant.

TEXT.
First Plate.
1 पीतः झक्किः [8] वलम्बीतः प्रभृति ........................................

15 पालिवंघ: परमार्गः तीमरालाभसंलक्षणवली सर्वनिशचयुकः ........................................

17 वासवे सुराङ्कु...

Second Plate.
18 कौटिक्लस्यपुरातरपेत भद्रवायकः (2) ग्रामस्सूत्रिः ........................................

20 मेलात्विंशियस्यप्रकाशालाभाय चालांगार्कायोद्वक्त: निष्कालिता-नितिधारायतिका- नितिधारायतिका-... नां ज्ञायम् समस्तं याप्पणामप्रथमचालाकारीस्वरिष्टिः (तिथिः) समकालिनः: पुरायोव- नां ज्ञायम् समस्तं याप्पणामप्रथमचालाकारीस्वरिष्टिः (तिथिः) समकालिनः: पुरायोव-नां ज्ञायम् समस्तं याप्पणामप्रथमचालाकारीस्वरिष्टिः (तिथिः) समकालिनः: पुरायोव-नां ज्ञायम् समस्तं याप्पणामप्रथमचालाकारीस्वरिष्टिः (तिथिः) समकालिनः: पुरायोव-नां ज्ञायम् समस्तं याप्पणामप्रथमचालाकारीस्वरिष्टिः (तिथिः) समकालिनः: पुरायोव-...

Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. (retired), kindly gave me information of the plates edited here, which are lying with a grain merchant named Dipasang Kānājī in Bhavnagar in Kāthiwād. Through the good offices of Prof. Narasimhaprasād Bhaṭṭa of the Dakshiṇāmūrti Bhavan, Bhāvnagar and other friends I have been able to purchase them from the owner.

The plates are two in number each measuring 12½" × 8½". They contain 24 and 20 lines of writing respectively, which is in an excellent state of preservation. Each plate contains two holes as are commonly found with Valabhi plates and meant for the insertion of copper rings holding both the plates together. But both the rings, one of which must have contained the usual Valabhi seal, are missing. The characters are those usually found in Valabhi grants. They are neatly engraved though not in perfect straight lines. The writing is almost free from mistakes. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

At the beginning of the record is mentioned the military camp, Khṛṣṭaka-pradeśa from which the grant was issued by Dharāsena III, the son of Kharagrahā, who was the younger brother of Śīlāditya. The introductory portion containing the description of each ruler from Bhāṭārka, the founder of the family, to Dharāsena III, the donor of the grant, is practically identical with that in the grant of Dhruvasena II of Saṁ. 310.

The grantor king bears only the epithet paraṃ-mūhēṣṭara. The donee is a Brāhmaṇa named Mitrayaśas, son of Brāhmaṇa Vishaṇyaśas, of Ārṇya-pīṭha and a follower of Atharva-Veda, resident of Hastavapra. The property granted to him recorded in the grant consists of the following:

1. 100 pādāvartas of land called Kolikā, ploughed by Kūṭumbī Gōmiyakā and situated in the north-west quarter in the village Amākārakūpa in the Hastavapra-dāra in the Surāṣṭrā-vishaya. The boundaries of the field are: to the south, the village caste-track; to the west, the junction of the boundary of the village Chūṭikā (with that of the village Amākārakūpa); to the east, the rising ground of a stone quarry (and) to the north, the field called Pālaśika (I) of the Kūṭumbīs Chārabhaṭākaka and Chandraavaka, as well as the field belonging to Karāra in the north of the Rōhiṇja-mūla adjoining the Arishṭijīkā-sthali.

2. A ploughed field of Kūṭumbī Kapardiyakā in the north-west quarter in the village Dābhaka in the Kālāpaka-paṭhaka. It lies to the west of the field Avakrishṭi (i.e.,

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1 The usual imprecatory verses and injunctions.
2 Read: वेष्काल.
3 It is well known that in grants beginning with and later than the year 226 the names of the rulers between Bhāṭārka and Guhaseṇa are dropped. See above, Vol. XI, p. 176 and J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. I, p. 24.
4 The word is generally used in the masculine but in a few cases it is used in the feminine as in the present case. Cf. above Vol. XVII, p. 106.
5 It may be seen that the boundaries are not given in the proper order.
unploughable land), to the north of the field of Khudjaka, to the east of the field of Naṅqavaka, (and) to the south of the junction of the boundary of the village Bhaḍāsaka (with that of the village Ďabhaka).

(3) In the same village in its south-east quarter an irrigation well with an area of eighteen pāḍāvartas, dug by Kuṭumbi Kapārdiya of the same village. It lies to the west of the field irrigated by (pracechih) the Khaṛjūrī well, to the north of the field of Šosasaka and a canal, to the east of the play-ground (and) to the south of the old way by the side of Ďabhaka.

(4) Similarly in the village Hasthiridaka in the Śravāṭakākā-stali in its southern quarter seventy superficial (ulbaṇa) pāḍāvartas of the field of Kuṭumbi Nāgilaka, to the west of (the temple of) Saṅkarikā . . . (i.e., goddess Bhavāni) built by the villagers, to the north of the field of Khacechhabhaya, to the east of the junction of the boundary of Sauvāraka, to the south of the limit of the field irrigated by (pracechih) the well called Siridraha.

The Dūtaka, who executed the grant was the prince Sāṃanta Śilāditya and it was written by Vattrabhaṭṭi, the chief secretary and the minister for peace and war.

The record concludes with the date the seventh day of the bright half of Māgha of (Gupta-Valabhi) Saṅvat 304 and the sign-manual (of the king).

The historical importance of the inscription lies in the fact that no date was hitherto found between Saṅvat 293, the latest date of Śilāditya I and 310, the earliest date of Dhrusenā II Bālāditya. Although we know that two rulers (viz., Kharaṇghava I and Dharasena III) had ruled in the intervening period, no record was so far found of either of them. The present grant gives us a record and a date for one of these rulers and partly fills up the gap existing between Sam. 292 and 310.

The Dūtaka of the present grant, viz., Sāṃanta Śilāditya, is the same as is found in the earlier grants of Dhrusenā II-Bālāditya. The writer Vattrabhaṭṭi is mentioned in the grants of Śilāditya-Dharmāditya beginning with the year 286 and also in the grants of Dhrusenā II-Bālāditya at least up to the year 313. From Sam. 320 to 330 his son Skandabhata succeeded him as the keeper of records and writer of grants and from 334 to 365 Anahila the son of Skandabhata. We know that another Skandabhata (probably the father of Vattrabhaṭṭi) was the writer of the later grants of Ghasenā beginning with the year 246 and in all the grants of Dharasena II from 252 to 270 just before Vattrabhaṭṭi. The office was thus held by four generations in this family for at least 120 years.

The following places are mentioned in the record: Śuruṣṭrā mentioned as a viṣāya. Hastavapra mentioned as an śāla, Kāḷāpaka mentioned as a paṭhaka, Śravāṭakākā and Arishṭijīkā, mentioned as sthalis and Amākārakāpa, Ďabhaka, Bhaḍāsaka, Hasthiridaka, and Chūṭikā all these mentioned as villages. Of these Śuruṣṭrā is the old name of the Kāṭhiāwār peninsula. Though in later times and at the present day Soraṭha denotes only the southern part of Kāṭhiāwār, it appears that eastern Kāṭhiāwār was once included in Śuruṣṭrā since Hastavapra, which is modern Haiṭhabi in Bhavnagar State is said to be in Śuruṣṭrā. Kāḷāpaka

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1 Above, pp. 117 ff.
which is mentioned in the grants of Sañ. 310 and 326 and perhaps also of 286 is modern Kālavāda, 60 miles north-west of Porbandar. The other places cannot be identified.

The expression Khētaka-pradeśa seems to denote that the king had probably encamped just outside (pradeśa) the city of Khētaka. The use of the word pradeśa is also found used in connection with Valabhi itself, the capital of the dynasty, in the Dhāṅkī grant of the year 290 as vajjitašvāhāvaiśādpradeśaśākṣaśvākṣāt. It is also found used in a Gurjara grant of Śaka 417 as bhukṣṭya-pradeśaśvākṣāt. In fact, the use of pradeśa in the ancient grants would appear to be analogous to that of the modern pari which is added to the names of several towns in Kāthiāwār to indicate the precincts or suburbs in the vicinity.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 स्वतेक विजयक्षावाकोन्हयवावासकासभारप्राप्तातिमियां मेत्तवानामतुतपि
   लसंपोषकलोभवसस्यप्रार्थीयाणां

Second Plate.

25 निन्तुप्रभाप्रकाशवात्रि: सधोषु:प्रभाप्रकाशवात्रिवाहस्यासमानानु: सकालपानिनिन्तुपि
   भिन्नानिन्तुपि: परि:

26 ममवैकों: वीरवेलुकङ्गी सर्वनाथ वेष्याकोंकामकामाधिपतिकालु वी
   विदितं यथा यथा भाषापीतोऽ

27 पुष्करायावाय प्रसवप्रकाशवात्रिवाहस्यासमानानु वासवानामित्युि:
   वासवानामित्युि:

28 दार्चिविपी: प्रसवप्रकाशवात्रिवाहस्यासमानानु: पूर्वोत्सर्री: गोपीयककुटकविषाणादी
   कौपितवादीवादीवादीसर्वोपसर्वात्मानिनः

29 देविनि प्रसवप्रकाशवात्रिवाहस्यासमानानु: पूर्वोत्सर्री: प्रसवप्रकाशवात्रिवादी
   नान्हायमानानु: प्रसवप्रकाशवात्रिवादीसर्वात्मानिनः

30 पालसङ्क तथा परिनिन्तुप्रभाप्रकाशवात्रिवादीसर्वात्मानिनः कौपितवादी
   तथा कालाकपास्यकेहि भक्तां

31 उत्तरायावाय वान्दु: (कः) प्रकाशवात्रिवादीसर्वात्मानिनः प्रसवप्रकाशवादी
   नान्हायमानानु: प्रकाशवादीसर्वात्मानिनः

32 सोभानीवेशस्यानं: नथातुङ्गार्थे पूर्वोत्सर्री: कुटकविषाणादीवादी
   कार्ता
   पानाकपास्यकालाधिपितीयां वापी-खंडी [वापी]

1 Ibd., p. 18.
3 Ibd., Vol. XVI, p. 82.
4 For the portion ll. 2-24 omitted here as being common with other Valabhi plates, cf. above, Vol VIII,
   pp. 190 ff., 198 ff.
No. 31.—THE PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.

By V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, B.A., Madras.

The inscription published below is engraved on the south wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine in the Sundaresvara temple at Pallavarayappettai near Mayavaram in the Tanjore district. It is in a fair state of preservation though the inscribed surface is broken in certain portions and especially in ll. 9 and 10, thereby slightly obscuring the sense of the record. Some of the words lost can, however, be restored from the context.

The record is written in the Tamil language and script of the 12th century A.D. Orthographical peculiarities are very few. Some of the words used in the inscription, however, deserve to be noticed. The word Kōgiya-kuttu (l. 6) may be rendered as 'the palace establishment,' kōgiya meaning 'palace' and kuttu a 'division' or 'establishment.' The word agambadi-niyāram (l. 6) may be explained as 'the body of armed men and women employed in the inner apartments of the palace.' The first part of the compound implies 'those that are attached to the inner circle,' in which sense, the word is, however, now obsolete. The significance of the term tūrai (l. 6) is not quite clear. From the context it seems to denote 'a division' or 'a department.' In this sense it lingers to the present day in masons' vocabulary. Mun-eval (l. 7.) may be taken to denote the class of officers who first receive the royal commands and communicate them to others for execution. The word virundangal (l. 21), not ordinarily found in inscriptions, means 'a married woman.' The term uṣvarī (l. 28) may be explained as 'an extract from the tax-register issued by the State to a person for the actual enjoyment of a grant.' The uṣvarī-documcnts are invariably issued over the signatures of the revenue officers of the State.

The inscription is dated in the eighth year of the reign of the Chōja king Rājakēṣari-
varman Rājādhirājadėva (II) and begins with the words 'kaṇṭal-kūnda,' etc., which usually introduce this monarch in his inscriptions. The object of the record is the grant of an uṣvarī...
regarding the estate of Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyaṉ Perumānambi alias Pallavarāyvar of Kāriyai-Kulattur, which had been made tax-free on his death. In giving an account of this Pallavarāyvar, who appears to have been a trusted officer of Rājarājā II, the inscription recounts his services to the crown in connection with the Chōla succession and the Singhalese invasion of South India in the latter half of the 12th century A.D.

The record, which is mainly historical in character, may be divided into three sections. In the first are stated the circumstances under which Pallavarāyvar brought in Rājadhirāja II and placed him on the throne; in the second, the help rendered by the Chōla king to the Pāṇḍya refugee Kulaśekhara, Pallavarāyvar's victory over the Singhalese army and the restitution of Madura to Kulaśekhara are detailed at length; and in the third section, are recorded the demise of Pallavarāyvar, the grant of tax-free lands to his relatives and their distribution among them by Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyaṉ Anmaiyaṟappāṉ alias Pallavarāyvar and the final grant of an ufeari for this, signed by royal officers.

From the inscription, we are given to understand that the Chōla king Rājarājā II having had no male issue for a long time, the question as to who should succeed him came up for consideration and the king himself selected Edirili-Perumāḷ, the son of Neriyuḍai-Perumāḷ and the grandson of Vikramaśoḷadevara, residing at Gangaikoṇḍaśoḷapuram, and appointed him as his successor by investing him with the crown. However, soon after making this selection, Rājarājā II had two sons born to himself, but before any arrangements could be made for their succession, the king passed away. At the time of the king's demise his sons (pillaiṟal)1 were aged one and two years respectively and the minister Pallavarāyvar escorted them to Rājarājapuram along with the harem2 from the stronghold at Ayirattal. Then in accordance with the original intention of the departed king this officer placed on the throne Edirili-Perumāḷ under the title Rājadhirāja (II) with the consent of the uḍam-kūṭam and the nāṉu in the fourth year of installation.3 Since the inscription is damaged at this portion, more information is not available about the prince selected.

1 The common term pillaiṟal is to be interpreted here as 'male children', because in this inscription daughters are clearly distinguished as pes-makkai (I. 21).
2 [If the daughter of Pallavarāyvar, who is described as 'the wife of Rājarājādēva with her sons' (I. 26) and to whom by far the largest share of his property has been allotted in this inscription (as many as 8 out of 40 celli of land), is the same as the queen who bore two sons to Rājarājā II in the last three years of his life, we can understand how Pallavarāyvar could obtain the control of the harem and household of the late king. His tactful removal of the king's infant sons (probably his own grandchildren) to a place of safety and his helping the former king's successor-designate to the throne during their minority must have been prompted alike by his anxiety for the safety and good government of the realm as by personal considerations for his own daughter and grandchildren.—Ed.]
3 [There could have been no grounds for resentment since only a member of the elder branch of the royal family was chosen for the throne.
4 No. 337 of 1914 from Madattukōyil in the Pudukottai State belonging to Rājadhirāja II gives the date '2nd year, Makara 7, Monday, Svāti', corresponding to A.D. 1162, December 3, Monday. Prof. Kielhorn has fixed the date of accession of this king between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. According to the present inscription, Rājadhirāja II was invested with the crown over three years earlier, i.e., in 1160-61 A.D. His second year, therefore, would be 1161-62 and the Madattukōyil grant was probably issued while Rājadhirāja was a crown prince. A record from Pungānūr in the Chītourn district (No. 209 of 1931-32) gives the date '14th year which was equal to the 12th year of Rājadhirājaśa', thus counting the date from the time of his nomination.
5 There are, however, three other inscriptions (Nos. 571 of 1907, above Vol. X, p. 127, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) the dates of which work regularly for the year 1166 A.D. as the first year of Rājadhirāja II's reign; on the other hand there is at least one record (No. 96 of 1920) according to which Rājarājā II was ruling till 24th December 1166 A.D., i.e., about 8 months subsequent to the date of his successor's accession as fixed by Kielhorn. The resulting confusion can possibly be cleared up by future discoveries.—Ed.]
Though Rājarāja II had no sons at the time he selected Edirili-Perumāl to succeed him, it is clear from the inscription that he did not die without leaving an heir-apparent to the throne. Since it is said that the princes were one and two years old respectively at the time of Rājarāja’s demise, when Edirili-Perumāl was crowned king as Rājadhirāja, they must have been 17 and 18 years old respectively and therefore fit to assume the reins of government in A.D. 1178, which was the last year of the reign of Rājadhirāja II and the year of accession of his successor Kulūṭṭunga-Chōla III. It is, therefore, likely that Kulūṭṭunga-Chōla III was one of the two sons of Rājarāja II and that during the former’s minority, Rājadhirāja II was brought in to rule the Chōla country. The fact that the inscriptions of Rājarāja II and those of Kulūṭṭunga-Chōla III commence with the identical eulogistical expressions ‘Pāmaruvigā’ and ‘Puyal-vāyutu,’ etc., also lends support to this view.

After crowning Edirili-Perumāl under the title Rājadhirāja, the next service of Pallavarāyar to the Chōla kingdom was in connection with the war of the Pāṇḍya succession waged by the two rival claimants Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulāśēkhara-Pāṇḍya for the throne of Madura. The inscription states that the forces of Ceylon entered the Pāṇḍya country in large numbers and forced its king Kulaśēkhara to leave his territory, whereupon this king is said to have sought the shelter of the Chōla king, entreating him to get back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar undertook to lead the Chōla army into the Pāṇḍya country, to restore Kulaśēkhara to the throne, to decapitate the Singhalese commanders and nail their heads on the gates of Madura so as to inspire terror in the enemy’s camp. Kulaśēkhara is stated to have stayed in the Chōla country for some time before he started with the necessary forces to win back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar carried out all his undertakings and as a result of his invasion the Singhalese forces were driven out of India and Kulaśēkhara was installed on the throne of his forefathers.

Only three other records of Rājadhirāja II refer to this war, viz., one from Ārpākkam in the Chingleput district, dated in the 5th year; another from Tiruvālāṅgā in Madura, dated in the 12th year; and the third from Tirumayam in the Tanjore district, dated also in the 12th year.

1 Copper-plate No. 23 of 1916–17 which belongs to Rājarāja II as the ruler of the Vēṅgu country couples the Śaka-year 1091 (=A.D. 1169) with the 23rd regnal year. We know that Rājarāja II was not alive in A.D. 1189 and that the Chōla country was then ruled by Rājadhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here as a continuation of Rājarāja’s reign. Incidentally, however, we see from the record that the Chōla hold on the Vēṅgu country was not lost even after the death of Rājarāja II, whose very rule over this part of the country was doubted (A. R. for 1917, para. 26).

2 A. R. No. 173 of 1906; also A. R. for 1909, para. 50.
4 This war is detailed at length in chapters 76 and 77 of the Singhalese chronicle Māhāvamsa and its authenticity is borne out by inscriptive evidence. The chronicle is one-sided in its version, inasmuch as it assigns victory to the Singhalese general, but from Tamil lithic records we find that the Singhalese general was not only routed but that the heads of this general and of his subordinates were cut off and nailed to the gates of Madura by the Chōla general. The help that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara received from Rājadhirāja II is mentioned at considerable length in the Māhāvamsa, which fact is also corroborated by the present record.

5 Such gruesome acts are not uncommon in the warfare of the Tamils (see S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 37 and 68).

6 In this connection it may be noted that Kulaśēkhara sought help from his uncle, the Kōṅga king Knūṭṭunga-Chōla, who also seems to have taken an active part in the restitution of his nephew to the Pāṇḍya throne (A. R. No. 336 of 1932). The Māhāvamsa also corroborates the help received by Kulaśēkhara from the king of Kōṅga. The chronicle states that ‘Kulaśēkhara gathered together the forces of Tirunavela and those also of his mother’s brethren which were at Teṅ-Kōṅga and Vāja-Kōṅga’ (Wijesinha’s translation p. 244).


8 No. 466 of 1905 of the same collection.

9 No. 261 of 1929 of the same collection.
These epigraphs confirm and supplement the information given in our record and are, therefore, valuable sources for the history of this war, our knowledge of which, in the absence of any reference to it in Tamil literature, has been hitherto wholly based on the one-sided account of the Ceylonese chronicle Mahāvamsa. In this war the two Chōja generals that took prominent part were, Pallavarayār mentioned in our present record, and after him, Vēdavaṇam-Udaiyāṉ Ammaiyaṇṇa alias Aṇṇaṇ Pallavarayāṇ, the officer who distributed the lands among the former's relatives. After detailing the events recorded in the present inscription, the Tiruvallāṅgādu epigraph sets forth that Vēdavaṇam-Udaiyāṉ Ammaiyaṇṇa alias Aṇṇaṇ Pallavarayāṇ counteracted the subsequent machinations of the Singhalese king. Finding that his attempts to place Vira-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍya throne were frustrated by the intervention of the Chōja king and that his own generals were defeated and killed, the Singhalese king Parākrāma Bāhu mobilised his forces in his camps at Ûrāṭurai, Puleichērī, Māṭōṭṭam, Vallikāmām, Maṭṭivāl and other places and was busy preparing his ships for a naval attack. Hearing of this, the Chōja king summoned Śrīvallabha, the nephew of the king of Ceylon and a previous claimant to the throne of Iļām, supplied him with what was necessary and helped him to enter Ûrāṭurai, Vallikāmām, Maṭṭivāl and other places with large forces with the result that Puleichērī, Māṭōṭṭam and other villages were destroyed, the elephants stationed therein were captured. More than 20 kādam of land in extent from east to west and 30 kādam of land from south to north in Iļā-mandalam was devastated, and among the Singhalese chiefs that were stationed in the region, some were killed and others taken captive. The general Vēdavaṇam-Udaiyāṉ Ammaiyaṇṇa alias Aṇṇaṇ Pallavarayāṇ then sent for these captives, the booty and the captured elephants and presented them to the Chōja king.

At this stage, the Tiruvallāṅgādu inscription states that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara, ignoring the good done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Iļām and conspired with him against the Chōjas. In furtherance of this policy, he drove to the north of the river Vellāṭīru the Chōja generals Rājarāja-Karkudiyaṉ, Rājagambhiṉa-Aṉikukṭhinaṉ, and others that were...

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1. Parākrāma Bāhu (A.D. 1183-1186), the greatest ruler of Ceylon, is remembered chiefly for his activities in building cities, constructing and restoring large tanks and for his imperialistic attempts to extend his authority over Southern India. There is a statue of this king, carved on a rock at Polonnaruwa.

2. Ûrāṭurai is now known by the Dutch name Kayts and is situated on an island to the west of Jaffna. In Singhalese works the place is called Hūrā (or Īrā)-tōṭā and in the Mahāvamsa it is referred to by the name Sūkaraṭṭhā. It was an important port in the time of Parākrāma Bāhu.

3. Puleichērī is the same as Pulāccheri of the Mahāvamsa (Ch. 83, V. 17).

4. Māṭōṭṭam is the Mahāṭṭhā of the Pali chronicles. In Tamil inscriptions it is called Rājarājapuram (S. J. I. Texta, Vol. IV, Nos. 1412 and 1414). It is now known as Māntai or Tirukkōkkārum and is situated about 6 miles to the east of Mannar. There was a temple called Rājarāja-Ivanattū-Mahādeva in this village (A. R. for 1913, para. 21).

5. Vallikāmām may be identified with Vālīkāmām about 8 miles to the south-east of Mannar. The village is called Vālīkāmām in the Mahāvamsa (Ch. 83, V. 17).

6. Maṭṭivāl may be identified with Maṭṭivīl, a village about 10 miles to the east of Jaffna. A sea-port of this name is mentioned in the Mahāvamsa (Ch. 60, V. 34).

7. The assistance rendered by Śrī-Vallabha to the Chōja king is not noticed in the Mahāvamsa. In the Tiruvallāṅgādu inscription it is clearly stated that Śrī-Vallabha was the nephew (maṇumāṇi) of the Singhalese king. He was the son of princess Mātiśi, sister of Parākrāma Bāhu (see genealogical table facing page 99, Ep. Zeilinger, Vol. II). His father Mānhbharana was a rival of Parākrāma Bāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon, and before the latter ascended the throne, there was a protracted struggle between the two claimants for sovereignty. Mānabharaṇa was in the end worsted, but his son does not seem to have been reconciled to the conqueror. It may be said that the Jaffna kings had been the allies of the Chōja emperors and so, when help was needed, Śrī-Vallabha readily embraced the opportunity. It is not certain whether Śrī-Vallabha went to the assistance of the Chōja king with the connivance of Parākrāma Bāhu. It cannot also be affirmed whether the treachery of Kulaśēkhara, which stands unexplained in the inscriptions, is in any way to be traced to Śrī-Vallabha.
stationed in the Pāṇḍya country, and also removed the heads of the Ceylonese generals that had been previously nailed to the gates of Madura by Tiruchchirambalam-Udaiyān Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyār. Some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulasekharā, hinting that the Singhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōḷa king. It was therefore, decided to reinstate on the Pāṇḍya throne Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the former protegé of Ceylon and a claimant to the throne of Madura. Vēdaṉaṉam-Udaiyān Ammaiyanapān alias Pallavarājan was directed by the Chōḷa king to proceed with the necessary forces. When he had successfully accomplished his object, the general was granted 10 velī of land in Rājāḷan-Palaiyanur, according to the Tiruvāḷaṅgāṉu record. All the above events are also recorded in the Tirumayāṉam inscription which appears to be an almost exact copy of the Tiruvāḷaṅgāṉu inscription. Both of them are dated in the 12th year and 197th day; the Tirumayāṉam inscription is, however, very fragmentary, but it has helped to fill in certain lacunae in the text of the Tiruvāḷaṅgāṉu record. The reason why the same inscription should be engraved in two distant places as Tiruvāḷaṅgāṉu (Chingleput district) and Tirumayāṉam (Tanjore district) is not quite clear.

Of the persons figuring in the present inscription, the most important is Tiruchchirambalam-Udaiyān Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyār who took an active part in the coronation of Rājādhirāja II and in the war of the Pāṇḍya succession. From the Āṟpakkam epigraph we learn that his father was Edirilēḻa-Sambuvarāyār. He seems to have died before 1171 A.D., the date of the present record. Next in importance to Tiruchchirambalam-Udaiyān Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyār stands Lāṅkāpuṟi-Dāṇḍanāyaka. He was entrusted with the command of the Ceylonese army by the Ceylonese king Parākramabahu, when Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, sought his assistance against Kulasekharā-Pāṇḍya. Before Lāṅkāpuṟi-Dāṇḍanāyaka could start for India, Parākrama-Pāṇḍya had been murdered, but the Ceylonese general succeeded in besieging Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍya country, and in forcing Kulasekharā to flee from his kingdom. Vēdaṉaṉam Udaiyān Ammaiyanapān alias Pallavarāyan who effected the distribution of lands among the relations of Tiruchchirambalam-Udaiyān Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyār seems to have been an important officer and general both under Rājārāja II and his successor Rājādhirāja II. The several persons noticed in the record as the relatives of Pallavarāyār are obscure and are, therefore, not easily identifiable. The signatories to the upeṟi, Chēḷirāṣar, Vāṇādhirāṣar, Śīvagāḷarāyar, Nilagāṅgarāyar and the royal secretary Māṇavaṉ-Mūṇēndavēḻaṉ appear to have held office even in the time of Kuloṭṭuṅga-Chōḷa III, the successor of Rājādhirāja II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription Kāṟigai-Kulattūr, the native place of Pallavarāyār, deserves notice. The Tamil prosodist Amudasāgarar commenced and completed his work Kāṟigai in this village, which, therefore, came to be known as Kāṟigai-Kulattūr. It is stated to have been in Āmūr-kōṭṭam which roughly comprises the eastern portion of the present Chingleput taluk. There are two villages in this taluk bearing the name Kulattūr, one near Tirukkachohiyūr in Kalattūr-kōṭṭam and the other near Tiruppōrūr in Āmūr-kōṭṭam and the village mentioned in our record may be identified with the latter. In the time of Kuloṭṭuṅga-Chōḷa I, Kaṟḍan-Madhavan, a descendant of the chief who patronised Amudasāgarar, was

1 The Chronicle describes Kulasekha as a powerful king, 'cunning in the art of war,' 'a terror to his enemies and as skilled in deceiving means such as reconciliation, etc., to prevail against the enemy.' We find that Kulasekha was driven out of Madura by A.D. 1168 (Arppakam inscription) and that he was reinstated on the throne by A.D. 1171 (Pallavarayappan record). By A.D. 1175 (Tiruvallangadu inscription) he had been deposed and Virapândya crowned in his stead. It is, therefore, clear that Kulasékha could have occupied the throne only from about 1171 to 1175 A.D.

2 Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 67.

3 Ibid., p. 64.
in charge of this village, but it is not certain if he was in any way related to the Pallavarāyar of our record. *Jayāṅgopaṃḍaśāla-manḍalām* and *Gaṅgaikopaṃḍaśāla-puram* are well known to Tamil epigraphy. *Āyirattali* was a quarter of Niyamam, a village situated close to Palaṃnārī in the Tanjore district. The village is also mentioned in the *Viradāśiyam* of Buckhamitra and mentioned as a place of thousand temples. *Rājāḥirājayu-Kulattūr* probably formed a portion of the present village Pallavarāyaṇapeṭṭai which is known in inscriptions as Kulattūr and must have been called Pallavarāyaṇapeṭṭai later to perpetuate the name of the Chōla general. *Virudarājabhaṇyakara-vājanādu* was evidently named after the surname *Virudarājabhāṇyakara* of Kulōttunga-Chōla.1

**TEXT.**

2 nār-kāḍal-śūḷu puvi-ḍuḷum pār-kāḍal-pōḷa pugal paraṇa ādiyugam-[c[n][a] ṣōvindū puzinadaruḷi āru-samāiyamum

3 aim-būdumum niṟyil niṟṟu pāṟṟippattai-T[e[n*]navaṛuṃ-Chēralaruṃ [Śiṅgaḷalum-mudalaiya ma[na[va][r][a]] t[i[r][a]] śumandu van-[d-iraiṇji śēyippaṅūḷi śēngōḷ elu-[p[a]]rum-[nī-[m-[d-alippu-chem-po vī]

4 ra-siṇhāsaṇattu Ulagaiṇḍi-Mukkoḷkiḷaiṇaiḍalōḷuṃ virirundaruliyā Kōv-iraiṇji-śvampanmar-aṃ[ā] [Tribhuvansa chakravarttigā] Śrī-Rājāḥirājayu-kvarkku yūṇdu e[tāyavu] $]][i][]]

5 Jayaṅgopaṃḍaśāla-manḍalattu Anūrt-kōṭṭattuṭṭh-Chīrakaṇu-ṇāṭṭu-Kārīgai-Kulattāt-

Ku [aṭṭattal Tiruchchiriyambalam-Uḻaiyāṅ Perumāṇambiṇi-yyyy Pallava-

rāya Periyadēvar Rājāḥirājayu pētttu kōnr-kottum-avark-kudirai-agambadi-niyarum uḷḷiṭṭa tuṟaiyalukkum mudaligalum-ay mudaligal-ōpādi kāṇiṟat-

7 sūkkuṇi-kāḍarum-ay [e[l*]lā varisaiyalum mun-āval uḷḷiṭṭu mudaligal peṟṟukkaṭ̣ava ēṟṟuṇgalum peṟṟu niṟṟu Periyadēvar[10] tāṇji-arulip-pillai[n][u][k][u][k]kkum ưṃṟum ivramuṇu tiranakṣhata-n-ā-

8 gaiyāl Āyirattalip-pōḍaiyīṭum vīṭṭu-pōḍuṇḍiṇḍi-pōḍuṇḍiṇḍi-iḷāṭṭu-tiruv-antapurumum ... 11 ēṇnaiyal uḷḷiṭṭaḷaṣṭha ēḷḷam parigarttuk-[kūṭṭik]-koḍu-pōndu Rāja-

9 [r[a[r]][p[a][r]][t]][lēl] irunda ḍa[t][u][k][k][u][k][u] [s[a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n][d][i][r][a][n] iruppar kāṇaruvuṇḍ-

10 vēṅḍi-puratttu ēḷḷa ēḷḷaiya kēḍaḷaiyam va[rāḍa] iḷāṭṭu in ... jūm parigarttu iv ... Periyadēvar elundaru[li] ... 11 n'[ā][lēl] tiru-abhīśegattukku ưṇai pillai[n][u][k][u][k]kkum ipriyē ... [raku]-

2 Amaṇṇuṇḍa is another reading for amaṇṇuṇḍa (No. 58 of 1900).
3 For pōl some inscriptions read tōl.
4 Other readings are ādiyugam vandadaṃ (No. 20 of 1899) and ādiyugam āmenna (No. 474 of 1905).
5 Vanda pāṛkka is another reading (No. 20 of 1899).
6 No. 20 of 1899 gives in addition Kōṇgavārum Pallavarum. 7 No. 465 of 1905 has vanīṣṭha-kēṇippa.
8 No. 20 of 1899 has parakōrveṣarpam; uma in pāṃnarṇa is engraved as a conjunct letter in Grantha characters.
9 Some inscriptions have Maduraīyam Iḷamṃ kōṇḍaruliyā in addition (cf. No. 474 of; 1905) chēkā in chakravarttigāl is engraved as a conjunct letter in Grantha characters.
10 The letter ya is inserted between ri and āṅi.
11 The gap may be filled up with the letters pariv.
12 Jya is engraved as a conjunct letter in Grantha characters.
13 The word girundo may have been lost here.
11 Ṛapādiyai pārttū [mulpū-ūdīlē kāriyam irumāṇadi vi...1 Ṛeydū Gaṅgaṅaṅkū]ṣa-śōjarpa...2 Ṛarū Ṛukū/[kārga pūḷa]galai Ṛtyāmr aṁ paṅṣu...3 Ṛavīyāṛ Viṅk[i]jramasōḷādevar-ṛṇaṛgār

12 Nṛṅāḍāpperumāḷ[*]-tirumāṇagāṛ Edir[i]pperumāḷaip-pee...[*]-arulīga nālīḷī mahādī kavi[p]pittu...4 dārāvāvā Ṛivarait-ṭiru-ah[bhāg]am paṅṣu[v]įkkak-kaḷavarā[ga],...[*]tu nāḷīṁ-ṭirumakshatrattile Rājāḥṛṛājādevaṛ e-


14 gach=cheyyad-orupāḍiyum paṇṇi [*] Ṛṭ̄ṭān Pāṇḍi-nāṭṭiḷe pāḍalagalu[n]-kāraṇavar-āḷā[ṝ]i[yu[m*] migudip...1[[i]]ṇu Ṛu kaiko[ḷa]-kaḷavān-āgap-paṇṇaṁ a[...[*] P[i]ḍiiyaṇār Kulaśēkharaṛdēvar


1 The letters mappē may be inserted here.
2 The letters pira may be inserted here.
3 The letters yadēn-tē according may be inserted here.
4 The letters sīkha may be inserted here.
5 The expression intended was probably nāṭum-oruppaṭṭu.
6 The letters lōṛi may be inserted here.
7 The letters pōda may be inserted here.
8 The letters till ejus may be inserted here.
9 The letters Ṛvita U may be inserted here.
10 The letters Ṛpōn may be inserted here.
11 The letters Kulaśēkharaṛdēvar may be inserted here.
12 The word is written in Grantha characters.
13 The letters sō is engraved in Grantha characters.
14 The letters Ṛupōn may be inserted here.
15 The letters Ṛvita U may be inserted here.
16 The letters Kulaśēkharaṛdēvar may be inserted here.
17 There is an extra secondary length after the letter nā.
No. 31.] THE PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHRAJA II. 191

22 upstådālukkum ival-makalalukkum ival-makalalukkum Virudarajabhavyankar-

23 vajālyukkum Kurukkakā-nāṭṭu ival-kājīya-āpa Chōl[ō][jē]ndirāsinganallīril palam-pez

tavitru[du yāḻdu etṭavadu-mudal] antarāyam pāṭṭama-uvpāda i-

24 laiųyāyē vēru-pirinda Rājadhirājāsa1-Kulaṭṭāl2 nilam nāpārdaru-veli [*] in-nilam apu-

25 bavikkum paṇḍikkal Lakṣaṇkapēḷal-maṇḍalattu Mēṇmalai-Palaiyagur-[nāṭṭu]p-

26 Palaiyagur-udaįyān Vēдавanamu-udaįyān Am-

27 naippaṇā-āpa Pallavarāya[n] njēchhayitir[t]tapaṇīyē apubavikkum virundāngalī

28 Šīrāṭṭurudaiyāya[n]-magalukku niḷam mū-veli[yi]ir[n] Āḷinai-audaiyā[n]-magalukku


30 pērāl nilam iru-veliy-āga ... aru-veliyēm Nēŋkuṇai-kēljār Kalappulärāyarmagalukku

31 nilam mū-veliyēm ival-makalal Alagiyāduvanukku nilam mū-veliyēm pēn-[makkal]-

32 k[i]kē pērāl nilam iru-veliy-āga nilam auruveli-

33 yum Ambar Aruvandai Kāḷingaráyarmagalukku nilam mū-veliyēm makka[m]-Sēṭṭa[n]j-[n]*

34 Tirunāṭṭamādi Viran[a][mb]ī Dēva[k]-gol[al]-daiyā[n]-magalukkum ival-magalukkum nilam

35 iru-veliyēm Rājārajādev[*]-virundāngalukkum makka[m]-kuk nilam en-veliyēm tāyār Vaippū-

36 ruḍaiyār-magalārkku nilam veliyēm u[da]-gol[al]-pirinda peṇq[i]l Vilīyūrudaįyāyukku puṇṇa

37 kenkkukku ival[m]-magalukkum nilam iru-veliyēm āga ni[la[m]] nāpārdaru-veli-

38 uṇṭamaikku[u]-u[va]rikku eluttiṭṭēr[r]-Nandiyarāyar[|]-Amarakōṉ[|]-Kāṇakarāyar[|]

39 Māvēndarāyar[|]-Jānantāra[yar]|]-Viṣaiyrāyar[|]-Puravuravī-Sēkka-

40 nāya[k][]m] Šīrkuṇaiyāya[n]|]-Kūṇaniḷḷ[|]-Kāṇūr-kilava[|]-Nariyal[n]j-Udaiy[|]

41 Pūravuravī-Sēkka-ranapatu Muṇjavet[*]ki Lūgai-Udaiyān[|]-Āṟūr-Udaiyān[|]-Tattainalūr-

42 Uḍaiyān[|]-Śīnunallūr-Uḍaiyān[|]-ippadikkum pirasādaṁcyed[*]arul[ina Śrī]-

43 mugavu-killu eluttiṭṭēr[Chēḷirēr] Vaśāṛhēr ... , ... , [va][r]ēr[ār]

44 Rā [j]a[*] rāja[*] Viluppavatār-Śiṅgalarāyar[|]-Nilagāṅgarayar[|]-Dipattarayar[|]

45 eludināṭ tirumandira-[ūlai Mipa[n] ṛudivaiyēlēn[|]

TRANSLATION.

Ll. 1-3. Hail! Prosperity! In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman

alias the glorious Rājadhirajādeva, the emperor of the three worlds, when he was pleased to be

seated along with (his queen) Ulagudai-Mukkōkkilānādīga on the throne of heroes, made of pure

gold, having been pleased to put on the lustrous crown (so that) the Goddess of the Earth

surrounded by the sea, the goddess (residing in) the flower (i.e., Lakshmi), the Goddess of Learning,

the Goddess of War endowed with power and the Goddess of Prosperity all lived in amity as

in the first yuga, (his) fame, white as the milky ocean, spread in the seven worlds surrounded by

the four oceans, the six systems of philosophy (flourished), the five elements stood in their

respective positions protecting the people, such kings as the Teppavar (Pāṇḍya), Śēḷalār

(Chāsas), Śīṅgalār (Śīṅhalese) came carrying (with them) tribute and made their obeisance (to

him), and his hoary sceptre well protected the seven worlds;

1 The word Rājadhiraja is engraved in Grantha.
2 The gap may be filled with the letters ṣa ṭa ṭa ṭa.
3 The word intended was perhaps Śēḷalār.
4 The letter so is engraved in Grantha characters.
5 The letters ṭhī and ṭh are engraved in Grantha characters.
6 The letters nilam may be lost here.
7 The letters Rōjārāja are engraved in Grantha.
When Kulattuḷaṅ Tiruchchirambalamudaiyāṅ Perumānambaḥ alias Pallavarāyār, (a resident) of Kārīgai-Kulattūr in Śīgukuruṇa-nādu, which was a subdivision of Āmūr-kōṭṭam, a district of Jayāṅgoṇḍaḷa-mañḍalam, who had received all honours (ciṟissai) (such as) the position of the Palace-Comptroller of the big household of Periyadēvar (i.e., the senior king) Rājarājadēva the headship of the several departments (turaigal) of the body of armed cavalry, retinue, etc., and was managing such of the affairs as had been allotted to the chiefs, receiving all (hiṟk) dignities attainable by the officers such as murp-ēval, Periyadēvar (i.e., Rājarāja) passed away. His (Rājarāja’s) sons (pullaiygal) (being then) aged one and two years, it became obligatory for them to leave the citadel of Ayirattāli. And while they were moving, he (Pallavarāyār) safely escorted the harem including all their retinue and conducted them to Rājarājapuram.

L 9. Damaged.

Ll. 10-13. . . . . protected them warding off all possible danger from outside. Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (exact) state of affairs, as it (then) stood, (was intimated to the king) . . . . . and (having brought) the princes residing at Gaṅgaiṅgoṇḍaḷaṇḍapuram, and at the time of Periyadēvar’s demise, he (Pallavarāyār) had Ediriliperumal, son of Neiyuvaipperumal and the grandson of Udaiyār Vikramasōlalādēva, who had already been invested with a crown and was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (king) under the title of Rājadhiraja-ḍēva in the fourth year (of his installation) and made the udan-kōṭṭam (assembly) and the nāḷu (chamber) follow him without any dissensions. Thus, (he brought all (parties) together so that there might be no transgression. (In this way he) creditably discharged one of his commissions.

Ll. 14-24. While the king of Ceylon sent a large contingent of forces along with many chiefs into the Pāṇḍya country so as to effect the capture of this kingdom, the Pāṇḍya (king) Kulaśēkharā left his dominions and entering the Čoḷa country requested (the king) to get him (back) his territory; (whereupon Pallavarāyār) represented to (the Čoḷa king): that Udaiyār [Kulaśēkharā]ḍēva should be made to get back the kingdom, that Lankāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka and others who had entered and taken possession of this (Pāṇḍya) kingdom should be killed and (that) their heads should be nailed on to the gates of Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas. When the royal sanction was obtained (thereof), he (Pallavarāyār) unsparsingly did all that was necessary for (the Pāṇḍya king) Kulaśēkharā and guarded (him) during his stay in the Čoḷa kingdom; captured the Pāṇḍya country with (the aid of) his army, resources and zeal; and, as promised, killed Lankāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka and others and nailed their heads on to the gates of Madura; (he) made all necessary arrangements for the entry of the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkharā into Madura; and by making him (Kulaśēkharā) enter (his capital) Madura, prevented the Pāṇḍya kingdom from becoming a Singhaḷeṇa possession; and made the Toḍai-nādu and the Pāṇḍi-nādu subject to him (i.e., the Čoḷa), as was his own (Čoḷa) country.

When (Pallavarāyār) was thus in the height of power, having taken upon himself the management of the country and having appointed persons capable of bearing the burden of the administration even after him (i.e., after his death) in the same manner as it used to be done (during his lifetime) through his orders issued to capable officers administering the kingdom, he fell ill and died. (Thereupon), his estate, 40 vēli in extent, in Rājadhirāja-Kulattūr situated in Kurukkai-nādu, a division of Virudarājābhayankara-valanādu, which was separated in the 8th year of the king, from Čelendrāśiṅganallūr after discarding its old name, and being exempted from all taxes including antariyam and pāṭṭam, (was distributed1 among) his wives, sons, their wives and children, (his) daughters and mother, (his) uterine sister, her children and their relations, by Palaiyaṉur-Udaiyān

1 It is noteworthy that in this distribution of lands, all the near relatives of the deceased are provided for.
Vēdanām-Uḍaiyāṭ Ammāiyappan alias Pallavarāyān of Mēḷmaip-Palaiyagūr in Jayaṅgonda-śōla-maṇḍalaṃ for enjoyment (as follows):

L. 24-28. Among (Pallavarāyār)’s wives (a), (b), (a) to the daughter three vēḷī (of) land of Śrīrāhatṭur-Uḍaiyāṇ.
(b) to the daughter of Ālinād- Uḍaiyāṇ.
(c) to the daughter of Nēr- kuṇḍal-kīḷār Kāḷippāḷa-
rāyār.
To the three married daughters of (b) above.

Among the sons of (c) above . . . . to Alagiyadēvaṇ . . . . . three vēḷī (of) land.
To the (three) daughters of (c) above . . . . . . six vēḷī (of) land at two vēḷī per head.

(d) to the daughter of Ambar Aruvandai Kāliṅgarāyār.

To the daughter of the son of (d) above, Śī[ṭ](ṭ)‘aṇṭur Tirunāṭṭamāṭi Viran-
[mbi] Devaṅgūḍyāyāṇ and her daughter.
To the wife of Rājaṛaṇjīdeva (who must have been another daughter of Pallavarāyār from (d) above) and her sons.

To his mother . . . . . . the daughter of Vaippūr- one vēḷī (of) land
Uḍaiyāṇ.

Among his sisters . . . . . to the wife of Vaḷiyūr-Uḍaiyāṇ two vēḷī (of) land
and her daughter.

On the whole 40 vēḷī of land was thus distributed, free of taxes, including antarāyam and pāṭṭam.

L. 28-30. The signatories to the uḷēvṛi (are):

Nandiyarāyār— Amaṭarāyār— Kāṇakarāyār— MUvēndarāyār— Chinnattarayār— Visvayarāyār— The purāvu-vari Śrīkaraṇa-nāyakam are— Śīpukuḍaikāḷā— Kuḷipāḷi— Kāṭip-kīḷāṇ— Nariyānuṟ-Uḍaiyāṇ— The purāvuvari Śrīkaraṇuṭṭu Mugavēṭṭi are— Iṅgal-Uḍaiyāṇ— Ārūr-Uḍaiyāṇ— Tattaināḷ-Uḍaiyāṇ— Śīrṇaḷ-Uḍaiyāṇ— For the royal order that was issued, (the attesters are):— Chēdirāsār— Vāṇādhiṃrā . . . .

[va]rāśā Rāja*raja*viluppāraiyar— Śīṅgarāyār— Nilagaṅgarāyar— Dīpattarayar— (This royal order is the draft of the royal secretary Mēṇavāṇ Mūve[ṇḍa]vēḷāṇ ||—

No. 32.—TWO BRICK INSCRIPTIONS FROM NALANDA.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., OOTACAMUND.

The Buddhist sūtra forming the subject of this article is found in duplicate on two incised bricks which were discovered in 1924 by Mr. J. A. Page, the then Superintendent of the Central Circle, in small votive stūpas near the main stūpa at Nalanda.¹ The inscription on Brick A begins on the top surface and is continued on three sides, the right hand side and the bottom

surface being left uninscribed. The writing on the top surface covers a space of 1 1/2 in length and 8 3/4 in breadth while the breadth of the inscribed sides ranges from 1" to 1 1/4". The inscription consists altogether of thirty-one lines of writing of which twenty-two lines are incised on the top surface and three on each of the three other sides. Brick B, which contains twenty-three lines of writing, is inscribed only on the top surface, the inscription covering a space which measures 14 1/4 X 8 3/4. In A, the portions of writing coming in the middle of the top and the left hand side are damaged while the inscription on B is in a fair state of preservation. The letters in both B and B are not uniformly executed, their average size being from 1/4 to 1/8 of an inch approximately.

Before proceeding with the discussion of palaeography, I may point out that the two documents under discussion hold a peculiar position as epigraphs. It appears that the letters have not been inscribed in the same way as inscriptions on stone or copper-plates. It is clear from the shape of the letters that the scribe has engraved the text on the brick with a stylus or similar sharp instrument. Thus we have to consider the documents more in the nature of manuscripts than inscriptions and, as one would expect in such records, the writing is in a much more cursive hand than one would ordinarily find in inscriptions. The characters found on these records belong to the Gupta script of a comparatively later period, more strictly to the period of transition from the Gupta to the acute-angled stage and may be ascribed to the sixth century of the Christian era. As to their palaeography the following points may be noticed: of the initial vowels the lower portion of a and ñ shows a curve open to the left and the sign for the length of ñ is expressed by a hook attached to the foot of the right vertical. T is denoted by three dots and in e the apex of the triangle is pointed downwards. Of the consonants, single k is written in the same way as in the Gupta period and does not yet show a loop on the left, but such loops are noticed in ligatures (cf. sanskāra in l. 3, skandha in l. 11, etc.). The triangle of kh stands at the right of the vertical and not to its left as found in the acute-angled alphabet, but in common with the latter the third as well as the central horizontal line of j are slanting downwards and d has a serif in the lower end. In n the right stroke has not yet become vertical as we find from the seventh century onwards, though a loop has been attached to its left. Bh is as in the Gupta period and has not yet formed the triangle on the left. Y is tripartite with a hook to the left which led up to the later bipartite y. D is rounded at the top of the middle vertical touching the right and the left limbs. Lingual 1 occurs twice in the document (cf. khula-khula, B l. 19), a peculiarity not found in later documents. The Viśāma is denoted by a stroke above the consonant (cf. katamā, ll. 10, 11, 15) and the superscript r is denoted by an angular stroke on top evidently owing to cursive forms of letters.

The language of both the documents is Sanskrit which is on the whole correct. Rules of sandhi have not been strictly adhered to. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the following points. Consonants with a superscript or subscript r have at times been doubled, e.g., vahirddhā (B l. 6), pūrvavatī (A l. 14), anukrānta (A l. 21). Sk is frequently written as ks in A, e.g., sanskāra for sanākāra (A l. 3, etc.). V and b have not been distinguished except in kubja (B l. 19; A l. 23). Two different marks of punctuation have been used, one, the ordinary mark represented by a small curve (') like a comma, written horizontally, and the other, a rare one, denoted by two vertical lines (cf. B l. 15 after cha and A l. 30 after it). The former has been shown in the transcript below, with a danda.

The text of the sūtra as found in both the bricks is substantially the same. I have given below only the text of B, which is the better preserved of the two documents, while the slight differences in reading, occurring in A, have been noticed in the foot-notes. They contain the text of the well-known Pratīyasamutpāda or Nidāna-sūtra as well as its anuśāsana or division.

The sūtra portion is found in Buddhist literature both in Pāli and Sanskrit, while the vibhaṅga portion is closely connected with the vibhaṅga found in the Nīdāna-Saṅyutta. B does not give any colophon while at the end of A we find only Pratiyaśasamutpāda samāpāda.

In addition to these records, several other bricks and terracotta slabs containing the Nīdāna-sūtra have been found at Nālandā. But none of them is complete and they contain only a fragment of the sūtra and sometimes that of the nīrūdhā portion as well, but none contains the vibhaṅga as found in the two records under discussion. All are written in a cursive hand (No. S. 3, Reg. 237 of the Central Circle, being the most cursive), just as the two documents dealt with here. Of these, No. S. 3, Reg. 237 contains seven fragmentary lines of the sūtra and Brick C seven such lines of the nīrūdhā only. No. S. 3, Reg. 242 is inscribed on both sides (of which portions of five lines only remain on each side) and contains fragments of the sūtra with its nīrūdhā. No. S. 3, Reg. 236 originally contained the sūtra with its nīrūdhā which was repeated thrice. Only at the end of the nīrūdhā portion we find an additional sentence which reads iyaṁ saṅyāk-prakṛitās-āsāṃkṛtā niyam-dvākkṛatāṃ ttaṁ-iti].

Inscriptions containing the text of the Nīdāna Sūtra have also been found in places other than Nālandā. Bricks with this sūtra inscribed on them have been discovered at Gopālpur in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces. Besides these we find the text inscribed on the Kasiā copper-plate and the Kurram casket. Of these the first two are written in the Gupta script and Sanskrit language while the third is written in the Kharāṣṭrī script and a Prākrit dialect. Palaeographically all the three appear to belong to a period earlier than that of the two Nālandā bricks under discussion, the Kurram casket being the earliest in date. The text in Pāli is not lost unknown. A manuscript with leaves of gold but resembling in every way a palm-leaf manuscript, has been discovered within a relic chamber unearthed at Hmawza in Prome District of Lower Burma. The writing is in the South Indian script of the 6th or 7th century A.D. then in common use in Burma and the language is Pāli. The manuscript contains, among other extracts from the Piṭakas, the text of the Paṭichchā Samuppāda Sutta.

The text of the sūtra on the Gopālpur bricks and the Kasiā copper-plate is on the whole identical. Both contain the positive and the negative arrangements of the ‘Propositions of the Theory of Causes’, here technically termed as the ačchaya (i.e., collection) and the apachaya (the loss) of Dharma, the latter corresponding to the nīrūdhā portion of the sūtra as found in Pāli and Sanskrit texts. The text of the Kurram Casket contains only the positive arrangements of the sūtra and is termed Paṭichchāsamaṃpadā (Skt. Pratiyaśasamutpāda). The interest of the present

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1 This has been shown in the text in italics for facility of reference while the rest is the vibhaṅga.
2 See Visāya-Piṭaka (ed. Oldenburg), I, pp. 1 ff.; Saṅgyutta-Nikāya, II, pp. 1 ff., etc.; Majjhima-Nikāya, I, pp. 100, 257; Divyāvaṃśa, pp. 300, 547; MahĀvastu, I, p. 1; Lalita Vistara (ed. Fesemann), p. 347. In most of these texts we find the positive as well as the negative (nīrūdhā) arrangement of the Pratiyaśasamutpāda.
4 The twelve-fold Pratiyaśasamutpāda or the propositions of the Buddhist Theory of Causation are often found in their positive and negative arrangement. It is essential for a Buddhist to study and learn the respective links in this chain of causation and to understand it in its positive and negative arrangements, both forward and backward (Pāli: avutpāda and pātālā). For an explanation of this theory cf. Oldenburg’s Buddhā (English translation), pp. 223 ff.; Rhys Davids, Buddhā, pp. 155 ff.; Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp. 47 ff.; Th. Stecherbatsky, The Doctrine of the Buddha, in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VI, pp. 876 ff., etc.
records, however, lies in the fact that they contain the positive arrangement of the sūtra and also a vibhāṅga or division which is not met with in other records so far discovered. Besides this the present text has an interest of its own. As has been pointed out by Dr. Bagechi in his notes appended below, it was the same text which was translated by Yuan Chwang in 661 A.D., i.e., three years before his death. Recently Prof. G. Tucci has published the fragments of the Pratītya-samutpāda-vaśukhyā, a commentary on the Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra by Vasubandhu (circa 4th or 5th century), a work which was already known through its Tibetan translation. But it will be of great interest to observe that the text on which Vasubandhu, himself a teacher at Nalanda for some time, wrote a commentary, must have been the same as that now published. Thus the Nalanda text of the Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra reveals to us the original Sanskrit text of a sūtra of great importance which was so far known only through translations.

It is to be noted that all these documents containing the text of the Pratītya-samutpāda were found imbedded in stūpas. Of these the Kasi copper-plate and the Kurram Casket contain the names of donors. The former was the gift of one Haribala who deposited it in the (Pari) nirvṛtta-chaitya while the inscription on the latter informs us that the casket contained the corporeal relics of the Buddha and the Pratītya-samutpāda was written for the honouring of all beings. The present records and the Gopalgur brick inscriptions contain no names of the donors. Now the question that naturally arises is this: what was the object of writing down the Nidāna Sūtra and depositing it in the stūpas? It was done obviously for the sake of gaining merit, but why was the Nidāna Sūtra selected above all others? We know that among the Buddhists there are four classes of objects of worship: (i) the corporeal remains of the Buddha, (ii) objects used by the Buddha himself such as staffs, bowls, pieces of articles forming his robes, etc., (iii) objects indirectly connected with the Buddha and thus regarded as holy such as the bodhi-tree, chaitya, etc., and (iv) Dhamma as preached by the Buddha. I-tsing also gives us some interesting information on this point. "The priests and laymen in India," says the Chinese pilgrim, "make Chaityas or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper, and worship it with offerings wherever they go. Sometimes they build Stūpas of the Buddha by making a pile surrounding it with bricks. They sometimes form these Stūpas in lonely fields, and leave them to fall in ruins. Anyone may thus employ himself in making the objects for worship. Again when the people make images and Chaityas which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks and stone, or when they heap up the snowy sand (lit. sand-snow), they put in the images or Chaityas two kinds of Sariras. 1. The relics of the Great Teacher. 2. The Gāthā of the Chain of Causation." The gāthā referred to by I-tsing is the well-known Buddhist formula ye dhammā etc. supposed to have been spoken by Aśvajit to Śāriputra. Prof. Oldenburg and Rhys Davids pointed out long ago that this stanza alludes, undoubtedly, to the Nidānāsūtra, which explains the origination and cessation of what are called here dhammā hetu-ppacchāvā. The Sanskrit version of this stanza is extensively found on Buddhist votive gifts such as images,

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1 J. R. A. S., 1890, pp. 613 ff. Prof. Tucci in the text published by him has underlined the portion quoted from the sūtra, but on comparison with the Nalanda text it will be observed that his division of the original text and the commentary is not everywhere correct. Moreover, I do not agree with him that in Vasubandhu's work vibhāṅga was the name of the various chapters each corresponding to a particular nidāna (ibid., p. 612, n. 1). The text commented on by Vasubandhu is identical with that obtained at Nalanda and contained at the beginning the Nidāna Sūtra followed by the vibhāṅga in connection with each nidāna. Thus he is not right in giving the title Avidyā-vibhāṅga to the first section of the work which deals only with the sūtra portion.


4 See S. B. E., Vol. XIII.
The blessings derived from putting in the images or chaityas the sariras mentioned above are abundant. The authentic relics of the Buddha were always scarce and must have been more so after the early centuries of the Christian era. That is why we find in the stūpas at Nalanda and other places only tablets containing the Nidānasūtra, which was part of the Dhamma preached by the Buddha himself. To a Buddhist this sūtra is next in sacredness only to the four venerable truths (ārya-satyāni) and is very important since a proper understanding of this leads to the way of Nirvāṇa. Nāgārjuna said in his Sūtrālīkha, "Even though fire should be burning above our head,... we ought to waste no time in putting it out, but should keep in view perpetually our Final Liberation (Moksha), reflecting on the truths of the Chain of Causality". It is no wonder, therefore, that this sūtra is considered as of paramount importance and has so frequently been found deposited in the votive stūpas raised by the Buddhist monks as well as laymen.

The following text is transcribed from impressions and photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Central Circle. As the Chinese translation, an English rendering of which has been appended below by Dr. Bagchi, followed the Sanskrit original quite closely, I have not given a separate translation of the Sanskrit text but have noticed the slight differences found in places in the foot-notes to Dr. Bagchi's translation.

**TEXT.**

1 Siddham [*][*] Evaṁ mayā śrutam-ekasmin-samayā Bhagavān-chārāvastyaṁ viharati sma Jētavānē Anāthapindādasya-ārāmā mahatā bhikshu-saṅghēna sārdham-aruddha-smayōda-sabhir-bhikshu-śataś [[*] Tatra Bhagavān bhikshu-ñām-ā[ma*]nitra-


1 [The latest finds of this kind are from Nalanda and Pāharpur excavations, where thousands of tiny clay votive stūpas have been discovered in the relic chamber of small stūpas, each enshrining little clay seals inscribed with the Buddhist creed.—Ed.]
2 * I-taing. A Record etc., p. 151.
3 Expressed by a symbol.
4 A reads arūdu.
7 There is a small stroke above tra in both which may be accidental.
8 A reads correctly amastra*.
10 A reads chhrisuta correctly.
11 Here and in several other places A reads san[ko].
12 A has śagaiseka.
13 A reads dā correctly.
14 A has correctly sparsa.
5 sva mahatō duḥkha-saṅkārayaṃ samudayō [bhājaya]ī [1] Ayam-uccharyatā Pratītya- 


6 naṃ pūrvanta-ṣākṣāntā ajñānāḥ adhyātman-ajñānam va(ba)hirddhā ajñānāḥ 

addhyātmavala(ḥ)[r̥ddhā] ajñānāḥ karṇaya-ajñānanāṃ vipākā ajñānāḥ 

Vṛṣṇi(ḥ)ddhā ajñānāḥ Dharma ajñānāḥ Sarīghē 

7 ajñānāḥ[1] samudayō ajñānāṃ nirūḍhā ajñānāṃ[1] mārgō ajñānāḥ vētō- 

anavādyāṣu[1] sēvītavy-āśeṣī-

8 tavāyāḥu hīna-praṇīta-kriṣṇa-sūkla-saprativedā Pratītya-saṅmutpānena dharm-

ēṣhy-ajñānam[1] sahasī vā punah sparī-āyatanaṇaḥ yathābhūtu-sampravī-

(b)ōdhe iti | Yaṭa-tatra tatra yathābhū-

9 tasya-ajñānam-adāśi śiṣyaḥ anabhisamyayaḥ tamaḥ saṁśūhaḥ 

avidya-śabdākaram-

iyam-uccharyatä avidyā | Avidyā-śūṣṭayāḥ saṁśūkaḥ iti [1] | Saṁśūkaḥ 


10 Kāya-śaṅskārayaḥ vāk-śaṅskārayaḥ maṇah-śaṅskārayaḥ iti | Saṁśūkaḥ-śūṣṭayāḥ vijñā-

nam-iti | Viśūkānaḥ katanā | [1] Shad-viśūkāna-kāryaḥ | [1] Chakṣu-

[r-vijñānaḥ, śrūtra-gṛha-jīva-kāya-maṇi-vijñānaḥ |[1]

11 Viśūkāna-śūṣṭayāḥ nāma-rūpa-iti | Nāma katanā[1] Chatvāraḥ aṛāpi-


12 Yaṭa-kīcchhū-puṣṭap sarvam tach-chatvāri mahābhūtāni | Chatvāri cha mahā-

bhūtany-upādīya it-iddān cha rūpaḥ puṛvataḥ cha nāma tad-aṅkadbhū-

āya-

13 tamastii | Shad-āyatanaḥ katanā | [1] Shad-aṅkadbhūtyān-āyatanaḥ | [1] śrūtra-gṛha-jīva-kāya-maṇiḥ[1]-adhyā-

taniyam-āyatanaḥ | Shad-āyatana-śūṣṭayāḥ 


sparīsāḥ śrūtra-gṛha-jīva-kāya-maṇiḥ saṁśūkṣaḥ | [1] Sparīṣa-patyaśaya vēdān-

ēti | Vēdanā katanā | Ṭīrṣa vēdanāḥ | [1] Sukhā 

15 duḥkha duḥkha-asukha cha | Vēdanā-śūṣṭayāḥ triṣṭhā-iti | Triṣṭhā katanā 


cha | Triṣṭhā-śūṣṭayāṃ upādānam-iti | Upādānaḥ katanā[1]

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1 A has a mark of punctuation here.
2 A reads pārvatā and aparanta here and in the next line.
3 A reads wrongly maṇi.
4 A reads maṇaḥ.
5 A has the correct reading Ṭīrṣa.
6 A reads wrongly sparīṣaḥ.
A NOTE ON THE PRATITYA SAMUTPADA SUTRA.

By P. C. Bagchi, M.A., D. ée-lettres ; Calcutta.

The small Sanskrit Buddhist text here published by Dr. Chakravarti is of considerable interest for the student of Buddhism. The colophon of the text contained in one of the bricks runs thus—Pratityasamutpada samaptaha. The text contains an enumeration of the causes of "dependent production," their definition and division (vibhaṅga). The complete title of the text was apparently, either Pratityasamutpada-sutra or Pratitya-samutpada-sūtra-vibhaṅga.

Though the original text was unknown till now we were acquainted with it through the fragment of a commentary of Vasubandhu discovered from Nepal and published by Prof. Tucci. Only six leaves of the complete manuscript were found in the admirable collection of His Holiness the Rajaguru Hāra-rāja Šrāmaṇa. They contain fragments of Vasubandhu's commentary on the five vibhaṅgas: avidyā, vidyā, triṣṇā, upādāna and bhava. This commentary is preserved.

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1 A has a punctuation mark here.
2 A reads wrongly dīśhṛtya-uptaṃ.
3 A reads cha after this.
4 A reads ārūpya-
5 A reads parābhāṣaḥ.

11 A reads at the end abhyandanaṃhiro Pratityasamutpāda samaptaḥ.
in its entirety in the Tibetan collection (Cordier, Catalogue p. 365). A gloss on the commentary of Vasubandhu made by Guṇamati is also preserved in Tibetan in the same volume of the Bstan bsgyur. The title of Vasubandhu’s work as preserved in Tibetan is Pratītya-samutpāda-vibhaṅga-nirṛṭa but it was also commonly known as Pratītya-samutpāda-vyūkhya (see the fragment published by Tucci).

The Nālandā text is also preserved in a Chinese translation. It is No. 628 Yuen ki king of Nanjio’s Catalogue in which Nanjio has inaccurately restored the title as Nidāna-sūtra. The translation has been published in Taishō Edition of the Tripitaka, Vol. II (Āgama), pp. 547-548 (No. 124). The translation was prepared by Huan Tsang on the 9th day of the 7th month of the year 661 A.D. The K’ai yuan shè kiao lu (Tokio Ed. p. 70b 11) mentions this translation on the authority of an unknown source called Fan king tu and says that it is a different translation of the 46th chapter of the Ēkottarāgama. The text is found in the Taishō Tripitaka Vol. II, p. 794 Fang niu king. The Ēkottarāgama was translated into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadāva in 383 A.D. A separate translation of the same text was made by Kumārajiva a few years later—viz. the Fang niu king. The same text is also found in another translation in the Chinese Saṁyuktāgama (Taishō II, p. 342, Ch. 47, Nos. 1248-1249). An examination of the texts shows that Saṁyutta 1248 is identical with the Chullagopālaka-suttanta and Saṁyutta 1249 with the Mahāgopālaka-suttanta of the Pāli Majjhima (Nos. 34 and 33). To this latter correspond also the text translated by Kumārajiva and that of the Ēkottara. But I fail to understand why the Chinese sources, and after them the Japanese editors, think that the Chinese version of the Gopālaka-sutta is a different translation of the Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra. Even a superficial examination of this text will show that it has no fundamental relation with the Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra.

Dr. Chakravarti has suggested a relation of the Nālandā text with the Desanā and Vibhaṅga of the Pāli Saṁyutta, II, pp. 1 ff. The Desanā consists of two parts, Pratītya-samutpāda and its nirṛṭha. The first part of the Desanā which deals with the Pratītya-samutpāda is almost identical with the corresponding part of the Nālandā text but the portion dealing with the nirṛṭha is not found in the Nālandā text. Besides, though the Vibhaṅga portion is fundamentally the same in both the texts, in the Saṁyutta text it is given in an inverse order beginning with the jāra-maraṇa. Moreover the Vibhaṅga portion in the Saṁyutta is much more amplified than that in the Nālandā text. The Saṁyutta text (including the Pratītya-samutpāda, its nirṛṭha and its vibhaṅga) really corresponds with section 298 of the Chinese Saṁyutta (Taishō Ed. II, pp. 85 ff.) which was translated by Guṇabhadra in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. The original text of the Saṁyutta had been brought to China from India by Fa Hien in 414 A.D. The Sanskrit original of the Desanā (the Pratītya-samutpāda and Nirṛṭha portions only) was discovered by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in a copper plate inscription found at Kasi (ancient Kuśinagara). It was published by Mr. F. E. Pargiter in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey 1910-1911, pp. 71 ff. A comparison of the Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the Desanā shows that the Sanskrit text was the original on which the Chinese translation was based. The formula, yad ut-āśmin sat-īdam bhavaty-asya-ṛpādād-īdam utpadyate, which occurs in the Kasi and Nālandā text is not found in the Pāli Desanā but occurs in the Chinese translation. The Chinese text of the Saṁyutta has on the whole greater affinities with the Nālandā and Kasi texts of the Pratītya-samutpāda and its Vibhaṅga than with the Saṁyutta text of Desanā and Vibhaṅga.

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1 Nanjio 627, Taishō Ed. II, p. 546; Bagchi, Le Canon Bouddhique I, p. 190 “Sūtra on a pastor”.
2 See Bagchi, Le Canon Bouddhique, pp. 347 and 382.
It is however clear that the Nālandā text did not exactly belong either to the Sañhyuktas or to any other Āgama. Though the translation of Hsuan Tsang is included in the Āgama volume of the Chinese Tripitaka, it does not precisely form part of any of the Āgamas there. It is printed there at the end of the Sañhyuktaagama. It probably shows that Hsuan Tsang himself as well as the later Chinese writers on the Tripitaka had some doubts about the canonical character of the text. As Vasubandhu in all probability flourished towards the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. and commented on the text, it must have been in existence before that time.

The Pratītyasamutpāda formula is mentioned in very ancient texts. The Śūtrālaṃkāra of Āśvaghōsha, now preserved only in a Chinese translation made by Kumārajiva, narrates the story of the conversion of the Brahman Kauśika of Pātaliputra. This Brahman while searching sacred texts in the house of his relative came upon a Buddhist text called the “Śūtra of the twelve Nikānas,” a study of which impressed him so much that he adopted the Buddhist faith.¹

The chronology of the texts therefore stands thus:

- Kurram text (Pratītyasamutpāda)² Circa 100 A.D.
- Sūtrālaṃkāra Text (Pratītyasamutpāda and Nirōdha) Circa 100 A.D.
- Chinese Sañhyukta text (Pratī and Vibhaṅga) translated by Guṇahadra in 414 A.D.
- Kasiā text (Pratītyasamutpāda and Nirōdha) Circa 450-475 A.D.
- Nālandā text (Pratī and Vibhaṅga) Circa 500 A.D.

This analysis, it seems to me, throws some light on the formation of the Canon. It shows that the Āgamas were still in the process of formation, even shortly before the time of Vasubandhu (fifth century A.D.). In that case we must assume that the formation of the Pāli Nikāyas had not then been completed, as the Sañhyutta text of Desanā and Vibhaṅga not only embodies all the elements of the texts just analysed (viz. Pratītya, Nirōdha and Vibhaṅga) but its Vibhaṅga is much more developed than in the Sanskrit text. The late date of at least parts of the Pāli canon, as established in this case, has also been hinted by other scholars.

I give below an English rendering of the Chinese text (No. 628 Yuan kī kīng of Nanjio’s catalogue) which closely corresponds to the Sanskrit text recovered from Nālandā.

The discourse on the chain of Dependent Production.

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Śrāvasti and residing in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍadā in the Jēta forest with innumerable Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men. At that time the Lord said to the assembly of monks,—I will (Oh monks) promulgate to

¹ The text ran thus—“The ignorance produces the sāmanakāras, the sāmanakāras produce the knowledge, the knowledge produces nāmarūpa, the latter produce the six senses, the six senses contact, contact thirst, thirst attachment, attachment existence, existence birth, birth old age, death, suffering and sorrow. If ignorance is suppressed, the sāmanakāras are suppressed, the sāmanakāras suppressed the knowledge is suppressed, the knowledge suppressed the nāmarūpa is suppressed, the nāmarūpa suppressed the six senses are suppressed, the six senses suppressed contact is suppressed, contact suppressed thirst is suppressed, thirst suppressed attachment is suppressed, the attachment suppressed the existence is suppressed, the existence suppressed the birth is suppressed, birth, death, suffering and sorrow, all are suppressed” (E. Huber, Śūtrālaṃkāra, Paris, 1908).
³ [The Skt. text refers to 650 monks, but not to ‘Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men.’—Ed.]
you the meaning of the fundamentals of the Pratitya-samutpāda and its different derivatives. You ought to listen to it and bear it in mind perfectly well. I will explain it to you today.

The assembly of the monks expressed its willingness saying: We shall all be happy to hear it.

Buddha said—How many are the fundamentals of the Pratitya-samutpāda? This being, it becomes; this producing, it is produced. Nescience is the cause of constituents (sabkhāra), constituents are the cause of consciousness (viśīdāna), consciousness is the cause of individuality (nāmarūpa), individuality is the cause of six sense-organs (āgh aparādāna), the six sense-organs are the cause of contact (sparśa), the contact is the cause of sensation (vedāna), sensation is the cause of thirst (trishīrā), thirst is the cause of attachment (upādāna), attachment is the cause of existence (bhava), existence is the cause of birth (jīta), birth is the cause of old age and death (jarā-marāṇa). They produce sorrow, lamentation, pain, troubles and anxieties. This is called the origin (samudaya) of all that is suffering (duṣkhā-suddha). Such is the import of the fundamentals of the chain of dependent production.

How many are the derivatives of the chain of dependent production? We have said that nescience is the cause of constituents. How manifold is the nescience? It is nescience in the past, nescience in the future and nescience in both the past and the future; it is nescience inside, nescience outside and nescience both in and out; it is nescience in action, nescience in its maturation (vipāka) and nescience both in action and its maturation; it is nescience in the Buddha, nescience in Dharma and nescience in Saṅgha. It is nescience in pain, nescience in its origin, nescience in its annihilation, and nescience in the path (mūrja). It is nescience in cause and nescience in its fruit (phala).

It is nescience in all dharmas that are produced from causes. It is nescience in what is good and what is not good. It is nescience in what is offensive and what is not offensive. It is nescience in what ought to be practised and what ought not to be practised. It is nescience in what is low and bad and what is noble and good. It is nescience in what is black and white. It is nescience in different parts. It is nescience either in

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1 In Chinese we have a word which literally means “origin”, “commencement”, etc., which is regularly used for dē. Adī is here used in the sense of “primitives” and viśīdāna in the sense of “secondaries”. Viśīdāna is translated in Chinese by “division”, “classification”, etc. It is here used in the sense of “secondaries”. So I have translated the two words as “fundamentals” and “derivatives” respectively. Vasanbandu in his commentary already referred to explains adī as uddēṇa and viśīdāna as nirodha. The Kāśī text has aparchaṣṭa instead of viśīdāna as in that text the nīrodha is described instead of viśīdāna.

2 Chinese ki shen. ‘ki’ means “to the highest point”, “with perfection”, etc., and shen means “well”, “good”. The expression evidently translates Skt. siddha cha sūkṣṭha cha, Before siddha the Kāśī text has aparchaṣṭa cha instead of viśīdāna.

3 Chinese has literally—“To-day by making distinction I will tell you”.

4 [This does not occur in the Skt. text from Nālandā.—Ed.]

5 This formula does not occur in the Pāli text of Saṃyutta. The Chinese literally means: “(It) relies on its becoming, therefore it becomes; it produces, therefore it is produced”. The Kāśī text has got the formula in the same form as it is found in the Nālandā text. Tucci (J. R. A. S., 1930, p. 614) has collected a number of references to this passage. Sālistamba ap. de la Vallée Poussin, Théorie des douze causes, p. 71; Pravramanapada, p. 9 (and note 7 by the editor); Mahāvastu, Vol. II, p. 285.


7 Saṅgha is used here in a collective sense, meaning “all that is comprised under duḥkha, i.e., suffering”. The phrase kereṇa duḥkha-samudaya-samudaya with reference to the Patīka-samudaya is very common in Pāli. See Pāli Dictionary (Stede and Rhsa Davida), sub. verb. The compilers translate the phrase as “origin of all that is suffering”.

8 The Kāśī text has naturally dāharmaṇa aparchaṣṭa instead of viśīdāna as what follows in that text is not the derivatives of the chain but means of their destruction (nirodha).

9 [This is not found in the present Nātra.—N. P. C.]

10 [This pair of words stand for māsa and pravruṣa respectively.—N. P. C.]
what is produced from causes (pratityasamutpādana) or in the six sense-organs. It is nescience
in the insight into real nature of things. Similarly wherever there is nescience in the real
nature of things, wherever there is no1 observation and no introspection and wherever there
is doubt, nescience and obscurity it is called avidyā.

How many are the constituents? The constituents are of three kinds—of body (kāya-saṁskāra), speech (vāk) and mind (manā). These are called the constituents.

How many are the elements of consciousness (viśuddha)? The collection of consciousness
consists of six:—(i) eye consciousness (chakṣuḥ-viśuddha), (ii) ear consciousness (śrītra), (iii)
nose consciousness (gṛāṇa), (iv) tongue consciousness (jihvā), (v) body consciousness (kāya),
(vi) mind consciousness (mano). Such are the consciousnesses.

The consciousness is the cause of individuality (lit. name and form). How many are the
names? They are four, having no aggregate of form (rūpa-skandha):—(i) aggregate of sensation
(vedanā-skandha), (ii) aggregate of perception (saṁjñā-skandha), (iii) aggregate of constituents
(saṁskāra-skandha), (iv) aggregate of consciousness (viśuddha-skandha). How many are the forms
(rūpa)? All that has form is so called—all the four great elements (mahā-bhūta) and all that is
created by the four elements. The latter are the forms and, the former, the names which are put
together, abridged into one and called nāma-rūpa. Such is the individuality or nāma-rūpa.

Nāma-rūpa is the cause of the six sense organs (shadāyatanas). What are the six sense
organs? The six internal (adhyātma) sense organs are:—(i) the internal organ of the eye, (ii)
the internal organ of the ear, (iii) the internal organ of the smell, (iv) the internal organ of the
tongue, (v) the internal organ of the body, (vi) the internal organ of the mind. Such are the
six sense organs.

The six sense organs are the cause of contact (sparśa). How many are the contacts? The
collection of contacts (sparśa-kāya) consists of six:—(i) the contact through the eye, (ii) the
contact through the ear, (iii) the contact through the nose, (iv) the contact through the tongue,
(v) the contact through the body, (vi) the contact through the mind. Such are the contacts.

Contact is the cause of sensation (vedanā). How many are the sensations? They are of
three kinds:—Pleasant sensation, painful sensation and indifferent sensation (lit. not-painful
and not-pleasant).

Sensation is the cause of thirst (trishūla). How many are the thirsts? They are of three
kinds:—sensual thirst (kāma-trishūla), thirst relating to form (rūpa) and thirst not relating to
form (arūpa). Such are the thirsts.

Thirst is the cause of attachment (upādāna). How many are the attachments? There are
four attachments:—(i) attachment arising from the sense desires, (ii) attachment arising from
the visual sense, (iii) attachments arising from 'belief in rites',5 (iv) attachment arising from
"belief in soul-theory".

Attachment is the cause of existence (bhava). How many are the existences? They are
of three kinds: sensual existence (kāma-bhava), corporal existence (rūpa) and incorporeal exist-
ence (arūpa). Such are the existences.

Existence is the cause of birth (jaṭi). How many are the births? When in particular classes
of beings there is birth of particular beings, there is becoming and production,3 there is becoming
of the skandhas, there is acquisition of dhātu, āyatana and skandha and there is becoming of the
faculty of life it is birth (jaṭi).

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1 [This is more or less a free translation of the Sanskrit text.—N. P. C.]
2 Literally all arising from righteous conduct and religious observances.
3 [Note the four words saṁjñā, avijñānti, abhinirvṛtti, and prāshubhāvat in the Sanskrit text, cf. with this
the inscription 'Bhagavato okratī', the descent of Bhagavat, on the 'Bharhut pillar, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p.
328, No. 98—N. P. C.]
Birth is the cause of old age and death (jarā-marāṇa). Of what nature is the old age? It is the baldheadedness and decay, shrinking of the skin, gradual (physical) diminution and ruin, hunchbackedness, crookedness, spread of black spots on the body, quick respiration, body stooping on the front, leaning on sticks, mental trouble, mental debility, loss and diminution, decay of the sense of organs and their dissolution, rotting of the sāṁskāras, and demolition of the body organs. Such is old age. What is death? It is the falling off of particular beings in their respective groups. Death is complete dissolution and cessation from existence, it is the abandonment of life and (vital) fire, complete extinction of the faculty of life, dissolution of the skandhas. Death is the arresting of the product of time. The latter is death and the former is old age both abridged together is called jarā-marāṇa.

Such is the meaning of the derivatives of the chain of dependent production.1

No. 34.—ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTTIVARMAN (II.); THE SIXTH YEAR.

By N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., Ootacamund.

The stone inscription forming the subject of this paper was copied by me during the field season of the year 1928-29 at Annigeri (or more correctly Annigere) a village in the Navalgund Taluka of Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency and a Railway station on the Hubli-Guntakal section of the M. & S. M. Railway. Though at present a small village, Annigeri appears to have been an important town from early Chālukya times down to the Muhammadan period. In the 9th century it was the chief town of the Belvola three-hundred district administered by Devaṇapya, an officer of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I.2 Under the Chālukyas of Kalyani and the Hoyasalas it continued to be known as the rājadhi-pattana or the capital town.3 Several other inscriptions of successive periods prove the importance of the place down to the time of Sultan Muḥammad Shāh of Bijapur in Šaka 1567.4 In Sanskrit records the place is called Anyataṭaka, obviously a Sanskritized form of the Kanarese name Annigere. The present inscription which is the earliest record at the place is engraved on three faces of a small pillar set up in front of the Banaśankari temple. As it refers to the construction of a chediya (Skt. chaitya) it may be surmised that this pillar does not belong to the Banaśankari temple.

The record is fairly well preserved except for the first two lines on its first face. But the king's name can be read in l.1 as Kirttivarmma and the rest, being the usual preamble can be supplied from other inscriptions. The alphabet is Kanarese of the 8th century A.D., written in a neat upright hand. Among initial vowels, the record contains ā in āraneya (l.5), i in idaṇa (l.10) and o in ond (l.4). Medial ā is distinguished from i by a small loop in the circle denoting the i sign (cf. gey-i in line 8 with chediya in line 9). Medial u is a hook on the right in ku (cf. Kuppa in line 11) while it is a U-shaped stroke at the bottom in other letters (cf. Jēnuagara in l.7). The length in ā is marked by the addition of a downward curve to the u sign as in yē of gīmuṇḍa (l.8). The e sign is marked as in older inscriptions by a stroke to the left added to the talekaṭṭu as in ne of āraneya (l.5). Among consonants the inscription has four of the test letters kh, j, ṣ and l, (n alone being absent) all of which present early forms. D

1 [The concluding portion of the Sanskrit text is not evidently found in the Chinese translation.—N. P. C.]  
3 See, for instance, Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1928-29, Nos. 187 and 189.  
4 Same collection No. 202.
is distinguished from d both when it occurs singly and when it forms a ligature with n (cf. ǳi of *mādhisidon, l. 9 and ǳu of gāmunḍu, l. 8.) The Dravidian r is found thrice, in ra of āranevā (l. 5) and idāra (l. 10) and in ri of niḍisidā (l. 12); and final n is found in rānāma (l. 14). The language of the record is archaic Kanarese. Attention may be drawn to the accusative suffix án (e.g., chēdiyamān, l. 9) and the genitive suffix ā (āranevā, l. 5) and the form of the verb mādhisidon (l. 9). The orthography is free from any faults except for the use of long ū for the short in gāmunḍu. There is no distinction between short and long e and o.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a chēdiya, i.e., (chaitiya or Jain temple) by Kaliyamma who was holding the office of the headman of Jēbuḷārī and the erection in front of it of a sculpture by a certain Kōṇḍiṣulara-Kuppa whose other name was Kṛttivarma-Gōśī. The latter is clearly the name of his master (prabhunāma) as stated in the last line. The writer was one Diśāpāla.

The record is dated in the sixth year of king Kṛttivarma-satyāśraya. The title Satyāśraya affords enough proof to show that the king belonged to the early Chālukya dynasty of Bādami and as the epigraph is on palaeographic grounds assigned to the 8th century A.D. Kṛttivarma of our record must be the second king of that name. Since his initial year has been fixed by the late Dr. Fleet as 746-47 the date of our record would be 751-52 A.D. Only two stone inscriptions and two copper-plates of this king have so far been published. Of them the Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription and the copper plates are throughout in Sanskrit and the damaged Aḍur inscription is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kanarese. The present inscription is thus the first complete Kanarese record of this king.

Attention may be drawn to the rare Kanarese expression ond-uttaram (increasing by one) occurring in this inscription. So far as I know this word is found only in two other Rāshaṭrakūṭa records, viz., the Niḍagundi inscription of Amoghavarsha I and the Veṅkaṭapur inscription of Kṛishṇa II. Fleet, while editing the former inscription has remarked that this expression denoted an elliptical system of reckoning the regnal year of a king in which there was 'an omission of some kind or the other whether intentional or accidental'. This supposed omission was in his opinion the word aruvattaneya (i.e., sixtieth); for 'with a cycle of sixty years actually in use an elliptical method of designating years in excess of the number of sixty in such a case as this one is perfectly intelligible and admissible,' but it was difficult to recognise anything rational in an elliptical expression being used for the years eleven, twenty-first, thirty-first, etc. According to Fleet, the full expression as it ought to be was, therefore, ond-uttaram aruvattaneya varśaṁ meaning 'the sixtieth year increased by one' or the sixty-first year of the reign of the king to whom it belonged. The learned scholar's conclusion was apparently influenced by the fact that the only other record containing the expression known to him was an undated record of a king who reigned for over 60 years. But the present inscription and the Veṅkaṭapur record referred to above belong to kings whose reigns did not last so long and can be referred respectively to the 6th year of Kṛttivarma (II) and to Śaka 828 (which was the 29th regnal year of Kṛishṇa II). The explanation offered by Fleet is thus entirely out of place and ond-uttaram must therefore be interpreted in some other way. The context in which it occurs in the three records would show that it is an exact counterpart of the widely used expression uttar-uttaram, viz., in

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4 No. 82 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27. The name of the king is wrongly given as Amoghavarsha for Akalavarsa (Kṛishṇa II).
conjunction with the word rājyaṁ or rājyaḥbhīvṛiddhi. Ond-uttaram can therefore be understood as an idiomatic expression synonymous of uttar-uttaram, denoting ‘progressively’.

Jēbuḷāgēri mentioned in the inscription appears to be a part of the town of Apnegere.

**TEXT.**

**First Face.**

1. Svasti [ || *] Kṛttivarman-[Satya]śraya
2. śrī-prithu[vālabbha] mahārājā-
3. dhirāja paramāśvara bhaṭāraka
4. rājyaṁ ond-uttaram-abhīvṛiddhi sa-
5. le āranyā varshaṁ prav-

**Second Face.**

6. rddamānam-[āge Jē.
7. buḷāgēriga Kali-
8. yamma gāmuṇḍu[u]- goey-d-[1
9. chōdiyamān-māquisidon
10. idaṁ munde Konḍi-

**Third Face.**

11. sālarā-Koppa Kṛttivarman-
12. gosāsiya nirisidā
13. kirttana G Diśāpālaśya li-
14. khitam G Prabhunāman G

No. 35.—TWO STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF KRISHNA II; SAKA 805.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These two inscriptions* were copied by me in the year 1926-27 in the villages of Soraṭūr and Sirunja both in the Gadag Taluka of the Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency. Soraṭūr (ancient Saragavura), where a battle was fought between the Hoyala king Ballāja II and the Yādava king Bhillama has already been fully described by the late Dr. Fleet on p. 176, Vol. XIII of this journal. Sirunja which is three miles north of Soraṭūr does not seem to have enjoyed any importance. The inscription at Soraṭūr, which I shall call A, is incised on a slab set up in front of the Venkaṭeśa temple and is in an excellent state of preservation. The Sirunja record, which is called B in the sequel, is on a hero-stone near the village school and is damaged to some extent, particularly in lines 3 and 4.

The alphabet is Kanarese quite regular for the period to which the records refer themselves. Attention may be drawn to the following features which present themselves in this transitional period when the script underwent some radical changes:—the earlier form of initial i consisting

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* This will become clear by a comparison of the three records using ond-uttaram with some inscriptions where uttar-uttaram occurs:—(1) Apnegere Inscription: (rājyaṁ ond-uttaram-abhīvṛiddhi sale); (2) Nidagund Inscription: (ond-uttaram rājyaṁ-goyutt-ire); (3) Venkaṭpur Inscription: (rājya-abhīvṛiddhi-ond-uttaram sale); (1) Mahākāṭa pillar inscription of Mañigalā (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX, p. 108): (uttar-uttaram-pravardhamāna-rājya- pāścham-ṛṣṭi-varṣe); (2) Sirur Inscription of Amoghavarsha I (above, Vol. VII, p. 206): (pravardhamāna-sahāvatār-āryatād-pravardhamāna-rājya-abhīvṛiddhi sabutt-ire); (3) Bōg Inscription of the same king (1965), Vol. XIII, p. 185): (rājyaṁ = uttar-uttaram-abhīvṛiddhi).

Nos. 73 and 59 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27.
of two curves with two dots below still persists (see Indapayya l. 4 of A); medial ę is expressed in two different ways (i) by the addition of a downward stroke at the left of the ṭaṭakaṭu as in earlier records (cf. mē of Paramēvara in l. 2 of A) and (ii) by a superscript mark as in ge of Purigere (l. 5 of A) and de of Pulide (l. 4 of B). As in older records no distinction is made between medial ę and े and o and ो. While in A, the later cursive form of j is used throughout, only the earlier form is found in B (cf. ja in raja l. 1 of A with raja l. 1 of B). The letter ı is of the later cursive type with the miniature of the earlier type in the centre. Both the special Dravidian consonants r and l are much more developed than in records of the eighth century (e.g., Purigere and ilda in l. 5 of A and nirishido and Pulide in l. 4 of B). The lingual ɡ cannot be distinguished from the dental d in both the records.

The language of the inscriptions is Kanarese prose. Attention may be drawn to the nominal verb nādayisu (assemble) from the noun nādu which is a rare formation. Another interesting and still unexplained word is gōśasa occurring in l. 7 of A. Dr. Fleet has suggested that it might be a corruption of the Sanskrit word gōśa. That the word is connected with Sanskrit gōśa (cow) has already been pointed out by him. In the Suratār record (A) the occurrence of the expression stan-āāsya (prosperity of the udders) immediately after the mention of the gift of gōśasa confirms this view. But Fleet's suggestion that the word may mean a cow-shed is not correct, for it is not possible to derive gōśasa from gōśa; it is more probable that the word is an abbreviation or Kanarese rendering of gō-sahasra. This is strengthened by the fact that a certain Kōsigaḷa Kotēyamma who is described as a gō-sasi in one of the inscriptions of Belāri in the Mysore State is described in another record of the same place as gō-sahasram-ādānam (i.e., who was the manager or the keeper of gō-sahasra). The mention first of a gift of gō-sahasra and then of a gō-saśa is not found in the Chinchli inscription as supposed by Fleet. In other epigraphs from the Bombay-Karnatak we have similar references to the gifts of gō-sahasra.

As regards orthography, B is free from any errors except the use of s for ś in saka (l. 2), but A is full of mistakes. Unnecessary lengthening of letters such as Paramēvara for Paramēvara (l. 2) and Indapayya for Indapayya (l. 4) is very common in the record. R is used for the vowel r, in prithurī, (l. 1) and vṛddhi (l. 2).

The inscription A records the gift of a gō-sasi by a certain Chidaṇpa made in the presence of the Pitiy (mahā-jana) of Saratavura who had assembled together when Indapayya was governing the nādu district). As we are told that Saratavura was situated in the Purigere-nādu the district which Indapayya was administering was evidently Purigere. From other inscriptions we know that this was a three-hundred district or a district comprising 300 villages. Indapayya who was in charge of this district is introduced to us here for the first time. B is a hero-stone recording the death of a certain Epeyamma in a cattle-raid at Nivudi and the setting up of the stone by Gureyamma, the younger brother of Pulide-gāvonḍa.

Both the epigraphs refer themselves to the reign of Akalavarsa and are dated in the Saka year 805 and A gives, in addition, Sōbhakrīt as the corresponding cyclic year. Thus the English equivalent of the date is A.D. 833-84. Akalavarsa of the records whose proper name Kannara-bhāṭāra is also given in A is no other than the Rāṣṭrücka king Kṛṣṇa II, the successor of Amoghavarsa I for whom the latest date known so far is A.D. 877-78. The earliest

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3. Ibid., p. 151, No. 78.
5. For instance, No. 148 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1925-27 and No. 11 of the same collection for 1928-29.
date hitherto available for Krishṇa II was A.D. 888. The present records thus furnish the earliest date for this monarch leaving only a gap of six years after the last known year of Amoghavarsha.

Of the places mentioned Saratavura is the modern Soraṅg where inscription A was found. Nivudi has probably to be identified with Nigadi, a village about 8 miles south-west of Dharwar.

**TEXT.**

**A**

1 Svasti Śrī[ ][*] Akālavarishā(varsha) prithuḥ(prithvī)-vāllava(vallabha) mārajādi(mahārajādhi)rā[ja]
2 paramēsvarā(a) ārimat-Kannara-bhāṭā[rā]rā rājy-ābhivri(vrī)ddhi saluttum-i-
3 re Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātita-sambhā(va)tsaraṅgal-enṭu-nūr-āyādā(aya)a ne[ya*]
4 Sō(Śō)-
5 bhakrīt engrha(va) sambhā(va)tsaraṁ pra[va*]ttise Indāpāyyāṁ(Indapayaṇi)nāḍān-ālutt-i-
6 re Purīgera-nāja Saratavuradā(a)yadimbarum-īlādu nāḍiyise Māna-
7 sigara-Chidā[da]ṇṇa[ḥ]* gōsā-
8 stan-ābhivṛddhi[ ][*]
9 nama[h][ ][*]

**B**

1 Svasty=Akālavarsha śri-prithuḥ(prithvī)-vallabha mahārajādhirāja paramēsvara bhaṭār[a]
3 ayaṇeya varshaḥ pravarttisutt-īre [Kadalekadhī]pāṇḍā Eṛyammatuṇ Nivudit-turgo[ḥ]-kā-
4 di sattom|| I kalla Pulide-gāvunḏa[na*] tamma Gureyamama nīrisido ||

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No. 36.—**THE JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III—THE YEAR 347.**

**BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.**

These plates were discovered, along with the plates of Silāditya IV of the year 387, at Jesar, a village in the Bhavnagar State of Kāṭhiāwār. They were sent for inspection to Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey in 1915 and his summary of the inscription will be found in his Annual Report for the year.²

The record is incised on two plates, of copper of equal size, the rims of which are slightly raised. There are two holes in each plate, through one of which is passed a long thick wire of copper. The ends of the wire are joined together by the seal of the Maitrakas of Valabhi bearing the bull couchant and the ancient legend Śrī-Bhaṭakāḥ. The second ring is missing. The plates measure 10½ × 11½ and are now preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhavnagar. As the impressions taken in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's time were not legible, these plates were obtained on request.

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¹ Above, Vol. XIII, p. 189.
² This letter as which is much smaller than the rest was omitted first and inserted later on.
³ P. R. A., S. W. C., 1915-16, p. 55, para. 10,
from the Bhavnagar State through the Honourable Agent to the Governor of Bombay in Kathihar.

There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing on these plates which are evenly distributed. The average height of letters is \( \frac{1}{2} \). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate. The characters of the inscription show unmistakable influence of the south, especially in the forms of \( h \) and \( l \). Two forms of \( l \) have been used side by side: (1) the northern angular form with the base line and (2) the round southern form in which the base line is no longer existent. The base line of \( h \) also has disappeared. The text is almost an exact copy of the usual text used in other later Valabhi grants such as the Alina Plates of Siladitya VI, without any variation and does not contain any additional historical information.

Like other later Valabhi grants this record also mentions Bhatarka but passes over his sons. The next descendant of Bhatarka, mentioned in the text, is Guhasena, the son of Bhatarka’s fourth son Dharapata. Then comes Guhasena’s son Dharaesena II, his sons Siladitya I and Kharagratha I. The latter was succeeded by his son Dharaesena IV. The succession then devolved upon Dhruvasena III, the son of Dharabha who was one of the younger sons of Siladitya I. Dhruvasena III was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagratha II. This prince was succeeded by his elder brother’s (Siladitya II) son Siladitya III, the donor of the present grant. The genealogical portion occupies the first forty-six lines. Unlike the text of the Jesar plates of Siladitya IV, the text of this inscription is almost free from mistakes.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant by the king himself, of one hundred \( p\ddot{d}\ddot{a}\ddot{c}\ddot{a}r\ddot{t}as \) of land in the village of Kukkapada in the \( p\underline{a}\ddot{h}\ddot{a}k\ddot{a} \) of Kalapaka in (the country) of Surashtra to a Brahmana, with two names Saggala and Prakasa, who was a Diksita, an inhabitant of Valabhi and an immigrant from Pushyasambapura. He was the son of Sambadatta, belonged to the Kausika-gotra and was a follower of the Yajurveda. The land granted consisted of three pieces of which the first was the largest measuring seventy-three \( p\ddot{d}\ddot{a}\ddot{c}\ddot{a}r\ddot{t}as \). The piece lay towards the western boundary of the village and its boundaries were:—On the east the Brahmada field of the Upadhyaya or preceptor, on the south the three royal wells, on the west a field named or belonging to Bhasiyaka and on the north the Varna-stikaka river. A new word prachhikha which is also met with in other Valabhi plates occurs in connection with the above mentioned three wells, and apparently denoted ‘a field irrigated by a well’.

The boundaries of the second piece, known as Bappula which consisted of twelve \( p\ddot{d}\ddot{a}\ddot{c}\ddot{a}r\ddot{t}as \) of land and which was situated on the south western (boundary of the village), were:—On the east the field of the Brahmana gana\ddot{h}aka, on the south the field of the Brahmana Tatta, on the west the field of the Brahmana cha\ddot{t}ta, and on the north the rivulet (Sari\ddot{q}i). The third piece was called Lusanika. It was situated on the eastern boundary (of the village) and consisted of fifteen \( p\ddot{d}\ddot{a}\ddot{c}\ddot{a}r\ddot{t}as \) measures of land. Its boundaries were:—On the east the boundary of the village of Kansa\ddot{m}a, to the south the prachhikha of the well called Siradan\ddot{d}aka, on the west the prachhikha of the well called Dh\ddot{a}raka, and on the north the river Varna\ddot{s}tikaka. The grant also contained the well called Dh\ddot{a}raka extending over twenty-five \( p\ddot{d}\ddot{a}\ddot{c}\ddot{a}r\ddot{t}as \). The boundaries of this well were:—To the east the piece of land called Lusanika, to the south the prachhikha of the well called Siradan\ddot{d}aka, to the east the prachhikha of the well called the Pippala and on the east the crest (\( \dot{s}i\ddot{k}h\ddot{a}r\ddot{a} \)) of the village (i.e., the mound on which the village was situated). The Dutaka of the grant was the prince (Rajaputra) Dhruvasena. It was written by the chief scribe (Dievapati) Anahila son of the chief scribe, the Sandhi-

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vignādhi-kṛita the illustrious Skandabhaṭa. The date of the grant is the (Gupta) year 347, the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaisākha corresponding to 666-67 A.D. The donor Śilāditya III is the brother's son of his predecessor Kharagṛha II. With the exception of Valabha and Surásṛṣṭra, which are represented by modern Vala and Sorath in Kāṭhiāvar, I am unable to identify any other locality mentioned in the inscription. The inscription is edited from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ Svastiḥ[*] Vijaya-skandhāvāra[†] Pundhikaṇḍaka-vāsaka[†] prasabha-prapata-
āmitraṇaṁ Maitrakānāṁ……………………………………

Second Plate.

47 …………… musaḥpam-abhimukhānāṁ-āyuñāhi dvīṣaṭaṁ Paramamāhē-
varaḥ śrī-Śilādityaṁ-kusali sarvam-śva samājaṇāśpayatyān-stu vas-samājvedaṁ.
48 yathā mayā mātā-pitrōḥ puny-āpyāyanāya Pushyaśāmbapa-viṣinggatta-tach-
chāturvidya-sāmānīya-śrī-Valabha-vāstavya-saṇāsika-sagātro-Adhavyyu-sabrahmacāri-
49 Brāhmaṇa-Sambadatta-putra-Brāhmaṇa-Saggala-Prakāśa-dvināma-Dikṣhitāya Surākṛṣṭeṣu
Kaśālapaka-pathakē Kuṅkapadra-grāme bhū-pāḍavaṛta-śata-parimāṇaṁ
50 tri-khaṇḍ-āvasthitān kṣetram yatra prathama-khaṇḍaṁ aparasaṁimi tri-saptati-
bhū-pāḍavaṛta-parimāṇaṁ yasyā-āghāṭānāṁ pūrvaṁ paṭaḥ upādhyāya-brahma-
dāya-kṣetram dakhilaṁtaḥ
51 rājakīya-vāpi-traya-prachihrīṁ aparataḥ [Bhaṣṭiṣaṭa]-kṣetraṁ uttarataḥ Vaiṣa-
ṭīkā nadi tathā dvīṣaṭaṁ khaṇḍaṁ aparā dakhilasaṁimi Boppula-saṇjaṇitaṁ
dvādaśa-bhū-pāḍavaṛta-parimāṇaṁ
52 yasya pūrvaṁ Brāhmaṇa-Ghāṅchaka-satka-kṣetraṁ dakhilaṁtaḥ Brāhmaṇa-
Tattā-kṣetraṁ aparataḥ Brāhmaṇa-Chatja-satka-kṣetraṁ uttarataḥ sāraṁ
tathā pūrvaṁ simā
53 tri(pr)tiya-khaṇḍaṁ Lūnaṣika-saṇjaṇitaṁ paṭchadaśa-bhū-pāḍavaṛta-parimāṇaṁ yasya
pūrvaṁ Kaṇṇasāṅaka-grāma-simā dakhilaṁtaḥ Sirāṇḍaṅka-saṇjaṇita-vāpiṁ prachchēlaṁ
54 aparataḥ Dhūrika-saṇjaṇita-vāpi-prachchēlaṁ uttarataḥ Vaṇṣṭikā nadi tathā
śat-timīyā-śva Dhūrika-saṇjaṇita paṭchadaśa-bhū-pāḍavaṛta-parisaraṁ vāpi
55 yasyaḥ pūrvaṁ Lūnaṣika-saṇjaṇita-khaṇḍaṁ dakhilaṁtaḥ Sirāṇḍaṅka-
saṇjaṇita-vāpiṁ prachchēlaṁ aparataḥ Poppula-vāpi prachchēlaṁ uttarataḥ.
56 grāma-śikhaṇa śvam-śadma-āṅgāṭaṁ-viṣuddham vāpi-kṣetraṁ sūtraṁ sūtraṁ śūprikaraṇaṁ
sa-bhūta-vāśa-pratyaṁ sa-dhāṁ-sūtraṁ sa-dāśapāṭhiṁ sūtraṁ śūpāyab-
mūma-vaṁ
57 shātiḥ aṁ sarva-vājāyām-śastra-śaṣṭraḥ-paṭra-sūtra-prata-dvā-brahma-
dāya-vaṁśitaṁ bhūmi-cēhchiraḥ nyāyaḥ śaṁchand-śāṅkā-śāṅkā-caḥ-śaṁcā-śāṅkā-paṭra-sūtra-
saṁ-kālmāṁ pāṁ……………………………………

[*] Expressed by a symbol.
[†] The portion of the text (lines 1 to 47) omitted here is in common with other grants of Śilāditya III., e.g., for example, Lunnadī plates, above, Vol. IV, pp. 70 ff.
[The termination sā after vāpi may either be taken as a corruption of Sanskrit शा, in which case āśī and Daṇḍaka may be two separate wells; or more likely a precursor of the modern Gujarati genitive termi-
native—Ed.]
58 tra-pauto-anvaya-bhūgyam-udak-ātisaggāya dharmma-dāyō nishīthaḥ yatē-sayā čhitayā brahmādīya-sthītā bhūjataḥ kriṣīnahaḥ karahayaḥ pratidīśatō vā na kaśchid-vyasāḥ

59 varttivayam-āgāni-bhadra-nipatibhir-appy-asnad-vanāsajār-anvair-vvā anitānyān= aśvāryāṇy= aśṭhiraḥ mānushyaḥ sāmaṇyaḥ cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam-avagach-chhadbhīr-ayan-asmad-dāyō-śūnmanyāvyaḥ pañāpālaytavya=-

60 ś-chechēty-uktah-chaḥ [*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhīṣa-Sagāri-śādhibhi-[h [*]] yasya yasya yaddā bhūmīs-tasya tadā phaladā] Yān-pha dāriddrā-bhayān-narendrā-ṛddhanāni dhārmīm-āyataṁ-kritāṁ [*] nirbhūkta-mālyā-pratimāṇi tāni kō nā-

61 ma sādhul-punar-śādita || Shaśṭiḥ[hh] varaha-sahasāṇi svarggō tishṭhati bhūmiṁāha [ [*] āchechēttā ch-anumānta cha tānī-evā narakō vassēt [*] [*]
Dūtakō-tra Rājaputra-Dhrvaśēṇa||

62 Likhitam-idaṁ Sandhīvigrāh-ādhiṣkṛita-Divirapatī-ārī-Skandabhāṣā-putra-Divirapatī-Srīmad-Anāhilēn-eti || Saṁ 700 40 7 Valāsākha-va 15 Sva-hastō mama ||

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No. 37.—SAKTIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

By Dhirendra Chandra Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D., Benares.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of Lakshmanaśena, the fourth king of the Sēna dynasty, who held sway over Bengal during the latter part of the 12th and the early part of the 13th century A.D. The other grants of this king, already known to us, are the Amulia copper-plate, the Govinda pur copper-plate, the Tarpadighi copper-plate, and the Madhainagar copper-plate, all of which have been included by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in his book entitled "Inscriptions of Bengal", Vol. III. The same book also refers to a short inscription of Lakshmanaśena's reign, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Chanḍī, in the city of Dacca.

The new copper-plate was lying in the house of late Mr. Siva Chandra Chatterjee, in the village of Saktipur, in the Sarad-Subdivision of the Murshidabād District, Bengal, where it is said to have been worshipped for a long time by a widow, now dead. It is now lying in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhiṭya-Parishat, who obtained it through Mr. Satkari Chatterjee. The inscription was first edited by Mr. Ramesh Basu in the Bengali magazine conducted by the Sāhiṭya-parishat (Vol. XXXVII, pp. 316 ff.). Mr. Basu's paper embodies the transcript of the inscription with some introductory notes. As there are some gross errors in his reading, I re-edit this inscription with the kind permission of the authorities of the Baṅgīya Sāhiṭya-Parishat. 3

This is a single plate inscribed on both sides, and measures 1' 6½" long and 1' 2½" broad. A seal representing an effigy of Sañāśīva is attached on the top of it with nails. The plate contains altogether 58 lines, 29 on each side. The letters are quite distinct and hardly offer any difficulty in reading. There is some vacant space in line 26 after yathā, and in line 55 after viha-bhāyaḥ, each of which can provide a letter. There is also some vacant space in line 54 after vṛujē, which can accommodate two letters. The first three letters of the word vinimayēṇa in line 46 are indistinct.

1 Read ātisaggāya.
2 Read vaṣēt.
3 I acknowledge my gratitude to Mr. N. K. Bhattacharj, M.A., and Mr. R. G. Basāk, M.A., for the help they have rendered me in writing this article.
The characters are proto-Bengali of the type found in Lakṣaṁaṇasaṇa's grants. K, t, n, m, y, v and sk have already assumed the forms of the modern Bengali characters. The forms of some individual letters call for special remarks. V is not always uniformly written (cf. ll. 7 and 9). Sometimes p and y (ll. 5 and 7), v and r (ll. 7 and 9), and r and c (ll. 4 and 11) are indistinguishable. The forms of the letters in this inscription and that on the Anulia plate are not always identical. Special attention is drawn to the conjunct letters ṣṣ, and ṭṭh.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written both in verse and in prose. Lines from 1 to 17 and from 50 to 58 are in verse, with the exception of śānamō, etc., at the commencement, the date at the end and the lines 17 to 50 which are in prose. As regards orthography, the letter ṣ denotes both ṣ and ṭ. The word duḥkha is written as dukha (I. 3) as in the Anulia plate. Tripurārīnāha is written as Tripurārīnā (II. 57-58). The consonant following the superscript r is doubled, as for example, svarga, evamudhā (II. 51, 52, 54), etc. The words buddhā and datvā are respectively written as buddhā (I. 56) and datvā (I. 12).

The inscription records a grant of Lakṣaṁaṇasaṇa, the son of Vallālaṇa, grand-son of Vijayaśena, and the great-grand-son of Hēmaṇtasaṇa. The Deopara inscription of Vijayaśena tells us that Śāmaṇasaṇa was the father of Hēmaṇtasaṇa. Hēmaṇtasaṇa was the first king of the family. The same inscription mentions Hēmaṇtasaṇa's wife as Mahārājī (the great queen). The Barrackpur inscription of the same king designates Hēmaṇta as Mahārājādhīrājā. Nothing is known from our inscription regarding the military achievements of Lakṣaṁaṇasaṇa. But the Madhainagar copper-plate of the king records that when he was a crown-prince, he seized the fortune of the King of Gauḍa, defeated the Kings of Kaliṅga, and Kāśi and subdued Kāmarūpa.

The object of the inscription is to record that King Lakṣaṁaṇasaṇa, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, granted to a Brāhmaṇ named Kuvaṇa 89 dvānas of land, comprising a part of Nīmāpataka, and the whole of the five pāṭakas of Rāghavaḥanta, Vārahakōṇa, Vāllilīṭa, Vijayaḥarāpura, and Dāmaravaṇḍa, all situated in the Kumārapura-chaturaka, in the Madhugerimāṇḍala, attached to Kumbhānagara, in the Dakshinavīti of Utīra-Rājāḥa, in the Kaśagragāmabhūttī. The lands comprising Vārahakōṇa, Vāllilīṭa, Rāghavaḥanta, and part of Nīmāpataka were contiguous, and were bounded in the east by the extensive lands of Mālikunḍa along with Aparājita; in the south by Bhagadīkhaṇḍakāśētra, in the west by the cow-track of Achehomā, and in the north by the Morā river. The two pāṭakas of Vijayaḥarāpura and Dāmaravaṇḍa, which were off from the above lands, were again contiguous. They were bounded on the east by Chākaliyāḥāli; on the south by Vīpavaddhajōki, on the west by Lāṅgalajōki, and on the north by the cow-track of Parajā. The income of all the lands granted was five hundred (Karadā-paraṇās). The inscription tells us that the above grant was made in exchange of Kshētrapāṭa, which yielded five hundred (Karadā-paraṇās), and which had been given by King Vallālaṇa to the Gayāī Brāhmaṇ Haridāsa on a previous occasion. It appears from this that on the aforesaid day of the solar eclipse the king, through mistake, gave Kuvāṇa the Kshētrapāṭa. But shortly after, when it was brought to his notice that the latter had already been given by his father to Haridāsa, he annexed to Government (kāśīḥkṛitya) the above-mentioned six pāṭakas, which were of equal value with the previous grant and made them over to Kuvāṇa in exchange of the Kshētrapāṭa.

2 Ibid., p. 52.
3 Ibid., p. 62, 1. 23.
4 Ibid., p. 114.
5 Though not specified, this unit of money may be supplied from other inscriptions of the period.
6 The priests at Gayā are still known by the name of Gayāī or Gayāval Brāhmaṇa—Ed.]
The inscription furnishes us with the names of some hitherto unknown territorial divisions in Bengal. In the early times, modern Bengal was divided under four geographical units, viz., Varéndri, Rádhá, Vaṅga, and Samatāśa. Varéndri represented North Bengal or the modern Rájsháhi Division and Rádhá comprised South-west Bengal. Rádhá or Rádhā was further divided into Northern and Southern Rádhá. The former was bounded by the Ajaya in the south, the Bhaṅgráthi in the east and the north, and the Santal Parganas in the west. This comprised the whole of the present Bīrbhum District, and part of the Murshidábād District.

The highest administrative unit was a bhūkī, which was divided between maṇḍalas and vishayas. The exact relation between a maṇḍala and a vishaya cannot be fixed, the evidence on the subject being of a conflicting nature; most of the inscriptions from Bengal, however, refer to maṇḍalas as a subdivision of vishaya. The divisions of a maṇḍala were khaṇḍalas and vīthi. The Nālandā plate of Dēvapāla states that Kumudāśīrtra-vīthi was within the Gaya-vishaya. The Naihati plate of Vallālasāṇa refers to a vīthi which was within the jurisdiction of a maṇḍala. This suggests that vīthi was a division of a maṇḍala and a subdivision of a vishaya. The relation between khaṇḍala and vīthi is not known. The division of vīthi seems to have been a khaṭikā. The Khalhipur plate of Dharmapāla mentions a khaṭikā named Visanika. The Govindapura plate of Lakshmanasāṇa refers to a khaṭikā. Between khaṭikā and chaturaka was a unit called vṛtta. Vṛtta was divided into chaturaka, chaturaka into grāma and grāma into pāṭaka.

From the records of the early Sēņa kings, we know of only two bhūkīs in Bengal, viz., Pauṇḍravaradhana and Vardhamāna. During the period of the Guptas and the Pālas the Pauṇḍravaradhana-bhūkī comprised only the Rājsháhi Division, but during the Sēņa period it included a number of other territories within its jurisdiction such as Vaṅga (approximately the Dacea Division), and the Presidency Division east of the Bhāgrāthi. The Vardhamāna-bhūkī originally comprised parts of the District of Murshidábād west of the Bhāgrāthi and the whole of the Districts of Bīrbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Hugli, and Howrah. The Naihati plate of Vallālasāṇa, issued in the 11th year of the king’s reign (circa 1171 A.D.), states that Uttarā-Rādhā formed a maṇḍala within the Vardhamāna-bhūkī. But the present grant of Lakshmanasāṇa, issued in the 6th year (circa 1183 A.D.) of his reign, refers to Uttarā-Rādhā as situated within the Kaṅkagrāma-bhūkī. This suggests that some territorial re-arrangements must have been effected during the intervening period, probably early during Lakshmanasāṇa’s reign. The Kaṅkagrāma-bhūkī which is known for the first time from this inscription, must have been of recent formation and it is probable that the conquests of Lakshmanasāṇa in the direction of Bihār must have made this an administrative necessity. It seems to have taken over the Northern Rādhā tract from Vardhamāna-bhūkī, although we know from the Govindapura grant, that the

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1. Ibid., p. 24.
2. The Dēṣṭārāṇa describes Mathurā as a vīthi (Chapt. LXVI, V. 73).
6. Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 90, l. 34.
7. Ibid., p. 112, l. 40; p. 146, ll. 48-49.
8. Ibid., p. 170-171.
12. Ibid., pp. 74, 97.
13. Ibid., pp. 71 ff.
latter bhākti was in existence in the 2nd year of Lakṣmaṇasena. The Ajaya, which was the boundary between northern and southern Rāḍha must then have been the boundary between the two bhāktis. The Kaṅkagrāma-bhākti appears to have extended into the Santal parganas and Bhāgalpur on the north-west of Uttara-Rāḍha. On the north-coast it could have extended very little beyond the river Ganges.

The place Kaṅkagrāma from which the bhākti took its name can be identified with Kānkjol (24° 48' N. Lat. 87° 48' E. Long.) just beyond the northern limits of the Murlidāvād and Bīrbhum Districts of Bengal. Cunningham calls it an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rājmahal and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank. Its situation 'on a jutting point of the old high bank of the Ganges' must have given it a strategic importance. According to Cunningham, 'the province in which it is situated was called Rāḍha by the Hindus'. But as northern Rāḍha formed part of the southern subdivision (eṣṭhā) of the Kaṅkagrāma territory (bhākti), the latter appears to have overlapped Rāḍha. Besides the antiquities noticed by Cunningham, there are other important antiquities at Kendua in the neighbourhood of Kānkjol, which indicate that the place was of considerable importance in the pre-Muhammadan period. There can therefore be little doubt about the proposed identification.

The name of the ancient Madhugiri-saṃgālā may be recognised in the present Mahānagadi, an isolated hill, in Santal Parganas rising to a height of 1,657 feet above sea level and situated about 22 miles to the south-west of Kānkjol and 20 miles north-west of Khumbira.—Ed.]

Of the other localities mentioned in the inscription, Kumbhinagara may be identified with the modern Khumbira, in the Rāmpūrā, P. S., of the Bīrbhum District. The river Mora is the modern Mor (also known as Māpurā) which flows through the Bīrbhum District. Kumārapura still retains its ancient name and is situated in P. S. Maureswar about 3½ miles north of the Mor. Vārahakōṇa is the modern Barkunda in P. S. Suri, about ½ a mile north of the Mor and ½ mile from the Sainthia railway station of the E. I. R. Loop line. The words kōṇa and kūṇā are changeable according to the usage in the Bīrbhum District. The modern village of Bahapur in the Labpur P. S. of Bīrbhum District probably represents the ancient Vījahārapura. Mr. N. K. Bhattacharjee identifies Nīma and Vāllihīṭa with the modern villages of Nima and Balutī in P. S. Maureswar, on the north bank of the Mor, 4 miles north-east from Sainthia and 5½ miles west of Kumārapura. He also identifies Aĉchhamā with the modern village of Aĉcu in P. S. Suri, ½ a mile north of Sainthia and Pārajaṇa with that of Palijana a village on both sides of the Mor, in P. S. Labpur and P. S. Maureswar, about 5 miles north-west of Bahapur. The villages of Barkunda, Nima and Balutī are now on the north bank of the Mor when the inscription tells us that they were to the south of this river. This shows that the Mor, which is a restless river constantly shifting its sandy bed, has since changed its course. The dried-up bed of the modern Kunā river, passing north of Nima and Balutī, was most probably the ancient course of the Mor during the Soma period. [Bārkōṇa would be a better equivalent of Vārahakōṇa and a well-known ancient locality exists under this name close to Panchthupi in the Kandi Subdivision of Murlidāvād]. In the vicinity are also to be found Nima and Balutī, and the river Mor drags on its course at some distance to the south.—Ed.

The Śaktipur inscription refers to the land measurement of dṛṣṭa. From the other records of the Sêna kings we know that several dṛṣṭas made one pāṭaka. Dṛṣṭa was again divided into aṭhaka or aṭhakāpā, aṭhaka into umāṇa, and umāṇa into kāka or kākīnaka. Dṛṣṭa is still used as a land measure in Bengal. All these measurements were governed by a linear standard known as "nala". The standard of the measurement of nala was not uniform all over Bengal, and differed according to the custom and practice of a particular locality. The present grant makes mention of Vrishabhāsāṅkara-nala. Vrishabhāsāṅkara being an appellation of Vijayāsāṅkara, the nala used in this inscription might have been introduced by and named after him. The Barrackpur grant of Vijayāsāṅkara refers to Samataśīya-nala. The Govindapur copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇaśāṅkara which records the grant of a village in the Vardhamāṇa-bhukti, refers to a standard of nala consisting of 56 cubits, prevalent in that region.

The donee Kuberā was the son of Ananta, grand-son of Prithviḍhara and great-grand-son of Aniruddha. From an early dynastic calendar used by the ghajakas (match-makers), we gather that there were in the time of Lakṣmaṇaśāṅkara three brothers named Dēvala, Vamana, and Kuvēra, sons of Dharmārūṣa, grand-sons of Pitho and great-grand-sons of Aniruddha. If Pitho is a contraction of Prithviḍhara (as is very likely) and Ananta is taken to be another name of Dharmārūṣa, the Kuberā of the present record may be identical with the youngest of the three brothers. The other two, Divalā and Vamana are said to have received honor as "Kulin" (High class Brahmans) from Lakṣmaṇaśāṅkara but Kuvēra is said to have forfeited this privilege, owing to his marriage with the daughter of Hāsya Gāngulī, a degraded "Kulin" who had accepted the gift of a golden cow from Vallālaśāṅkara. The loss of "Kulinism", does not however seem to have prevented the Brahmans from receiving gifts at the hands of the king.

The date of the inscription was read by Mr. Basu as Sam 3, the 2nd day of Śrāvaṇa. Mr. Bhattacharjī (with whom I concur) corrects it as Sam 6, the 7th day of Śrāvaṇa.

The supposition that the king first granted by mistake some land already in the enjoyment, of another donee, on the occasion of the solar eclipse, and subsequently exchanged it for another seems to be corroborated by the fact that except in 1163 A.D. (which is too early for Lakṣmaṇaśāṅkara) there was no solar eclipse on the 7th day of (solar) Śrāvaṇa, throughout the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. In 1183 A.D. the seventh day of Śrāvaṇa fell on Sunday the 3rd July, while a solar eclipse occurred on Monday the 23rd May. The intervening period of about six weeks can be explained by the supposition that the mistake took some time to be detected, reported to the authorities concerned and rectified. In 1185 A.D. a solar eclipse occurred about two months before the 7th day of Śrāvaṇa and in 1189 A.D. over three weeks after the date. The year 1183 is thus the most plausible equivalent of the present date, which corroborates the conclusion that the inscription refers to the year 1183 A.D. and not to the year 1163 A.D. as proposed by Mr. Basu.

1. Dṛṣṭa is the same as dṛṣṭanāpa of the Gupta period plates in Bengal, cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 61. The pāṭaka of the Śena period was however a larger unit than the kilvarāpa of earlier plates, as the former equalled at least 10 dṛṣṭas, while the latter was made up of 8 dṛṣṭanāpas.—Ed.
3. Ibid., p. 146, l. 32.
4. Ibid., p. 66.
5. Ibid., pp. 96, 97; Jātivāpa-Yavanavahāra-ṣaṅkalpaṭi(-ha[r]-parimita)-nālīna,
7. Ibid., p. 155.
8. [Cf. Pitho for Prithviḍhara.—Ed.]
9. Ibid., p. 162. I am indebted to Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerjee, M.A., of the Manuscript department, Dacca University, for drawing my attention to this passage, contained in an early match-maker's calendar.
10. Cf. the numeral "3" in the Anuśaṇa plate, l. 56, and in Sīhṭīya-parishat copper-plate of Viṣvarātraśāṅkara, l. 55, and the numeral "6" in the latter l. 50.
that the date of Lakshmmapaśena's accession was 1178 A.D. arrived at from the date of Sridhara's Sādhuṣṭa-Karṇāmṛta, which is stated to be Śaka 1127 and the 27th year of Lakshmmapaśena's reign.—Ed.]

The date of the grant was the Sāndhuvarakha Tripurārīṇātha. The Govindapura plate, dated Sam 2, the 28th day of Bhādra, the Anulīa plate, dated Sam 3, the 9th day of Bhādra, all belonging to Lakshmmapaśena state that the Sāndhuvarakha Nārāyaṇadatta was the executor of these grants. Apparently he was succeeded in that office by Tripurārīṇātha between the 3rd and 6th years of Lakshmmapaśena's reign.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 सिद्धम् ॥ ॥ नसो नारायणाय ॥ विद्यु[व]ाऽ स्वयंवरा पराशुरामीर्यां चे निर्भुजां वारं क्षणेष्टर्पणी सिस्मनी ॥
2 तिष्ठो श्रीवर्धन वर्धनविनिर्माण हयाण श्रीमन्दिरयाण्य श्रीवर्धनस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपनति सिस्मनी ॥
3 तिष्ठो श्रीवर्धन वर्धनविनिर्माण वर्धनस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपनति सिस्मनी ॥
4 तिष्ठो श्रीवर्धन वर्धनविनिर्माण वर्धनस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपनति सिस्मनी ॥
5 तिष्ठो श्रीवर्धन वर्धनविनिर्माण वर्धनस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपनति सिस्मनी ॥
6 तिष्ठो श्रीवर्धन वर्धनविनिर्माण वर्धनस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपनति सिस्मनी ॥
7 तिष्ठो श्रीवर्धन वर्धनविनिर्माण वर्धनस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपनति सिस्मनी ॥
8 तिष्ठो श्रीवर्धन वर्धनविनिर्माण वर्धनस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपन स्वयंवरस्वरूपनति सिस्मनी ॥

1 Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 103.
2 Ibid., pp. 172 and 91.
3 Expressed by a symbol.
4 Metro: Śāradāśavirāha.
5 Metro: Śāradāśavirāha.
6 Metro: Vasandaśūlī.
7 Rupavṛṣṭa in Anulīa and Govindapura plates.
8 Read nalīna-mālinī.
9 Kāhērti-whāna in Anulīa and Tarpandīghī plates.
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1 Metro: Sārdālavikṛṣṭa.
2 Read bhūja-tējā- as in other inscriptions.
3 Read chatu-r-aṁbhōḍhi.
4 Metro: Śikhariṇī.
5 Read dūte-vaṇḍaṇom.
6 Metro: Sārdālavikṛṣṭa.
7 Khaṇḍitā in the Govindapur plate.
8 Metro: Sārdālavikṛṣṭa.
9 Mr. Basu remarks that the word nāmā-lakṣāṇa-pāśa is missing. But the word is clearly engraved.
10 Metro: Sārdālavikṛṣṭa.
11 Danda unnecessary; read -dhyaṁ: Forrest.
12 Read kriṣ-ānta.
23. गुरुधरी: साधिक चौराहा राजकीय समाजमा श्रमिक व्यक्ति विकास विभाग स्वरुप समाज के लिए अत्यन्त प्रयोग लाभीय है।

24. कांचपालिका के नामकरण किया जाएगा।

25. कान्तिकामाला: वर्तमान काल तक अमेरिका में अध्ययन के लिए यह उचित है।

26. यदि रोशनियत चाहिए हमारी समाज की तिथि चाहिए हमारी उपरिवर्तनीयता विषय के लिए विचार करने वाले श्रीमद् नितीमण्डल।

27. प्रतिवेद: कुमारी मुहब्बत के पालन-पालन का मानना।

28. गोविन्द लोकमान्य स्वराज्य: सीमा द्वारा वर्तमान स्वायत्त क्षेत्र विभाग।

29. पद्माय: चोचनानी के सीमा उत्तरी मोरंदेशी पर चुनाव समाधान के प्रश्न ज्ञात किए गए।

Reverse.

30. सम्बन्धवेत्ता साहित्य: वार्षिक संस्कृति संस्थान में अनुभव और शिक्षा का समाज या वार्ता के पुर्व विशेष तृप्ति।

31. वार्षिक कारावास: विद्यालय में राजनीति का प्रमुख क्षेत्र।

32. लोकतंत्र: द्वारा विश्वविद्यालय अनुसार सम्बन्धित है।

33. गोपाल: सीमा उत्तरी मोर्तेशी पर चुनाव समाधान के प्रश्न ज्ञात किए गए।

34. सम्बन्धवेत्ता साहित्य: वार्षिक संस्कृति संस्थान में अनुभव और शिक्षा का समाज या वार्ता के पुर्व विशेष तृप्ति।

35. नामसंध: व्यक्ति अथवा वर्तमान की तिथि चाहिए हमारी उपरिवर्तनीयता विषय के लिए विचार करने वाले श्रीमद् नितीमण्डल।

36. इंसान उद्देश्य: नवनिरंभरता के सम्बन्ध में अनुभव और शिक्षा का समाज या वार्ता के पुर्व विशेष तृप्ति।

37. कौलिन विश्वविद्यालय अथवा वर्तमान काल में अनुभव और शिक्षा का समाज या वार्ता के पुर्व विशेष तृप्ति।

38. पाटकर्मिक विश्वविद्यालय पुरातत्त्वविद्या समाज के समाजविद्या से सहयोग विशेष तृप्ति।

39. तीव्रता समाजविद्या के समाज के समाजविद्या से सहयोग विशेष तृप्ति।

40. मर्यादापूर्वी स्त्रियाँ उपलब्ध हों तो चाहिए हमारी उपरिवर्तनीयता विषय के लिए विचार करने वाले श्रीमद् नितीमण्डल।

41. भीम चंद्रदेश शासन: तीव्रता पुरातत्त्वविद्या से सहयोग विशेष तृप्ति।

1. (Cf. Dukshinābha-śikṣya in the Paharpur plate, above Vol. XXI, p. 61.—Ed.)

2. Probably we have to read ghopat-khos-aksi-bhā-bhā-śikṣya. (Cf. I. 30 of Tarpandiči copper-plate. Inscrip-

ions of Bengal III, p. 102.—Ed.)
No. 37.]

Saktipur Copper-Plate of Lakshmanasena.

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42 दिल्लिस्मितदेवलखरायम सामवेक्षायुग्रभावाचरणांतलायिने प्राचार्यारेषी-
43 कुवेतवशमणे पुरुषे वहनि विचित्रलस्मार्केर्कं भगवलं नीवरायणभागा-
44 रकसमिं सत्यपीतारसानं पुष्करारोविषाद्वे। नीवरायणमन्दितरादत-;
45 गदायना(व्र) श्रीसरस्वति श्रीरमानसे प्रतिलहोतप्रशस्ति निपुष्पकोषानंयास-;
46 नो(व्र) विनमिन्द्र एतद्याच्वद्वहदितद्यात्तकमै कम्परिलिखितासि पद्मालि-;
47 नों पाहियोम व्रष्टरं कौटिल्य बेछे पुनिष्त्रेवेव्रे। श्रीकुवेरारोविषीनाय
48 सुखायंरुपायांत्रेसि॥ चितिमक्रमां यायकुमिकविक्रयायं सा-मणस्नीकायवद-;
49 रकारसानमदवाङि। सामवेक्षायुग्रलयम् [4] भागिरधि उपतितिषिषवयाने
50 नरकादान-;
51 येव प्रतिलहोत यथ भूमिप्रयज्ञरि [4] उभेद ते पुष्करायुग्री नियतं
52 रकसमिं अर्धशरणी॥[4]॥
53 येव प्रतिलहोत यथ भूमिप्रयज्ञरि [4] उभेद ते पुष्करायुग्री नियतं
54 रकसमिं अर्धशरणी॥[4]॥
55 येव प्रतिलहोत यथ भूमिप्रयज्ञरि [4] उभेद ते पुष्करायुग्री नियतं
56 दुस्तारसि॥[4]॥ सामवेक्षायुग्रलयम्॥[4]॥
57 प्रतिलहोत यथ भूमिप्रयज्ञरि [4] उभेद ते पुष्करायुग्री नियतं
58 दुस्तारसि॥[4]॥ सामवेक्षायुग्रलयम्॥[4]॥

1 This tō is redundant.
2 Metro: Amāvatākṣa.
3 Read: buddhācāra.
4 Basu reads 2.
5 Metro: Amāvatākṣa.
6 Metro: Amāvatākṣa.
7 Metro: Cakravatā.
8 Metro: Upačāra.
No. 38.—THE TIRUMUKKUDAL INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

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

Of the collection of over twenty thousand inscriptions made by the Epigraphical Department in the Madras Presidency, the inscription edited here is unique in several respects. It is one of the biggest inscriptions known so far; it registers certain historical facts not known or noticed till now; it gives an insight into the details of the working of the official machinery and shows how the king's birth-day, the days of the natal star of persons of note, and festivals of public rejoicing were celebrated; it records provisions made for the maintenance of an educational institution and a hostel; above all, it furnishes detailed information, such as is available from no other source, regarding the upkeep of a hospital, the medicines stocked therein, the number of beds provided for in-patients, the endowment for a staff of nurses, physician, surgeon and compounder, and the provision for inferior servants such as the washerman, the potter and others that attended to the needs of the patients. In presenting the record, I have strictly confined myself to offering such remarks and suggestions as are required to elucidate the text.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall of the first prākāra of the Vaiṣṇava temple of Veṅkaṭāsa-Perumāḷ at Tirumukkuḍal in the Madurantakam taluk of the Chingleput district. It was discovered and copied by me during the field season of 1915-16. There is a notice of it in the Annual Report on Epigraphy for that year. The village of Tirumukkuḍal derives its name from its situation at the confluence of the Pāḷār with two of its tributaries, the Vēgarāṭi and the Cheyyār. The word 'tirumukkuḍal' means the confluence of three sacred (streams). The temple of Veṅkaṭāsa-Perumāḷ is picturesquely situated on a prominence on the bank of the combined river which at this place is naturally very broad. The spot is an ideal one for the erection of a temple, college, hostel and hospital. At the time of the record, all these were actually combined in one building with separate apartments for each section and located here as the inscription gives us to understand. Tirumukkuḍal is about two miles from Palaiya-Sivaram, a small station next to Walajahabad in the Conjeeveram-Chingleput section of the South Indian Railway, and has to be reached by crossing the river. On the opposite side of the river is a small hillock on which stands another Vaiṣṇava temple which is sometimes frequented by pilgrims visiting Conjeeveram and about which there is a reference in our inscription under the name Tiruvēṅkaṭaṉalai.

The temple of Veṅkaṭāsa-Perumāḷ is an ancient one. It has been in existence from the time of the Pallava king Vijaya-Nippatunāga-vikramaśarman of the ninth century A.D. as evidenced by a record of the 24th year of his reign found on a slab supporting a beam in the inner enclosure. According to this inscription, the god is called Vaiṣṇu-Bhāṭāra. It was known by the name of Tirumukkuḍal-Āḷvār and Mahā-Vaiṣṇu during Čōḷa times, while a later epigraph calls it by the name Veṅkaṭēsvara-svāmin.

The inscription under publication consists of 55 lines of writing and is engraved in two sections. In the first section the lines are very long and run to a distance of 55 feet. The entire space covered by the inscription is 510 square feet. The record is written in the Tamil language and alphabet, and the characters belong to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. A few Granthi letters are used mostly in words of Sanskrit origin. The inscription is fairly well preserved, though in some places a few letters are badly damaged. One or two small inscribed slabs have fallen off

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1 Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1916, para. 4 on page 4.
2 Ibid, pp. 1187.
3 No. 170 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1915.
4 Nos. 169 and 182 of the same collection.
5 No. 187 of the same collection.
and their places are filled up by plain ones. In the second section, a few pillars have been inserted in later times close to the inscribed wall and these obstruct a part of the inscription. Though the letters so obstructed have not come out in the impression, yet they have been read from the stone.

Regarding the orthography of the record the following peculiarities deserve to be noted. The letters $n$ and $r$ have been quite indifferently used. The wrong employment of the former not only before $n$ and $r$ but also at the end of words is noticeable in many places, e.g., $yapayaunapi$ (l. 4), $vishanranga$ (l. 4), $makan$ and $mara$ (l. 1). Similarly we find the incorrect use of $n$ before $t$ and at the commencement of words, e.g., $sama$ (l. 2), $ma$ (l. 2) and $vijaya$ (l. 4). There are several instances where the $sandhi$ rules have not been observed: e.g., $fraya$-vadai (l. 1), $poir-dvay$ (l. 4), $timmir-i$ (l. 4), $ke$-vai-Dha (l. 2) and $satu$kallir-jaya (l. 9). In the first three cases here cited, the $t$ and $d$ should have been changed into $r$, in the fourth, $t$ should have been omitted and in the fifth $r$ should have been replaced by $l$. A few mistakes of spelling also occur, e.g., $pintum$ for $ni$pun $ni$pun (l. 1), $nattina$ for $nattinas$ (l. 1) and $pu$r for $pu$n (l. 1). The use of certain words and phrases deserves notice, e.g., $Putugapp$ $di$ 'the name of a royal elephant' (l. 3), $ketti$ (l. 6), $koch$cya (i.e., gady$a) (l. 11), $chol$i$ pokki, (l. 6), $mudal$ tavir$du$, $mudal$ $du$t$tu$, (l. 11), $vira$-s$elai$ and $dasabandum$ (l. 11).

The inscription opens with the historical introduction commencing with the words tirucaier, etc., in which are chronicled, in greater detail than hitherto known, the political events that took place in the reign of the Cholla king Raja$k$arav$man$ akal$ Vira$raj$and$av$da up to the sixth year, the date of the record. It states that the king, while he was seated on the throne called Raja$k$arav$man-Mavaliv$par$jan in his palace named Sla$kara$tirun$aligai at Ga$gakon$da$a$rapuram, was pleased to order that the amount of 75 ka$y$u$ of gold which the residents of the dv$ad$ana village of Vayalaikkv$ur had been paying towards the maintenance of a feeding house (sala) aggregate with certain customary dues raised from the same village, which had been assigned as a sala$hoga to the temple of Mah$a-Vi$ma at Tirumukk$dal in the second year of the king's predecessor Parak$arav$man Raja$raj$and$av$da, who took Rata$p$ $1$ lakhs, and defeated Aha$v$alla twice on the battle field—should be entered in the accounts from the current year as a tax-free dv$ad$ana to be utilised for the expenses (nmanda) of the god. This royal order (k$j$) of the king was committed to writing by an official whose designation was tirum$var$olai (Royal Secretary) and attested to by three others designated tirum$dr$v$i$-n$yapum (Chief Royal Secretary). When this royal mandate was received, certain officials who may be called the authorising officers (eval) gave the command and this was seconded by thirty-eight persons belonging to three sections or departments of the state, viz., six of ud$ka$tam (Royal attendants or aide-de camps), twenty-eight of vaid$i$, i.e., those who issue permits, and four of the nadv$kkai (arbitrators). Thereafter thirty-two officers of the Accounts Department belonging to ten different sections assembled together, of whom four persons authorised the entry, one read the order, another made the entry and still another issued the revised account. The entry made by the officers was to the following effect:—

The gift to the temple of Mah$a-Vi$ma at Tirumukk$dal consisted of (1) 75 ka$y$u$ of gold which the residents of Vayalaikkv$ur were paying for the sala, (2) certain specific dues on the said dv$ad$ana village, and (3) 72 ka$y$u and 9 ma$y$ai$ of gold which formed a prior dv$ad$ana.

1 These ten sections are:—(1) purav$mvar$vai$kka$, (2) varippot$um$, (3) purav$mvar$-vai$kka-kanka$, (4) ma$kvet$, (5) ker$pu$, (6) taran$i$t$, (7) palini$yapum$, (8) variy$i$, (9) varippot$um-kanka$ and (10) pet$i$. Of these, the first may be taken to mean 'General Accounts,' the second 'Tax-Register,' the third 'Examiner of General Revenues,' the fourth 'Index Keeper,' the fifth 'Receiv$ps,' the sixth 'Opening and Closing Accounts,' the seventh 'Old Arrears,' the eighth 'Entry in Tax-Register,' the ninth 'Accountant of Tax Register,' and the tenth 'Keeper of the Royal Orders'.

2 1 ka$y$u = 20 ma$y$ai; 1 ma$y$ai = 2 kg; 1 kg = 10 ma.
gift. Of these, items (1) and (3) amounted to 147 kalañju and 9 mañjäñjä. The income on this, at the rate of 16 kalam of paddy by the rajañkësari measure, per kalañju, amounted to 2359 kalam, 1 padakkü, 3 näl, 1 ajakkü and 3 sevidü. This when converted into arumoiñdëvañ measure gave an excess of 884 kalam, 2 tungi, 3 näl and 1 ajakkü after providing for kalañju, kalañav-kulë and korolav-väși, calculated at the rate of 1 kalam, 1 tungi and 4 näl of arumoiñdëvañ for each rajañkësari kalam. Thus, the paddy income in favour of the temple on these two items alone came to 3243 kalam, 2 tungi, 1 padakkü, 6 näl, 1 ujakkü and 3 sevidü. The third item (No. 2) amounted to 2164 kausu and 2 mä. It was made up of 36 kausu obtained by converting 11 kalañju of gold derived from the income or fees ur-kalañju (=1 kalañju), kumara-kachhøam (=1 kalañju), mën-pañom (=31 kalañju) and këriñ-pañom (44 kalañju) together with the incomes of 28 kausu and 4 mä from dasavandam, 28 kausu and 3 mä from madakuküli, 3 kausu from mudal-selavu, 1 kausu from vanakkakküli, 3 kausu from tarippudavay, 1 kausu from tingalmërä and 118 kausu from velikkësu.

Then are detailed the items of expenditure to be defrayed from this income of 3243 and odd kalam of paddy and 2164 kausu and 2 mä of money. The table appended hereto will indicate how the incomes of paddy and money were expended annually in the temple and the institutions attached thereto. It may be stated here that the provision made in this inscription is (1) for meeting the various expenses connected with the temple, (2) for the maintenance of a Vedic school with a hostel and (3) for the upkeep of a hospital. As regards the first, the record provides for offerings to be made to the god Álvär, three times daily—morning, noon and night—for offerings to be made to the deity Sri-Raghavachakavartin, i.e., Rama at noon (nearly 601 kalam); for sandal-paste and its ingredients karpõna and kuñkuma and for lamps (68 kausu); for special offerings to be made on the occasion of the festivals in the months of Aippasi, Mäsi, Kärttigai as well as for the hunting festival and Jayantyashãna (the birth-day of Krishna) (25 kalam, 1 kuruñ and 54 näl); for a grand offering to be made on the occasion of the king's birth-day anniversary falling on the asterism Álës in the month Ávani (6 kalam, 5 kuruñ and 2 näl); for purchasing cloth to cover the images of gods and for offerings to be made on the birth-day asterism (Puruñ in the month of Kärttigai) of the Vaisya Mådavan Dämavay, who built the Janañthamanyapapam in the temple (6 kalam, 5 kuruñ and 2 näl); for the expenses to be met on the occasion of taking the deity Vanakkuttalvam, i.e., Krishna in procession on the day of Tiruñand in the month of Purañtäsi of every year (5 kalam); for meeting the expenses of feeding Sri-Vaishnvanas on various festive occasions (88 kalam, 11 kuruñ and 4 näl); for payments to be made to an astrologer for announcing festivals, the songster for reciting the tiruñand hymns, the cultivators that looked after the flower-garden of Virañjat, the Vaikñanasa-devakañin (priests worshipping the deity according to the Vaikñanasa mode), accountant, potter and washerman attached to the temple (382 kalam and 5 kuruñ); for repairs to be executed annually in the tiruñandurumadigii, i.e., the inner enclosure (40 kalam), and for purchasing cloth for various servants (11 kausu).

Then follow provisions made for the maintenance of a Vedic college in this temple. One teacher taught the Rig-Veda and received annually 60 kalam of paddy and 4 kausu; another taught the Yajur-Veda and was paid a similar fee. A Bhañta expounded Vyåkañra and Rü̂pavatåra; he got annually 129 kalam of paddy and 10 kausu, i.e., a little more than the combined honorarium paid to the two Vedic teachers. The hostel attached to the college fed daily 60 persons consisting of 10 Brahmans who studied the Rig-Veda, 10 Brahmans who studied the Yajur-Veda, 20 Brahmans and students who studied the Vyåkañra and the Rü̂pavatåra and 10 Mahå-päächaråtras.

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1 The following are the relative capacities of the measures mentioned here: — 1 kalam = 12 kuruñ or 3 tungi or 6 padakkü; 1 kuruñ = 8 näl; 1 näl = 2 uri; 1 uri = 2 ujakkü; 1 ujakkü = 2 ajakkü and 1 ajakkü = 5 sevidü.

2 See p. 299 f., below.

3 On Rü̂pavatåra, see my remarks, above Vol. XVIII, p. 66.
Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, 5 Vaikāhānasas and 2 of another class the name of which is lost in the inscription. The feeding expenses, inclusive of the cost of mats and oil for lamps and for bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year, and wages of cooks and maid-servants who served the students and the teachers, came to 1642 kalam and 6 kuṇās of paddy and 37½ kaśu. From the fact that the hostel fed not only the students studying the Rig-Vēda, the Yajur-Vēda, the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpāvatārā but also a certain number of Mahā-Pāñchārātras, Śiva-Brāhmaṇas and Vaikāhānasas, it may be inferred that the āgamas and tantras—such as the Pāñchārātra, Śaiva and Vaikāhāna—were also taught.

The word Śiva-Brāhmaṇa occurs very frequently in South Indian inscriptions and it has been generally taken to mean those belonging to the Śaiva religion; but our inscription seems to indicate that it has the special significance of one studying the Śaiv-Āgama, referring as it does to a class of students of the school. It is interesting to find that the students in the hostel were provided with mats to lie on and lights for night study and were given oil for bath once a week throughout the year. The appointment of the maid-servants was meant for keeping the premises clean. As the education imparted was mostly religious in character, it is but natural that the temple was the principal centre of education, as we know from this and other inscriptions. One of the epigraphs of Uttaramallīr belonging to the reign of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I (A.D. 1013 to 1045) registers a gift of land as Purviṣṭha-kiḍāpppunam and stipulates that the men who enjoyed the income from it should live in the village and teach the Vēda. Another inscription of the same time registers a similar gift of land as Taittiṇśa-kiḍāpppunam, i.e., for teaching the students of the Taittirīyā-Sākhā. In the temple at Tiruvorugiyur near Madras, there was built a pavilion known as the Vyākaraṇa-dāna-mañḍapa wherein was expounded Pāṇini's Grammar. Besides the provision made for the study of the Vēdas, Grammar and the Āgamas (Vēda-vyākhyāna-vyākhyāna and Bhaṭṭa-vyākhyāna), there are numerous inscriptions in the Madras Epigraphical collection which refer to gifts made for the maintenance of persons expounding the Mahābhārata, Sōmasidhānta, Prabhakara and the Mīmāṃsā (Apūrvās). By far the biggest college established for the study of the Vēdas and grammar and known to us from inscriptions, existed in the 11th century A.D. at a place called Eṇṭāyiram in the South Arcot District, which contained as many as 370 students studying the various subjects.

The last item of expenditure was for the maintenance of a hospital wherein were treated students living in the hostel, and temple servants that were sick. This hospital was provided with 15 beds, and was in charge of a physician who was paid annually 90 kalam of paddy and 8 kaśu in addition to a grant of land, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital of Viraśaṅga, the servants attached to the institutions and the teachers and students of the Vedic college. Besides the physician, there was one surgeon who received 30 kalam of paddy, two persons for fetching medicinal herbs who were paid 60 kalam of paddy and 2 kaśu—these persons also supplied fire-wood and attended to the preparation of medicines—two nurses who received 30 kalam of paddy and 1 kaśu, and attended on the patients and administered medicines, and a

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1. The Pāñchārātra was so called because it had five Samhitās, viz., Pāramēśvara, Śāṭṭvata, Vaihavakēsa, Khāgēśvara and Śri-Paushkhara. According to the Varaha-Purāṇa the persons eligible to study Pāñchārātra are the first three classes and it was one of the four means of realising God, the other three being Vēda, Bhūkā and yoga.
2. Śriśadja and purukkul are terms employed even now to denote persons conducting worship in Śiva temples.
3. South-Ind. Inscre, Vol. VI, No. 312. Kēla in Tamil means a teacher and paṇṭyā, a term that is not explained in dictionaries, is connected phonetically with Bateshīka. As such, the provision made must be for teaching the Rig-Vēda.
4. Ibid., No. 316.
barber who received 15 kalam of paddy probably for performing minor operations in addition to his professional duties. The sick ration consisted of 1 nāji of rice per head per day. Besides the above, a provision of 2½ kāṣu for a lamp to be kept burning in the hospital during nights, 15 kalam of paddy for the water-man and 40 kāṣu for stocking medicines was also made. The medicines stored in the hospital were:


Of these medicines, No. (1), if it refers to Brāhmaṇa-rasāyana, is described in verses 38 to 54 of Charaka-Saṁhitā, chapter I, and Ashtāṅga-hṛdaya, chapter XXXIX, verses 15 to 23. The ingredients that enter into the composition of this medicine are 44 in number. The preparation is as follows: 1,000 chebulic myrobalans and 3,000 fresh emblic myrobalans together with 250 palas of the five paṅka-mūlakās (i.e., of 25 roots) are boiled in 10 times the quantity of water till the whole is reduced to one-tenth. The liquid is then strained and the decoction taken. In it the powder of myrobalans without the nuts is thrown. To the mixture is added the pulp of 4 palas of a root of Holy basil, 1,000 palas of sugar-candy together with 2 aḍhakas of oil and 3 aḍhakas of ghee and the whole boiled in slow fire until it reaches the consistency of an electuary. 320 palas of honey are then added and the whole well churned. This medicine, says the author, sharpens the intellect, removes fatigue, improves memory and gives longevity and strength. As these are the essential requirements of a student, it naturally heads the list of medicines intended mostly for them.

No. (3) of the medicines is noticed in the 67th verse of chapter IX of Charaka- and in chapter VI of Suśruta-Saṁhitā. From the text we gather that Gō-mūtra-harīṭakī is simply chebulic myrobalans soaked in cow’s urine for one night. Suśruta states that if it is taken with honey in the morning, it will cure internal piles. It may also be noted that in the treatment of Pāṇḍu-rōga, Vāgīśa (chapter XVI) says that harīṭakī taken with cow’s urine removes jaundice. The text giving this information is adopted from Charaka.

No. (4) is described in the Ashtāṅga-hṛdaya, chapter XVII, verses 14 to 16, which state that the medicine is prepared by taking the decoction of the dāsāmūla (ten roots), putting in it 100 chebulic myrobalans and one tula of jaggery and boiling the whole into a lekhya and mixing with it the powder of trikūṭa, tīkāṭu, and a little of yava-śākya and when cooled adding half a prastha of honey. This medicine is said to be capable of curing dropsy, fever, diseases of urinary organs, tubercles, rheumatism, hemorrhages, colour in the urine, wind, sperm disease, lung disease, distaste for food and enlargement of the spleen.

It by No. (6) is meant Gāṇḍārādyarishtha, it is described in verses 27 to 29 of Charaka-Saṁhitā, chapter XVII. The ingredients that enter into the preparation of this medicine are (1) gajīra (solanum verbascifolium), (2) bhallāṭaka (semicarpus anacardium), (3) chitraka (plumbago zeylanica), (4) vyosha (pepper, piper longum and dry ginger), (5) bhratī-dvaya (solanum indicum and solanum canthocarpum), and (6) vṛṣṇikuśa. Two measures of each of these are taken and cooked with 8 measures of kūrīka-mustū, i.e., water taken by straining curdled milk in the fire of coke of cow dung. When reduced to a third and cooled, the liquid has to be strained and mixed with 8 measures of prākṛita-mustū and 100 palas of sugar-candy, plumbago zeylanica and piper longum.
and then to be used after keeping it for ten days. This medicine is said to cure dropsy, fistula, hemorrhoids, krim (worms), skin disease, disease of urinary organs, different forms of leanness, wind and hiccup.

Paṇchāka-taila (No. 8) may be identical with Taila-paṇchaka described in Charaka under guñmas. The five ingredients of this medicine are gingly oil, liquor, cow's urine, viniger and yauṣṭṣa. By the last is perhaps meant the liquid strained from green barley shoots reduced to ashes mixed with four times the quantity of water. This medicine is said to be capable of curing tubercules.

Bileḍi-ghrita (No. 12) is dealt with in the chapter on Grahaṇi-chikitsā-prakaraṇa of Yogaratxanakara. The drugs that enter into the medicine are (1) bilea (aegle marmelos), (2) agni (plumbago zeylanica), (3) chavya (piper chaba), (4) ādṛaka (ginger), (5) śṛiṅgā-bēra (a variety of double ginger), (6) ghee and (7) chhāga-dugdha (goat's milk). The first five are subject to the process of kṣaṭha and kalka and mixed with (6) and (7) cooked. This medicine cures dropsy, distaste and grahaṇi.

Verses 70 to 75 of chapter XX of Charaka and verses 15 to 20 of chapter XVI of Ashkāṅga-hridaṇa deal with Mauṣākara-vatika (No. 13). The drugs that compose the medicine are triphala, triyūṣaṇa, musta, vēlāṅga, chavya, chitraka, dārē, tevāṅ, mākṣīka, grathika and dāva-dāru. Two pālas each of these substances are powdered and cooked in eight times the quantity of cow's urine and then the fine powder of mauṣākara equal to double the quantity of the other chāṛas are added and pills made of the size of udumbara (ficus glomerata) and taken with butter-milk. This medicine cures anaemia, skin disease, dropsy, phlegm, piles or hemorrhoids, jaundice, spleen and diseases connected with urinary organs and spleen.

According to one authority, the ingredients that compose Vimala (No. 15) are sāṅkha, priyaṅgu, nṛpāli, the trikāṭa and the triphalas. Another gives the ingredients as madhuka, maricha, pippali, lōḍhra, taru-rājani and the triphala. This medicine is said to remove from the eyes timira, pāṭala, kācha and kauḍu.

The preparation of the vartti known as Sunətri (No. 16) is described in the Sahasrayaga under nētrarāgaprakaraṇa. A large number of drugs such as the three acris, the three fruits, plumbago zeylanica, almus integrefolia, embelia ribes, white lotus, liquorice, rock salt, camphor, conch, achorus calamus, paurika, the two kinds of sandal, lākṣa, lōḍhra, copper sulphate, pīta-rōhini, enter into the composition of this medicine. It is said to be capable of curing all kinds of eye diseases such as kīcha, pushpa, pāṭala, vraṇa, dāha, rāga, kauḍu, timira, kukkan, and adhimānasa.

The preparation of kalīṣṇaka-laṭava (No. 19) is given in verses 29 and 30 of the chapter on Ārṣa rōga in the Vṛndamāṇa. The ingredients are the Bhallātaka group, the three fruits, dantī and chitraka, i.e., plumbago zeylanica, in equal parts with twice the quantity of Sāndhava salt.

The historical importance of the present record lies in the valuable information it gives regarding the king's exploits in the island of Ceylon, besides the facts known from other inscriptions. The historical introduction of Virarājendrā's inscriptions begins in three different ways. In two sets of records it commences with the words tiru vaṭar, etc., and furnishes complete information regarding his military exploits, while one set of inscriptions begins with the words virumē tuqāt in which these heroic deeds are referred to in brief. A few records of the former type supply us with a list of appointments made and honours conferred by the king on his relations. In some places the smaller historical introductions supplement the information given in the longer ones. A study of all the records of Virarājendrā so far known would

1 S. I. L., Vol. III, pp. 32 ff. and 103 ff. where Dr. Hultscz has exhaustively dealt with the historical facts of Virarājendrā's reign.
show that he was crowned king immediately after his victorious return from the battle field of Kūdal-Saṅgama. Since the three campaigns against the Western Chālukyas in the regions of Gaṅgavādi, Vēṇgi and Kūdal-Saṅgama find mention even in a second year record of the king, they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 which was the year of his accession to throne as calculated by Professor Kielhorn. It is therefore fairly certain that in this very year his elder brother Parakāśavarman Rājendrāya died which gave the occasion for Virarājendrā to proceed straight from the last campaign to the capital and have his coronation ceremony celebrated along with his queen Ulagaṟuludaiyalai as stated in his epigraphs. It is plain that the series of campaigns against the Western Chālukyas must have been begun by Rājendrāya and completed by Virarājendrā after the former’s death. King Virarājendrā started his career, it may be noted, by making his position secure by conferring honours on his relations. Virarājendrā’s dealings with Pottappi, an un-named Kēraḷa king, as well as the younger brother of Janaṇātha and Virakṣari, the son of the Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha are mentioned in a record of his fourth year, and as such might have taken place in about A.D. 1065. About the same time the Chōla king being invited to fight a combat by Āhavanalla through a war messenger, advanced against him and defeated him a second time in the very field appointed by himself. Then taking a vow that he would not return before he recovered possession of the Vēṇgi country, he directed his arms to that quarter, accomplished his object and thus fulfilled his elder brother’s desire, and then had his anointing of victory vijaya-āhākāra performed. The Vēṇgi country was first invaded by Rājārāja I (985-1013 A.D.) and was again overrun by Rājendrā-Chōla I, but it appears that his successors Rājādhirāja I and Rājendrāya did not assert their right over it. This neglect on their part, to hold the reins tight in the Vēṇgi country gave room to the Eastern Chālukyas to throw off the Chōla yoke. Rājendrāya seems to have realised the necessity of bringing this tract back under the Chōlas but he died without effecting it. The Kanyākumāri inscription clearly refers to this neglected patrimony of the Chōlas, won back by Virarājendrā. It says:

Before 1067 A.D., the Chōla sovereign burnt the city of Kampili, set up a pillar of victory at a place called Karaṇikal (which must be different from another pillar set up on the banks of the Tungabhadra as reported in our inscription), gained victories at Bezwada, got back Kanna-
kučchi (Kanyakubja), took the head of the Pāṇḍya, levied tribute from the Chēra, defeated Viḍyavāhala and brought Ceylon under subjection. Proceeding again to the north, he defeated a number of chiefs who were fighting under the banner of the Chālukyas, set up a third pillar of victory at Sāṭṭukkal, gained victories at Chakkarakottam and Kāvi and destroyed the Kaliṅga country.

1 See for instance South-Ind. Insca., Vol. V, No. 970.
2 South-Ind. Insca., Vol. III, p. 33 and also No. 976 of S. I. L., Vol. V.
3 Janaṇātha has been taken to be the king of Dihrā for which there is no warrant.
4 By considering Virakṣari as the son of Śrīvallabha, I differ from Dr. Hultzsch. The achievements noted in this paragraph were accomplished by the end of Rājendrāya’s reign. (See No. 20 of S. I. L., Vol. III.)
5 Ibid., No. 20.
6 Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 339.
7 These additional facts are recorded in No. 82 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1892. See also No. 30 of South-Ind. Insca., Vol. III, and Nos. 98 of 1892 and 132 of 1902.
8 That this king himself was engaged in subduing the countries of the Utkarṇapatha is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhirāja I found at Epiyārīm (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1918, p. 145).
10 These achievements are noticed in inscriptions of the 6th year of the king’s reign. See for instance the present record and No. 83 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1898.
Regarding the location of Virarajendra's pillars of victory in the Chalukya country, Karadikal is referred to in a Nanarase inscription from Uchchamgirdih in the Bellary district as Karadikal-haldi of which the village of Nandavadi is said to be the face. Nandavadi and Karadikal may, therefore, be identified with Nandavadi and Karadi, two villages in the Hungund Taluka of the Bijapur district on the border of the Nizam's Dominions situated to the south of the Krishna river. They are only a distance within 5 miles of each other.

As noted above, the most important historical facts gathered from our inscription relate to the war with Ceylon. It is stated that Virarajendra despatched a number of vessels to Ceylon, commenced a war in that island which was protected by the sea, routed the Sinhalese army; and as there arose a great tumult, when it was reported that Kurukkulattarayan and other feudatories fell in the field, King Vijayabahu ran away and the Chola king got possession of his queen and crown along with his family treasures and gems and made Lankā his own. This event, which, as we have pointed out above, happened in A.D. 1066, is of importance for the synchronism it affords to the Sinhalese chronicle Mahācāmisa, where the causes that led to the war and further details connected with it are narrated at great length. According to the chronicle, the name Vijayabahu was assumed by Kiti when he became sub-king. Almost in the first year of his reign he was defeated by a Chola sovereign and forced to take refuge in a fortress on the hills. He is then said to have obtained help from the ruler of the Ramāṇa country and to have dwelt at Tamalagāna. About the 11th year of his reign the Sinhalese scornfully set at naught the authority of the Cholas and vexed the Chola officers of revenue. And when the Chola king heard of it, he was greatly provoked and sent a large army under his general against Ceylon. The general landed at Mahāttithā, slaughtered the people of the various parts of the country and brought them under subjection. Vijayabahu now built a fortress at Pulatthapabbata, fought with and killed the Chola general and proceeded to Pulatthi with a large army. When the Chola king was informed of these tides, he desired to take Vijayabahu captive, went to the sea-port himself and sent a larger army than before to the island. The lord of Lanka, hearing this, sent his general who encountered them at Anurādhapura and fought a great battle. But many of Vijayabahu's men fell in the field and the people went over to the Chola side. Thereupon Vijayabahu left the city of Pulatthi and fled away to Villikahāna. When he was told that the governor of the Cholas pursued him even there, he went away to Vajagiri, built a fortress at its foot, made war for three months and drove back the Tamils.

Of the two wars noted above as having been waged by Vijayabahu with the Cholas, it is fairly certain that the latter is the one alluded to in the extract given from our inscription of Virarajendra as having been fought with him in about A.D. 1066. Of the other war which took place 11 years previously, we have also epigraphical confirmation in Tamil records. It is the one recorded as having been waged by Parakkaraivarman Rājendraśvara, the predecessor of Virarajendra, in A.D. 1055. Rājendraśvara's inscriptions state that he despatched a war-like army into the southern region, seized the battle-field the two sons of Mānabharana and captured Lankā. Thus our inscription enables us to say that Vijayabahu's accession took place in about A.D. 1055, that he fought with Rājendraśvara in that very year and that in A.D. 1066 he had to meet Virarajendra's forces. From the Sinhalese account we learn the cause of the war and the different places which witnessed the scene of action. Except these two wars, Vijayabahu had no further encounter with the Cholas till late in his reign, i.e., in the 30th year corresponding to A.D. 1085 when Kulottōniga was the Chola ruler.

2 He is said to be the eldest son of Magalana. It is stated that the latter was well versed in the ways of the world and was known to all men as "the great lord". He greatly loved the order of priesthood and was the habitant of many lasting virtues.
3 Wijesinha's translation, Ch. LVIII, pp. 97 f.
4 Ibid., p. 68.
From this inscription it is further learnt that while most of the articles of daily use were obtained by exchange of paddy, there were some which could be had only for cash. A few articles were sold both for grain and money. Among the articles that were obtained exclusively for money may be mentioned sandal-paste, karpuram, kunukumam, honey and turmeric. The purchasing power of one kāsu was 8 palams of sandal, 576 palams of sugar, 4 a kaḷajē ṭu oil kunukumam, 2 nāḷi of honey or 200 palams of turmeric. The price of cloth varied according to the size. Oil and sugar were obtained both for money and paddy. The price of oil was 20 nāḷi per kāsu; 10 palams of sugar were obtained in exchange for 16 nāḷi of paddy; and 1 kāsu fetched 576 palams.

Cereals and vegetables were generally obtained by exchanging paddy. It is seen that milk, curds and salt had the same value and could be had by giving twice the quantity of paddy. Ghee, pepper and cumin were highly prized and they required 32 times their measure of paddy. Unhusked green pulse exchanged with twice the quantity of paddy, while clean pounded pulse required 4 times the quantity of rice. To get a certain measure of rice, 2\x1bn times the quantity of paddy is provided for. This seems to include wages for husking and cleaning.

Betel-leaves, areca-nuts, plantain fruits and cocanuts were sold by number. A bundle of 80 betel-leaves formed a kaṭṭu or parra and its price was 2 nāḷi of paddy. A nāḷi of paddy had the purchasing power of 5 areca-nuts or 2 plantain fruits; and 1 kurupi of paddy was exchanged for 3 cocanuts.

The geographical names that occur in this inscription are easy of identification. Gaṅgāpāḍi (l. 1) is the Western Gaṅga territory comprising 96,000 villages with its capital at Talakkūḍ or Talakāḍa. Vēṅgai-ṇāḍu (l. 1) is the East coast littoral ruled over by the Eastern Chāḻukya kings. Tūṅgāmpattirai (l. 1), on whose bank a pillar of victory was set up, is the Tūṅgabhadra. Kuḍal Saṅgama (l. 1) or Kuḍal (l. 4), where more than one battle was fought between the Chōḷas and the Chāḻukyas, is a place at the confluence of the rivers Krishnā and the Paṇcha-Ganagā.1 Kōsalai (l. 2) is the ancient territorial division of Kōsala. Gaṅgaimāṅagār (l. 4), Gaṅgāpuri (l. 7) or Gaṅgalkonḍaḷāḷaṇpuram (l. 10) is identical with the last-mentioned place in the Uṭalaiyarpalaiyam Taluk of the Trichinopoly District. It was founded by Rājaṇḍra-Chōḷa I (A.D. 1010-1045) and made the capital of the Chōḷa dominions. The temple here is of the model of the great Pagoda at Thanjore built by Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1013), Iraṭṭapāḍi (l. 5) or Raṭṭapāḍi, 7\x1bn lakhs, is the country of the Raṭṭas. Karandai (l. 5) has been identified with Inchal-Karaṇi, in the neighbourhood of Kuḍal-Saṅgama.2 Kuntala (l. 5) is certainly the Western Chāḻukya territory.3 Viṣaiyavāḍai (l. 6) is undoubtedly the modern Bezwada. The seven Kaḷṅgās (l. 6) form the territorial division on the East coast, north of Vēṅgī, ruled by the Eastern Gaṅgaś. Ijam (l. 7) or Ilaṅgai is Ceylon. Chakkaraṅkōṭṭam (l. 6) has been identified with Chakkarkōṭṭa in the Bastar State. I am not able to trace Šonaiyantaragān (l. 9) and Kāvi (l. 10). Imaiyam (l. 10) is another name for the Himālayas and Sēṭu (l. 10) is the southernmost point of India near Rāmalavaram. Madurāntaka-chaturvēṇimāḷagālam is no other than Madurantakam, a station in the S. I. Railway and the Headquarters of a Taluk in the Chingleput District. Tirumūṅkūḍal, though 10 miles away from it, was included in it in ancient times perhaps for administrative purposes. Jayaṅgōṇḍaḷ-kaḷḷaṇḍal is the name given to the ancient Pallava territory of Toṇḍai-kaḷḷaṇḍal during the days of Rājarāja I, who bore the designation of Jayaṅgōṇḍa-Chōḷa. Karāṭṭu-kōṭṭam is one of the 24 districts of it. The village of Vayalaraiśāvar (l. 11) and Āṅpākkam (l. 43) are very near Tirumūṅkūḍal. Minaṅkūḍal in Ilaṅgai-ṇāḍu, a sub-division of Vaiṭṭaraiśendrā-ṭalanāḍu in Sōḷa-kaḷḷaṇḍal (l. 52), Ayāṅgōṇḍaḷ in Āṅgudi-ṇāḍu, a sub-division of Pular-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgōṇḍaḷ-kaḷḷaṇḍal (l. 53 l), Rājasundari-chaturvēṇimāḷagālam is another sub-division of the same province, are other geographical names that occur in this epigraph.

1 Above, XII, p. 298. 2 Ibid. 3 Ibid.
### Details of Expenses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Total expenses for the year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Kal</td>
<td>ku</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Śīkāla-sandai</td>
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<td>0 5</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Akkāra-dalai</td>
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<td>0 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Night, Pāl-pāpogam</td>
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<td>0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>For Śrī-Rāghuva-chakrabarti</td>
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<td>0 0</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Aippasi festival</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Māti festival</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Hunting festival</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jayantiyasahtami</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kārattigai-Kārattigai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>King's Birthday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Birth-day of Vaṣya Mādavaṇ Dāmayan</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Puraṭṭaṭi-Tīruvōṭam</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Feeding Śrī-Vaḻuhaṇaṇas on Amāvāsyā days</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Do. during Procession to Tīruvaṅgādamalai</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Do. during Procession from Tīruvaṅgādamalai</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Do. during Purāṭṭaṭi Tīruvōṭam</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Do. during Aippasi festival</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Do. during Mārgaḷ festival</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Do. during Māti-Makham</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Tīru</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Tīruvaḷomoli Songster</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Gardener</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Special Tīru</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Vaṅkānasu Dēvakanman</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Potter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Washer</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Tīruvaṟukkalai Pērayan</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Repairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Big-Vēda teacher</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Yajur-Vēda teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Vyākaraṇa teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Hostel Expenses of 60 Students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Waterman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Ilāmarcham and cardamom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Dakahup, betel-leaves, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** 3,243 8 6 1 3 0
## Details of Expenses—contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Total expenses for the year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Sugar for Akkāradalai</td>
<td>20 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Sandal-paste and its ingredients</td>
<td>40 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Oil</td>
<td>11 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Kārtīgāl</td>
<td>1 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>King's Birthday</td>
<td>7 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Dāmāyan's Birthday</td>
<td>6 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Tīra</td>
<td>1 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Songster</td>
<td>4 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Dēvakānmi</td>
<td>4 kāsū</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>4 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Pērāyan</td>
<td>1 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Rīga-Vēda teacher</td>
<td>4 kāsū</td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Yajur-Vēda teacher</td>
<td>4 kāsū</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Vyākaraṇa Bhātta</td>
<td>10 kāsū</td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Cook</td>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Mādham-sāvat</td>
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<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Māta</td>
<td>2 kāsū</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Oil (for students)</td>
<td>9 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Hospital:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Total expenses for the year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Physician</td>
<td>5 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Fuel and herbs</td>
<td>2 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Nurses</td>
<td>1 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>40 kāsū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Oil (hospital)</td>
<td>2 kāśu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Mādāyan Dāmāyan</td>
<td>1 māli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An item of 7 kāsū is lost in the original. With this, 210 kāśu and two māli are made up.

### Notes

- The quantity of sugar required daily for akkāradalai is 32 palas. Hence the requirement for a year of 360 days comes to 1,152 palas. Since 1 kāsū fetched 578 palas of sugar, the amount of money required for sugar is 20 kāsū.

- The requirement of sandal-paste for a year at 1/2 palas per day is 180 palas. This at the rate of 8 palas per kāsū amounted to 22 1/2 kāsū. The requirement of kārpana for the same item is 11 1/4 kāsū; and this at the rate of 1/2 palas per kāsū comes to 22 1/2 kāsū. Another ingredient for this item is kūkka mālam which cost 1 kāsū.

- The total for this item amounts to 46 kāsū.

### TEXT

1 [ Svasti Śrī | ] [ Tirā-| vala-] [vā]-| pūyat-tirai-] [ru-nil-] [valaiyan-tan]-| mani-|ppūn-en-] [ttā][gī]-|ppan-] | mani-kkora-] [ve]-|kujai-nilai]1 kuvālayatt-[uyirgalai-] [p porówn] [tāyilum] pēini marrulav-arai-kalal-araisar-|tan-|a[i]-|nilai]1-] [oduṇa]-| urai-|platt-] [udai-Kalay-] [odma-] [maugai] [sēydu]-|virai-|malar-] [toriyal] [Vikkalau-] [raṇo-] [du]-| varisilai-] [ttak]-| mā-sānman] [ma-|Ka[a]-|gappā]-| [k[a]-|kalattitai-] [nil-] [nu]-|=2 Tuṇ[ga]-] [pattirai] [pu-|gatturati]-| [ā] [a]-|var]-| Ve[a]-|na[a]-|nhättina]-| miṣṭam]-|avān-] [viṣṭa]-| tāṇg-a[r]-| [peru]-] [vali-] [ttan]-| [ka]-|ttākkī]-[mā-dan]-| [nāyak]-| Śānuma]-|dāraya]-| [chē]-|chē]-| [ava]-| [ʃ]-|[r][a]-|ni-] [arut]-[|ma]-|an-| [ora]-[m-a]-|a]-|ya]-| Irugya]-|devi]-| Nāgalai]-| [n]-| [d]-| [gai]-| [a]-|chāyad]-| [mugatt]-[|nūkku]-| vē-[a]-|k] [p] [a]-|gait]-| [d]-| [m]-| [ri]-| [vi]-| [v]-|[j]-| [pp]-|p-[g]-| [Kādala]-|ga]-| [A]-| [h]-|vam]-[|makk]-[a]-| [a]-| [g]-| Vikka]-| Śī]-|gana-| 1 Read ni li.

2 There is some correction here in the original. Read sigrūn.

4 mir-kuritta vem-pōrī³-Đarṇāṇayakar tammir¹⁶-tiṇḍirāl Vill¹¹ ṭiyanaṇaivum Vaṅgippayaqai¹²
dagum mada-kaliru

1 The letter _BASICOT may also be read a.
2 vilakkii is the reading in Nos. 20 and 30 of South-Ind. Insers., Vol. III.
3 Delete the ra.
4 The letter k looks like w in the original.
5 Ulagaiyil is the reading in the Takkolam inscription, while No. 39 of South-Ind. Insers., Vol. III, has Ula gaśiyi.
6 This letter is badly formed and looks like w in the original.
7 Vīḍa is the reading in the South-Ind. Insers., Vol. III, in No. 39.
8 Kondar-kurmir is replaced by kond-agṛ-uṇaṭ in No. 30 of South-Ind. Insers., Vol. III.
9 Read either petit or paṭaṭeṭaṭi.
10 Correct it into kaṇāli of akṣara-pradeśa.
11 South-Ind. Insers., Vol. III, No. 30, has Māla.
12 Vaṅgi is replaced by Manṭi in No. 30 of South-Ind. Insers., Vol. III.
13 Some letters are completely worn out here. The gap may be filled up with the syllables yum pi.
14 Read pirmadatqaiyqum ta in the gap.
15 Vamb-yuṭai is replaced by maṇḍu in No. 30 of South-Ind. Insers., Vol. III.
16 Read yanai.
17 Between ta and tai there is some empty space.
18 Mā is another reading.


9 gal Pulī-Sūṭṭukalin jayaṇtiṃna nāṭṭi-[ṣṭe] tēṉ mūdī śaṇamaraṇeṇ Chāḷkaraḷkēṭṭaṇu te[a] mūṇal-īṇa-kKāḷiṇgām-iḍaiya
paññi-kaññad-ëvi vada-tiśai-chChakkarakōṭṭattu mikk-udāṅ ēnūnda Chaḷukkiyaṇā āpāiyai-Compra[—erī] nūri-chChōpāyayñagār śīlai-chChōmayaṇ ēpīyanam vāma-vel-Ādityanman-ram-ivar kural-talai-kukulāṭṭuñ-kunippa-ttārapaṇa ād-
achcha pa.2  
Malīyum Śagaiyan num vach-
... nāgādam-ëtūm pagūdiyum ottaga-ottūdiyum rīgala-papaśānti-
pagūdiyum varisāiyir-koḷ̥lāiyil kū patt u-

10 Jālind-ōdu. nādañ-deví Kāviyil vāli-mañ-ñaduṅga y Kāliyapra-
īyun-tambūmi vichchāda ... mūdul tambayavadi-
kūlum-tōgaiyar-śītāmum mā-kakṣāt-gappada-ppiśūṭtu ti kurra lamaya-
ṅmakkālyondūkki elai kakṣāndu nilaiy-īṭτū-kkalāgā-pāppi-pra-indudu-kidanda vada-
tiśāy-imaiyattoṇḍuñ-kidanda Sētu varambāga-chcheṅgōl śelutti.7  
... vēdā-nidīyai vilāki māl-uyar vira-ttaņ-koṇḍi tiyāya-koṇḍiyoyum ēṛpavār varug-enu ṅippa-koṭṭōḷi-urumaiyey-eydi araiśu vēr-irunud mē-va-ru Manu negī vilākiyai kōv-Irājakāśirvanantar-āna mūḷṭiye jāri-Viraṇāyendrā-
varkku yāṇḍu aḻājavudu Cauṅkalāṅkāṭāliṟṟumutta cChōlajēṭărā-ṭirumālāyīyir Rājēṅdraśāla-Ṇaṇaipāvārajnīnil ēṇḍharuliy-irunud Jayaṅ-gōṇḍā-śō.  

11 Ja-mañḍalatu-ku-Kalātır-kōṭṭattu-ttaṇyijā ye śri-Mādurāntaka-chāturviṣedāri-
galattu-t-Tirumukkūḍal Mahāvīshhuṃkaḷ dēvadāmāy j varūngīna Kāliyur-
kōṭṭattu-tṭērōḍu-Paruvūrnuṭṭu Vayalaikāv-ūragaga sālaikę-iruvu varūngīna ponn-elaspat-aīn-kalāṇjuñ i-čhaḷālaikę-čhaḷālēbōgamaī varūngīna[pajī] Iraṭṭap-
ppiye-ś-āraiy-ikākkanuṇ-kōṇḍu āhavanallaqāiy-īrumaṇu ven-koṇḍu Ulaṇgūyī *
ṛk-
koṇḍ-arulēṇadēvark-īyāy-īṛak-koṇḍ-arulēṇadēvark-īyāy-īṛak-koṇḍ-arulēṇadēvark-īyāy-
ement u-mudal tahirdu vellān vagaiyil mūdul-eṭṭuṭu i-ppom-ṇalēṇa-aīn-kalāṇjuñ iiv-ūrūl vandaś-ūrrkālāṇjuñ-kumakrakkeṭṭamāmum u-
vaṭṛāppārṇaṇyum miṇḍīyaṭṭamum-ṭattṛāparṭṭamum-ūḷśṭa kīḷraip-pāṭṭamum u-
velkākkuṁ-ūḷśṭa muṇṭārayaṇum muttāvvaruṇum tarippeṭṭaṇuvaṇum uvalgaiy-śāṅga-
maga[n]māyay daśabandamu[m*] mā añkkāliyilum viśeṣaṇyay u[ṃ u]lūṭṭa pāṭṭa-

12 Ngal-utpadā-Tirumukkūḍal Mahāvīshhuṃkaḷ[ajju]ku vṛṇḍu[m*] nimaṅdaṅgaluk-kiruppa-
ḷaṃga yāṇḍ-aiṇāvādu-devadāja mudal devadāja ṅīrīyī-īṣīyī variyil-īḍa-
ṭīrūvaṇjeynd-araṇīy-ṇṛguṇ-māṇlaś Khaṣṭrī *y[yj]khamāṇi-uljanṭuṇa-
pīṇāiy-ṇṛguṇ Nēvyāly12 Nēvyāly-uṇḏaṇ Taḷi Tiruppanaṅgudāiyāy-āṇa  
Vāgānum Vallavaraiyan-eluttuṇānum-Tirumāntraṇaṇu-ulṭyagam Pāṇḍyaṇārum Rāja-
rāja-Brahmanāryarum Viraṇāyendra Rājėṇṭra12 Gāgaiyarājar-oppnīällu punku de kilvi  
varyil-īṭṭu-kkogav-enu Villavarajur-Kaliṅgattairaiyam Viḍaiyil Rājėṇṭra12  
vayirāgarahjčharum Pāṇḍyaṇārām ivṛogal-ēvīnaṇḍapāy-y-udāṅkōṭṭuttu  
adīgārīga Viraṇāyendra12-Brahmadhīrāraṇu-Chōḷa-Brahmanārāyanaṇu-Cēmbyaṇ  
Śiṭṭiraijarum Atishājśāla-Mūvēndavelārū-Jayāṅgaṇḍāśāla-Viḍaiyaiyam Utta-
maśōḷa-pPāḷavariyam Viḍaiyil-

1 Read śārga, 2 Here is an unwritten space which cannot be filled up.  
3 Between the second mū and mūm there is some unaccountable space in the original.  
4 Here also there is some vacant space.  
5 The dot may be replaced by the letter pa.  
6 The unwritten space at the beginning of this line cannot be filled up.  
7 Space for about 8 letters are left blank.  
8 For mū read mū.  
9 Read vērargal.  
10 Read sēdai.  
11 This word is written below the line.  
12 Read Kēśārant.


1 Read nāma.
2 This word is engraved below the line.
3 Read ṇāṇāyām.
4 Read ṣr.
5 This word may also be read Paṇḍa.
mān-pāṭtam pon mu-kkaḷaṅjē-kāḷuṅ-kiliṟai-ppāṭtam pon aṁ-kalajē-mukkālam āga-ppon padi-ōru-kalajēṉiḻ māḏai padin-ēṭṭōy-eḷu-māviṅṟ-kāśu muppatt āgaraiyun-daśavanda-kāśu irubatt-eṭṭaraiyē nāl-māvu[m*] mādaikkilē kāśu irubatt-aineṯ mu-


[†] This word is engraved below the line.
[†] The e sign of pe is in the previous line.


1 Read "janam." 2 Read-nāṉal. 3 Read tiruvaṇṭamaṇṭa
urï-àga arisíi kalane tûng-ppadakk-aru-nâlîkku nel mu-kkalane-iru-tûngi-ppadakc-eunj-nâlîjum payarë kurunîkku nel-ppadakkum pułukku-kkariy-ongrûkku
30 nel mu-kkurnûjîyum milagub-kkariy-ongrûkku nel mu-kkurnûjîyum pułîtta-kkariy ongrûkku-
pulûj-ûtûpada nel-tûngiyum ilai-kkariy-ongrûkku nel-kkurnûjîyum milagub múarkuku nel mu-kkurnûjûyum uppû-kkurunîkkuk nel-ppadakkum neyy-iru-nâlîkku nel-iru-tûnîyum mör kalattukku nel tûngi-ppadakkum pułîn-kkarijku mörðukku nel tûngi-ppadakkum šakkarai irubatt-iru-palattukku nel tûnîyum veŋûkây-iru-nûrøkkuk nel nû-kkurnûjûyum veŋîlai-paar-ętûkku nel-ppadakkum ajuvâ-
31 shnavac(re)-irubatt-aîj-àga nûl-ägil-ûnjum Śrî-Vaishnavar nûrû-imbâjûm tîrtham-
ändjum-ãrug-ûnjum Śrî-[Vaishnavar]-imbâjûm âga ... n[el]u-
kalanë tûnji-ûru-nâlîyum [*] Mâşâji-iruv-ëkâda-ësîjûn-ëdvâda-ësîjûn-Tiruvâvonyjôl kôtka vandâ Śrî-Vaishnavarkk-i ... nel-en-kkalane-iru-tûngi mu-nûnâlîyum [*] Mâ-
32 ñi-Magâ-stîrûnajjì i-mmaŋâl-applâtul-ûnjum Śrî-Vaishnavar-iru-nûrûvarkku mëprâdiy-äkki nel padsiijn-ëlu-ekalane tûnji=aru-nûnâlîyum [*] tîru ... vaŋukku nûl-ongrûkku nel-aru-nâlîyum kâs-ongrûm Tiruvâvonyjôl viŋâppan- cheyyâ-iruvarkku-ppârâl nellu-kku ... nûrûkku nel mu-kkurnûjûyum përâg-kâs-ërâñ-â-
33 ga=kkâsu nûlum Vîrâsîjan-stîrûmaâdavanam ulappâr nûlvarkku-ppârâl nel-kkurnûj-àga nûl-ongrûkku nel tûngi = “Tîrvû-
tusavanâgâlkûkun-stîrûmaŋârûmaâgâlkûkun nûl-olài tûkku-tiruvvukku nûl-ongrûkku nel kurunij ... [ri]dâyir=ãrri-kaâjâmai t Âni nîmânaja-
cheuttle
34 nîrkum Vaikhânasâ dëvâkanîmîy-ûruvyvaŋukku nûl-ongrûkku nel kuriyunjûn=kàsu nûlû= kaŋakk-ëledjû nîrkûn=ka ... 6-ongrûku nel kumnojûn=kàsu nûlû= Àlvûkstu-štîrûmaŋaângâlkûkun vëpûnû=kalasamun-stîrûmaajîpâlîtjikûn=Jânapa-
man= ... kûdîlajâlalkûkun=SâstrâkÅm Âtuula-sâlalkûkun vë-
35 ñûnj=kâlâm-ijun=kuśâvvaŋukku nûl-ongrûkku nel kurunjûm Àlvûkstu=pârmetaajûn=Jânapa-
man=stîrûnumkâvalj= Tîrûmukkûjâr-
Përiayvvaŋukku
36 nûl-ongrûkku nel nû-pâlîjûn=kâs=ongrûm tîruçhurumâlîgâi pûdukkuppurâttukku nel nûpâdinn-kalâmu=n=ja ... 6-maŋpâttul Râ[Ri]j=Ìvdám=âduvîppan=

[*] The letters in brackets have been filled up by referring to the stone. They are obstructed by a pillar and have not come out in the impression.
[*] The portion of the wall before this, represented by dots, is replaced by an uninscribed slab.
[*] Read tîrû-šaâånàjà.
[*] The portion before this is obstructed by a pillar.
[*] The letters have pealed off.
[*] For dots read mësâlûka.
oruvagukku nal-onguukku nel padakkum Yajur-vèdham-òdùvippà-n-oruvagukku nal-ongu[kku nel] padakkum irvargal-iruvarkum pèrār-kāsū nal-ágā-kkā-

37 ś-set puss Yajukaraṇamum Rūpāvata-[āram]jum vakkālīkkaam Bhāṭṭan-oruvagukku nal- onguukku nel tūniyam kāsā paṭārum Ṛg-vèdam 5-dum Brahmāgam padinnarum Yajur-vèdham ēdum Brahmāgam padinnarum[m] Yajukaraṇamum Rūpāvata-[āram]-ukkētum Brāhmaṇaru[m*] chāṭṭirār-irupadinnarum Mahā-Päñ-[charāṭtirār-oru] padinnarum Śīva-Brāhmaṇar mūvarum Vaikhyānasar aivarum


44 Kōṇḍaṇḍarāman Aśvatthamā-Bhāṭṭan-gukku nāl-onuukku nel mu-kkuraiyum kās-ēṭuṇ-čaliyakkbrr-paṇu-vūn[n]-oruvagukku[n] nāl-onuukku nel kurūnīyum āṭularkku marudagulukku vēṇḍu[m*] marudu paṟṟtum viraj-iṭṭum pariyāram parinnu-vār-iruvarkku[ppej][ppērāl] 3 nāl-onuukku nel kurūnīyum āṇq nel padakkum pērā-

45 p-kās-oru-āgā-kkās-iranqum āṭularkku vēṇḍu pariyāram paṇi maruṇ-adum pēppu-ga]-iruvarkku[ppej]-a[rilī nā]-nāliy-āgā nāl-onuukku nel kurūnīyum pērār-kkā-

1 The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. They have been filled up by referring to the stone.
2 This is filled up by calculation.
3 Here is an obstruction by pillar. Read from stone.
4 Here is an uninscribed slab. The inscribed slab should have contained the letters in brackets.
5 The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and they have been filled up in site from stone.
6 The syllables in brackets have been filled up as the inscribed stone is here replaced by a plain one.
7 Lost in the original and have been supplied by calculation.
araïy-äga-kkâś-onrum åtulkakkun-kidâjagâkkun-châstirakkkum vêôdum paqi-
şeyyum nálvišan-oruvaanukku-nâl-onrukku nel nânålì
46 yum [1] åturasalai Virâsôjânîl âqôd-onril-iduck[m] marundu Brâhmyam-ka[dumbûrî]-
onrum karungây nûga ippadî ....... du Vâså-haritàkki-ppadîy-
iraqqâmum Daśamûla-harîtakki padîy-onrum Bhalättaka-harîtakki padîy-onrum
Gaṇâdîram [padîy]-onrum Balâkeraṇṭa-tailam tûnijyum Pañçhâ-
47 ka-2-tailaa-tûnijyum Laśunâyî3-erâṇḍa-taila-tûnijyum-Uttamakârṇâ-taila-tûnijyum-U
......... [pa]dakkun-Suk ......... sâ-grhîtam pada-
kkun[m] Bilvâdi-grhîtam padakkun Maṇḍû[kka]ra-vaatâkam iraṇḍ-ayiramum Dravatî
nâlîyum Vinvali iraṇḍ-ayiramum Sunêtîry2-iraṇḍ-ayiramum-Tamradîy-iraṇḍ-ayira-
mum Vajrâkalpan-tûnî-ppa
48 dakkun Kalâyâna-lavâna-tûnî-ppadakkum ivaiy-aduqâkkku vêôdum marun[du]gâlu-
kunj ne ....... [raîyum] tê ......... yun ullîṭtâma
koßavum ånju-tôrum Purânasarppi padaikka-ppâsuvi[3*] ney padaikku-koljavum
[kakšu nárapadum [âtura]śalâyîrä-riy-eriyum vijakk-onrük-ennaiy-amakk-kâ-
49 ga nàl mu-nûgq-arupadakk-ennaiy nárëttai-aśnâjilkkuk kâs-iraṇḍ-e-kâliyum Jananâdan-
ma ......... 'nbil taṇ ......... 'yaqûkku-pânguniyuttiran-
tudhâqi-pPuraṭṭâdi-tTiruvûpatt-âlîmun parambâl-ûra-ttaqût koçuvaṇdu va[jtu-
chêhây]ppân ovaqqukku nel kurum-kâ-
50 ga nâl nûgq-enadukku nel padinaţt-kalamum ûâttukkm ilâmacechattukkm
nell-irun* ......... padaikkun-ta ......... 'nyâham
pañîna Brâhmaṇapurkk10-tadkshinâkkum vêrîlî viroñkâkkum nel kalanî tûnij-
ira-nâlî mûlak[ka]nú[kk11]-chevîdum Vayalaikkûvâr kâpiyudaiya Mâdhavan Dâmâ-
51 yan vaggattârkkun-pPuraṭṭâdi-tTiruvûpatti-nâl kuçhukkm [pa]rîsáṭṭam iraṇdhuuku-
kâs-onqey-elu-mâ ......... nûv-ayîrat-irunuqru-nârpattu-mu-
kkalanéy-iru-tûnî-ppadakk-aru-nâlij-ulâkkê mu-ceveîittukkm kâs-iru-pûgq-or-
batt-âr-arâiyey-iraq[du-mâ]vukkkum [*] ikkâs-udavâvįdil kâs-onrükku-tTapjavâpiyô-
52 ñ-ockkkum pon kâsâ-nîrâ-amkâl iðuvađ-agavum[*] ippadî yândû ñâjávadu nimandâqñ-che Yadypa-
di in ......... ouniâsttu châṭî[î]rra-ka-anâpiyôdum kidâi-
kkânikâpiyôdum ñellakkadâvad-âgâ nivandam ñêḍâpaqkkku kullu vêṭtûvîtâr i-
ûñëliye kuru12-sêya adigârîgal Sôla-mândâalattu Vîjayârajëntra12-va-
53 ânattu Içâiyalâ-nâṭju [Mîna13]kudâiyân Paśuvati Tiruvârañgâdevânâr-âna
Râjëntra12-Mûvëndavâr Pâga] ......... 1ëva-kkullu vêṭtûvîtâr Jayâŋgoṇâ-

1 The letters in brackets have been read in sîtus.
2 The letter ka was supplied by examining the original stone.
3 The syllables sunâdyûn have been read in sîtus.
4 Here and in the following an inscribed slab is replaced by a plain one.
5 The syllables nãriyâ have been restored by reading on the spot.
6 Read Tûm*.
7 The letters adura are entered below the line.
8 The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been read from stone.
9 The syllables ot here must be padûs kalanyâ-qru-shâ.
10 Read âdda.
11 A pillar obstructs these two letters.
12 The syllables in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. Restored from stone.
13 Read adura.
14 The two syllables are lost in the original.
15 The syllables éva-kû have been filled up from the stone, though obstructed by a pillar.
Hail! Prosperity! (With the aid of) his strong shoulders, (wherein the goddess of) Prosperity resided, (the king) bore the circle of the wide earth as (lightly as) his jewel of gems; under the shade of (his) victorious white parasol set with numerous gems, (he) protected the living beings of the earth more (tenderly) than the mother who bore (them); (he) conducted (his) rule (so as to cause) other kings (weaving) ankle-rings to seek shelter under the shadow of his feet and (forced) the rent Kali (age) to retire to (its) abysmal abode. (He) drove from the battle-field of Gangapadi the great feudatory chiefs (samanantad) whose strong hands (carried) tightly-bound bows, (and forced) them along with Vikkalan (who wore) a garland of fragrant flowers to enter the Tungabhadra. (He made such an) attack (as to cause) the destruction of the irresistibly great and powerful army which the Vallabhan had again despatched into the fine country of Vashgi; and fought with Mahadandanaayaka Champaundaraja and cut off his head and severed the nose from the face of his (i.e., Champaundaraja's) incomparable daughter called Nagalai (who was) the queen of Iruguiyan and (who) resembled a peacock in beauty.

Himself and his sons, who assisted him, remaining behind in close quarters, he sent forth an army, which victorious fought against countless samanta along with the (two) sons of Ahavamalla called Vikkalan and Singanap at Kudal-Sangama on the great waters, whether they had rushed forth enraged, resolving to advance forward and fight for a third time; and with (his) rut elephant, he agitated that army (of the enemy) which was arrayed in battle like the Northern ocean; he cut to pieces in front of his banner-troop Singan of Kosalai who was fighting with his furious elephants and vanguard; he (also) cut to pieces Ksavadaandanaayaka and Kettaraisan, Marayan of great strength, the powerful Pottaraisan and Rechchayan, Pordai and Muvendi who were fighting (fiercely), and many (other) unknown samantas who offered (him) battle. Then Muduvanap, who was the commander, fled; Vikkalan fled with his hair dishevelled; Singanap fled leaving off the field-work; all the other chiefs of the elder brother, dismounted from the male elephants on which they were fighting the great battle and fled; and Ahavamalla, who was thus put to shame, ran before them (all). He then separated his swift-footed and fierce elephant, put on a garland of victory and seized the (enemies') wives, their family treasures,

1 The letters dan-aga are obstructed by a pillar.
2 Read adra.
3 The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been restored by reading from the stone.
4 Prof. Hultsch has translated the introductory portion on pp. 366 of the South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III.
5 The word streana is a compound of stre and asam.
6 May be taken to mean also 'the only daughter.'
7 The word may be rendered also 'who was the father of his wife.'
8 Anam may also mean 'the king.'
9 The word saagana means also 'who was in close quarters.'
conches, parasols, trumpets (tārāi), big drums, canopies (mēghaṇāmbuṣa), white fly-whisks (chānara), the boar banner, the ornamental arch (makara-tūra), a herd of camels, the metal throne, the female elephant called Pushpaka, a herd of war-elephants together with a collection of prancing horses; (he then) ascended the powerful lion-throne of great splendour, being bow’d to by all the world, and along with his beautiful queen Ulagaṉaduṭaiyā, put on the victorious crown set with gems.

He cut off in battle field the beautiful heads, wearing flower-garlands, of the king of Pottapi whose horse was unsteady under the bridle (kukai), and of the Kēraḷa (king) wearing ankle-rings and (powerful on account of his) elephants as well as of the younger brother of Jananātha adorned with wreaths; (and he also) trampled under the feet of a single rut elephant Vira-kēsari who wore a crown (set with) lustrous gems and who was the young son of the Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha wearing gold ankle-rings.

He put forth his elephant (force) in the field and uprooted with his hands the family of the Chēnas along with their infants, and caused them to run and plunge into the Western ocean. At Vāri, he tied up the Raṭṭas, who had numberless elephants, along with the elephants belonging to their ladies who coveted (them) and received also a herd of elephants which they paid as tribute together with female elephants and trappings.

In a hot battle pitched on the bank of a river of whirling water he cut off the heads of the following Daṇḍanaṅkakas:—Villiyāṇaṅa of great value, Vanjiṅgayaṅ, who possessed a rutting elephant, Aśokenyan (who wore a cool) garland, Śattiyāṇaṅ of brilliant value, Pattiyāṇaṅ, the minister of) peace and war, Vīmayāṇ, who wore a honey-dribbling garland, Vāṇgāraṅ of great wisdom, the Gaṅga (king) of dreadful lance, the Nulamba (king) and the king of the Kājāvas as well as the Vaidumbas (king) who owned highly furious and rutting elephants.

After he had reached the great city (called after) the great river Gaṅgā, the Chālukya (king) who came from the race of the moon, felt the sting and thought ‘it is better to die than live with such disgrace and choosing as battle-field the very Kūḍal, where his sons and himself had been made to retreat, wrote, so that all might know, a letter embodying (his) vow—“those who do not come to Kūḍal through fear are no kings but are disgraceful liars in war,” handed it over with an oral message to the Gaṅga chief Kettan renowned among the liars of Raṭṭappaṅ and asked him to take it and when he came, bowed at the feet of, and delivered the message to (the Chōḷa king), his (i.e., the latter’s) mind, face and glorious two arms began to glow doubly on account of the increasing joy and he advanced forth and entered the field, and not finding the approach of the king of the Vallabhas at Karandai, stayed there delightfully for one month more after the appointed day, and then he found him run away until his legs became sore and hid himself in the western ocean, and each of the three (chiefs) Divanāthān, Siddhi and Kēśi turned their backs.

(The Chōḷa king) subdued the powerful activity of Raṭṭappaṅ 7½ lakhs, hard (even for bards) to sing and set cracking fire on it and set up a pillar of victory (jāyabhadra-tūm) on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā so that the world praised him and the fierce and angry tiger (the crest of his race) mounted on it and sported joyfully.

1 Varanip is the reading in No. 20 of S. I. I., Vol. III, and it has been taken as a proper name. The reading varnī is better since the Chēnas are noted for their elephant forces. cf. ‘paliyānai-kō-kKandja.’

2 Instead of Dharaṅ, it is preferable to read ‘taraṅ.’

3 See note 6 on page 37 of the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III.

4 Hultsch has rendered the passage thus:—‘tied up in stables the Raṭṭas, whose elephants were numberless, along with the elephants of the Kanniyalar which he had seized.’

5 This rendering somewhat differs from that given in the S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 68.

6 Mānlīyaṁpap and Mangiṅjīyaṅ are the readings in No. 30 of the same Volume.

7 Nānāḷa means ‘four kinds of lands, i.e., karnaṭi, mulaṭ, polaṇ and nēgal—grassy, forest, sandy and coast tracts’ and hence the ‘world.’
He made the liar, who had advanced against him on a previous occasion, a Vallabha and fastened on him a kaṇṭhikā. He caused to be depicted beautifully on a board how the Kuntaja king and (his) sons ran five times to the full knowledge of the world mounted on an elephant which had a cord (round its neck) and a hole-bearing hand.

Vowing not to return until he fulfilled the word that he formerly uttered, viz.—that he would destroy the state of the Chālukya (lordship), and their stables wherein was locked up the flower of his horse troops (?!) and recover the Vēṇu country which the Chālukya had taken,—he sent (the following) word to be announced "Hear this and if you have (any) power, come and protect yourself."

When the array of his army which was advancing towards the (enemies') boundary had reached the great river close to the beautiful city of Vijayavādai (i.e., Bezwada), he (the Chōla king) drove into the forest the great battle which had at its head Jananāda and Tippaparaiṣa; caused his elephants (pōdakam) to drink the water of the Gōdvāri; crossed the seven Kaliṅgas, and led his swelling elephant forces (tancat-mana) as far as the snow-covered Mahāndra (mountain) on whose right side was carved the tiger mark and bestowed (that country) on Vijayāditya of broad arms wearing weapons of war who sought shelter at his feet (which were adorned with) flowery anklets.

Returning fast, he graciously entered (the city of) Gāndāpurī leaving off the Kali and bringing the goddess of victory which had attached (itself) to him. There, he assumed the damānigā as the lord of the earth (under the titles) Rājādhirāja and Rājarāja. The kings of the earth bowing at his feet, he sat on a pedestal set with choicest gems; exhibited in order the immense wealth, which he had brought from the fine country of Vēṇi, removed the āli and nīgala and fulfilled his vow.

(Putting forth) a number of ships (laden with) excessively large forces on the ever swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (the Chōla king) began to wage a war in Īlam (i.e., Ceylon) which cast a gloom on that army of the Singhalese wherein Kurukulatataraiyan who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (the charge of the Chōlas) with the result that Vijayabahū, the king (of the island) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (the Chōla king) took his queen captive, conquered . . . . carried away immeasurably large family gems along with fine crowns and made Lāṅkā with its impregnable walls his own.

Crossing back the southern region, (the Chōla king) . . . . obstructed at Kondai where the Chālukyan king again sent against him double the number of elephants which he had put forth on a former occasion. Among those that were seen (there) were the intelligent Nāgaiyan, Māravaiyan, Manmagandaiyan, . . . Kondaiyan, Āchhidaran and others. These ran away showing their backs and making such an uproar (in their flight) that resembled the noise of thunder during heavy rains. Ko. oṭumadasaiyan and others lost their elephants and ran along with the commanders of infantry (pada-sūmantas). The Chōla king caught hold of prancing horses and young elephants as well as a galaxy of women that were seen (in the field) and received as before a parāṇi. Tuṇānmaraiyan, . . . , who were subdued by his forces the sound . . . . Śiṅgaiyan, who was resting under a flag, . . . and (he) planted a pillar of victory at Puli-Sūṭukkal, where, getting up a hill . . . and mounted on a vehicle (yāna) drawn by seven horses, the chief known (by the name) Sūliyavaraiaiyan, . . . . dandaṇāyaka fought. He sent

1 The word nīgala is phonetically connected with the skt. nīgā, 'shackles' and thus may be construed to convey the idea of 'armour.'
forth a (very) sea of army...in Kaliṇgam...his chief feudatories at Chakkarakottam and destroyed by heavy fire the elephant (forces) of the Chāluḷya king which appeared in great numbers at Chakkarakottam in the North. The bowman Sūmayan of Sūṇayanagar, Eriyaman, Añiṣayvarman of fearful tridents,—these with clusters of heads that were cut off.—Mallī, Sūṇaiya...n, who wore ornaments set with diamonds, Vaidumba, Dēvāṅātha, Dēvyōko...along with herds of camels...and the reward of ornaments were looted in order...and ran with broken hearts. The wife of...nāthan trembling with fear, Kāliyappai, his younger brother...and others together with crowds of their ladies wearing tumbai garlands, fell in his hands in the great field of Kāvi and were caught.

Removing the sons of...lamayan, (the Chōḷa king) crossed the boundary and fixed the limit, wielding his sceptre from the Hirāḷayas in the northern quarter, where the tiger ever lies in ambush, up to the Sēṭu (in the south); propagated the Vēdic lore, assumed possession of kingy duties, invited suppliants and raising aloft the banner of heroism and the banner of liberty, sat in Royal state and exemplified the path of the great Manu (He), i.e., king Rājakāsiyarvarman alias Udaiyar the glorious Vīrarājendrādēva, in the fifth year of his reign was pleased to be seated on (the seat called) Rājendirāsāḷa-Māvalivāgarāja in the Royal palace of Sōḷakērala at Gāṅgikōṇa-sāḷa puram.

Vāyulikāvūr in Tēronga-Paṟuvur-nadu, (a sub division) of Kāliyur-kottam was a devadāna of (the temple of) Mahāvīṣhnu at Tirumukkuṭal in the prosperous Madhurāntaka-chaturvēṭāmigalam (which was a free village in Kalattur-kottam, (a district) of Jayaṅgopācholaṭamāṇḍalam. The residents of this village were paying 75 kalavu of gold for the feeding food (kōḷai). This amount of 75 kalavu of gold was deducted from the accounts and assigned to the temple in the second year of the reign of Ulaguyakkoṇḍarūḷinadēva who took Raṭṭappāḷi 7½ lakhs and who twice saw the back of (i.e., defeated) Āhavamalla. This (amount) together with the taxes accruing from the village, viz., Ur-kalāṇju, Kumārakkoṇḍēva, surkāṇḍēva, mināṅĉam, tattāramitam, etc., forming the kāṭirāppāṭam, velikkāṭu, suryakkuṇḍēva, māḻivāraṇam, tirippudarai, valangai and ighai-magamai, dasabandam, māḻakkōḷi, viraṅkēthai, etc., forming the pōṭtam—were ordered by the king to be entered in the accounts, in the fifth year of his reign, as a tax-free devadāna gift to meet the requirements of the (god) Mahāvīṣhnu at Tirumukkuṭal. This Royal mandate (kīṭai) was written by Tirumandiravai Taḷi Tiruppaṉgadudaiyai alias Vāṉavaṇa Vallavaraiyai of Nāravīḷi, in Paṇṇiyur-nadu, (a sub-division) of Kahatiyaśikhamani-vālanadu and signed by Tirumandiravai-lai-nāyagam Pāṇḍiyanaṟ Rājāraja-Brahmamāṟava and Vīrarājendra-Gāṅgaiyarāja. That it may be so entered in the account was ordered by Villavaraiyai, Kaliṅgattaraiyai, Viḍaiyil Rājendravayiragarachēḷan and Pāṇḍiyanaṟ; and further endorsed by (1) the Udāṅkāṭam officers Vīrarājendra-Brahmadhirāja, (2) Sōḷa-Brahmamāṟaya, (3) Šembiyan Sittiraiyai, (4) Aṭiḷayaḥśa-Muṇḍavaiyai, (5) Jayaṅgopāṭa-Vilupparaiyai, (6) Uttamāsōḷa-Pallavaraiyai, (7) the Viḍaiyil officers Kaḷavaraiyai, (8) Kāvērivaḷabhā-Muṇḍavaiyai, (9) Iṭṭavaraiyai, (10) Sōḷa-Muṇḍavaiyai, (11) Vīrarājendra-Malavaraiyai, (12) Vaiḷavan-Muṇḍavaiyai, (13) Rājauttama-Muṇḍavaiyai, (14) Rājāraja-Kaṭigaiyai, (15) Jayaṅgopāṭa-Muṇḍavaiyai, (16) Rājendrāsāḷa-Apuḷkapattavaiyai, (17) Šembiyan-Brahmamāṟaya, (18) Sundarāsōḷa-Pallavaraiyai, (19) Jayaṅgopāṭa-Vaiyaiyai, (20) Jayaṅgopāṭa-Sēnaiyai-Muṇḍavaiyai, (21) Šoilampayaraiyai, (22) Jayaṅgaiyai-kuḷakāḷa-Vilupparaiyai, (23) Vīrarājendra-Tiruvindaḷamāṟtui-Muṇḍavaiyai, (24) Rājāraja-Vilupparaiyai-Vīrarājendra-Varamanāraja, (25) Kahaṭiyaiyai-Muṇḍavaiyai, (26) Uttamāsōḷa-Muṇḍavaiyai, (27) Pāṇḍian-kuḷaiyai-Muṇḍavaiyai, (28) Raṭṭaiyaiyai-Kaḷai-Muṇḍavaiyai, (29) Uttamāsōḷa-Muṇḍavaiyai, (30) Vīrarāsāḷa-Pallavaraiyai, (31)
TIRUMUKKUDAL INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

Then the following persons being present viz., Paravurvaratnaiikakalattu-kanyak Kovalaiyadivakara-Muvendavelar, Arindaman-Purangarambaainattu-Muvendavela,Majara-Jeppinadukkilavan, Virainga-Muvendavela, Aplayya-Valipparaivan, Paravurvaratnaiikakalat Salukkikulakkada-Muvendavela, Vagavan-Valipparaivan, Valiara-Muvendavela, Awaniyaraya-Muvendavela, Simgajantaka-Muvendavela, Varippattom Palayukkliavan, Mugaveeti Jayangonda-Muanaatnu-Valipparaivan, Adamaangalamudaiyan, Aitirajendra-Pallavariyan, Kandalkilavan, Varippu Ingakkudaiyan, Maitirudaiyan, Valaasalumai-Muvendavela, Tampuvudu Soladivakara-Muvendavela, Pulikilavan, Polapathyaiyam Pattalambudaiyan, Shimbiyan-Milalalvela, Araiyanai, Varipiliya Avanipala-Muvendavela, Arindaman-Valipparaivan, Varippattotaka-kavakku Saigattimanangalamudaiyan, Valiavan-Valipparaivan, Patagai Sirupakkilavan, Maarpakkilavan, Keliy-variipidiwutta Paravurvaratnaiikakalat Salukki-kulakkada-Muvendavela, Simgajantaka-Muvendavela, Mugaveeti Solamantorpa-Muvendavela, Kandalkilavan, Vashitan varippattotaka-kavakku Saigattimanangalamudaiyan, Vairigilitan Paravurvaratnaiikakalattu-Kavakku Solamangalaka-Muvendavela of Solamana, Patagai-e-judanin Virainga-Nemallai-Muanaatnu-Muvendavela—all these being present, in the fifth year and three hundred and forty-eighth day (of the king's reign), it was entered in the accounts, that for the 75 kalai of gold, the above mentioned patams accruing from the village, the 72 kalai and 9 manjadi of gold previously granted as devadana to this god, making a total of 147 kalai and 9 manjadi, the income in paddy by the rajakshari measure at 16 kalam per kalai was 2359 kalam, 1 padakku, 3 nali, 1 akku and 3 sevuthu. This when converted into arumolidavan measure, at the rate of 1 kalam, 1 tuni, and 4 nali of arumolidavan for a kalam of rajakshari, became, inclusive of kailasha, kalalavukul and korralavusul, 884 kalam, 2 tuni, 3 nali, and 1 akku of paddy in excess, thus making a total of 3243 kalam, 2 tuni, 1 padakku, 6 nali, 1 ulakkal and 3 sevuthu of arumolidavan.

The taxes accruing from this village, viz., 1 kalanju of gold by urka kalanju, 1 kalanju of gold by kumarakachcham, 3n kalanju of gold by manpatam, 5a kalanju of gold by kilvaripattum, in all 11 kalanju of gold, equivalent to 18 madai and 7 ma, or 364 kasu, together with 26ma kasu and 4 ma by dasabandam, 25kg kasu and 3 ma by madaiikku, 3 kasu by the account of midalilavu, 1k kasu by vannakkulai, 3 kg kasu by muttuvanam, 14 kasu by iniqamora, 118 kasu by vilikkala, made a total of 2164 kasu and 2 ma.

Here are detailed the following expenses to be met in the temple from the above said income of paddy and kasa:

For one sirikulai-sandi offering to the Alvar:

(L. 18). One padakku and four nali of paddy for one kurunji of rice, 1 padakku of paddy for 4 nali of paruppu (broken green pulse) or 1 kurunji of payaru, 1 nali and 1 uri of paddy for 1 pulukkakari (boiled curry), 1 nali and 1 uri of paddy for 1 porikkari (fried curry), 4 nali of paddy for 1 uri of curd, 1 nali of paddy for 1 akku of hhee, 1 ulakkal of paddy for 1 akku of salt, 1 nali of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 uri of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 5 kurunji, 5 nali and 3 ulakkal of paddy for one sandi.

For the akkaryadalai offering at the Virainga:

(L. 19). 1 kurunji and 2 nali of paddy for 4 nali of rice, 1 padakku of paddy for 4 nali of paruppu or 1 kurunji of payaru, 1 kurunji and 4 nali of paddy for 6 nali of milk, 1 tuni of paddy for 1 nali of hhee, 4 nali of paddy for 8 plantain fruits, 1 nali of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 uri of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 2 tuni, 1 kurunji, 3 nali and 1 uri of paddy for the akkaryadalai offering: The sugar required for this for a year of 360 days, at 32 palam per day is 11,520 palam, which at the rate of 576 palam of sugar for 1 kasa cost 20 kasa.
For the offering of Pālpōnagam at night:

(L. 19f.) 1 kurunī and 2 nāḷi of paddy for 4 nāḷi of rice, 1 kurunī of paddy for 4 nāḷi of milk, 1 nāḷi and 1 uri of paddy for 1 porikkaṛi, 4 nāḷi of paddy for 1 ālakkū of ghee for pōnagam and porikkaṛi, 1 nāḷi of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 uri of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 kurunī and 1 nāḷi of paddy for the night offering.

(L. 20.) For the offering at noon to Śrī-Rāghavachakravartī:

1 kurunī and 2 nāḷi of paddy for 4 nāḷi of rice, and 4 nāḷi of paddy for ghee, curry and areca-nuts, thus making a total of 1 kurunī and 6 nāḷi of paddy.

For sandal-paste to the Āḷvār:

180 palam of sandal are required for a year of 360 days at ½ a palam per day and this quantity at 8 palam of sandal for 1 kāśu, costs 22½ kāśu. 11½ kāḷanīju of karpūra are required for a year of 360 days at 5 nāḷi per day and this costs 22½ kāśu at ½ a kāḷanīju of karpūra for 1 kāśu. And 1 kāśu is required for kuṅkumam.

(L. 21.) For lamps:

1 uri of oil for 2 perpetual lamps to the Āḷvār, 1 uḷakku and 1 ālakkū of oil for 3 lamps to burn in the inner circuit of the temple till dawn; 1 uḷakku and 2½ seviḍū of oil for 10 twilight lamps, at 1½ seviḍū of oil for 1 lamp, thus making a total of 1 nāḷi, 1 ālakkū and 2½ seviḍū of oil per day. The oil required for a year of 360 days is 452 nāḷi and 1 uri¹, which, at 20 nāḷi per kāśu, cost 22½ kāśu.

(L. 21.) For Aippāśi festival to Alagiyaṉamaṉavaḷar:

5 kurunī of paddy for 1 padakkū of rice, 2 nāḷi of paddy for 1 uri of paruppu, 1 nāḷi of paddy for 1 porikkaṛi, 1 nāḷi of paddy for 1 puḷukku-kaṛi, 1 nāḷi of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 nāḷi of paddy for 2½ seviḍū of pepper, 4 nāḷi of paddy for 1 ālakkū of ghee, 2 nāḷi of paddy for 1 nāḷi of curd, 1 uri of paddy for 1 uḷakku of salt, 1 nāḷi of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 uri of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, making a total of 7 kurunī. Thus, for the 12 occasions of the seven days of the festival the paddy required is 7 kalam.

(L. 22-23.) For the Māśi festival at the same rate as above is 7 kalam of paddy.

For offerings during the hunting festival in the garden of Viraśoḷaṇa:

2 kalam, 1 tūṇi and 1 padakkū of paddy for 1 kalam of rice, 1 kurunī of paddy for 2 nāḷi of paruppu, 1 kurunī of paddy for 1 porikkaṛi, 1 kurunī of paddy for 1 puḷukku-kaṛi, 1 kurunī of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 nāḷi of paddy for 1 ālakkū of ghee, 4 nāḷi of paddy for 2 nāḷi of salt, 1 tūṇi of paddy for 1 nāḷi of ghee, 1 padakkū of paddy for 1 kurunī of curd, 1 kurunī of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, and 4 nāḷi of paddy for 2 paru of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 kalam, 1 tūṇi, 1 padakkū and 4 nāḷi of paddy for an occasion. Hence for the 2 hunting festivals, the paddy required for offering is 7 kalam and 1 kurunī.

(L. 23-24.) For offerings during Jayantyaśṭami to Veṇṇaiikkūṭṭalvār, i.e., Krishṇa:

1 kalam and 3 kurunī of paddy for 6 kurunī of rice, 1 kurunī of paddy for 2 nāḷi of paruppu, 4 nāḷi of paddy for 1 porikkaṛi, 4 nāḷi of paddy for 1 puḷukku-kaṛi, 4 nāḷi of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 nāḷi of paddy for 2½ seviḍū of pepper, 1 nāḷi of paddy for 1 uri of salt, 1 kurunī of paddy for 4 nāḷi of curd, 1 kurunī of paddy for 1 uḷakku of ghee, 4 nāḷi of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, and 2 nāḷi of paddy for 1 paru of betel leaves, thus making a total of 1 kalam, 2 tūṇi, and 5 nāḷi of paddy. For oppa-anudu to be offered on the same occasion 3 kurunī and 1 nāḷi of paddy for 1 kurunī and 2 nāḷi of rice, 4 nāḷi of paddy for 1 nāḷi of paruppu, 1 padakkū of paddy for 1 uri of ghee, 1 tūṇi of paddy for 20 palam of sugar, 4 nāḷi of paddy for 1 ālakkū of pepper, 2 nāḷi

¹ By calculation, the requirement for the year is only 427 nāḷi and 1 uri. It is not understood how the inscription gives an excess of 25 nāḷi.
of paddy for 2½ ṣevāku of cumin, 1 ४ of paddy for 1 ṣalakku of salt, 1 padakku of paddy for 6 coconuts, 4 nāṭi of paddy for 20 areca-nuts and 2 nāṭi of paddy for 1 ṣarru of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 1 kalam, 1 kurunī, 1 nāṭi and 1 ४ of paddy. For offering to be made when the deity is taken on procession in the street, 1 padakku of paddy for 32 plantain fruits and 1 kurunī of paddy for 4 nāṭi of curd. In all, the provision made for the Jayantyaśṭami was 3 kalam, 6 nāṭi and 1 ४ of paddy.

(L. 24-25). For offerings to be made on the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kārttigai:

\[2 \text{ kalam, } 1 \text{ tuṣṭi and } 1 \text{ padakku of paddy for } 1 \text{ kalam of rice, } 1 \text{ kurunī of paddy for } 2 \text{ nāṭi of paruppu, } 1 \text{ kurunī of paddy for } 1 \text{ porikkarī, } 1 \text{ kurunī of paddy for } 1 \text{ puḷakku-kari, } 1 \text{ kurunī of paddy for } 1 \text{ pepper curry, } 1 \text{ padakku of paddy for } 1 \text{ kurunī of curd required for } 1 \text{ puḷināgarī, } 1 \text{ padakku of paddy for } 10 \text{ palam of sugar, } 1 \text{ kurunī and } 2 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 20 \text{ plantain fruits, } 4 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 1 \text{ ṣalakku of pepper, } 3 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 1 \text{ nāṭi and } 1 \text{ ४ of salt, } 1 \text{ tuṣṭi of paddy for } 1 \text{ nāṭi of ghee, } 1 \text{ padakku of paddy for } 1 \text{ kurunī of curd, } 1 \text{ kurunī and } 2 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 50 \text{ areca-nuts, and } 4 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 2 \text{ parru of betel-leaves, thus making a total of } 3 \text{ kalam, } 2 \text{ tuṣṭi, } 3 \text{ kurunī and } 7 \text{ nāṭi of paddy. } 1 \frac{1}{2} \text{ kāṣu was provided for obtaining } 25 \text{ nāṭi of oil for burning } 200 \text{ lamps in the central shrine and in the inner circuit, at the rate of } 1 \text{ ṣalakku for a lamp.}

(L. 25-26). Expenses to be met on the birth-day asterism Ayuḥeya (Aśleṣha) in the month Āvaṇi, of king Vīrārājendra, are as follows:

\[2 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 1 \text{ nāṭi of green pulse required for sprouting at the tirumaṇjanam, } 1 \text{ padakku of paddy to be placed below the sprouts, } 1 \text{ kurunī of paddy for } 1 \text{ palam of thread to wrap round } 108 \text{ kalaṣas (pots), } 1 \text{ tuṣṭi and } 1 \text{ padakku of paddy to be placed under the kalaṣas, } 4 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 2 \text{ nāṭi of rice required for powder, } 1 \text{ kalam and } 1 \text{ tuṣṭi of paddy for } 4 \text{ nāṭi of ghee, } 1 \text{ kurunī of paddy for } 4 \text{ nāṭi of curd, } 1 \text{ kurunī of paddy for } 4 \text{ nāṭi of milk, } 2 \text{ kalam, } 1 \text{ tuṣṭi and } 1 \text{ padakku of paddy for } 1 \text{ kalam of rice required for an offering to be made on that day, } 1 \text{ padakku of paddy for } 4 \text{ nāṭi of paruppu, } 1 \text{ kurunī of paddy for } 1 \text{ puḷakku-kari, } 1 \text{ kurunī of paddy for } 1 \text{ porikkarī, } 1 \text{ kurunī of paddy for } 1 \text{ pepper curry, } 4 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 1 \text{ ṣalakku of pepper, } 2 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 1 \text{ nāṭi of salt, } 1 \text{ padakku of paddy for } 1 \text{ kurunī of curd required for } 1 \text{ puḷināgarī, } 1 \text{ tuṣṭi of paddy for } 1 \text{ nāṭi of ghee, } 1 \text{ kurunī and } 2 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 30 \text{ areca-nuts, } 6 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 3 \text{ kuṭṭu of betel-leaves, } 1 \text{ padakku of paddy for } 10 \text{ palam of sugar required for } 1 \text{ puḷināgarī and } 1 \text{ kurunī and } 2 \text{ nāṭi of paddy for } 20 \text{ plantain fruits, thus making a total of } 6 \text{ kalam, } 5 \text{ kurunī and } 2 \text{ nāṭi of paddy.}

(L. 27). For this festival are required one puḍavai (cloth) for covering the pāḷigai kept for sprouting, one puḍavai for being placed above the kalam, two puḍavai—consisting of one loin cloth and one upper cloth—for the āchārya who performs the bathing ceremony of the god, thus making in all four cloths which cost one kāṣu. A provision of half a kāṣu for 4 nāṭi of honey, quarter kāṣu for 50 palam of turmeric, half a kāṣu for purchasing snapana-drawn, one kāṣu for one pariṣṭhaṭam to be used after bathing, one kāṣu for the daksinā of the āchārya performing the bathing ceremony of the god, two and a half kāṣu for purchasing 10 pariṣṭhaṭam at the rate of quarter kāṣu for one pariṣṭhaṭam, to be presented to the Śri Vaishṇavas that served in the Tiruvallakam and those who recited the Tiruvādhyomālī hymns on the occasion, half a kāṣu for one pariṣṭhaṭam to be presented to the astrologer (tīru) who announced the festivals, thus making a total of seven and a quarter kāṣu.

(L. 28). For the bathing of the god and for the great offering to be made on the day of Pāḍam in the month of Kārttigai which was the birth-day of the Vaiṣṇa Mādaṇa Dāmyan,
who built the inner enclosure of the temple and the Jananātha-mañḍapa, a provision of 6 kalam, 5 kuruni and 2 nalī of paddy was made together with 6½ kāsu for purchasing the necessary things for the tirunāṁjana and for presenting cloths to those that should get them.

(L. 28). For Purattāsi-Tiruvonam when Venpaikkuttālvar is taken in procession to the Jananātha-mañḍapa:—

1 kalam and 4 nalī of paddy for 5 kuruni of rice, 2 kalam, 1 tūni and, 1 padakku of paddy for 300 palam of sugar, 1 kalam of paddy for 3 nalī of ghee, 3 kuruni of paddy for pepper, sākhus and salt, 1 padakku of paddy for 80 areca-nuts and 4 nalī of paddy for 2 kṛṣṭu of betel-leaves thus making a total of 5 kalam of paddy.

For feeding Śrī-Vaishṇavas in the Jananātha-mañḍapa on amāvāsyā days when the god presented tīrtha:—

(Ll. 28-29). 2 tūni, 1 kuruni and 3 nalī of paddy for 3 kuruni and 6 nalī of rice, for 20 persons at 1 nalī and 1 uri each, 5 nalī of paddy for 1 pulukku-kari, 5 nalī of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 kuruni and 1 nalī of paddy for 1 puḷḷita-kari inclusive of tamarind, 2 nalī of paddy for 1 ulai-kari (leaves), 4 nalī of paddy for 1 ulakku of pepper, 4 nalī of paddy for 2 nalī of salt, 1 kuruni of paddy for 1 ulakku of ghee, 1 kuruni and 2 nalī of paddy for 1 padakkukku of butter-milk, 1 kuruni of paddy for 4 palam of sugar, 1 kuruni of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, 4 nalī of paddy for 2 pārṇu of betel-leaves, 1 kuruni of paddy for 1 cook, thus making a total of 1 kalam, 7 kuruni and 3 nalī of paddy for each amāvāsyā.¹ For 12 amāvāsyās, the provision made was 19 kalam, 1 tūni and 4 nalī of paddy.

(Ll. 29-30). For feeding 100 Śrī-Vaishṇavas in the Jananātha-mañḍapa on the occasion of the tīrtham at Tiruvengādamalai:—

3 kalam, 2 tūni, 1 padakkku and 7 nalī of paddy for 1 kalam, 1 tūni, 1 padakkku and 6 nalī of rice at 1 nalī and 1 uri each, 1 padakku of paddy for 1 kuruni of green pulse, 3 kuruni of paddy for 1 pulukku-kari, 3 kuruni of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 tūni of paddy for 1 puḷḷita-kari inclusive of tamarind, 1 kuruni of paddy for 1 ulai-kari, 3 kuruni of paddy for 3 ulakku of pepper, 1 padakkku of paddy for 1 kuruni of salt, 2 tūni of paddy for 2 nalī of ghee, 1 tūni and 1 padakkku of paddy for 1 palam of butter-milk, 1 tūni and 1 padakkku of paddy for butter-milk to the puḷḷuga, 1 tūni of paddy for 22 palam of sugar, 5 kuruni of paddy for 200 areca-nuts, 1 padakkku of paddy for 8 pārṇu of betel-leaves, 1 tūni of paddy for 2 cooks, 4 nalī of paddy for lime, 1 padakkku of paddy for one that supplied fire-wood, and 1 padakkku of paddy for one that supplied ulai-kari thus making a total of 8 kalam, 2 tūni and 3 nalī.

When the party returned from Tiruvengādamalai after tīrtham, 100 Śrī-Vaishṇavas had to be fed at a cost of 8 kalam, 2 tūni and 3 nalī of paddy.

(Ll. 30-32). For feeding Śrī-Vaishṇavas that came on the occasion of Purattāsi-Tiruvonam, a provision of 8 kalam, 2 tūni and 3 nalī, calculated at the above rate, was made.

17 kalam, 1 tūni and 6 nalī of paddy were provided for feeding 150 Śrī-Vaishṇavas on the 6 days of the Aippaḻ festival; at 25 persons for each day and for feeding 50 Śrī-Vaishṇavas on the day of the tīrtham. A quantity of 8 kalam, 2 tūni and 3 nalī of paddy for the Śrī-Vaishṇavas that came to hear the Tiruvāṁkāl hymns on the days of the śkādaśi and śeḍaśi in the month of Mārgaḷ and 17 kalam, 1 tūni and 6 nalī, calculated at the above rate, for feeding 200 Śrī-Vaishṇavas in the maṇḍapa on the occasion of Māṣi-Makha, were also provided.

¹An item of expenditure amounting to 5 nalī is omitted.
(Ll. 33 to 43). 6 nāli of paddy and 1 kāsū per day for 1 tīru, 3 kuruni of paddy and 4 kāsū per day, at 1 kuruni and 4 nāli and 2 kāsū each, for 2 persons who recited the Tiruvāyur hymns, 1 tūṣi of paddy for 4 persons who cultivated the flower-garden of Viraśōлан at 1 kuruni each per day, 1 kuruni and . . . . . . of paddy per day to 1 tīru who brought the calendar and announced the sacred festivals and bathing days, 1 kuruni of paddy and 4 kāsū per day to 1 Vaikkānasa-dēvakānni who demanded from the appointed persons their dues and had the expenses met, 1 kuruni of paddy and 4 kāsū to 1 accountant who entered the accounts, 1 kuruni of paddy per day to 1 potter who supplied the necessary pots to the temple kitchen, Janaṇātha-maṇḍapa, the teachers and students, to the hospital as well as the kālaṣus to the Ālvaṛ, 4 nāli of paddy per day to one washerman who washed the parikṣaṭṭam of the gods and the cloths of the Vēkī teachers and students as well as of the persons in the hospital, 4 nāli of paddy and 1 kāsū per day to Tirumukkūṭal-Pēraiyan who kept watch in the Janaṇātha-maṇḍapa and the hospital, 40 kalam of paddy for the repairs to be executed in the tiruchchurumālīgai, i.e., the inner enclosure of the temple, 1 padakkū of paddy per day to one who taught the Rig-Veda in the Janaṇātha-maṇḍapa, 1 padakkū of paddy per day to one who taught the Yajur-Veda, and 8 kāsū to these two at 4 kāsū each, 1 tūṣi of paddy and 10 kāsū per day to one Bhaṭṭa who expounded the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpāvātāra, 2 kalam, 1 tūṣi and 1 nāli of paddy per day for feeding 60 persons in all—consisting of 10 persons who studied the Rig-Veda, 10 Brahmans who studied the Yajur-Veda, 20 Brahmanas and Chhātras who heard the expounding of the Vyākaraṇa and Rūpāvātāra, 10 Mahāpāṇcharātras, 3 Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, 5 Vaikkānasas and 2 . . . . . . at the rate of 1 room of rice to each person amounting in the aggregate to 11 kuruni, and 2 nāli of rice per day, 1 kuruni of paddy for 4 nāli of payāru, 6 nāli of paddy for 1 puḷikkū-kaṛi, 3 nāli of paddy for 1 ulai-kaṛi, 1 kuruni of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 kuruni of paddy for 1 puḷittā-kaṛi including tamarind, 4 nāli of paddy for 1 ulakkū and 1 ulakkū of pepper, 1 kuruni of paddy for 1 nāli of salt, 1 tūṣi of paddy for 1 nāli of ghee, 3 kuruni of paddy for 1 tūṣi and 1 padakkū of butter-milk, 1 kuruni and 4 nāli of paddy for 60 areca-nuts, and 4 nāli of paddy for 2 payāru of betel-leaves, 3 kuruni of paddy per day and 6 kāsū to 3 assistant cooks, at 1 kuruni of paddy and 2 kāsū each, who brought rice from Vayalalakkāvūr and supplied daily fuel, leaves and water, 1 kuruni of paddy and 2 kāsū per day to 2 maid-servants—at 4 nāli of paddy and 1 kāsū each—who attended on the Chhātras and kiṭaḷḷi that were fed in the maṇḍapa, 2 kāsū for purchasing 75 mats for the Chhātras, kiṭaḷḷi and the āṭivas (i.e., the sick), to lie on, 9 ½ kāsū for purchasing 192 nāli of oil, at the rate of 20 nāli of oil per kāsū, to meet the requirement of 102 nāli of oil to the Chhātras and kiṭaḷḷi for their oil baths during the 51 Saturdays of the year at 2 nāli of oil per Saturday and 90 nāli of oil for lamps to students at 1 ulakkū of oil per night and 40 kalam of paddy for the repairs to be executed to the Janaṇātha-maṇḍapa, were provided.

(Ll. 43-45). The expenses for the hospital of Viraśōlan are:

1 tūṣi, 5 nāli and 1 urī of paddy for 1 kuruni and 7 nāli of rice for feeding 15 in-patients at the rate of 1 nāli each, 3 kuruni of paddy and 8 kāsū per day to Savarpan Koṇḍādarāman Āsvat-thāma-Bhaṭṭan of Ālappākkam, who had obtained land to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital, to the several nīmandak-kārā, i.e., the persons bound to the temple for supplying daily requirements, and to the teachers and students (attached to the temple), 1 kuruni of paddy per day to one who performed surgical operations, 2 kuruni of paddy and 2 kāsū per day to 2 persons, at 1 kuruni and 1 kāsū each, that gathered medical herbs, supplied fuel and attended to the preparation of medicines, 1 kuruni of paddy and 1 kāsū per day to 2 nurses, at 4 nāli of paddy and ½ kāsū each, that attended on the patients and administered medicines, 4 nāli of paddy per day to one barber who served the patients, teachers and students, were provided.

No. 39.—KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134.

By STEN KONOW.

Kalawān is the name of a site near ancient Takshaśila where Sir John Marshall has been conducting excavations during the winter 1931-32. It is situated about three miles to the southeast of Sirkap, on one of the many flat-topped eminences jutting out on the north side of the Margalla hills.

Sir John there found remains of a monastery and a stūpa-chapel with Gandhāra sculptures in good style.

The stūpa was eight-sided and stood in the eight-sided apse of the chapel, which was originally roofed over, like the apsidal chapels at the Chit Tope and in Sirkap, but its plan differs somewhat from the ordinary apsidal temples.

Under the foundations of the stūpa was found a copper-plate, which can confidently be stated to have been deposited at the time of its erection. It proved to contain a Kharoṣṭhī inscription in five lines, and Sir John has, with his usual skill, succeeded in cleaning it, so that every detail is clearly visible in the excellent photographs which he was good enough to give me when I met him in London in May, 1932.

The inscription is of considerable importance, and Sir John therefore allowed me to publish a preliminary account in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1932, pp. 942 and ff.

The letters are of the same kind and type as in the Taxila silver scroll of the year 136. They consist of dots punched into the plate, and the execution is comparatively careful. There is, however, a superficial dot in the upper right-hand corner of the, the last akṣara of l. 2, and, on the other hand, the loop denoting ante-consonant r is incomplete in sava, l. 4, only three dots having been punched in, while the wrong subscript v in -esvavāya instead of -esvavāya, l. 5, may be due to a slip in the original draft.

The alphabet is Kharoṣṭhī, of the same type as in the silver scroll, cf. inter alia the short projection of the vertical bar of sa. Of individual characters we may note the rare akṣara ekha in Chhadandāc, l. 2, the very distinct te in saehasāvarayā, l. 1, and the superscript line which we knew from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript and the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Central Asia, and which is also found above sa in the word tasa, Skr. īrśa, in the Kurram casket inscription, while the Kanhārā record uses a dot in the word Kriṣhṇa, Skr. Kriṣhṇa. In the Corpus I have rendered this line or dot with a dash, writing tasa, Kriṣhṇa, respectively. In our inscription the line occurs in the word shuṣahehi, Skr. mūsakābhyām. Professor Rapson has shown that sa with the superscribed line stands for saha in Central Asian documents, and it is possible that the sa was actually sounded. I shall therefore write shuṣahehi, but I am by no means certain that this writing is a correct rendering of the sound.

Of numerical symbols we find those for 1, 3, 4, 10, 20 and 100.

With regard to the shape of individual letters, it will be seen that the bottom of ha is angular in graha, graha, l. 2; putrei, l. 3; shuṣhahehi, l. 4; hata, l. 5, but rounded in graha, l. 3. We may further note the upward bend of the bottom of ta in the compounds te, l. 5, and tasa, l. 2; cf. the tva of the silver scroll and the ṭa of the Patika, Pājā, and Sue Vihrā inscriptions. The post-consonantal r is usually more or less rounded; cf. gra, ll. 2, 3; trs, ll. 1, 3; ṭra, ll. 2, 4; dhra, ll. 2, 4; pra, ll. 2, 5; ṭra, l. 1. It is, however, angular in gra, l. 5; dhra, l. 3. Ante-conso-

[1] Sir John Marshall while sending me the photographs for preparing the facsmile tells me that the copper-plate measures 8 3/5 by 2 65 inches and weighs 879 grains.—Ed.

nantic r is denoted by a loop in sarvā, l. 5, while the incomplete akṣaraḥ in sar[œ], l. 4, is more like the old form, with a curved cross-bar instead of the loop.

The anusvāra is noted in the usual way in saṅvatāra, Chandrābhī, l. 1; Naṇḍivārākṣuṇā, l. 3; Vīcāradvēdāṇa, l. 4, but omitted in Ṛṣi, l. 4. A redundant anusvāra is found in Dhruvaramāṇa, l. 2, while l. 4 has Dhramac.

The language is the North-Western Prakrit which we know from other Kharāṣṭra inscriptions and the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript. The phonetical system is broadly the same. The vowel ṛ is represented by ra in grahamati, Skr. grīhapati, ll. 2, 3, but by a in gahathubam, Skr. grīhashūpā, l. 2. Intervocalic k has disappeared in uā, Skr. upāśkā, l. 1; shuṣhākhi, Skr. snuṣhākhyām, l. 4, and prati, Skr. prātikāyām, l. 5, but is represented by y in saṅvatāra, Skr. saṅvataśvarākṣuṇā, l. 1. Intervocalic g appears as k, i.e., probably a voiced guttural fricative, in -vikama, Skr. -vīkama, l. 5. Instead of -ch- we find ṣ in ṣya, l. 4, and, similarly, also twice ya for the enclitic ṣa, l. 4, but cha, l. 3. If Saṭā represents Skr. Saṭīta this ṣa has regularly disappeared before i. Intervocalic ja becomes ya in pujā, Skr. pūjāya; pujāśa, Skr. pūjāṣa, l. 5, but remains in the name Reja, l. 4, which I cannot explain. In ajā, l. 1, ā denotes the voiced s, i.e., z. Intervocalic t is usually preserved, but was probably pronounced as d; cf. grāhamati, Skr. grīhapati, ll. 2, 3; dhīta, Skr. duḥhīta, l. 2; dhīhuṇa, Skr. duḥhūṇa, l. 3; ṭbhu, Skr. ṭbhacu, l. 5, but bhānuṇa, Skr. bhānūṇa, l. 3. In the unaccented prefix prati it has been dropped, evidently in consequence of the absence of stress, in prāṭikāyām, Skr. prāṭikāyām, l. 2; cf. prāṭikāyāy in the Taxila gold plate; prathāyā in the Jamālghāti inscription. Intervocalic d disappears, probably after having become a fricative, in sarrāvakaśa, Skr. sāsvatāvākṣa, l. 4. Intervocalic p regularly appears as v, which is dropped after u; cf. uāśa, Skr. upāśkā, l. 1; grahamati, Skr. grīhapati, ll. 2, 3, but becomes b as in some other Kharāṣṭra records in thūba, Skr. stūpa, l. 2. As in the silver scroll, the dental n has throughout been replaced by ṣ. The compound ry becomes ria in ajanēa, Skr. ṛchāṅgēa, l. 4, and y in bhaya, Skr. bhāya, l. 2. The same double treatment is also found in other Kharāṣṭra records. Similarly we have niṇēa for Skr. niśēa, l. 5, but sarvā, ll. 4, 5, as in the silver scroll. The transposition of r in Dhrama, Skr. Dharma, ll. 2, 4, is also known from other sources, but has not been met with in other Kharāṣṭra inscriptions. New is also the assimilation of a(n) to the ensuing ṣk in shuṣhākhi, Skr. snuṣhākhyām, l. 4.

Of inflectional forms I shall only mention the peculiar instrumentals fem. dhītuṇa, Skr. duḥhtiṇa, l. 3, and shuṣhākhi, Skr. snuṣhākhyām, l. 4. They seem to be coined after the pattern of masculine nouns, but we have no right to characterize them as simple mistakes. They were evidently used in the dialect, and Pischel's valuation of the stray Prakrit examples of fem. instr. plur. in chi should be modified.

After the date, with which I shall deal below, the inscription goes on to record that the female worshipper (upāśikā) Chandrābhī (Skr. Chandraḥī), the daughter of the householder (grīhapati) Dhramma (Skr. Dharma), the wife of Bhadravala (Skr. Bhadravāla) puts up relics in the 'house-stūpa' (grīhashūpā) at Chhāḍāśīla.

The term gahathubha (Skr. grīhashūpā) is new, but evidently means a stūpa standing in a griha, i.e., a roofed building. For we have already seen that our stūpa was situated within a chapel that had been roofed over.

Chhāḍāśīla, on the other hand, must be the name of the district, or of an old village or town in the immediate vicinity of the monastery to which our stūpa belonged. It cannot well be a synonym of Takshaśīla, though the last part of the two names, śīlā, is evidently the same. For, in the first place, the new site does not seem to belong to ancient Takshaśīla. Chhāḍāśīla
is designated as rathapikama, Skr. råṣṭhramiga, which seems to mean a country-town or market town, and can hardly denote the capital.

According to the Rāmaṇya, Takshasila was founded by Bharata as the residence of his son Taksha, but Buddhist sources show that the first part of the name was felt to be derived from the base takṣa, to chop, cut off. According to the 22nd avadana of the Dīvyavādana the town was formerly called Bhadrāsila, and in one of his jātaka the Buddha was born as Chandraprabha, king of Bhadrāsila, and as such cut off his own head and gave it to a needy Brahmana. In the Aramaic inscription found in Taxila the name has been translated with nāgaṛāṣṭra, i.e., according to the late Professor Andreas, "carpenter's craft," as if the real form were Takshaśila. An a priori it is quite possible that Takshaśila means "carpenter's rock", or "chop rock", or "a detached rock". And the new name Chhaḍaśaśila seems to support the latter explanation. For its first part, chhad, can very well correspond to Sanskrit chhaḍa, mass, lump, a continuous streak. The Margalla hills, on which Chhaḍaśila was situated, form a continuous range, while the Takshaśila ridge consists of several more or less detached hills. Chhaḍaśila can accordingly mean a place situated on a massy ridge, and Takshaśila a town on or below a detached hill. The name occurs as Ch-o-loop in v. 93 of Saṅghavarman's Chinese translation of the Mahāmāyurī (A.D. 516), which Professor Levi wants to restore as Chhodasala.

In establishing the relics Chandrabhi was associated with her brother Nandivaradhana, her sons Śama and Saita (i.e., perhaps Sanskrit Sāchitta), her daughter Dharmā, her daughters-in-law Rajā and Indrā, her grandson Jivanandin, and her teacher. We may note that Dharmā's granddaughter was called Dharmā, and that the element nandin is found both in the name of Nandivaradhana and in that of his sister's grandson Jivanandin.

The text has, in l. 4, ayariya ya, which can only mean 'and (with) her śāhāra'. It is, however, possible that the original draft had ayariya sarastica parigrahe, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivāda teachers; cf. achariyana sarasticatana parigrahānāni on the Kurram, and achariyana sarasticatana pratigrahe on the Kanishka casket. But also the Lion Capital has sarasticatana parigrahe, without ayariya, and the text as it stands gives good sense.

The final portion of the record contains a blessing on the rathapikama, Sanskrit rāṣṭhramiga, evidently Chhaḍaśila, and on all beings, terminating in the wish for Nirvāṇa, as in the silver scroll.

The inscription is dated saṃvataraṇya 134 ajasa Śravāṇa mahaṇa dīvasa tretāsṛṣṭi—23, in the year 134, on the twenty-third—23, day of the month Śravāṇa, i.e., it is about two years older than the silver scroll of the year 136, for the shape of the letters clearly shows that the same era is used in both records.

The crucial word in this date is the genitive ajasa preceding the name of the month, and it is clear that this ajasa is identical with the genitive ajasa preceding ashaḍasa in the silver scroll.

In my edition of the latter in the Corpus, I have discussed the various explanations of this word, and proposed to explain it as corresponding to Sanskrit aryasa and as characterizing the month as the "first" Āṣṭāḍha because there was, in that particular year, a second, intercalary, Āṣṭāḍha. This being the only inscription of the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records containing any clue to a scientific calculation of the era, I sought the co-operation of the well-known Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk, who was good enough to investigate the matter, whereafter I made his calculations the basis of the chronological system proposed as a working hypothesis in the introduction.

1 VII, 101, 10 ff., cf. Raghubirnath, xrv, s49.
The chief importance of the Kalawân epigraph is that it enables us to test this explanation and other attempts at translating the crucial word.

If my explanation were right, we should have to assume that there was an intercalated Śravaṇa in the year 134 and an intercalated Āśāḍha in the year 136, and this double indication would make it possible to arrive at almost certain results with regard to the epoch of the era, if the system of the Siddhāntas had already come into being.

Dr. van Wijk has again been good enough to come to my assistance. He has pointed out that such a state of things is impossible, unless we were to assume that the year 134 were reckoned as current and 136 as elapsed, so that the interval between the two dates could be about three years. It seems to me that we have no right to make such an assumption.

In such circumstances it becomes necessary to admit that my attempt at arriving at a dating of the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records through astronomical calculations was a failure, and the meaning of the word ayasa, ajasa remains just as doubtful as when the Taxila silver scroll was discovered.

The Kalawân inscription helps us, however, to eliminate certain possibilities. Since the consonant of the base word aya, ajä can be written both y and j, it cannot correspond to Sanskrit y or ry, because -y- remains as y or is dropped, and ry appears as ry, riy, or, occasionally, as y in the North-Western Prakrit. We cannot, therefore, think of ayasya, an irregular genitive of the pronominal base in ayaṃ, this, or of āryasya.

It is also impossible to derive the word from adya, belonging to to-day (adya). It is conceivable that adya, first, might become āya and further āya, because the connected words ādi and ādika would tend to preserve the long ā and prevent the regular change of adya to ajja. But no such counteracting influence would be at work in the case of adya from adya. Even the development of adya, first, to āja, and further to āya, is a priori very doubtful. And now that we know that there cannot be any question of a "first" Śravaṇa or Āśāḍha, as opposed to a "second", intercalated one, the explanation becomes extremely unlikely, the more so because no reasonable sense can be made out of such an addition.

The use of j side by side with y in one and the same word seems to show that we have to do either with an old single intervocalic j or with a voiced s-sound, a z. In other words, ayasa, ajasa must be the genitive of āja (āja) or uzas (āza). I am unable to find any possible word āja, āja which could suit the case, and, so far as I can see, we must return to the explanation originally proposed by Sir John Marshall, that ayasa, ajasa means "of Azes," the double writing aya, aja being parallel to the doublets kuyula, kujula of the name of the first Kadphises king.

Sir John took the word ayasa in the silver scroll to characterize the era used in the record as instituted by Azes. "The absence of any titles attached to the name of Azes," he said, "is exceptional, but will hardly occasion surprise when it is borne in mind that his era had been in use for more than a century, and that his dynasty had been supplanted by that of the Kushans." Professor Rapson took the same view, and added that "Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings' in this inscription without prejudice to the house then actually reigning."

The late Dr. Fleet has, so far as I can see, definitely proved that the addition ayasa cannot be explained in this way: "From the vast mass of inscriptive material which is now available I cannot quote a single record in which the name of a real king (I mean, of course, excluding

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1 cf. Corpus, pp. 67, 68.
3 The Cambridge History of India, 1, p. 882.
the fictitious Vikramāditya and Śālavāhana), whether living or dead at the time of the record—or even of any official—is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another. And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word ayasa does not give a proper name."

"Even if the word ayasa stood before the statement of the years, so that the translation would actually be 'in the year 136 of Aya,' this record would still, on the analogy of every known early Indian record, place Aya in the year 136 of some era not founded by him."

If therefore the word ayasa, ajasa in the silver scroll and the Kalawan records means "of Azes," as I believe it does, it must be explained in a different way, and I believe that a clue can be found in another Taxila inscription.

During the excavations at Sirkap in the winter 1926-27, Sir John Marshall found a worn silver vase of duck shape, bearing a Kharoshthi inscription round the neck. Photographs and impressions were sent to me after the manuscript of my edition of Kharoshthi inscriptions in the Corpus had been sent to press, and I could not do more than give a short account of the record.¹ In my reading it begins ka 191, and I was not able to give a satisfactory account of the initial ka.

In his review of my edition² Professor Thomas proposed to read saka 191, because "we seem to detect before the ka a sign which presents a great resemblance to sa." Mr. Hargreaves was good enough to ask his deputy, Mr. Dikshit, to make a careful examination of the original, and he reported that no trace of any letter can be found. A plaster cast was prepared for my use, and this cast shows distinct traces of a sa, in the same way as the photograph reproduced on Plate XVI d of the Corpus, and I have no doubt that here mechanical reproductions are more reliable than our eye, and that we must actually read saka 191.

Professor Thomas is certainly right in maintaining that saka 191 is a clear reference to an era designated as a Saka institution, and if we substitute the fuller form saṅkacāряge 191 saka sa, in the year 191 of Saka, we would have an exact parallel to saṅkacārye 134 ajasa.

Saka in the silver vase inscription is not the name of an individual ruler, but a dynastic designation, characterizing the era as connected with Saka rule, and the parallelism points to the conclusion that ayasa, ajasa should be explained in a similar way. The word has been added in order to show that the era was different from another reckoning, that connected with Saka rule, and itself introduced or adopted by another, non-Saka, dynasty.

The successors of the Saka in Taxila were the Pahlavas, and among them the Azes kings must have been better known than the rest. The Azes coins are more numerous than all other coins found at the ancient site, and they seem to have been "struck and re-strikd for the best part of a hundred years," as Sir John Marshall has been good enough to tell me. To the Takshashila people, therefore, the name of Azes would naturally be well known, and become almost tantamount to a designation of the whole dynasty, especially after the Pahlavas had been ousted by the Kushān. If it was found necessary to characterize the era used under Parthian rule, it would therefore be natural to do so by adding the word "of Azes," without thinking of any individual king, but only of the late dynasty: "in the year so-and-so, Azes style."

If this explanation is right, it follows that the addition ayasa, ajasa, does not characterize the era as instituted by Azes, but simply as connected with Parthian rulers. And as a matter of fact there are no indications to show that the Parthians introduced an era of their own, or any feature in the dates of records issued under Parthian rule which makes us think of the era as Parthian.

The Parthians brought Greek institutions and notions with them, and in a Parthian era we should expect to find traces of the Greek calendar. It is, however, noteworthy that in India

¹ Corpus, pp. 81 f.
² Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1931, p. 4.
the Macedonian month-names have only been traced in records connected with the Sakas and the Kanishka dynasty, and in no inscription of the Parthian period.

We have, on the other hand, an Indian tradition to the effect that an Indian era, the so-called Vikrama era, was instituted by an Indian king of the name or biruda Vikramadityya, to commemorate his victory over the Sakas in Málava, and I am unable to see why it should not be accepted. The Vikrama era would, in other words, start from the overthrow of Saka rule in Central India.

This event would naturally lead to a Saka exodus, and if the Sakas subsequently invaded Mathura, it would be natural for them in later times to start their chronology from the time when they became masters there, in which case their reckoning must coincide with the new national Indian era which was gradually established in Málava. And this era would have great chances of being adopted by the Parthian rulers, who supplanted the Sakas in the north-west, just as Vikramadityya had done in Málava.

The Taxila silver vase inscription of the year [sa]ka 191 shows, it is true, that an older, Saka, era remained in use, also during the Parthian period. For Jihójika-Zeionises, during whose reign the vase was manufactured, belongs to that period. It is even probable that he was himself a Parthian and not a Saka, if the last part of his father's name Manigula is Iranian varda, for Iranian e does not seem to become g in old Saka. But the Takht-i-Bãhí inscription of the year 103 shows that the other reckoning was soon introduced side by side with the old one, and, to judge from other records, such as the Panjtár and the Taxila silver-scroll inscription, it gradually became the usual one.

It might be objected that the Parthians would, a priori, be more likely to adopt a Saka than an Indian era. For they were foreign invaders, of Iranian stock, just as the Sakas. And it has often been maintained that they were so closely associated with the Sakas that the two can hardly be distinguished.

I have never been able to accept that view. We know that Sakas and Parthians had constantly been at war with each other before any of them founded an Indian empire. The Sakas were hardly pressed by Mithradates I. They reasserted themselves under his successors, but were again reduced by Mithradates II. And shortly afterwards Parthian rulers replaced the Sakas in north-western India.

These Parthian rulers came to north-western India at a time when the Sakas of the Parthian kingdom had been brought to subjection. The conquest of the Saka realm in India was a consequence of the supremacy they had already acquired, and there was no occasion for commemorating it by establishing a new era. The old Saka era therefore continued to be used. But at about the same time, or probably a little later than Azes' accession, the new reckoning, which coincided with the national Indian Vikrama era, gradually spread northwards and westwards, also to Parthian India.

Sakas of course continued to live in India under Parthian rule. But we have no indications to show that they identified themselves with the Parthians. When later on the Kusháñas entered on the stage, they took up again the Saka tradition, and they were probably themselves Sakas. Their conquest, beginning with an attack on the Parthians and culminating in the sack of Sirkap, shows that they did not look on the Parthians as their associates and kinsmen. But just because the era current under Parthian rule was not a Parthian institution, it was left alone under the new rulers.

So far as I can see, we must therefore refer the dates not only of the Takht-i-Bãhí inscription of the year 168, but also of the Panjtár record of the year 122, the Kalawân plate of the year 134, and the Taxila scroll of the year 136 to the Vikrama era, and if we reckon with elapsed Kãrtti-kãdi years, these dates would then roughly correspond to A.D. 46, 65, 77 and 79, respectively.
With regard to the reckoning used in the Jihoukka inscription, it is evident that it is the same as that of the Patika plate, and it is probable that also some other records should be referred to it.

Such is the case with the Maïra well inscription of the year 58, if it actually contains the name Moa, i.e. Mogaa; with the Mânsâkra inscription, which seems to be dated in the year 68, and which mentions a certain Lia, who may have something to do with the Kâhârâpa Lâuka of the Patika plate; with the Shahdarm inscription of the râjaân Dâmiyâda, whose name reminds us of that of the Western Kâhârâpa Dâmaâsâda, and perhaps with the Fâtehâng, Lâriyân Tângai, Jamâlâgâr, Hashtnâgar, and Skârah Dâheri inscriptions of the years 68, 318, 359, 384 and 399, respectively.

With regard to the epoch of this old Saka era, various dates have been suggested. Sir John Marshall, as once thought of ca. 95 B.C., but is now inclined to go back to the middle of the second century; the late Mr. Banerji suggested ca. 100 B.C.; Mr. Jayaswal, ca. 123, and Professor Rapson, ca. 150. It seems to me that the last-mentioned scholar cannot have been far from being right.

The Jihoukka inscription was found on a silver vase, which was much worn when it was buried at the sâk of Sîrkap. It may have been about twenty-five years old at that date. The Kusâhâja conquest of Tukshâsiâ, which led to the destruction of Sîrkap, can roughly be dated ca. A.D. 65. At the time of the Tâkhâr-i-Bâhi inscription of the year 103, i.e. A. D. 46, the ruler was the Parthian Gondophernes. And we know that other Parthian rulers intervened between him and the Kusâhâjas. Moreover, I cannot accept Professor Rapson's criticism of my reading and interpretation of l. 5 of the Tâkhâr-i-Bâhi inscription eryûna Kapara puyae, in honour of Prince Kapa, i.e. Kujula Kadphises. On the stone I could not see traces of letters between Kapa and sa. If I am right, Kujula's career of conquest had not begun in A.D. 46. At the time of the Pantrâr inscription of the year 122, i.e., A.D. 63, on the other hand, the Kusâhâja power had become established, and at the date of the silver-scroll inscription of the year 136, i.e., A.D. 79, the sâk of Sîrkap seems to have been an event of the past. If we assume that the Jihoukka vase was made about A.D. 40, the epoch of the era would be 191—40, i.e. about 150 B.C.

In that case the Patika plate would be dated in the year 159—78, i.e. about 72 B.C. Patika was then evidently a young man, without any official position or title. If he were then about twenty years old and about sixty-five when he appears as Mahâkâshârâpa on the Lion Capital, the date of the latter would be about 25 B.C. At that time there was another Mahâkâshârâpa in Mathurâ, viz., Râjula, who had a son, the Kâhârâpa Sôjâsa. The latter may have been about twenty-five years old, and it would be reasonable to assume that he was about sixty-five at the time when he appears as Mahâkâshârâpa in the Amâhini tablet of the Vikrama year 72, i.e. A.D. 15. Such calculations are, of course, not decisive. But they raise a certain presumption in favour of an epoch about 150 B.C.

1 J. R. A.S., 1914, p. 986. 2 J. B. O. R. S., xvi, p. 240. 3 J. R. A. S., 1920, p. 189. 4 The Cambridge History of India, i, p. 570. 5 As seen by Professor Thomas, Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1931, p. 6, the final sentence of the plate must be read as mahadaniapati Patika saja weyhan[sa] Rohiniimitreya yan inva[ma] saîgharame narabhamika, the great-gift-lord Patika together with the wâdâghyad Râpihipurâs, who is overseer of works in this Saîgharâma. There is, accordingly, no mention of the title jôcara as proposed by me, Corpus, p. 288 l.

I cannot agree with Professor Rapson, Acta Orientalia, xi, pp. 290 ff., that the St. Andrew's cross symbol in the tablet stands for 40. It seems to me that Professor Lüders, Acta Orientalia, x, pp. 118 ff., has proved that it must be read as 70. The manuscript fragments where the symbol is used in that way came from Northern India, and I do not quite understand Professor Rapson when he says that they are "somewhat distantly removed in place, if not in time, from the Mathurâ inscriptions."
And it would seem to be quite intelligible if the Sakas had introduced an era of their own about that time. We know from Chinese sources that their southward march and invasion of Ki-pin coincided with the Yüe-chi conquest of the Ta-hia country, which is stated to have been effected ca. 160 B.C. The Sakas must then have come into contact with the Greek and with the Parthians, whose King Mithradates I (ca. 171-138 B.C.) is stated to have extended his empire to the Indus and to have brought force to bear on the Scythians. This would naturally lead to the Sakas trying to consolidate their power and to their introducing an era of their own, in imitation of the Greek, who used the Seleucid era. Under Mithradates' successors they were more than able to hold their own, until Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.) succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over them.

The pressure thus exercised on the Sakas seems to have led to their invasion of the Indus country. In the Saka year 58, i.e. about 92 B.C., we apparently find the Saka king Moga mentioned in the Maira well inscription, and ten years later perhaps a Saka chief Lia in Mansehra, while Moga again appears in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, i.e. about 72 B.C. How long he remained in power, we do not know, but he seems to have had a fairly long reign.

The Saka empire, however, soon broke up. In Mālava it was, according to an Indian tradition, brought to an end by an Indian ruler, known as Vikramāditya, and in the North-West we soon find the Parthian ruler Azes, who may have risen to power about the middle of the first century B.C.

The Kushānas, who made an end to the empire founded by Azes, are known to us from Chinese sources. We there learn about their gradual rise to power. At first we hear about them as forming a principality, Kuei-shuang, near or within the Ta-hia country conquered by the Great Yüe-chi.

We are told about five such principalities, each under a hi-hou, viz. Hui-mi, the present Wakhān; Shuang-mi, the present Chitral; Kuei-shuang, apparently immediately to the north of Gandhāra, or Gandhāra itself; Hi-tun, the present Parwān on the Panjshir, and Kao-fu, i.e. Kābul. The hi-hou of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tsui-k'io (Kujula Kadphises), attacked the four other hi-hou and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang (i.e. he assumed the title "Kushāna-king"). He further invaded An-si (i.e. the neighbouring Parthian realm) and seized Kao-fu. Moreover he triumphed over P'uta (unidentified) and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. He died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chhen (i.e. Wima Kadphises) became king in his stead. He again (after) extinguished (conquered) T'ien-chu (i.e. the Indus country) and appointed a general there for the administration.

We are distinctly told that these events belong to the period Kien-wu (A.D. 25-55) and later, and that they had been related by Pan-yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A.D. 107-125). Kujula Kadphises cannot, therefore, have started on his career before A.D. 25, and the whole development narrated in the Annals, including Wima Kadphises' reconquest of T'ien-chu, had been concluded in A.D. 125.

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1 Otherwise Rapson, The Cambridge History of India, 1, p. 568.
2 Cf. Marguax, Erānashar, pp. 242 ff. According to the Hou Han-ahu Kao-fu should be replaced by Tu-mi.
3 The Tang pronunciation of the name was, according to Karlsten, Nos. 760 and 956 Buk-dāt. Ten miles east of Kābul we find the small village Butkhāk, at the place where the two routes to Kābul from the east meet.
4 It is mentioned by Baber, transl. by John Leyden and William Erskine, II, p. 130, and the name is said to mean "idol-dust" with reference to the legend that Mahmud of Ghazni here broke up the idols he brought from Hindustan. That sounds like a popular etymology, and if the place is old, Butkhāk might be a corruption of an old Bukāt. But it is more likely that P'uta was some part of Arachosia.

5 Cf. Chavannes, Ts'oung Poo, II, viii, p. 168.
The Kalawan inscription has, as we have seen, shown that the era used in the Kharoshthi inscriptions connected with these events must be the so-called Vikrama era. We can, accordingly, state that Kujula Kadphises' attack on An-si and conquest of Kao-fu cannot be placed before some time after A.D. 46, because then Gondophernes, who was not the last Parthian king, was still ruling. Less than twenty years later, in the year 122, i.e. A.D. 65, we find a maharaja Gushana, a title which recalls the Hou Han-shu statement about Kujula Kadphises styling himself Kushana King, mentioned in the Panjtar inscription. If this ruler was, as some scholars think, Wima Kadphises, we should have to draw the inference that his father, who was more than eighty years old at his death, was no more alive, and that he had, consequently, achieved his chief result, the victory over the Parthians, when he was a septuagenarian. That is, so far as I can see, an impossibility, and the chronology which the new inscription allows us to draw up seems to clear up the disputed question about the identity of the Kushana ruler mentioned in the Panjtar and silver-scroll records. He can only be identified with Kujula Kadphises. And if he was still alive in A.D. 79, Kanishka, the successor, or one of the successors, of his son Wima Kadphises, cannot have founded the historical Saka era.

The Kalawan inscription is also of importance for the chronology of Gandhara art. The sculptures found in the chapel, which cannot be older than A.D. 77, are stated to be of good style, and it is not a priori likely that they are older than the chapel itself. We can, accordingly, in this case approximately date some specimens of good Gandhara art. If the Lohyan Tangai, Hashtnagar and Skara Dheri image inscriptions of the years 318, 384 and 399, are referred to the old Saka era and roughly correspond to A.D. 168, 234 and 249 A.D., respectively, we should be able to survey the development of Gandhara sculpture for more than 150 years. The Mamana Dheri pedestal of the Kanishka year 89 would then be only slightly older than the Hashtnagar image, because it seems impossible, in view of the chronological result indicated above, to assume an earlier epoch of the Kanishka era than towards A.D. 130.

TEXT.

(L. 1) Sanvatdsaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa sravasa masasa divase trevisac 20 1 1 ina kahuca Chaundrabi zusia (l. 2) Dharmasa gahavatisa dhita Bhadravalasa bhaya Chhadaasila sarira prastaveti gahathu (l. 3) bami sadha bhradauna Nandsivaadhanapena grahavatiina sadha putchi Shama Sainena cha dihtiina cha (l. 4) Dhramae sadha shnushehi Rajae Idrae ya sadha Jivaasatdina Shamaaputra enaaryena ya saapabhya (l. 5) vaan parigrahe rashtakamo puyaata sarvasvatavata puyae nivaasa praata hotu.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 134 of Azes, on the twenty-third—23. day of the month Sravana, at this term the female worshipper (upasika) Chandrabhi, daughter of the householder (grihapati) Dharma, wife of Bhadrapala, establishes reliefs in Chhadaasila, in the chapel-stupa, together with her brother, the householder Nandivardhana, with her sons Shama and Sachitta and her daughter Dharma, with her daughters-in-law Rajasa and Indra, with Jivanandin, the son of Shama, and the teacher, in acceptance of the Sarvastivadas, having venerated the country-town, for the veneration of all beings; may it be for the attainment of Nirvana.

1 That does not, however, preclude that Kabul might already have been associated with the Kushanas at an earlier stage, before the attack on the Parthians. Such a previous connection may be reflected in the Kujula-Hermocles coins and in the notice in the older Han Annala about Kao-fu being one of the five Ta-ha Kujula-Hermocles principalities. But the Parthian conquest of Kabul made an end to that state of things.
No. 49.—KOLAGALLU INSCRIPTION OF KHOṬTIGA ; SAKA 889.

By N. Laksminarayan Rao, M.A., Ootacamund.

The stone which bears this inscription was found at Kolagallu, which is a railway station on the Guntakal-Hubli section of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. A very brief note on its contents has appeared in the Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, for the year 1913-14. This is the earliest record of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Khōṭtiga so far discovered and I edit it below from the stampages kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is written in ordinary Sanskrit and in Nāgarī characters closely resembling those of the Deōli and the Karhāḍ plates of Krishna III. The average size of the letters varies from 3" to 1". The ā sign is written in two ways—(1) by a slanting stroke at the top of the letter and (2) by a stroke beginning at the top of the letter and running down to its bottom on the left side. With the exception of lines 1 to 3, which give the date, the whole of the record is in verse. It may be remarked here that the syntax of verse 5 is faulty. The word hēmayasyāsanō stands by itself without any connection with the rest of the verse and the verse has no predicate. The form rik-sāmaiḥ (l. 29) is grammatically wrong. The rules of sandhi are not observed in purushō kumārō (l. 31) and grāmē abhishiktaḥ (l. 33). Apparently this is due to the requirements of the metre. The scanning of the first pāda of verse 21 is not in conformity with the rules of prosody for it has one syllable in excess of the actual number required. The text of the inscription contains some technical expressions like dayāsana and lōhāsana (l. 35), the exact import of which is not quite clear. Neither lōhāsana nor dayāsana finds place in the verse which enumerates the five yōdā āsanā,2 viś.

The word Kapardin which generally means Siva is here possibly used for Kārttikeya. Verse 18 would show that this epithet was applied to the sage Gadādara also. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noted: (1) A superfluous anusedāra is sometimes used before double n or before n followed by a consonant (e.g., taśminn-ādhipatyaṁ in l. 20, vedeśin in l. 38, kānivy-eka in l. 42, ananmyāśīṭī in l. 50 and sūmānīyō in l. 68); (2) the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in saraneṣ (l. 23); (3) the letter r is used in place of b in Ativara (l. 72) and vṛabhacārīhyā (l. 79); (4) the consonant ri is used for the vowel ri as in rik-sāmai (l. 29) and vice versa as in ananmyāśīṭī (l. 50) and devarṣa (l. 50); (5) the letter sh is used for the jīvamārtya as well as for the upadāmānīya as is seen in mahayān-kurutē (l. 63), prīthis-kapardinaḥ (l. 77), chaṃpakshu-Purushō (l. 31) and vṛpavas-Pāravati (l. 55); (6) the corrupt or Prakrit form samvakhara is used instead of samvartara in lines 1 and 2.

The record is dated Saka 889 expired, the year Kashaya, Sunday, the Sixth (tithi) of the bright half of Phālguna, when king Krishna had died and Khoṭṭigadeva was ruling. This Khōṭtiga is no other than the homonymous Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Mālkheḍ, the half brother and successor of Krishna III.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of the images of Kārttikeya and other gods at the village of Kolagala by the Brahmācārīn Gadādara. Verses 2 to 8 glorify

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1 No. 236 of 1913 of the Madras Ephigraphical Collection.
2 Part II, para. 36.
3 Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.
4 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 231 ff.
5 See Sādākulpadrama under āsana.
the god Kārttikādeva (Skanda) and his ārama made of gold. His prowess in destroying the demon Tāraka and his brilliant form are then extolled (vv. 9 to 12). Verse 13 describes the ascetic Gadadhara as a lōhaśāni belonging to the Śaṅjñāyā-gōtra and as a crest-jewel of the Gaṇḍa country. The next verse tells us that he was born in the village Tādā and that he was the illuminator of the Varṇāḍī country. (Verse 15 is devoted to the praise of his learning and devotion. We learn from verse 16 that he set up the images of the Sun, Brahmā, Viśnu, Mahāśiva, Pārvatī and Vināyaka and that he constructed a tank, a monastery and some wells. According to the following verse, these acts of charity established his fame in heaven. Verse 19 states that he was conducting the administration of the realm of the god Kārtikkāya.) Verse 22 gives the ancestry of the poet Madhusūdana who composed this prakāsa. In the last verse Gadadhara beseeches future Brahmacharins to have the same love as himself for the god Kapardin.

The importance of this epigraph chiefly lies in its date which corresponds regularly to A.D. 967 February 17, Sunday, the tithi commencing at 66 of the day. The earliest correct date hitherto found for Khoṭṭīga is Śaka 890, Vibhava, Jyeṣṭha Suddha 1, Thursday (A.D. 968 April 30, Thursday). Our record is thus earlier than this by one year. It is also important in another way for, as Khoṭṭīga was the successor of Krishṇa III, it helps us to ascertain Krishṇa's last date.

But before proceeding to determine the date of Krishṇa's death, I think it is necessary to discuss the date of his accession which has not yet been properly fixed. The Karhāḍ grant of A.D. 959 describes at length the conquests of Krishṇa III which were achieved by him after he was crowned king; but the Dēolī plates whose date is approximately 30th April A.D. 940 makes no mention of any of them. On the other hand the account given in them ends with his coronation. It is very likely, therefore, that Krishṇa came to the throne shortly before the date of the Dēolī plates. And the earliest known regular date of this monarch is Śaka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyaṇa-pañcakramaṇa, Vyaṭāpāta, Monday (A.D. 939 December 23, Monday). But the Isāmudra inscription of his father Baddega Amogha-varsha III is also dated in Śaka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyaṇa-sañkramaṇa. It has to be noted, however, that this latter date does not admit of verification as neither the week day nor the nakshatra is cited. Now, only one of the following two inferences can be drawn from these dates viz., (1) that Amogha-varsha III and his son Krishṇa III were ruling jointly or (2) that the date which does not admit of being tested is not correct. That Krishṇa III became king only after his father's death is stated in unequivocal terms in the Dēolī and the Karhāḍ plates. And Krishṇa's record of 23rd December 939 gives him such titles as Mahārāja-dhārīśa which are indicative of paramount authority. It follows, therefore, that Baddega must have died before this date, which, as stated above, is the earliest available for Krishṇa III. Hence the first alternative viz., that Krishṇa and his father were joint rulers has to be rejected and the date of the Isāmudra inscription has to be regarded as incorrect. But as has been shown by Kielhorn long ago there are several instances where Uttarāyaṇa-sañkramaṇa is wrongly quoted while other details are given correctly. We may or may not be wrong, therefore, if we leave out of account the Uttarāyaṇa-sañkramaṇa of the Isāmudra inscription and take as correct the only other detail contained in it, viz., the cyclic year Vikārin. Then, Baddega would still be on the throne in the
year Vikārin which began on 23rd February A.D. 939. In all probability, therefore, Krishṇa succeeded his father after this date. Thus the initial year of the reign of Krishṇa III would fall between 23rd February and 23rd December A.D. 939.

Now let us ascertain the last date of Krishṇa. Our inscription tells us that Khoṭṭiga was holding the reins of government on 17th February A.D. 967, after Krishṇa’s death. Consequently, the latter ruler must have died before this date. And the latest date that we now have for Krishṇa is 6th March A.D. 965. Several inscriptions in the Tamil country are dated in the 28th year of his reign and thus prove that his rule lasted for not less than 28 years. Since, as shown above, he ascended the throne after 23rd February A.D. 939 he must have occupied the throne till some time after 23rd February A.D. 966, when his 28th year began. The wording of the present record, viz., पर्यऽस्तः गति तत्तत्त्तापायः कणानुपि निर्दि राज्येः ब्रह्मणग्राह्य (II. 4-5) would indicate that Krishṇa’s death had occurred not long before the date cited in it (i.e., A.D. 967 February 17). This surmise is further strengthened by the fact that another record of Khoṭṭiga which is later by 4 years does not contain any reference to Krishṇa’s death, because it was by that time an event which had taken place long ago. The passage in it which introduces the king runs as: पाल्यस्तः गति प्राप्ते ब्रह्मणे राज्ये मेलिते. We may, therefore, conclude that Krishṇa III ruled from A.D. 939 to 966-67. From what has been said above, it also becomes clear that the last year of Krishṇa’s reign was the 28th year.

Gadāḍhara who installed the images mentioned above appears to have been an ascetic of great repute as can be seen from the high praise bestowed upon him in the record. As stated above, the realm of god Kārttikeya was under his administrative charge. In another inscription of Kolagallu of A.D. 964, this tract of territory is called कार्त्तिक्या-तपोवल्म and we are told that he had full control over it and that he was ruling it from Kolgalu.

We learn from an inscription at Kuḍatini that this person set up in that village an image of Skanda. It thus appears that he was an ardent devotee of this god. We do not know when this celebrity came from Varṇḍra to the Kanarese country but this much is clear that he rose to this eminence on account of his learning and other qualities. It is possible, however, that Krishṇa III met and brought him to the south during the second northern expedition which, as I have shown elsewhere, took place in A.D. 963-64.

All that we know about Madhusūdana, the author of this inscription, is that he was the son of Atibala and grandson of Rishi, that he was a deva of the Karmāra-kula and that his ancestors emigrated from Tarkāri. As the preserved portion of the last verse of the Kuḍatini epigraph, referred to above, is an exact copy of the 22nd verse of our record, the former also appears to have been composed by this same Madhusūdana. I am not able to identify him with any of the poets of this name who flourished in this period.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Varṇḍra "is identified with that part of Bengal which is now called Rājashāhī." As to Tarkāri, there seem to be a number of places of this name, but the Tarkāri of the present inscription is, I think, the famous

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1 Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 113 of 1929-30.
2 See, for instance, Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 364 of 1902, 125 of 1906 and 159 of 1921.
3 Same collection No. 44 of 1904.
4 The date of the Kṛṣṇa record which has been wrongly read as the (30)th year (Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 232 of 1902) was after re-examination found to be the 20th year.
5 Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914, Pt. II, para. 36; No. 234 of 1913.
6 Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 44 of 1904.
9 See Ind. Ant., Vol. LX, pp. 16-17.
TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1 to 15, 16 to 21 and 23, Anushtubh; 15 and 22, Sāradāvīkṛitiḥ.]

First Face.

1 स्वस्ति चि [II*] शकान्तपकारातातिष्ठवान(क्ष) [III*] राष्ट्रीय प्रभावितान्नाक्ष्यंस्यवासु फालुश्वरेन्द्रमन्त्रिन यद्यान्नास्ति भूमिका यस्य श्रवण्याणि निष्काम्यमुनि [III*] यासी शाकान्तपकारातातिष्ठवान(क्ष) [III*]

5 तावद्वेषी(वर्ण) धर्ममेहः कलो युगोऽस्ते
6 शे II[III*] शैलीक्षंपत्रापस्य विश्वाय दयानुसारे
7 यूषवी [IV*] शास्त्रिकार्तिकेश्वरस्य वर्ज्या
8 य यमाभ्याम: (यम:) [V*] त्रायंशशर्मवर्ण देवं श्रीम-
9 दुर्गामेहं श्रमं [VI*] सर्वलोकाणि श्राति
10 नमात्म पर्यायः [IV*] सुरसेनाधिकारे
11 हस्त(स्त्र)मयं शलं महाशम: [IV*] शुक्लं विपु-
12 लां जीवि सर्वविविधानानि [V*] चमनयं
13 द्वाग(लिंग)सनोिग्यति [IV*] विष्णु: कर्पिनिधि: [VI*]
14 [हि] दशहस्तार्गदापायी: शर्मतं धर्मंकी
15 संस्ते II[VI*] उपादितः प्रवेणन्ति रानन्ते
16 विष्णुधिता [IV*] तेजसा श्रमायंसूसुंद्रयामवाने
17 विदिते सर्वं II[V*] दिखायतानं सर्वं
18 पूर्वन्तुरव्यव निम्नेण [IV*] पाधवं वेचना चतरण
19 च कामसूप सुखावं [I*] यशवं वेचना चतरण
20 सनं तस्य(स्त्रय)विराधिपति दिवीकसा [I*]
21 कालं हादन्तेण सोयं देवेश्वरं
22 रंगमु: II[V*] केशस्य निनयिनामित वर्षानु
23 यो। हादमेज्जन: [IV*] जातस्य(श्र)वक्षेण वा
24. लो विषाला परम्बर. II[^c^] क्रत्रे[२]-
25. श्रापवैषो व्यस्तकारकासाधिना. [१^]
26. क्रोड़य नियोजित राहन्त[२]-
27. योग सात[२०^] श्रुति दीर्घ(पर्वतेषु) पावन [१५२]-
28. स्वाजीमय: तत्री। बिजासम्भवः[२०]-

Second Page.

29. वे रि(२)प्रास्थवेवद्वयर-
30. महा[२०^] विष्ठचुत-
31. युष्मकुमारी[१] वि-
32. वंदीतरुषः. [१^] नीमी-
33. लक्ष्मणप्रसादम- शा-
35. नौकरानी च प्रधान- प्रधान.
36. व्यस्तपकले गदाध-
37. र: [२०] बिजासम्भवो.
38. विवाह(हा)शोमचुडाम-
39. श्रीमन्ती II[२०^] श्रापवै.
40. निमन्लाय तडापा[२०]-
41. भ(२)वन तु [१^] खालितो
42. द्विष्टमन्त्र वर-पुरुष-
43. चौतकारिणा II[२०^] क-
44. चार्यस परंपर एव भ-
45. वने क(२)नव दातु बिन-
46. ता विवाह यथा समस्त-
47. जन्तुहितकीप्रम-
48. भैयामला [१] भक्तिरूप
49. पल्लि कवि विनाना क्ष-
50. वायुस्मान्य(मूख्यत्र)ता त-
51. सो खसित गदाधरा[२]
Third Face.

54 [४]शोपर(०) सववारी घोषा विशुम्|७६|
56 च वििािा: ||१८*||[४]हेक्के खण्डनता: *|| कीितः |
57 विशिष्टा सत्यंविषयं ||[४] यथाप्रतिष्ठा |
59 देवानी अनता प्रायेत ोमता ||१७*|| सरी- |
60 संस्कृते कीिं गायिकाःसख- |
61 दा ||[४] जयवधि कचियेParcelable- |
62 ने विधानप्रेयकं ||[४] उपि-शासन- |
63 ब्युक्ते यथा वैशेषिने बलत: ||१८*|| सरा- |
64 सिस्तहरकंधयं वरामाधि- |
65 न्यान: ||[४] अ[४] न दता बसुधा प्रद- |
66 जला विग्रेष्ट: ||२०*|| स्त्रीलो चरित- |
67 दा(भिन्त) दता भुविनः सतिसरितदता ||[४] विष्ण- |
68 भवाया न चतुर्था सारं(भ) चोचि अस्मिनाः |
69 गर: ||२१*|| नीवसरकुलाहरिः |
70 वरामथस्थ(प्रामातू) तत्कृतिरो निरima न- |
71 मन्मेद्यसम्भवसरकुलतिः(चन्द)- |
72 विनवत्पव्याधिः विनाववाहिनः(च)- |
73 लक्ष्म्याभ्यामज(द) सुलतो हरी- |
74 ध्वस्तनानाथविना गाम्य प्रिय- |
75 सित: जला ||२२*||

Fourth Face.

76 गद्याधिक मद्विनाः |
77 या निमिन्दिनः |
78 न: ||[४] तथाकथापि क- |
79 तत्त्वा भविषयः(द) ||
80 चारिभिः: ||२१*||
TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 3.) Hail! Prosperity! On Sunday the sixth tithi of the bright half of the (month) of Phalgunā in the (cyclic) year Kṣaya, when eight hundred years increased by eighty nine had elapsed since the time of the Śaka King, the installation (ceremony) was performed.

(Verse 1.) During the reign of Khoṭīcādāya—the king named Kṛṣṇa of excellent qualities having gone to heaven—(this) bridge of religious merit (was erected) in the Kali age.

(V. 2.) Adoration to the omniscient god Kārttikeya, who has a form which is manifest in the three worlds, who has obtained great fame and is glorious.

(V. 3.) I bow to that Supreme Lord who bears the (weapon called) Jhānaśakti, who is the son of the celebrated Rudra, is the auspicious and the peaceful One and the benefactor of the whole universe.

(V. 4.) The chief of the commanders of the army of the gods—let people hear the valour of the high-souled One and his wide fame which is capable of destroying all sins.

(V. 5.) (Let people hear) the three guṇas and the prowess of (that god), who possesses a yaśasāśāna made of gold, viz., Kapardin, (otherwise of the ascetic with the matted hair) who holds in his hands the best of birds and the gadā and the meritorious act of (the best of) Brāhmans Gadasādharaka which is eternal.¹

(Vv. 6 and 7.) His seat of heavenly form, created with special effort, decked with many gems, extremely pure in its lustre, worshipped by Indra and other gods, which is capable of destroying sins, which was created by (god) Brahmā and which can assume the desired form is comfortable.

(V. 8.) Seated in that dvarāśāna was wielded the generalship of the (army of) the gods by the twelve eyed (god). Such is the issue of the lord of gods (i.e., Śiva).

(V. 9.) This six faced, twelve-eyed boy, the soul of the universe, the supreme lord was born in the womb of the lotus of gold in the saravāna grass.

(V. 10.) That Tāraka, the lord of demons, who could not be slain by Rudra, Brahmā and other (gods) was destroyed in sport by this (god) who has the twelve arms as his eyes.

(V. 11.) He is the only (god) on earth and in heaven who is eternal, who is full of brilliance and who has accomplished his purpose. Thus do the twice-born who are well-versed in the Vēdas praise him well by Riks and Sāmans.

(V. 12.) This Kumāra, the eye and the face of the universe (i.e., who has eyes and faces pervading the whole universe), the Purusha was anointed at the illustrious village Kolagala on the auspicious day.

(V. 13.) The learned and virtuous Gadādharaka, the crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country, who is a lōhāsāni (ascetic), who is a Śāndilya and who has practised great austerities is the refuge of learned men.

(V. 14.) By him who was born in the village of Taḍā and was the illuminator of (the country of) Varṇaḍrī was (the god Kumāra) consecrated with divine hymn with a view to attain an abode in heaven.

(V. 15.) Prosperity be ever to that Gadādharaka, who is dear to Brāhmans, whose wealth resides in his house only to be bestowed on others like an unmarried girl, whose learning is pure and beneficial to all beings like the glow of a lamp and whose devotion (to god) resorted to none but himself like a chaste wife.

¹There seems to be a śloka here upon the words Kapardin, ṛṣiśāṇa and gadā-pāṇi describing the greatness of god Kārttikeya and of the ascetic Gadādharaka.
(Vv. 16 and 17.) And besides (the god named above) the Sun, Brahmā, Vishnū, Mahēśvara, Pārvati and Vināyaka (all these gods) were installed on beautiful pedestals and a tank, a monastery and wells were constructed. Since the consecration of the gods was performed in this village by this learned man, his fame became well known to the dwellers in heaven.

(V. 18.) This sage who has the face of the moon is victorious and has matted hair (Kapardin) the heavenly nymphs ever sing his praises in the abode of Iadra.

(V. 19.) This Durbhikhamalla (i.e., the destroyer of famine) conducts in the realm of the illustrious Śvāmin (Skanda) the administration, which is beneficial to the learned and the Brāhmans, like Bali, the son of Vīrōchana.

(V. 20.) This excellent and ancient village is the property of the worshipful Śvāmin. It is especially on this account that no land (here) is parcellled out and given.

(V. 21.) The land which is taken possession of, measured and granted with sesame and water to Brāhmans should not be snatched away: (this is) the common (rule of the) ocean of Dharma.

(V. 22.) A family immigrated from Tarkāri, the village of the excellent twice born Karmāra community and became pure in successive generations. In it (was born) the scholar Rishi; his son was Atibala renowned in the world; by the poet Madhusūdana the son born to him, (i.e., Atibala) was this excellent prakāsti composed.

(V. 23.) Just as love was entertained by Gadābhara towards (god) Kapardin, so also should it be done by all the future Brahmachārins.

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No. 41.—THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS.

By A. Rangaswami Saraswati, B.A., and N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A.

A

CHIMAKURTI PLATE OF VEMA.

This plate was secured on a loan from the Karnam of Chimakurti in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District in the year 1920. It is a single copper plate with no rim, oblong in shape and a little broken at the bottom. It is 10½" in length and 6½" in breadth. There is a very small hole at the top of the plate to allow a string to pass through. Only one side of the plate bears the writing. At the top of the plate are engraved the figure of a linga and a bull facing it. The weight of the plate is 37 tolas.

The inscription on the plate is written in Telugu characters and language except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. The alphabet and orthography of the document bear close resemblance to those of the Tettaramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya-Vēma and the Phirangipuram inscription of Kōmai-Vēma though these two are later in point of time. It is therefore likely that the present document is a later copy of the original, though it is nowhere stated so. There seems to be no objection, however, to take the historical facts contained.
in it as correct, for the birudas of king Vema found here, which give all the historical information, are almost similar to those found in his Amaravati inscription1.

The inscription records the grant of the village Rāmatirtham situated in the Śrīśailabhūmi and the Ammananbrōlu-sīma as a ēvar-yāgrahāra to Chitāmāru Timman-Bhaṭṭa who was the son of Kāmēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka and who belonged to the Kauḍājya-gōtra, Yajus-śākha and Āpastaṁba-sūtra. Besides this the donee was granted a fourth portion of the produce of the wet lands, betel-leaf gardens and sugar cane fields, of each of the five villages Chīmakurtī, Bhimēśvaram, Pulikōṇḍa, Mailavaram and Kumārapurī and a sixteenth portion of the produce of the remaining three-fourths. A fifth part of the money income (śeveny-ādāya) of these villages and the water of the Peda-cheruvu (big tank) were to be given to him. Over and above these the donee was to receive one-tenth of the produce of the other villages (in the division ?) and land at the rate of 200 kusā measured by a pole of 16 bāru in big villages and 100 kusā in small villages. It is interesting to note that the present Kārmaṇ of the village Chīmakurtī who is now in possession of this copper-plate claims to be a lineal descendant of the donee and is still enjoying some of the gifts registered in the plate.

The date of the document is Śālivahana Śaka year 1257, Yuva Kārttika 12, Thursday, Maaṇvādi. This is the earliest record of the king being earlier by 10 years than the Madras Museum plates2 of the same king. If the cyclic year Dhuṣṭi is substituted for Yuva the details of the date would correspond to A.D. 1336 October 31, Thursday.

The importance of the document lies chiefly in the fact that some of the king’s birudas mentioned in it would, if they are properly interpreted, yield new information about the history of the Reḍdi chiefs. For instance, Chāṇcchunala-chūrakāra, or Chēnjimala-chūrakāra as given in the Amaravati inscription, means “one who reduced the hill fort of Chennī or Gingi.” How Vema could reduce this fort will be shown below. Another biruda Rāchārāda-gāravāllīha means “the destroyer of the fort of Rāchāru” i.e., Raichur in the Nizam’s Dominions. A third title in the list Kalii-gārāya-māma-mardana means “one who destroyed the pride of the King of Kaliṅga.” The title Māṇiyārāya-mṛıga-tēgākāra means “one who hunted like deer the chiefs of Manniya hill country.” The term Māṇe is generally applied in later Telugu literature to the hilly tracts near the eastern ghats in the Godavari, Vīzāgapattam and Gajjan districts. Similarly the titles Voddiyāra-yā-rinhiṇa-ṣvāma and Jāntuvārāya-balla-kallāta signify victories over the kings of the Voddiya (Odhrā) country, the modern Orissa, and the Jantur-nāṇḍu which is perhaps the modern name of Dantapura-nāṇḍu. Dantapura was an early capital of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, from which, for instance, the Narasāpajam plates of Vajrahastra II were issued. The title Pāṇy-dārāya-gọja-sīmāha means “one who was a lion to the elephant in the form of the Pāṇy King” suggesting thereby that the king probably routed the Pāṇyas. The title Appaya-Gōpaya-dīśāpaṭa seems to signify some victory won by the king or his immediate ancestors over the chiefs called respectively Appaya and Gōpaya. The Tiruvēndipuram inscription of the Chōla king Rājārāja III dated in his 15th year3 records the victories of two Hoysala generals Jāmānabōguṇḍa Appaya-Daṇjanayaka and Šamudra-Gōpayā-Daṇjanayaka over the Pallava chief Kōppenurjīga who overcame the Chōla sovereign Rājārāja III and had for a time kept him prisoner at Śēndamangalam. The chiefs that are referred to

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2 Some of these titles are explained in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1900, pages 22.
3 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.
in the title Appaya-Gopaia-diśopa of Vēma seem to be identical with the Hoysala generals of the Tinuvēndipuram inscription.

The exploits referred to in the titles of Vēma must have been achieved by him or by his ancestors while they were the subordinates of the Kākaṭiyas. During the days of the decline of the Chōlas all the neighbouring powers attempted to capture as much of the territory as possible. The Pallava general Köpperunjīra who endeavoured to establish for a time an independent kingdom extended his conquests over the territories of the Chōlas of Nellore and other chieftains as far north as Drikāhārāma where an inscription of his is found. The Chōlas of the Nellore District who had the titles Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōla and Garpagopa extended their kingdom to the south and, for a time, occupied Kāñchipuram and Tondaimanṭalam. Against these Sundara-Pāṇḍya led an expedition from the South and celebrated the anointment of heroes at Vikramaisāñhāpuram (Nellore). The Kākaṭiya sovereign Gaṇapati led an expedition first in aid of one of the Telugu Chōla chiefs of Nellore and later on to Conjeevaram, where his inscriptions are found. After Gaṇapati his daughter Rudrāmba and later her grandson Pratāparudra continued the campaign on Conjeevaram. The triumph claimed in these birudhas over the Pāṇḍya king and the Hoysala generals Appaya and Gōpaya should also have been won during this period of constant warfare. Similarly, the victories over Kalīgārāya, Oḍḍiyarāya, the Janturnāṭarāya as well as the reduction of the fort of Rāchārū should have been achieved in the wars of the Kākaṭiyas against the surrounding countries.

The inscription also says that Vēma founded many agraḥaras on the banks of the rivers Brahmakunḍi (the Gupḍalakamṇa), the Kṛishṇavē, i.e., Kṛishṇa, the Gōdvī and the Mahānadi, and laid out gardens in the vicinity of various towns. We are further informed that he gave food in charity houses (ātrasi) in many holy places and built steps to the famous shrines of Sṛīparvata and Ahōbala. Vēma is called in this inscription the lord of the Eastern Sea, the builder of the sde sovereign (ēka-rāya-sthāpan-āchārya) and the only ornament to the throne (ēka-sīhāsan-ālaṅkāra).

**B PACHCHANI-TANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VĒMA.**

Next in chronological order comes the Pachchani-Tandiparru grant of Anna-Vēma. It is registered as copper-plate No. 6 of Appendix A to the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1919-20. The set of plates on which the grant is engraved was borrowed from M. R. Ry, Devi Hanumacharu of Kōditōipparru, in the Tānsali Taluk of the Guntur District, in the year 1919.

This grant is written on five oblong copper-plates which have slightly raised rims but no ring or seal attached to them, though holes for passing a ring are to be seen in them. The plates measure 9½" in length and a little over 4" in breadth and weigh 88 tollas. The inscription is written in Telugu script and Sanskrit language. The portion giving the boundaries of the village (ll. 47-72) is, however, in the Telugu language. Plates ii, iii, iv, and vb are marked with the numerical symbols 2, 3, 4 and 5. As to the palaeography of this grant only one feature may be noticed specially : The letters of this grant as well as of the following one (C) appear more archaic than those of A although the latter professes to be much earlier than either B or C.

The donor of the grant is Anna-Vēma who is here called the son of Prōlaya-Vēma, i.e., Vēma of the previous grant. The record opens with an invocation to the boar incarnation of Vishnu. The second verse is devoted to the praise of the Sun and Moon. The next verse says that a caste was born from the lotus feet of Vishnu which evidently means the Sudra caste—
padhibhiin Sûdrô-bhûjâyata. In it was born Prôlaya-Vêma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Sûrisaila and made all the gifts enumerated by Hêmâdri (v. 4). He performed various meritorious deeds and defeated several hostile kings (vv. 5 to 8). To him were born two valorous sons namely Anna-Vôta and Anna-Vêma (v. 9). Anna-Vôta, the elder, is said to have exhibited great prowess on the battlefield and to have ruled the Andhra country extending from the eastern portion of Sûrina (i.e., Sûrisaila) to the eastern ocean (vv. 10 and 11). The Telugu work Vîshnu-purûṣam tells us that this Annavôta defeated a chief called Râvatu Kêsa near the river Krishnaveni before the very eyes of god Amârâvara. The work also says that king Pôta had some literary works written by poets of the Vennalanga family and got them dedicated to him. Sûrana, the author of this Telugu work belonged to this family. Anna-Vôta's younger brother Anna-Vêma who was a great warrior ruled over his father's kingdom after the death of his elder brother (vv. 12 to 15). The genealogy of the donee is then given. In the gôra of Hûrîta there was a pious Brähman named Nyisîrîna who was a lion to the elephants, viz., the disputants (v. 16). His son was Bhumê修正-So-mayäjìn who had performed many Vedic sacrifices (v. 17). His son was Pôbîbhattä; to him was born Gûñjâyârya whose son was Peddi-Vidvân, the crest jewel among astronomers (v. 18). To this Peddi-Vidvân king Anna-Vêma granted, on the date specified, the village Pachchâni-Tâmâdipaguru (v. 19). Then follows a description of the boundaries of the village (ll. 47 to 73). After three imprecatory verses, the concluding verse of the grant tells us that this edict was composed by Bâla-Sarasvati, the court poet of Anna-Vêma. The inscription ends with the king's signature Pallava-Trinâstra.

The details of the date recorded in the inscription are the Saka year counted by rasa (6), ratna (9) and Bhâskara (12), i.e., 1296, Nabhasya (Bhâ sûrapada), full moon, Tuesday, lunar eclipse. According to Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris, the English equivalent of this date is A.D. 1374 August 22, Tuesday, when there was a lunar eclipse.

The grant under publication does not say anything new about the donor king Anna-Vêma. The donee Peddi-Vidvân seems to have been a great scholar in astronomy. He seems to have been patronised by the kings of the Peddi family even after Anna-Vêma for we learn from two copper-plate grants of Pedda-Kômati-Vêma that this Peddi was the recipient of the village Kalvavânumu in Saka 1329 and of Nandamûru in Saka 1333. In both these records he is described as having mastered the quintessence of Siddhântas like those of Brahmag and Sûrya. One of them says that he had knowledge of the present, past and future on account of his learning in Jyotisâ-Âstra.

Nothing is known from other sources about Bâla-sarasvati who composed the record and who calls himself a poet of the court of Anna-Vêma. It may be noted, however, that he was the author of another inscription of the same king at Sûrisaila. Another poet in this king's court, viz., Triçhichânya is already known to us. He composed the Vânâpalli copper-plate inscription of this king.

PINAPADU GRANT OF KOMATI-VEMA.

This is the last of a set of copper-plates whose other plates are lost. It measures 12½" in length and 5½" in breadth, and weighs 47 tolas. In the middle of its proper right margin there is a hole for passing a ring through. It bears writing only on one side. Though it is a little damaged the writing is in good state of preservation. It was secured in the year 1920 from Mr.
Ponukapathi Ramayya who discovered it buried underground at Pinapadu near Tenali and has been registered as No. 8 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for that year.

The portion of the inscription preserved on this plate is in Telugu characters and contains a description in Telugu of the gift village Pinapadu and five verses in Sanskrit. The first verse says: "The donor is king Komaṭi-Vema, the recipient of the grant is the preceptor Saṅkara, the village granted is Pinapadu, the composer is the poet Śrīnātha-Bhāṭṭāraka, the time of the grant is the occasion of the holy Sivarātri and the witness the great Śrīgiri. Why should not poets extol the gifts under these circumstances?" The other four verses are imprecations. The inscription ends with the king's signature "Śrī-Viranārāyaṇasya".

From the above verse it is apparent that king Komaṭi-Vema, the donee Saṅkara and the poet Śrīnātha were at Śrīśaila on the Sivarātri day. According to the Śivarātri-mahāṣaṇya of this poet, which is dedicated to a scholar named Śāntayya, a disciple of Śānta-Bhikshāvṛtti, Śrīnātha once visited the sacred shrine of Śrīśaila during the Śivarātri festival and paid his respects to Śānta-Bhikshāvṛtti. While the poet was seated in the mukha-maṇḍapa of the temple Śānta-Bhikshāvṛtti, the head of the Viraśaiva maṇḍa on the hill asked him to write a Saiva poem and dedicate it to one of his disciples. This Śānta-Bhikshāvṛtti appears to have been a patron of Telugu literature. The Telugu poet Gaurana dedicated his *Navanātha-charita* to this pontiff. His successors seem to have been treated with great respect even by the Vijayanagara kings. Siddha-Bhikshāvṛtti, who was the donee of the Śrīśailam grant of the Vijayanagara emperor Virūpāksha, was one of the gurus of the Viraśaiva maṇḍa on Śrīśailam.

The descendents of the donee of the grant under publication, viz., Saṅkara, are found even today in the village Pinapadu. Though they are Brāhmans they officiate as Aḍārjavas to several Saivas who are not Brāhmans.

**TEXT.**

1 Śrī-Tripurāntakēśvara [][*]
2 Svasti Śrī [**]* Vijay-ābhuyadaya-Śālivāhana-śaka-varshaṁbūlu 1257 agun-
3 nāma saṁvatsara Kārttikeya-śuddha 12 Guru-vīsara manvādi mahāpune-
4 du Yaju[*][*]-sālk-āḥhyaya-Āpastaṁba-sūtra-Kaṇḍinīya-gōṭr-5dbhavalunnu ( l u n u )
5 śrīmad-yaja-
6 n-ādi-śatkarīma-niratal-agu Kāmēśvara-bhaṭṭarakuni-vāri pautri(tru)luṁnunu(lunu)
7 Kōṇḍu-bhāṭṭākuni-
8 vāri-puṭri(tru)luṁ-agu Chitṭamūri Timmmana(Timmuna)-bhaṭṭu-śastrulaṁvāriki svasti [][*]
9 sakala-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁ-
10 kāra Chāmehumala-churakāra Viśva-visvabhārā-bhaṅgar-aṇgana-dakṣaṅ-dakṣaṅa
11 (ṃīṣa)-bhuja-dānīja
12 Jaga-rūbhā-ganīja śāniya(anya)-maṇḍalikara-ganīja rāya-chēkōlu-ganīja rāya-
13 mīṣa-ganīja
14 arthi-pratyarthi-Hemādri-dāna-nīrata prayā-paripāla-čaturā haraṇa-bharaṇa rāpa-
15 Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa bhuja-hala-Bhāma kōḍaṁda-Rāma aparimita-bhā-dāna-
16 Paraṣu-
17 rāma anēkā-nagar-opākanītha-pratishṭāpita-bahu-vidh-ārāma saṅggaṇḍi-rakṣa-pā-
18 laka jagā-ra-
12 kaha-pālaka jagada-Gōpālaka Gujjari-dhatā-vibhāla ghana-bhuja-virāja-
13 māna-Karavāla
14 Rāchūri-durga-vibhāla jala-durga-jadadi-badabānala sthala-durga-havana-
15 Haḷāyu-
16 dha anavarta-parohita-krita-sōna-pāna Śūparvata-Ahōbala-nirmita-sōpāna
17 dhih dik[kaññ]-
18 tā-manohara kirti-kusum-anōda Kūndiprabhā-Saṅhya(Saḥya)ja-Gantami-
19 jala-krīḍā-viroḍa Kalīṅga-rāya-māna-mada-marckdana mahiniya-rāya-māgī-
20 vēntakara Vēddiya-rāya-nīrdhūma-dhāma Jāntur-nāṭa-rāya-halla-kallōla a-
21 ri-rāya-basava-Saṅkāra virōḍi-nripa-dānava-Narasimhachha(ha) Pāṇḍya-rāya-gaja-sim-
22 hva(ha) praṇaḥ-chatur-vīdh-ōpaya kējāi-rāya nitya-paripālita-satyā Pālī-śa-
23 tya ripu-mampati-gōdhūma-gaṭṭaṇa-gaṭṭaṇa Appaya-Gōpaya-dīśa-paṭṭaṇa(paṭṭe)-
24 sangrā-
25 mānuddanja caitrīḍha-bhuj-śi-vihaṇuddita-krita-kiḷāla plavamāna-Brahma(ha) ku-
26 m-Kṛṣṇavānī Gōdāvarti-Mahānadi-taṭīt-dvayana(vya)-madhya-dīśa-arēk-āgrahā-
27 ra agaṇya-puṇya-kēśṭra-satra-bahu-viḍh-āhāra Purva-samudraśhīvāra
28 ēka-rāya-sthāpan-āchārya ēka-sinhvā(ha)san-śāṁkāra śṛma(t)*-Tirupāntakadē-
29 va-divya-śri-pada-padu-āradhakul-aina śṛmatu-Vēmaya-Redjiṅgāru vrāyini ṣchi y-
30 chechana bhū-dāna-charma-śasanāti || mad-bhujā-dāntīḍa-paripālanam-aina sāṁbrā(ṃraḷ)a-
31 m-aṅku Śriśaila-bhūmi Anmama(Ana)naṇḍīśi Śrī Śrī Rāmatirthaṁ sarv-
32 agrahāramuṁ-
33 nmu(munnu) Chāmakurti-Bhimaśvara-Pulkaṭhīḍa-Mailavaraṁ-Komārapur-grāma-
34 nulu ayidimṭṭiyaṁdunnu veli-polam-śōnunā charvula kuṁinda maṁgā-
35 ni-śōnunā āku-tōṁṭala-cheru-ku-tōṁṭal-lōnu bhūmi chanārtu-ārāsāṁ
36 sarva-māṇyaṁ-gānunānmu(nnu) migilina muppātiika bhūmiṇa pathujina nānā-
37 phalā-
38 dulakuṇnu(nnu) śhoḍa-ānām mēranu suvarṇ-ādāyanaṅk Vuṇchetam-
39 amśanaṅku
40 pedda-chervu niḷanu yi grāmālau gāka yitaṛa grāmāla paṭṭaṇīna
dhānyaṅaku daśaṁ-āṝ-
41 šamnumu śi(śi)nā-nilāṁ prati-grānamulamāduṅmu(nnu) padabharu-bārala
ghaṇanu
42 pedda vūri*ki innurū kuṇṭalumāṇnu(nnu) chinna vūrīki nūru
43 guṁṭīla kāhetramu
44 nnu sarva-māṇyaṁulamāṇmu(nnu) yi-lāgu nirūyaṁ oḥ-sā Śrī Rāmatirthaṁ
45 modal-ainā ś-
46 rū grāmā-bhūmayumāṇmu aṅkā-bhōga-cvāma-cvataḥramuṁna chaturvi-
47 dhā-yōgāṅ-ga sa-hīnaya-śālaka-dāná-dhāra-purvaṁ-ga yippināśi ganuṅk
48 ... tra-pāraudparyamāṇuṇu Śiṇḍula vacchīna phalaṁ ṣaĉa
49 ... ōuvāru || dānā-pālanayōr-madhyē dānācchhē
THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS.

B

TEXT.

First Plate, Second Side.

1 श्रीनाथ(व)वर वाराणसिश्चातूरीयो वां पातु दंडिचिरे शून्योऽित-
2 महेंद्रेरत्निनिष्काश्यायौऽंकः वामानीयजापि-
3 हिंदू श्रीकृष्णशर्माक जातम् [व] श्रीहाणिन विन्दुभाष्यंसिद्धि-
4 लारंभो महामानि "[11] तस्मो दर्शनं तत् पुष्पवक्ता राहणा-
5 सु पूर्वीप्रोक्तः(भ)जो महाराजविभवदृश्यंही पुषा पुरारे
6 प्रतिशिवा(भ)वर्णम् "[21] पादार्कदार्रवित्रका श्रीसागरं च-
7 नक्खीठापिणि: जाताश्त्रुष्टा शत्रु(श)विभिर्वा भएश्चितर्यां जातां
8 नितरख "[31] तथारायुष्यिनिलविनावः श्रीगृहीपालिनिः
9 गणानी "(१) श्रीदिगुत्वादिगुत्वाव्यक्तो निमिन्नमदनविविष्टविष्टिः " वेषे-

Second Plate, First Side.

10 चिन्ते यस्मिन्नाधिकांतां संस्थापकर अविकुलिनपातु " दत्ता-
11 वहाराजिवेदणका पदवमुखांतं चक्कर "[41] धर्माल्यो दान-
12 शरीरविश्: पुष्येवदृश्यमणात् युगान्तर्कु विन्दुखं वेशे-
13 नक्खीठापिणि नामानि पुरातनानि "[51] यक्षीदीलिनमनानु-
14 सुरागीतानामानीकिं च मुखेराजमगंगभुि "
15 श्रीवतान् च गीतरचन्नयुगपदवी नागाधिपि न चहें नवन-
16 श्रुतिले "[61] संभाजपालोख गदाविनिखी वयस्मिचितमनश्चरी-
17 विचेतन: धातामतस्यानि राजस्यानि प्रतापप्रक्ष्येविविष्टविष्टिः-

Second Plate, Second Side.

18 गा: "[71]तदनं वेषे यवंतयितदिवरावेजनापि प्रतापार्जिनि च नागाधिपि च नागाधिपि च
19 गणाति: सुविन्देहु दुन्ततमसामान्यविव्याकृतयुप[१२] चिन्ते विशेष्

Notes:
1. "Sundareswarasiddha".
2. "The siyarpa is written in the next line.
8. "The asterisk is written in the next line."
20 सूपतन्त्रग्रंथपालः ॥११॥ योगराजपत्रातिमुखलयितश्चर्ध्वि(भो)भक्षोपनिषदोऽभोजे।
21 सः । श्रवणा छददेशु संगमसु सिद्धेशु पूर्वति वे।
22 सं । यद्वरन निरकामिकश्री वेदगानुदा-ः
23 वते ॥१२॥ हुर्मापतारमसं निर्वाृत्ति प्रवेशपुरुषांप्रजुः
24 ॥१२॥ श्रमाश्च यो: श्रीनगन्धुर्वा(भो)गादपुर्वाश्र्याकरसुः
25 शा। प्रामस्ततु संख्यास्वस्य विशेषः दित्तिशः निर्माश्चवियोत्तुः ॥१०॥

Third Plate, First Side.

28 तथातुलुकांलिपसाणभाषः ॥१०॥ श्रीयववेमः चत्तिपारसवः।
27 नूतनारण । श्रुतिसाहबाहि विवा(भो)ति योराजपत्रिकादिबोः ॥११॥ श्रीय- ।
28 नामवस्त्रप्रसू: न्तः। खुरसिकतः कावयाहि विशेषः विलोकनभीवादः। सोः।
29 यं चार्यभूमकायाः विचिन्तः काव्याकाबलमकरिकाणसः
30 अपं ॥१२॥ श्रीयववेमद्रवतिनारेन। कारेण प्रवर्तिनेन सुवि
31 वालास्वरोपितानवः ॥ (१) प्राणोपयुक्तमानाश्र्य तद्रोवः कोठी-ः
32 चालोमरसितालवावाणिः ॥१३॥ श्रीयववेमवानधाः। तस्रोवः श्रां(भो)वर्तमानसं निजानाः।
33 श्रां(भो)रः वहन्त्य वेवां राज्यार्नशेषीवक्षयापति।१०॥ श्रीयववेमः

Third Plate, Second Side.

34 श्रां(भो) चालाण्य पूर्वपालकांवेष्क सुचुरः श्राः(भो) च विश्वापितानाः।
35 श्रान्यालतुलुकांलिपसाणभाषः ॥१४॥ श्रां विरताः।
36 वालास्वरः ॥ चालाण्यमुवज्ञानाल्पानवं ग्रही वर्षस्य-ः
37 तां ब्रह्माण्य धर्माण्य बुद्धवरः। कस्तो ब्रह्माण्यदेववनः। तः।
38 विद्वे पवज्ञानकुलविनाशजीविकाहि खुरसिकांभवार्य-ः
39 दक्षिण चत्तिलवचनोऽवदोऽक्षमानां ॥१५॥ तथाकाणयो या-ः
40 गविशालशासी वका भीमेशासीमायाः। यदीशोमानालः
41 गृहरस्यं विभाग्यापवश्चर्याणे(भो)पुरुः। ॥१६॥ पुवस्त्रविय: किल योगिनः।
42 भहिः गुष्ठी ततोभाग्य गुंडवादेः। तन्नूवस्थत्वाः च पेश्विलिङ्गः।
THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS:
B. PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.
Fourth Plate, First Side.

43  
44  
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Fourth Plate, Second Side.

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Fifth Plate, First Side.

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67  

*Metre: Upindravadya.  
*Metre: Šradhāvikrītīyam.  
The answer is written in the next line.
67 लकूप भीष्मि अनुभूत मौद्रांग दुःख दिव्यशिक्षव मूलसांचि नवन्त्र नानं
68 तिष लिप्य पेदिबुधि तभिष भीष्मि उत्तरे गाधपुर भीमांग बुलेरु
69 दुःख भीष्मि तुष्य प्रवेदित नर्वान्त्रक हृदि नवन्त्र दाहिष्ठ भीष्मि
70 चषुपुर्ण प्रभुसित नेवलनारायणुप भीष्मि जानि भीम दीर्घ सांगि जाधृं
71 पूर्ण भीष्मि तुष्य तपकिर्णी वध्यारिख संद्रु बौध भीष्मि दिव्यशिक्षव मोक्षि
72 कुट्ट तुष्यमानि वानपुरुष भीम दूषि सांगि विश्वविद्वाति मोक्षि
73 चेतु॥ प्रवेशं स्मार्कसामवेन || क्षद्वागिधुष्मः सुक्ष्म वरदचातुरपा

Fifth Plate, Second Side.

74 लन्न वरदतापधुशः खच्छत नियाल्यं भवेषु १[१२०] खच्छत वादवत
75 वा को वेदक लुधक(व)रा ॥ पद्ल वर्गवशान्ति विहाराः
76 जायते क्रिमिः ॥ २०४] एवं भगवनं जाने सववेधमचित्वः धुरुगः
77 न को(व)रा न कराशा विधिर्मा वर्षक(च)रा १[१२१] पवमयरणः
78 इति विदा वालस्सतीि ॥ प्रकरोदकारे वाचा निमाणः[५]
79 नवेशिमाणः ॥ २४] संबयास्तायाः[६] श्रीं श्रीं
80 अनुपुष्क्षरयात ॥[८]

C

TEXT.

1 हे दाराकं भौमि मगुडि उत्तरपुरुषमे जादुपुरक वदि वचि रवि रादेवचि
2 दामुन मुक्त तस्तत्सदिदुश्वेषोककु वचि कृनि पद्मकितै दिमि बंधु
3 दुधुपुन मगुडि उत्तरानि कौम्य तेसुकु तुपु ज्ञानि तुपु
4 सुखमे कृनि पश्चालपुरुष नेल निरऽरि दिव्यानि नेवि कृनि तामासी
5 कृंदे दशि
6 श्रानो देरीं दरासामुखमे पोषि कृनि शुरुपुरुषमे नेवि गाठि चेवि। तुपु
7 नेवि कृनि दिव्यानि शुरुपुरुषेऽ नेवि तुपुपुरुषेऽ दृष्टिकरिति नेवि मि
8 शुद्ध मगुडि दिव्यानि वचि वर्धाणानि गुदं्॥ दता कीतिवेङ्
9 नम नायि: पांतु गृह: रंगकर: श्राण वैद्यं दासिरुष्टु तु कायि: धीनाश-भारकः
10 कालारथाराविपुष्काअमयः साधी सवानि श्रीगिरि: चेवि: किं न तु वसियन सुकु
11 ज्ञिति: नुभुपति नवसनिः[१२] मस्मवात्सवतर्कमस्सनि पायवति नुमिति भवधारिथि
12 चावः। प्रव्हम्परहरणादृति नासिक नासिकि हि वरी भ्रष्टात् [२२] क्षद्वागिधिनुष्मः

1 Metro: Anushpabh.
2 The anuvāra is written in the next line.
3 Metro: Sārdhadeviśrīstvan.
4 Metro: Hathodbhata.
THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS:
B. PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.
12 पुष्चिर्म्ब पर्दतानुपावले। पर्द्यागः स्त्रिपर्च नियत्तले भवेतु। \[^{[3][n]}\] एवेच भ
13 मित्री लोके संवेदारीने भुजानि न भोजया न कपाळाका विपदना वलंगस \[^{[4][n]}\] ख-\n14 डंतां पर्दतानि वा यीह हते सुंगारी। परिचतयुक्तारणि विचारणे।
15 जावते क्रिष्णे \[^{[5][n]}\] पर्दतानुपावले। \[^{[6][n]}\] क्री। \[^{[7][n]}\] श्रीकर्जोरायकाये \[^{[8][n]}\]

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BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription found in a Vishnu temple, originally called Kumbhasvarū temple but now known as that of Mamādeva at Kumbhalgarh in Mewār territory, is engraved on one of the five big slabs likewise inscribed and placed by the Mahārāṇa Kumbhakarna in the said temple. Of these, the first, third, fourth and a small piece of the second slab have been discovered up to now and are now preserved in the Udaipur Museum. All are in a mutilated condition except the fourth, the text of which I edit from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer, who has given a brief notice of it in the Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum; Ajmer, for the year 1923-26.

Each one of the slabs contains the same date, which reads as below:

"संवत १५५३ वर्ष शक १२८२। प्रवत्तामिर मामासिलग वदि ५ सेनि प्रवत्तिकामणे।"

i.e., Monday, the 5th day of the dark half of Mārgaśīraha of the Samvat year 1517 and Śaka year 1382, which corresponds to 3rd November 1460 A.D.

The present slab contains ninety-one (180-270) verses written in fifty-one lines with a portion of a prose line at the end.

The character is Nāgarī of the 17th century A.D., common in Raipurāṇa during that period. The letters are on the average about ½ of an inch and the space covered by the writing is about 3' 6''×5' 1''

The language is Sanskrit and the composition is excellent with the exception of a few wrong grammatical formations, e.g., rivaiva (l. 9), udāravahad (l. 43).

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted:—ν is usually distinguished from β except in a few places, e.g., in vībheda (l. 2), vobhava (l. 10), -pīvat (l. 11), Vali- (l. 16), vnāmaṃ (l. 16), pārame (l. 33) and bikhyaḥ (l. 38), etc.; consonants are doubled with a superscript r as in -rddipam (l. 1), -sargamam (l. 2), -ddandā (l. 8), arnothā (l. 22), durgām (l. 49), etc.; sa is used for śa in stā (l. 16). Anusvāra is used for nasals, as in bhujangā (l. 2), chara- (l. 3), etc.; and at the end of stichs and hemistichs, as in -rddipam (l. 1), -nābham (l. 9), -trishūnum (l. 10), etc. Visarga is omitted in satavasīṣṭai, sāstra-pāta (l. 1), while it is redundant in ādham (l. 42).

The inscription formed a prāsaad of the Guhila rulers of Mewār and the present slab continues their account from Lakshmāsīrīmah down to the Mahārāṇa Kumbhakarna. The ninety verses found on the present slab are distributed as follows:—vv. 180-181 are devoted to Lakshmāsīrīmah, vv. 182-184 to Arisīrīmah, vv. 185-190 to Hammūra, vv. 191-203 to Khaṭrāsīrīmah, vv. 204-215

^ 1 Motre: Anusvāra.

^ 2 The anusvāra is written in the next line.
to Lakshasena, vv. 216-232 to Mokala and vv. 233-270 to the Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa. After this is found the date, which is partly effaced on this slab. The contents of these verses may be thus summarised. Verse 180 continues the account of Lakshmasinha from the previous slab and states that he died (in battle) with his seven sons. He is also said to have won a victory over the Mālava king Gagadēva (v. 181). The next three verses are devoted to a description of the valour and benevolence of Arisintha who was born in Lakshmasinha’s family and contains nothing of historical importance. Vv. 185-187 describe in general terms the qualities of Hammira. This king, who belonged to Raghuv’s race and was known as Vishamadhāri Pañchānana, conquered the fort of Chelavatā (v. 188). He was a pious, charitable and brave king and died leaving his son Kshetrasintha as heir (vv. 189-190). The latter destroyed an army of the Muhammadans near Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) and imprisoned the brave king Rāpalalla of Gūrjaramaṇḍala, who had humbled the pride of the Saka (i.e., Muhammadan) king (vv. 191-193). He took Dālavatā and Sodhyapura and his enemy fled towards the sea at his approach (vv. 194-195). The next verse says that the valiant Rāpalalla who had suppressed Dafara Khāna, the lord of Pattana, and had killed many Muhammadans, could not even get a bed to sleep in the prison-house of Kshetrasintha. He drank up the ocean in the form of Amisha (v. 197), conquered the rulers of Hādavatī, brought their country under his sway and laid waste Māndalakara (v. 198). The next verse says that the kings Sādala and others took fright at his approach and fled from their country. He struck terror in the mind of the Muhammadan ruler of Mālava and humbled his pride and also imprisoned the ruler of Gujarāt (vv. 199-201). The next verse repeats how he captured Amisha. He was succeeded by his son the Mahārāṇā Lakshasena (v. 201). This ruler liberated Tridhala (viz. Gayā, Prayāga and Kāś) from the Sakkas (i.e., Muhammadans) and in addition to various other gifts distributed his weight in gold and built temples at Gayā (vv. 205-211). He conquered the hill Vardhana, burnt down his enemies and subjegated the Mādas (Mars) (v. 212). The next two verses inform us that he was a devotee of Siva and made numerous land-grants. Verse 216 begins with the reign of the Mahārāṇādhirāja Mahārāṇā Mokala. He is said to have made Brahmans to give up husbandry and devote themselves to the study of the Vedas (v. 217). He also distributed his weight in gold and liberated Gayā (vv. 218-219). He conquered the whole of Sapādalaksha and made Jālandharā tremble with fear, while having taken Sākambhari, he made Delhi a doubtful possession to its sovereign. He also defeated Pirōja and Mahanmada (v. 221). He was devoted to the god Samadhiśvara (Siva) whose temple at Chitor he repaired and added a gateway to it. He built a reservoir of water with a bridge and two tirathas (bathing ghats) called Rāpamāchana and Pāpamāchana, respectively (v. 223). He set up a lion cast of all metals as a vehicle of Devi and presented a gold Gauruja to Vishnu (vv. 224-225). The next seven verses only give a poetic description of the power and majesty of this ruler. With verse 233 begins a description of the reign of his son the Mahārāṇādhirāja Rāgaraṇā Rāneśvara Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇadēva. In verse 235 his mother’s name is given as Saubhagya Devi. He was devoted to the god Ekašinga, restored his ruined temple, adding a gold danda and kalasa to it, built a high tōrana and set up a beautiful flag having the emblem of the sun (vv. 239-241). He was māhanikā (tireless) in composing poems and nīrbhaya (undaunted) in battles, hence he was known as māhanikā-nīrbhaya (v. 242). He was a jewel of the family of the kings Guhadatta, Khumāra, Śālivāhana, Ajaya and others and adorned the throne of Khaṭṭa, Laksha and Mokala (v. 245). He conquered Yōginipura, subdued the ruler of Sodhyā and destroyed his enemies at Manḍovara (vv. 247-249). He also captured Rānavira after ravaging Hāmmedipura, destroyed Dhānyanagara, conquered Yāgapura and the mount Vardhamāna and humbled the pride of the Mādas (vv. 250-254). According to the next two verses he seems to have resisted the ruler of Mālava. He also built tanks at Jayavardhana. He took Janakāchala,
distressed Champavati, burnt the city of Vrindavatī and caused trembling to the hill fort of Gargarāta through iravolur (vv. 267-269). He burnt Mallarayapura, upheld (?) Sinhapūri by scattering the enemies, desolated Ratnapura and imprisoned many kings (v. 290). He conquered Rāpakusuma in Sapādalaksha, devastated Ammadrī, got the best of his quarrel with Kōṭarā and laid waste Bambāvādā (vv. 261-262). He took the fort of Manḍalakara, won with ease Ḥaḍavatī, fortified by numerous forts and made its rulers his feudatories and raised pillars of victory. Besides he conquered Gāpura, Shaipura, Vrindavatī and Manḍaladurgā, desolated Visālanagara and attacked Giripura whose ruler Gaipāla fled in terror (vv. 263-267). He defeated Mahamāda at Sāramgāpurā and brought as captives numerous women of the lord of Pārasikas (vv. 268-269). The last verse states that he drank up the ocean in the form of the army of the Mālava king. Then follows the date which is, as already mentioned, partly damaged in this inscription.

As regards the personages mentioned in this inscription, Lakṣmasimhā (v. 180) was the ruler of an estate called Sisōdā belonging to the Rāṇa (junior branch) of the Guhila family of Mewār. He was killed along with his seven sons1 while fighting against Alau-d-din Khāji of Delhi in the siege of Chitor in A.D. 1306, during the reign of Rāwal Ratnasimhā of Mewār. His victory over the Mālava king Gogadēva2 mentioned in v. 161 is also corroborated by the Rānapura inscription. The battle which he seems to have fought with the Mālava king appears to have been mentioned in the reign of Ratnasimhā's father Samarasimhā.

Arisimhā was killed in the battle of Chitor as said above. Only the youngest son of Lakṣmasimhā, namely Ajayasimhā survived to become the ruler of Sisōdā.

Hamimā (v. 185) was the son of Arisimhā and succeeded to the throne of Sisōdā after his uncle Ajayasimhā. He was very brave and gradually made himself master of the throne of Chitor.3

Kahitrasimhā (v. 191) was the eldest son of Hamimā. The Muhammadan army which he destroyed near Chitor (v. 192) was that of Amī Shāh, as appears from verses 197, 200 and 202.

The brave Rānapalla, who had humbled the Muhammadan king and killed many Muhammadans, was the son of Hamimā and was the son of Jaitkaraṇ, who was defeated by the Mahārāṣa Hamimā.4 Dafar Kān, the ruler of Pattan (v. 196), was probably Zafar Kān (II), the governor of Gujarāt. He was a descendant of a converted Rajput and fought twice with Rāṇamalla of Idar.5 He afterwards assumed the name of Muzaffar Shāh, after making himself independent of the king of Delhi.6

Amī Sāhā (vv. 197 and 202) was evidently the Sultān Dilāvar Kān Ghūrī of Malwā,7 whose defeat by Khatrasimhā is mentioned in verses 197, 201 and 202.8 The ruler Sādal and others referred to in v. 199 cannot be identified with certainty. Sādal, however, appears to be the ruler Sādal of Tōḍā in Jaipur state.

1 As appears from v. 180 of this record.
2 He is called Kōkā and was defeated by Allād-dīn's chieftain in A.D. 1304 (Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 361.)
4 [The present inscription does not mention this relationship. It is found only in bardic poems. See Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 226—Ed.]
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. 55, p. 11.
6 Ibid, p. 12.
8 Duff's Chronology, p. 334.
10 See also Jhān. Inst., p. 119, verse 29, and Rajputana Museum Reports, 1924-25, p. 3.
Muhārāyā Lakshāsena (v. 204) was the son of Kahētrasināha. He was extremely charitable and liberated Gayā from the taxes of the Muhammadas by paying them off in gold, as is also known from another inscription.⁴

Mōkala (v. 216) was a son and successor of the Muhārāyā Lakshāsināha. He carried his victorious arms far and wide as appears from verses 221, 231, etc.

Pirōja or Firoz (v. 221) was the ruler of Nāgaur and was the son of Shams Khān, brother of the sulṭān Muqaffar Shāh (originally Zafar Khān referred to in verse 196 of this inscription) of Gujarāt. His defeat by Mōkala is also mentioned in other inscriptions.⁵

Mahammad (v. 221) cannot be identified definitely. Perhaps he stands for Ahmad (Ahmad Shāh) of Gujarāt, who was the grandson of Muzaffar Shāh, I, and was contemporary with the Muhārāyā Mōkala.⁶

Kumbhakarṇa (v. 233) popularly known as Kumbhā was the eldest son of Mōkala and succeeded his father to the throne of Chitor in V. 8. 1490 (A.D. 1433).

Guhadatta, Śālivāhana, Kumāna and others referred to in v. 245 were the early predecessors of Kumbhakarṇa. Guhadatta was the founder of the Guhilā dynasty of Mewār. Ajaya or Ajayasaṁiha evidently belonged to the Sisōdī branch and was the brother of Arisimha referred to in v. 182.

The lord of the Pārasikas referred to in v. 268 was Sulṭān Mahmūd Khāliji I. of Mālva, who was defeated by the Muhārāyā Kumbhā at Sārāṅpur—a fact also mentioned in the Rāgapur inscription. Muhārāyā Kumbhā had to undergo a series of engagements⁷ with the result that he completely broke the power of the Mālva king, as is evident from v. 270 of this record.

Gayāpāla (Gaibā or Gōpāla) of v. 267 was the ruler of Dunjāpur State.

As to the places mentioned in the inscription, Khelavatī (v. 188) is now called Jīlwārā in Mewār. Dīlavatī (v. 194) from Sans. Dēvakulapāṭaka is the modern town of Dēlwārā about 15 miles from Udaipur. Haḍavatī (v. 188) is the territory now called Haṣautī, which at one time comprised the whole of the present Kotāh and Būndī States. It is under the Haḍās, a branch of the Chauhāns descended from the Chauhāns of Nāḍīl in Māwār.⁸ Manḍalakara (v. 198) now called Manḍalgār, is a fort in the Udaipur State. The conquest of this place by Kahētrasināha is also mentioned in the Śrīgī Rishi inscription.⁹ Vardhana (v. 212) or Vardhamāna is now called Badnūr, a town in Mewār.

Jālandharā (v. 221) really a district or town in the Punjāb is probably meant here for Jālor (Jāvalīpur) in Māwār. Sapādalakśa (v. 221) was the name of the territory that was under the Chauhāns. It roughly included parts of the modern Jodhpur, Jaipur, Kotāh, Būndī and Kiṣangarh states and the eastern part of Mewār including Manḍalgār, Śākambhari (v. 221) once the capital of the early Chauhāns is now called Sāmbhār.

The temple of Samādhiśvara (v. 222) is now called Advādjī or Mōklijī's temple. It was originally built by the Paramārā king Bhōja of Mālwa when he resided at Chitor and was called Tribhuvanānamāraṇa.¹⁰ after his surname 'Tribhuvanānamāraṇa'. It was also known as Bhōjasvaṁīdēvajñati.¹¹

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¹ Bhav. Ins., p. 119, verse 38.
² Bhav. Ins., p. 120, śloka 44.
³ Tod's supposition that he was the grandson of Firoz Tughlak of Delhi is wrong. (Tod's Rājasthān, Vol. I, p. 331).
⁴ [Probably the reference here is to Muhammad Tughlaq. See Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 627. —Ed.]
⁷ Rājputāna Museum Report, 1924-25, p. 3.
⁸ Ibid., 1929-31, p. 4.
⁹ Ibid., p. 4.
Yōginipura (v. 247) is the town of Jāvar in Mewār. Mandodāvarā (v. 249) is the ruined town of Mandōr in Jodhpur State. Yāgapura (v. 253) is the town of Jahāzpur in Udaipur State. Vṛndāvān (v. 264) is now the town of Bāndh in Rājputānā. Gargarīṭa (v. 259) is the town of Gagrā in Koṭā State. Simhapura (v. 266) is the town of Sihor in Central India. Raṇastambha (v. 261) is the fortress of Raṇanbhhor in Jaipur State. Āmṛādādri (v. 262) is Āmb, the old capital of the Jaipur State. Bhamavadād or Bañbādād (v. 262) lies in the eastern part of Mewār. Shatipura (v. 264) is the town of Khaṭakar in Bānli State. Viśālanaṅgara (v. 265) is called Viśālanaṅg on Gujarāt. Gıripura (v. 266) is the town of Dungāpur in Rājputānā. Sārṇagápura (v. 268) is an ancient town in Central India. Kōṭā is modern Kotrā, now a military station in Mewār. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 180, 186, 192, 193, 197, 201, 205, 209, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 229, 233, 241, 240, 243, 246 and 270, Śrīkālākṣīkā ; vv. 181 and 230, Śīkharīṇī ; vv. 182, 191, 204, 214 and 234, Upānvaragā ; vv. 183 and 244 Aṣyā ; v. 184, Harin ; vv. 185, 190, 194, 198, 203, 207, 220, 222, 235, 240, 248, 250, 257, 269, Uṣajī ; v. 187, Vaiṅnāskha ; vv. 188 and 243 Malini ; vv. 189, 206 and 213, Indaragā ; vv. 196, 239, 245, 254, 255 and 263, Viśālanaṅgā ; vv. 211 and 215, Rukhā ; vv. 223, 224, 225, 247, 262, Ratbāddhā ; vv. 225 and 237, Drutabāmbha ; vv. 210, 236 and 257, Prithvī ; vv. 249, 252, 253, 261 and 265, Anuḥṭubh ; vv. 256 and 258, Viṣṇugiri ; vv. 212, 282, 284 and 286, Śālinī.]
5 नाटों रंगभारी त्रुथियां ने मानतं धृततं ॥(१) विनाशकाप जने
जै(ज) बखजादों धर्मियां भूखे दानप्रदान वार्तालापितमयी कर्णीकरः
के पुनः ॥ १८४॥८॥ यदिनिरर्जिनसुरस्मेरस्मीसुरस्मादरसुकु लसूः ॥(१) विजयः
कालरी कहानि सुरायं धर्मीयः घीतिवा
6 वैकाण तु ॥ १८५॥८॥ कटकसुरस्मादरसुकु लसूः खर(खर)कार्ति च सहितूः
कार्तिकाति पहावे(ण) ॥(१) च च प्रायमचागोरहस्तस्वरस्मादरस्मादरसुकु लसूः
[भिन्न] चेलवार्त विन्यासः ॥ १८५॥८॥ श्रस्ताराय पं दो वीरीयवर्णे
रणे ॥(१) कठिनाइय विन्यासः वरो सहितमृतः ॥ १८५॥८॥ स सेवितं
7 ये निशय तेजः सक्षीयः चिदिवं जगायम ॥(१) व्यथ यथार्थसमयं वि
भावे महानामाभिः निर्माणसिः ॥ १८५॥८॥ इति महाराजसुमर्थरणावर्णिः
॥ तथ धारामाणेश्वरस्मादरस्मादरसुकु लसूः ॥(१) संवादविचारः
निर्माणसिः शासाः
8 मृतं किन चन्दिकः ॥ १८६॥८॥ यारणाग्निभक्षीपर्यथारुपे शैविकृष्टि च
तन्त्रादिकाहरि विनिर्देशमीयारुपे ॥(१) सभी यायवाचीनि नियमविभाषाय
यकृत्वा भूमिपरिवर्तिते भूययश भूयसुर पातालखण्डः यथा ॥ १८६॥८॥
संप्रायमस्याक्षारिनी घातिकहारसूः इति
9 सुक्ष्माप्रम्पराराार्द्धस्थिराबिनाप्राप्तानुलः ॥(१) इवाराजनाभमूलीतशक्त्यापलान
गवोपंक खुरू(खरू) सिंह(स) जम्बलेनकरसं सुरस्मादरसुकु लसूः ॥ १८६॥
थथा न नूं महद्दशमसं यदिः वचस्तुलकवल कार्यः ॥(१) शुनाओऽपरीमानल
नुलपारसं ख देशार्ध खुरामिनायः ॥ १८६॥
10 विद्य यथ सरस्थि करं क्षणीसुलभक्ष्यामिनितविनाशविद्याः ॥(१) इति
सुज्ञापुरुषोदिवसः मैरिवाचायासमस्दृश्यां गोः पदतामामः ॥ १८६॥८॥
महामायाबः महाप्रथारकसूक्ष्माहरितसारस्यारुपे या(या) या पत्तन दक्षर
किरः वित समाराय कृतिव(क)भुवः ॥ सोईं समीयो राणाः
११ श्राकुलस्वनितादेवद्रवेष्टिवः कारागरे वर्दिय जयविगततुः संस्कार नापि
लेभे ॥ १८६॥८॥ श्राकुलस्वनितादेवद्रवेष्टिवः सच्चितम्यानुलः मायाबुधिमपस्च
खिलवल सत्यसिनितर्वलः ॥(१) सायासला चुल्लसुतरस्मादरसुकु लसूः
यो निजादिवसः कृतिर ॥ शाक्यहस्तमसरूः
१२ किन्तु त समुहनिलः ॥ १८६॥८॥ चालावटादिर्गतीमित्यस जिल्ला तपस्वी
चारविचारारूः ॥(१) नदव चिरं खलं यक्षगंिं नदव तन्वामित्र यो
वनसं ॥ १८६॥८॥ ग्रामीणाः सूत्रां चितः राजाः सेवे

1 Grammatically अप्राप्तां.
यथा न तुसारसिम्पितुण्यासाधति रथि: ॥(१) तत्सदन् जिसु सादनादि 
कल्याण यथार्थ ॥(२) नामसः ॥

स्वं काव्य पुराणि कालु विलीनं सूत्री पुण्यं पुरः ॥ १८५ ॥ शालकशित 

लाभलब्धातोत्तराद्यक्षे प्रणयसा उप्र क्रियात्कायम् ॥(१) चतुः 

िमलिन्यानिश्चायता मालिकापीयापि यथा भूतेऽति चक्षित: 

स्पष्टापि तं पवित्रां ॥ २०० ॥ [२०४] जयवरम- 

नान्द्वरणशास्त्रसंवेदनार्थात्मार्थपरित्यागानिश्चायतत्: ॥(१) संप्र 

मार्क्शास्त्रवर्णकथालंकारीयात्: ॥ काराकान्तिवासिनः वथानः 

यो युः ॥(२) जयवरम भूतिमयो ॥ २०२ ॥ [२०४] बनिहारिप्राचि वनिहारि 

(२) स्युरः एकांशस्वितः ॥(१) जयवरम ॥

सीता: श्रियाचिति: वेंखे तराम: ॥ २०२ ॥ [२०४] गुरैः प्रसाधादिदिग्य 

विवाहांगायंगारिचिति: ॥(१) अष्टादिकान: परस्मार्यं जयसम 

संसारः ॥(२) विद्याभागोऽविहारितः ॥ २०३ ॥ जयवरम भूतिमयो 

विनितस्तिथिश्रियाचिति: ॥ चय भूतिमयो विनितस्तिथिश्रियाचिति: ॥

हस्तमुदारिव श्रीमति श्रीमति: तत्रम् ॥(१) सुमन: पुलस्वादिव विनिताय 

वसेयविय तथादिव लक्षण: ॥ २०४ ॥ येव: किस्मत: न सोयवाय: किं 

धर्मसुरूपत्र: स्वते: सोयवम् व(व)लिखितचामाचय: किं न स: ॥(१) 

भव्य भूतस्वस्त्रां समाधिव यथा: पारिश्चिक्षितां विद्यार्यस्तिथिश्रियाचिति: ॥

कालेऽ् श्रीलिङ्गसह श्रु: ॥ २०५ ॥ [२०४] जयवरम: किं परि च 

राजानिति सुभृति समाजार: वा: (१) इत्युर्थे भूतस्वस्त्रां गोमतिवेश्या 

वनीयोऽयूः ॥ २०६ ॥ [२०४] जीवायात्मकान: सकलावर्णाणि: 

विशेषानिश्चायतणा: एकाम: ॥(१) सु(ः) लाइडवानिश्चायतणा: आयार्याणी 

भूलेपीयानिश्चायतणा: ॥ २०७ ॥ [२०४] 

रविवर नन्नी लिखित उपासारु विनितिवात यामवती सहांत्काराः ॥(१) 

पावन इव चन्द्रावधार्मास विवनकाराः गोमतिवेश्या: ॥ २०८ ॥ [२०४] संहृतारिव 

विनितिवान्ताहूः दासारिव बा(व)ः श्रीकाँ मलाकारिव मीमांसान् खतु गयां 

व(व)धार्मिकाः: ॥(१) गौपालवभूमिः गोमतिवेश्या: मलाकार 

(१) दासारिव बा(व) इत्यधार्मिकसंसादशी: न कालन्तु यज्ञा 

नागार्यानिश्चायता कारित: ॥(१) गोमतिवेश्या: तां तु प्रायमाभिः 

किंसु मयां भूविशेष: किंसु मयां 

स्त्रीलिङ्ग: ॥ २०० ॥ [२०४] बनिहारिप्राचि वनिहारि 

1. Dasad is unnecessary.
2. य is written on the margin.
20 तपायामीति: ॥ (१) अयुन्यतननमज्ञानीसंरक्षानिवर्तिन्यास्यभिन्नताः ॥

21 [२१] मदनाराजाज्ञानमहते यज्ञवर्धनाधिपत्यथायसः ॥ (१) कारकां योगेनी-

22 रुपेण धारासु यथा मौनपिरयुगेन । महायमानेर- ॥ (२) तदनं । शासनीपरमोऽपि युगपत्वानवितवासः ॥

23 विमोचनात्वसुधवर्धिनास्यविवेकानितुताः । जनिनयायनविवाहसः ॥ (२)

24 सावत्तां विवरिष्ठेश्वरः । विवाहवन्नादोऽग्राहयणः ॥ (२)

25 विश्वामितोऽधिकारः ॥ (२) यो विग्रहनिश्चितानां चलित कलक्षणः । कार्यानिते ॥

26 [२२] इस्वेव वेदां चन्द्रस्य तउष्टकमीति । भुवपत्त्वाति दुस्तनामादेवः ॥ (१)

27 [२२] हर्षिन्द्रं रघुतमसाधुः । सदा सेव्यनविक्ष्यातः ॥

28 [२२] विष्णुपाणियोऽपि उपमानं संदृशाः । तत्तुषेऽवेदविश्वासपापसः ॥ (१)

29 [२२] अत्रकारापि चेतिस्मृतीनां च । विश्वामितोऽधिकारः ॥ (२)

30 [२२] लक्ष्मीप्राप्तानां चतुर्विद्यायते । संबंधितीएव विश्वामितोऽधिकारः ॥ (२)

31 [२२] विश्वामितोऽधिकारः ॥ (२) तपायामीति: ॥ (१) चाँद्रिः-

1 Read बुधाचार्यराहे
2 Read वधासनः.
3 These two syllables are redundant.
27 कूडमिपि बिभुमंडलं मंडनं बिज्ञानमाधि व्याधात्। २३॥ [२४] त्रयः सुरभिषुक्तः

28 रंगिणीयमकः लिंगं विद्विधानमाधि स मोकल। २२॥ [२४] स देवरो

29 ती जलमं शासिकोऽप्रभु सरस्वी दिइनतातिपुत्राय अयेिनाय निरीक्षित्व्राष्ट्रः। २५॥ [२४] आयेिनाय

30 महेन्द्रिकृतिशालाय भक्तान्धायुः। श्रीमानं समस्तदानन्दिकम्। २५॥ [२४] भस्मादमाधिनं सतमतमुहुरीतिनमाधि

31 गाँवः संप्रास्थिता। ज्ञातवन्विप्रायां। कामिकया चिकित्त्वा वंगा गोदकंगा गतिवर्धिती दुल्लु जातासदा निवादिः। २६॥ [२४] चरित्रानु वैराग्यानिनाति चिपे चिपे चौरासीशः। २५॥ [२४] चौरासीशः। २६॥ [२४] चरित्रानु चिपे चिपे चौरासीशः। २५॥ [२४] चरित्रानु वैराग्यानिनाति चिपे चिपे चौरासीशः।
33 चित्र(त)चित्र यथेकोचन: कङ्कुजसाईत्रयां विरस्तमय: प्रस्तावित जगती(ती)।

34 क्षमिः साधुः वीभमाध्येऽः तनयविषयः। ॥ २२४ ॥ चत: चित्रसम्राजः

35 चन्द्रिकव्यक्तकार्तनसुच्चालयः हि रचितपारिश्रीरभुवस्यामः: सूचनी

36 चित्रोऽधिकारः स्मार्कप्रायः ॥ २२५ ॥ काम: कामोऽधिकारः सोऽधिकारः इह परे

37 भ्रमलोचनार्थं सूंदरः पूनरार्थं न(व्य)ः। ॥ २४० ॥ मा भूरक्षा भदुत्वत्चः

38 यः ॥ २५४ ॥ चित्रविज्ञानार्थं यथव चित्रस्त्राही कम्पत्तकः(क)रचारस्त्राहीः किर्तिनिः

39 लङ्कः कङ्कुजसाईत्रयां ॥ २५४ ॥ विश्वात: करिविनः इत्यदुब्राह्मणान्तवादात् ॥ २२४ ॥ क्षमिः साधुः वीभमाध्येऽः तनयविषयः। ॥ २२४ ॥ चत: चित्रसम्राजः
कुभक्षणः दक्षिणकोशकरम् नाति निरंतरस्वाध्यायः कः सहस्र वाणवेलिसमस्
40 संग्रहसंरक्षिणः।। १२४४॥ ॥ योगिनिपुरुषेनिरर्थकः योगिनीकारणिशिवा ॥
41 कुतस्तलाकाल्किरिकीनिरविवमर्दिताभिमोहिनी ॥ २४५॥ ॥ चरिदामः सांकेतिकः
42 जलस्य विशेषः शीर्षाधिपतिताय ॥ १(२) यथातुः कांडविवेकते संग्रामर्गः
43 पुंमितेभासः ॥ १२५॥ ॥ श्रेष्ठसंभावनावृतिः॥
44 यो दक्षिणकोशकरम् नाति निरंतरस्वाध्यायः कः सहस्र वाणवेलिसमस्
45 संग्रहसंरक्षिणः।। १२४४॥ ॥ योगिनिपुरुषेनिरर्थकः योगिनीकारणिशिवा ॥

1 This however spoils the metre.
2 Wrongly used for udarākhyatā
46 य र २६४ [२६४] महाराण पुरे द (२) रेखमनलयालवलीद्र ब्रह्मी: सिंहपुरीमोभारदधिमायताधिनी: (१) यद्य रंगपुरमानं विधावानं धीरानाथ नाथ नायक महाराजानं 'कारागमिरवसत' २६० [२६०] पदातीनाः पाठलां शापादलनीलाः (१) क्षेत्र महाराणानी रत्नस्मृत तदाज्यत ।

47 २६१ [२६१] भार्तदारभदरन दाश्य: कीटकालकणे सिक्रती (१) कुमकरकंदुपति-व्र (३) वावीवुल्लक (३) विराजती। २४२ [२४२] नमुनकुर्माखसीलिनिनकर-प्रलोकरणी विशेष विशालेश्वरमुखरमिश्रित्वादि गणौं रणपाणाः (१) दीघादीचितवहुबुद्धी-विलसीकंदुबुद्धी (३) भागासांतोः

48 विषय (ण) मंडलकरं दुर्गी चाणकाणायत । २६१ [२६१] जिल्ला देशमणकुरूगीयमम हाड़दी दिल्ली तबानानं कारधानानं य यज्ञभाषानुसारानं २४२ [२४२] दुर्गी गोपुरम पथपुस्तिम प्रीतां व इंदरावती वीमब्रोडुरुगसस्वावतमच्चालो विशालवा पुरि। २४४ [२४४] उत्तराधामूल सकलेऽ प्रभान्धनद्व द्व द्वम् (१)

49 विशालानां माता समुलसुदशुःशुः। २६४ [२६४] ततागरीनं (३) नीरसंगिनी-नामाङ्कन निती नमुनारण तुर्गी: (१) वीकुमकरकंदुपति: प्रविकी मणपं-रालोययतिपुराणां यद्यमिलिह्योः। २६६ [२६६] यद्यमणजवजं चोपसंस्कारसकरणीकरोः सिनोट्रेकीयोः। (१) विहाय दुर्गी सहसा पलायाचकार

50 मेषान गार्हालवाल । २६० [२६०] खजाना दीना रिनदीनाधिनाय दीना वह वेन सारणवरूः (१) योगा: ग्रहणा: पाटीवानाः तता: संस्कारं नैव शकौति कोपि । २६७-२६७) किंशोदीवुल्लकाती नेषी प्रकाश: सकास्मानानन्त धनार्जनयते (१) नत्रज़ा सारणवरूः बिलोच सहस्मं ल्याजितासंहंदमं । २६८ [२६८] गर्जेः (घ)

51 तत्तिनिमित्ताकार संस्कृतिस्वाभावानामसंगीतनकरकमस्तंग्रामविवाचच्चतं (१) एतह्यपर्यावरावद्धमाः अवालभोभिनिः चोशिण: प्रवाहि च खाद्यसुलक-स्त्रादामवा: स्मृति । २७० [२७०] लंबां [२१५० वर्ष शा] ……
No. 43.—GOKAK PLATES OF DEJJA-MAHARAJA.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These copper-plates were found in the year 1926 in the house of Mr. Govinda Rao Mutilak Desai of Gökak in the Belgaum District of the Bombay Presidency and are now in the possession of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar. The inscription which they bear has been edited in the *Karnatak Historical Review* but owing to certain inaccuracies which have crept in the reading of the text as given in the *Review*, in the interpretation of certain passages and in the drawing of inferences in certain cases, I consider it necessary to re-edit the document and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The plates are three in number each measuring about 6½” in length and 2½” in breadth. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner face only; the second plate has both the faces engraved. They are all strung together by a circular ring measuring 2½” in diameter and having an oval seal attached to it. Together with the ring and the seal they weigh 42½ tolas and are very well preserved.

The seal bears in relief the figure of some horned animal which looks like an antelope whose head is bent forward and one of the horns is turned towards the back. The animal is in a moving pose with its right forefoot raised. The donor of the grant which these plates record was a Sëndraka and the crest of the Sëndrakas was probably an elephant. It is, therefore, difficult to account for the horned animal engraved on the seal unless it is supposed that though the crest was an elephant, the device on the banner of the family was some horned animal like the one represented on the seal. It is not a Rashtra symbol either, though the document was issued in the reign of a king of that dynasty; for the emblem of that family was either Garuḍa or lion. Cannot this horned animal be taken as a cognisance of a Tirthaṅkara in view of the fact that the document is a Jaina record? Śāntinātha, we know, has an antelope for his lāśekhāna.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the invocatory and the imprecatory verses the whole record is in prose. It is written in a Southern script which was in use in the Dekkan during the sixth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era. The record is neatly written and resembles the Bāḍāmi cave inscription of Kiritivarman I which is dated in the Śaka year 500, the Mahākūta pillar inscription of Mahālēśa (602 A. D.), the Kopparam plates and the Aihoś inscription of Pulakāśīn. The inscription gives us two forms of long ā. In one the top is closed and in the other it is left open (compare āchehktūṭa in line 20 and Ārya-āndyā-chārya in l. 10). Initial ʊ is found in umata(ka)n-cha (l. 16) and े in Endāvīra (l. 13). Among the consonants the letter k is always closed when it is not a conjunct aśkara but when it is in combination with some other letters it is open; r is always open. The letters t and n are not looped; the former, however, has a loop when combined with n (e.g., in paryyantam, l. 13). The letter kḥ is found in Jambukhaṇḍa (l. 9) and ḷ in Jalāra (l. 9). Final t is found in line 20 and final m in lines 2 and 18. As regards orthography it may be noted that consonants are sometimes doubled when preceded by r (see Vardhamāna in lines 1 and 3) but sometimes not (e.g., see chatur-viniśati in line 9). The omission of s in bhūmī tasya in l. 17 is probably

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2. Ibid., p. 386.
3. Ibid., Vol. XIX, plate facing p. 18.
a mistake of the engraver for the correct word should be bhūmis-tasya. A noteworthy mistake of spelling is to be seen in uttān-chā for ukṭān-chā in line 16.

The object of the record is to register the grant of fifty niyutthanas of land in the Jalārāgyāna village situated in the Kāshmīrdviśaya to Ākṣārya Āryaṛṣabha of the Jambukhaṣaṇgaṇa for the worship of the divine Arhat and for other purposes specified in lines 11 and 12. The donor was the Adhirāja Indrāṇanda, the son of Vijayaṇanda-Madhyaśmaṇa of the Sāndraka family. Indrāṇanda is further stated to have been the favourite of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Dējja-Mahārāja. The grant registered in the charter was made when 845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired. This date is specially noteworthy for we do not know anything of the Āguptāyika kings with whom it is connected. This is the first inscription known to us making mention of these kings. No details about them are, however, recorded in this document except that they belonged to the spiritual lineage of Vardhamāna, the 24th Jaina Tirthamkara. The name of the era started by these personages namely the Āguptāyikas or the reckoning to which it belonged are questions which can be decided only by future researches. Paleographically the document may be ascribed to about the 6th or 7th century of the Christian era. No reckoning is known at present which would give for 845 an equivalent in the sixth or seventh century of that era. If, however, we follow the Jaina tradition and place the commencement of the reign of the Mauryya emperor Chandragupta in B.C. 312-13—for this appears to be the correct date of his accession—and consider it to be the starting point of the Āguptāyika era we get A. D. 532-33 as the date of our record.

But, considering the paleography of the record this date appears to be somewhat too early; and I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately.

Indrāṇanda, the donor of the grant, figures in this record for the first time. The epithet adhirāja applied to him here would indicate that he was a chief of some importance. After the late Dr. Fleet wrote the account of the Sāndrakas; only four more inscriptions of the family have come to our notice. The Kalwaṇ plates of Jayaśaktī furnish the following pedigree:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bāhūsakti</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adityaśakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikumbhaśakti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayaśakti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

carrying the line one generation further than the Bagumrāy grant of Nikumbhaśaktī mentioned by Dr. Fleet. The two others are stone inscriptions found at Bādāmī in the Bijapur District and mention the prince Bhāmāśāttī(ktī) who was, according to one of them, a devotee at the feet of Satyāśraya, i.e., a feudatory of the Chālukyas. Excepting the Bagumrāy and the Kalwaṇ plates the records of the Sāndrakas so far known mention different members of the family whose relationship to one another is not known. But the names Vijayaṇanda and Indrāṇanda found in the record under publication bear a striking resemblance to the name Śenānanda borne by the maternal uncle of Pulakēśin II.

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1 Kalpaśūtra of Bhadrabhūta edited by Dr. H. Jacobi, p. 7.
5 Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.
Seal of the Gokak plates.

From a photograph

Scale: four times the actual size.
Déjà-Mahārāja, who was the overlord of Indraṇanda, is also hitherto unknown king of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. So far, the earliest inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas found in the Dekkan was the Sāmangad grant of Dantidurga dated Saka 675. But its genuineness has been questioned by some scholars. Next come the Poona plates of Krishṇarāja of Saka 680. The present grant is, thus, the earliest Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription in the Dekkan. We do not know, however, whether Déjà-Mahārāja belonged to the Mālkhed branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Another interesting question that arises is whether Déjà was an independent ruler. He could not have been so after the Chálukyas became masters of the Dekkan in the beginning of the 7th century. But since he is called a Mahārāja, the document might have been issued when he was as a ruling king before the rise of the Chálukyas or when they were just beginning to establish their power. If this conjecture should prove correct we shall have to accept as accurate the account of the Kaṭṭhaṇa plates and other inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries that there existed a family of Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the Dekkan whom the Chálukyas defeated before coming to power, though the truth of this statement has been doubted by some scholars.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the record I am unable to identify. Kashmāṇḍī-śīvīśaya, Jalāra-grāma and Pūrva-śīvīśaya which are not known from other inscriptions. Jambukhaṇḍa after which the Jaina gaṇa took its name is identical with Jamkhaṇḍi, not far away from Gökāk.

TEXT.

First Plate : Second Side.

1  Svasti || Varadhatām Varadhamān-śīnḍor-Vardhamāna-gaṇ-ōdadhene śāsanam nāśita-
2  ripōr-bhāsuraṃ māhā-śāsanam || [1*] || Īh-śiyam-avasarpīyaśan-Tirthha-
3  karāṇāṃ chatuvśīvīśiṣṭaṃ saṃvatāḥ śri-Vardhamānasya vardhamān-
4  nāyāṃ tirtha-saṅgata-śūryāyīkāṇāṃ rājām-śaṅkāśu varsha-śatā-
5  shu panha-śatvānāśad-agreśha gatēshu Rāṣṭrakūṭ-ānaya-jāta-sīr-Dē-

Second Plate : First Side.

6  jja-mahārājasya-śīhmataḥ śri-Sōndra-śākm-aṇḍa-kula-śiṃhar-śūdā-dī-
7  pra-diśkārō Vijayaśīvīśa-Mādhyamaṃtraijā-śīmāna-śīmāna-Indraṇanda-śāhl-
8  rājāḥ sva-vānśyānāṃ-ātmānaḥ cha dharmma-vraṇīdhayē Kashmāṇḍi-vśāhāyē
TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Hail! May the bright and delusion-destroying charmer of Vardhamāna, who is the moon to the ocean of the Vardhamāna-gaṇa and who has driven away his foes, prosper!

(Lines 2-16). When forty-five after eight hundred of the years of the Āguptāyika kings in (i.e., belonging to) this ever flowing and prosperous spiritual lineage of the wise Vardhamāna, the Twenty-Fourth of the Tirthaṅkaras, had elapsed, the illustrious adhiśrīya Indraṇānda, the son of Vijayaṁanda-Maddhyamarāja, the bright sun who had risen in the firmament of the illustrious and pure Sendraka family and who was the favourite of the illustrious Dējja-Mahārāja, born of the Rāṣṭraṅīya dynasty, gave, in order to increase the merit of his ancestors as well as of himself, land measuring fifty niyartanas by the royal measure in the village of Jalāra situated near the mountain in the division of Kashmāṇḍi to Aryaṇandayāchārya, who belonged to the Ākāśika-gaṇa and was well versed in sacred knowledge, systems of philosophy and penance, for offering worship incessantly to the idol of the divine Arhat, for the (maintenance of) teachers, the sick and the old and for the service of ascetics.

(The boundaries of the land are):—to the north of the village the boundary is the vīrīya of the Pūrvarga village; to the south, up to the Muija canal; to the west, the ant-hill including Endāvirut; to its north, the tank and from there up to the eastern vīrīya.

(L. 16). He who takes this away incurs the five great sins. Further it is said:—

(Vv. 2-4). (The usual imprecatory verses).

1 The letter da seems to have been corrected from de.
NO. 44.—SIX INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM.

BY RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAINI, C.I.E., M.A.

The Central Museum at Lahore possesses a large number of stone inscriptions the bulk of which were collected in the early nineties of the last century by Major H. A. Deane, C.S.I., then Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar, on the northern borders of the Peshawar District and in the independent territory beyond it. The majority of these are in an unknown script which have so far remained undeciphered. A few of the others are short Sanskrit epigraphs in Sārāda characters which were also found in the same region and the remainder in the Nāgārī characters. Some of the inscriptions in the unknown script were first dealt with by M. Senart in a paper read by him before the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists in 1894. The whole collection was subsequently exhaustively treated by Dr. (now Sir) Aurel Stein with illustrative plates in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, 1898, pages 1 to 19. M. Senart recognized three distinct types of writing among these documents and those he connected with well defined territorial divisions. The first type which is designated as the Sparaškara variety has characters consisting of irregular, scrawly lines resembling Sgrafti or monograms. The second group, associated with Boser and the adjoining areas, is characterized by complicated and elaborate signs and these documents are engraved in regular lines on larger stones than those of the first type and have a decidedly monumental look. The third class of documents, known as the Mahābār collection, are also engraved on small stones and show a bewildering variety of signs. Sir Aurel was able to distinguish among these inscriptions a fourth variety of writing to which he gave the name of Nūrizā group. These inscriptions are engraved on longish slabs of slate stone, and unlike the inscriptions of the first three groups, these documents are in most cases surrounded by straight engraved lines. The characters in this variety are formed of curves, angles and other simple strokes differing from the linear arrangement exhibited by the signs in the other three groups.

Nothing definite is known of the origin and date of these puzzling epigraphs. M. Senart and Prof. Bühler had noticed a curious similarity between them and the alphabet of the Turkish inscriptions from the bank of the Orkhon, which are assigned to about the first half of the 8th century A.D., i.e., about the period of Ou-Kong's sojourn in Peshawar. As far as I can make out no further progress has been made with the examination of these records and the mystery is not likely to be solved until, as hinted by Stein, a bilingual inscription is brought to light.

Six of the Sārāda epigraphs in the Lahore Museum will be found included in a comprehensive list of all the known Sārāda inscriptions appended to Dr. Vogel's Antiquities of Chamba State. Among the remaining inscriptions the earliest one is written in characters of the 5th or 6th century A.D. Others are in Nāgārī characters. All the inscriptions with the exception of those in the unknown alphabet are incomplete, the extant portions being defaced and in several cases completely obliterated. It is probably for this reason that they have hitherto remained uncited. In view, however, of the comparatively small number of inscriptions from the Punjab and the North-West Frontier which have survived in good condition and been published, I edit them in this article.

1 Sirsa Inscription of circa 6th century A.D.

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular block of red sandstone similar to that of which the Mathurā sculptures are generally made. The stone was discovered by Sir A. Cunningham and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore. The stone measures 2' 3" in width by 5' 2" in height.

1 Part I, Appendix I, p. 269.
2 These have been noticed by me in P. R. A. S., N. C., 1918-19, pp. 18-20 and Appendix C.
and is 8" thick. The inscribed surface is disfigured by two round holes cut near the right end and there is moreover a large piece broken off below these holes. For the rest, the stone is complete. It is, however, obvious that the inscription was engraved on a series of stones fitted together into a wall and that this stone is only one of them. Portions of three lines of the inscription have survived and these contain portions of verses 13, 14, 16 and 17. The first line contains the last seven aksaras of the third foot and the whole of the last or fourth foot of verse 13, thus showing that more than 12½ stanzas are missing at the commencement of the inscription.

The characters belong to the northern variety of script of about the 5th or 6th century A. D. The inscription was composed in elegant metrical Sanskrit but unfortunately its value is much marred by its fragmentary nature and neither the name of the ruler of the time nor the purpose of the document can be ascertained.

TEXT.

1  

(Verse 13) ……. who by diligent veneration of those worthy of respect is constantly resplendent.

2  

(Verse 14) ……. who had attained the highest limit of prosperity and in the fire of whose anger (âsâ) enemies were frequently consumed like moths.

3  

(Verse 16) ……. who had covered the three worlds with his fame white like the Moon.

II. Sirsa Stone Inscription of the time of Bhôjadêva.

According to No. 23 of the list of inscriptions maintained in the Lahore Museum, this inscription was found in a mound near the town of Sirsa in the Hissar District of the Punjab and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore, by the then Deputy Commissioner. The stone is broken irregularly on all sides. The maximum dimensions of the extant portion are—width 2' 7", height 1' 7" and thickness 1' 1". The bass which each line has suffered will be apparent from the subjoined text. Sufﬁce it to say that more than 10 verses are lost at the commencement of the inscription while the last stanza which has survived in part in line 16 is numbered 32. The existing portion of the inscription is in good Sanskrit poetry and few mistakes occur. The characters belong to the 5th century A. D. and the Bhôjadêva whose name is found in the third line, I take to be identical with the Bhôja of Kanauj, inscriptions of whose time are found at Deogarh, Gwalior and Pachhipilliam.  

1 Metre: Śrîchāla yogyīdâ.  
2 Metre: Mâtini.  
3 Kielhorn, List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 546, etc.; Bhandarkar’s List, Nos. 33, 36, 38, 1412.
Verse 11, which is the first existing stanza eulogizes the continence of some one. The next verse indicates that the king at the time was the illustrious Bhūjadeva.

The next verse (V. 13) tells us that there was a leader of the Pāṇḍava sect named Ratnarāśi, who was intensely devoted (V. 15), had conquered Kāma, was spotless like a multitude of the rays of the Moon, purified by the current of the celestial river (the Ganges) and [resplendent] like Śiva himself. Of verse 16 only the last foot has survived and appears to indicate that this saint did something like the husband of the daughter of the mountain Himālaya, i.e., Śiva. The next verse (V. 17) relates something of the summit of the snowy mountain (Himālaya) and of the mountain Malaya. Verse 18 continues the praise of the saint mentioned above or of one of his successors, who is extolled as the Moon of the earth, who had come down to show the way leading to Śaṅkara, which is free from the dangers of mundane existence and which has destroyed the cause of birth and death. His disciple was another whose name is missing (V. 19), whose mind had been purified by his having acquired the knowledge of all that is worth knowing. This saint had a disciple (V. 20), whose name is also missing. The next two verses (V. 21 and 22) state that considering the worldly happiness to be of no use, youth to be worthless and life itself to be unstable like the ripple of the sea, he did something the nature of which cannot be ascertained. His commands were carried out (V. 23) with devotion by the multitude of kings with folded hands. (His disciple) was Nilakanṭha (V. 24), who was the lord of the rulers of the earth, an ontor among speakers, who, though one, assumed various aspects of Śiva. He made (V. 25 and 26) a magnificent temple (bhumi) of Yōgisvara or Śiva with burnt bricks and thick slabs of stone. This temple (V. 29) was as high as the sky and attained the height of the summit of the Kallīsa mountain. Verses 30 and 31 appear to state that this temple was adorned with (images) of Kṛṣṇa, the enemy of Mura, united with Lakṣmī and with the images of other gods, demons, gandharvas, yakshas, kinnaras, siddhas and thus emulated, as it were, the universal form of the lord of Lakṣmī.

**TEXT.**

1

2  

3  

4  

5  

6

---

1 Metre: Anusṭubha.
2 Metre: Indraveśi (The metre of this verse has been taken as Indraveśi but the reading is Bhūjadeva which would show that possibly the metre was Vasastālaka.—Ed.)
3 Metre: Upendraśrī.
4 Metre: Vānikatīha.
5 Metre: Tūṣṭa.
7  

8  

9  

10  

11  

12  

13  

14  

15  

16  

17  

18  

---

1 Metro: Mālinī.
2 Metro: Śāntikāśīkha.
3 Metro: Indraväjra.
4 Metro: Upasūti.
5 Metro: Vaṃśajīkha.
III. Bhatinda Stone Inscription of about the 10th Century A.D.

The stone on which this inscription is engraved was found lying at the tomb of Haji Ratan Baba at Bhatinda and was removed and presented by Sardar Atar Singh, Chief of Bhadaur to the Lahore Museum (No. 8 of the list of inscriptions). It is a fragmentary slab of dark grey colour and was surrounded with an engraved rim ornamented with a pattern of flower petals. The existing portion measures 1' 5½" in width by 1' 6½" in height. The stone is complete on three sides but a portion is broken off on the left side carrying away about 8 to 10 syllables of each line. A small triangular portion is also broken off at the lower left corner. A considerable portion of the writing is also badly defaced in the middle of the slab and in some other parts the letters are quite illegible. The characters are Nāgari of about the end of the 10th century A.D. and the whole of the extant portion is in Sanskrit verse. The first stanza contains an invocation of Krishna (Hari), who with his four hands armed with a mace, the spotless pūrṇa-kājyāṅga conch, (etc.) with ease supports the whole of the three worlds and who is ever-lasting. The second verse praises Rājā Śatrughnādaśva who equalled Lakshmappa and Bharata, whose feet were bowed to by the whole world and the dust of whose feet........... The third verse informs us that at Tribhāṇḍana pura there was (some one) resplendent with gems of virtue, whose glory was spotless like jewels, who was the ornament of a noble Khatriya family and who had acquired fame throughout the world by his brilliant...........His son (V. 4) was named...........because he was the destroyer of the impurity of the Kali age, who was purified by his devotion to ascetics...........and who by the constant flow of his liberality resembled the current of the Ganges. The next verse (V. 5) contained the name of his wife which appears to have been Indulākā. In the remaining portion of the inscription only stray words or syllables can be made out in each line. Line 14 appears to contain the word māhākāri and in line 16 there is a portion of a foot of a verse in the Vasantatilaka metre which means 'devotion to Hari or Vishṇa dispels'.

I am unable to identify the Rājā Śatrughnādaśva who was ruling over the region, where the inscription had been found, at the time this epigraph was engraved. 'Tribhāṇḍana pura' mentioned in verse 3 is undoubtedly the original name of Bhatinda where the inscription was discovered. The ruler Śatrughnādaśva in whose time the inscription was recorded is, as far as I can make out, not known from another inscription. He must have belonged to a local family of Bhatinda. Raverty, quoted by Smith in his Early History of India, 3rd Edition, p. 382, was wrong in making Bāltinda the capital of Jayapala of the Hindu Shāhī dynasty.

TEXT.

1. [ ]
2. [ ]
3. [ ]
4. [ ]
5. [ ]

Metre: Vasantatilaka.
Metre: Āryā.

One syllable seems to be missing in this pāda.
The remaining inscriptions dealt with in this article are all inscribed in the Śarādā script. The origin, history, and development of this script will be found discussed in great detail in Dr. Vogel’s monumental work *Antiquities of Chamba State*. Dr. Vogel disagreed with Bülder and Höemle’s view that Śarādā was a direct descendant of the western variety of the Gupta script, on the ground that an intermediate variety assignable to about the beginning of the 8th century A. D. had intervened between the Gupta and the Nāgarī scripts. Śarādā proper continued in use in the Chamba valley and the other hill tracts adjoining the Punjab up to about A. D. 1300. The later variety of Śarādā, which in the Chamba valley is known by the name of Devasāsāha, continued to be used in that area till about A.D. 1700 and a cognate form of it continues to be used to this day, in certain hill States of the Punjab and particularly in Kashmir where Nāgarī did not come into use until the second quarter of the 19th century A. D. The later variety differs from Śarādā proper in the absence of nail-heads or wedges at the tops of the letters, which are such a prominent feature of the earlier variety. The inscriptions treated of here are all engraved in the earlier variety.

IV. Dewai Stone Inscription of the Shahi King Bhilmadēva.

This inscription is engraved on a small rectangular slab of stone which is badly broken and cracked in two pieces on the front or inscribed face. It was found by Major Deane at Dewai, Gadun territory. The stone is complete on three sides, but broken at the top and consists of four lines in Śarādā characters and in the Sambhavīrītākṣa language. The extant portion of the inscription is well preserved except for the loss of one letter in the middle of the first line.

*Metro: Vasumatīlakṣa.*
TEXT.

1. भिमादेव -
2. गदाधरस्मिनिस्मिता -
3. श्रमणराजविवरणयर -
4. मेकरसाहिष्ठीभीमदेव [II]

TRANSLATION.

"The supreme sovereign, superior king of great kings and supreme lord the Shāhī, the illustrious Bhimadēvā, who holds the mace in his hand and is sprung from the illustrious Kalaj[kamal]lavarman."

The king Bhimadēvā mentioned in this inscription is no doubt the same as the fourth king of the dynasty of the Shāhī kings of Kabul and the Punjab who reigned, according to C. V. Vaidya (History of Mediæval Hindu India, Vol. I, page 201) from A. D. 940 to 960. This Bhimadēvā was the grandfather of Diddā, the wife and successor of Kahēmagupta, king of Kashmir, and the daughter of the Lōhara king named Siṃhā Raja, king of one of the feudatory States of Kashmir till A. D. 958.

Alberuni describes the Shāhī kings of Kabul and the Punjab as Brāhmaṇas. Sir A. Cunningham held that though the four kings, whose names end in देव, i.e., Vēkadēvā, Kallar or Spalapatidēvā, Sāmantadēvā, and Bhimadēvā must indeed have been Brāhmaṇas, the last four kings, Jayapāla, Anandapāla, Trilochanapāla and Bhimapāla were Rājpūt Kshatriyas. This view appears to me to be only partially correct. Kahēmagupta to whom the grand-daughter of Bhimadēvā was married is believed to have been a Kshatriya and as there could be no matrimonial connection between a Brāhmaṇa and a Kshatriya, it is obvious that Bhimadēvā must also have been a Kshatriya. The present inscription provides epigraphical proof of this identification, inasmuch as the name of the father of Bhimadēvā ends in vaman, a definitely Kshatriya title.

V. Ranigat Inscription.

The fragmentary white marble slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered by Major Deane in November, 1894 at a place called Ranigat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 25-A). The inscription consists of four lines in which portions of four Sanskrit verses have survived. The first verse which is in the Vasantaālakā metre has lost the last seven syllables of the second foot, the whole of the third foot and the first two syllables of the last foot, i.e., 23 aksharas in all. The loss between lines 2 and 3 amounts to as many as 65 syllables, consisting of the last five aksharas of the first foot and the whole of the next three feet of a verse in the Śārdulavikṛṣṭa metre and the first three syllables of the next verse which was in the Vasanta-ālakā metre. The loss between lines 3 and 4 again amounts to only 30 syllables, showing that the lines were of very unequal lengths.¹

¹ For two very rare coins of Bhimadēvā, see Cunningham, Coins of Mediæval India, plate VII, 17 and 18.
² [It is quite possible that a whole verse has been lost in addition between lines 1 and 2 and another between lines 3 and 4.—Ed.]
The first verse embodies an invocation of a deity, the pair of whose feet was variegated by the lustre of the brilliant jewels in the crowns of the multitude of gods. The next verse of which only the last 12 syllables remain, constitutes a eulogy of a king whose name is broken off, but whose prowess was well known like that of Arjuna. [The son of this ruler] was devoted to, and diligent in the carrying out of the commands of, his lord. The rest of the verse is broken off. Of the next verse less than the first half exists and it refers to some one, the hair of whose head, which resembled the sacred cord of muniya grass was beamed with the mass of the pollen of the lotus flowers in the shape of the feet of Siva. . . . . . . . The last existing verse, of which less than one half is preserved, tells us that the worldly ties of some one had been burnt in the fire of [true] knowledge.

This inscription at present adds little to our knowledge of the history of the territory in which it has been found. Perhaps it may be found useful at a later stage in filling gaps in future discoveries of such inscriptions.

TEXT.

1  [श्रम] ॥
    गौरवधुकुटस्मुपकालिनि-
    किमीरितापू(प्र)मणा[ः] ्[।] ्[।] ्[।] ्[।] ्[।] ्[।] ्[।] [।]
    — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [।]

2  — जूनो कृत्रिम प्रविष्टप्रत्याप:[।]
    भवो [भरु] मनोन्दरितिस्तु: तथा — — — — — — — — — — [।]
    — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [।]
    — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [।]
    — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [।]

3  — रामणिकृतज्ञापादपाला-
    रामण्यस्यनिग्रहितस्वरूपम्[''] [।]
    — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [।]
    — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [।]
    — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [।]

4  — शायगमनहताशास्त्रसन्न:\n    छायाति भ: प्रमब इव [।]
    — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [।]
    — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [।]
    — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [।]

[Note: The reading seems to be श्रम (bhairi) रङ्रा-सुवर्ती-चटकरा. The feminine gender as well as the word bhaire shows that the reference is to his wife.—Ed.]
VI. Bari Kot Inscription of the Reign of Jayapāladēva.

The original of this inscription is a rectangular slab, 10½ wide by 9 high of dark grey slate stone, which was found on a hill to the north of Bari Kot in Upper Swat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 119). The whole of the inscription is very badly obliterated and the only portions that can be read with certainty are the first two lines of the document. Elsewhere only stray words or syllables can be made out. The inscription begins with ॐ svasti 100, followed by the words meaning "in the reign of the supreme sovereign, the superior king of great kings and the supreme lord, the illustrious Jayapāladēva". We then gather that in the illustrious Vajirasthāna (Waziristan) three individuals, whose names are completely rubbed off, founded something, the nature of which cannot be determined. This inscription is the first epigraphical document which mentions the name of the Shāhi king Jayapāladēva, who was the successor of Bhīmadēva and contemporary of Amīr Sabuktīgīn and Māhmūd of Ghazni. The existing portion contains no date.

TEXT.

1 ॐ स्वस्ति १०० परमभाद्रकम्ब्राराजाकाऩ्निराक्
2 मिक्करवीलायल्देवाके श्रीवीराश्रेिनि
3 मेंटुष श्रीप्रेय (?) सिद्धदेवकुलभमार्किति . . . .
4 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
5 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
6 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
7 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
8 कर्म . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
9 प्रभव उद . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
10 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
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