

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume VI (1900-01)



PUBLISHED BY  
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110001  
1981

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. VI.—1900-01.



PUBLISHED BY  
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011  
1981

*Reprinted 1981*

©  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
1981

**Price : Rs. 90.00**

**Printed at Pearl Offset Press, 5/33, Kirti Nagar Indl. Area New Delhi-15**

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

---

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST; FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS;  
CORR. MEMB. OF THE BATAVIA SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,  
AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF SCIENCES AT GÖTTINGEN.

---

VOL. VI.—1900-01.

---

CALCUTTA:

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA.

BOMBAY: EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.

LONDON: LUZAC & Co. and KEGAN PAUL,  
TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co.

NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co.

CHICAGO: S. D. PEET.

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARBASSOWITZ.

VIENNA: A. HÖLDER & Co.

BERLIN: A. ASHER & Co.

PARIS: E. LEROUX.

CALCUTTA:  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA CENTRAL PRINTING OFFICE,  
8, NARAYAN STREET.

# CONTENTS.

*The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.*

	PAGE
<b>D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A. :—</b>	
No. 18. Alas plates of the Yuvarāja Gōvinda II. ; Śaka-Samvat 692 . . . . .	208
" 28. Plates of Dantivarman of Gujarāt ; Śaka-Samvat 789 . . . . .	235
<b>J. F. FLEET, PH.D., C.I.E. (Indian Civil Service, retired) :—</b>	
No. 6. Three Western Ganga records in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore . . . . .	40
" 11. Nilgund inscription of the time of Amoghavarsha I. ; A.D. 866 . . . . .	98
" 16. Some records of the Rashtrakūṭa kings of Mālkahāḍ . . . . .	160
" 24. Three inscriptions in the Dhārwar district . . . . .	251
<b>K. HULTSCH, PH.D. :—</b>	
No. 8. Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman . . . . .	84
" 14. Plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja ; Gupta-Samvat 800 . . . . .	143
" 15. Two pillar inscriptions at Amarāvati . . . . .	146
" 20. Bhīmavaram inscription of Kulōttuṅga I. ; Śaka-Samvat 1037 . . . . .	219
" 21. Two inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōla . . . . .	223
" 26. Tandavōlu inscription of Buddharāja ; Śaka-Samvat 1098 . . . . .	268
" 31. Kopdamudi plates of Jayavarman . . . . .	316
" 32. Two cave inscriptions at Śiyamaṅgalam . . . . .	319
" 33. Raṅganātha inscription of Goppapa ; Śaka-Samvat 1298 . . . . .	323
" 34. Two inscriptions of Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl . . . . .	331
" 35. Tēki plates of Rājārāja-Chōḍaganga ; dated in the seventeenth year (of Kulōttuṅga I.) . . . . .	334
<b>PROFESSOR F. KIELHOHN, PH.D., D. LITT., LL.D., C.I.E. :—</b>	
No. 1. Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II. ; Śaka-Samvat 556 . . . . .	1
" 2. Two Kadamba grants . . . . .	13
Nos. 3 and 27. Dates of Chōla kings ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	20 and 278
No. 4. Konnūr spurious inscription of Amoghavarsha I. , Śaka-Samvat 782 . . . . .	25
" 5. Chēbrōlu inscription of Jāya ; Śaka-Samvat 1157 . . . . .	33
" 7. The date of the Kōṭṭayam (Syrian Christians') plate of Vira-Rāghava . . . . .	83
" 13. Two grants of Dapḍimahādēvi . . . . .	133
" 17. Two Bhuvanēśvar inscriptions . . . . .	198
" 23. Rādhapur plates of Gōvinda III. ; Śaka-Samvat 730 . . . . .	239
" 29. Sarsavṇi plates of Buddharāja ; [Kalachuri-]Samvat 361 . . . . .	294
" 30. Dates of Pāṇḍya kings . . . . .	301
<b>REV. F. KITTEL, PH.D. :—</b>	
No. 19. Belatūru inscription of the time of Rājēndradēva ; Śaka-Samvat 979 . . . . .	213
<b>H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A. :—</b>	
No. 25. Śrīkūṛmam inscription of Naraharitritha ; Śaka-Samvat 1203 . . . . .	260
<b>H. LÜDERS, PH.D. :—</b>	
No. 10. Gadag inscription of Vira-Ballāla II. ; Śaka-Samvat 1114 . . . . .	89
" 12. Two pillar inscriptions of the time of Kṛishnarāja of Vijayanagara . . . . .	108
" 22. Konḍavḍu pillar inscription of the time of Kṛishnarāja of Vijayanagara ; Śaka-Samvat 1442 . . . . .	220
<b>FATHER VARTAN MELCHISEDECH, OF THE MECHITHARIST CONGREGATION, VIENNA :—</b>	
No. 9. The Armenian epitaph at the Little Mount near Madras . . . . .	89
<b>V. VENKATYA, M.A. :—</b>	
No. 36. Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, dated in the eighth year . . . . .	347
<b>INDEX</b> . . . . .	363

## LIST OF PLATES.

---

1. Aihole inscription of Pulakéśin II. ; A.D. 634-35	to face page 6
2. Kōḍgere plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman	between pages 14 & 15
3. Bannaballī plates of Kṛishṇavarman II.	" " 18 & 19
4. Doddahundi stone	to face page 41
5. Bēgūr stone	" " 45
6. Bēgūr inscription and Doddahundi inscription	" " 48
7. Ātakūr stone	" " 50
8. Ātakūr inscription of Kṛishṇa III. and Bātuga II. ; A.D. 949-50	" " 54
9. Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman.— Plate i.	between pages 84 & 85
10. " " " " ii.	" " 86 & 87
11. " " " " iii.	to face page 88
12. Armenian epitaph at the Little Mount near Madras	" " 89
13. Nilgund inscription of Amoghavaraha I. ; A.D. 868	" " 102
14. Gañjām plate of Daṇḍimāhādēvi ; the year 180	between pages 138 & 139
15. Plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja ; Gupta-Samvat 300	" " 144 & 145
16. Hatṭi-Mattūr inscription and Naregal inscription	to face page 162
17. Lakshmēśhwar inscription of the time of Śrīvallabha	" " 166
18. Bhuvanēśvar inscription of Svapnēśvara	" " 202
19. Alās plates of the Yuvarāja Gōvinda II. ; Śaka-Samvat 692	between pages 210 & 211
20. Belatūru inscription of Rājēndradēva ; Śaka-Samvat 979	to face page 216
21. Chēbrōlu inscription of Vikrama-Chōla ; Śaka-Samvat 1049	" " 226
22. Śevilimēḍu inscription of Vikrama-Chōla ; the sixteenth year	" " 228
23. Rādhapur plates of Gōvinda III. ; Śaka-Samvat 730	between pages 244 & 245
24. Inscriptions at Didgūr, Guḍigere and Mulgund	to face page 253
25. Piṭhāpuram pillar inscriptions	between pages 270 & 271
26. Plates of Dantivarman of Gojarāt.— Plate i.	" " 280 & 291
27. " " " " ii.	to face page 294
28. Sarasvatī plates of Buddharāja ; [Kalachuri-]Samvat 361	between pages 298 & 299
29. Kopḍamudi plates of Jayavarman.— Plate i.	" " 316 & 317
30. " " " " ii.	" " 318 & 319
31. Śīyamangalam cave inscriptions	to face page 320
32. Tēki plates of Rājārāja-Chōḍaganga.— Plate i.	between pages 338 & 339
33. " " " " " ii.	" " 342 & 343
34. Rapastipūḍi grant of Vimalāditya.— Plate i.	" " 354 & 355
35. " " " " " ii.	to face page 358

---

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

### A.—VOLUME V.

- Page 16, text lines 12, 13.—Professor Kielhorn has told me that, in line 41 of the Kauṭhēm plates of A.D. 1009 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 23), he takes what I have presented as *Karkara-rana-stambhau*, "the two pillars of war of Karkara," as meaning "Karkara and Ranastambha," and that he would interpret in a similar way the passage, specified above, in the Managōli inscription of A.D. 1161. This latter passage, indeed, when considered apart from the bias created by my previous rendering of the other passage, makes the point quite certain. And, in the abstract of contents (p. 20, lines 5, 6 from the bottom), there should be read "annihilated king **Kakkara** and king **Ranakambha**, the sun and moon in the **Rāshtrakūṭa** sky."—It is due to Mr. Wathen, who brought to notice the Miraj plates of A.D. 1024 which include the verse given in the Kauṭhēm record, to add that the translation put forward by him presents "Karkara and Ranastambha, rājās both of the Rāshtra-kūta race;" see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, F. S., Vol. III. p. 269.—The idea naturally occurs, to take Ranastambha as a northern kinsman and ally of Kakka II., and to connect him with the Jaipur territory in Rājputāna, in which there is the fortress of 'Ranthambhor,' = **Ranastambhapura**,—the 'Rintimbore or Rantamboor' of Thornton's Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV. (1854), p. 320.—J. F. F.
- " 21, line 18,—for of the race of Vājins, read of the Vājivamśa; and cancel note 2. As has been brought to my notice by Professor Kielhorn, the Vājivamśa is mentioned elsewhere, and the Jain Huḷḷa or Huḷḷapa, a minister of the Hoysala prince Narasimha I., belonged to it; see, for instance, *Inscr. at Srav.-Bel.* Introd. pp. 52, 54.—J. F. F.
- " 71, line 13 from bottom,—for summer-solstice, read winter-solstice.
- " 77, line 8,—for °गङ्गा[मति\*], read °गङ्गा[मर\*].
- " 96, " 12,—for summer solstice, read winter-solstice.
- " 150, line 9.—Mr. Krishna Sastri corrects *jagaḍavāḍu* into *jāgaḍavāḍu*, which would be the same as *jayaghaṇṭavāḍu*, 'one who strikes the gong;' compare *jāgaṁṭa* or *jēgaṁṭa* in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, and *jāgaṭe* or *jēgaṭe* in Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*.
- " 168, line 7,—for Bellary, read Anantapur.
- " 201, paragraph 3.—The identification, which I put forward in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 378, of Bhaṇḍāragaviṭṭage with 'Kowteh,' a small village six miles south-west-by-west from Shōlāpur, on a stream (the 'Adeela Nulla') which flows into the Sina, which again flows into the Bhīmā, is wrong. I cannot recall the circumstances in which I made the mistake, or the book and map which I then consulted. But it is clear, now, that Bhaṇḍāragaviṭṭage is the modern 'Bhundarkowteh' of the Indian Atlas sheet No. 40 (1852), on the north bank of the Bhīmā itself, in lat. 17° 27', long. 75° 44', about twenty miles south-west from Shōlāpur.—J. F. F.

### B.—VOLUME VI.

- Page 6, line 2,—for ānubhāv-, read ānubhāv-.
- " 11, note 6,—for °sañchanna-, read °sañchanna-.
- " 26, line 9 from bottom,—for Sāmāgaḍ, read Sāmāgaḍ.
- " 27, line 9,—for Kṛishnaraja I., read Kṛishnarāja I.
- " 53, note 7, line 6;—for Maṇḍalikatrīṇṣṭra, read Maṇḍalikatriṇṣṭra.

Page 57, note 9, line 3,—for Vol. V., read Vol. III.

„ 66, line 9,—for Nalambādhirāja, read Nalambādhirāja.

„ 67, note 4, line 3,—for -Permmānāḍigaḷ=, read -Permmānāḍigaḷ=.

„ 68, „ 6, „ 2,—for Permanadi, read Permanadi.

69, line 11,—for Kyātanahalli, read Kyātanahalli.

„ 70, „ 8,—for Kisukād, read Kisukād.

„ 83, „ 16,—for king, read kings.

„ 93, „ 7,—for Malapas, read Malapas.

„ 105, verse 1, and note 8.—Professor Kielhorn has now fully accounted for the description of Viṣṇu here as *Purandara-nandana*, “son of Indra;” see *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1900, p. 350 ff., where he has shewn that it may be traced back to the use of *Akhaṇḍala-sānu*, in the *Kirātārjunīya*, i. 24, to denote primarily Arjuna, “the son of Indra,” and secondarily Viṣṇu, “the younger brother of Indra.” As he has said, in conclusion;—“If a poet like Bhāravi could use *Akhaṇḍala-sānu* as a name of the god Viṣṇu, we cannot wonder that some petty poet should have employed its exact synonym *Purandara-nandana*, in just the same sense.”—J. F. F.

„ 110, note 7.—Mr. H. Krishna Sastri aptly identifies Symamdary with Sindhādri, i.e. Sindhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district; compare Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p. 27.

„ 111, line 7 f. from bottom.—Mr. H. Krishna Sastri states that Pāranandi Bhāskarāvadhānin at Nellore possesses a complete copy of the *Chandrikā*, a commentary on Krishnamisra's *Prabodhachandrodāya* by Nāḍimḍla-Gōpa, the sister's son of Sāḷva-Timma. The colophon of the first act reads as follows:—*Iti śrīmad-rājādhirāja-rāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Vīrapratāpa-śrī-Kṛṣṇarāja-mahārāja-sāmmrāja-dhuraṇḍhara-śrī-Sāḷva-Timmarāja-daṇḍandya-bhāginīya-Nāḍimḍla-Gōpa-mātrī tēkharā-virachitāyām Prabodhachandrodāya-vyākhyāyām Chāndrikā-ākhyāyām prathamō-ślokaḥ ||*

„ 113, line 3 from bottom,—for Mōtupalle, read Mōtupalle.

„ 117, note 11.—*Vṛitrabhid-atman* is synonymous with *indra-nīla*, ‘a sapphire.’

„ 128, „ 6, line 4,—for -Kṛṣṇu, read -Kṛṣṇa.

„ 131, verse 33, line 3 f.—Read: “If not, why (dost thou) whose emblem is the Garuda (assume) this (ensign of the hawk) ?”

„ 132, verse 42,—for “whose deep compassion with heroes was,” read “whose heroism and compassion were.”

„ 135, line 20,—for *sahvachakhaa*, read *sahvachekhara*.

„ 157, text line 191,—for *श्वर*, read *श्वर*.

„ 169, the last line, and page 170, first line; and throughout subsequent references.—I have recently had occasion to look up Mr. H. H. Dhruva's article on the records of A.D. 915, in the *Jour. German Or. Soc.* Vol. XL. p. 322 ff. His introductory remarks shew that these two records were obtained at Bagumrā. And they ought, therefore, to be referred to as “the Bagumrā plates of A.D. 915,” and not by a title connecting them with Nausāri as their find-place. His remarks further shew that the seal of each of these two records presents, not only the god Śiva as stated by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 253, but also a *svastika* and a *Ganapati* and the legend *śrīman-Nityavareha*.—J. F. F.

„ 169, note, line 14.—Cancel the words “while his own illustrious queen was prospering.” The correct translation of this passage is given in *South-Ind. Inschr.* Vol. II. p. 92.

„ 185, line 7 from bottom,—for -Bassappa read -Bassappa.

„ „ note 14,—for 7, 8, read 6, 7.

„ 189, „ 1.—It might have been added here that Ratnāvalōka occurs as a *biruda* of the Mahādēvanta Bappavarasa in the Mahākūṭa inscription of A.D. 934: see *Ind. Ant.*

Vol. X. p. 104, No. 96, text line 2; the *biruda* has there been translated, by "he whose glances were (*as bright*) as jewels."—J. F. F.

Page 225, line 10 from bottom,—for Eastern India, read Southern India.

„ 251 ff.; the Didgūr inscription.—In editing this record, I overlooked a fact to which Professor Kielhorn has kindly drawn my attention. Just as here we have Dosi as the name of the governor of the Banavāsi province under king Kattiyara, so also we have Dosirāja as the name of the person at whose request, as recorded in the Vakkalēri plates of A.D. 757 (see Vol. V. above, p. 201), the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II. granted the village of Sulliyūr, which was in the Pānūṅgal *vishaya* and consequently in the Banavāsi province. The Dosi of the Didgūr inscription may well have been a grandson of the Dosirāja of the Vakkalēri plates. At any rate, the identity of these two names Dosi and Dosirāja, and their connection with the same part of the country, is another point in favour of the view that Kattiyara was a Chalukya.—J. F. F.

„ 286, line 20 f. from bottom.—Professor Kielhorn contributes the following remark on this date:—"For Śaka-Samvat 789 expired it corresponds to the 23rd December A.D. 867. On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausa ended 12 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise, and the Uttarāyana-Samkrānti took place during the same *tithi*, 1 h. 10 m. before mean sunrise."

„ 286, line 18 ff. from bottom.—In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXI. p. 254 f. Dr. Fleet has shewn that Kāmpilya, Chokkhakuṣi, Dabbhellakka (this is the correct reading), Apasundara and Kālūpallikā correspond to the modern villages Kaphleta, Chokhad, Dabhel, Asundar and Karoli, and that the river Mandākinī is now called Mindhola.

„ 321, line 15 from bottom,—for Kaśākūḍi, read Kāśākūḍi.

„ 324, note 1, line 4 f., and page 325, line 5,—for Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar, read Jammaṇa-Uḍaiyar.

„ 327, line 23,—for -Uḍaiya[r\*], read -Uḍaiya[r\*].



# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

---

## VOLUME VI.

---

### No. 1.—AIHOLE INSCRIPTION OF PULIKESIN II.; SAKA-SAMVAT 556.

By F. KIELHOHN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on the east side-wall of an old temple called Mēguṭi, at Aihole in the Hungund tāluka of the Bijāpur (formerly Kalādgi) district.<sup>1</sup> It was first edited, with a photo-lithograph, by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 67 ff., and a revised version of the text and translation, with an improved photo-lithograph, has been given by the same scholar, *ibid.* Vol. VIII. p. 237 ff., and *Archæol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. III. p. 129 ff. I re-edit the inscription at the suggestion of, and from an estampage supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet himself, who was anxious to publish the accompanying photo-lithograph which is the first true facsimile of this record. In common fairness I am bound to state that Dr. Fleet's edition, published more than twenty years ago, was an excellent piece of work, which has been of great assistance to me; and I would wish it to be understood that I consider any improvements in the reading or interpretation of the text which I may be able to offer, to be mainly due to the rapid advance of Indian epigraphy, brought about to no small extent by Dr. Fleet's own exertions.

The inscription contains 19 lines of writing, of which nearly the whole of line 18 and the short line 19 apparently are a later addition of little importance, which may be left out of consideration in these introductory remarks. The writing covers a space of about 4' 9½" broad by 2' ½" high; it is well engraved, and generally in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is between ½" and ⅔". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; they are of the regular type of the characters of the Western Chalukya records of the period to which the inscription belongs. Of initial vowels, the text contains the signs for a, ā, ī and u, and of the signs of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants, all excepting ḍh; but chh, ṣh and the rare jh<sup>2</sup> (in =ḍjjhātī, l. 7) occur only as subscript letters. The alphabet also includes the signs of the jīhva-mūlīya (e.g. in *Ravikīrtīh-kavitā* at the end of line 17), the upadh-māntīya (e.g. in *yaḥ-prabhavaḥ-puruṣa-*, l. 1), and the Dravidian ḷ (e.g. in *Mājava-*, l. 11, and *pulina-*,

---

<sup>1</sup> See *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains Bombay Pres.*, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> It is strange that none of the published palaeographic Tables should give a single instance of the southern form of jh from an inscription. The form of the subscript jh used in the present inscription is almost identical with the one employed in the first Cambodian inscription (in the word *ajjhita* in line 7, *Inscr. Sanscritæ de Cambodge*, p. 18, and Plate), the alphabet of which in other respects essentially differs from that of the Western Chalukya inscriptions.

l. 12); and of final *m* (e.g. in *ratnānām*, l. 1, and *suchiram*, l. 2), final *t* (e.g. in *prakarshāt*, l. 3), and final *n* (in *iv-abhavan*, l. 11, and *dviñān*, l. 15). Besides we have the ordinary signs of punctuation, one or two vertical lines, but they are employed irregularly.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the text is all in verse, the metres employed in the 37 verses being: the ordinary Ślōka, in vv. 20, 22, 27, 31, 33, 34 and 36; Aupachchhandasika, in vv. 9 and 26; Āryā, in vv. 1-4 and 7; Āryāgiti, in v. 37; Upajāti, in v. 6 and v. 19 (Indravajrā); Rathōddhatā, in v. 8; Vainśastha, in v. 12; Drutavilambita, in v. 10; Praharshinī, in v. 30; Vasantatilakā, in vv. 11, 14, 28 and 35; Mālinī, in vv. 13, 15 and 23-25; Hariṇī, in v. 13; Mandākrāntā, in v. 17; Śārdūlavikrīḍita, in vv. 5, 29 and 32; Mattēbhavikrīḍita, in v. 18; and Sragdharā, in v. 16. So far as I am able to judge, the author has properly observed the metrical rules, and his choice of the metres in some instances, as when he uses the metre Sragdharā in v. 16, appears most appropriate.—The orthography calls for few remarks. *Visarga* has everywhere been changed to the *jīhvāmūliya* before *k*, and to the *upadhmanīya* before *p*, and has been assimilated to a following sibilant. The final *m* of a word is at the end of a verse or half-verse always denoted by the special sign of the final *m*, except in *trayāṇām* at the end of verse 25; and in the interior of a Pāda before a consonant it is either changed to *anusvāra* or to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs (before *ch*, *chh* and *j* it is always changed to *ñ*). At the end of the first and third Pādas of a verse the rules of *saṁdhi* have occasionally not been observed, and they have once or twice been neglected in other places. The letter *ṣ* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *Jayasinha*, l. 3; *v* instead of *b* in *vibhatsa*, l. 11, and *vvalaṭh*, l. 14; and *j* instead of *y* in *chirañ-jātaḥ* (for *chiram yātaḥ*), l. 2. Before *r*, *k* is always doubled (e.g. in *parākhrama*, l. 5); and before *y*, *dh* is similarly treated in *ārāddhya*, l. 15. The Dravidian *ḷ* is used in the names *Kālidāsa*, l. 18, *Āḷupa*, l. 9, *Kēraḷa*, l. 15, *Chōḷa*, ll. 14 and 15, *Nāḷa*, l. 4, *Māḷava*, l. 11, and *Kaunāḷa*, l. 13; and also in the words *anturāḷa*, l. 13, *ālī*, l. 8, *āvalī*, l. 9, *kāḷarātri*, l. 4 (but not in *kāla*, l. 16), *puḷina*, l. 12, and *vigaḷita*, l. 11. Clerical errors there are few, and they can be easily corrected.

The inscription is a poem by a certain Ravikīrti, who during the reign of the Chalukya Polekēśin Satyāśraya (i.e. the Western Chalukya Pulikēśin II.), whom he describes as his patron, founded the temple of the Jaina prophet Jinendra on which the inscription was engraved, and who uses the occasion to furnish a eulogistic account (*prastāvi*) of the history of the Chalukya family, and especially of the exploits of Pulikēśin II. As a translation of the poem will be given below, it is unnecessary to burden this introduction with an abstract of the contents, the more so because the historical facts related in this record have been fully discussed by Prof. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet;<sup>1</sup> but I may draw attention to one or two statements of our author which are made in verses of which either my text or translation differs from those of the previous edition. From the restitution of the true reading, *Bhaimarathyaḥ*, in verse 17, it appears that the two invaders Āpāyika and Gōvinda, of whom one was repulsed by Pulikēśin II., while the other was made an ally, had come to conquer the country north of the river Bhaimarathi, usually called Bhimarathi, and that no horses from the northern seas are spoken of in that verse. Again, from the wording of verse 22 it would appear now that the Lāṭas, Māḷavas and Gūrjaras were not conquered by force, but submitted to, or sought the protection of, Pulikēśin of their own accord. Of greater interest perhaps is my interpretation of verse 28. It will be seen that that verse speaks of a piece of water, apparently containing some islands, which was occupied by Pulikēśin's army, and is called the Kaunāḷa water, or the water (or lake) of Kunāḷa. The position of this piece of water is indicated by the sequence of events recorded in the poem. Pulikēśin according to verse 26 subdued the Kālīngas and Kōśalas; he then according to verse 27 took the fortress of Piṣṭapūra, the modern Piṭhāpura

<sup>1</sup> See Prof. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, 2nd ed., especially p. 51; and Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 2nd ed., especially p. 349 ff.

in the Gôdâvarî district; after that, in verse 28, comes his occupation of 'the water of Kunâla;' this again is followed, in verse 29, by his defeat of the Pallava ruler near Kâñchîpura; and in verse 30 he crosses the river Kâvêrî. Pulikêsin's march of conquest therefore is from the north to the south, along the east coast of Southern India; and the localities mentioned follow each other in regular succession from the north to the south. This in my opinion shews that 'the water of Kunâla' can only be the well-known Kolleru lake, which is south of Piñhâpuram, between the rivers Gôdâvarî and Krishnâ. To that lake the description of 'the water of Kunâla,' given in the poem, would be applicable even at the present day; and we know from other inscriptions that the lake contained at least one fortified island which more than once has been the object of attack. In the Chellûr plates<sup>1</sup> of the reign of the Eastern Chalukya Kulôttunga-Chôda II. of Śaka-Samvat 1056 (exactly five hundred years after the date of the present inscription) we are told that in the Venṅi-maṇḍala there is a great lake in which, like Vishnu's city Dvârakâ in the ocean, is a town named Sarasîpurî, unconquerable by enemies, and that at the time of the inscription that town was possessed or governed by Kâṭama-Nâyaka of Kolanu, a Telugu word meaning 'lake,' which according to other inscriptions<sup>2</sup> must undoubtedly be connected with the Kolleru lake, and which in my opinion is identical with Kunâla.<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the date of the inscription as given in verses 33 and 34, I have nothing to add to what Dr. Fleet already has stated about it. It corresponds, for the expired year 3735 of the Kaliyuga, here described as the year 3735 since the Bhârata war, and—which is the same—for Śaka-Samvat 556 expired, to A.D. 634-35.

Important as this inscription is as an historical document, to myself it seems almost more interesting from a literary point of view. The statement in verse 37 that it raises its author to the level of Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi, is surely an exaggeration, but in my opinion this poem indubitably places him in the very front rank of court-poets and writers of *prabandis*. Ravikîrti is thoroughly conversant with the rules of the Alamkāra-śāstra, and like a true *dâkṣhiṇîya*, he is unsurpassed in some of his *utprêkṣhās*. He is familiar with the works of India's greatest poets, and seems to have especially profited by the study of that most perfect poem of Kâlidâsa's, the *Raghuvamśa*. That this *kāvya* of Kâlidâsa's about A.D. 600 was well-known in widely distant parts of India, and even beyond the confines of India proper, there can be no doubt now. I have elsewhere<sup>4</sup> had occasion to shew that one of its verses (XII. 1) has been present to the mind of the author of the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, dated in A.D. 588. I have also drawn attention to the fact<sup>5</sup> that another verse of the same poem (VI. 23) has been imitated in one of the Nâgârjuni Hill cave inscriptions of the Mankhari Anantavarman, which for palæographic reasons cannot be placed later than the first half of the sixth century. Besides, so far as I can judge, part at least of the text of the *Raghuvamśa* was

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 37, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> We may compare (see Hémachandra's *Prâkrit Grammar*, II. 116 ff.) *alāna* = *āṇḍa*, *Achalapura* = *Alachapura*, *karṇḍ* = *kanḍ*, etc.—*Kundla* very probably is the *Kundla* of the grammarians, which according to Ujjvaladatta is the name of a locality, and according to Hémachandra (*Uṇḍigana* 476) the name of a town.—Moreover, notwithstanding the difference of spelling, I have no doubt whatever that the *Kaundla* of our inscription is identical with the *Kaurḍaka* in line 19 of the Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 7), which in that inscription is enumerated immediately before *Paishāpuraka*, just as in the present inscription the *jalah Kaundlam* is mentioned immediately after *Pishāpura*. (An antiquated statement, lately repeated in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 68, induces me to add that by the inspection of an excellent estampage I have convinced myself that *Kaurḍaka*, as published by Dr. Fleet, is the true reading in Samudragupta's inscription).

<sup>4</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 190, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 276.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 190, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 224.

familiar to the composer of the first Cambodian inscription,<sup>1</sup> which according to the most competent authorities belongs to the commencement of the seventh century. And turning to Chalukyan inscriptions, it is sufficient to say that the half-verse *yathāvidhi-hutāgninām yathākām-ārchitārthinām* of *Ragh.* I. 6, is actually copied by the writer of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa,<sup>2</sup> which may be specifically dated in A.D. 602, and was certainly composed before A.D. 610. As regards the present inscription, I have brought together in the notes to my translation a number of parallel passages both from the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kirātārjunīya*, which can leave no doubt as to Ravikīrti's indebtedness to the authors of those two *kāvya*s. Here I would only add that for the principal part of his poem, the description of the exploits of his patron in verses 17-32, Ravikīrti clearly has taken as his model the *Raghuvamśa* in *Ragh.* IV., and that very probably he would himself have styled this part (if not the whole) of his *prastāvi* the *Digvijaya* of *Polekēśin Satyāśraya*.

TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Jayati<sup>4</sup> bhagavān(ā)=Jinēndrō [vi]ta-ja[rā-ma]raṇa-janmanō yasya [i\*] jñāna-samudr-āntargga[ta]m=akhilāṇ=jagad=antarīpam=iva | (||) [1\*] Tad-anu chiram=apari[mē]yaś=Chalukya-kula-vipula-jalanidhir=jjayati || (|) prithivī-mauli-lalāmnām yaḥ=prabhavaḥ=puruṣa-ratnānām || [2\*] Śūre vidushi cha vibhajan=dānam=mānāṇ=cha yngapad=ēkatra || (|)
- 2 avihita-yāthāsām[kh]y[ō] [ja]yati cha Satyāśrayas=suchiram || [3\*] Prithivīvallabha-sābdō yēshām=anvartthātāṇ=cl. hāṇ=jāta, [i\*] tad-vamśēshu jigishuṣhu tēshu bahushv=apy=atitēshu || [4\*] <sup>6</sup>Nānā-hēti-sat-ābhigāta-patita-bhrānt-āśva-patti-dvipē nṛityad-bhīma-kavandha-khaḍga<sup>7</sup>-kirāṇa-jvālā-sahasr[ē] rapē [i\*]
- 3 Lakṣmīr-bhāvita-chāpal=āpi cha kṛitā sauryyēna yēn=ātmasāt(d=)rāj=āstj=Jayasīnha<sup>8</sup>-vāllabha iti khyātāś=Chaluky-ānvayaḥ || [5\*] <sup>9</sup>Tad-ātmasājō=bhūd=Haraparāga<sup>10</sup>-nāmā divy-ānubhāvō jagad-ēkanāthaḥ [i\*] amānushatvam kila yasya lōkaś=<sup>11</sup>suptasya jānāti vapuḥ-prakarshāt || [6\*] <sup>12</sup>Tasy=ābhavat=tanūjaḥ=Polekēśi(śi) ya[h]<sup>13</sup> śrit-ēndukāntir=api [i\*]
- 4 Śrī-vallabhō=py=ayāsīd=Vātāpīpuri-vadhū-varatām || [7\*] <sup>14</sup>Yat-trivargga-padavim=alam kṣhitau n=ānugantum=adhuu=āpi rājakam [i\*] bhūś=cha yēna hayamēdha-yājina prāpit-āvabhṛitha-majjanā<sup>15</sup> babhan || [8\*] <sup>16</sup>Nāḷa-Mauryya-

<sup>1</sup> *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 18. When writing the second half of verse 6 (*dvishām asahyō yasyaiva pratāpō na ravōr api*) the author of the inscription had in his mind, and the wording of his verse was influenced by, *Ragh.* IV. 49 (*Dīti mandyātē tējō dakṣiṇasyām ravōr api, tasyām ēva Raghōḥ Padmāyāḥ pratāpam na vishēhīrē*); in the inscription the use of the particle *api* after *ravōr* in my opinion is awkward, if not improper; in Kālidāsa's verse it is most appropriate. The idea expressed in verse 7 (*Yasya saingarājō dhātām ujjitlāṅkṛitishv api, ripustriṅgaḍadēśēshu chārṇabhāvam upagatam*) was suggested by *Ragh.* IV. 54 (*Bhagōterishhāvibhūhādām tēna Kēralayōhītām, alakēshu chāmārṇavāi chārṇapratimidhīkṛitah*).

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 16, line 1 of the text. The same inscription contains other fragments of verses (l. 2, *riḍdhya Vairavayōpamāḥ*; l. 10, *Mahēndra iva durddhārēhah Rāma ivāpardjītaḥ Śibir-Autnara iva*; l. 11, *samudra iva gambhīraḥ kṣamayaḥ prithivī-samāḥ*), the source of which I have not discovered yet. The Nerūr plates of Maṅgalēśa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161) also contain a half-verse (l. 11, *Bābhan va Vainya-pratimāna-kīrtti-samāḥ-pramridnas=svagun-āmūjālaiḥ*), which I have not yet identified.

<sup>3</sup> From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 1-4: Āryā.

<sup>5</sup> Read *achirah ydtaḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛitā.

<sup>7</sup> Originally *khaḍga* was engraved, but the *d* of *kha* seems to have been struck out again.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Jayasīnha*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>10</sup> Read *Haraparāga*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *lōkaś*.

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>13</sup> This *yaḥ* (or *ya*?) was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Bathōddhātā.

<sup>15</sup> Possibly the *akṣhara* *nd* has been altered to *nam* in the original, and *prāpit=āvabhṛitha-majjanam* (i.e. *prāpitā ava*?) would be a better reading.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Aupachchandasika.

- Kadamba-kālarātriḥs=<sup>1</sup>tanayas-tasya babbhūma(va) Kirttivarmma<sup>2</sup> [1\*] para-dāra-  
nivṛtta-chittavrittē=api<sup>3</sup> dhṛt=yaśya ripu-śri-
- 5 y=ānukṛṣṭā || [9\*] <sup>4</sup>Raṇa-parākkrama-labdha-jayaśriyā sapadi yēna  
virugna(gṇa)m=aśēshataḥ [1\*] nṛpati-gandhagajēna mah-aujasā prīthu-Kadamba-  
kadamba-kadambakam<sup>5</sup> || [10\*] <sup>6</sup>Tasmin=Surēśvara-vibhūti gat-ābhilāshē rāj-  
ābhavat=tad-anujāḥ=kila Maṅgal[6]śah<sup>7</sup> [1\*] yaḥ=pūrvva-paśchima-samudra-taṭ-  
śhit-āśva-sēnā-rajah-paṭa-vinirmitta-digvitānaḥ || [11\*] <sup>8</sup>Sphuran-mayūkhair-  
asi-dipikā-śataih(tair=)
- 6 vyudasya mātānga-tamisra-saṅchayam [1\*] avāptavān=yō raṇaraṅga-mandirē  
Kaṭachchuri-śri-lalanā-parigrahaṁ || [12\*] <sup>9</sup>Punar=api cha jighṛkshōs-  
sainyam=ākkṛānta-sālam<sup>10</sup> ruchira-bahu-patākam Rēvati-dvipam-āśu [1\*] sapadi  
mahad=ndanvat-tōya-samkkṛānta-bimbam<sup>11</sup> Vara(rn)ṇa-balam=iv=ābhūd-āgataṁ  
yasya vāchā || [13\*] <sup>12</sup>Tasy=āgrajasya tanayē Nabush-ānubhāgē(vē)  
Lakshmyā kil=ābhi-
- 7 lashitē <sup>13</sup>Pol[ē]kēśi-nāmni [1\*] sāsūyam=ātmani bhavantam=ataḥ=pitṛivyaṁ<sup>14</sup> jñāt=va  
āparuddha-charita-vyavasāya-buddhaṁ || [14\*] Sa<sup>15</sup> yad-upachita-[ma]ntr-ōtsāha-  
śakti-prayōga-kshapita-bala-viśēshō Maṅgalēśas=<sup>16</sup>samantāt [1\*] sva-tanaya-  
gata-rājy-ārambha-yatnēna sārddham nijam=atanu cha rājyañ=jīvitāñ=ch-  
ōjjhāti sma || [15\*] <sup>17</sup>Tāvat=tach-chha[t\*]tra-bhaṅgē jagad=akbīlam=arāty-  
andhakār-ōparuddham
- 8 yasy=āsahya-pratāpa-dyuti-tatibhir=iv=ākkṛāntam=āśit=prabhātam [1\*] nṛtyad-vidyut-  
patākaiḥ=prajavini maruti kshuppa-pa[r]yyanta-bhāgair=ggarjadbhir=  
vvārivāsai(hai)r=ālī-kula-malinam vyōma yātam kudā vā || [16\*] Lab[dhv]ā<sup>18</sup>  
kālam bhuvam=upagatē jētum=Āppāyik-ākhyē Gōvindē cha dvirada-  
nikarair=ntarām=Bhaimarathyāḥ [1\*] yasy=ānikair=yudhi bhaya-rasa-jñātvaṁ=  
ēkaḥ=prayātas=tatr=āvāptam=phalam=upakṛitasy=ā-
- 9 parēp=āpi sadyah | (||) [17\*] <sup>19</sup>Varadā=tnūga-taraṅga-raṅga-vilasad-dhamaśvali-  
mekhalām Vanavāsīm=avampidnatas=surapura-praspariddh[i]nim sampadā [1\*]  
mahatā yasya bal-ārppavēna paritas=saṅchhādīt-ōrvvitalam<sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup>sthala-  
durggañ=jala-durggatām=iva<sup>22</sup> gataṁ tat=tatkshapē paśyatām || [18\*] <sup>23</sup>Gaṅg-

<sup>1</sup> Read *°dris*; the sign of *visarga* may have been struck out already in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *-nīpittichittēraṇi* was engraved; afterwards the *i* of *iti* and the *ś* of *itś* appear to have been struck out, the *akṣaras vritt[ś]* were engraved below the line, and the place where they should be inserted was indicated by a vertical line above the line, before *ra*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Drutavilambita.

Originally *°kaḥ* seems to have been engraved.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>5</sup> The signs for *li* and *lā* being very similar, it is somewhat difficult to say whether the reading here and in line 7 is *Maṅgalīśa* or *Maṅgalēśa*; in neither place is it *Maṅgalīśa*. I read the name *Maṅgalēśa*, because I do not think that the engraver twice would have made the same mistake, and because in line 7 the third *akṣara* of the name appears to me undoubtedly to be *lā*. Compare the *lā* of *kālā* in l. 16, and the *li* of *malinā* in l. 8, and of *liṅga* and *Kaliṅga* in l. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Vamśastha.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>8</sup> Read *-ślāḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *-bimbah*.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>11</sup> The sign of the first consonant (*p*) of this name, in my opinion, at the top has the vowel *o*, and below it, *u*, but the latter seems to have been struck out. In the following syllable, originally the full sign of *la* seems to have been engraved; whether the vowel-sign at the top is meant for *i* or *e*, is difficult to say.

<sup>12</sup> Read *-pitṛivyaṁ*.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>14</sup> Instead of the *akṣara la* originally *lā* seems to have been engraved.

<sup>15</sup> Metre: Sragdhara.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Mandākrantā.

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Mātābhavikṛitā.

<sup>18</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>19</sup> In the original, between *durgga* and *lāmiva*, the *akṣaras lāmivaga* were engraved, and then struck out again.

<sup>20</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

- Ālup-āndrā vyasanāni sapta hitvā pur-ōpārjita-sampadō=pi [1\*] yasy=ānubhāv-ōpanatās=sad=āsann=ā-
- 10 sanna-sēvāmrita-pāna-saundāh<sup>1</sup> [|| 19\*] Koṅkaṇēshu<sup>2</sup> yad-ādishtā-chapda-dapd-āmbuvichibhiḥ [1\*] ndastās=tarasā Mauryya-palvalāmbu-samriddhayaḥ | (||) [20\*]  
<sup>3</sup>Apara-jaladhēr=Lakshmi[m] yasmin=Purim-Purabhit-prabhē madagaja-ghaṭ-ākārair=nnāvām śatair=avampidnati [1\*] jalada-paṭal-ānīk-āki(kī)ṛṇṇan=navōtpala-mōchakañ=jalanidhir-iva vyōma vyōmnas=sa-
- 11 mō=bhavad=ambubhiḥ(dhīḥ) [|| 21\*] <sup>4</sup>Pratāp-ōpanatā yasya Lāṭa-Mālava-Gūrjjarāḥ [1\*] dapd-ōpanata-sāmanta-charyy-āch[ā]ryyā iv=ābhavan || [22\*] <sup>5</sup>Aparimita-vibhūti-sphīta-sāmanta-sēnā-makuta-mapi-mayūkh-ākkrānta-pādāravindah [1\*] yudhi patita-gaja(jā)ndr-ānīka-vi(bī)bhatsa-bhātō bhaya-vigalita-harshō yēna ch=ākāri Harshaḥ || [23\*] Bhuvam=urubhir=anīkais=sā-
- 12 satō yasya Rēvō(vā)-vividha-puṭina-śōbh-āvananya-Vindhy-ōpakaṇṭh[āḥ]<sup>6</sup> [1\*] adhikātaram=arājat=svēna tējō-mahimnā śikharibhir=ibha-varjyā(rjyō) var[āḥ]mapā sparddhay=ōva [|| 24\*] Vidhivad=upachitābhiḥ=śaktibhiḥ=Śakrakalpas=tisribhir=api guṇ-anghais=svais=cha mākūl-ādyaiḥ [1\*] agamad=adhipatitvam yō Mahārāshṭrakāṇām navanavati-sahasra-grāma-bhājām trayānām [|| 25\*] Gṛhipām<sup>7</sup> sva-
- 13 sva-guṇais=trivargga-tuṅgā vihit-ānyakshitipāla-mānabhaṅgā[h]<sup>8</sup> [1\*] abhavann=upajāta-bhītiliṅgā yad-anīkēna sa-Kō[sa\*]lāḥ-Kalīṅgā[h] || 26\* Pishtam<sup>9</sup> Pishtapuram yēna jātam durggam=adurggamañ=chitram yasya kalēr=vrīttam<sup>10</sup> jātam durggama-durggamam | (||) [27\*] <sup>11</sup>Sannaddha-vāraṇa-ghatā-sthagīt-āntarālam<sup>12</sup> nān-āyudha-kshata-nara-kshataj-āgarāgam<sup>13</sup> [1\*] āstj=jalam yad-avamardditam=abhra-garbhām Kaunālam=a-
- 14 mībaram=iv=ō[j]ita-<sup>14</sup>sāndhyarāgam || [28\*] <sup>15</sup>Uddhāt-āmala-chāva(ma)ra-dhvaja-śata-chechha[t\*]tr-āndhakārair=vva(bba)laiḥ śauryy-ōtsāha-ras-ōddhat-<sup>16</sup>āri-mathannair=mmaul-a(ā)dibhish=shaḍvidhaiḥ [1\*] ākkrānt-ātmaablonnatim=balavajassañchhanna-Kāñchhipurāḥ(ra)prākārāntarita-pratāpam=akarōd=yah=Pallavānām-patim || [29\*] Kāvēri<sup>17</sup> drīta-śapharī-vilōla-nētrā Chōlānām sapadi jay-ōdyatasya yasya [1\*] praśchyōtanmada-gaja-sē-
- 15 tu-ruddha-nirā samsparsam pariharati sma ratna-rāsēḥ | (||) [30\*] <sup>18</sup>Chōlā-Kēraḷa-Pāṇḍyānām<sup>19</sup> yō=bhūt-tatra maharddhayā [1] Pallav-ānīka-nīhāra-tuhinētaradīdhitih || [31\*] <sup>20</sup>Utsāha-prabhu-mantra-śakti-sahitē yasmin=samastā diśō jītvā bhūmi-patīn=visrijya mahitān=ārāddhya dēva-dvijān [1\*] Vātāpin-nagarīm=praviśya nagarīm=ēkām=iv=ōvvi(rvvi)m=imām<sup>21</sup> chañchan-nīradhī(dhi)-nīla-nīra-parikhām

<sup>1</sup> Read -saundāh.<sup>2</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).<sup>3</sup> Metre: Hariṇi.<sup>4</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).<sup>5</sup> Metre of ver see 23-25: Mālinī.<sup>6</sup> This, in my opinion, is the intended (and undoubtedly correct) reading. Originally °āṭhō was engraved, but the two lines forming the ḍ appear to have been struck out again.<sup>7</sup> Metre: Anpachchandasika.—The akshara sva at the end of the line should be struck out, and may have been struck out already in the original.<sup>8</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).<sup>9</sup> Read °rggomam l.<sup>10</sup> Read vrīttam.<sup>11</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>12</sup> Read °rāṭam.<sup>13</sup> Originally -narakshatakshata° seems to have been engraved, but the first kshata apparently has been struck out again.<sup>14</sup> Read =ōdita-.<sup>15</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.<sup>16</sup> Originally -ōddhāt- was engraved.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Prabarshini.— Read drīta-.<sup>18</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).<sup>19</sup> Read -Pāṇḍyānām.<sup>20</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.<sup>21</sup> Read =imām.

- 16 Satyāśraya śāsati || [32\*] Trimsatsu tri-sahasrēshu Bhāratād-āhavād-  
itah [1\*] sapt-ābdaśata-yuktēshu śa(ga)tēshv-abdēshu pañchasa [11 33\*]  
Pañchāśatsu Kalau kālē<sup>3</sup> shatsu pañcha-śatāsu cha [1\*] samāsu  
samatitāsu Śakānām=api bhūbhujām || [34\*] <sup>2</sup>Tasy=āmbudhitraya-nivārita-  
śāsanasya
- 17 Satyāśrayasya param=āptavatā prasādam [1\*] śailaṅ-Jinēndra-bhavanam-  
bhavanam=<sup>4</sup>māhīmān=nirmāpitam=matimatā Ravikirtin-ēdam || [35\*]  
<sup>5</sup>Prasāstēr=vasatēs=ch=āsyāh<sup>6</sup> Jinasya trijagad-gurōh=<sup>7</sup>karttā kārayitā ch=  
āpi Ravikirtih-kṛitī svayam || [36\*] <sup>8</sup>Yēn=āyōji navē=śma-athiram=arttha-  
vidhau vivēkinā Jina-vēśma [1\*] sa <sup>9</sup>vijayatām Ravikirtih-kavitā-
- 18 śrita-Kālidāsa-Bhāravi-kirtih | (||) [37\*] @ <sup>10</sup>Mūlavaḷli-Veḷmaṭikavāḍa-  
[Ma]<sup>11</sup>chchanūr-Ggaṅgavūr-Puligere-Gaṇḍavagrāma(mā) iti asya bhukti[h [1\*]  
Giri(rē)[s=ta]tāt=paśchim-[ā]bhigata<sup>12</sup> Nimūvārīr=yyāva[t\*] mahāpathāntapurasya  
si(sī)mā uttaratāḥ dakṣiṇatō
- 19<sup>13</sup>. . . . ga . . .<sup>14</sup> na @

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Victorious<sup>15</sup> is the holy Jinēndra—he who is exempt from old age, death and birth—in the sea of whose knowledge the whole world is comprised like an island.

(V. 2.) And next, long victorious is the immeasurable, wide ocean of the Chalukya family, which is the birth-place of jewels of men that are ornaments of the diadem of the earth.

(V. 3.) And victorious for very long is Satyāśraya, who in bestowing gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned, both together on either, observes not the rule of correspondency of number.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre of verses 33 and 34: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

<sup>2</sup> After this a second *ś* seems to have been engraved and then cancelled again.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>4</sup> Originally=*śāvanam* was engraved.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

<sup>6</sup> Read =*asyā*.

<sup>7</sup> Read =*gurōh* 1.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Āryāgiti.

<sup>9</sup> In the place of *vi* originally *ja* was engraved; afterwards it was erased and *i* was engraved above and below it.

<sup>10</sup> From here the writing differs from, and seems undoubtedly more modern than, that of the preceding part of the inscription. Compare especially the signs for *a*, *k*, *t*, *r* and *l*.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Fleet read this *akshara pa*, and he may possibly be right.

<sup>12</sup> Not understanding the passage, I am unable to say whether (as proposed by Dr. Fleet) this should be altered to *gataṁ*.

<sup>13</sup> Here one or two *aksharas* are illegible.

<sup>14</sup> Here one *akshara* is illegible.

<sup>15</sup> Ravikirti in verses 1-3 glorifies first the Jaina prophet, Jinēndra, for whom he has built the temple at which the inscription was engraved; secondly (*tad=anu*), the Chalukya family, the history of which forms the theme of his poem; and lastly, his patron, the king Satyāśraya (Pulikēsin II.) of that family. Similarly, in the first three verses of the (unpublished) Tālgund Kadamba inscription the poet Kubja first glorifies the god Śhānu (Śiva), near whose temple the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman founded a tank; secondly (*tad=anu*), the Brāhmaṇ caste to which the Kadambas, whose rise to power Kubja describes, belonged; and lastly, the king Kākusthavarman himself.—With the epithet commencing with *etā*, compare *etā-jasma-jarasaṁ* (*param śuchi brāhmaṇaḥ padam* in the *Kīrtīrjunya*, V. 22).

<sup>16</sup> Interpreted by Pāṇini's rule, I. 3. 10, *yāthā-samkhyam=anuddēśaḥ sandandam*, the statement that Satyāśraya bestowed 'gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned' would mean, that he bestowed gifts on the brave, and honours on the learned. But the fact that the king really bestowed gifts and honours, both together, on the brave as well as on the learned, shews that the above statement should not be interpreted by, or, as the poet puts it, that Satyāśraya did not act in accordance with, Pāṇini's *yāthā-samkhyā*-rule. As Ravikirti here refers to Pāṇini, I. 3. 10, so Bhāravi in the *Kīrtīrjunya*, XIII. 19, clearly refers to the immediately preceding rule of Pāṇini's, I. 3. 10, *tasya lōpaḥ*; compare Mallinātha's commentary on the verse. Similarly, to give only one more instance, Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa*, XII. 58 (*dhditā śhāna iv=adēśam*), alludes to Pāṇini, I. 1. 56, *śhānivad=adēśo=naideśau*.

(V. 4.) When many members of that race, bent on conquest, applied to whom the title of Favourite of the Earth had at last become appropriate, had passed away,—

(V. 5.) There was, of the Chalukya lineage, the king named Jayasimha-vallabha, who in battle—where horses, footsoldiers and elephants, bewildered, fell down under the strokes of many hundreds of weapons, and where thousands of frightful headless trunks and of flashes of rays of swords were leaping to and fro<sup>1</sup>—by his bravery made Fortune his own, even though she is suspected of fickleness.<sup>2</sup>

(V. 6.) His son was he who was named Rāṇarāga, of divine dignity, the one master of the world, whose superhuman nature, (even) when he was asleep, people knew from the pre-eminence of his form.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 7.) His son was Polekēsin, who, though endowed with the moon's Beauty, and though the favourite of Fortune, became the bridegroom of Vātāpipuri.<sup>4</sup>

(V. 8.) Whose path in the pursuit of the three objects of life<sup>5</sup> the kings on earth even now are unable to follow; and bathed by whom with the water of the purificatory rite, when he performed the horse-sacrifice, the earth beamed with brightness.

(V. 9.) His son was Kirtivarman, the night of doom to the Nālas, Mauryas and Kadambas, whose mind, although his thoughts kept aloof from others' wives, was attracted by the Fortune of his adversary.

(V. 10.) Who, having secured the fortune of victory by his valour in war, being a scent-elephant of a king, of great strength, at once completely broke down the multitude of the broad kadamba trees—the Kadambas.<sup>6</sup>

(V. 11.) When his desire was bent on the dominion of the lord of the gods,<sup>7</sup> his younger brother Maṅgalēśa became king, who by the sheets of dust of his army of horse, encamped on the shores of the eastern and western seas, stretched an awning over the quarters.<sup>8</sup>

(V. 12.) Who in that house which was the battle-field took in marriage the damsel, the Fortune of the Kaṭachchuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, (viz.) the array of elephants (of the adversary), with hundreds of bright-rayed lamps, (viz.) the swords (of his followers).

(V. 13.) And again, when he was desirous of taking the island of Rēvatī, his great army with many bright banners, which had ascended the ramparts, as it was reflected in the water of the sea appeared like Varuṇa's forces, quickly come there at once at his word (of command).

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'dancing.' The compound commencing with *ṣṛityat-* reminds one of *Ragā. VII. 48*, where a warrior whose head has been cut off with the sword (*khadga*) rises into the sky, and from there views his headless trunk dancing on the battle-field (*ṣṛityat-kabandham samat dadarśa*).—The preceding *atva-patti-dvīpa* is equivalent to *atva-dvīpa-utra*, *ibid.* verse 39.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Ragā. XVII. 46*, *chopal=api svabhāvataḥ . . . Śṛīḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> The gods are called *a-nimisha*, or *a-nimisha*, because they do not shut their eyes (compare *Ragā. III. 48*). When the king was asleep, he did shut his eyes, yet even then the pre-eminence of his form shewed him to be a god. *Vapuh-prakarṣa* occurs e.g. *ibid.* III. 84 and 52, and *Kir. III. 2*.—It may be noted that the word *jagad-śbandhikāḥ*, used in this verse, occurs in *Ragā. V. 23*, together with *deivardja-kāntiḥ* which is synonymous with the epithet *īrit-śndukāntiḥ* in the next verse of this inscription.

<sup>4</sup> Beauty (*Kānti*) personified is regarded as the wife of the Moon. The town Vātāpipuri is represented by the poet as a newly married woman (*Vātāpipury=śva vadhūr=navābhā, tasya varā vadhā*); compare *Ragā. XVII. 26*, *śṛityat-vadhū-varāḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. *dharma, artha* and *kāma*.

<sup>6</sup> The expression *prithu-kadamba-kadamba-kadambakam* apparently was suggested to our author by the *prithu-kadamba-kadambaka* in *Kir. V. 9*. In the Tālgund Kadamba inscription the *kadamba* tree and the Kadamba family have the epithet *śru*, corresponding to the adjective *prithu* in the present inscription and in the Kaṭhēm plates, *Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. p. 22, l. 21*.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. when he died.

<sup>8</sup> Compare *Ragā. XVIII. 22*, *vāid-taṭṭh-śukhita-sainikāśvām*; and *IX. 50*, *gaganam=atvakhur-śddhata-rāghāhir=ṣṛi-savitā sa-vitānam=śndharāt*. The eastern and western seas bound the earth on either side; compare *Kumārāsambhava, I. 1*.

(V. 14.) When his elder brother's son, named Polekésin, of a dignity like Nahusha's, was coveted by Fortune,<sup>1</sup> and finding his uncle to be jealous of him thereat, had formed the resolution to wander abroad as an exile,<sup>2</sup>—

(V. 15.) That Maṅgaléśa, whose great strength became on all sides reduced by the application of the powers of good counsel and energy gathered by Him,<sup>3</sup> abandoned, together with the effort to secure the kingdom for<sup>4</sup> his own son, both that no mean kingdom of his and his life.

(V. 16.) Then, on the subversion of that rule encompassed by the darkness of enemies, the whole world grew light again, invaded as it were by the lustrous rays of His irresistible splendour. Or when was it that the sky ceased to be black like a swarm of bees with thundering clouds, in which flashes of lightning were dancing like banners, and the edges of which were crushed in the rushing wind?<sup>5</sup>

(V. 17.) When, having found the opportunity, he who was named Appāyika, and Gōvinda approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country north of the Bhaimarathi, the one in battle through His armies came to know the taste of fear,<sup>6</sup> while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him.

(V. 18.) When He was besieging Vanavāsi, which for a girdle<sup>7</sup> has the rows of *hamsa* birds that sport on the high waves of the Varadā as their play-place, and which by its wealth

<sup>1</sup> A comparison with *Ragh.* V. 38 suggests the interpretation that it was desired to confer on Polekésin the dignity of Yuvardja, or heir apparent.

<sup>2</sup> The verb *apa-rudh* means 'to debar, to shut out from, to banish, to exile;' it is often joined with *rdshtrdt*, *rdshtrdd=aparuddhah* being equivalent to *rdshtrdd=bhrashṭah*; and *aparuddhaś=charati* is used of a person who as an exile wanders about in foreign countries. Already in the *Atharvaveda*, III. 3, 5, we find the phrase *anyakshētrā aparuddhām charantām*, in a hymn by which the restoration of an exiled king is accomplished; see Bloomfield's *Atharvaveda*, p. 75. And in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 10— I take this quotation from the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*—the manner in which a prince who has lost his kingdom may regain it, is described thus: *Yady u ed ānam upadhātā r d s h t r d d a p a r u d h y a m d n a s: tatādm kuru yathāham idam rdshtram punar avagachchhanti, tām ānam dīlam upanishkramoyēt, tatāt ha rdshtram punar avagachchhanti*; 'if ever there should seek shelter with him (i.e. with the anointed Kshatriya) one who is being shut out from his kingdom, saying "act for me in such a manner that I may regain this kingdom," he (i.e. the anointed Kshatriya) should let him depart in *this* (north-eastern) direction; so verily he recovers his kingdom.' From all this it is clear that what our poet wishes us to understand, is, that Polekésin, either banished by Maṅgaléśa or having left the country from fear of him, went to neighbouring princes and asked their assistance in the recovery of his rights. The expression *aparuddha-charita* is used by the poet with special reference to the phrase *aparuddhaś=charati*, as explained above.—*Vyavastha-buddhi* is used by Kālidāsa in the *Kumārasambhava*, IV. 45.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Polekésin, whose exploits are eulogized in verses 15-33. In the original the sentences in these verses are all relative clauses, the relative pronouns of which are correlated with the *tasya* at the commencement of verse 35. In my translation I have written the pronoun, when it refers to Polekésin, with an initial capital letter.

<sup>4</sup> For the use of the word *gata* compare e.g. *Sītā-gatā sūyam*, 'his love for Sītā,' in *Ragh.* XV. 86; see also above, verse 11, *vibhakti-gat-dbhildha*.

<sup>5</sup> The first half of the verse states that, as the rising sun dissipates the darkness of night, so Polekésin dispersed the enemies who on the destruction of Maṅgaléśa's rule (literally, of the umbrella which is the sign of sovereignty) on all sides beset the realm. And the second half impresses on the reader the fact that only then, on Polekésin's rise to power, and at no other time, the troubles attending Maṅgaléśa's destruction were put an end to. Though the poet, employing the rhetorical figure of *aprasutapratāmsa*, in the second half of the verse actually speaks of a phenomenon of nature, the clearance of the sky of storm-clouds by the agency of the sun, the context and his choice of the words (*patāka*, *paryanta-bhāga*, the verb *garj* for which see e.g. *Ragh.* IX. 9, and *aśi-kula* which recalls *ari-kula*) at once suggest to the reader what is intended to be conveyed.—The question ending with *kaddēd* undoubtedly requires an answer in the negative (*na kaddēpi*). The word *idvat* with which the verse commences I take in the sense of *tasmin=asasat* or *tatkāla ēva*; compare e.g. *Kumārasambhava*, VII. 30 and 63. With the second half of the verse compare Varāhamihira's description of the clouds at the time of an earthquake, *Bṛhat-samhitā*, XXXII. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *Ragh.* III. 26, *śataparīśaraśajātām yayau*.

<sup>7</sup> The city of Vanavāsi, being represented as a woman, has for her tinkling girdle the rows of singing *hamsa* birds that play in the Varadā river which flows close to the town. Compare *Ragh.* IX. 37; also *ibid.* XIX. 40, *śikataś cha Sarayām vicirivattāś trāṇi-bimbam-iva hamsa-māhātām*; and *Kir.* IV. 1, *kijathalalaka-māhātām . . . priyā-miva . . . bhuvam*.

rivalled the city of the gods, that fortress on land, having the surface of the earth all around covered with the great sea of his army, to the looker-on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water.

(V. 19.) Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Gaṅga and Ālupa lords, being subdued by His dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him.<sup>1</sup>

(V. 20.) In the Koṅkaṇas the impetuous waves of the forces directed by Him speedily swept away the rising wavelets of pools<sup>2</sup>—the Mauryas.

(V. 21.) When, radiant like the destroyer<sup>3</sup> of Pura, He besieged Puri, the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky.<sup>4</sup>

(V. 22.) Subdued by His splendour, the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gūrjaras became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave.<sup>5</sup>

(V. 23.) Harsha, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Him had his mirth (*harsha*) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle.

(V. 24.) While He was ruling the earth with his broad armies, the neighbourhood of the Vindhya, by no means destitute of the lustre of the many sandbanks of the Rēvā, shone even more brightly by his great personal splendour, having to be avoided by his elephants because, as it seemed, they by their bulk rivalled the mountains.<sup>6</sup>

(V. 25.) Almost<sup>7</sup> equal to Indra, He by means of all the three powers, gathered by him according to rule, and by his noble birth<sup>8</sup> and other excellent qualities, acquired the sovereignty over the three Mahārāshṭrakas with their nine and ninety thousand villages.

<sup>1</sup> Though they had renounced the vice of drink together with the other six vices, they again became drunkards. The seven vices are enumerated e.g. in the verse (Böhtlingk's *Ind. Sprüche*, 2994): *Dyūtaṁ māmśam surd vāhy-dhātā-chaurya-parāṅganāḥ; mahāpāpāni sapta-aiva vyasanāni tyajād-buddhaḥ* ||

<sup>2</sup> Compare the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, in the first act, *atrabhāvataḥ kila mama cha samudra-palvalayōr-iv-antaram-aśti*; the comparison apparently is a proverbial one.—The juxtaposition of the two words *chanda* and *daṇḍa* also is most common; compare e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 415 (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 33), l. 11 of the text, *Yama-daṇḍa-chanda-dārdḍaṇḍa*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 349, l. 55 (as corrected by Dr. Hultzsch), *bāhu-daṇḍa-chand-dāni*; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 218, l. 40, *chand-dsi-daṇḍa*; etc. Compare also the very common title or epithet *mahāprachanda-daṇḍanāyaka*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 127, l. 6 of the text, and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the god Siva.

<sup>4</sup> For a similar way of comparing heaven and earth with each other see *Ragh.* IV. 29, *dhruvas-talam-iva vyōma kurvan-vyōm-eva bhūtalām*.

<sup>5</sup> Although the Lāṭas etc., impressed by his majesty and power, had voluntarily submitted to him or sought his protection, they behaved so humbly and obediently as by their conduct to set an example to others whom he had subjected by force. Compare *Ragh.* XVII. 81, where the *daṇḍōpanata-charita* of the gods Indra etc. towards the king Atithi is described. With *āchārya abhavaṇ* one may compare *achāryakam chakrē*, *ibid.* XII. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Really the mountainous country of the Vindhya had to be avoided by the king's elephants, because it was impassable for them; but the poet's reason is, that the elephants were higher than the Vindhya. If they had gone there, the Vindhya by the presence of these mountain-like elephants would have transgressed the command of the sage Agastya (the *Vindhyaśya samstambhayitā mahādrēh*, *Ragh.* VI. 61; see also XII. 31) that it should not grow higher so long as Agastya remained in the south. In this way the very absence of the king's elephants becomes an additional token of his might.—With the whole verse compare *Ragh.* XVI. 31; for the use of *avandhya* see *ibid.* I. 86, *atamsit-avandhya-prarthana*, literally 'one whose prayer is not destitute of fulfilment.'

<sup>7</sup> He was like Indra because, like that deity, he possessed certain *śaktis*; but was inferior to him because his *śaktis* were only three (the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy), while Indra possesses eight *Śaktis* (*Indrāṇi* etc.).

<sup>8</sup> According to Pāṇini, IV. 1, 141, *mādhakula* would mean 'born in a noble family.'

(V. 26.) Through the excellencies of their householders prominent in the pursuit of the three objects of life, and having broken the pride of other rulers of the earth, the Kālīngas with the Kōśalas by His army were made to evince signs of fear.

(V. 27.) Hard pressed (*pishṭa*) by Him, Piṣṭapura became a fortress not difficult of access; wonderful (*to relate*), the ways of the Kali age to Him<sup>1</sup> were quite inaccessible!

(V. 28.) Ravaged by Him, the water of Kunāla<sup>2</sup>—coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons, and the land within it overspread with arrays of accoutred elephants—was like the cloud-covered sky in which the red evening-twilight has risen.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 29.) With his sixfold forces,<sup>4</sup> the hereditary troops and the rest, who raised spotless chowries, hundreds of flags, umbrellas, and darkness,<sup>5</sup> and who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy, He caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power, to be obscured by the dust of his army, and to vanish behind the walls of Kāñchīpura.<sup>6</sup>

(V. 30.) When straightway He strove to conquer the Chōlas, the Kāvērī, who has the darting carps for her tremulous eyes, had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants whose rutting-juice was dripping down, and avoided the contact with the ocean.<sup>7</sup>

(V. 31.) There He caused great prosperity to the Chōlas, Kēraḷas and Pāṇḍyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost—the army of the Pallavas.

(V. 32.) While He, Satyāśraya, endowed with the powers of energy, mastery and good counsel,—having conquered all the quarters, having dismissed the kings full of honours, having done homage to gods and Brāhmanas, having entered the city of Vātāpi—is ruling, like one city, this earth which has the dark-blue waters of the surging sea for its moat;<sup>8</sup>

(V. 33.) (Now) when thirty (and) three thousand and five years besides, joined with seven hundred years, have passed since the Bhārata war;

<sup>1</sup> Against Pāṇini, II. 3, 69, the genitive case is used in construction with *durgama* in accordance with the maxim *khalārtha-yōgya-pi tēha-vicakṣhdyām śaśhṭm-ichohanti*; see e.g. Mallinātha on *Ragh.* XVII. 70, where Kālīdāsa has *tasya* (instead of *tēha*) *durlabhaḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Kunāla (Kolann, Kollern) lake; compare my introductory remarks, above, p. 2 f.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Ragh.* XVI. 58 (especially the words *galit-dhgarḍgaiḥ samāhyādayaḥ sabbha iva*); XI. 60 (*samāhyā-mēgha-rudhira*); and *Kir.* IX. 9 (*sthapita-vrīda-paṅktiḥ samāhyat*).

<sup>4</sup> For the *śaḍvidhaḥ balam* see *Ragh.* IV. 26 and XVII. 67.

<sup>5</sup> The darkness raised by the troops is the dust, the *raja-dhakra* of *Ragh.* VII. 39. (In *Kir.* XVII. 20 we similarly have a *śar-dhakra*, and in the *Vikramādhikāśa-charita*, I. 75, a *khaḍg-dhakra*). The poetical beauty here lies in the fact that darkness is enumerated together with such very different things as chowries etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Balarajasañchanna-Kāñchīpuraprakāśatarita* is a Karmadhāraya compound. The splendour of the Pallava first (when he was defeated in the open) was only obscured; afterwards (when he had to retire within the walls of his fortress) it entirely vanished. The poet of course wishes us to understand that the splendour of the Pallava is compared with the sun.

<sup>7</sup> The verse clearly was suggested to our author by *Ragh.* IV. 45: *Sa sainya-paribhṛgēna gajādna-sugandhina | Kāvērī saritāṁ palyaḥ tankantyaṁ-iv-dharōti* || By the fact that his soldiers used the water of the river for bathing etc., and in doing so made it fragrant with the rutting-juice of their elephants, Raghū made the (river) Kāvērī an object of suspicion for the ocean, her husband, who by the smell of her body would be led to believe that she had had intercourse with other men. Ravikīrti too mentions the rutting-juice, but does so in a mere epitheton ornans which he might as well have omitted, because in his verse the real reason for the Kāvērī's keeping away from the ocean is, that her current was obstructed by the bulky elephants on which Polakēśin crossed the river. Ravikīrti has spoiled Kālīdāsa's verse by crowding into it an idea from *Ragh.* IV. 38 (*sa tīrtva Kapilāṁ sainyair-baddha-dvīra-satubhā*).—The epithet of the Kāvērī, *druta-laphart-vilāla-nētra*, apparently was suggested by the epithet *laphart-parīphurita-chāru-dṛiṣṭa* in *Kir.* VI. 16 (compare also *ibid.* IV. 8); *prachyōtan-mada* occurs *ibid.* VII. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Part of this verse was suggested by *Ragh.* IV. 85-87, describing the conclusion of Raghū's *dig-vijaya*. With the end of the verse compare *ibid.* I. 30: *Sa vīra-vapravalayāṁ parikṣhṭrita-sāgarāṁ | ananyāśāndam-mreṣaṁ śāśa-mika-purita-iva* ||

(V. 34.) And when fifty (and) six and five hundred years of the Śaka kings also have gone by in the Kali age;

(V. 35.) This stone mansion of Jinendra, a mansion of every kind of greatness, has been caused to be built by the wise Ravikirti, who has obtained the highest favour of that Satyāśraya whose rule is bounded by the three oceans.

(V. 36.) Of this eulogy and of this dwelling of the Jina revered in the three worlds,<sup>1</sup> the wise Ravikirti himself is the author and also the founder.

(V. 37.) May that Ravikirti be victorious, who full of discernment has used the abode of the Jina, firmly built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme,<sup>2</sup> and who thus by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of Kālidāsa and of Bhāravi!<sup>3</sup>

#### NO. 2.—TWO KADAMBA GRANTS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Both these grants were discovered by Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, and are edited here, with his kind permission, from ink-impressions made in 1892 by Dr. Fleet from the original plates, which Mr. Rice had been good enough to send to him for examination. Dr. Fleet has placed the impressions at my disposal, and has also supervised the preparation of the accompanying photo-lithographs.

#### A.—KUDGERE PLATES OF VIJAYA-SIVA-MĀNDHĀTRIVARMAN.

##### The second year.

These plates were obtained by Mr. Rice at Kūdgere in the Shikārpur tāluka of the Shimoga district of Mysore, and were first publicly mentioned in his *Report* for 1890-1. A summary of their contents has been already given by Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 290.

These are three copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 3" high. The plates are quite smooth, their edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are thin; but, the engraving being shallow, though otherwise quite good, the letters do not shew through on the reverse sides at all. The interiors of the letters, here and there, shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. Various marks and faint lines on the margins and between the lines of writing, in my opinion, render it very probable that the plates originally bore another inscription. The ring on which the plates are strung seems to be of brass, not of copper; it is a plain one, about  $\frac{3}{16}$ " thick and  $2\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. It had already been cut when the grant came into Dr. Fleet's hands. There is no seal, and no indication about the ring of one having ever been attached to it. The weight of the three plates is 13 oz., and of the ring,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  oz.; total,  $14\frac{1}{4}$  oz.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters are of the 'box-headed' type of the southern alphabet, and in their general appearance, among Kadamba inscriptions,

<sup>1</sup> Or 'the preceptor of the three worlds.'

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the history of the Chalukyas.—In the original verse observe the *Yamakas* at the ends of the first and second, and of the third and fourth Pādas (*jinaśīlma* and *ravikīrtiś*). The locative *artha-vidhau* is a good instance of a *nimitta-saptamī*.

<sup>3</sup> I purposely omit from my translation the line which follows in the original, and which is a later addition to the poem. The first part of it enumerates six villages, the revenues of which apparently were assigned to the temple of Jinendra founded by Ravikirti. The concluding part of it, which speaks of boundaries, I do not understand.

resemble most those of the Dēvagere plates of the fourth year and the Halsi plates of the *Mahārāja* Mrigēśavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, and Vol. VI. p. 24, Plates). As regards individual letters, I would draw attention to the very clear and distinct form of *ḍh* in *drigha*, l. 6 (as compared with the sign for *ḍ* in *Kaundinya*, l. 9); to the form of the Dravidian *l* in *Kolāla*, l. 7; and to the fact that the subscript *t*—while in the conjunct *kt* it is denoted by the ordinary sign for *t* (without the loop) used in this inscription, and in *nt* by the sign with the loop—in the conjunct *tt* is written in both ways, as may be seen e.g. from *sva-dattām* and *para-dattām*, in line 14. I would lay some stress on this last point, because we have the same two ways of writing the conjunct *tt* also in the Dēvagere plates of the third year of the *Mahārāja* Mrigēśavarman, in which the single *t*, as in the present inscription, is always denoted by the sign without the loop;<sup>1</sup> (compare *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 35, Plate, *nivarttanam* in line 12, and the same word and *dattavān* in line 13). For final consonants the full signs, written below the line, are used in *dattavān*, l. 12, *pramādāt*, l. 13, and *-bhāk*, l. 16. Final *m* is written in the same way in *siddham*, l. 1; but in other places where my text shews a final *m*, that letter is denoted by a small hook, engraved at the bottom of the line.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of two benedictive and imprecatory verses, the text is in prose. In respect of orthography, I need only mention that the word *brahma* is written *bramha*, in line 10. The phraseology of the text is the usual one, except that some rare technical terms occur in lines 8 and 9.

The inscription records that the *Dharmamahārāja* of (the family of) the Kadambas, Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman, at Vaijayanti (*i.e.* Banavāsi), on the full-moon tithi of Vaiśākha in the second year (of his reign), granted some land at the village of Kolāla to a spiritual teacher (perhaps the king's own teacher), named Dēvaśarman. The charter (*paṭṭikā*) was written by the *rahasy-ādḥikṛita*,<sup>2</sup> or private secretary, Dāmōdaradatta.

The genealogy of Māndhātṛivarman is not given; and as his name does not occur in the published inscriptions, his relation to the known princes of the same family cannot for the present be determined with any certainty. But I may say that a comparison of this inscription with the other Kadamba inscriptions would lead me to connect Māndhātṛivarman more closely with Mrigēśavarman than with any other Kadamba prince. Palaeographical reasons for this statement have been given above. Other reasons are, that both princes, and they only, are described as residing at Vaijayanti; that one is called Vijaya-Śiva-Mrigēśavarman,<sup>3</sup> and the other Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman; and that, corresponding to the epithets of Māndhātṛivarman in the present inscription, *anēka-sucarit-ḍpaśhita-vipula-punya-skandha* and *dhav-ārjita-vipula-parama-driḍha-sattva*, we have, in Mrigēśavarman's inscriptions, *anēka-janmāntar-ḍpārjita-vipula-punya-skandha* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35, l. 4, and p. 37, l. 6 of the text), and *dhav-ārjita-parama-ruchira-driḍha-sattva* (*ibid.* p. 35, l. 5) or *naik-dhav-ārjita-parama-driḍha-sattva* (*ibid.* p. 37, l. 10). All this looks to me as if Māndhātṛivarman might have been either, as a younger brother of Śāntivarman, the immediate predecessor of Mrigēśavarman, or the younger brother and immediate successor of this prince.

<sup>1</sup> The case is different e.g. with the Halsi plates of the fifth year of the *Mahārāja* Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 31, Plate), where the single *t* is denoted by both the sign without the loop and the sign with the loop, and where *tt* is written in three different ways (by two signs of *t* without the loop; both with the loop; and the first without the loop, and the second with it).

<sup>2</sup> The same official title (in Prākṛit *rahasyādḥikṛita*) occurs in the Pallava inscription in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 7, l. 50 of the text. The same inscription has another rare term in common with the present inscription; see below, p. 15, note 7. The *rahasy-ādḥikṛita* in other inscriptions is called simply *rahasya*; see above, Vol. III. p. 21, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, ll. 4 and 17 of the text. Mrigēśavarman is so called also in the Hitnabhebbāgilu plates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, No. 18. The same plates apparently have in common with the present inscription the rare term *antaḥkara-vishṭika*, which I have not found elsewhere. (The term *parikṛita-paṅg-śikṣa* in the same plates may be compared with *sarva-paṅga-parikṛita*—not *sarva-paṅga-parikṛita*, as printed—in line 5 of the Goa plates of Śaka-Saṁvat 532, *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365, and Plates.)

The village of Koḷāla, which is mentioned in this inscription, I am unable to identify with certainty. The *Madras Postal Directory* shows two villages named 'Kolala,' in the Tumkūr district of Mysore,—one in the Tiptūr tāluka, post-town 'Turuvekere,' and the other in the Tumkūr tāluka, post-town 'Kolala' itself; probably Koḷāla is one or other of these.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate.

- |   |   |                                      |                                 |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | Siddham                                       | Śrī-vijaya-Vaijayantyām <sup>2</sup> | dharmmamahārājaḥ                |
| 2 | Svāmī-Mahāsēna-mātrigaṇ-ānandhyāt-ābhishiktaḥ |                                      |                                 |
| 3 | Mānavya-sagōtrō                               | Hārītī-putraḥ                        | pratikṛta-svādhyāya-            |
| 4 | charchchikaḥ                                  | Kadambānām                           | Śrī-Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarmma |

## Second Plate; First Side.

- |   |  |                       |                                     |
|---|--|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 5 | anēka. <sup>3</sup> suchi(cha)rit-ōpachita-vipula-punya-skandhaḥ |                       |                                     |
| 6 | āhava-ārjjita-vipula-parama-dṛiḍha-sat[t*]vaḥ                    |                       | savassarē <sup>4</sup>              |
| 7 | dvitīyē  | Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyām | Koḷāla-grāmē śimni <sup>5</sup>     |
| 8 | sa-pāṇiya-pātaṁ  | sa-dakṣiṇam           | a-khaṭvā-vās-audana[m] <sup>6</sup> |

## Second Plate; Second Side.

- |    |                  |                            |                                      |
|----|------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 9  | a-bhaṭa-pravēśam | antahkara-vipṭi(śhṭi)ka[m] | Kauṇḍinya-                           |
| 10 | sagōtrāya        | datt-ānuyōgāya             | Taittirīya-sabramha(hma)-            |
| 11 | chārīṇē          | Dēvasarmmapē               | Modēkarant-nāma-halam                |
| 12 | rāja-mānēna      | vimśati-nivarttanam        | kēdāram da[ttā]vān [t*] <sup>7</sup> |

## Third Plate.

- |    |                                  |                                       |                         |                                   |
|----|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 13 | Pramāddāt                        | <sup>8</sup> adharmmādvā              | yō=sy=ābhiha[r]tt[ā]    | sa                                |
|    | pā[taka]-sa[m]yukt[ō]            |                                       |                         |                                   |
| 14 | bhavati [t*]                     | Uktañ=cha [t*]                        | <sup>9</sup> Sva-dattām | para-datt[ām] vā <sup>10</sup> yō |
|    | harēna(ta) vasundharām [t*]      |                                       |                         |                                   |
| 15 | śhapthim(śhṭim)                  | varaha-sahasrāṇi                      | narakē                  | pachyatō tu                       |
|    | saḥ    Yō=sya                    |                                       |                         |                                   |
| 16 | abhirakṣitā                      | sa tat-phala-bhāk [t*]                | Uktañ=cha [t*]          | Bahubhi <sup>11</sup>             |
|    | vasudhā bhuktā                   |                                       |                         |                                   |
| 17 | rājābhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [t*]      | yasya yasya yadā bhūmih <sup>12</sup> | bhūmas=tasya            |                                   |
|    | tasya tadā phala[m] [t*]         |                                       |                         |                                   |
| 18 | [D]ām[ō]daradatēna <sup>13</sup> | rahasy-ādihikṛitēna                   | likhit=āyam             | paṭṭikā                           |

<sup>1</sup> From Dr. Fleet's impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Here, and in other places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

<sup>3</sup> Originally *ś* seems to have been engraved.

<sup>4</sup> Read *savassārē*. The alteration of *ssa* into *ssa* seems to have been made already in the original.

<sup>5</sup> Below the *s* of this word originally the letter *m* was engraved. Read *-grāma-simni*.

<sup>6</sup> Originally the full sign of *m* (*ma*) was engraved here, but, with the exception of the 'box' at the top, it has been effaced.

<sup>7</sup> Below this line some writing—perhaps the words *pramāddāt adharmmādvā yō=sy=* of the next line—was engraved, and cancelled again.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of the initial *a* the *akṣara pra* was originally engraved.

<sup>9</sup> Metre, here and below: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>10</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>11</sup> Read *bahubhiḥ*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *bhūmis-tasya*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *'dattēna*.

i.

1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 2. श्रीविजयसिवाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 3. श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 4. श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

ii a.

5. श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 6. श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 7. श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 8. श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

ii b.

10  
12

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pāli, on a dark, rectangular fragment. The text is arranged in four lines. The first line begins with a circular symbol. The script is highly stylized and appears to be a form of Pāli used in early Buddhist texts.

iii

14  
16  
18

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pāli, on a dark, rectangular fragment. The text is arranged in four lines. The first line begins with a circular symbol. The script is highly stylized and appears to be a form of Pāli used in early Buddhist texts.

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) (*Be it*) accomplished ! At (*the city*) of victory, the famous **Vaijayanti**, the *Dharmamahārāja*<sup>1</sup>—anointed after meditating on Svāmi-Mahāsēna and the assemblage of the Mothers, belonging to the *Mānavya gōtra* (*and*) a son<sup>2</sup> of Hārītī, studying the requital (*of good or evil*) as his sacred text,<sup>3</sup>—the glorious **Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarma**n of (*the family of*) the **Kadambas**, who by his many good actions has accumulated an abundant store of religious merit, and has acquired in war abundant and supreme enduring strength, on the full-moon tithi of **Vaiśākha** in the second year (of his reign), has given, with pouring out of water<sup>4</sup> (*and*) with a present (*of money*), the plough-land called<sup>5</sup> **Modēkarani** within the borders of the village of **Koḷāla**, by the king's measure a field of twenty *nivartanas*, to the spiritual teacher<sup>6</sup> **Dēvaśarma**n, who belongs to the *Kaṇḍinya gōtra* and is a student of the *Taittirīya Vēda*,—exempt from (*the duty of providing*) cots,<sup>7</sup> abode, and boiled rice, free from the ingress of soldiers, (*and*) exempt from internal taxes and forced labour.<sup>8</sup>

(L. 13.) He who from wantonness or wickedness takes away this (*gift*), is guilty of sin. And it has been said: Whosoever should take away land given by himself or given by

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* 'the *Mahārāja* who is devoted to religion ;' but the whole is used as a title, as *dharma-mahārāja*, *dharmamahārāja* and *dharma-guṇamahārāja* are in Pallava inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> This must not be taken literally. The Kadambas generally were *Hārītīputras*, and therefore individual Kadamba kings also have the same epithet.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of *pratikṛita-svādhyaśya-charchika*, which occurs also in the Halsi plates of the *Mahārāja* *Harivarman* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30), other Kadamba plates have *pratikṛita-svādhyaśya-charchaka* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 35), *pratikṛita-svādhyaśya-charchāpāra* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 31; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136; and below p. 18), *pratikṛita-svādhyaśya-charchā-pārāga* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 25, and Vol. VII. p. 33), and *pratikṛita-charchāpāra* (*ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 37), where the word *svādhyaśya* has probably been omitted by mistake. Since all these epithets apparently are synonymous, it will be sufficient to analyse one of them; and I select for the purpose *pratikṛita-svādhyaśya-charchāpāra*. *Charchāpāra*, which in the *Mahābhāṣya* on P. III. 2, 1, is given by the side of *svādhyaśya*, 'one who studies the Vēda,' according to Haradatta denotes 'a person who repeats or studies a particular text, (*charchān pārāyati*)'; and *svādhyaśya-charchāpāra* therefore would be 'one who studies his Vēdic text.' The word *pratikṛita*, in previous translations of Kadamba inscriptions, has been either omitted or rendered by 'adopted,' a meaning which *pratikṛita* cannot well convey. In my opinion, it will be safer to take the word as a substantive and in its well-known sense of 'requital, recompense,' and to regard *pratikṛita-svādhyaśya* as a *Karmadhāraya* compound (in the sense of *svādhyaśya* *iva* *pratikṛitam* or *pratikṛitam* *śva* *svādhyaśya*), so that the whole epithet would denote 'one who studies the requital (*of good or evil*) as his sacred text.' If this interpretation be correct, I cannot help thinking that the epithet alludes to the history of the Kadambas, as told in the *Tālgund* inscription (Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 286; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 27). So long as the Kadambas were private Brāhmanas, it was one of their chief duties to study the sacred texts; in other words, they were *svādhyaśya-charchāpārās*. When they had become kings, it was an equally sacred duty for them to requite good and evil; to do so was, what the study of the Vēda had been to them before; and thus, having been *svādhyaśya-charchāpārās*, they then were *pratikṛita-svādhyaśya-charchāpārās*.

<sup>4</sup> The phrase *sa-pāntya-pātā*, which also occurs below, p. 18, l. 17, and in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 186, is equivalent to *udak-dāśargha*, *udaka-pūrcam*, and similar expressions. In the same sense, but occasionally misunderstood, we repeatedly meet with *udakam pātetā* in the *Jālakas*; compare *e.g.* Vol. III. p. 286, l. 3, *udakam pātetā addasi*; Vol. II. p. 371, l. 13, *svaṇṇabhikṣāreṇa pupphagandhavatitā udakam pātetā addasi*; and Vol. VI. p. 344, l. 10, *rājā tussitā gandhōdakapūrcam svāṇṇabhikṣāreṇa dāya . . . . "gāmaṁ rājābhogena bhūjā" iti setihissa hatthe udakam pātetā*. This last quotation clearly states the well-known fact that the water was poured into the hand of the donee.—With the *sa-dakṣiṇam* of our inscription compare the *sa-hiranya* [\*] in line 9 of the (spurious) Hoṣūr plates, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 23, l. 6 of the text, where also a field has a special name (*Beḷovara*).

<sup>6</sup> I take *datt-anuyōga* to be equivalent to *anuyōga-kṛit*, which according to Goldstücker's *Dictionary* denotes 'an Āchārya or spiritual teacher.' *Dēvaśarma*n was perhaps the king's own teacher.

<sup>7</sup> Compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 6, l. 31 of the text, where also we have *khaṭṭavāsa* (*khaṭṭa-vāsa*), in a Pallava inscription.

<sup>8</sup> The expression *antaṅkara-viśṭhika* apparently occurs also in the *Hiṭṭahebbāgilu* plates, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 136, plate iii. b, l. 1.—[With *antaṅkara* compare *antar-dyam*, 'internal revenue,' and its counterpart *paṇḍu-dyam*, 'external revenue,' in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 61, text line 5 f.—E. H.]

others, he is burnt in hell for sixty-thousand years. He who preserves this (*gift*), shares the reward of it. And it has been said : The earth has been possessed by many kings, commencing with Sagara ; to whomsoever at any time the land belongs, to him, for the time being, belongs the reward (*of a grant*).

(L. 18.) This charter was written by the private secretary Dāmōdaradatta.

### B.—BANNAHALI PLATES OF KRISHNAVARMAN II.

#### The seventh year.

These plates were discovered about 1888, while digging at Bannahalli in the Chikmagalur taluka of the Kadur district of Mysore, and are now in the possession of the Pâtîl of Halêbiḍ. They were first publicly noticed by Mr. Rice in his *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Introduction, p. 15; and an account of their contents is given by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 290.

These are four copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about  $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " high. They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The engraving is good, but not very deep. The letters do not shew through on the reverse sides of the plates; they shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout.—On one of the edges, the plates are numbered, by four notches<sup>1</sup> on plate i., three on plate ii., two on plate iii., and one on plate iv. (i.e. in exactly the reverse order); and near these notches there is also a single notch on each plate: whether this marking is ancient or recent, is not apparent.—The plates are strung on a ring, which had been cut already when the grant came into Dr. Fleet's hands; it is about  $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured in a seal which is roughly circular, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. About a quarter of an inch from the edge of it, there is a raised rim; and inside this, in relief on a countersunk surface, there is a lion, standing to the proper right.<sup>2</sup> The weight of the four plates is 1 lb. 9½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 7 oz.; total, 2 lbs.  $\frac{3}{4}$  oz.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the southern alphabet. With those of the Halai plates of the fifth year of the Mahārāja Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 31, Plate) they have this in common that the letter *t*, both when used singly and in conjuncts, is mostly denoted by the sign with the loop; but otherwise they quite differ from those of other Kadamba inscriptions, and might, in their general appearance, rather be compared with the characters of the Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II. (above, Vol. IV. p. 196, Plate). From the photo-lithograph it will be seen that the letters are frequently finished off, or embellished, with small circles. The *sva* of *svasti* in line 1 has two such circles at the ends of the lines on the proper right; the *sti* of the same word two at the bottom of the superscript *i*, and one at the end of the proper right stroke of *s*; the *ya* of the following word *jayaty* has two at the top; *etc.* I believe, there can be no doubt that by these circles the writer has tried to imitate the little 'boxes' of the characters of such inscriptions as the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51, Plates), and has done this in a not very intelligent manner. A certain influence of the characters of Pallava inscriptions may perhaps be distinctly traced also in the use of the looped *t* already mentioned; and in the fact that in the *akshara* *ṇā* the vowel *ā* is here denoted by a separate downward stroke, while in other Kadamba inscriptions it is nearly always written, in the ordinary way, by bending back the last downward stroke of *ṇ*, in an upward direction; compare the *aksharas* *ṇām* in line 4 of the present inscription, *ṇā* in line

<sup>1</sup> For other plates which are marked in the same manner, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> I owe the above information to Dr. Fleet, according to whom the later Kādambas, both of Hāṅgal and of Goā, also had the *siṅha-Mūchhaka* or lion-crest; see his *Dynasties*, second ed., pp. 580 and 586. Mr. Rice finds the lion also on the seal of the Hiṭṭahebbāgilu plates; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 2.

17 of the Uruvupalli plates, *ṇā* in line 3 of the plates of the Pallava Simhavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 155, Plate), and *ṇā* in line 3 of the Halsi plates of the Kadamba Kākusthavarman (*ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 23, Plate).<sup>1</sup> The usual test-letters, *kh* (in *dukkham*, l. 22), *j*, *b*<sup>2</sup> and *l*, are all of the earlier type; but some other letters, such as the subscript *ṣ* of *shṣi* in lines 2 and 24, the *sh* of *śrēshṭhina*, l. 19, and some forms of *y* (as in *Kaikēya*, l. 7, *samayāchāra*, l. 18, *yō*, l. 24, and *śriyā*, l. 11), seem to me to present so late an appearance that, in my opinion, this inscription can hardly be placed earlier than the seventh century A.D. The Dravidian *ḷ* occurs in the names *Vallāvi* and *Koḷa-Nallūra*, l. 16; the sign of the *jīhvāmūliya* in *dukkham*, l. 22; and the sign of final *m*, the only final consonant which occurs, in *°pālanam*, ll. 22 and 23.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. After the words *ōm svasti*, the text opens with a verse eulogizing the god Hari (Vishnu), and in lines 20-26 it contains four benedictive and imprecatory verses, ascribed to Manu; otherwise it is in prose. The main part of the text, ll. 3-17, forms a single sentence, the construction of which is not quite correct, and which, except for the phrases with which it commences, reminds one of Pallava grants rather than of other Kadamba inscriptions. The orthography does not call for any particular remarks.

The inscription is one of the Kadamba *Mahārāja* *Kṛishṇavarman* [II.], the son of the *Mahārāja* *Simhavarman*, who was a son of the *Dharmamahārāja* *Vishṇuvarman*, who was begotten by the *Dharmamahārāja* *Kṛishṇavarman* [I.] on a daughter of *Kaikēya*. It records (in ll. 13-17) that, on the fifth tithi and under the nakshatra *Jyēshṭhā* in the waxing half of the month *Kārttika*, in the seventh year of his reign, the king granted the village *Koḷa-Nallūra* in the *Vallāvi-vishaya* to a Brāhmaṇ of the *Kauśika gōtra*, named *Vishṇuśarman*; and adds (in ll. 17-20) that the king was advised (to make this donation) by the *Śrēshṭhin* *Haridatta* of the *Tuṭhiyalla gōtra* and *pravara*.

I consider it very probable that the *Kṛishṇavarman* I. of this inscription is the *Dharmamahārāja* *Kṛishṇavarman* who in the *Dēvagere* plates of the *Yuvarāja* *Dēvavarman* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 33) is mentioned as the father of this *Dēvavarman*. Judging from the writing, the *Dēvagere* inscription undoubtedly is earlier than the present inscription; the *Kṛishṇavarman* who is mentioned in it, like *Kṛishṇavarman* I. of this inscription, is described as *aśvamēdha-yājīn*, 'the performer of a horse-sacrifice;' and the (in these inscriptions unusual) statement of the present grant that *Vishṇuvarman* was *Kṛishṇavarman*'s son 'from the daughter of *Kaikēya*,' seems pointedly to indicate that *Kṛishṇavarman* I. had one or more sons from another wife, and would thus agree with the fact that the *Dēvagere* grant is by a son of *Kṛishṇavarman* named *Dēvavarman*.—The names of the Kadamba *Mahārājas* *Vishṇuvarman* and *Simhavarman* do not occur in other inscriptions of the same family.

Of the localities mentioned, the name of the *Vallāvi vishaya* appears to survive in 'Ballāvi,' the name of a town in the Tumkūr district of Mysore, Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, Plate 34, Cc; the village *Koḷa-Nallūra* I am unable to identify.

The date does not admit of verification. Judging from a number of native calendars, the *nakshatra* *Jyēshṭhā* is joined more frequently with the 4th than with the 5th *tithi* of the bright

<sup>1</sup> In the Hirahadagalli plates of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 5, Plates) the *ā* of *ṇā* is denoted by a line attached to the foot of *ṇ*, on the proper left side; compare the word *damhāṇḍanam*, in line 8. Practically the same way of writing *ṇā* we have e.g. in lines 1 and 9 of the *Dēvagere* plates of the fourth year of the Kadamba *Mṛigēśavarman* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 37, Plates). And the same sign for *ṇā* occurs in line 8 of the Halsi plates of the same king (*ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 24, Plate); there, however, a separate downward stroke originally was wrongly added to *ṇā*, and subsequently cancelled again. (In Prof. Bühler's *Indische Paläographie*, Plate VII. Col. xiii No. 43, the uncorrected wrong form is given; the correct sign for *ṇā* is given *ibid.* No. 21). In the Halsi plates of the fourth year of the Kadamba *Harivarman* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30, Plate) the sign for *ṇā* which is used in the present inscription is employed once, exceptionally, in line 1.

<sup>2</sup> The sign of *b* in *śals*, l. 1, apparently is open on the proper right; see above, Vol. V. p. 119.

half of Kārttika; but it sufficiently often goes together with the 5th as a current *tithi*, to render the mention of it, by itself, practically useless.<sup>1</sup>

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 Ōm<sup>3</sup> Svasti || <sup>4</sup>Jayaty=udrikta-Daityēndra-bala-vīryya-vimarddanaḥ [!]  
 2 jagat-pravṛitti-saṁhāra-sṛishti-mâyādhārō Hariḥ [!]  
 3 Svāmi-Mahāsēna-mātrigaṇ-ānudyāt-ābhishiktānām Mānavya-  
 4 sagōtrāṇām Hārīti-putrāṇām pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchchāpārāṇām

## Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 <sup>6</sup>śrī-Kadambānām Kṛishṇavarṇma-dharmamamahārājasya<sup>6</sup> aśvamēdha-yājinaḥ  
 6 anēka-samara-saṁkaṭ-ōpalabdha-vijayakīrttēḥ vidyā-vinitasya  
 7 Kaikēya-sutāyām=utpannēna śrī-Vishṇuvarṇma-dharmamamahārājēna  
 8 <sup>7</sup>gandharvva-hastisikshā-dhanurvvedēshu Vatsarāj-Ēndr-Ārjuna-samēna

## Second Plate; Second Side.

- 9 śabdārttha-nyāya-viduḥ=ōtpāditasya<sup>8</sup> putra śrī-Simhavarṇma Kadambānām  
 10 mahārājā(jō) vikrāntō=nēka-vidyā-viśāradas=tasya sūnunnā śrī-Kṛishṇavarṇma-  
 11 mahārājēna sva-vīryya-bala-parākram-ōpārjita-rājyaśriyā  
 12 paramabrahmaṇyēna samyak-prajāpāla[na<sup>9</sup>]-dakshēṇa kshīṇa-lōbbhēna  
 13 varddhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsarē saptaṁē Kārttika-māsē

## Third Plate; First Side.

- 14 āpūryyamāṇa-pakshē pañchamyām Jyēsthā-nakshatrē Kausika-sagōtrāya  
 15 vēda-pāragāya śhaṭkarma-nirātāya āhit-āgnayē Vishṇuvarṇma-nāma-  
 16 dhēyāya ātma-nisrēyaśārttham Vallāvi-vishayē Kōla-Nallūra-  
 17 nāma-grāmō dattaḥ sa-pāniya-pātaḥ<sup>9</sup> sarvva-parihārah [!]<sup>10</sup> Tuṭhiyalla-gōtra-  
 18 pravareṇa samay-āchāra-sa[m]pannēna svakarm-ānushṭhāna-tatparēna

## Third Plate; Second Side.

- 19 rāja-pūjītēna gō-sahasra-pradātrā Haridatta-śrēsthīnā upadēśaḥ  
 20 kṛitah [!]<sup>10</sup> Atra Manu-gītā slōkā bhavanti || <sup>10</sup>Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā

<sup>1</sup> A *nakshatra* (Uttara-bhadrpadā) is mentioned together with a *tithi* (the 10th of the dark half of Kārttika) also in the date of the Dēvagere plates of the third year of the Kadamba Mṛigēśavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 35; but that date is incorrect. The *nakshatra* either was *Uttara-phalgunā* (for the 10th of the dark half of Kārttika) or the *tithi* was the 10th of the *bright* half of Kārttika. Curiously, exactly the same mistake was made in the date of the Hāsan plates of Dēvarāya I. of Vijayanagara, of Śaka-Saṁvat 1328; *Mysore Inscr.* No. 150, P.S.O.-C.I. No. 25.

<sup>2</sup> From Dr. Fleet's impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Represented by a symbol, which stands on the proper right margin, before the space between lines 2 and 3. The same symbol, similarly placed, we have in the Urupalli plates of the Pallava *Tuvamahārāja* Vishṇugōpavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 51. And the same symbol, placed before the first line of the text, occurs in the plates of the Pallava *Mahārāja* Simhavarman, *ibid.* p. 155; in the Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarmā II., above, Vol. IV. p. 195; and elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Slōka (Anushṭubh).

<sup>5</sup> The letter *s* is imperfect on the proper right side.

<sup>6</sup> Here, and in other places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

<sup>7</sup> Read *gandharvva*.

<sup>8</sup> Since some correction is necessary in lines 9 and 10, it is simplest to alter *ōditasya* to *ōditah*. Similar mistakes occur in the Vakṭalēri plates of Kīrtivarman II., above, Vol. V. p. 203.

<sup>9</sup> Read *-pātaḥ*.

<sup>10</sup> Metre, here and below: Slōka (Anushṭubh).

- 21 rājābhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s=] tasya tasya  
 22 tadā phalam || Svām dātum sumahach=chhakyam duḥkham=any-ārtiha-  
 pālanam [\*]  
 23 dānam vā pālanam v=ēti<sup>1</sup> dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam [||\*]

## Fourth Plate.

- 24 Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [\*] shashti-varsha-sahasrāṇi  
 25 ghōrē tamasi pachyatē [||\*] Adbhir=ddattām tribhir=bhuktaṁ sadbhis=cha  
 paripālitaṁ [\*]  
 26 ētāni na nivartantē pūrvva-rāja-kritāni cha || Yō=sya lōbhān=mōhād=v=ā-  
 27 bhībarti[ā\*] sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-<sup>2</sup>samyuktō bhavati [||\*] Svasty=astu  
 gō-brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ [||\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm. Hail! Victorious is Hari (Vishnu), who crushes the strength and heroism of the haughty lord of the Daityas, (and) owns the art of upholding, destroying and creating the world.

(L. 3.) (In the family) of the glorious **Kadambas**, anointed after meditating on Svāmi-**Mahāsēna** and the assemblage of the Mothers, belonging to the *Mānavya gōtra* (and) sons of **Hārītī**, who study the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text, (there was<sup>3</sup>) the *Dharmamahārāja* **Kṛishṇavarman**, the performer of a horse-sacrifice, who obtained the fame of victory in many a hard-fought battle, (and was) well-trained in learning. To him was born, from the daughter of **Kaikēya**, the *Dharmamahārāja*, the glorious **Vishṇuvarman**, in the art of music,<sup>4</sup> the management of elephants and the science of archery like the king of Vatsa,<sup>5</sup> **Indra** and **Arjuna**, learned in grammar<sup>6</sup> and logic. He begot as his son the *Mahārāja* of the **Kadambas**, the glorious **Simhavarman**, valiant (and) conversant with many branches of learning.

(L. 10.) His son, the *Mahārāja*, the glorious **Kṛishṇavarman**, who has gained the fortune of royalty by his heroism, strength and enterprise, (and is) most devoted to religion, able to protect properly his people, (and) free from greed,—in the seventh year of his prosperous reign of victory, on the fifth tithi in the waxing half in the month **Kārttika**, under the nakshatra **Jyēsthā**,—for the sake of his beatitude in the life to come, has given, with pouring-out of water, the village named **Koḷa-Nallūra** in the **Vallāvi-vishaya**, with every exemption (from taxes), to the **Brāhmaṇ** who keeps alive the sacred fire, named **Vishṇuśarman**, who belongs to the *Kausika gōtra*, knows the whole **Vēda**, (and) delights in the six duties (enjoined on *Brāhmaṇs*).

(L. 17.) The *Śrēṣṭhīn* **Haridatta**, of the *Tuṭhiyalla gōtra* and *pravara*, whose conduct is conformable with his obligations, who is solely devoted to the performance of his duties (and) is honoured by the king, (and) who bestows thousands of cows,<sup>7</sup> has advised<sup>8</sup> (the king to make this donation).

<sup>1</sup> After this there is a mark on the plate, perhaps intended for a sign of punctuation, which, however, is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> This *ka* was at first omitted, and then engraved below the line.

<sup>3</sup> In the original, lines 3-17 form a single sentence, which has been broken up here into four.

<sup>4</sup> Some words here and below remind one of line 13 of the *Junāgaḍh* rock inscription of **Rudradāman**, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 259; for *gandharva* see also *e.g. Rāmāyana*, Bo. ed., II. 2, 35.

<sup>5</sup> See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 357, verse 29.

<sup>6</sup> *Śabdārtha* literally is 'the words and their meanings' or 'the meanings of words.' In the *Junāgaḍh* rock inscription the expression has generally been taken to mean 'grammar and polity.'

<sup>7</sup> *Ushavadāta* gave (as alms) three hundred thousand cows; see *Archaeol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. IV. p. 99, No. 5, line 1.

<sup>8</sup> Compare the *Halei* plates of the *Mahārāja* **Harivarman**, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 30, l. 8 of the text.

(L. 20.) Here there are (*the following*) verses sung by Manu:—[Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses.]

(L. 26.) He who from greed or infatuation takes away this (*gift*), is guilty of the five great sins. May blessings rest on cows and Brāhmins! <sup>1</sup>

### No. 3.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. V. page 200.)

Vol. IV. of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica* again contains a number of Chôla inscriptions with Śaka dates. Dr. Hultzsch has sent me revised transcripts and translations of six of them (Nos. 32-37), which are all in the Heggaḍadēvankôte tāluka of the Mysore district. The transcripts were made from inked estampages, prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A. The seventh of the new dates (No. 38) is taken from Vol. III. of Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*.

I would add here a few words about the commencement of Rājārāja's reign. Above, Vol. V. p. 48, I found that that reign commenced between (approximately) the 24th December A.D. 984 and the 29th August A.D. 985. By the statement of the Śuchindram inscription, *ibid.* p. 44, according to which the tenth year of the king's reign commenced with the month of Karkātaka, the previously found period is reduced to the time from the 25th June to the 25th July A.D. 985.

#### A.— RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

##### 32.— On a stone at the Bāṇēśvara temple at Beḷatūru.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Śrī svasti [||\*] Śaka-varisha <sup>3</sup>vombhaynūṣa-nālvatta-mūre(ṛa)neya varishada<sup>4</sup>  
Raudra-saṁvatsarada Ā-  
2 śhāḍha-māsada puṇṇave Uttarāśhāḍha-nakshatraṁ Maka-  
3 ra-chandraṁ Bri(bri)haspati-vāraṁ śrī-Muḍigonḍa-Rājendra-Chôlaṁ rājyaṁ [ge]-  
4 yuṭt-ire iyāṇḍu ombhattāvudara(ṛo)l.

"Thursday, the moon being in Makara, the *nakshatra* being Uttarāśhāḍhā, during the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Āśhāḍha in the Raudra year (*which corresponded*) to the nine-hundred-and-forty-third year of the Śaka years,—in the ninth year of the reign of the glorious Muḍigonḍa-Rājendra-Chôla."

The Jovian year Raudra by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṁvat 943 as a current year (= A.D. 1020-21). In that year the month Āśhāḍha was intercalary, and the full-moon *tithi* of the second or *nija* Āśhāḍha ended 17 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśhāḍhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., and by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., after mean

<sup>1</sup> Cows and Brāhmins are often mentioned together in this order; compare *e.g.* line 15 of Rudradāman's inscription referred to above; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 32, l. 10 of the text; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 7, l. 52, and p. 129, l. 28; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 39, l. 1; *Rāmāyana*, Bo. ed., I. 26, 5; III. 23, 28 (*svasti gô-brāhmanābhyas-tu*); III. 24, 21 (*svasti gô-brāhmanāndm cha*); VI. 107, 49; *etc.*

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 16.

<sup>3</sup> The opening words of line 1 as far as *vombāḥ* are engraved at right angle to the remainder.

<sup>4</sup> This word is entered below the line and its omission indicated by a cross above *neya*.

sunrise. The ending point of Uttarâshâdâ being  $276^{\circ} 42' 15''$  or  $280^{\circ}$ , the moon of course was in the sign Makara ( $270^{\circ} - 300^{\circ}$ ).

According to our date, this Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020, fell in the ninth year of the king's reign. How far this statement may agree with other dates of Rājendra-Chōla I., will be considered below, under No. 34.

33.— On a stone lying at the Bānēśvara temple at Bejātūru.<sup>1</sup>

1	Svasti	śrī [I*]	Pārvva-dēsamūn
2	Gaṅgeyūn	Kaḍāramūn	gonḍa kō Pa-
3	rakēsarivarmanmar=āna		śrī-Rājendra-
4	Chōladēvargg=iyāṇḍu		irppatt-eraḍā-
5	vudu [I*]	svasti [I*]	Saka-nṛipa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-
6	śataṅga	955ya	Śrīmukha-samvatsarada Mārggaśi-
7	ra-suddha-pādivam=Mūl-Ārkkad=amdu.		

"In the twenty-second year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva, who conquered the Eastern country, the Gaṅgā, and Kadāram,<sup>2</sup> — on Sunday, (the nakshatra being) Mūla, during the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgasira in the Śrīmukha year (which was) the 955th of the hundreds of years passed from the time of the Śaka king."

The Jovian year Śrīmukha by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Samvat 955 as an expired year (= A.D. 1033-34). In that year the first tithi of the bright half of Mārgasira ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th October A.D. 1033, when the nakshatra was Anurādhā. This in no way satisfies the requirements of the case.

I have no doubt that the month intended in the original is really the month Pausa of our Tables<sup>3</sup> (which follows immediately upon Mārgasira), because, for that month, the date regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033,<sup>4</sup> when the first tithi of the bright half ended 21 h. 14 m., and when the nakshatra was Mūla,<sup>5</sup> by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h. 38 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal-space system for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

According to our date, this Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033, fell in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. This, too, will be considered under the next date.

34.— On a stone in front of the Arkēśvara temple at Aṅkanāthapura.<sup>6</sup>

1	Svasti [I*]	Sha(śa)ka-varisham	959neya	I(i)śvara-shatsamrada <sup>7</sup>
2	Āsaḍa-māssada <sup>8</sup>	Kālashtavaya	Shāti-naktra	Somma-
3	varada [a]ṇḍu	śrī-Mmu(mū)ḍigonḍa-Gaṅgegonḍa-Rājhē(jē)ndra-Chō-		
4	ladēvarkk=iya(yā)ṇḍu	ippata-aṇavudu. <sup>9</sup>		

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Pg. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 62, date No. 5.

<sup>3</sup> I must add that there may be a way of proving the quotation in the original date of the month Mārgasira to be correct. In Śaka-Samvat 955 expired, by the rules of mean intercalation, a month was intercalated before Pausa. That month would ordinarily be called Pausa; but it might be called Mārgasira on the supposition that it was calculated by the Ārya-siddhānta, and named according to Brahmagupta's rule; see my *List of North. Ins.* No. 434. This remark does not affect the correctness of the European equivalent of the date, given above.

<sup>4</sup> On the immediately preceding day the *Dhanuṣ-samkrānti* took place, 13 h. after mean sunrise.

<sup>5</sup> That it is correct to translate *Mūl-Ārkkad=amdu* by 'on Sunday, (the nakshatra being) Mūla,' is proved by a date on p. 17 of the Roman text of *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. That date gives us for calculation Śaka-Samvat 1039 (current, the year Durmukha), Jyāishtha-bahula 1, and *Mūl-Ārkkadāra*; and it corresponds to Sunday, the 28th May A.D. 1116, when the first tithi of the dark half commenced 4 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise, and when the nakshatra was Mūla by all systems.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Pg. 104.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śamvatsarada*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Āśāḍha-māssada Kālashtamiyūn Śrīti-nakshatram Soma-āḍad=amdu*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *irppatt-dṛḍḍadu*.

"On Monday, the *nakshatra* being Svāti, during the *Kālāshṭami* (*tithi*) of the month of Āshāḍha in the Īśvara year (which was) the 959th Śaka year,—in the twenty-sixth year (of the reign) of the glorious Mudigonda-Gaṅgegonḍa-Rājendra-Chōladēva."

The Jovian year Īśvara by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṃvat 959 as an expired year (= A.D. 1037-38). *Kālāshṭami* is a name of the 8th *tithi* of the dark half. As this *tithi*, in the month of Āshāḍha, can under no circumstances be joined with Svāti (the 15th *nakshatra*), the given date cannot be correct.

As a matter of fact, the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of Āshāḍha of Śaka-Saṃvat 959 expired ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 8th July A.D. 1037, when the *nakshatras* were Āśvini and Bharanī (the first and second *nakshatras*). And the 8th *tithi* of the dark half cannot have been quoted erroneously instead of the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (on which in Āshāḍha the *nakshatra* may be Svāti), because in the given Śaka year the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha ended on a Thursday (the 23rd June A.D. 1037), not on a Monday. I have calculated the date also for other months of the given year, but without any satisfactory results.

Giving up this date as hopelessly wrong, we have still to consider what data are furnished by the two preceding dates for ascertaining the time of the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I. By No. 32 the 7th July A.D. 1020 fell in the ninth year, and by No. 33 the 25th November A.D. 1033 in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. Accordingly (approximately) the 7th July A.D. 1012 and the 25th November A.D. 1012 must have fallen in the first year; and the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I., according to the two new dates, therefore undoubtedly must have commenced some time between (approximately) the 26th November A.D. 1011 and the 7th July A.D. 1012.

I have previously (above, Vol. IV. p. 266) stated that the king's reign commenced between the 24th October A.D. 1001 and the 23rd October A.D. 1002. That statement necessarily was based solely on the date No. 5 (*ibid.* p. 69), which corresponds to the 23rd October A.D. 1032, and which, according to the actual reading of the date, is of the 31st year of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I. With the new dates before me, in which the numbers of the regnal years are given in words, I feel sure that the number 31 in the date No. 5 has been put erroneously for 21, and that the 23rd October A.D. 1032 really fell in the 21st year of the king's reign, which would agree with the new result. This result would also tend to shew that in the incorrect date No. 34 the Śaka year (959 expired), at any rate, is given correctly.

#### B.—RAJADHIRAJA.

##### 35.—On a stone in front of the Māri temple at Koḷagāla.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Śrī-Rājādhirājādēva[r\*]gg-iyāṇḍu [35].<sup>2</sup>
- 2 āvadu [Sa]kha-va[ri]śam<sup>3</sup> 975[ne].
- 3 ya \*Vijayōśchaiva-saṃvatsara[da]
- 4 Jēshṭha-māsada sukla-pakshada tra[yō\*]-
- 5 daśi Ādityavārada-andu.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 114.

<sup>2</sup> The two figures of the date are damaged, but cannot be read otherwise. Mr. Rice reads *yāṇḍugemīadvadu*. From this erroneous reading he further concludes that Rājādhirāja's regnal years were reckoned in two different ways; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 13 of the Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Śaka-varsham*.

<sup>4</sup> This curious form is derived from certain *versus memoriales* (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1881, p. 276), in which the year Vijaya is introduced by the words *Vijayāśchaiva*. Compare the two similar terms *Pravāddāta* and *Pravāddīcha*; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 109, note 2.

"In the [35]th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Rājādhirājādēva,—on Sunday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyāishṭha in the Vijaya year (*which was*) the 975th Śaka year."

The Jovian year Vijaya by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṃvat 975 as an expired year (= A.D. 1053-54). For that year the date is incorrect; for the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyāishṭha of the given year corresponds to Tuesday, the 1st June A.D. 1053, which was entirely occupied by the *tithi*.<sup>1</sup>

The date would be correct for the third (instead of the 13th) *tithi* of the bright half of Jyāishṭha of the given year, which ended 8 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 23rd May A.D. 1053.

From what I have stated above, Vol. IV. p. 266, about the commencement of Rājādhirāja's reign, it is clear that any date of the 35th year of that king's reign must fall between (approximately) the 15th March A.D. 1052 and the 2nd December A.D. 1053.

### C.—RAJENDRADEVA.

36.—On a stone near the Binakalamma temple at Beḷatūru.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Ōm [I\*] Svasti śrī-Chōḷa-rājam sakala-vasudheyaṃ koṇḍu Rājēndradēvaṃ  
 3dust-āri-vrāta-ghātaṃ negaḷe barisaṃ-āṅ-āge mattaṃ Sak-ābdaṃ [I\*]  
 vis[t]ā-  
 2 rak[k\*]=oṃbhat-ēl-oṃbhatum=ene barisaṃ Hēmaḷambi-prasiddhaṃ svastaṃ māsaṃ  
 gaḍaṃ Kā[r\*]ttikaṃ=asi[ta]-dinaṃ dvādaśi Sōmavāraṃ [(11)]

"Hail! When it was six years after the glorious Chōḷa king Rājēndradēva, renowned as the slayer of crowds of wicked enemies, had taken possession of the whole earth,—and again, in detail, in the Śaka year reckoned as nine, seven and nine (*i.e.* 979), in the year known as Hēmaḷambin, on Monday, the twelfth *tithi*, a day of the dark (*fortnight*) of the auspicious month of Kārttika."

The Jovian year Hēmaḷambin by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Saṃvat 979 as an expired year (= A.D. 1057-58); and for that year the date corresponds to Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* Kārttika ended 22 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise.

Below, under No. 38, it will be seen that the words of the date 'when it was six years after' etc., simply are intended to convey the sense of 'in the sixth year of the reign of.'

37.—On a virakal at Gujjappanahundi.<sup>4</sup>

- |    |                            |                    |                           |               |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| 5  | Vīra-siṅgaśāsanattu        | vītr-irind-arulina | kōv-Irājākēsaripadmar-āna | oḍeya         |
| 6  | śrī-Rājēndradēvargg=iyāṇḍu | panniraṇḍāvudu     | .                         | .             |
| 7  | .                          | .                  | .                         | .             |
| 8  | Saka-varisha               |                    | 11                        | Pāḷguṇa-mā-   |
| 9  | 984                        | .                  | 12                        | sada puṇṇave- |
| 10 | saṃvatsarada               |                    | 13                        | y-andu.       |

<sup>1</sup> The date would be incorrect also for the current Śaka year 975.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Read *duṣṭ*.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Hg. 115. The original is much worn and many *akṣharas* are indistinct, but the figures of the Śaka date in line 9 are clear. The introduction (ll. 1-4) mentions Rājēndra's elder brother (*vis.* Rājādhirāja), the planting of a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram, and the defeat of Āhavamalla at Koppam.

<sup>5</sup> Here two or three *akṣharas* are lost.

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman<sup>1</sup> alias the lord śrī-Rājendradēva, who was pleased to be seated on the throne of heroes,—during the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Phālguna in the . . . year (which was) the Śaka year 984."

This date does not admit of verification. All that I can say about it, is, that if the Śaka year is Śaka-Samvat 984 expired, the date, which is stated to be of the twelfth year of the king's reign, will ordinarily correspond to the 15th February A.D. 1063. From No. 38, below, it will be seen that this day fell really in the eleventh year of the king's reign.

38.—In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.<sup>2</sup>

13 . . . . . kō=Ppara[k]ēśari[panmar]=āna [u]ḍai[y]ār śrī-  
Rājendradēva[ku] yāṇḍu nālāva-  
14 du [nā\*] 8[2] || . . . . . ivv-āṭṭai Si[m\*]ha-nāyaru  
apara-paksha[t]tu aṣṭamiyum Viyāḷa-kkilamaiyum  
15 perṛa Rōja(hi)ṇi-nāḷ.

"On the 8[2]nd day of the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman alias the lord śrī-Rājendradēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha in this year."

Of the years indicated in a general way by the two preceding dates, the one which yields a correct (and a most satisfactory) result for this date, is Śaka-Samvat 977 expired. In that year the month of Simha lasted from the 27th July to the 26th August A.D. 1055; and during that time the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (which was the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* *reja* Śrāvaṇa) commenced 14 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055, when the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇī, from sunrise (or, by the equal space system, from about midday) to the end of the day. Although the *tithi* commenced so late in the day, the result is correct, because the *tithi* with which we are concerned is the *Janm-āṣṭamī* or *Krishṇ-āṣṭamī*, a *tithi* which must be joined with that day of which the time of midnight is occupied by it, and which therefore, in the present instance, could have been joined only with the Thursday on which it commenced about four hours before midnight. The occasion was the more auspicious as the *nakṣatra* at midnight was Rōhiṇī.<sup>3</sup>

The equivalent of this date, then, undoubtedly is Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055. As this was the 82nd day of the fourth year of the king's reign, the first day of the fourth year was the 28th May A.D. 1055, and Rājendradēva's reign commenced (approximately) on the 28th May A.D. 1052. The result shews that the equivalent of the date No. 36 (the 27th October A.D. 1057) fell in the sixth year of his reign, while the equivalent suggested for No. 37 (the 15th February A.D. 1063) fell in the eleventh, not in the twelfth year.

For convenience of reference the commencement of the reigns of the seven Chōḷa kings whose dates have been examined in the preceding, may now be given thus:—

- 1.—Rājārāja: between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985.
- 2.—Rājendra-Chōḷa I.: between the 26th November A.D. 1011, and the 7th July 1012.
- 3.—Rājādhirāja: between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018.
- 4.—Rājendradēva: (approximately) the 28th May A.D. 1052.
- 5.—Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I.: between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.
- 6.—Vikrama-Chōḷa: (most probably) the 18th July A.D. 1108.
- 7.—Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.: between the 8th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178.

<sup>1</sup> In all other published inscriptions the king bears the surname Parakēsarivarman.

<sup>2</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. No. 29, pp. 61 and 63.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 182, *Śrāvāṇa-kṛishṇapakṣa* VIII.

No. 4.—KONNUR SPURIOUS INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA I.;  
SAKA-SAMVAT 782.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription is built into a wall of the temple of Paramêśvara at Konnūr,<sup>1</sup> the 'Khonor' of the map, a large village on the south bank of the Malparbhā river, 23 miles in a north-easterly direction from Nawalgund, the chief town of the Nawalgund tāluks, Dhārwar district; *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 41, long. 75° 34' E., lat. 15° 51' N. I edit the inscription from an excellent impression, kindly given to me by Dr. Fleet.<sup>2</sup>

The inscribed surface of the stone measures about 5' 4½" high by 2' 10" broad. Above the writing, in the arched top with which the stone ends, there are some sculptures, viz., in the middle, a shrine holding a sitting Jaina Tirthankara, with a chowrie-bearer on either side of him; on the proper left of the shrine, a cow with a sucking calf and, above them, a sword and the sun; and on the right of the shrine, another chowrie-bearer and an elephant, with the new moon above them. The writing is well executed, and for the most part in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ⅞". The characters are Kanarese of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, excepting a verse in lines 62-64, and the prose passage at the end of the inscription, lines 70-72, which are in Kanarese. The greater part of the text is in verse. In respect of orthography, it will suffice to draw attention to the frequent use of the Dravidian *l*, and of the sign of the *upadhmāniya* (also in the word *puṣpa* for *pushpa*, l. 40), and to the occasional employment of the sign of the *jihvāmūliya* (in *dharmmak-kēvalam*, l. 14, *yaḥ-kāmchanam*, l. 54, and *kīrttik-kakubhām*, l. 69).

The inscription divides itself into two parts. Lines 1 to (the word *sarvaṃ* in) 59 record a grant, professedly made by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha [I.] on a date which falls in A.D. 860. Lines 59 (from the word *mithyābhāva*) to 72, on the other hand, after praises of the Jaina creed and the two sages Mēghachandra-Traividya and his son Viranandin, inform us that, at the request of Huliyaṃarasa, the *Mahāprabhu* of Kolanūra, and others, Viranandin had a copper charter, which they had seen, rewritten here as a stone charter. According to this statement, lines 1-59 of the inscription were copied from a copper-plate inscription;<sup>3</sup> and from the dates which we possess for Viranandin and his father Mēghachandra-Traividya, the time when this copy was made, and when the inscription, as we have it, was engraved, may approximately be determined to be the middle of the twelfth century A.D. From an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa (Roman text, p. 26, ll. 3-6) we know that Mēghachandra-Traividya died on Thursday, the 2nd December A.D. 1115;<sup>4</sup> and according to a notice published by Mr. Pathak,<sup>5</sup> Viranandin finished the writing of his *Āchāra-sāra* on a date which I find to correspond to Monday, the 25th May A.D. 1153.

The principal part of the inscription (lines 1-59, the alleged copy of a copper-plate inscription) records, that—at a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon tithi of the month Āśvayuja

<sup>1</sup> I am told by Dr. Fleet that a similar name in the Belgaum district is distinctly *Konṇūr*, from the old form *Konḍanūr*, as well as by actual verification of the present spelling. But the name with which we are here concerned is derived from *Koḷanūra*, which occurs in this record.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription is mentioned by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 406, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> That other stone inscriptions have been copied from copper-plates, there can be no doubt; and the fact is distinctly stated e.g. in the inscriptions in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. IX. p. 281, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 116, No. 17.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 14. The date given by Mr. Pathak is 'Śaka 1078, the Śrīmukha *saṃvatsara*, on Monday the first day of the bright fortnight of Jyāishṭha.' On the corresponding European date given above, the first tithi of the bright half of the second Jyāishṭha commenced 8 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

(or Āśvina) in the [Jovian] year Vikrama, Śaka-Saṃvat 782 expired or, as is expressly stated, 83 current (ll. 43 and 44)—king Amoghavarsha [I.], the successor of Jagattuṅga (ll. 15 and 16), residing at his capital of Mānyakhēṭa<sup>1</sup> (l. 34), at the request of his subordinate Baṅkēśa (Baṅkēya) and in recognition of important services rendered by him, granted the village of Taleyūra (l. 38) and someland in other villages (ll. 45-48), for the benefit of a Jaina sanctuary founded by Baṅkēya at Kolanūra, to the sage Dēvēndra,<sup>2</sup> who had been appointed by Baṅkēya to the charge of the sanctuary, the disciple of Trikālayōgīśa, of the Pustaka *gachchha* of the Dēśiya *gaṇa* of the Mūla *saṃgha* (ll. 35-38). The introductory part of the inscription—after two verses of which one invokes the blessing, at the same time, of the god Viṣṇu (Jina) and the first Jaina prophet (Jinēndra), and the other<sup>3</sup> the protection of both Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa) and the king Amoghavarsha himself, here, as in verse 34, called Vira-Nārāyaṇa<sup>4</sup>—in verses 3-11 gives the genealogy of Amoghavarsha. Verses 17-34 contain a eulogistic account of the services rendered by Baṅkēśa (Baṅkēya). And the concluding lines 57-59 record the writer's name, Vatsarāja, and that of, Baṅkēyarāja's chief adviser, the Mahattara Gaṇapati.

It may at once be stated here that the date given above undoubtedly is correct. The Jovian year Vikrama corresponds to Śaka-Saṃvat 782 expired, by both luni-solar systems;<sup>5</sup> and on the full-moon day of Āśvina of that year, corresponding to the 3rd October A.D. 860, there was a total eclipse of the moon, fully visible in India for more than three hours. But much as the correctness of a date, containing such particulars as are given here, would speak in favour of the genuineness of a record, there is at least one point in the preceding, which raises a doubt whether the stone inscription, even if it was based on a genuine copper-plate charter, is an authentic copy of it in every detail. Excepting the Kaḍaba grant of Prabhūtavarsha (Gōvinda III.) the form of which is altogether peculiar, the earlier Sanskrit copper-plate inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the main line, from the Sāmāṅgaḍ plates of Dantidurga to the Nausārī plates of Indrarāja III. of Śaka-Saṃvat 836, all commence with the verse *Sa vō-vyād-Vēdhasā dhāma*; and as that verse is found also in Amoghavarsha's own Śirūr inscription, I should have expected the present inscription also to begin with it, and might well fancy that the Jaina copyists substituted for it a verse referring to their own creed.

However this may be, it is certain that the genealogical account in verses 3-11 of this inscription, which we now have to consider, cannot possibly be admitted to be a true copy of a genuine copper-plate charter. To shew this, I place side by side here the line of succession as

<sup>1</sup> According to the Dēśī plates of Śaka-Saṃvat 862 (above, Vol. V. p. 193, l. 18 of the text) Mānyakhēṭa was founded by Amoghavarsha I. The earliest plates in which it is described as the residence of a king, are the Nausārī plates of Indrarāja III. of Śaka-Saṃvat 836 (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 257 and 261).

<sup>2</sup> This may be the Dēvēndra of Baṅkāpura, mentioned in *Inscr. at Śrāvastī-Belgoja*, Roman text, p. 49, l. 8.

<sup>3</sup> With this second verse may be compared the third verse of the Nausārī plates mentioned above, which eulogizes the king Indrarāja III. who issued the grants, by comparing him with, and ascribing to him actions which were performed by, the god Viṣṇu.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. 'a Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) in the shape of a hero,' or 'a hero who is like Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu)' Amoghavarsha I. is described as *Vīra-Nārāyaṇa* also in the Nausārī plates; and the same epithet is given to Amoghavarsha Kakkarāja II. in the Kardā plates of that king (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, l. 40 of the text). Similar epithets are *Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa*, 'a Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) in fame,' applied to Gōvinda III. in the Śirūr inscription of Amoghavarsha I. (*ibid.* p. 218, l. 5 of the text), and to Indrarāja III. in his Nausārī plates; and *Vīrānta-Nārāyaṇa*, 'a Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) in valour,' applied to Gōvinda IV. in his Sāṅgī plates (*ibid.* p. 251, l. 38 of the text).—In the case of the present inscription, what, in my opinion, must strike one as somewhat suspicious, is, that, in verse 34, the king in his own speech should have been made to represent himself as Vira-Nārāyaṇa.

<sup>5</sup> Judging by other dates, the proper system for Śaka-Saṃvat 782 is the so-called northern luni-solar system; but by the strict mean-sign system also the day of the date would fall in the year Vikrama, which ended on the 14th October A.D. 860.

furnished by this inscription, and the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes from Gōvindarāja I. to Amōghavarsha I., as we know it from their copper-plates.

From this inscription.

1. In the Yādava lineage,  
Gōvinda, son of Prichchhakarāja.
2. Karkara, son of king Indra.
3. His son Dantidurga.
4. Subhatuṅgavallabha-Akālavarsha.
5. Prabhūtavarsha, son of Dhāravarsha.
6. His son Prabhūtavarsha-Jagattuṅga.
7. Amōghavarsha.

From the copper-plates.

- Gōvindarāja I.  
His son Kakkarāja or Karkarāja.  
His son Indrarāja.  
His son Dantidurga.  
Subhatuṅga-Akālavarsha (Krishnaraja I.,  
son of Kakkarāja).  
His son Prabhūtavarsha<sup>1</sup> (Gōvindarāja II.).  
His younger brother (Dhruvarāja-Nirupama)  
Dhāravarsha.  
His son Prabhūtavarsha-Jagattuṅga (Gō-  
vindarāja III.).  
His son Amōghavarsha.

From the above it will be seen that, excepting the strange name Prichchhakarāja<sup>2</sup> for which I cannot account, the same names, though not always written uniformly, are there on either side. But to the writer of this part of our inscription the mutual relationship of the princes whose names he knew, apparently was a riddle. He therefore either observed a discreet silence or perpetrated such blunders as to make Karkara the son of Indrarāja, whereas he was his father; or to put down Prabhūtavarsha as the son of Dhāravarsha, to omit Dhāravarsha altogether from the line of kings, and then to make Prabhūtavarsha-Jagattuṅga the son of Prabhūtavarsha. Moreover, the assignment of these kings to the Yādava lineage,<sup>3</sup> and especially the occurrence of the name Karkara,<sup>4</sup> instead of Kakkarāja or Karkarāja, seem clearly to indicate that the genealogy was concocted some time after the date which is recorded in this inscription, and has not been copied from a genuine copper-plate charter of Amōghavarsha I.

The person with whom our inscription is chiefly concerned, is Baṅkēśa or, as the name also is written, Baṅkēya, or Baṅkēyarāja, by Amōghavarsha's favour in the enjoyment of, or governing, thirty-thousand villages the most important of which was Vanavāsi (verse 21). As reported by Dr. Fleet,<sup>5</sup> an unpublished inscription at Nidagundi in the Dhārwar district mentions, as a feudatory of Amōghavarsha I., Baṅkeyarasa, governor of the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, the Belgali three-hundred, the Kundarage seventy, the Kundūr five-hundred, and the Purige three-hundred, who apparently is the same personage. According to our inscription, Baṅkēśa *alias* Sella-kētana was the son of Adhōra (or Ādhōra), proprietor of Kojanūra, and his wife Vijayānkā, and grandson of Erakōri, of the Mukula family (*kula*; vv. 17-19). The name Baṅkēśa (or Baṅkēya) together with the *biruda* Sellakētana identify

<sup>1</sup> I take this name from the Kadaba plates.

<sup>2</sup> According to the fragmentary Ellōrā Daśarātara cave temple inscription (*Archaeol. Surv. of West. India*, Vol. V. p. 87) Gōvindarāja I. was the son of Indrarāja.

<sup>3</sup> In line 17 of the Wapi plates of Gōvindarāja III. of Śaka-Samvat 730 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157) the Yādava *camā* is mentioned by way of comparison; but the earliest plates in which the Rāshtrakūṭas are stated to belong to the Yādava *camā*, are the Nausāri plates of Śaka-Samvat 836.

<sup>4</sup> The earlier inscriptions have only the names *Kakkarāja* and *Karkarāja*; the name *Kakkala* occurs in the Kardā plates of Śaka-Samvat 894 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 264), in the Guṇḍūr inscription of Śaka-Samvat 896 (*ibid.* p. 271), and in later inscriptions; and *Karkara* I first meet with in the Kauthēri plates of Śaka-Samvat 930 (*ibid.* Vol. XVI. p. 23, l. 41 of the text).

<sup>5</sup> See *Dynasties*, p. 408. Dr. Fleet has informed me that in the Nidagundi inscription Baṅkēya is described as *Chellakētana śrīmat Baṅkeyarasa*, but is also called simply *Baṅkēya*. See below.

him with the Chellakēṭana, whose son Lōkāditya *alias* Chellapatāka (the younger brother of Chelladhvaṇa), of the Mukula *kula*, in A.D. 897 was governing the Vanavāsa country at Baṅkapura, so named by his father *after his own name* (Baṅkēśa);<sup>1</sup> and there can therefore be hardly any doubt that the date of our inscription (in A.D. 860) may give us a true date for the time of Baṅkēśa.—The exploits of Baṅkēśa are told in verses 22-31. As leader of the hereditary forces, he at the king's command invaded Gaṅgavāḍi<sup>2</sup> (the country of the Western Gaṅgas), took the fort of Kēḍala, put to flight the ruler of Talavanapura, and after crossing the river Kāvēri, conquered the enemy's country. Recalled then by Amōghavarsha on account of disturbances which had broken out at home, and in which, as appears from verse 31, the king's own son was concerned,<sup>3</sup> he quickly returned, and succeeded in quelling the insurrection and restoring his master's fortune.—The Talavanapura here mentioned is the well-known capital of the Western Gaṅgas, the modern Talakāḍ on the left bank of the river Kāvēri;<sup>4</sup> and Kēḍala may perhaps be the modern 'Kaidala' which, according to the map in Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, is to the north-east of Kaḍaba.

As regards the places mentioned in connection with the actual grant, Koḷanūra has already been stated to be the village of Konnūr, where the inscription is. The village granted, Taleyūra, which was in the Majjantiya-seventy *bhukti*, has not been identified; nor have its boundaries, Beṇḍanūru,<sup>5</sup> Sāsavēvā[du], Paḍilagerē, and Kilavāḍa. In addition to the main grant, twelve *nivartanas* of land were granted at Koḷanūra itself, and at each of the thirty villages which are enumerated in lines 45-48. Eleven of these may be identified<sup>6</sup> with modern villages at a reasonable distance from Konnūr, thus:—

Avaravā[ḍi] = 'Owruḍḍee,' 'Aurwāḍi,' 6 miles west by north from Konnūr;

Beṇḍanūru = 'Bennoor,' 1½ miles north of 'Owruḍḍee';

Sulla = 'Soolah,' 'Sula,' 5 miles east by south from Konnūr;

Māvinūru = 'Munnoor,' 8 miles east by south from Konnūr;

Mattikaṭṭe = 'Mutteekuttee,' 'Matikatti,' 12 miles north by east from Konnūr;

Nila[gun]dage = 'Neelgoondee,' 5½ miles north-east from Konnūr;

Tālikhēḍa = 'Tullakodda,' 'Talakwāḍ,' 2½ miles north-west from Konnūr;

B[e]lleeru = 'Bulleeree,' 2½ miles west-north-west from Konnūr;

Muttalagerē = 'Mootulgeeree,' 'Mutalgeri,' 7½ miles east by north from Konnūr;

Kākeyanūru = 'Kakanoor,' 'Kāknur,' 7½ miles north-west from Konnūr;

Neri[la]ge = 'Neerlehgee,' 'Niralgi,' 9 miles north by west from Konnūr.

<sup>1</sup> See the passage from the Jaina *Uttarapardya*, first published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 317, and afterwards, more correctly, in Prof. Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 429; also Prof. Bhandarkar's remarks, *ibid.* p. 430 and pp. 120 and 121. Our inscription shows that in the Sanskrit text *Mukula*, and not *Padmālaya*, must be taken to be the name of Lōkāditya's family.—The *biruda* Chellakēṭana (or *Sellakēṭana*) Mr. Pathak in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 223 has translated by 'cloth-bannered' (see Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 403, note 2), but, so far as I can see, the Kanarese word for 'cloth' is *sela* = Sanskrit *chēla*. Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* gives *sēla* (from the *Kādambarī*) and *sēlla* in the sense of 'a kind of weapon'; and Kittel's *Dictionary* has *sēla* = *sēla* = *falya*, 'a dart, a javelin, a spear tipped with iron, a pike' etc., and also *sēlla* = *sēlla* = *falya*; I think that these are the words with which the first part of the *biruda* should be connected. In support of this view, I would state that I find *sēlla* as the first part of a proper name in *Sellavidyādhara* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 54, line 29 of the text), and that in the verse in which the name occurs (where I would alter the corrupt *selulldita-pāṇind* to *sēlla-lldita-pāṇind*) the author too apparently has understood *sēlla* to denote some kind of weapon ('*Sellavidyādhara*, whose hand is fondled by the javelin').—Compare also the *biruda* *Sellavidyāḍa* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 219, l. 51.

<sup>2</sup> The wars with the Gaṅgas are often spoken of in Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. In Sanskrit inscriptions the name of their country is ordinarily written *Gaṅgapāṭi*.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding Amōghavarsha's wars with rebellious members of his own family, see e.g. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 63. I am not aware that elsewhere his own son is spoken of in this connection.

<sup>4</sup> See Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 299.

<sup>5</sup> There is a 'Bennoor,' 2 miles north-west of Konnūr, and another village of the same name will be mentioned below.

<sup>6</sup> Most of these have been identified for me by Dr. Fleet.

The names of the other nineteen villages are Mudugundi, Kittaihole, Mus[a], Pa[dh]ere,<sup>1</sup> Satngama, Pirisingi, Behuru,<sup>2</sup> Âlûgu, [Pârva]nagere, Hosâ[ja]lu, I[n]dugalu, Haganûru, Unalûru, Indagere, Munivalli, Kotta[s]e, Oddittage, Si[kimabri?], and Giri[pi]dalu.

Stating distinctly what I have indicated above, I consider it possible that lines 1-59 of this inscription really were based on a copper-plate charter; at the same time, I feel certain that, if such was the case, the transcribers have taken so great liberties with the original as to deprive this 'copy' of the value of an authentic document.

TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 'Śriyaḥ=priyas-saṅgata-viśvarūpas-sudarśana-cchhiuna-parāvalēpaḥ [1\*] diśyād-anamtaḥ=prapat-āmarēndraḥ śriyam mam-ādyah-paramām Jinēndraḥ || [1\*]  
<sup>4</sup>Ananta-bhō-
- 2 ga-sthitir=atra pātu vaḥ pratāpāśīla-prabhav-ōdayāchalaḥ [1\*] su-Rā[sh]trakūṭ-ōrjita-vamśa-pūrvvajas=sa Vira-Nārāyaṇa ēva yō vibhuḥ || [2\*] Tadiya-bhūp-āya-
- 3 ta-Yādav-ānvayō kramēṇa vārddhāv=iva ratna-samchayaḥ [1\*] babhūva Gōvinda-mahāpatir=bhbbhu(bbbu)vaḥ prasāddhanō<sup>5</sup> Priṣṭhahakarāja-nandanaḥ || [3\*] Imdr-āvanipāśa-sntēna dhāriṇi prasāritā
- 4 yēna Pṛithu-prabhāvinā [1\*] mah-ajasaḥ vairi-tamō nirākṛitam pratāpa-śīlēna [sa] Karkkara-prabhuh || [4\*] Tatō=bhavad-damti-ghaṭ-ābhimarddanō Himāchaśād-ōrjita-sē-
- 5 tu-sīmna(ma)taḥ<sup>7</sup> [1\*] khalikṛit-ōdvṛitta-mahāpa-mamḍalaḥ kuḷ-āgraniḥ<sup>8</sup> yō bhuvī Dantidurgga-rāt || [5\*] Svayamba(va)ribhūta-rapāṅgaṇē tatas=sa nirvvyapākṣam Śubhatuṅga-vallabhaḥ [1\*] chaka-
- 6 rsha Chālukya-kuḷa-śriyam baśād=vilōla-pālidhvaja-māla-bhāriṇim || [6\*] Jay-ōchhasimbāsana-chāmar-ōrjitas-sit-ātapatrō<sup>9</sup> pratipakṣa-rājya(ja)<sup>10</sup>-hā [1\*]  
 Akālavarsa-ōrjita-bhū-
- 7 pa-nāmakō babhūva rājarsir=sēśha-puṇyataḥ || [7\*] <sup>11</sup>Tataḥ=Prabhūtavarshō-bhūd=<sup>12</sup>Dhāravarsha-sutaś=śarair-ddhāravarshāyitam yēna saṅgrāma-bhuvī bhūbhujā || [8\*] Tasya sutaḥ ||
- 8 Yaj-jaṇma-kālō dēvēndrair=ādishtam vṛishabhō bhuvah [1\*] bhōkt-ēti Himavat-sētu-paryyant-āmbudhimēkha[ś]m || [9\*] Tataḥ=Prabhūtavarshas=saṇ svayam-pūṇa-manōrathaḥ [1\*] Jagattuṅgas=Sumā-
- 9 rur=vvā bhūbhṛitām=upari sthitaḥ || [10\*] Bandhūnām<sup>13</sup> bandhurāṇām=uchita-nija-kuḷē pūrvvajānām prajānām jātānām Vallabhānām bhuvana-bharita<sup>14</sup>-satkirtti-mūrti-sthitānām [1\*] trātum kirtim sa-lō-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the modern 'Dédertop,' 24 miles south-west from Konnūr.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the 'Becoor' of the map, 15½ miles west from Konnūr.

<sup>3</sup> From Dr. Fleet's impression.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>5</sup> Metre of verses 2-7: Vamśastha.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'dhanah'; this correction may have been made already in the original.

<sup>7</sup> Before both ablatives the preposition 'd' should have been used; compare e.g. above, Vol. III. p. 106,

line 14 of the text.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'agra'.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'patraḥ'.

<sup>10</sup> This correction may have been made already in the original.

<sup>11</sup> Metre of verses 8-10: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>12</sup> Originally 'bhārddhā' was engraved.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Śragdhara.

<sup>14</sup> The word 'bharita,' properly 'filled with,' is used wrongly here in the sense of 'filling'; compare *Inscriptions at Sravasa-Belgoja*, p. 108, l. 1.

- 10 kām kali-kalusham=athō <sup>1</sup>hantam=antō ripūpām śrīmān=simbāsana-sthō  
<sup>2</sup>bhavanavanam=atō=mōghavarshaḥ prasāsti || [11\*] <sup>3</sup>Yasy=ājñām para-  
 chakriṇaḥ srajam=iv=ājasraṁ śirōbhīr=vvaḥam.
- 11 ty=ā digdānti-ghaṭ-āvali-mukha-paṭ[ā]h<sup>4</sup> kirtti-pratānas=sataḥ [1\*] yatra-sthaḥ  
 sva-kara-pratāpa-mahimā kasy=āpy=adūra-sthitaḥ<sup>5</sup> tējaḥ-krānta-samasta-bhūbhīd=  
 ina ēv=āsau na kasy=ōpari || [12\*]
- 12 <sup>6</sup>Chatuṣ-samudra-paryyanta[m?] svamudraṁ yat-prasādhitam [1\*] bhagnā samasta-  
 bhūpāla-mudrā Gārūḍa-mudrayā || [13\*] <sup>7</sup>Rājēन्द्रās=tē vaṁdanīyās=tu pūrvvē  
 yēshām dharmma-
- 13 h=pālaniyō=smad-ādyaiḥ [1\*] dhvastā dushṭā varitamānās=sadharmmāḥ prārthya  
 yē tē bhāvinah=pārthivēन्द्रāḥ || [14\*] Bhuktaṁ kaischid=vikramēṇ=āparēbhyō  
 dattam ch=ānyais=tyaktam=ēv=āparair=yyat [1\*]
- 14 k=āsth=ānityē tatra rājyē mahadbhiḥ kirttyā(rittyai?) dharmmaḥ=kēvalam pālaniyah  
 || [15\*] <sup>8</sup>Tēn=ēdam=anila-vidyuch-chaṁchalam=avalōkya jīvitam=asāram [1\*]  
 kshitidāna-paramapunyaḥ=pravarttitō
- 15 dēvadāyō=yam || [16\*] Sa ēva paramabhattachāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-  
 Jagattuṁgadēva-pādānndhyāna(ta)-paramabhattachāraka-mahārāj[ā]dhirāja-paramēśvara-  
 śrī-
- 16 prithivīvallabha-śrīmad-Amōghavarsha-śrī-Vallabhansrēन्द्रadēvaḥ sarvvān=ēva  
 yathāsambaddhyamānakān=rāshṭravishayapati-grāmekūṭ-āyuktaka-niyuktak-ā-
- 17 dhikārika-mahattar-ādīn=samādisaty=astu vas=samviditam yathā || Vikrama-vilāsa-  
 nilayō Mukula-kulē pūrvva-bandhubhir=mmānyaiḥ [1\*] Erakōri-nāmadhēya-
- 18 h=pravikasitō=bbūt=prasūna-samah || [17\*] <sup>9</sup>Āvir=āsīt=prabhūn=tasmāt=prasūnāt=phala-  
 sannibhaḥ [1\*] nāmn=Ādhōrah kul=ādhārah Kolanūr=ādhipas=svayam || [18\*] Su-  
 tō=sya Vijayāmkāyām=abbūd=bhuvana-mānitaḥ [1\*] prachanḍa-maṇḍa-ātāmko  
 Bāmkēśaḥ Sella-kētanah || [19\*] Madiyō vitata-jyōtir=nni(uni)sitō=sir=iv=āparah  
 [1\*] u-
- 20 nmūlita-dvishad-vriksha-mūlō maṇḍa-baḷa-prabhūḥ || [20\*] Mat-prasādēna samlabdha-<sup>10</sup>  
 Vanavāsi-purassarān=grāmān<sup>11</sup>=trimsat-sahasrāpi bhunakty=avirat-ōdayah || [21\*]
- 21 Mahā-pratāpād=uchchhēdam<sup>12</sup>=udayachchhan=mad-ichchhayā [1\*] mūlād=uchchhēttam=  
 uttūngām Gaṁgavādi-vaṭātaviṁ || [22\*] Tat=āntarē=smat-sāmantair=mmātsaryy-  
 āhi-
- 22 ta;mānasair=upēkshitō=pi kōp-ōdyat-sāhas-sika-sakhaḥ svayam || [23\*] <sup>13</sup>Dhvasta-  
 ripu-nīti-mārggō rana-vikramam=ēka-buddhim=abhiniya [1\*] sa madiya-hridaya-  
 saṁgatam=avandhya-
- 23 kōpatvam=āvahati || [24\*] Yēna || Tat=Kēḍaḷ-ābhidhānam durgam vapr-ārggaḷ-  
 ādi-durllamghyam [1\*] maṇḍa-baḷ-ādhishṭhitam=api sadyah prōllamghya hēlay=  
 āgrāhi || [25\*] <sup>14</sup>Janapadam=adaḥ<sup>15</sup> kṛitvā ba-

<sup>1</sup> Originally *bra°* was engraved; read *hantam*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *bhavanam=idam=atō*, or, perhaps, *bhuvanam=anamitō*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

<sup>4</sup> I am unable to explain this properly. Perhaps the word *paṭi* is used here in the sense of *paṭṭa*, 'the frontlet or fillet which is tied to the head of an elephant'; see Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, s.v. *paṭṭa*.

Read *-sthitas*.

Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh). With the first half of the verse compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249, l. 11 of the text.

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 14 and 15: Śālini.

<sup>8</sup> Metre of verses 16 and 17: Āryā.

<sup>9</sup> Metre of verses 18-23: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

<sup>10</sup> Read *samlabhya*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *grāmān*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *-uchchhēttam=(?)*.

<sup>13</sup> Metre of verses 24 and 25: Āryā.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Hariṇi.

<sup>15</sup> Read *samam*.

- 24 stē vidhūya virōdhinam Talavanapur-adhiśam kṛitvā [śruta]m<sup>1</sup> rana-vikramam  
[i\*] mad-ari-vijayi bharttuḥ ślāghyas=samanvita-saṅgarah samara-samayā vidviṭ  
chakrai-
- 25 r=avakrita-vikramah || [26\*] Kāvērīm<sup>2</sup> guru-pūra-durggamatamām=ullaṅghya simha-  
[kra]māt=pratyagra-sphurita-pratāpa-dahana-prōdyach-chhikhā-śrēṇibhiḥ [i\*] ni-
- 26 rddahy-aikapadēna saptapadakān=vidvid-van-ōchchhēdinā yēn=ākampi jagat-  
prakampana-patōr=vvairājyam=apy=ūrjjitam || [27\*] <sup>3</sup>Tatr=āntarē mad-amtikam=  
antarbbbhē(rbbhē)dēna jāta-samkshōbhē [i\*]
- 27 pratyāgantavyam=iti<sup>4</sup> tvay=ēti mad-vachanamātrēna || [28\*] Aprāpti<sup>5</sup>  
Vallabhēndrē(drō) mayi jayati yadā vidvishah syān=tad=āham samnyast-  
āsēsha-saṅgō munir=atha
- 28 vidhinā vidvishām syāj=jaya-śrīh [i\*] tatr=āpy=u[ddā]ma-dhūmadhvaja-vitata-śikhās=  
ātpatāmi pratāpād=ity=ārūdhā-pratiññah katipaya-divasaiḥ=prā-
- 29 pad=asmat-samipam || [29\*] <sup>6</sup>Māsa-trayasya madhyē yadi bhōjayitum na  
śakyatē svāmī [i\*] kshīram vijitya śatrūn=<sup>7</sup>tath=āpi vahnim viśāmy=ēva  
|| [30\*] <sup>8</sup>Ity=uktv=ākrama-vikram-ō-
- 30 chohhikha-śikhi-jvāl-āvalīdā(ḍha)-bra(vra)jō dhūma-śyāma[ni]tē tirōhita-tanam  
prāyah=para-prēshitē [i\*] yātē mat-tanayē sthit-ānya-nripatīn=nirjjitya yō  
jitvarō bandīkṛitya
- 31 ripūn=nihatya cha tadā tīrṇa-pratiññō=bhavat || [31\*] <sup>9</sup>Āvishkṛita-kōpa-śikhā-  
nirddagdḥ-ārīndhanō vin=āpy=anilāt [i\*] ajvālītē(tō)=pi yasya pratāpa-vahnir=  
mmuhur=jvalati || [32\*]
- 32 Yasya cha kṛipāna-[vāriṇi] rudhir-ā[kulitā] dvishām mahā-lakshmīh [i\*]  
majjaty=unmajjati tu sv-ādhipatēḥ kumkum-ākt=ēva || [33\*] Hutvā<sup>10</sup> yēna  
ripūn virōdhi-rudhira-prājy-ā-
- 33 jya-dhār-āhuti-brā(vrā)ta-prasphuri[ta]-pratāpa-[daba]nē vidvishta-śāntas=śritam [i\*]  
viprēṇ=ēva rap-ādihvarē suvihita-śrī-mamtra-śakty=ārjjitam kalpāntasthira-vīra-  
śāsanam=idam
- 34 mad=Vira-Nārāyaṇāt || [34\*] Tēn=sivambhūtēna Ba[mkēy-ā]bhidhānēna mad-ishta-  
bhṛityēna prārthitas=san<sup>11</sup> tat-prārthitānaya Mānyakhēṭa-rājadhānyām=avasthitēna  
mayā [mā]-
- 35 tā-pitrōr=ātmanas=ch=aibhik-āmutrika-punya-yaśō-bhividdhayē Kolanūrē tad-  
Bamkēya-nirmāpita-jināyatana-paripāṇa-niyuktāya
- 36 <sup>12</sup>Śrī-Mūlasaṅgha-Dēśiyagana-Pustakagachchataḥ [i\*] jātas=Trikālayōgīśah kshīr-  
ādhēr=iva kaustubhaḥ || [35\*] Tach-chāritra-vadhū-putrah śrī-Dēvēndra-  
munīśvaraḥ [i\*]
- 37 saiddhāntik-āgrapīs=asmai Bamkēyō [yām=adān=mu?]dā<sup>13</sup> || [36\*] Tad-vasati-  
sambandhi-navakarm-ōttarabhāvikaḥasphuṭita-sammārjjan-ōpalēpana-paripāṇa-ādi-  
dharmmōpa-
- 38 yōgi-karmma-karapa-nimittam Majjantiya-sap[t]atigrāma-bhukty-amtarggataḥ<sup>14</sup>  
Taleyūra-nāma-grāmah tasya ch-āghātāḥ tat-Kolanūrāt-pūrvvataḥ Bemdānūru
- 39 dakshinataḥ Sāsavēvā[du] tat-paśchimataḥ Paḍilagerē uttarataḥ Kilavāḍah  
ōvam=ayam chatur-āghātan-ōpalakshitah s-ōdraṅgas=sa-pari-

<sup>1</sup> The two *akṣaras* in brackets are almost completely effaced.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>4</sup> This *iti* is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Sragdhārā.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śāntas*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>9</sup> Metre of verses 32 and 33: Āryā.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>11</sup> Read *asmān*.

<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 35 and 36: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>13</sup> The *akṣaras* in brackets are almost entirely effaced and therefore doubtful.

<sup>14</sup> Here and in some places below the rules of *saṁdā* have not been observed.

- 40 karah sa-damda-das-āparādhās=sambhrit-ōpātta-pratyayas<sup>1</sup>=s-ōtpadyamāna-viaṣṭiti(ka)h  
sa-dhānya-hirany-ādēyaḥ dvādaśa-puṣpavāṭaḥ <sup>2</sup>pañchāsaduttara-śata-ha-
- 41 [sta]-vistārah=pañchāśata-hasta-pramāṇ-āyāmaḥ grihāṇām=āghāṭas=samuditaḥ  
<sup>3</sup>pravēśyas=sarvva-rājakīy[ā\*]nām=ahastaprakṣhēpaṇīyaḥ ā-
- 42 [cha]m̐dr-ārkk-ārṇava-kāṣṭhi-sarit-parvvata-samakāṣṇaḥ putra-pautr-ānvaya-kramēna  
pratipālyāḥ pūrvapradatta-dēvabrahmadāya-rahitō=hya(bhya)-
- 43 [n]tarasi[d\*]dhyā bhūmicchhidra-nyāyēna ||<sup>4</sup> Śakanṛipa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-  
śatēshu saptasu dvā(dvya)śīty-adhikēshu tadabhyadhika-samanantara-  
pravarttamāna-tra-<sup>5</sup>
- 44 yōsītītama-Vikrama-samvatsar-āntarggat-Āśvaya-ja-paurṇamāsyām sarvvagrāsi-  
sōmagrahaṇē mahā-parvvaṇi bali-paksha-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-āti-
- 45 thi-santarppanād<sup>6</sup>=dhār-ōdak-ātisarggēna pratipāditaḥ || Tath-ātr-aiva tat-  
Kolanūr[s] tad-[bh]ukti-madhya-vartty-Avaravā[d]i- Bēḍanūru-  
Mudugumḍi- Kittai-vo-
- 46 le- | Sul[la]- | Mus[s]- | Pa[dh]ere- | Māvinūru- | Mattikaṭṭe- | Nila[gum]dage- |  
Tāṭikhēda- | B[e]llēru- | Saṅgamā- | Pirisiṅgi- | Muttalagere- | Kākeyanūru-<sup>7</sup> |  
Bēhuru- |
- 47 Ālugu- | [Pārvva]nagere- | Hosam[ja]la[ru]- | I[m]dugalu- | Neri[la]ge- |  
Haganūru- | Uhalāru- | Indagere- | Munivalli- | Kōṭṭa[s]e- | Oḍḍiṭṭage- |  
Si[kimabri P]- |
- 48 Giri[pil]dalū- | nāmādhēyēshv=ētēshu Kolanūr-āta<sup>8</sup> tad-bhukti-varttiṣhu  
tri(tri)māsataḥ=api grāmēshv=ēkaika-grāmē dvādaśa nivarttanāni bhūmēḥ  
pratipādītāni [||\*] Atō=sy=ō-
- 49 chitayā <sup>10</sup>dēvadāyadāya-sthityā bhūmijatō bhōjayataḥ kṛishataḥ karahayataḥ  
pratidīśatō vā na kaischid=alp=āpi paripanthanā kāryyā tath-ā-
- 50 gāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir=asmad-vamśyair=anyair=vvā sāmānya[m] bhūmi-dāna-phalam=  
avētya vidyul-lōḷāny-aiśvāryyāni tṛipāgra-lagna-jalabindu-chamchalam cha ji-
- 51 vitam=ākālayya svadāya-nirvviśēhō=smad-dāyō=numantavyāḥ pratipālayitabya(vya)ś=  
cha [||\*] Yas=tv=sjñāna-timira-paṭal-āvrīta-matir=<sup>11</sup>āchchhidyamānakam
- 52 ch(v)=ānumōdēta sa pañchabhir=mmahāpātakais=sōpapātakais=cha<sup>12</sup> samyuktaḥ  
syād=ity=<sup>13</sup>uktam bhagavatā vēda-byā(vyā)sēna<sup>14</sup> || <sup>15</sup>Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāni  
svarggē tishṭhati
- 53 bhūmidah [||\*] āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [37\*]  
Viṁdhy-āṭavishv=atōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsishu(nah) [||\*] kṛishnasarppā hi  
jāyamātē bhūmi-

<sup>1</sup> The term intended apparently is *sambhūtpāttapratyayas*, which occurs in other inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the sentence commencing here and ending with *samuditaḥ*, a single compound should have been used, qualifying *grāmāḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> Here *achchhādāya* has been omitted.

<sup>4</sup> This sign of punctuation should be struck out.

<sup>5</sup> Read *īryadītītama*.

<sup>6</sup> The passage commencing with *baṭi* is quite out of place here, the object of the grant having already been stated correctly in lines 37 and 38. In inscriptions where a similar statement is properly made we find *chōra* (instead of *paksha*) and *santarppanāṭham*. For the following *dhār-ōda* of this inscription one would have expected *ady-ōda*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *nārē* (?).

<sup>8</sup> Originally *Kāṣṭhē* was engraved.

<sup>9</sup> Read *āghāṭ* (?).

<sup>10</sup> Read *dēvadāya*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *matir=achchchhidāyād=achchchhē*.

<sup>12</sup> This *cha* should have been omitted.

<sup>13</sup> Read *iti* & *Uktam cha ēha*.

<sup>14</sup> After this the word *Vyāsēna* has been omitted.

<sup>15</sup> Metre of verses 37 and 38 : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh). Read *Shashṭir* *sa*.

- 54 dānam haranti yē || [38\*] <sup>1</sup>Agnēr=apatya[m] prathamam suvarṇam bhūr=Vvaishnavi sūrya-sutās=cha gāvaḥ [1\*] lōka-trayan=tēna bhavéd=dhi dattam yah=kāmchanam gām cha mahim
- 55 cha dadyāt || [39\*] <sup>2</sup>Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [1\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [40\*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yatnā-
- 56 d-rakshy[ā]<sup>3</sup> narādhipaḥ [1\*] mahim mahimatām<sup>4</sup> śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam || [41\*] Iti<sup>5</sup> kamaḥa-daj-āmbubindu-lōkām śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitam cha [1\*] ativima-
- 57 la-manōbbhir=āmakair=<sup>6</sup>nna hi purushaiḥ=para-kirttayō vilōpyāḥ || [42\*] Likhitam ch=aitad=Vālabha-kāyastha-vamśa-jātēna dharmādhipikarapa-s[th]ēna bhōgika-Vatsarājēna
- 58 Śrīharsha-sūnūnā grāmapa[ta]lādhipikṛitā<sup>7</sup> lōkhakarapahasti-Nāgavarṇma-Prithvirāma-bhṛityēna || <sup>8</sup>Baṁkēyarāja<sup>9</sup>-mukhyō Ganā(ṇa)pati-nāmā ma-
- 59 hattarāḥ=prājñāḥ [1\*] rājñas=samīpa-vartti tēn=ādam=anushtitam sarvvaṁ || [43\*] ✽ <sup>10</sup>Mithyābhāva-bhav-ātidarppa-para-tad-duśśāsan-ōchchhēdakaṁ prājñ-ājñā-vaśa-varttamā-
- 60 na-janatā-sat-saukhyā-sampādakam [1\*] nānārūpa-viśiṣṭa-vastu-parama-ayādvāda-lakshmi-padam jējyāj=Jina-rājasāsanam=idam svāchāra-sāra-pradam || [44\*]
- 61 Siddhāntāmṛita-vārdhī-tārakapatis=tarkk-āmbuj-āharppatiḥ śabd-ōdyānavan-āmrit-aika-sarapir=yyōgindra-chūdāmaṇiḥ [1\*] Traividya-āpara-sārttha-
- 62 nāma-vibhavaḥ=prōddhūta-chētōbhavaḥ<sup>11</sup> jiyād=anyamat-āvanibhṛid-aśaniḥ śrī-Mēghachandṛō munih || [45\*] Ide<sup>12</sup> hamsi-brindam=imtal=bagedapudu
- 63 chakōri-chayam chamohuvindam kardukal-sārdāpud=īśam jadēyo=irisal=end=irdapam sejjeg=ēgal=padedappam Krishṇan=emb=ant=esedu bisa-lasat-kandaḥ-kam-
- 64 da-kāntam pudidatt=i Mēghachandṛa-bra(vra)titilaka-jagadvartti-kirtti prakāśam || [46\*] <sup>13</sup>Vaidagdhyā-śrī-vadhūti-patir=akhila-guṇ-ālamkṛitir=Mmēghacham-
- 65 dra-Traividyaśy-ātma-jātō Madana-mahibhṛitō bhēdanē vajrapātaḥ [1\*] saiddhānta-byū(vyū)ha-chūdāmaṇir=anupala(ma)-chintāmaṇi-
- 66 r=bbbhū(bbhū).janānām yō=bhūt=saujanya-rumdra-śriyam=avati mahau Viranandi mun-īmdrah || [47\*] <sup>14</sup>Yas=śabdajñā-nabhaṣṭhaḥḥi-dinamāṇiḥ kāvyajñā-chūdāma-
- 67 nir=yyas=tarkkasthiti-kaumudi-himakaras=tūryyatray-ābj-ākaraḥ [1\*] yas=siddhānta-viebāra-sāra-Dhishanō ratna-trayī-bhūṣhanāḥ athē-
- 68 yād=uddhata-vādi-bhūbbhṛid-aśaniḥ śrī-Viranandi munih || [48\*] Yan-mūrttir=jjagatām janasya nayanē karppūrapūrayatē yad-vṛittir=vvidushān=ta-
- 69 tē=śravanayōr=mmāṇikyabhūṣhāyatē [1\*] yat-kirttiḥ=kakubhām śriyāḥ kacha-bharē malḥḥatāntāyatē jējyād=bhūvi Viranandi-munipas=sai-
- 70 ddhānta-chakr-ādhipaḥ ||<sup>15</sup> [49\*] ✽ Śrī-Koṇḍakundāuvay-āmbara-dyumaṇi vidvajjana-śirōmaṇi samast-ānavadya-vidyā-vilāsinī-vilāsa-mūrtti śrī-Viranandi-sai[ddhā]-

<sup>1</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>2</sup> Read =rakṣa narādhipa.<sup>3</sup> Metre: Pushpitāgrā.<sup>4</sup> The second t of the aksāra in brackets may have been struck out in the original; read \*paṭaḥd\*.<sup>5</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>6</sup> Metre of verses 44 and 45: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.<sup>7</sup> Metre: Mahāragdhārā. The same verse, with some slight various readings, is found in *Inscr. at Sravasa-Bejgoḷa*, pp. 25 and 31.<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śragdhārā. The same verse, with two various readings, occurs *ibid.* p. 32.<sup>9</sup> Metre of verses 48 and 49: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.<sup>10</sup> This verse, incomplete and with a various reading, occurs *ibid.* p. 32.<sup>11</sup> Metre of verses 40 and 41: Ślōka (Anushtubh).<sup>12</sup> Read mahābhṛitām.<sup>13</sup> Read ātmānair=.<sup>14</sup> Originally \*rājya- was engraved.<sup>15</sup> Read \*bhavō.

- 71 ntika-chakravarttigala śrīman-mahāsthānam Kolanūra mahāprabhu Huliya-  
 arasanam mūru-pura-paṇcha-maṭha-sthānamgalum tāmbra-śāsana[maṇ]  
 72 nōḍi bareyisim=enalk=ā śāsanado|=ent=irddud=ant=ī śilā-śāsanamam bareyi[s]idaru [||\*]  
 Maṅgala mahā-śrī śrī śrī namō . . . . . [||\*]

TRANSLATION.<sup>3</sup>

(Verse 1.) May the beloved of Fortune, with whom all forms are conjoined,<sup>3</sup> who with his discus destroys the conceit of adversaries, the infinite being before whom bow down the lords of the immortals, the primeval lord Jina, grant to me supreme bliss!<sup>4</sup>

(V. 2.) May the lord Vira-Nārāyaṇa<sup>5</sup> protect you here, he who rests on the body of (the serpent) Ananta, (and) is the mountain from which (like luminaries) rise men of valorous conduct, the progenitor of the mighty race of the excellent Rāshtrakūṭas!

(V. 3.) In the long Yādava lineage of the princes of that (race) there was in the course of time, like a collection of jewels in the ocean, king Gōvinda, who subdued the earth, the son of Prichchhakarāja.

(V. 4.) The lord Karkara, the son of king Indra, it was by whom, mighty like Prithu, the earth was brought under subjection, (and) by whom, of great strength and full of valour, the enemies were scattered like darkness.

(V. 5.) From him sprang king Dantidurga, who defeated arrays of elephants from the Himālaya to the confines of (Rāma's) mighty bridge, (and) who, a leader of his family, crushed the circle of arrogant princes on the earth.

(V. 6.) After him Śubhatuṅga-vallabha, on the battle-field which became a *svayamvara*, fearlessly carried off by force the Chālukya family's Fortune, adorned with a garland of waving *pālidhvaja* flags.<sup>6</sup>

(V. 7.) Grand with his victory, high throne and chowries, possessed of a white umbrella, a destroyer of opponent kings, called the mighty king Akālavarsha, he was a royal saint through his infinite religious merit.

(V. 8.) Then came Prabhūtavarsha, the son of Dhāravarsha, a king who on the field of battle acted with his arrows like a torrent of rain (*dhārā-varsha*).<sup>7</sup>

His<sup>8</sup> son —

(Vs. 9 and 10.) At the time of whose birth the lords of the gods ordained that, as her master, he should rule the ocean-girded earth as far as the Himālaya and (Rāma's) bridge, afterwards, being (called) Prabhūtavarsha because he fulfilled desires of his own accord, as Jagattuṅga stood over (all) kings as the Sumēru does over the mountains.

<sup>1</sup> From here and up to the end of the line some *akṣaras* (at the utmost six) are effaced.

<sup>2</sup> Of lines 84-87 of the text which, in the usual style and for the most part in well-known terms, record a grant, I consider it sufficient to give only an abstract of the contents.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* who assumes all forms, or exists in all forms.

<sup>4</sup> As translated here, the verse refers to the god Viṣṇu (*Jina*), of whom *Vīśvarūpa* (by itself) and *Ananta* also are epithets or names. But it also is intended to invoke the blessing of the first Jaina prophet, *Jinendra*, and on this alternative the word *sudarśana*, above rendered by 'discus,' would mean 'excellent doctrine.'

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* the god Viṣṇu. But *Vīra-Nārāyaṇa* also is an epithet of the king Amoghavarsha (see below, verse 34) and, with reference to him, the verse also is intended to convey the meaning: 'May the king Vira-Nārāyaṇa protect you here, he the continuance of whose rule is without end, who is the mountain from which rises the conduct of valour, (and) who has excellent ancestors of the mighty race of the Rāshtrakūṭas!'

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. III. p. 107, lines 22 and 34 of the text.

<sup>7</sup> This play on the word *dhāravarsha* shows that the subject of the verse should be Dhāravarsha, not Prabhūtavarsha, 'the son of Dhāravarsha.'

<sup>8</sup> According to the context, Prabhūtavarsha's; really, Dhāravarsha's.

(V. 11.) After him, to guard both the world and the fame of his charming relatives—of the ancestors in his righteous family who have become favourites<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as they are good fame, filling the earth, incarnate—and to destroy the wickedness of the Kali age, the glorious Amôghavarsha, the annihilator of his enemies, is ruling this earth, seated on the throne.

(V. 12.) The command of this excellent (*king*) other sovereigns perpetually carry on their heads like a garland. The creeping plant of his fame grows up to the fillets on the foreheads of the array of the elephants of the quarters. The mighty valour that dwells in his hand is far away from no one. He being the very sun which with its heat scorches all mountains,<sup>2</sup> who is the king above whom he does not rise?

(V. 13.) He with his own seal has stamped all (*land*) as far as the four oceans; the seals of all kings he has broken with his Garuḍa seal.

(V. 14.) Honour surely we must the great kings of the past whose acts of religion we are to preserve; destroyed are the wicked kings of the present; solicit<sup>3</sup> we must those future rulers who share our sense of religion.

(V. 15.) What imports that fleeting royalty which some have enjoyed by their bravery, some bestowed on others, and others again resigned even? Great men, to secure fame, must cherish religion only.

(V. 16.) Having seen that this life, unstable like wind and lightning, is void of substance, he has devised this gift to the gods, most meritorious on account of a donation of land.

(Line 15.) He, the *Paramabhāṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the favourite of fortune and the earth, the glorious Amôghavarsha, the glorious *Vallabhanarēndradēva*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Jagatnugadēva*, commands all *Rāshtrapatis*, *Vishayapatis*, *Grāmakūtas*, *Āyuktakas*, *Niyuktakas*, *Ādhikārikas*, *Mahattaras* and others, as they may be concerned: Be it known to you:—

(V. 17.) In the *Mukula*<sup>4</sup> family there blossomed like a flower, with ancestors worthy of honour, *Erakōri*, a home of the play of bravery.

(V. 18.) From that flower grew, as it were its fruit, a masterful man named *Adhōra*,<sup>5</sup> the stay of his family, who himself was lord of *Kolanūra*.

(V. 19.) His son from *Vijayāṅka* was *Baṅkēśa* (*alias*) *Sella-kēṭana*,<sup>6</sup> honoured in the world, a fierce fever to districts.

(V. 20.) Like another flashing sharp sword of mine, as commander of the hereditary forces he has uprooted, like trees, my adversaries.

(V. 21.) By my favour he has received and rules the thirty-thousand villages of which *Vanavāsi* is the foremost, never ceasing to prosper.

(V. 22.) At my desire, in his great valour he has striven to extirpate that lofty forest of fig-trees—*Gaṅgavādi*, difficult to be cut down.

(Vs. 23 and 24.) On that occasion, though abandoned by my jealously minded feudatories, by himself, solely aided by the daring which sprang from his anger, setting at nought the enemy's policy, displaying a bravery in war which had one aim only, he made the anger of my heart not barren.

He, by whom—

(V. 25.) That fort named *Kēḍala*, difficult to be scaled on account of its ramparts, bars etc., though held by hereditary forces, was at once ascended and easily taken.

<sup>1</sup> The word *vallabha* is purposely chosen in the original, because it is a common surname of Rāshtrakūṭa kings; compare below, verse 29.

<sup>2</sup> In the original the word for 'mountains' also means 'kings.'

<sup>3</sup> *Vis.* to preserve our acts of piety.

<sup>4</sup> Or *Adhōra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Mukula* ordinarily is 'a bud.'

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 27 f.

(V. 26.) Having occupied that country, having driven away the hostile lord of Talavanapura, having shewn famous valour in war, defeating my enemies, for his master an object of praise, true to his promise, he at the time of battle did not let his bravery be baffled by the hosts of the enemy.

(V. 27.) With a lion's spring having crossed the Kāvêri, most difficult to be passed on account of its heavy floods, by the lines of the ever freshly flashing flames of fire of his valour having at once consumed the allied,<sup>1</sup> extirpating the forest of adversaries, he shook the mighty dominion of him even who was able to shake the world.

(Vs. 28 and 29.) On that occasion, when through internal dissension a disturbance had arisen near me, then, at the mere word of me that he should return—having made a vow that if, before his arrival, I, the Vallabha lord, should defeat the enemies, he would as an ascetic completely resign the world, or if by chance the fortune of victory should fall to the enemies, he would enter into the flames of a roaring fire—he arrived near me after a few days.

(Vs. 30 and 31.) Having said that also he certainly would enter into fire if, within three months, by defeating the enemies he could not make his master drink milk<sup>2</sup>—after my son, whose hosts were consumed by the flames of the blazing fire of his impetuous bravery, blackened by the smoke and thus hidden himself had escaped, perchance sent away by the rest—he completely defeated the princes who remained, and, victorious, made captive and slew the adversaries, and thus fulfilled his promise.

(V. 32.) The fire of his prowess, with the flames of wrath which it emits, consumes the enemies on which it feeds, even without wind; though unlit, it blazes forth again and again.

(V. 33.) Soiled with blood, the Fortune of the enemies dives into the water of his sword; but that of his master emerges from it, anointed as it were with saffron.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 34.) Like a Brâhman, having sacrificed the enemy at the sacrifice of battle, where the fire of his valour shone the brighter for the many oblations of streams of melted butter—the blood of his opponents, he has secured from me, Vira-Nārāyaṇa,<sup>4</sup> this edict which to the world's end proclaims him a hero, resulting from his expiatory rite—the destruction of my foes, and acquired by the efficiency of his spell—the restoration of my fortune.

(Line 34.)<sup>5</sup> At the request of this my dear servant Baṅkēya, I, residing at the capital of Mānyakhēṭa,—seven hundred and eighty-two years having passed since the time of the Śaka king, on the auspicious occasion of a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon tithi of Āsvayuja in the year Vikrama, the eighty-third current year—have given the village of Taleyūra, in the bhukti of the seventy villages of Majjantiya, to him who has been appointed to take care of the Jina sanctuary founded by Baṅkēya at Koḷanūra—viz. (vv. 35 and 36) to Dāvendra, the chief of ascetics (*munīvara*) to whom Baṅkēya has given the temple, the disciple of Trikālayōgiśa, born from the Pustaka *gachchha* of the Dēśiya *gaṇa* of the Mūla *saṅgha*—for any new work connected with the sanctuary, for future repairs, for the cleansing, plastering, maintaining of it, and for other acts of piety. The boundaries of the village are, on the east of the said Koḷanūra,<sup>6</sup> Beṇḍanūru, on the south, Sāsavēvā[du], on the west of it, Paḍilagere, and on the north, Kilavāda.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the original the word is *saptapadaka*, which I cannot find elsewhere. Compare *śaptapadīna*.

<sup>2</sup> *Viz.* to allay his anger or mental distress. According to the writers on medicine, milk is a remedy not only for bodily disease, but also for mental disorder.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, l. 30 of the text.

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, verse 2.

<sup>5</sup> From here to line 57 only an abstract of the contents is given.

<sup>6</sup> Why the words *tat-Koḷanūrat*, 'of the said Koḷanūra,' have been added, it is difficult to explain. If correct, the words would indicate that the village granted was quite close to Koḷanūra.

<sup>7</sup> Among the usual phrases specifying the conditions of the grant, we have, in lines 40 and 41, the statement that the village contained twelve flower-gardens, and that the total extent of the houses was 150 *āstas* in breadth and 500 *āstas* in length.

(L. 45.) I also have given twelve *niyartanas* of land at Kolanūra itself, and at each of the following thirty villages within its *bhukti*,<sup>1</sup> viz. Avaravā[dī], Bopdanūru, Mudungundi, Kittavole, Sullā, Mus[a], Da[dh]ere, Māvinūru, Mattikaṭṭe, Nila[gun]dage, Tālikhēda, B[e]lleru, Saṅgama, Pirisingi, Muttalagere, Kākeyanūru, Behuru, Ālūgu, [Pārva]nagere, Hosāṇ[ja]lā[lu], I[n]dugalū, Neri[la]ge, Haganūru, Unalāru, Indagere, Munivaḷḷi, Koṭṭa[s]e, Oddiṭṭage, Si[kimabri?], and Giri[pi]dalū.

Lines 48-57 contain the usual admonition not to obstruct the grantee and to preserve the grant, and quote six benedictive and imprecatory verses (37-42), ascribed to Vyāsa.

(L. 57.) This has been written by the *bhōgika* Vatsarāja, an official in the court of justice, born in the clan of the Vālabha Kāyasthas, the son of Śrīharsha<sup>2</sup> and servant of Nāgavarman Prithvirāma, keeper of village records and war-elephant of writers.

(V. 43.) The chief (adviser) of Baṅkēyarāja, the wise Mahattara Gaṇapati, who is near the Rājā's person, has executed all this.

(V. 44.) Ever victorious, like a royal edict,<sup>3</sup> be this doctrine of the Jinas, which destroys the false doctrines of people who are filled with an excessive pride arising from ignorance; which brings about the true happiness of all who act in obedience to the commands of the wise; which is the place of glory of the excellent *syādāśā* by which things appear under manifold forms, and grants the quintessence of good conduct!

(V. 45.) Victorious be the holy sage Mēghachandra, who is the moon to the ocean of the nectar of established truths,<sup>4</sup> the sun to the lotus—reasoning, the one continuous stream of nectar to the garden—speech, the crest-jewel of the lords among contemplative saints; whose lofty second name of Traividya is truly appropriate; who has shaken off the god of love, and is a thunderbolt to the mountains—other creeds!

(V. 46.) Manifestly, the fame, pervading the world, of this Mēghachandra, the foremost of devotees, has shone forth and entered (*here*), glittering like the fibres of the waterlily (*and*) lovely like the bulbous root of the plantain tree, saying (*to itself*), "Lo! the flock of female *kaṁsas* begin to think of drinking; the collection of female *chakōra* birds approach to peck with their beaks; Īśa gives orders for the decoration of his matted hair; (*and*) Kṛishṇa is eager to choose (*an occupant*) for his couch."<sup>5</sup>

(V. 47.) Viranandin, the chief of sages, owns on earth the glory (*of being*) rich in benevolence, he who is the husband of the young woman—renown of cleverness, the ornament of every kind of excellence, the offspring of Mēghachandra-Traividya, a stroke of lightning to split the mountain Madana,<sup>6</sup> the crest-jewel of the crowd of those who know

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, 'within that *bhukti*' (of the Majjantiya seventy villages, mentioned before).

<sup>2</sup> Or 'of the illustrious Harsha.'

<sup>3</sup> The word for 'doctrine' in the original is *śāsana* which also means 'an edict,' and the author calls the doctrine of the Jinas a *rāja-śāsana*, or 'royal edict.'

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, p. 8, l. 16, *Jināvara-mata-kṣētrādāhi-tārāpatī*; p. 48, l. 4 from bottom, *siddhāntamṛta-vārdhī-varādhana-vidhū*; p. 49, last line, *Jināgama-sūdhārṇava-pūrṇachandra*; and other similar passages.

<sup>5</sup> For the exact meaning of the several words of this charming verse, which in the original is in Kanarese, I have consulted Dr. Fleet and the Rev. Mr. Kittel. Ordinarily, fame for its brightness is compared, among other objects, with milk, lotus fibres, the moon, and Śrī (the wife of Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa; compare e.g. *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Roman text, p. 16, l. 4 ff.). Here, the fame of Mēghachandra is actually identified with all four, and is made to appear in the world, of its own accord, to fulfil the demand for them on the part of respectively the *kaṁsa* and *chakōra* birds, and the gods Śiva and Kṛishṇa. The words translated by 'for the decoration of' literally mean 'to place in.' Concerning the *kaṁsas*, I may remind the reader of the well-known line *kaṁsair-yathā kṣētram=śūbhūmadhyāt*.

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.* the god of love.

the established truths, and an unrivalled jewel to yield the desires of the creatures of this world.

(V. 48.) May he abide (*hara*), the holy sage Viranandin, who is the sun of the firmament—those who know the science of words, the crest-jewel of those conversant with poetry, the moon to the moon-light—the science of reasoning, a pool of the lotuses—the triad of music, song and dance;<sup>1</sup> who is a Brihaspati for the quintessence of the investigation of established truths; who adorns the three jewels,<sup>2</sup> and is a thunderbolt to the mountains—conceited disputants!

(V. 49.) Ever victorious be in the world the chief of sages Viranandin, the lord of the circle of those who know the established truths; he whose form is like a stream of camphor for the eyes of the creatures of the worlds, whose conduct like a jewel-ornament for the ears of the assemblage of the learned, and whose fame like the shoot of a jasmine creeper for the hair-tresses of the Fortune of the regions!

(Line 70.) \*The universal sovereign of those who know the established truths, the holy Viranandin, the sun in the sky of the glorious Kondakunda-line, the crest-jewel of the learned, the embodiment of the sport of the courtesans—the several branches of faultless learning,—when Huliymarasa, the *Mahāprabhu* of the sacred great place of Koḷanūra, and (*the authorities of*) the three towns and the five *maṭhas*,<sup>4</sup> having seen a copper charter, bade him cause it<sup>5</sup> to be written,—caused this stone charter to be written in accordance with what was in that (*copper*) charter.

Bliss! Great fortune, fortune, fortune! Adoration to<sup>6</sup> . . . !

#### No. 5.—CHEBROLU INSCRIPTION OF JAYA;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1157.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is engraved on the four faces of the left one<sup>7</sup> of two pillars which are in front of the *gōpura* of the Nāgēśvara temple at Chēbrōlu, in the Bāpaṭla tāluka of the Kistna district. My account of it is based on an excellent inked estampage, prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., and forwarded to me by Dr. Hultzsch.

The inscription contains 168 lines of carefully engraved writing, which, with the exception of a few letters, damaged or broken away at the commencement of lines 3-5 and 131-137, and at the end of lines 85-91, is in an excellent state of preservation. The characters are Telugu,<sup>8</sup> and the size of the letters is between  $\frac{5}{8}$ " and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Excepting the greater part of line 158

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Inscr. at Śrāvana-Belgoḷa*, p. 49, l. 4, *gītā vadyā cha nṛityā*; p. 52, l. 18, *gītā-vadya-nṛitya-sātradhṛeyam*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. III. p. 184, note 2, and p. 207, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> For the interpretation of the following, which in the original is in Kanarese, I am indebted to Dr. Fleet.

<sup>4</sup> The exact meaning of this is not apparent. Compare *eg. Mysore Inscr.* p. 158, l. 11; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 208, note.

<sup>5</sup> *Viz.* the stone charter, mentioned immediately afterwards.

<sup>6</sup> What may have followed is effaced in the original.

<sup>7</sup> The inscription which is on the pillar on the right has been edited by Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. V. p. 142 ff.

<sup>8</sup> With regard to the alphabet here used, I would only draw attention to the fact that *ḍā* (which occurs in the word *vadyā* in line 186) is distinguished from *ḍ* by a semi-circle, open to the proper right, which is placed below, and attached to, the proper left curve of the sign for *ḍ*. In the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription (above, Vol. III. p. 88, Plate, line 110) a similar separate sign for *ḍā* is used, but there the distinguishing semi-circular line is not attached to, but intersects, the left curve of the sign for *ḍ*. An examination of the published photo-lithograph leads me to suspect that a sign for *ḍā*, similar to the one in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription, is used already

and the whole of line 159, which are in Telugu, the language is Sanskrit; and the text is all in verse, excepting the words 'svasti śrīh' with which the inscription begins, and the Telugu passage already referred to.

This is another inscription of Jāya or Jāyana, the now well-known general of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. Verses 1-43 (lines 1-141), which give the genealogies of Gaṇapati and Jāya, need not be published, because, except for some slight various readings, they are identical with the same verses (lines 1-114) of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription edited and translated by Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. III. p. 82 ff. All that it is necessary to state about them specifically, is, that the names *Mam̐ttena-Guṇḍa*, *Kroyyūru*, and *Bam̐ḍuladēvi*, which occur in lines 15, 45 and 64 of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription, in the present inscription (ll. 18, 54 and 78) are spelt *Mam̐thēna-Guṇḍa*, *Krōyūru*, and *Bham̐ḍuladēvi*.<sup>1</sup>

The short remaining part of the inscription, the text of which is given below, in verses 44-47 records that, in the year of the Śaka king (or kings) numbered by the mountains (7), the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the moon (1), i.e. in Śaka-Samvat 1157, on the tithi of Giriṣā (Pārvati)<sup>2</sup> in the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vaiśākha), on a Saturday, the general Jāya set up at Tāmrapura an image, in the shape of a *līṅga* made of black stone, of the god Chōḍēśvara, so called after Jāya's father (Pinna-Chōḍi); that he built for this god a temple which the people called 'the ornament of Ayya's<sup>3</sup> family,' after Jāya himself; that in front of the temple he erected two rows of double-storied houses for sixteen female attendants;<sup>4</sup> and that for the requirements (*aṅga-raṅga-bhōga*) of the god he gave the village Mrontukūru in Velanāṇḍu, one of the villages that had been given to him by the king (Gaṇapati). A statement in Telugu (in lines 158 and 159) adds that the land within the four boundaries of the village amounted to 45 *kha* 6 *na*;<sup>5</sup> and that the land to the west of the Irēru (river) amounted to 5 *kha* 18 *na*. After this, the inscription has four benedictive and imprecatory verses, nearly identical with the verses at the end of the other Chēbrōlu inscription of Jāya, above, Vol. V. p. 148.

The date of this inscription regularly corresponds, for Śaka-Samvat 1157 expired, to Saturday, the 21st April A.D. 1235, when the third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha (as a *kṣhaya-tithi*) commenced 0 h. 51 m., and ended 22 h. 7 m., after mean sunrise. Of the localities mentioned, Tāmrapura (as has been stated already by Dr. Hultzsch) is Chēbrōlu itself; and Mrontukūru I take to be the 'Modkur' of the map, about six miles south-east of Chēbrōlu.

#### END OF THE TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

141 . . . . . 7Sō-yam Jāya-  
142 chamūpatir-ggiri-sara-kshma-chandra-samkhyēm<sup>8</sup> Śa-

in the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of Rudradēva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 12, Plate), in the word *parivṛḍha* in line 17, although in the photo-lithograph the sign for *ḍha*, at first sight, does not seem here to differ at all from the sign for *ḍa*. Neither of the signs for *ḍh* here described is given in the palaeographic Tables hitherto published.

<sup>1</sup> As regards other various readings, I may add that in this new inscription the Dravidian *ḥ* is employed more frequently than in the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription; and that instead of *khaḍga-mu[kha]ya* in line 106 of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription we here (in line 131) have *khaḍga-mukhēna*, and instead of *pratipakṣhamēdi* (in line 108) the better reading *bakṣiḥ* (*pra*lyati (in line 133).—With reference to Dr. Hultzsch's translation and notes I would state, at his request, that *śilōpālāḥ* in verse 3 means 'sapphires,' and that the word *bhḍakṛita* in verse 13 is accounted for by Pāṇini, V. 4, 58.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the third tithi; ('*trītyā Giripatryāraṇa chaturthi Vighnadhārināḥ*'). The third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha is the well-known *Akṣaya-trītyā*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. III. p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'superior courtesans.'

<sup>5</sup> *Kha* is an abbreviation of *khaṇḍi* (see Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol. V. p. 149, note 6); *na* may be an abbreviation of *śalāma*, 'a furlong.'

<sup>6</sup> From an inked stampage supplied by Dr. Hultzsch. Line 141 is the fourth line on the south face of the pillar.

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 44 and 45: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

<sup>8</sup> Read *-samkhyē*.

143	kēndr-ābdē	Mādhava-māsa-sudtha(dddha)-Girijs-ti-
144	thyām	Sanēr-vvāsarē   śrīmat-Tāmrapurē <sup>1</sup> mu-
145	dā janaya(yi)tur=nnā(nnā)mn=ātra	Chōḍēśvarām pratyā-
146	shthā(shthā)payad=achchha-nīladṛishadā	<sup>2</sup> nishpāma-na-līng-ā-
147	kṛitīm <sup>3</sup>    [44*]	Dēvaasy-āsyā sa-śātakumbha-kalāsām
148	Kailāsaśail-ōpamām	<sup>4</sup> vistṛṇ-ōjvala-mamṭapām
149	suruchiraprākāravād-gōpurām	prāsā-
150	dam	niramāpayad=gupa-nidhiḥ śrī-Jāya-
151	sēnādhipas=tan-nāmn=aiva	yam=Ayyavāmaśa-tiḥ
152	kam brūtē samastō janah    [45*]	<sup>5</sup> Puratō=sya shōḍa-
153	śānām	vara-gapikānām dvibhūmika-grihā-
154	pi	āli-dvayēna ramyāny=achīkaraj-Jāya-sai-
155	nyēśah    [46*]	<sup>6</sup> Nṛipa-dattēshu svēshu grāmēshv=asy=āngara-
156	mgabhōgārtham=ayam	Jāya-chamūpah prā-
157	dād=Veianāmḍau	Mromtukūru-nāma-grā-
158	maṁ    [47*]	īy=ūra chatas-sīmamula naḍimi polamu
159	kha 45 na 6	īrēpi paḍumaṭi polamu kha 5 na 18
160	<sup>7</sup> Gām=ēkām	ratnikām=ēkām bhūmēr=apy=ēkam-aṅgula-
161	m	haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad-ā-bhūta-samplavam    [48*]
162	dattām para-dattām vā yatnād=raksha	Yudhishtthi(shthi)ra   ma-
163	hīm=mahibhṛitām śrēshtha(shthā) dānāch=chrēyō=nnpālanaṁ    [49*]	
164	<sup>8</sup> Sva-sukṛita-paripālanaṭ-prabhūpām	para-kṛita-pālana-
165	m=ēva lālanīyam	Harir=api Kamalāsanasaya śrīshṭīm sa-
166	tatam=avan <sup>9</sup> jagatām=abhūd=upāsyah    [50*]	Idam <sup>10</sup> rakshi-
167	shyatām rājām yasaś=chamḍrikayā	saha   chiram Jāya-
168	chamūpasya dharmma-chamdraḥ	pravardhtha(rddha)tē    [51*]

No. 6.—THREE WESTERN GANGA RECORDS IN THE MYSORE GOVERNMENT MUSEUM AT BANGALORE.

By J. F. FLEET, Ph.D., C.I.E.

In Vol. V. of this Journal, pp. 151 to 180, I have contributed an article on the Śravana-Belgoḷa epitaph of Nōlambāntaka-Mārasimha II., with a first serious attempt to settle the real history and chronology of the family of the great Gaṅga princes of Mysore, to which he belonged. That article is correct in all its essential features. But, while it was still in proof, it came to my knowledge, from information that became available too late, that certain additions and modifications might be made, and certain corrections ought to be made, in it. The additions did not much matter; they could be attended to on any future occasion. The modifications and corrections were a more important matter; and it was mortifying not to be able to make them. The proofs, however, were in pages, with other articles already in page-proof after them. And it was, therefore, impossible to make the necessary alterations. In these circumstances, I had to leave my article just as it stood. And I now take the first convenient opportunity that I have had, of reverting to the subject of it.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Tāmra*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *nishpāma*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *kṛitīm*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *vistṛṇ-ōjvala*.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Āryā*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Āryāgiti*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 48 and 49: *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *avan*.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh).



DODDAHUNDI STONE.



Before entering, however, on any general remarks, I now put forward revised versions of three Western Gāṅga records, final renderings of which have not as yet been arrived at.

#### A.—Doddahundi Inscription of Nitimārga and Satyavākya.

This inscription was brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1894, when he edited it, with a lithograph, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 91. I give my rendering of it from an ink-impression, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultzsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself.

Doddahundi is a village somewhere in the Mūgūr hōbli of the Tirumakūḍlu-Narasipur tāluka of the Mysore district. It should be shewn in sheet No. 60 or 61 of the Indian Atlas; but it is not to be found there.<sup>1</sup> The name means "large hamlet;" and it is probably an appellation of somewhat modern introduction, as the record does not appear to include any name answering to it, and gives the name of the village itself, or else of another village which gave the name to the circle to which this village then belonged, as Guḍapādi. The inscription is on a stone, apparently about six feet high, which was found lying in a pond at Doddahundi and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

The upper part of the front of the stone is occupied by sculptures illustrating the scene that is referred to in the record, namely, the death of a prince who had the appellation of Nitimārga. He is shewn lying on a couch, from the back of which there stand up two royal umbrellas. Near his head there stands his eldest son, Satyavākya, with one similar umbrella behind him. And on the couch there is seated a follower of the prince, named Agarayya, who is represented as supporting across his knees the legs of the dying prince, and as holding with his right hand a dagger which he seems to be drawing out from the left side of the prince.—The writing commences below the sculptures. Lines 1 to 6, on the front of the stone, cover an area about 3' 6" broad by 1' 9" high. Below them there is a blank space, about one foot high, which was evidently left void in order to allow of the stone being set upright in the ground without hiding any part of the record. Lines 7 to 24 are short lines down the side of the stone, covering an area about 9" broad by 3' 5" high, with a similar blank space below them. And a line runs across the stone between lines 15 and 16, to mark a division of the text there. The writing on the front of the stone is in a state of fairly good preservation. The writing down the side of the stone has suffered more damage; and for this reason, and also because it was not very convenient to introduce it in the Plate, this part of the record has not been reproduced.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them—(by which I mean, here and always, the height of such letters as *ga*, *cha*, *da*, *pa*, etc., which are properly formed entirely between the limits of, so to speak, the lines of writing, without any projections above or below)—ranges from about  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *ga* of *Agarayya*, line 4, to about  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *ṇ* of *Koṃguṇivarman*, line 1; the penultimate syllable *lgu* of line 6 is about  $4\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The characters include final forms of *r* in line 3 and *ṇ* in line 4, and also a final form of *l* or else an *l* with a *virāma* attached to it, in line 3. And they shew the lingual *ḍ*, distinguished from the dental *d* by a marked turning up and over of the right-hand end of the lower part of the letter; it can be recognised very clearly in *ḍridode*, line 4. Two of the characters which furnish the best test for undated records of the period to which this record belongs, do not occur here; namely, the *b* and the guttural *ṣ*. In *vākya*, by mistake for *vākya*, line 6, we have a *kh* of the old square type,<sup>2</sup> which cannot be placed much after A.D. 860. On the other hand, the *l*, which we have in *Koḷāḷa*, line 2, and also in *kalnāḍu*, line 8, is of the later cursive type, which cannot be placed much before A.D. 800: we have it throughout the grant of Gōvinda III., of

<sup>1</sup> Mūgūr is in sheet No. 61 (1894), in lat.  $12^{\circ} 7'$ , long.  $77^{\circ}$ .

<sup>2</sup> I use the word "type" intentionally. Plenty of instances will be forthcoming, in which the old square "type" of the *kh* and other characters is followed, though the actual "forms" present hardly a straight line at all.

A.D. 804<sup>1</sup> (except in *modalol*, line 9, and *lkhstah*, line 19), and perhaps in *wallabha*, line 1 (but not in *ballaha*, line 2, and *lôka*, line 3) of the Pattadakal inscription of his father Uthruva;<sup>2</sup> but the Talakâd inscription of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa<sup>3</sup> shews only the old square type of the *l*. The *j*, which occurs twice, in line 2, is of the old square type, which remained in use during the whole of the ninth century A.D., but, towards the end of it, in conjunction with also the later cursive type. In the *ja* of *rdja*,—the fourth syllable in line 2,—we have an ordinary old square *j*, but of the open form; that is to say, with spaces at the place at which the top part of the letter and the lower part usually join to form an upright, and at which the centre stroke to the right starts from that upright. In the *jā* at the beginning of line 2, we have a peculiar form of the old square type of the *j*, which I would propose to call the “back-to-back” *j*, because one more stroke in the centre of the left-hand (proper right) part of the character would have given us a double *j* back-to-back: here, the exact form of it is closed; in B., the Bêgûr inscription, we shall meet with it in its open form. In other genuine records, we have this back-to-back *j*, in the closed form, in the words *śrīrājya* and *yuvārāja*, line 3, and several other words, in the Kyātanahalli inscription of Bātuga I. of the period A.D. 870-71 to about 908,<sup>4</sup> and in the word *Bijēsvārada* in a short inscription at Pattadakal, in the Belgaum district,<sup>5</sup> which may be referred to the same period or may be placed somewhat later. And we may note that in spurious records we find it all through the Merkara grant, of the Western Gaṅga series,<sup>6</sup> the lithographs of which shew it in both the open and the closed forms, and which includes also the corresponding form of the guttural *ñ* which we shall meet with in B., the Bêgûr inscription; and we find it, again, in the same class of records, in the Chicacole grant of Dêvêndravarmān, of the Eastern Gaṅga series,<sup>7</sup> in the closed form in *vijayavata*, line 1, *Vājasanēya*, line 13, *Nāgārāja*, line 23, and other words, and in the open form in *nija*, line 7. The forms of the *j* in this Doddahundi record do not guide us much. But the *kh* and the *l* indicate that we may place it in the period A.D. 800 to 860, even if they do not actually compel us to do so. There are, indeed, in the forms of *j* and *ñ* which occur in B., the Bêgûr inscription, plain indications that the development of the alphabet of Western India was slower in Mysore than in the more northern parts. But it does not seem likely that the old square type of *kh* can have lingered on long enough, even there, to justify us in referring this record to A.D. 938 or thereabouts, as we should have to do if, instead of accepting my proposed identification of the princes who are mentioned in it, we identify the Nitimārga, whose death is recorded, with the next admissible prince who had that appellation.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record includes two words, *mane-magattin* in line 4 and *kil-guṇṭhe* in line 5, for which only conjectural meanings can be proposed.<sup>8</sup> And, as indicated to me by the Revd. Mr. Kittel,<sup>9</sup> in *śrīmar*, for *śrīmat*, line 3, the composer seems to have formed a plural which is not justifiable.—As regards orthography, the only actual peculiarity is the use of *s* for *ś* in *ēsvara*, line 2. But we may note also that we have the short *i* for the long *ī* twice, in lines 1 and 5, and the long *ī* for the short *i* once, in line 1; this latter feature, however, may be treated as a mistake in writing, quite as much as a mistake or peculiarity in spelling.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 124, and Plate. A more faithful reproduction of this record will be issued before long.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 1, and Plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 170, and Plate at p. 167.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 363, and Plate, and *Coorg Inscr.* p. 1, and Plate.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 273, and Plate. On its occurrence in this record, see some remarks by Prof. Kielhorn, above, Vol. V. p. 122, note 4.

<sup>7</sup> See page 44 below, notes 4 and 6.

<sup>8</sup> I consulted Mr. Kittel about the meaning of *mane-magattin* and *kil-guṇṭhe* in this record, and about some expressions in the Bêgûr and Ātakûr inscriptions, sending him, of course, my full readings of the texts, and translations. And I am much indebted to him for various suggestions, which I mention in the footnotes.

<sup>10</sup> It is rather a curious thing that, whereas in the oldest records the difference between *i* and *ī*, as attached to consonants, is nearly always marked, less and less attention was paid to this detail, in the

The inscription records, in the first place, the death of a Western Gaṅga prince, who is mentioned in it by the appellation of Nitimārga, without his proper name being disclosed. We are told, however, that he left a son who had the appellation of Satyavākya. We know that Satyavākya was the appellation of a prince Rājamalla, for whom we have the date of A.D. 870-71. We know also that Śripurusha-Muttarasa, who is to be placed about A.D. 765 to 805, had a son named Raṇavikrama, and that the latter had a son named Rājamalla. And consequently, since the characters place the record justifiably, if not of absolute necessity, in the period A.D. 800 to 860, we naturally identify this Satyavākya with the Rājamalla of A.D. 870-71, and this Nitimārga with Raṇavikrama; and, till we learn anything more definite as to the actual year of Raṇavikrama's death, we place the record roughly about A.D. 840. In the second place, the inscription registers the fact that Satyavākya-(Rājamalla) granted to a follower of his father, named Agarayya, a *kalnāḍu* or allotment of uncultivated land<sup>1</sup> known by the name of Guḷḍapāḍi, the components of which were evidently specified in lines 16 to 22.

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Ōm<sup>3</sup> Svasti Ni(ni)timārgga-Komguṇi(ni)varmma-dharmmamahārā-  
 2 jādhirāja Kovaḷāla-purapar-ēsvara<sup>4</sup> Nanda-  
 3 giri-nātha śrīmar(t) Permmaṇaḍigaḷ svarggam<sup>5</sup>-ērida[m]<sup>6</sup> [!]<sup>7</sup>  
 4 Ēridode Permmaṇaḍigaḷ mane-magattin Aga-  
 5 rayyam Ni(ni)timārgga-Permmaṇaḍige kiḷ-guṇṭhey-āda[m] [!]<sup>7</sup>  
 Permma-  
 6 naḍigaḷ-agga-putram<sup>7</sup> Satyavakhya<sup>8</sup>-Pem[m]ānaḍigaḷ-Guḷḍa-

Down the side of the stone.

- 7 [pā]ḍiya[m]  
 8 kalnāḍu

Kanarese characters, as time went on, until at length the distinction practically disappeared altogether, and it remained for modern invention,—on the part, I believe, of the early Jesuit missionaries,—to devise the mark by which the long *i* is now distinguished from the short *i*, and also the long *e* and *o* from the short *e* and *o*. The ancient alphabet does not seem to have ever marked the difference between the long and the short forms of *e* and *o*; we read the signs as *e* or *ē*, and *o* or *ō*, just as is required. As regards the *i* and *ī*, it is a question, in publishing critical texts, how far it is necessary to complicate the texts by, for instance, shewing the short *i* when it actually occurs in an original by mistake for a long *ī*, and then making a correction in brackets or in a footnote. But probably, while attending to the detail in the case of the earlier records, we may ignore the point in records dating from about A.D. 1000 onwards, and may give the short *i* or the long *ī* as is actually required, irrespective of the exact form in the original.—Dr. Burnell has traced back the present Kanarese method of marking the long *i*, *e*, and *o*, as attached to consonants, to the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. (*South-Ind. Palaeo.* p. 30).

<sup>1</sup> The word *kal-nāḍu* may be translated literally by "stone tract." Mr. Rice has pointed out,—quite correctly, I think,—that, as used in inscriptions, "it seems to designate what is now known as Government waste, that is, land that has not been taken up for cultivation or that having been cultivated has been abandoned" (*Ep. Cars.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8).

<sup>2</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>3</sup> Represented by a plain symbol. So, also, in line 15, where, however, the symbol is turned the other way.

<sup>4</sup> Read *puravar-dēvara*.

<sup>5</sup> We have here a rather pointed instance, to which my attention was specially drawn by Mr. Kittel, of the use of the nominative instead of the accusative, which is mentioned by Kṣīrāja in his *Śabdamaṇi-darpaṇa*, sūtra 136. In other records, we often find in this expression the dative, *svarggaḷke*, instead of the accusative; this usage is mentioned in sūtra 135.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ērida*, more correctly, in agreement with the honorific plural *Permmaṇaḍigaḷ*.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Rice's text gives *Permmaṇaḍigaḷ su-putra*. The real reading is quite certain, though the *ga* is somewhat damaged.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Satyavākya*.

- 9 [ko]ttadu<sup>1</sup> ga(?)  
 10 chcha[m] māḍi  
 11 parib[ā]ra[m] [||\*]  
 12 Idan=a[li]-  
 13 do[m] Vāraṇ[ā]-  
 14 siyan=a[li]-  
 15 do[m] || Ōm ||  
 16 Idakke Kamma-  
 17 . . . gaya-  
 18 lli(?)kumma[na](?)  
 19 ga(?)tagesiko(?)  
 20 ttasta[n](?)ga-  
 21 lavedi(?)ma(?)  
 22 nḍu(?)nḍu)[||\*] Idan=a-  
 23 lido[m] mā-pā-  
 24 tagan=a[kkum ||]

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! The Dharmamahārājādhirāja<sup>3</sup> Nitimārga-Koṅguṇivarman, the lord of Kovalāla the best of towns,<sup>3</sup> the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the illustrious Permanadi, ascended to heaven (i.e. died). When he was ascending,—by right of being a son of the house (?)<sup>4</sup> of Pemmānaḍi,<sup>5</sup> Agarayya became, to Nitimārga-Permanadi, the attendant who drew out (the weapon that caused his death) (?)<sup>6</sup> (In recognition of that), Satyavākya-

<sup>1</sup> Read *koṭṭadu*, for which *koṭṭadu* is a vulgarity, as remarked by Mr. Kittel.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. V. p. 163, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Kovalāla is the modern Kōlār, the chief town of the Kōlār district, Mysore. In Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, the modern name is given with the Drāviḍian *r*,—Kōlāra. It is, however, doubtful whether there is any authority for this.

<sup>4</sup> *Mane-magatti*. Mr. Rice would translate this by "major-domo" (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Intro. p. 4).—taking, I understand, *magatti* as a Tamiḷ form of *mahatti*, which would, however, make it the instrumental singular of *mahattu*, a *taddhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *mahat*, 'great, large, etc.' To this there are the objections that, being an instrumental case, it cannot be in apposition with the nominative *Agarayya*, and that, as the Chōla occupation of Mysore did not commence till about A.D. 1000, there is no apparent reason why the Kanarese language should be in any way influenced by Tamiḷ at the period of the present record; moreover, such a hybrid compound as *mane-mahattu* could hardly be admitted under any circumstances. Mr. Kittel is of opinion that, if we might correct the text into *maggattina*, we might explain it by *magga* as the genitive of *maggu*, 'subjection, submission,' and *attina* as another form of *attana*, 'of that side,' and might translate "Agarayya of the side of house-subjection, i.e. Agarayya who was in subjection to, or held the position of a dependent in, the house of Pemmānaḍi." *Magattu* may perhaps be connected in some way with *ogatana*, 'the management of household affairs.' But I think, on the whole, that we must find in it some derivative from *maga*, 'a son.' And the idea that the expression conveys to me, is, that Agarayya was the son of a concubine of one of the princes of the Western Gaṅga family.—The records appear to give another similar word, which, also, Mr. Rice would translate by "major-domo" (*loc. cit.* p. 7) or "retainer" (p. 34), in the forms of *mane-yagati*, My. 41, 44, and Nj. 153, *mane-yagati*, My. 42, and *mane-magati*, My. 43. In Nj. 153, *mane-yagati* may qualify the woman Nilabbe, quite as readily as her son Rāchamma, and therefore may quite possibly mean 'concubine' there. In the other cases, however, there does not seem to be any female name that the word could qualify.

<sup>5</sup> Or "of the Pemmānaḍis." We have to note the use of the form Pemmānaḍi here, and in line 6, whereas in lines 3 and 5 we have the more customary Permanadi.

<sup>6</sup> *Kiḷ-guṇṭhe*. Mr. Rice's translation proposes "became lame under Nitimārga-Permanadi,"—which, however, does not seem very appropriate. *Guṇṭhe*, in which the aspirated *ḥ* is rather peculiar, being so unusual in Kanarese, must, I think, be connected with the Telugu *guṇḍa*, 'a servant, a warrior, a soldier, an armed attendant,' which appears in Malayālam as *kuṇḍa*, 'a slave,' and Mr. Kittel is inclined to agree with me he considers, indeed, the termination *e* to be rather puzzling; but he instances the same termination in *tanḍe*, 'a father,' which is said to be a *taddhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *idā*. As regards the first part of the

Pemmanāḍi, the eldest son of (Nitimārga)-Permanāḍi, gave (to Agarayya) Guḍapāḍi,<sup>1</sup> (as an allotment of) uncultivated waste land,— having laved (his sword)(?),<sup>2</sup>— (with) relinquishment (of all taxes). He who destroys this, is (like) one who destroys Vāraṇāsi! Om!

[(L. 16 ff.)—This part of the record evidently gives the names of the villages which made up the allotment. But the reading is very uncertain in some places. And no names can be found in the maps, helping to elucidate the reading and to divide the words. The record ends]:— He who destroys this, shall incur the guilt of the great sins!<sup>3</sup>

#### B.—Bēgūr Inscription of Ereyappa.

This inscription was originally brought to notice by Colonel Henry Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Regiment, Madras Infantry, in his photographic collection, published in 1865, of inscriptions on stone and copper from various places in the Mysore territory; and a print from his negative has been given in my *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 247,<sup>4</sup> issued in 1878. In 1879, Mr. Rice gave a reading of the text, and a translation, in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 209, with a lithograph of the entire stone (*id.* Frontispiece). And a rendering of the record by myself, partly from Col. Dixon's photograph and partly from an inked estampage sent to me by Dr. Hultsch, was published in 1892, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 346. I give now a more final rendering of it from a better ink-impression, for which I am again indebted to Dr. Hultsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself.

Bēgūr is a village in the Bangalore tāluka of the Bangalore district, Mysore. It is shown in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, S.E. (1894), in lat. 12° 52', long. 77° 41', about seven miles S.S.E. from Bangalore. It is evidently the ancient Bempūr (Bempūr) or Bempūru of the record; though, why the *mp* or *mp* should have changed into *g*, is not apparent.<sup>5</sup> And the record shews that it was the chief village of a circle known as the Bempūr twelve. The inscription is on a stone-tablet, measuring about 6' 6" broad by 6' 8" high, which was found at this village, and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

compound, we have the word *kīl*, *kīl*, *kīlu*, 'the state of being low, below, beneath, under, down, base, degraded or mean,' which occurs in such expressions as *kīl-kabbiga*, 'an inferior, base poet,' *kīl-āḍi*, 'a low man,' and *kīlu-manneya*, 'a petty chieftain;' and in epigraphic records we meet with *kīl-kere* or *kīl-kere*, evidently meaning 'a lower tank' (*Inscr. at Srav.-Bel.* No. 24), and *kīl-kalindādu*, meaning apparently 'a lower or smaller portion of uncultivated waste' (an inscription at Hiri-Bidanūr, for the text of which I am indebted to Mr. Rice). And Mr. Kittel, taking the whole word in connection with his proposal of *mane-maggattina*, would interpret the text as meaning that "Agarayya, who held a (*mere*) servile position in the house of Pemmanāḍi, became a (*real, though*) subordinate servant, or armed attendant, to Nitimārga-Permanāḍi." But we have also the verb *kīl*, *kīl*, *kīlu*, 'to draw or pull out, etc.' And I think that the indication afforded by the sculptures on the stone, suggests for *kīl-guṇṭhe* the meaning that I propose in my translation.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rice's translation gives "Permanāḍi's good son Satya-vākya survived to Permanāḍi." This requires us to analyse, at the end of line 6, *Pemmanāḍigaḷge uḍam*. And I adopted that analysis, in taking the record to mean that "Agarayya survived to (*render service to*) Satyavākya" (above, Vol. V. p. 163). But I consider now that such an analysis is wrong. The past tense of *uḷi*, 'to remain alive, to remain behind,' would be *uḷidam*, not *uḷdam*; the line across the stone between lines 15 and 16 of the text, marks that place as the first division in the text; and the *Satyavākya-Pemmanāḍigaḷ* in line 6 must be taken as the agent of the verbal form *koṭṭadu* (for *koṭṭadu*) in line 9.

<sup>2</sup> In line 9-10, where Mr. Rice's text gives *Kappaḷalli*, we have in all probability *gachcham māḍi*. And *gachcham* must stand for *kachcham*, the accusative of *kachchu*, 'washing.' The expression *kḍam kachchu*, *kachhu*, *kaḷchu*, 'to wash, or lave the feet,' is a very well known one, in the case of grants given or entrusted to priests. And we have also the nouns *kḍl-gachchu*, 'feet-washing,' and *bḍl-gachchu*, 'sword-washing' (see page 52 below, note 4). A prince would lave an attendant's sword,—not his feet.

<sup>3</sup> The *pañcamaṇḍapāṭaka* or five great sins are, killing a Brāhman, drinking intoxicating liquors, theft, committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher, and associating with any one guilty of those offences.

<sup>4</sup> The correct name of the village was not then known, and is there given as 'Beygoor,' mistakenly.

<sup>5</sup> The first component of the name, however, may possibly be another variant of *bēhu*, *bēgu*, 'spying;' in which case, the name would mean "spying-town" or "watch-town."

The chief part of the writing is in six lines, covering an area about 6' 6" broad by 1' 5" high, which run right across the upper part of the stone; and, in a somewhat exceptional manner, each of these six lines is separated from the next by a line cut in the stone from end to end. There are also six short lines running on in continuation down the proper right side, the same number on the proper left side, and the name of a village (treated as line 13) near the centre below line 6. Except in some places along the top of line 1, the inscription is mostly very well preserved; and it is legible throughout, in the ink-impression, without any doubt, except in respect of the village-name in line 13.—The rest of the stone is occupied by sculptures. The principal division of them represents a battle-scene. The troops on the proper right side must be those of the Vīramahēndra of the record. They are led by a man on horseback, waving a sword: that he is a person of very high rank, is indicated by umbrellas, one of which is apparently a triple one; and he seems, therefore, to be Vīramahēndra himself. Behind him there are two followers on horseback. In front of him, there is a man on foot, blowing a horn of the long straight kind. And, above the latter, there is another horseman. The troops on the proper left side are the Nāgattara army of the record. They are led by a man on an elephant, wielding a spear, who is evidently the hero whose death is recorded in the inscription; and the fierceness of the attack upon him is indicated by the arrows sticking in the forehead of the elephant. He is attended by an archer in the *hauda*, and by a follower on horseback shewn below the elephant. The centre and the foreground shew the fight between the two parties. Above all this, there is another scene, the central figure of which is a man, seated on a low stool, with his feet resting either on a man kneeling on all fours or on a footstool devised in that form. He may possibly be Ereyappa. But the absence of umbrellas is rather against that view; and it seems more likely that we have here another representation of the leader of the Nāgattara army who was killed in the battle. He is attended by two female *chauri*-bearers. Behind the *chauri*-bearer at his back, there stands another woman, who seems to be trying to entice into a cage a bird which is perched on his uplifted left hand. And behind her, again, there is another woman, standing under a flag-staff. Beyond the *chauri*-bearer in front of the central seated figure, there stands another woman. And beyond her there is a man, standing, and holding across his right knee what seems to be either a quiver or the scabbard of a sword: that he, also, is of some rank, is shewn by the head-dress, which figures similarly on the heads of the other three principal figures, and seems to include a kind of plume standing up from the *paṭṭa* or frontlet or fillet of dignity and authority; and he is probably the *Iruga* of the record, who was appointed to the command of the Nāgattaras in consequence of their original leader being killed in the battle.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about  $\frac{2}{3}$ " in the *l* of *vēldode*, line 4, to about  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in the *va* of *Tovagūra*, line 6: the *śrī* of *śrīmad*, line 2, is  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " high; and the *śrī* at the end of line 19 is  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The characters include a final form of *r* at the end of line 2, and either a final *l*, or else an *l* with a form of the *virāma* attached to it, in *Kūḍal*, line 15. They include the distinct form of the lingual *ḡ*, which can be seen very clearly in *māḡi* and *Gaṅgavāḡi*, line 3, and in *kaṇḡḡ*, line 6: but the distinction was not made throughout; for instance, it was not observed in *ondode*, line 6. We have, in this record, all the leading test-letters. The *kh*, *b*, and *l* present only the later cursive forms: the *kh* occurs once, in *mēkhāḡa*, line 1; the *b* may be seen very clearly in *badhḡam* and *Beṁpūru*, line 6; and the *l*, in *lakshmi*, line 2, and *pola*, line 15. In *Gaḡamjavāḡilū*, line 11-12, we have the later cursive *j*: but the old square type is presented in *jaḡadhī-jaḡa*, line 1: here, in both cases, we have the back-to-back *j*, in its open form, that is to say, with a small space at the top and also at the bottom of the central upright stroke; it is particularly clear in the second instance. The guttural *ṇ* follows the types and forms of the *j*, as, for some reason or other not yet explained, it nearly always does: in *Irugaṅge*, line 5, *maṅgala*, line 6, *Komaraṅgundu*, line 7-8, *Nāgaraṅge*,

BEGUR STONE.



E.F.H. Wiele, photo.

Photo-etching: Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, May 1898.



line 18-19, and *maṅgala*, line 19, it is the later cursive *ṇ*, differing from the corresponding *j* in only the absence of the right-hand stroke which, in the *j*, starts and turns up from the centre of the letter; on the other hand, in *Gaṅga*, line 1, *Gaṅgavāḍi*, line 3, and *dēvaṅga*, line 4, we have an *ṇ* of the old square type, answering to the back-to-back *j*, from which it differs, as may be seen best in line 3, essentially in the absence of the centre stroke to the right, and, as found in this particular record, by the projections to the left being turned in to meet the central upright stroke. —The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In line 18, we have a curious word, *ṣavuchara*, which seems to stand for *sahachara*, 'a companion, a follower.' —In respect of orthography we may notice (1) the use of *ṛi* for *ṛi* in *āḷamkrity*, line 1-2, though the *ṛi* is given correctly in *ṣvayamvṛita*, line 2; (2) the use of *dhāh* for *dhā* in *badhāham*, line 6; (3) the use of *b* for *v* in *Bira*, line 3; (4) the use of *ś* for *s* in *ṣvayamvṛita*, line 2; and (5) the use of the Drāviḍian *ḷ* in all the Sanskrit words, except, of course, as an initial in *lakshmi*, line 2, and except in *maṅgala*, line 6. The last-mentioned word occurs spelt both ways. In line 19, where it is the ordinary Sanskrit word, used in its customary sense, it is written with the Drāviḍian *ḷ*. In line 6, it is part of a village-name;<sup>1</sup> and there it is written with the ordinary *l*, as seems to be always the case, even in Tamil records, when it is used in that way.

The inscription, which is partly a *virgal* or monumental record of a hero who was killed in battle and partly an ordinary *śāsana* or charter, refers itself to the period of the rule of the Western Gaṅga prince Ereyappa, i.e. to between about A.D. 908 and 938. It tells us that Ereyappa lent to Ayyapadēva, for the purpose of fighting against Viramahēndra, a force which was collected and commanded by the leader of the Nāgattaras. The commander of the force was killed in a battle that was fought at Tumbepāḍi. And Ereyappa appointed Iruga to succeed to the leadership of the Nāgattaras, and also, in recognition of the bravery that had been displayed by his predecessor, granted to Iruga the circle of villages that was known as the Bempūr twelve.

As has been pointed out by Mr. Rice<sup>2</sup> since the time when the contents of this record were first discussed, Ayyapadēva was doubtless a Nolamba, and is to be identified with the Nolambādhirāja-Ayyapadēva, "of the Pallava lineage," one of the Nolambas of the Nolambavāḍi province on the north of the Gaṅgavāḍi province, who is mentioned in an inscription at Hirī-Bidanūr.<sup>3</sup> The identity of Viramahēndra is not so certain. But there is, at any rate, no good reason now for proposing to identify him with the Nolamba Mahēndrādhirāja who is mentioned, in inscriptions at Baragūr and Hēmāvatī,<sup>4</sup> as a son of a Nolambādhirāja who was a brother-in-law of Nitimārga son of the Gaṅga prince Rājamalla. And it seems probable that he was an Eastern Chalukya king. In that dynasty, we meet, not only with Rājamahēndra as a *virūda* both of Amma I. (A.D. 918 to 925) and of Amma II. (A.D. 945 to 970),<sup>5</sup> but also with Gaṇḍamahēndra as a *virūda* of Chālukya-Bhīma II. (A.D. 934 to 945).<sup>6</sup> The name Viramahēndra, "a very Mahēndra (Indra) among brave men," is exactly synonymous with Gaṇḍamahēndra, "a very Mahēndra among heroes." The Eastern Chalukyas were constantly at war with the Rāshtrakūṭa kings and the Western Gaṅga princes. The name of "the very terrible Ayyapa" is actually mentioned among the names of certain enemies of Chālukya-Bhīma II.,<sup>7</sup> whom he is said to have slain. The dates fit in satisfactorily. Thus, in all probability the Viramahēndra of this record is Chālukya-Bhīma II., who, we must then understand, had invaded Mysore and was met by a combined force of Gaṅgas and Nolambas. And the event has

<sup>1</sup> [At the end of village-names, *maṅgala* seems to be an abbreviation of the frequent, but inconveniently long term *chaturvāḍi-maṅgala*, 'a Brāhman settlement.'—E.H.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> For this record, see, provisionally, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 10, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 266, 270.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 269.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 270.

to be placed towards the end of the rule of Ereyappa, between about A.D. 934 and 938. Against this, it might be urged, in the first place, that the statement in this record, that Ereyappa was governing the Gaṅgavāḍi province as an united whole after having deprived all his enemies of their power, is suggestive of an early period in his rule, and, in the second place, that an early period is suggested by also the fact that the record includes an *ñ* and a *j* of the old type, which seems to have entirely disappeared in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory by about A.D. 900. But the Ātakūṭ inscription, C. below, of A.D. 949-50, similarly describes Būṭuga II. as then governing the province after having fought and killed Rāchamalla I.,—regardless of the fact that that event occurred about ten years before that date. While, as regards the palæographic point, the record can at any rate not be placed before A.D. 906-907, which date we have for Ereyappa's predecessor Būṭuga I. There seems, therefore, no objection, from this point of view, to placing it even some thirty years later. And we thus gather from this record, in respect of palæography, that the development of the alphabet in Mysore was perceptibly slower than in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory more to the north.

Of the places mentioned in the record in addition to Bempūr-Bēgūr, we may doubtless safely identify Tumbepāḍi, where the battle was fought, with the modern 'Tumbadi' of the Madras Postal Directory and of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, N.E. (1895), in the Maddagiri tāluka of the Tumkūr district: the place is in lat. 13° 34', long. 77° 17', about fifty-four miles N.N.W.½W. from Bēgūr; and this identification locates the scene of the battle near enough to the Nōḷambavāḍi province—(if not actually in it)—to account for Ayyapadēva being concerned in the matter. Iggalūr still exists under the same name, eight miles to the south-east from Bēgūr. Tovagūru is probably the 'D. Togur' of the map, two-and-a-half miles on the south-east of Bēgūr. Pūvina-Pullimāṅgala is doubtless the modern 'Hulimangala,' three-and-a-half miles on the south of Bēgūr.<sup>1</sup> And Kūḍal may be 'Kudlu,' three miles N.E. by E. from Bēgūr.

### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Ōm<sup>3</sup> Svasti Samasta-bhuvana-vinūta-Gaṅga-kūḷa-gagana-ni[r<sup>4</sup>]mmaja-tārāpati-jaladhi-jala-vipuḷa-valaya-mēkha[ā]-ka[ā]p-ālam-
- 2 kri(kri)ty-aḷāḍhipatya-lakshmi-śvayamvrita-patitādvādy<sup>5</sup>-agaṇita-guṇa-gaṇa-vibhūṣhaṇa-vibhūṣita-vibhūti śrīmad-Ereyapp-arasar
- 3 pagevar-ellaman-ni[h<sup>6</sup>]kshatram-māḍi Gaṅgavāḍi-tombhattaru-sāsiramuman<sup>6</sup>-ēka-chhatra<sup>6</sup>-chchhāyeyo[ā]nttam-iḷḍu Bī(vi)rama-
- 4 hēndrano[ā]-kādal-endu Ayyapadēvaṅge sāmanta-sahitam Nāgattaranam danḍu vōḷḍoḍe Tumbepāḍiyō[ā]-kādi kāḷegam-imb-a-
- 5 iḷḍoḍe āneyō[ā]-ānt-iḷḍu sattoḍ-adaṁ kēḷḍ-Ereyapam<sup>7</sup> mechchi Irugaṅge Nāgattara-vaṭṭam-gaṭṭi Bempū-ppanniradu-

<sup>1</sup> The old map, sheet 60, of 1828, which I was using in 1892, does not shew 'Hulimangala.' The new map, sheet No. 60, N.E., of 1895, does not shew the 'Woolmungle,' about twenty miles towards the E.N.E. from Bēgūr, which I selected in 1892 from the old map; nor can I find in it the 'Nelloorputnam' and 'Chikka-Nalloor' which, on the authority of the old map, I then put forward as possible representatives of Kūṭanidu-Nallūru and Nallūru-Komaraṅgundu, but which now seem, under any circumstances, too distant to belong to the Bempūr twelve.

<sup>2</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>3</sup> Represented by a plain symbol.

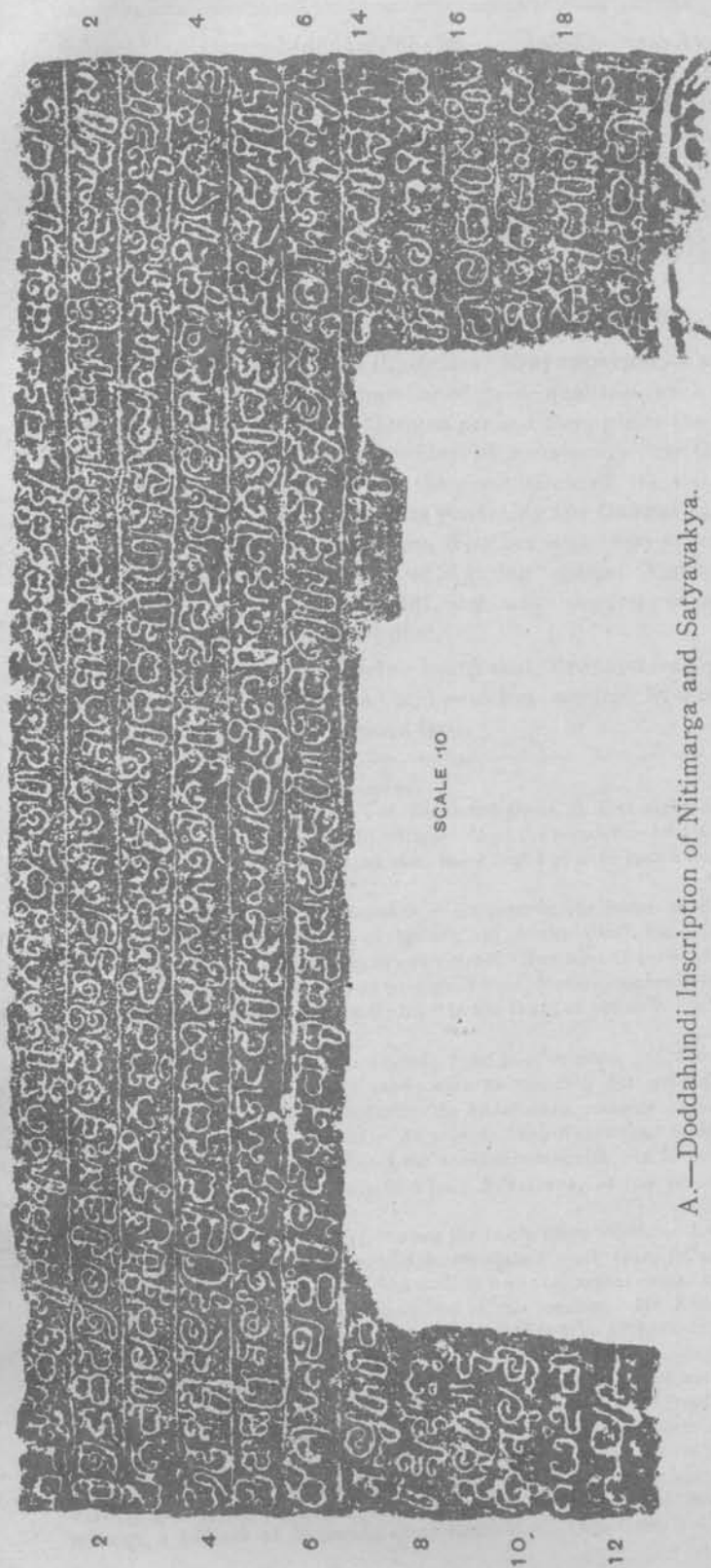
<sup>4</sup> Read *lakshmi-śvayamvrita-patitv-ady*. The *tea* of *patitv* is also understood after *tārāpati* in line 1.

<sup>5</sup> Read *sāsiraṁman*. The copulative ending is not wanted, as only one province is mentioned.

<sup>6</sup> Read *chchhātra*.

<sup>7</sup> This name would have been written more correctly with the double *pp* in the fourth syllable, as in line 2. It occurs again with the single *p* in line 17 below, and in line 20 of C., the Ātakūṭ inscription.

B.—Begur Inscription of Ereyappa.



A.—Doddahundi Inscription of Nitimarga and Satyavakya.



J. F. FLEET.

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY DR. HULTZSCH.



6 mam <sup>1</sup>	śāsana-badhha(ḍḍha)m	kānād=ittan=Av=āvuv=endode	Bempūru    <sup>2</sup>
	Tovagūrū Pūvina-Pullimaṅgala Kūtanidu-Nallūru		
7 Nallūru-Koma-	13 Sāra[m]vu(?)	14 Eḷkuppe Paravūru	
8 raṅgundu    I-		15 Kūdal   inituma[m]	
9 ggaḷūru    Du-		16 pola-mère sahila-	
10 gmonelmalli		17 m=ittan=Ereyapa[m]	
11 Gaḷamjavā-		18 śavucharan=Nāgara-	
12 giḷū		19 ṅge <sup>3</sup> [  *] Maṅgaḷa-	
		mahā-śrī	

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! When the illustrious Ereyapparasa,— whose dignity was adorned with the decoration of an uncounted number of good qualities, such as being a spotless moon in the sky which is the family of the Gaṅgas praised throughout the whole world, and such as being the lord, chosen by herself, of the goddess of sovereignty over the earth, who has for an ornament round her waist a zone which is the great circle of the waters of the oceans,— having deprived all his enemies of their power, was governing the Gaṅgavāḍi ninety-six-thousand as an united whole,<sup>4</sup> he ordered<sup>5</sup> the Nāgattara, together with (his) tributary chiefs, (to supply) an army to Ayyapadēva for the purpose of fighting against Viramahendra; and thereupon he (the Nāgattara) fought at Tumbepāḍi, and, when the press of battle became great,<sup>6</sup> leaned upon the elephant, and was pierced and died.

(L. 5)— Thereupon, having heard that, Ereyapa was pleased, and appointed Iruga to the leadership of the Nāgattaras,<sup>7</sup> and gave him, secured by a charter, the Bempūr twelve, (as an allotment of) uncultivated waste land.

<sup>1</sup> Read Bempūr-ppannaraḍumam.

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation in this part of the record seems, at first sight, rather capricious. But it probably marks some subordinate groupings of the villages. And the copulative long *ḍ* in *Tovagūrū* and *Gaḷamjavāḍgiḷū* points in the same direction, though, in that case, there ought to have been a more systematic use of copulative endings all through lines 6 to 15.

<sup>3</sup> Read *sahacharan=Nāgattaraṅge*.— As regards the latter word, see the next note but one.— As regards the former word, the *śavucharan* of the original might stand for *saucharan*, *saucharan*, or even (see Kittel's Dictionary, under *au*) *saṁcharan*, or *saṁcharan*. But none of these words gives a suitable meaning, unless we can accept *saucharan*, and, taking it as equivalent to *saucharitan*, render it by 'well-conducted, well-behaved.'

<sup>4</sup> *Ekachchhattra-chchhāyeyol*; *lit.* "in the shade of one umbrella." See the explanation given above, Vol. V. p. 164, note 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Vēḷḷode* might stand for *bēḷḷode*, from *bēḷu*, = *bēḷu*, 'to wish, solicit, ask.' But, as indicated to me by Mr. Kittel, it is, no doubt, better taken here as standing for *pēḷḷode*, from *pēḷu*, 'to utter, say, narrate, tell, command, order.'— With the infinitive in *kādal=endu*, compare *geyyal=endu* and *sādhisal=endu* (above, Vol. V. p. 223, note 6, and p. 225, note 2).— As regards "the Nāgattara," from a comparison of the text in lines 4, 5, and 18-19, it seems that we have in line 4 the accusative singular, and in line 18-19 the dative singular (with a careless omission of the third syllable, *ta*), of a base *Nāgattara*, as the proper name of a family or clan rather than of an individual.

<sup>6</sup> *Kāḷegam-imb=alidode*; *lit.* "when the battle space-failed."— I was inclined to take *kāḷegam* as the dative singular of a proper name, *Kāḷe*, and to translate "when space failed to even Kāḷe, i.e. when the press of battle became too great even for him,"—thus finding here the actual name, which otherwise is not mentioned (see the preceding note), of the hero who was killed on this occasion. Mr. Kittel, however, considers that *kāḷe* is not very probable as the name of a man, and that it is better to take *kāḷegam* in the way in which it most naturally presents itself, namely, as the nominative singular of *kāḷega*, *kāḷaga*, 'fight, battle, war.'

<sup>7</sup> *Lit.* "having tied to (the forehead of) Iruga the fillet of authority of the Nāgattaras." *Paṭṭam* is for *paṭṭam*; and *gaṭṭi* for *kaṭṭi*. *Paṭṭam kaṭṭu* or *gaṭṭu*, 'to tie the frontlet or fillet of dignity or authority,' is an expression of constant occurrence in respect of the crowning of kings and princes. In respect of its use in the case of lower appointments, we have instances, analogous to the present one, in the Permaḍi-*paṭṭa* which, the Kōṭūr inscription tells us, the Satyavākya of that record conferred on the son of a *Ḍamunḍa* or village-headman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 103, No. III., and *Coorg Inscr.* p. 6), and in the Mādivarma-*paṭṭa* which belonged to a certain Māchiga, a follower of Nōjambāntaka-Mārasimha II. (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Pg. 110). The last mentioned record

(L. 6)—Those (villages) are as follows:—Bempûru; Tovagûru, Pûvina-Pullimaṅgala, and Kûtanidu-Nallûru; Nallûru-Komaraṅgundu; Iggaḷûru; Dugmonelmalli and Gaḷaṅjavāgilu; Sāraṁvu (?); Elkuppe, Paravûru, and Kûdal. This much, with (a specification of) the boundaries of the fields, gave Eṇeyapa to his follower, the Nāgattara. May there be auspicious and great good fortune!

C.—Ātakûr inscription of Kṛishṇa III. and Bûtuga II.—A.D. 949-50.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1889, in his *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, Introd. p. 19, note 10, and p. 21. A rendering of it by myself, from an inked estampage sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch, was issued in 1892, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 167. And a rendering of it by Mr. Rice, with a lithograph, was published in 1894, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Md. 41. I give now a more final rendering of it from a better ink-impression, for which I am again indebted to Dr. Hultzsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself; owing to the bad light in which the stone stands, it fails to shew much of the writing, though it presents the sculptures clearly enough.

Ātakûr,—or, perhaps, according to a more recent custom, Ātagûr,—is a village about fifteen miles to the N. E. by E. from Maṇḍya, the head-quarters of the Maṇḍya tāluka of the Mysore district. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 60, S.E. (1894), as 'Atgur,' in lat.  $12^{\circ} 39'$ , long.  $77^{\circ} 7'$ ; and it is shewn as 'Atagur' in the map that accompanies the revised edition of Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, Vol. II.: in the old sheet No. 60 (1828), however, it is shewn as 'Atcoor,' which answers to the spelling given in Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., and to what is probably still the more usual form of the name. With the slight difference of *u* for *a* in the second syllable, the record mentions it as Ātukûr. And the record shews also that it was the chief village of a circle known as the Ātukûr twelve. The inscription is on a stone tablet, measuring about  $5' 1''$  broad towards the bottom by about  $6' 8''$  high, which was found set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challésaliṅga,—the Challésvara of the record itself,—about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village, and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

The chief part of the writing consists of nineteen lines, covering an area about  $5' 1''$  broad (in line 19) by  $4' 0''$  high, which run right across the lower part of the stone. But there is a subsidiary record, lines 20 to 24, on the upper part of the stone, in the margins that were left above and on each side of the sculptures belonging to the principal part of the record: lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin, along the top, and down the proper left margin; line 22 is a short line on the proper right margin, below the beginning of line 21; and lines 23 and 24 are short lines on the proper left margin, commencing below, respectively, the *ma* of *Kannara* and the *ṅga* of *Bâtugaṅga* of line 21. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation throughout; and the whole of the record can be read with certainty, with the exception of the *akshara* before *Tri[nē]tran*, line 3, and perhaps of the word *apa[ghā]ta* in line 7.—The sculptures on the stone cover an area about  $3' 2''$  broad by  $1' 6''$  high. They represent a hound and a boar fighting; and they refer to an incident mentioned in lines 10 and 11 of the record.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed, of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The size of them ranges from about  $1''$  in the *la* of *Chôḷana*, line 16, to about  $1\frac{1}{2}''$  in the *ma* of *a manṇan*, line 13: the *m̐ba* of *emba*, line 19, is  $2\frac{1}{4}''$  high; and the *ka* of *Sûdrakaṁ*, in the same line, is  $2\frac{1}{4}''$  high vertically and  $3''$  on the slant. The

illustrates also its higher application, in giving the date as the seventh year of the tying of the fillet of Śatyavākya- (Mārasiṁha II.). And in this application it was synonymous with *rājyābhishēkaṁ-geya*, 'to anoint to the sovereignty or rule,' which is the expression used in giving the regnal date of the Bīḷūr inscription of Śatyavākya- (Bâtuga I.) of A.D. 888 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. II., and *Coorg Inscr.* p. 5).—Judging from the head-dresses of the four principal figures in the sculptures on the stone, the *paṭṭa* seems to have included a kind of plume standing straight up above the head, in addition to a fillet passing round the head.

ATAKUR STONE.





characters include final forms, or forms with the *virāma* attached, of *t* in lines 3, 6, and 9, of *l* in line 13, and of *ḷ* in lines 6, 9, 11, and 12. The lingual *ḍ* can be recognised in *nāḍa*, line 10, *vittode* and *oḍa*, line 11, and *oḍeg*, line 15. The palaeography does not present anything calling for special comment, as the *kh* does not occur, and the other test-letters, *ñ*, *j*, *b*, and *l*, present, naturally enough, only the later cursive forms.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type; and there are verses in lines 15 to 19. In line 11 we have *morāḍi* as a variant of *morāḍi*, 'a hill, a hillock'; and in line 12 we have *aṅgaḷoḷ*, the locative singular of *aṅgaḷ* or *aṅgaḷu* as a variant of *aṅgaḷa*, = *aṅgaṇa*, in the sense of 'an open space, an area.' And we may note the use of *v*, instead of the more customary *m*, in *erpattuvam*, line 21.—In respect of orthography we may note (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *nripa*, line 1, *prīthuvī*, line 2, and *Kṛishṇa*, line 3; (2) the use of *b* for *v* in *bijayam*, line 4, and *bīra*, lines 16 and 18; (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, for instance, in *Saka*, line 1, and *Sūdrakam*, lines 9 and 19; and (4) the use of *ś* for *s*, once, in *Sōmyam*, for *Saumyam*, line 1.

The principal part of the inscription is dated, without full details, in the Saumya *samvatsara*, Śaka-Samvat 872 (current),<sup>1</sup> = A.D. 949-50. And it refers itself to the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kannaradēva-Kṛishṇa III.,<sup>2</sup> and of the Western Gaṅga prince Satyavākya-Būtuga II.<sup>3</sup> It tells us, in the first place, that Kṛishṇa III. had fought and killed the Chōḷa king Rājāditya, otherwise called Mūvaḍi-Chōḷa,<sup>4</sup> at a place named Takkōla, and was going in triumph, or, in other words, was making a state progress through his dominions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *samvatsara* agrees with the given Śaka year only according to the southern luni-solar system of the cycle,—which, however, is the proper one for the period and the part of the country with which we are concerned,—and only by applying the Śaka year as a current year; see Prof. Kielborn's references to this date, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV, p. 187, No. 79, and Vol. XXV, p. 267, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> The following *birudas* of Kṛishṇa III. are mentioned in this record.—Ankatrinētra, Ānevedeṅga, Vanagajamāla, and Kachebega; see page 53 below, note 7, the Postscript on page 83, and page 55, notes 7, 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> His proper name occurs in line 9, in the *biruda* "the champion of Būtuga," which is applied to Maṇalera.—The following *birudas* of Būtuga II. himself are mentioned in this record.—Nanniyagaṅga, Jayaduttaraṅga, Gaṅgaṅgēya, and Gaṅganārāyaṇa.

<sup>4</sup> The word *mūvaḍi* means 'three folds, three times,' from *mū*, = *māru*, 'three,' and *vaḍi*, 'bending, folding, doubling; fold, times.' Another form of it is *mummaḍi*. In the Tamil records, the *biruda* appears sometimes as *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa*, and sometimes as *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa*; and Dr. Hultzsch has rendered it by "the Chōḷa king (who wears) three crowns, viz. those of the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chēra kingdoms" (e.g., *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III, p. 29), finding an indication that that is its purport in a verse at the end of the Raṅganātha inscription which describes Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva as building "three golden domes, by which (the temple of) Śrīraṅga glitters as he (the king) by the (three) crowns worn at (his) coronation" (above, Vol. III, p. 17); and so also Mr. V. Venkayya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 65, and see p. 60, note 14), where he quotes facts which would indicate, or at least justify, the existence of a similar *biruda* among the Pāṇḍyas, on the same view. There is a Tamil word *muḍi*, meaning 'a crown.' Nevertheless, my opinion is that *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa* is simply a variant of *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa*, and that in either form the *biruda* means literally "a three-times Chōḷa." And I think, now, that the expressions *Immaḍi-Noḷambādhirāja*, *Mummaḍi-Chōḷa*, and *Nūmmaḍi-Taila* mean, not "the second Noḷambādhirāja, the third Chōḷa, the hundredth Taila," but "the Noḷambādhirāja who was twice as great and powerful, or twice as famous, as any Noḷambādhirāja who ever preceded him," and so on. An inscription of A.D. 1168 at Baḷagāmi (*P. S. O.-C. Insers.* No. 185, and see *Mysore Insers.* p. 111) describes the temple of Dakṣiṇa-Kēdārēśvara as (line 30 f.)—*Vārāṇḍisigamv-immaḍi Kēdārakkam nūmmaḍi Śrīparvatakkam sūmmaḍi*,—"twice (as sacred) as even Vārāṇḍi, a hundred times (more sacred) than even Kēdāra, a thousand times (more sacred) than even Śrīparvata." So, also, Rēvakanimmaḍi (see page 71 below, note 5) probably stands for *Immaḍi-Rēvaka* and means "a Rēvaka twice as beautiful or accomplished as any preceding Rēvaka."

<sup>5</sup> *Bijayam-geyyutt-iḷḍa*. From Kittel's Dictionary, it would appear that the word *bijaya*, as used in this combination, is treated by the Native grammarians as another form of *bija*, *biya*, and as coming from the Sanskrit *ut, vyay*, 'to go, to move, to go apart or in different directions,' and that *bijayam-gey* and *biyam-gey* are explained by them as meaning simply 'to walk, to go, to come.' But, as used in the inscriptions, the expression has plainly a more extended meaning than that; namely, it implies the idea of 'going in state, going in triumph.' It is evidently a shorter form of *dip-vijayam-gey*, for an instance of which see above, Vol. V, p. 223, note 6. And, in view of that longer form, I think that the word *bijaya* is to be more correctly treated as simply a *taddhava*

It then mentions Bûtuga II. as governing,—the Gaṅgavâḍi ninety-six-thousand province being understood. It then introduces a follower of Bûtuga II. named Maṇalera,<sup>1</sup> who belonged to the Sagaravaiṇsa or race of the Sagaras and had the hereditary title of “lord of Valabhi the best of towns,” and whose prowess in battle is described in the verses in lines 15 to 19. Bûtuga II., it tells us, being pleased with the prowess displayed by Maṇalera,<sup>2</sup> gave him his favourite hound Kâli. The hound was pitted against a great boar at the village of Belatûr, in the Koḷale district.<sup>3</sup> And the hound and the boar killed each other. And, in commemoration of that, the stone was set up in front of the temple of the god Challésvara at Âtukûr, and a grant of land was made to the temple.

The subsidiary record round the top of the stone belongs also to the time of Bûtuga II., who, it says, was governing the ninety-six-thousand province after killing Râchamalla, the son of Ereyappa. It discloses the fact that it was Bûtuga II. himself who actually killed the Chôḷa king Râjâditya, whom, it says, without mincing matters, he slew treacherously. And in return for this service, it tells us, Kṛishṇa III. gave to Bûtuga II. the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province, and the districts known as the Belvola three-hundred, the Parigere three-hundred, the Kisukâḍ seventy, and the Bâgenâḍ seventy.<sup>3</sup> It further tells us that, in recognition of the valour displayed in battle by Maṇalera, Bûtuga II. gave to Maṇalera the circle of villages known as the Âtukûr twelve and also a village named Kâḍiyûr or Kâḍiyûr in the Belvola district. This last grant is called in the record a *bâlgachchu* or “sword-washing” grant, meaning, no doubt, that it was accompanied by the ceremony of laving Maṇalera’s sword.<sup>4</sup>

of the Sanskrit *vijaya*, ‘victory,’ and that *bija* and *diya* are to be treated as corruptions of it. I would render the full expression *dig-vijayam-gey*, not by “to conquer the regions, to make the subjugation of various countries in all directions, to make universal conquest,” but by “to go in triumph, to make a state progress, through the dominions.”—[In modern Tamil, *vijayañ-jey*, if applied to princes and high officials, means “to visit” a locality.—E. H.]

<sup>1</sup> The same Maṇalera is probably mentioned again in the Kûlagere inscription of Nitimârga-(Ereyappa) of A.D. 909-910 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30; the text in Roman characters gives Maṇaleyâra, and the text in Kanarese characters gives Maṇalayâra). An earlier person of the same name seems to be mentioned in the Taggalûru inscription of Śrîpuruṣa-(Mattarasa) (*id.* Vol. IV., Gu. 87; the texts here both give Maṇaleyâra). And an Irnaḍi-Vira-Maṇalera appears to be mentioned in an inscription of uncertain date at Hebbalu (*id.* Vol. III., Md. 45; here, the Roman text gives Maṇalera, and the Kanarese text gives Maṇâlera).—The Sagaravaiṇsa is mentioned again in the Jinnaballi inscription of the time of Nolambântaka-Mârasimha II. (*id.* Vol. IV., Hg. 110).—The title *Valabhîpuravarâḍvara*, “lord of Valabhi the best of towns,” occurs again in a fragmentary inscription of uncertain date at Muttatti (*id.* Vol. III., 1N. 102).

<sup>2</sup> In a similar manner to the present record, an inscription of the sixteenth century A.D. at Têkal or Tyâkal in Mysore (*P. S. O.-C. Inscri.* No. 228, and see *Mysore Inscri.* p. 208) mentions a fight between a hound and a tiger, and the fight is represented on the stone. The name of the hound in that case is perhaps given as Sampuge; but the word may possibly mean only a *champak*-tree.

<sup>3</sup> The necessity for granting the Belvola, Parigere, Kisukâḍ, and Bâgenâḍ districts to Bûtuga II. on this occasion, is not altogether apparent; because we know from the Hebbâl inscription that they had already been given to him by Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga, the father of Kṛishṇa III., as the dowry of Rôvakanimmaḍi (see above, Vol. IV. p. 354). But it would seem that Bûtuga II. must have been deprived of them,—together, probably with the rightful succession to the leadership of the Western Gaṅgas,—by Ereyappa and Râchamalla.

<sup>4</sup> *Bâlgachchu* is from *bâḷ*, *bdḷu*, ‘a knife, a sword,’ and *kachchu*, *karchu*, *kaḷchu*, ‘washing; to wash.’—The expression, in line 22-23, is *bâlgachchu-gottam*, “he gave (as) a *bâlgachchu*.” Originally,—the word *bâlgachchu* not being then known,—I read *bâḷga[m] [me]kachu-gottam*, which, as Reeve and Sanderson’s Kanarese Dictionary does not shew the difference between *bâḷ*, ‘sword,’ and *bdḷ*, ‘living, life, subsisting, livelihood, etc.’ I rendered by “gave, in token of approbation, for subsistence.” But, in giving that reading and rendering, I had to remark that I could not find the syllable *me* in the original, and that it seemed to have been omitted altogether. By a curious coincidence, Mr. Rice’s text gives the reading as *bâḷge machchu gottam*; and his translation renders this by “gave for his sword:” and not only so, but his lithograph actually introduces the required syllable *me*, as if it really stood in the original,—making room for it chiefly by cramping the *age* of the *Bâtugange* of line 21. The syllable *me*, however, does not stand, and never did stand, in the original at all. And it is not wanted, from any point of view. The true reading, *bâlgachchu-gottam*, is quite unmistakable, and is, now, quite intelligible. The

As regards the places, in addition to *Ātukūr-Ātakūr*, mentioned in this record,—*Takkōla*, where the battle was fought between *Kṛishṇa III.* and *Rājāditya*, still exists, under the same name, in the *Wālājāpēt tāluka* of the North Arcot district, Madras; the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 78, N.E. (1893), shews it as '*Takkolam*,' six miles S.E. from *Arkōṇam* junction, in lat. 13° 1', long. 79° 48', on the *Corteliaur river*.<sup>1</sup> *Beḷatūr*, where the hound was matched against the boar, still exists under the same name, five miles W. S. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. from *Ātakūr*. *Kādiyūr* or *Kādiyūr*, of the *Beḷvola* district, ought to be somewhere near *Hūli* in *Belgaum*, or *Anigere* in *Dhārwar*, or *Kukkanūr* in the *Nizam's Dominions*; but the maps do not seem to include any name answering to it. The *Banavase* province, and the *Beḷvola*, *Purigere*, and *Kisukād* districts, are already very well known. The *Bāgenād* seventy was,—as I shewed when I originally edited this record,—the country round *Bāgalkōt*, the ancient *Bāgaḍage* and *Bāgaḍige*, the head-quarters of the *Bāgalkōt tāluka* of the *Bijāpur* district.

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti<sup>3</sup>                      Sa(sa)ka-nri(nri)pa-kāl-ātita-sa[m]vatsara-sa(sa)tangaḥ-ṇṇu-nūr-  
[e]ḷpatt-[e]raṇeṇya Sô(sau)myam-ṇm̐ba
- 2 sa[m]vatsaram pravarttise<sup>4</sup> [I\*] Svasti      Amôghavarisha<sup>5</sup>dēva-śrīprithavi.<sup>6</sup>  
vallabha-paramēśvara-parama-
- 3 bhaṭṭi[ā]ṛaka-pādapāṇkaja-bhramaran=a[nka]ṭ-ṭri[nē]ṭran-āne-vedēṅgam                      vana-gaja-  
mallam kachchegam      Kri(kri)shṇarājām śrīmat

expression *kḍam kachchu, karchu, or kaḷchu*, 'to lave the feet (at the time of making a donation),' is well known from many records. And for the noun *bāt-gachchu*, 'sword-washing,' we have the analogy of the noun *kāl-garchu*, 'foot-washing,' in lines 40 and 47 of an inscription of A.D. 1112 at *Beḷagāmi* (*P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 172, and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 85).

<sup>1</sup> The word *takkōla* means 'the tree *Pimenta acris*,' and 'a particular fragrant drug.' The Madras Postal Directory gives also a '*Takkol*' about a hundred miles more to the north, in the *Siddharattam tāluka* of the *Cuddapah* district. But we need not hesitate about accepting *Takkōlam* in the North Arcot district, as decided by Dr. Hultzsch (see above, Vol. V. p. 167, note 1). It is the more important place of the two; it contains, among other records, an inscription of *Kṛishṇa III.*; and it is only about thirteen miles distant, to the north, from *Conjeevaram*, which city, together with *Tanjore*, was reduced by *Kṛishṇa III.*—doubtless during the same campaign in which the *Chōḷa* king was killed at *Takkōla*.

<sup>2</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>3</sup> This record does not seem to begin with the customary *Om* before the *Svasti*. We have the *Om* at the end of lines 14 and 19, represented by symbols respectively plain and slightly ornate. And we perhaps have it at certain other places; see the next note.

<sup>4</sup> After this word, and after *Kannarādēva[m]*, line 4, and after *iḍḍu*, line 4, and after *śrī*, line 24, and before the *svasti* at the beginning of lines 5, 7, and 20, there are certain marks which are perhaps intended for symbols representing the word *Om*, which would be appropriate enough at each place, except after *Kannarādēva[m]* in line 4. But it cannot be said for certain that they actually are such symbols.

<sup>5</sup> Read *varsha*. *Varsha* is a well established *tadbhava* of *varsha*. But it is hardly admissible in such a combination as the one that we have here.

<sup>6</sup> Read *prithivi*. Here, again, in *prithivī* we have a well established *tadbhava*, which, however, is hardly admissible in such a combination.

<sup>7</sup> My original reading,—*a[nri]pa-ṭri[nē]ṭran*, 'a very *Triṇētra* among kings,'—cannot be upheld. The *Tri[nē]ṭran* is practically certain. But I cannot satisfy myself as to what the word before it is. We should expect either *Raṭṭa*,—giving the meaning of 'a very *Triṇētra* among the *Raṭṭas*,'—on the analogy of *Sagaratrinētra* in lines 8 and 17 below and of *Chōḷatrinētra* (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 139), or some word meaning 'king,' on the analogy of *Nripatitrinētra* as a *biruda* of *Gōvinda IV.* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 251, text line 38), *Rājatrinētra* as a *biruda* of *Kakka II.* (*ibid.* p. 268, text line 41), and *Maṇḍalikatrinētra* as a *biruda* of *Noḷambāntaka-Mārasimha II.* (above, Vol. V. p. 177, text line 91); and we might, of course, read *bhramara[n]*, and take the *a* as the initial of some such word. I cannot, however, think of any such word, which the doubtful *akshara* will suit. The spurious *Gaṇjām* grant (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Sr. 160) gives *lōkatrinētra*, 'a very *Triṇētra* among mankind,' as an alleged *biruda* of *Mārasinga-Ereyappa*, the alleged son of *Sivavāra II.*; but *lōka*, again, is not admissible here. Provisionally, I accept the reading which is given in Mr. Rice's text, and is of course shewn in his lithograph, namely, *aṅka-ṭrinētra*, 'a very *Triṇētra* in fight or war,' because I find that a *Beḷagāmi* inscription of A.D. 1181 (*P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 192, and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 117)

- 4 Kannaradēva[m] Mūvaḍi<sup>1</sup>-Chōla-Rājādityana mēle [ba]ndu Takkōisadoḷ-kādi  
kōndu bijayam-geyyutt-iḷḍu<sup>2</sup> [!\*]
- 5 Svasti<sup>3</sup> Satyavākya-Koṅṅunivarmma-dharm[m]amahārājādhirāja[m] Kōḷāla-  
puravar-ēśvaram Nandagiri-nātham
- 6 śrīmat Permmānāḍigaḷ nanniya-Gaṅga[m] jaya[d=u]ttaraṅgam Gaṅga-  
G[āṅgā]ya[m] Gaṅga-Nārayaṇa=ātan=āḷu[tt-i]ḷḍu<sup>4</sup>
- 7 Svasti<sup>5</sup> sakala-lōka-paritāp-āpa[ghā]ta-[pra]bhāv-āvatāri[ta]-Gaṅg[ā\*]-pravāh-ōdāra-  
Sagara-vamśa[m\*] Va-
- 8 laḅhi(bhi)-puravar-ēśvaran=udāra-Bhagīrathan=iṅiva-beḍeṅgam Sag[ara]-Triṇētram  
seṇase-mūg-arivom
- 9 kadan-aika-Su(sū)drakam Būtugan=aṅkakāram śrīmat Maṇal[o]raṅg[e]<sup>6</sup>  
anuvradoḷ mechchi bēdi-koḷ=endo-
- 10 de dayeya meṇe-vol=emba Kāḷiyam daye-geyy=endu koṇḍan=Ā nāya[m]  
Kōḷale-nāḍa Beḷatūra paḍu-
- 11 vana deseya moṇaḍiyol piri[ḍum] paṇḍige viṭṭode pandiyum nāyum=  
oda-sattuv=adarkke-
- 12 y=Ātukūroḷ Challēśvarada munde kallaṇ=naḍisi piriya keṇeya keḷage maḷti-  
kāl=aṅgaḷol=ir-kkaṇḍaga-
- 13 manṇa[m] koṭṭar=Ā manṇan-okkal nāḍan=āḷvom<sup>7</sup>=ūran=āḷvor=i manṇan=  
aḷidon=ā nāya geyda pāpamaṇ koṇḍo-
- 14 n=ā sthānaman=āḷva goravan=ā kallaṇ pūjisad=uṇṭar=appode n[ā]ya geyda  
pāpamaṇ koṇḍa[m] [!]\* Om<sup>8</sup> [!]\*
- 15 Uṇḍ<sup>9</sup>=idir-ānta Chōla-chaturśūga-balaṅgalan=aṭṭi muṭṭi taḷt=iṅiv=edeg-orvvar=  
appodaṇ=idi[r]chchuva
- 16 gaṇḍaran=āmpēv=endu poṭṭaḷisuva<sup>10</sup> bīaram neṇeye kāṇeme Chōḷane<sup>11</sup>  
sakkiy=āge taḷt=iḷidudan=āme ka-
- 17 ṇḍev=ene mechchador=ār=Ssagara-Triṇētranam || Narapati bennoḷ=iḷdon=idir-  
āntadu vairi-samūham=illi
- 18 machcharisuvar=ellaṇam seraguṇv=āḷdapor=inn-iren=endu siṅgad=ant-ire Hari  
bīra-Lakshmi nerav=āg-ire Chō-
- 19 la[na]-kōṭey=emba sindhurada śir-āgramam bīriye p[o]yidaṇ<sup>12</sup> kadan-  
aika-Su(sū)drakam [!]\* Om [!]\*

describes the *Dandadyaka* Kēsimaṇya, in line 28, as *kadana-Triṇētra*, "a very Triṇētra in destruction, killing, slaughter, or war." But the *akshara* before the *tri* does not seem identical with the *āka* of *paṅkaja* in the same line and elsewhere, but appears rather to include an *m*; and also the compound itself, *aṅka-Triṇētra*, seems, somehow, not a satisfactory one.—Regarding this *śrūda*, now see the Postscript on page 83 below.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rice's text gives *aḷiḍeade*, which is rendered in the translation by "without fear,"—being imagined, I suppose, to be a compound of *aḷku* (which, however, should be *aḷku*), 'fear,' and *ēvade*, the negative participle of *ēvu*, 'to take care of, to guard, protect, cherish.'—The real reading, *Mūvaḍi*, is quite certain. For some marks which stand before this word, and after *Kannaradēvaṇ*, see note 4 on page 53 above.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the marks after this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the marks before this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

<sup>4</sup> The *i* and the *u* are quite recognisable in the ink-impression, though not in the collotype.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding the marks before this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

<sup>6</sup> Originally, I read *Maṇalarata[ṅg=ō]nutaradoḷ*. Mr. Rice's text gives *Maṇḍalarāṅge anuvradoḷ*. The real name, *Maṇalera*, is quite distinct, in the present ink-impression, in line 21 below.

<sup>7</sup> Read *ḍivon*.

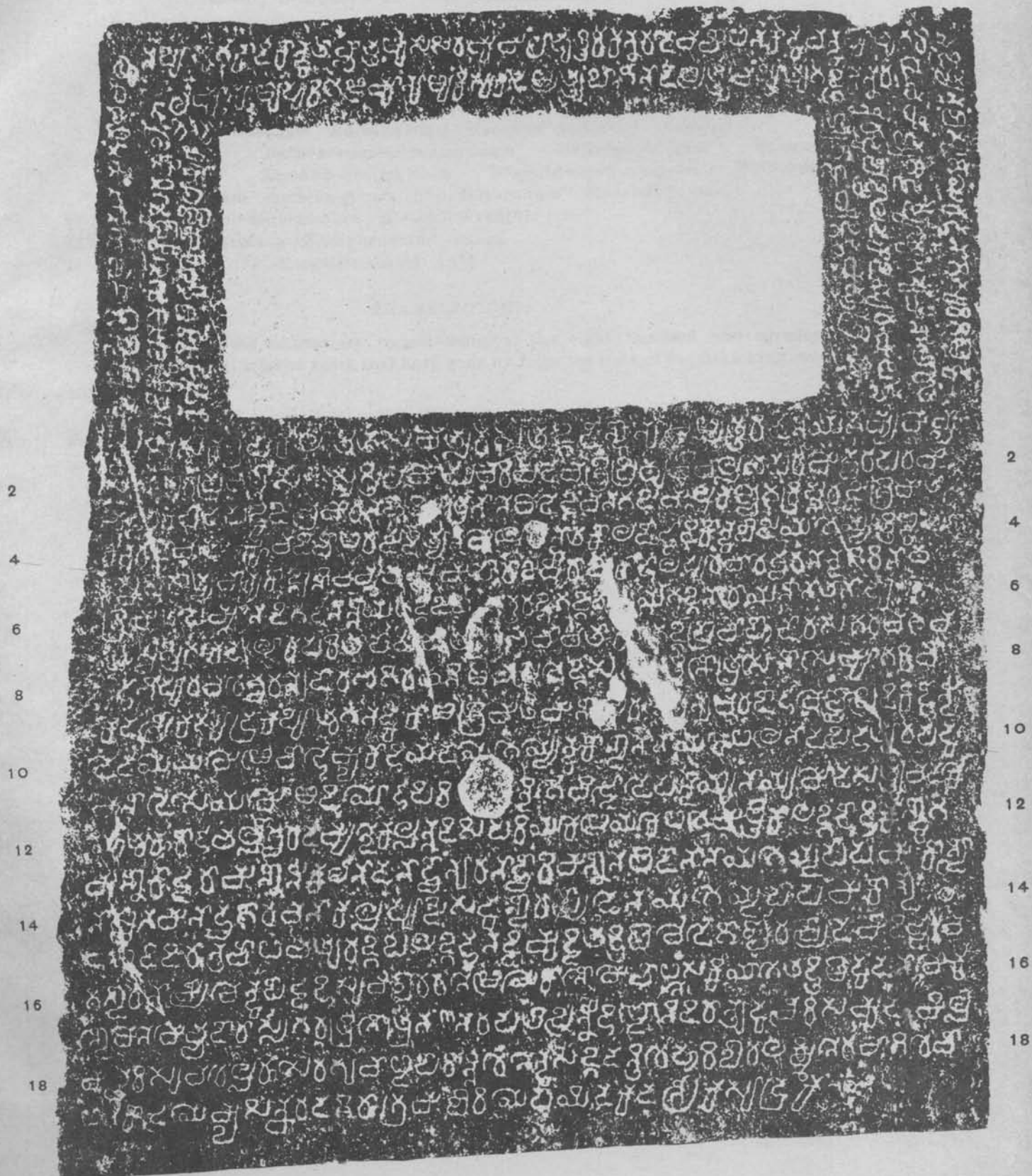
<sup>8</sup> Represented by a plain symbol.

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Champakamālā; and in the following verse.

<sup>10</sup> Read *pochecharisuva*, as suggested to me by Mr. Kittel. The *poṭṭaḷisuva* of the original not only violates the *prāsa* or alliteration of the second syllable of the *pāda*, by giving *i* instead of *ṛ*, but also presents a word for which no authority can be found.

<sup>11</sup> The *ne* was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

<sup>12</sup> The metre is faulty here; we have — — —, instead of — — — —.





## The Subsidiary Record at the Top of the Stone.

- 20 Svasti Śrī-Ereyapaṇā magam Rāchamallanam Būtugam kādi kondu  
tombhattaru-sāsiramumam<sup>1</sup> ālutt-ire [!\*] Kannaradēvam Chōḷanam  
kāduv-andu Būtugam Rājādityanam bisu-geye kallau=āgi surig=iṇidu  
21 kādi kondu Banavase-pannirchchāsiramum Belvola-mūnūrum Purigere  
mūnūrum<sup>2</sup> Kisukād-erpa(lpa)ttum Bāgenād-erpa(lpa)ttuvam Būtugaṅge  
Kannaradēvam mechchu-goṭṭam [!]\* Būtuganum<sup>3</sup> Maṇaleram ta-  
22 nna munde uind=iṇidudarkke mechchi Ātuk[ū]r-ppa-  
23 nneraḍum Belvolada Kādiyūrumam<sup>4</sup> bāl-ga-  
24 chchu-goṭṭam [!]\* Maṅgaḷa-mabā-śrī<sup>5</sup> [!]\*

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the samvatsara named Saumya, the eight hundred and seventy-second (in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, was current:—

(Line 2)—Hail! When Kṛishṇarāja (III.), the glorious Kannaradēva,—a very bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, Amōghavarshadēva-(Vaddiga); a very Tripētra (Śiva) in battle;<sup>6</sup> a marvel with elephants;<sup>7</sup> a wrestler against forest-elephants;<sup>8</sup> he who wears the girdle (of prowess);<sup>9</sup>—having attacked the Mūvaḍi-Chōḷa<sup>10</sup> Rājāditya, and having fought and killed him at Takkōla, was going in triumph:<sup>11</sup>—

(L. 5)—Hail! The *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* Satyavākya-Koṅgunivarman, the lord of Kōlāla the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the glorious Permānadi, the

<sup>1</sup> Read *sāsiramam*, or *sāsiraman*; compare page 48 above, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Read *mūnūrum*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Būtugam*; the copulative ending is not required.

<sup>4</sup> I read originally *Kōṭeyūrumam*. The present ink-impression, however, shews clearly *Kādiyūrumam*, as given in Mr. Rice's text,—or, of course, optionally *Kādiyūrumam*.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding the marks after this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

<sup>6</sup> See note 7 on page 53 above, and the Postscript on page 83 below.

<sup>7</sup> *Ānevedēga*. This *diruda* occurs in also line 1 of the Soratūr inscription of Kṛishṇa III. of A.D. 851 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 257).—I have previously translated it by "a very marvel of refuge," and "a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance)," taking *āne* as the infinitive, in *e*, of *anu*, to which Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary gives the active meanings of 'to stay, prop, support; to oppose, resist.' I now, however, follow Mr. Rice's translation; partly because Mr. Kittel considers that more suitable, since in his opinion *āne* would have been used if the meaning had been such as I then thought, and partly because I have elsewhere met with the *diruda* Turagavedēga, which can only be rendered by "a marvel with horses."

<sup>8</sup> Vanagajamalla. This *diruda* of Kṛishṇa III. is used in line 8 of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of Nolaṃbāntaka-Mārasimha II. (above, Vol. V. p. 176). In a slightly different form,—Madagajamalla, "a wrestler against rutting elephants,"—it occurs in also line 2 of the Soratūr inscription (see the preceding note).—For the recognition of Gaṇḍamārtanda as a formal *diruda*, and as denoting Kṛishṇa III., in line 9 of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph, I was indebted to Mr. V. Venkayya, who detected it from the passage in line 56 ff. of the Kārbād grant of A.D. 968 (above, Vol. IV. p. 235), which describes Kṛishṇa III. as founding temples of Kālāpriyēśvara, Gaṇḍamārtandēśvara, and Kṛishṇēśvara. I was not able to introduce an acknowledgment of this into the proofs of my paper on the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph.

<sup>9</sup> *Kachcheḡa*. Finding *kachche* given in Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary in the sense of 'quarrel, dispute, fighting,' I have previously rendered this *diruda* by "a (real) fighter (or disputant)," and a somewhat similar *diruda*, *Kachcheya-Gaṅga*, by "the quarrelsome or fighting Gaṅga" (above, Vol. III. p. 183, note 4). Mr. Rice's translation renders it by "warlike." I owe the present rendering of it to Mr. Kittel, who, in support of it, has referred me to *ḍira-gachche*, 'a *kachche* fit for warriors or brave men.' *Kachche* is a *taḍbhava* of *kaksha*, 'a girdle, a string or zone for fastening a cloth round the waist.' *Kachcheya-Gaṅga* may be rendered by "the girdled Gaṅga."

<sup>10</sup> See page 51 above, note 4.

<sup>11</sup> See page 51 above, note 5.

truthful Gaṅga, the lintel of victory, the Gāṅgēya among the Gaṅgas, the Nārāyaṇa among the Gaṅgas,— he, when governing,—

(L. 7)— Hail !,— being pleased in battle with the illustrious Maṇalera,— who is of the noble race of the Sagaras, which by its power brought down the stream of the river Gaṅgā in order to ward off the affliction of all mankind; (*who has the hereditary title of*) lord of Valabhi the best of towns; who is a very Bhagiratha among noble men; who is a marvel among those who pierce; who is a very Triṇētra among the Sagaras; who cuts off noses when he is angry; who is the sole Śūdraka in war; who is the champion<sup>1</sup> of Būtuga (II.),— said “Make thy request!” Thereupon, he said— “Be gracious enough to give me thy favourite<sup>2</sup> (hound) Kāli, which is called the one that bays loudly;”<sup>3</sup> and he obtained it.

(L. 10)— On their loosing that hound at a mighty boar on the hill in the western quarter of the village of Bejatūr of the Kelale district, the boar and the hound killed each other.<sup>4</sup> And, to (*commemorate*) that, they set up (*this*) stone in front of the temple of the god Chālśvara<sup>5</sup> at Ātukūr; and they gave land (*yielding*) two kaṇḍugas (*of grain*) in the open space of the channel, called the channel of the maṭṭi-trees, below the large tank.

(L. 13)— Any cultivator who destroys that land, and any governor of the district or any governors of the village who destroy this land, shall incur the guilt of the sin committed by that hound !<sup>6</sup> If the Gorava who manages the estate<sup>7</sup> should fail to do worship to that stone, he shall incur the guilt of the sin committed by the hound ! Om !

(L. 15)— At the place where,— having followed and come up with the four-fold forces<sup>8</sup> of the Chōla, which stood to confront us without wavering,— we were to come to close quarters and pierce them, we certainly saw not any (*others among our*) valiant men who strode forward<sup>9</sup> saying “We will meet the heroes that oppose us;” but we did see how,— the Chōla himself being the witness,— he (Maṇalera) came to close quarters and pierced: who, then, could fail to be pleased with him, the Triṇētra among the Sagaras? The king was at his back; a multitude of enemies faced him in front; and all those here (*on our side*), who jealously sought to excel him, met with disaster:<sup>10</sup> then, saying “I can stand back no longer,” he, the sole Śūdraka in war, with the help of the god Hari (Viṣṇu) and the brave Lakṣmī struck, like a lion, the forehead of the elephant that was called the fortress of the Chōla, so that it burst open. Om !

<sup>1</sup> In *anākāra*, we take *aṅka* in the sense of ‘fight, war.’ *Kāra* is said to be a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *kāra*, ‘making, doing, causing; a maker, a doer.’— Kittel’s Dictionary gives to *anākāra* the meanings of ‘an influential or a chief servant; a leading hero.’ But, in such combinations as the present one, the rendering ‘champion,’ which I fixed some time ago, seems more appropriate; especially as I find the following in the *Madras Manual of the Administration*, Vol. III. p. 34, under the word *anaka*:— “Challenge. In Malabar, a duel, formerly frequent among the Nayar race. These combats arose from private feuds. A preparation and training for twelve years preceded the actual fight in order to qualify the combatants in the use of their weapons. They were not necessarily the principals in the quarrel, generally their champions. These undertook to defend the cause they had taken up till they were killed. Source of revenue to the local rajah, each combatant paying for the privilege of fighting [maryaṇḍay].”— The last sentence, however, seems rather dubious; so, also, the twelve years’ training.

<sup>2</sup> *Dayeya*; *lit.* “of (*thy*) favour or affection.”

<sup>3</sup> *Mere-volḷu*; *lit.* “the ostentatious barker,” from *mere*, ‘abine, lustre; ostentation,’ and *volḷu*, = *bagaḷu*, *bogalu*, *boguḷu*, ‘barking; crying out.’

<sup>4</sup> *Oḍa-sattuvu*; *lit.* “died together.”

<sup>5</sup> The genitive is used of *Chālśvara* as a neuter, to indicate the temple. There are many other instances of this in the ancient records.

<sup>6</sup> This seems rather a severe reflection upon the hound, after it had behaved so courageously. It must be justified on the understanding that all killing is sinful, no matter what the circumstances may be.

<sup>7</sup> *Sthāna*; the temple and the property, including the present grant, belonging to it.

<sup>8</sup> *Chaturanga-bala* is “an entire or complete army, comprising elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry.”

<sup>9</sup> *Pochcharisuvu*; *lit.* “who were (breaking forth), starting into view, becoming evident or manifest, appearing; shining.”

<sup>10</sup> *Seragu=āḍḍapo*; *lit.* “sank into calamity, evil, mischief.”

## The Subsidiary Record at the Top of the Stone.

(L. 20)—Hail! While Bûtuga (II.), having fought and killed Râchamalla, the son of the illustrious Ereyapa, was governing the ninety-six thousand :—

(L. 20)—At the time when Kannaradêva was fighting against the Chôla, Bûtuga (II.), while embracing<sup>1</sup> Râjâditya, treacherously<sup>2</sup> stabbed him with a dagger, and thus fought and killed him; and Kannaradêva gave to Bûtuga, in token of approbation, the Banavase twelve-thousand, the Belvola three-hundred, the Purigere three-hundred, the Kisukâd seventy, and the Bâgenâd seventy.

(L. 21)—Being pleased with the manner in which Maṇalera stood out in front of him and pierced (*his foes*), Bûtuga gave (*to him*), as a *bâlgachchu*-grant,<sup>3</sup> the Âtukûr twelve and the village of Kâdiyûr<sup>4</sup> of (the) Belvola (district). May there be auspicious and great good fortune!

\* \* \* \* \*

## Further Remarks on the Western Gaṅgas of Talakâd.

I have spoken, on page 40 above, of certain additions, modifications, and corrections, which I should have liked to be able to make in my article in Vol. V. above, pp. 151 to 180, before it was published, but which, for the reason given, it was impracticable to introduce into it. I enter on that subject now. And, to accompany my remarks, I give, on page 59 below, a revised table of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakâd,<sup>5</sup> including the necessary alterations up to date.

In the way of additions, it is only necessary, at present, to state that an inscription at Kûragallu<sup>6</sup> gives us the name of Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as the wife of Bûtuga I., and that an inscription at Elkûru<sup>7</sup> gives us a Gaṅga prince subsequent to Râchamalla II.: the record does not disclose his proper name; but he was a Nitimârga, with the *birudas* of Jayadâṅkakâra, "the champion of victory,"<sup>8</sup> and probably Komaraveḍeṅga, "a marvel among princes;"<sup>9</sup> and the record furnishes for him the date of the Vikârin *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-Saṃvat 921 (expired), = A.D. 999-1000, without any specification of the month.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bisu-geye*. We have to find here the opportunity for stabbing Râjâditya treacherously. Mr. Rice's translation gives "making Râjâditya angry;" but there is no point in such a rendering. I originally translated "while they were taking the air together," on the authority of Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary giving *bisuge* in the sense of 'going abroad, taking an airing;' but it seems that *bisuge* does not really occur in that meaning. Mr. Kittel says that he has no hesitation in translating "when he made close connection (*with him*), i.e., probably, when he embraced him,"—connecting the first part of the compound with, I suppose, *bisu*, 3, 'to unite firmly, to solder; to join, to be united,' and this at once suggests a suitable meaning, namely, that pretended overtures of peace were made, and that Râjâditya was stabbed at a meeting that took place between him and Bûtuga.

<sup>2</sup> *Kaḷḷan=âgi*; *lit.* "having become a thief; as a thief."

<sup>3</sup> See page 52 above, and note 4.

<sup>4</sup> Or Kâdiyûr.

<sup>5</sup> The numbers before some of the names indicate the members of the family who actually ruled, or probably ruled, over the Gaṅgavâḍi province, and the order in which the succession went. When the exact relationship between two consecutive individuals is not established, dots are used instead of lines.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92; and see page 69 below, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch. 10.

<sup>8</sup> This *biruda* is rather exceptional and peculiar; because *âṅkakâra* is usually, and most naturally, preceded by a proper name, and *jayada*, or any word of that sort, is usually followed by *uttaraṅga*. But we have an analogy for it, in the case of Tapadâṅkakâra, "the champion of penance or asceticism," which occurs as a *biruda* or epithet of a Śaiva priest named Varêśvara in line 38 of a Baḷagâmi inscription of A.D. 1096 (my *P. S. O.-C. Insers.* No. 166; and see Mr. Rice's *Mysore Insers.* p. 172, where, however, it is rendered, together with the following word *amatam*, by "with a body purified by penance"). See also the Postscript on page 83 below.

<sup>9</sup> This *biruda* is given as Komaraveḍeṅga in the text in Roman characters, but as Kôviraveḍaṅga in the text in Kanarese characters. Kôviraveḍaṅga is unintelligible. Komaraveḍeṅga is likely to be correct; in the spurious Sôḍi grant, it is attributed to the alleged Ereyagaṅga, who is placed next after Bûtuga I. (above, Vol. V. p. 183).

<sup>10</sup> An inscription at Bêlûru, in the Maṇḍya tâluka, Mysore district (Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 78), purports to give us a still later Gaṅga prince,—a Gaṅga-Permanâḍi, who, it says, was governing the Karpâta in

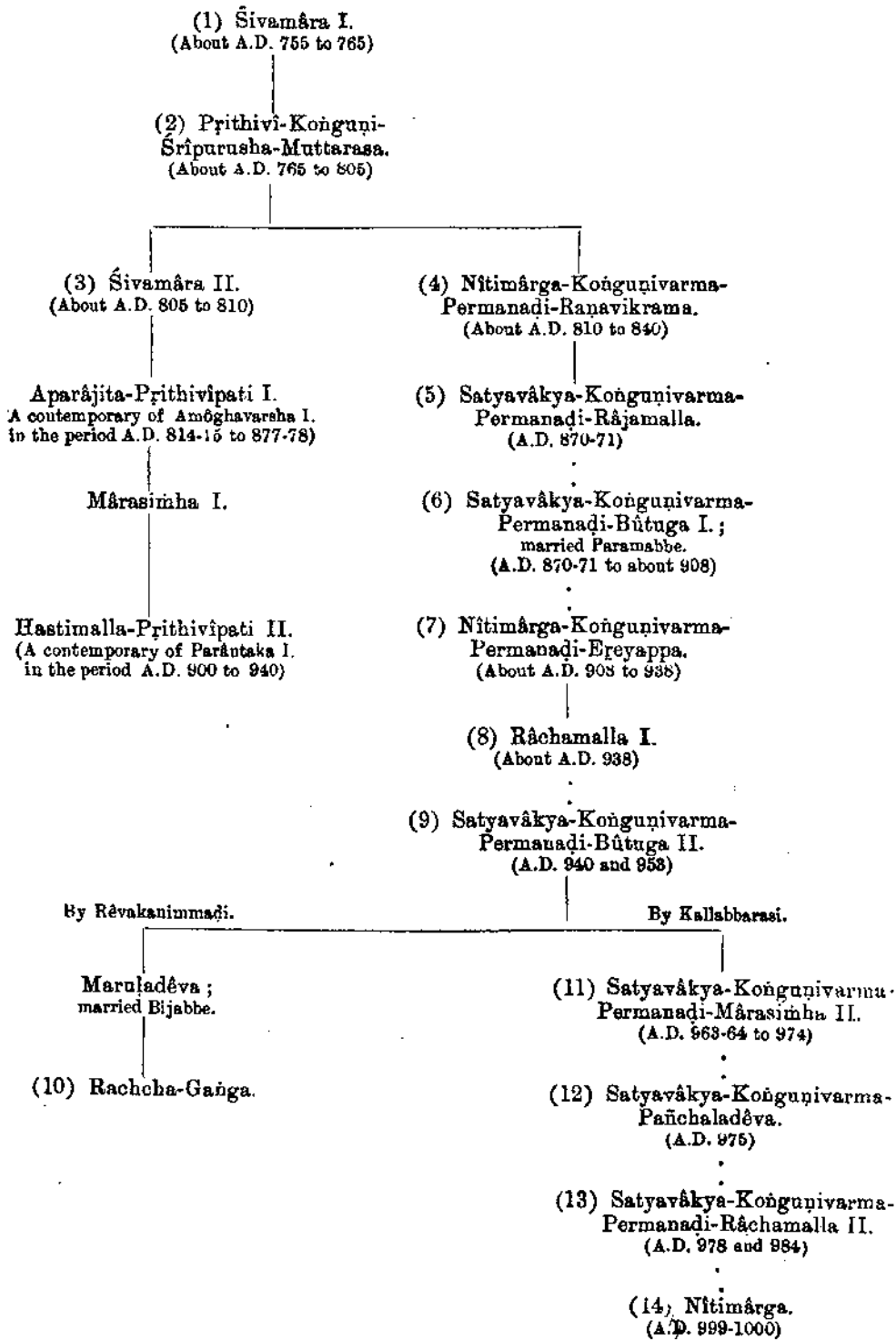
In respect of modifications and corrections, I have first to say that everything in my article that was based, directly or indirectly, on the spurious Suradhēnupura grant, must be expunged. This document appears to have been first brought to notice by Mr. Rice in 1894, in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 3, where it was put forward as furnishing a date in the Sarvajit *saṃvatsara*, corresponding to Śaka-Saṃvat 729 (expired), = A.D. 807-808, falling in the third year of Śivamāra II., and as fixing the commencement of his rule in A.D. 804. It is, however, not even an ancient forgery. In February, 1899, I received from Mr. Rice, with a copy of the text, a statement of facts which shew that it has been fabricated within the last thirty years or so, and with just the same object as that with which the ancient spurious grants were fabricated, namely, to establish an actual right or an asserted claim to property. And, with Mr. Rice's permission, I quote, in full explanation of the matter, what he wrote to me about this document, in his letter dated the 19th January, 1899, as follows:—"The 'Suradhēnupura plates are of no use. The story of them is this. They are in the usual form 'of the Vijayanagara grants, engraved in the same Nāgarī characters generally employed in such 'grants, signed as usual in big Kannaḍa characters *śrī-Virūpāksha*, and the seal on the ring 'is a hoar. But on reading I found that, though the first words were *śrī-Gaṇēśāya namaḥ*, it 'went on to nearly the end of the second side with the epithets and genealogy of the Gaṅgas, 'as contained in the various plates that have been discovered. This was certainly puzzling, as 'at the time the grant was entered in my list no one except myself and the old Munshi who 'helped me with the Mercara and Nāgamangala plates was acquainted with this string of epithets 'and names. On inquiry, however, I found that this Munshi (then dead) was one of the 'principal shareholders in the village, which was shortly expecting the Inām inquiry. This 'explained everything, as he was a man with a screw loose, though a good scholar, and would 'often have misled me if I had not found out that he was not to be trusted. It seems evident 'that the village had a Vijayanagara grant and that he must have got two plates engraved with 'the knowledge he had acquired, and substituted them, having the whole put on a ring 'together. Still, I thought that he had really perhaps had access to a Gaṅga grant, from which 'he had taken the particulars and date. But I am now convinced that the whole thing was a 'hoax. The date is an impossible one, and the changes in the names of kings (*Bhūri Vikrama*, 'Nava Chokka, Purushōttama) are concoctions of his own, as well as the final Narasimha- 'dharma-varma (note the order) which he gives as another name of Śivamāra." In the face of this explanation, it is not necessary to pay any further attention to this document, or to make any further comments on it, beyond remarking that what this Munshi did is precisely what was done right and left in Mysore about seven centuries ago, and somewhat later in a neighbouring part of the country, where, Mr. G. R. Subramiah Pantulu has told us,<sup>1</sup> forged grants of the Vijayanagara series are probably nearly as plentiful as the genuine grants, which are themselves extremely numerous; and the liberties that he took with some of the names that were available to him, illustrate exactly the liberties that the persons who fabricated ancient forgeries would take, sometimes in misrepresenting real names and sometimes in inventing imaginary names, in putting together pedigrees to serve their purposes.<sup>2</sup>

the month Phālguna, falling in A.D. 1023 (if we accept the Śaka date), Śaka-Saṃvat 944 (expired). But, with this Śaka year it wrongly couples the Durmukhin *saṃvatsara*, which would be either A.D. 996-97 or A.D. 1056-57. And, with so great a discrepancy,—to say nothing of the fact that the details of the date are not correct, either for the given Śaka year (current or expired), or for A.D. 996-97 or 1056-57,—it is impossible to attach any value to the date or to the record itself. Moreover, the expression "governing the Karṇāṭa" is foreign to the phraseology of the Gaṅga records, and suggests a much later period.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVII. p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> It may be added, incidentally, that Mr. Rice speaks of the matter rather kindly, in calling the document simply a hoax. If any attempt was actually made to produce it before the Inām Commission, a criminal offence was committed, for which, on exposition of the real nature of the document, a substantial sentence of rigorous imprisonment would have been passed.

## The Western Gāṅgas of Talakāṣṭ.



The other corrections affect that part of the succession that lies between Satyavākya-Rājamalla, the grandson of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, and Satyavākya-Būtuga II., the father of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II.; that is to say, the period between A.D. 870-71 and A.D. 940, which latter is the earliest fixed date for Būtuga II.

To understand the matter fully and settle this period finally, we must first consider exactly the way in which Mr. Rice has dealt with this period, and the steps by which he has led up to it. We will start with Śivamāra I., the founder of that branch of the Western Gāṅga stock with which we are dealing; for, we must at any rate go back to Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, and so, while we are about it, we may as well run through the whole list of authentic names. It is not necessary to waste any time on the alleged names before Śivamāra I.; because they are all fictitious.

Mr. Rice has taken the spurious grants, and the dates put forward by them, as his guide, and has adapted the genuine records to them. And, from the two sources taken together in this way, he has arrived at the following succession and dates,<sup>1</sup> starting with Śivamāra I., to whom he has assigned the period "A.D. 679 to 713+."<sup>2</sup> Here, the initial date is based on the spurious Hallegere grant,<sup>3</sup> which purports to give a date in the month Jyēshṭha, Śaka-Saṃvat 635 expired, falling in A.D. 713, as being in the thirty-fourth year of Śivamāra I.

Differing from the Sūḍi grant, the spurious records from Mysore itself describe Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa as the grandson of Śivamāra I., and omit to mention his father's name. With this unnamed son of Śivamāra I., Mr. Rice apparently proposed to identify a certain Mārasimha, who was at that time supposed to be indicated as a son of Śivamāra I. by the Udayēndiram grant of Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II.; at any rate, he has proposed to place the Mārasimha of the Udayēndiram grant, whom he has specified as "the predecessor of Śrīpurusha,"<sup>4</sup> next after Śivamāra I., and he has assigned to him the period from some date after A.D. 713 "to A.D. 726,"<sup>5</sup>—the final date being fixed by the initial date which he has accepted for the next in succession. But the existence of this Mārasimha is based on nothing but the imperfect original rendering of the Udayēndiram grant.<sup>6</sup> The revised rendering of that record<sup>7</sup> has shewn us that the Mārasimha there mentioned must be placed at least a century after A.D. 726. And the Vaḷḷimalai inscription<sup>8</sup> has shewn us that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa was in reality the son of Śivamāra I.

Next after this Mārasimha, Mr. Rice has placed Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa. To him, he originally assigned the period "A.D. 727 to 777,"<sup>9</sup>—the initial date being taken from the assertion in the spurious Dēvarhalli grant<sup>10</sup>—(formerly known as the Nāgamāṅgala grant)—that the fiftieth year of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa was Śaka-Saṃvat 698 expired, = A.D. 776-77. The final date was afterwards extended to "A.D. 804,"<sup>11</sup> which was supposed to be the initial date

<sup>1</sup> See, chiefly, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. pp. 2 to 6, the Table on pp. 7, 8, and the Classified List of the Inscriptions after p. 36, and Vol. IV. Introd. pp. 5, 8 to 12, and the Classified List after p. 38; also, for a few points, *Coorg Insers.* Introd. pp. 3 to 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 113, with a lithograph.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> By Mr. Foulkes, in the *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. II. p. 369.

<sup>7</sup> By Dr. Hultzsch, *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. II. p. 375.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

<sup>9</sup> *Coorg Insers.* Introd. p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ng. 85, with a lithograph.—For a facsimile of two sides of this grant, see above, Vol. IV. p. 164, in my article on the spurious Sūḍi grant.

<sup>11</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.—The natural inference is that the spurious Suradhēnupura document was brought to Mr. Rice's notice after 1886 (the date of the publication of his *Coorg Insers.*) and before 1894 (the date of the publication of his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III.). In order to deal with the spurious grants in the final manner in which they should some day be disposed of, we ought to know the exact order, and the years, in which each of them came to notice. Our information on this point is at present very scanty.

established for the next in succession by the spurious Suradhēnnpura document. And it must be taken to be now cut down to A.D. 797, or earlier, by the subsequent assignment of this date to the next in succession.

Next after Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, Mr. Rice has placed his son, or alleged son, Śivamāra II. He originally put him at some indefinite time between A.D. 813 and 869,<sup>1</sup> placing him after the Chākīrāja for whom the Kaḍaba grant<sup>2</sup> purports to put forward a date in A.D. 813. He then allotted to him the date of "A.D. 804," as his initial date,—leaving the final date uncertain,—from the spurious Suradhēnnpura document.<sup>3</sup> And he has now apparently carried him back to A.D. 797, if not earlier,<sup>4</sup> from the spurious Manne grant, which mentions Lōkatrinētra-Mārasimha as a son of Śivamāra II., describes him as administering the whole of the Gaṅga province as *Yuvarāja*, and gives a date in the month Āshāḍha, Śaka-Samvat 719 (expired), falling in A.D. 797. Mr. Rice's suggestion<sup>5</sup> is that Śivamāra II. was perhaps then a prisoner in the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭas, and that that is why this Mārasimha is described as *Yuvarāja* in command of the whole Gaṅga country. With the additional name of Eṇṇayappa,—Lōkatrinētra-Mārasimha-Eṇṇayappa,—this person is mentioned, again as *Yuvarāja*, in also another spurious grant, from Gañjām in the Seringapatam tāluka;<sup>6</sup> this record does not put forward any date.

Next after Śivamāra II., Mr. Rice has placed his alleged younger brother Vijayāditya, with any date up "to A.D. 869,"<sup>7</sup>—this final date being necessitated by the initial date which he has proposed for the next ruler.

Next after Vijayāditya, he has placed Vijayāditya's alleged son Satyavākya-Rājamalla, with the proposed period "A.D. 869 to ? 893."<sup>8</sup> Here, the initial date is based<sup>9</sup> on the Biliūr inscription,<sup>10</sup> which specifies the month Phālguna, Śaka-Samvat 809 (expired), falling in A.D. 888, as being in the eighteenth year of a Satyavākya, whose proper name, however, it does not disclose; and the final date is the initial date proposed for the next in succession. And to this Satyavākya-Rājamalla he has referred, in addition to the Biliūr record of A.D. 888, the inscription at Husukūru,<sup>11</sup> which mentions the ruling prince both as Satyavākya and as Rājamalla, and gives for him the date of Śaka-Samvat 792 (expired), = A.D. 870-71, without any details of the month, etc. This Husukūru inscription mentions also Būtarasa-(Būtuga I.), who, it tells us, was then governing the Koṅgaṇṇāḍ and Pūṇṇāḍ provinces as *Yuvarāja*. And Būtarasa is mentioned again in a fragmentary inscription at Chik-Kāṭi,<sup>12</sup> which also refers itself to the rule of a Satyavākya, naturally identified by Mr. Rice with Rājamalla.

Next after Satyavākya-Rājamalla, Mr. Rice in 1894 placed a Nītimārga, whose proper name he did not then indicate, with the proposed period "A.D. ? 893 to ? 915,"<sup>13</sup> to whom we shall revert directly. Since then, however, he has introduced the name of Raṇavikramayya,—an alleged son of Rājamalla the alleged son of Vijayāditya,—with the proposed date of "about A.D. 890," and with the suggestion that this Raṇavikramayya may be the Būtarasa-(Būtuga I.) of the Husukūru and Chik-Kāṭi inscriptions, or may be someone else.<sup>14</sup> The name of this

<sup>1</sup> *Coorg Inscr.* Introd. p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. pp. 3, 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 9.—This Manne grant has not been published yet. But I am able to quote it from photographs which Mr. Rice was kind enough to send me.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* in note 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Sr. 160.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> See *Coorg Inscr.* Introd. p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. 2 (Mr. Kittel's rendering), with a lithograph, and *Coorg Inscr.* p. 5 (Mr. Rice's rendering).

<sup>11</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75.—I am dealing now, as on the previous occasion, with only the really important and useful records,—mostly those which include personal names or dates, or which can by any other means be applied in a specific manner.

<sup>12</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gu. 94.

<sup>13</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11, and the Classified List after p. 38.

Raṇavikramayya is taken from the Galigékere grant.<sup>1</sup> This is another obviously spurious record. It does not include any date, Śaka or regnal; and, so, the proposed date of "about A.D. 890" is purely conjectural.

We revert to Mr. Rice's Nītimārga, with the proposed period "A.D. ? 893 to ? 915." Here, the initial date is based on an inscription at Honnāyakanhalli, which was understood to give "reason to suppose his reign began in Śaka 815 (A.D. 893);"<sup>2</sup> and the final date is based on an inscription at Iggali,<sup>3</sup> which, however, is dated in the twenty-second year, not of a Nītimārga, but of a Satyavākya, and therefore does not apply to the case at all. The suggestion has been thrown out, that this Nītimārga may be either Raṇavikramayya or Būtarasa-(Būtuga I.), or both of them.<sup>4</sup> And to this Nītimārga Mr. Rice has referred, in addition to the Iggali inscription (in reality, a record of a Satyavākya), an inscription at Gaṭṭavādi<sup>5</sup> (again, in reality, a record of a Satyavākya, and not of a Nītimārga), dated in the fifth regnal year, erroneously supposed, in consequence of confusing the appellations, to be A.D. 898,—another inscription at the same place,<sup>6</sup> a record of really a Nītimārga, and dated in his fifth year, and therefore referred to A.D. 898,—and an inscription at Kūlagere,<sup>7</sup> also a record of really a Nītimārga, dated Śaka-Saṃvat 831 (expired), = A.D. 909-910, without any details of the month, etc., and without any mention of the regnal year.

Next after this Nītimārga Mr. Rice has placed a Satyavākya, whom he has identified with Eṇeyappa,<sup>8</sup> and to him he has assigned an inscription at Malligere,<sup>9</sup> which refers itself to the rule of a Satyavākya, without disclosing his proper name, and gives for him the date of Śaka-Saṃvat 828 (expired), = A.D. 906-907, without any details of the month, etc., or of the regnal year. For this Satyavākya-Eṇeyappa, he has proposed various other dates ranging from "about A.D. 900" to "about A.D. 925."<sup>10</sup> These are based on records which do not include any Śaka dates, and, mostly, not even regnal dates; so that the proposed dates A.D. are purely conjectural. And we need notice only one of these records here. It is an inscription at Jinnahalli,<sup>11</sup> which refers itself to the seventh year of a Satyavākya, whose proper name it does not disclose: Mr. Rice has identified this Satyavākya with Eṇeyappa, and has consequently placed this record "A.D. ? 900:" but the record mentions this Satyavākya by also the *biruda* of Guttiyagaṅga; Guttiyagaṅga was Satyavākya-Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II.;<sup>12</sup> and the true date of this record is, therefore, A.D. 969-70.

Next after Eṇeyappa, we have the name of his son Rāchamalla I., who was killed by Būtuga II. in or before A.D. 940. In respect of Rāchamalla, Mr. Rice has said<sup>13</sup> that "we must apparently understand that on the death of Eṇeyappa, Rāchamalla and Būtuga were rival claimants to the throne, and that the former did not actually reign, or if he did, only for "a short time." The only record, as yet brought to notice, referable actually to the life-time of this Rāchamalla, is an inscription at Hiranandi.<sup>14</sup> It does not contain any date, Śaka or regnal. But Mr. Rice has proposed to place it "about A.D. 930." And he has suggested<sup>15</sup> that, by this record, "we seem to be let into the plot by which Būtuga endeavoured to get Rāchamalla "into his power. He sent an officer to invite him to come to Maṇṇe, the royal residence, that "they might make a division of the country and the treasury. But Būtuga, as we know, was "not to be trusted. His envoy was therefore met by five fendal chiefs and the headmen with the

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Yd. 60, with a lithograph.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 139; for the attribution of this record to Nītimārga, see Introd. p. 4, as well as the Classified List after p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 97.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Nj. 98.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* the Classified List.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* Hg. 110.

<sup>12</sup> See above, Vol. V. pp. 168, 180.

<sup>13</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 116.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* Introd. p. 12; see also the translation of the record.

"blunt answer — We do not wish any other than Rāchamalla to rule over the kingdom of "Bayal-nāḍ." This, however, hardly does justice to the original, which is in much more plain and forcible terms; and I will give my own rendering of it further on.

And finally, next after Rāchamalla I. Mr. Rice has placed Satyavākya-Būtuga II., with, apparently, the period from about A.D. 930 to A.D. 963. The initial date follows from his opinion that the Hiranandi inscription, which he has placed "about A.D. 930," "brings us "to the death of Ereyappa and the beginning of Būtuga's reign;"<sup>1</sup> and the final date is the initial date of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II., whom he has placed immediately after Būtuga II.<sup>2</sup>

In these arrangements, Mr. Rice has found himself more than once confronted with a difficulty in the shape of **overlapping dates**; and, in particular, he has found<sup>3</sup> that the period A.D. 893 to 915, which he has "provisionally" assigned to Nitimārga, "seems to trench upon "the date Śaka 828 (A.D. 906) given in Kp. 38,"— (the Malligere inscription)— "for his son, "whose distinctive name was Ereyappa." He has proposed to remove any difficulty of this kind by the suggestion<sup>4</sup> that "from instances like this"— (namely, an inscription at Kyātanahalli,<sup>5</sup> which has been supposed to mention Ereyappa as Yuvarāja, and has been placed "about A.D. 916"),— "and similar ones among the Hoysala and other dynasties, it is evident that the heir-apparent to the throne, when of age, was often associated with the king in the government, "and represented as himself performing all the functions of royalty. It is necessary to bear this "in mind in order to account for the frequent overlapping of dates in the reckoning of the "end of the father's reign and the beginning of his son's." We need not, however, consider what may or may not have been the custom among any other families. The overlapping of dates results only from pushing on Satyavākya-Rājamalla to too late a period, and from wrongly identifying Ereyappa as a Satyavākya instead of a Nitimārga. If the Gaṅga records are handled properly, there is no instance, as yet, of any overlapping dates at all; and we have no reason to expect to meet with any such dates.

I take the matter differently, and follow the genuine records. I have, indeed, allowed myself, in my previous article, to enter into certain speculations based on the possibility that, as the spurious grants unquestionably include most of the real historic names mixed up with the fictitious names of their own invention, they may also have preserved a few other germs of historical and chronological truth, more or less correct, or more or less distorted and in anachronistic sequence. But it seems very questionable, whether it is safe to allow them even so much credit as that. It appears more likely that we ought to set them aside as simply epigraphic curiosities, in respect of which we may consider hereafter, if it is thought worth while, how much or how little of the true history was known to the persons who fabricated them. but which we must not use in attempting to construct any of the true history. And on the present occasion, at any rate, I shall not make any use of them, except in connection with the name of Śivamāra II.

The first four generations of the family are enumerated in the Vallimalai inscription,<sup>6</sup> which tells us that the son of Śivamāra (I.) was Śrīpurusha-(Muttarasa), Śrīpurusha's son was Raṇavikrama, and Raṇavikrama's son was Rājamalla. This record is not dated; and it, therefore, does not help in that way. Its great value consists in its disposing finally of the imaginary generation which the spurious grants from Mysore would set up between Śivamāra I. and Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, and in its giving us the true name of the person, Raṇavikrama, whom the spurious grants call Vijayāditya, or in whose place, ignoring him altogether, they substitute a Vijayāditya.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III., Sr. 147; and see page 68 below, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

Of Śivamāra I. we have not, as yet, any genuine record affording a clue to a specific date for him. But historical considerations require us to place him about A.D. 760. And the palæographic indications of certain genuine records which are fairly attributable to him, are fully in accordance with that view. I have proposed for him the period about A.D. 755 to 765. I may hereafter place him a very few years earlier or later. But, for the present, the period that I have proposed is a sufficiently close approximation to the truth.

Of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, again, we have not, as yet, any genuine record affording a clue to a specific date for him. On palæographic and historical grounds, I have allotted to him the period about A.D. 765 to 805. It may be necessary hereafter to place him ten years or so earlier, or even later; and also to allow him a somewhat longer period, because there seems to be a record at Mēlāgāni or at Bissēnhaḷi,<sup>1</sup> overlooked by me, which quotes his forty-second year. But here again, for the present, the proposed period is close enough to the truth.

Next after Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, I have placed Śivamāra II., with the period about A.D. 805 to 810. How far this entry can be upheld, must be a matter for future consideration, for the following reasons. In the first place, we have no genuine records fairly referable to him as a ruling prince. In the second place, we have no absolute statement anywhere, save in the spurious grants, that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa had a son named Śivamāra. In the third place, in selecting A.D. 805 as his initial date, I allowed myself to be guided by the Suradhēnupura forgery,—(not having any reason to suspect that it was so very modern and feeble a fraud),—on the chance that that document, though spurious, preserved a genuine date which, not only was not an impossible one,<sup>2</sup> but was a very possible one, and one that would fit in exactly with the fact that the paramount sovereign, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., was actually in the Kanarese country, on the Tuṅgabhadra, and apparently in Mysore itself, in A.D. 804,<sup>3</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> See *Coorg Inscriptions*. Introd. p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> It became "impossible" only on the discovery of the spurious Maṇḍe grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 797, which would establish in connection with Śivamāra II. a date, when he either was ruling or else had ruled and passed away, eight years before the commencement of his rule according to the Suradhēnupura forgery.

<sup>3</sup> See the record of that year, mentioned in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), p. 379. Mr. Rice (*Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 325) has identified the Rāmēśvara *śrīṭha*,—where, the record says, Gōvinda III. was then encamped,—with an island in the Tuṅgabhadra, five miles south of Honnālī in the Shimoga district, Mysore.—I take this opportunity of referring to passages in my *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 396, 403, where I have suggested that a certain place,—in respect of which the "lord of Veṅgi," i.e. the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayāditya II., is said to have assisted Gōvinda III. in fortifying it, by constructing an outer wall round it,—was Mānyakhēṭa, the modern Mālkheḍ in the Nizām's Dominions, and that, subsequently, Amoghavarsha I. completed the fortification of the city and made it the capital of his dynasty. The place is referred to in verse 19 of the Rādhanpur grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 71). The preceding verse tells us that Gōvinda III. had, in the course of previous events, marched with his army to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra, and there "had drawn to himself the wealth of the Pallavas," or, in other words, had levied tribute or fines from them; and, with the help of the record from the Kanarese country (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125), we may place that about the beginning of A.D. 804. And the use of the word *yatra*, "where," in verse 19, locates the place, round which the *ady-dī-eritī* or "external circumvallation" was built for him by "the lord of Veṅgi," on, or somewhere in the neighbourhood of, the Tuṅgabhadra. The reference may be only to a fortification of some large encampment actually on the Tuṅgabhadra; and, in that case, we may locate that encampment, because of the mention of the Pallavas and the lord of Veṅgi, as far to the east as possible,—somewhere in the neighbourhood of the confluence of the Tuṅgabhadra and the Kṛishnā. But Mālkheḍ is only some eighty-five or ninety miles away, on the north, from the Tuṅgabhadra. It probably already existed, as a place of some importance. The usefulness of it, if fortified, with a view to resisting attacks from the east, would be evident. And it is very likely that Gōvinda III. then decided on making it the capital, and caused the external fortifications of it to be built for him by the king of Veṅgi. In that case, the passage in verse 12 of the Dēḷligant of A.D. 940 (above, Vol. V. p. 193, text lines 18, 19),—which Dr. Bhandarkar has interpreted as shewing that Mālkheḍ was founded by Amoghavarsha I.,—may be translated so as to mean that Amoghavarsha I. merely further embellished a city which had been selected as the capital, and had been fortified, by Gōvinda III.; just as, among the Western Chalukyas, Pulakēśin I. acquired Bādāmi (page 8 above, verse 7), but his son and successor Kirtivarman I., in whose time, we know, the large Vaishnava cave at least was made there, is called "the first maker or creator" of it, i.e. the person who began to adorn the city with temples and other buildings (above, Vol. III. p. 52, and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 345).

would give him the convenient opportunity of doing what the spurious Manne grant asserts that he did, namely, of joining in the coronation of Śivamāra II. And in the fourth place, it is not unlikely that we shall find, hereafter, that the Gaṅga prince who was imprisoned by Dhruva, was released from long captivity and sent back to his own country by Gōvinda III., and then after no long time was imprisoned again by the latter king, was, not Śivamāra II., but Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa,— the fresh act of pride and opposition, which led to the second captivity, being the assumption by him of the paramount titles some time after his twenty-ninth year; and, if so, Śivamāra II. would have to be placed somewhat later than the period that I have proposed for him. On the other hand, some evidence in support of the existence of a Śivamāra who may be taken as a son of Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa, is furnished by an inscription at Sivarpatṭa,<sup>1</sup> which mentions a Śivamāra who was governing the village of Kadabūr, Kaḍabūr, or possibly Kadambūr or Kaḍambūr, under Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa and in perhaps his twenty-ninth year,— (this record, however, does not assert any relationship),— and by a spurious inscription, or a record into which a spurious date has been introduced in putting it on the stone, at Kalbhāvi in the Belgaum District,<sup>2</sup> which mentions a Gaṅga prince named Saigoṭṭa-Śivamāra, and preserves also the name of Kambharasa, as another variant of the name of the Raṇavalōka-Kambayya of one of the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa records<sup>3</sup> and other documents, who was contemporaneous with Gōvinda III. And also, though for the line of descent from Śivamāra II. we are as yet dependent on only the Udayēndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa prince Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II., of A.D. 915 or thereabouts,<sup>4</sup>— a record the value of which has still to be examined critically,— still, items of information, tending to corroborate that line of descent, are beginning to come to light: a Tamiḷ inscription at Tiruvallam mentions a Śivamahārāja-Perumāṇaḍigaḷ and his son Pratipati-Araiyar,<sup>5</sup> whom Dr. Hultzsch has very reasonably proposed to identify with the Śivamāra and his son Prithivīpati I. who are mentioned in the grant of A.D. 915; and the Hirī-Bidanūr inscription<sup>6</sup> mentions, as a contemporary of Vīra-Nolamba son of Ayyapadēva, — (who would come about A.D. 940 to 950), — a certain Nanniya-Gaṅga son of a Gaṅga prince Piḷḍuvipati (which name also is evidently a form of Prithivīpati, as pointed out by Mr. Rice), and the synchronisms justify us in finding in this Piḷḍuvipati the Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II. of A.D. 909 and 915. Accordingly, this entry also,— Śivamāra II., about A.D. 805 to 810,— may be allowed to stand for the present as it is.

The son, or another son, of Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa was Raṇavikrama; and Raṇavikrama's son was Rājamalla. We learn this from the Vallimalai inscription,<sup>7</sup> which may have omitted to mention Śivamāra II., either because there was really no such person, or because he did not rule, or because it sought to give only the actual lineal descent from father to son. Rājamalla may be safely identified with the ruling prince who is mentioned in the Husukūru inscription<sup>8</sup> by the proper name of Rājamalla, as well as the appellation of Satyavākya, and with the date of Śaka-Saṃvat 792 (expired), = A.D. 870-71, without any details of the month, etc. He can be carried on, without objection, to that date. But he cannot be placed any later, if only for the reason that the Biliūr inscription shews that a rule— of a Satyavākya (proper name

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. V. p. 161, and p. 155, note 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 309. It is obvious, now, that in line 26 we should read *Kambharasar*, instead of the *Kamcharasar* then given by me. The passage is somewhat damaged; and, when that is the case, it is always easy to introduce confusion between the Kanarese *ch* and *dh* of the period of that record.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Rice's *Inscr. at Śrao. Bel.* No. 24; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 897, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 875. I find reason to think that in this grant, as it stands, we have, not a record that was actually written in that year, but a reproduction of some such record, made at an appreciably later time, into which some additions were introduced. This would account for the appearance in this record,— in rather a fragmentary shape,— of the fictitious Western Gaṅga pedigree, of which there is no hint at all in the other record of Prithivīpati II., the Sholingbur inscription of A.D. 909 (above, Vol. IV. p. 221).

<sup>5</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 140, A.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. *Introd.* p. 10, and note 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75.

not disclosed in it)—began in that same year, and, if we were to identify Satyavākya-Rājamalla, as Mr. Rice has done, with that Satyavākya, thus making the year A.D. 870-71 his initial date, then we should have to allow a rule of sixty years by his father Raṇavikrama,<sup>1</sup> which is not admissible after so long a rule as that of Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa immediately before or almost so. And there is also another reason. Mr. Rice has brought to notice<sup>2</sup> inscriptions at Baragūr and Hēmāvatī which mention an intermarriage of the Gaṅgas and the Nolambas during this period. The Baragūr inscriptions tell us that Satyavākya-Rājamalla had a son Nītimārga, whose younger sister Jāyabbe<sup>3</sup> was married to Nolambādhirāja son of Pallavādhirāja, and that Nolambādhirāja and Jāyabbe had a son Mahēndrādhirāja, who was ruling (the Nolambavāḍi province) at the time when these records were written. One of these Baragūr inscriptions is dated Ś.-S. 800 (expired), = A.D. 878-79. This date is obviously the date of Mahēndrādhirāja. And it follows that Satyavākya-Rājamalla must have come very appreciably before A.D. 878-79, for him to have a grandson who was then ruling (the Nolambavāḍi province), even if he was only an infant ruling it nominally. The date of A.D. 370-71, which is coupled with the name of Satyavākya-Rājamalla in the Husukūru inscription, can, therefore, be only taken as his final date. And, pending the discovery of dated records which may fix anything more definite, we may divide the preceding interval into the periods of A.D. 810 to 840 for Raṇavikrama and A.D. 840 to 870-71 for Satyavākya-Rājamalla. I identify Satyavākya-Rājamalla with the Satyavākya—(proper name not disclosed)—of the Doḍḍahundi inscription,<sup>4</sup> and, consequently, his father Raṇavikrama with the Nītimārga—(proper name not disclosed)—who is named in that same record as the father of that Satyavākya. No chronological question is involved in this; because that record does not contain any date, Śaka or regnal. But the record can only be placed in the period A.D. 800 (or thereabouts) to 860; and it falls quite naturally into its proper place anywhere about A.D. 840. In connection with the records of Satyavākya-Rājamalla, we need only note further the fact that the Husukūru inscription mentions, as his Yuvarāja or chosen successor, Būtarasa, who, it tells us, was then governing the Koṅgaḷnāḍ and Pūnāḍ provinces. The Koṅgaḷnāḍ was an *enchāsira* or eight-thousand province,—see, for instance, an inscription at Kūragallu,<sup>5</sup> which mentions it as such,—i.e. a province that included, according to fact or tradition or conventional acceptance, eight thousand cities, towns, and villages.<sup>6</sup> And the Pūnāḍ or Punnāḍ was an *arusāsira* or six-thousand province; see, for instance, an inscription at Dēbūr.<sup>7</sup> The two provinces were

<sup>1</sup> Unless, of course, we place Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa appreciably later than even the period that I have proposed for him. In favour of doing that, it might be urged that there is the Saragūru grant (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 4, with a lithograph), purporting to be of his time, the characters of which prove one or other of two things,—either that the grant is spurious, or that it must be placed much nearer A.D. 870 than 805. But I do not think that Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa can be carried on any later than A.D. 814-15 at the utmost.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11. I am quoting the Baragūr inscriptions from readings for which I am indebted to Mr. Rice.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps Jālabbe, or something else; the final reading of the name seems to have not been fixed yet.

<sup>4</sup> See page 43 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92.

<sup>6</sup> On the question of these numerical components of the names of territorial divisions, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 298, and note 2, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIX. p. 277, note 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 26.—The Pūnāḍ province figures, unfortunately, as a ten-thousand province throughout Mr. Rice's writings and maps (see, notably, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 4, and the maps in *Mysore*, Vol. I, pp. 300, 314). But it is correctly mentioned as a six-thousand in even line 18 of the spurious Merkāra grant, on which is based the erroneous assertion that it was a ten-thousand. The mistake is traceable back to Dr. Burnell, who wrote when the science of epigraphy was in its infancy, and who arrived at the conclusion that the *akṣhara* before the word *śahasra*, 'thousand,' in the passage in question, is a slight variation of the cave numerical symbol for 'ten' (*South-Ind. Paleo.* p. 67). I pointed out, some years ago (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 363), that, according to the lithograph in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 362 (see also *Coorg Inscr.* p. 4),—which undoubtedly represents the original much more correctly than does the representation of the *akṣhara* given in Dr. Burnell's book,—the *akṣhara* is distinctly the syllable *chāḍ*. I did not venture then to decide what it might mean. But, with the Dēbūr inscription as our guide, we know now that it is a Prakṛit word meaning 'six,' and that the passage speaks of "the village

evidently contiguous. The Pūṇḍ province has been identified by Mr. Rice with the southern part of the Mysore district, below the Lakṣmāpūrtī and the Kāvērī.<sup>1</sup> The Kūragallu inscription seems to tacitly place in the Koṅgaṇḍ province Kūragallu itself, which is in the Hupsūr tāluka of the Mysore district; and, if it does so, then that province was immediately on the north-west of Pūṇḍ.

We come now to the period between A.D. 870-71 and 940, which is the leading subject of the present inquiry. We have to deal with a Satyavākya and a Nitimārga, whose proper names are, perhaps, not so obviously fixed, as they might have been, by any records as yet brought to notice, and with an Eṇṇeyappa, for whom, under that name, the records do not as yet furnish any specific date. And here I have, as a preliminary, to draw attention to two important corrections.

In the first place, for the initial date of Nitimārga-Eṇṇeyappa, I adopted A.D. 893-94, which Mr. Rice deduced,<sup>2</sup> from the Honnāyakanhalli inscription, as the initial date of the Nitimārga of this period. But he has now withdrawn that date. He has told us<sup>3</sup> that he thought there was a clue in the Honnāyakanhalli inscription to Śaka-Saṃvat 815 (expired), = A.D. 893-94, but that this does not now seem to be the case. And we are thus free from any necessity of placing the commencement of a rule in A.D. 893-94.

In the second place, the date of an inscription at Rāmpura<sup>4</sup> has been misread. This record is rightly referred by Mr. Rice to the period with which we are dealing. And it really is a record of a Satyavākya, whose proper name is not disclosed in it. Whereas, however, the published version represents it as dated in his fourth year, I find, from an ink-impression that has reached me, that it is really dated in his thirty-fourth year.<sup>5</sup> And there is nothing in this to surprise us; for, not only have we an inscription at Iggali dated in his twenty-second year,<sup>6</sup> but also Mr. Rice has told us<sup>7</sup> that there is an inscription at Sātānūr dated in his twenty-ninth year, and the Malligere inscription, noticed just below, gives a Śaka date for him three years later still.

Next after Satyavākya-Rājamalla, then, we have to locate a Satyavākya and a Nitimārga. And the order in which they came, namely the Satyavākya first and then the

named Baḍaṇṇeguppe in the Eḍeṇḍu seventy of the Pūṇḍu *cāḍṣaśābra* or six-thousand." The passage is mostly in very bad Sanskrit; but it contains also the Prakṛit form *saptari*, for *saptati*, 'seventy.' The *cāḍṣa* that is used in it for 'six,' figures also in Marāṭhī, in *cāḍṣaṭṭa*, 'thirty-six,' and *cāḍṣappana*, 'fifty-six,' in both of which words the following consonant is doubled, instead of lengthening the *a* of *cāḍṣa*. We have *cāḍṣa* for 'six' in Pāli also, with the short *a* sometimes lengthened in composition, for instance *cāḍṣa-rattaṃ*, 'a period of six nights' (see Childers' Pāli Dictionary). And the spurious Bangalore grant which purports to be dated A.D. 445, gives us the long *ā* even with a doubling of the following consonant, in the word *cāḍṣāṇṇavati*, 'ninety-six' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 95, text line 2-3 from the top, and Plate).

<sup>1</sup> See the maps in his *Mysore*, Vol. I. pp. 300, 314, and, more clearly on this point, in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, introd. p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. introd. p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. introd. p. 11, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Sr. 148, with a lithograph.—The published text gives *Satyavākya-Permanāḍi-rzī dṛiṭṭa nḍikaneya varshada*, rendered in the translation by "the fourth year of the reign of Satyavākya-Permanāḍi." And the lithograph shews what is virtually the same thing, namely *Satyavākya-Permanāḍigala dṛiṭṭa nḍikaneya varshada*. This, however, in the lithograph, is only the result of manipulation, either of an impression or in the course of lithography. The ink-impression shews distinctly that the real reading of the original is *Satyavākya-Permanāḍigala mū[va]tta-nḍikaneya varshada*, "of the thirty-fourth year of Satyavākya-Permanāḍi." The *akṣhara va* is damaged and illegible, at the end of line 2. In the preceding *akṣhara*, the stroke on the right (proper left) side of the *m* is also damaged, and perhaps the stroke that makes the difference between a subscript *u* and *ā*; or, quite possibly, *u* was written by mistake for *ā*; or, even the form *muvatta* may have been used, instead of *māvatta*, which, however, is not so likely. But it is absolutely certain that this record is dated in the thirty-fourth year of a Satyavākya.

<sup>5</sup> See, fully, in the preceding note.

<sup>6</sup> See page 68 below.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. introd. p. 11. I assume that this is really a record of a Satyavākya, as implied.

**Nitimarga**, is proved by the Śaka dates given in the Biliūr, Malligere, and Kūlagere inscriptions. The Biliūr inscription<sup>1</sup> gives us the **Satyavākya**—(proper name not disclosed),—with a date in the month Phālguna, Śaka-Samvat 809 (expired), falling in A.D. 888, in his eighteenth year. The Malligere inscription<sup>2</sup> gives us, again, the **Satyavākya**—(proper name not disclosed),—with the date of Ś.-S. 828 (expired),=A.D. 906-907, without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any specification of the regnal year. And the Kūlagere inscription<sup>3</sup> gives us the **Nitimarga**—(proper name not disclosed),—with the date of Ś.-S. 831 (expired),=A.D. 909-910, without any details of the month, *etc.*, and without any specification of the regnal year.

We may safely identify the **Satyavākya** with the **Būtarasa** who is mentioned in the Husukūra inscription, of A.D. 870-71, as then governing the Koṅgaṇnāḍ and Pūnāḍ provinces as **Yuvarāja** under Rājamalla. There is every reason to believe that, being the **Yuvarāja** or chosen successor of Rājamalla, Būtarasa was also his actual successor; and there is, at any rate, no hint anywhere, as yet, that he died without succeeding. And we shall probably find hereafter that he was the eldest son of Rājamalla. Making this identification,—then, for the period of Būtarasa's own rule, we have, in the first place the Biliūr inscription,<sup>4</sup> which mentions him simply as **Satyavākya**, and which gives a Śaka date with details falling in February or March, A.D. 888, in his eighteenth year, and thus fixes the commencement of his rule in A.D. 870 or 871. We may place next the Iggali inscription,<sup>5</sup> dated, without any details of the month, *etc.*, in his twenty-second year, = A.D. 891-92: this record mentions a certain **Rācheya-Gaṅga**, who, it tells us, then died fighting against the **Noḷamma** or **Noḷamba**; and it introduces the first certain mention of **Eṇeyappa**, whom it describes as convened with **Satyavākya** (Būtarasa) when the grant registered in it was settled. To somewhere about the same time, because it mentions **Eṇeyappa** in exactly the same way, we may refer the Kyātanahalli inscription:<sup>6</sup> this record is not dated in any way; and it is noteworthy chiefly because it shews that certain epithets applied to **Eṇeyappa** in the Bāgūr inscription and supposed<sup>7</sup> to belong exclusively to him, had been already used by his predecessor: it specifically applies those epithets to the **Satyavākya-Permānadi** whom it mentions, not as **Eṇeyappa**, but along with **Eṇeyappa**, from whom it most distinctly separates him. The Rāmpura inscription,<sup>8</sup> dated in the month Mārgasīra of his thirty-fourth year, belongs to A.D. 903 or 904 according to the actual commencement of his rule. And the Malligere inscription,<sup>9</sup> dated Śaka-Samvat 828 (expired), without any details of the regnal year, month, *etc.*, carries him on to A.D. 906-907. There are also two other records of his time, requiring to be noticed here.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 102, No. 2, with a lithograph (Mr. Kittel's rendering), and *Coorg. Inscr.* p. 6 (Mr. Rice's rendering).

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 139.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Sr. 147.—It seems to be the treatment of this record that led Mr. Rice into wrongly stamping **Eṇeyappa** as a **Satyavākya**, through the translation of it giving "**Satyavākya . . . Permānadi, Eṇeyapparasa.**" instead of "**Satyavākya . . . Permānadi and Eṇeyapparasa.**" The translator ignored the copulative endings in *Permānadigaḷuḥ Eṇeyapparasarum-iḷdu*, line 11. The two persons are distinctly separated by those copulative endings.—The following word, *iḷdu*, does not mean "halting," as rendered in the translation here, and in the case of Nj. 139 and 192 in the same volume, and of Hg. 103 in Vol. IV. It is equivalent to the more specific *oḍan=iḷdu* of Hg. 103, which means "being together, being in the company of each other, being convened."—It may also be noted that the Kyātanahalli inscription, Sr. 147, has been wrongly interpreted as describing **Eṇeyappa** as "**Yuvarāja** of the entire Śrīrājya." The words occur as part of one of the adjectives qualifying the saints **Bhadraḥaṇa** and **Chandragupta**. And they can only mean something like "[reverenced] by all **Yuvarajas** of the Śrīrājya."

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 148; as regards the date, see page 67 above, note 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Kp. 38.

One is an inscription at Kúragallu :<sup>1</sup> it mentions him, as the ruling prince, under the appellation of Permanadi; but it goes on to give his name in the form of Bútuga; and it further mentions his wife Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as "governing" the village of Kurgal, and Ereyappa as "governing" the Kōṅgaṇṇāḍ eight-thousand. And the other is an inscription at Kaṭṭemanuganahalli,<sup>2</sup> which mentions Nitimārga-Ereyapparasa as "governing" the Nugunāḍ and Navalēṇḍ provinces or districts, of which the former appears to be the country on the banks of the Nugu or Nūgu river, a tributary of the Kabbani, in the Heggadādevankōṭe and Nañjangūḍ tālukas of the Mysore district. These two records do not contain any dates, Śaka or regnal. But they may be placed somewhere towards the end of the rule of Bútuga I., because of the advance that they shew in the status of Ereyappa, as compared with the Iggali and Kyātanahalli records.<sup>3</sup> Next, then, after Satyavākya-Rājamalla, we have Satyavākya-Būtaraśa-Bútuga I., with fixed dates ranging from A.D. 870-71 to 906-907.<sup>4</sup>

Next after Satyavākya-Bútuga I. came the Nitimārga, whom we may unhesitatingly identify with the Ereyappa of the Iggali, Kyātanahalli, and Kúragallu records, and the Nitimārga-Ereyappa of the Kaṭṭemanuganahalli record, of the time of his predecessor. As regards the period of his own rule, we have as yet no record that actually gives a Śaka date for him under the name of Ereyappa; but the Kūlagere inscription<sup>5</sup> gives for him, under the appellation of Nitimārga, the date of Śaka-Saṃvat 831 (expired), = A.D. 909-910, without any details of the month, etc., and without any specification of the regnal year; and we may provisionally fix his initial date in A.D. 908. The relationship of Ereyappa to Bútuga I., and the circumstances under which he succeeded, have not been ascertained yet. We shall probably

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92.—The name of his wife is given as Paramabbe in the text in Roman characters, and as Saramabbe in the Kanarese text. Both the texts give "Ireyappa;" but this is, no doubt, a mistake for "Ereyappa."—Mr. Rice (*ibid.* Introd. p. 12, and the Classified List of Inscriptions) has referred this record to the period of the rule of Ereyappa, and appears to treat Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as a wife of Bútuga II. But it is only in his predecessor's time that Ereyappa could be "governing" simply a province; and it is impossible to find here, correctly, any reference to Bútuga II., who came after Ereyappa.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 103.—This record is, in my opinion, sufficient in itself to shew that Ereyappa was a Nitimārga, not a Satyavākya; it mentions him as Nitimārga in line 1 in the first set of epithets, and as Ereyapparasa (according to the published text) in line 5 in the second set of epithets. The published translation, indeed, has separated the appellation Nitimārga from the name Ereyappa, and has made them two distinct persons, by introducing the words "was ruling the kingdom of the world" in line 3, after the word *Permanāḍiga*; and the result of this would be that the ruling prince was a Nitimārga, and that Ereyappa was a governor under him. But that addition to the text is neither necessary nor justifiable. The second *Seasti*, in line 3, introduces only a second set of epithets. The ruling prince is mentioned only as *Permanāḍi*, in line 10, which tells us that he and Ereyappa were convened together when the grant registered in this record was made.

<sup>3</sup> The Malligere inscription, after introducing the ruling prince as Satyavākya-*Permanāḍi*, perhaps goes on to introduce someone else, to whom it applies the epithets that are applied in the Kyātanahalli inscription to Satyavākya-(Bútuga I.) and in the Bēgūr inscription to Ereyappa; and, if so, that other person must be Ereyappa, by that time entrusted with still greater powers and invested with still higher dignities. But the rest of the record is described as out of sight or illegible.

<sup>4</sup> I did not on the previous occasion, and I do not now, overlook the point that this arrangement places a Satyavākya next in succession after a Satyavākya, whereas it might perhaps be urged that we should expect a Nitimārga to follow a Satyavākya, a Satyavākya to follow a Nitimārga, and so on. But the Śaka dates prove conclusively that this was not the case at this point. And we have plainly three Satyavākyas in succession later on in the case of Mārasimha II., Pañchaladēva, and Rāchamalla II. We do not know at present exactly how the appellations Satyavākya and Nitimārga were determined. But, if a conjecture may be hazarded, it is that Satyavākya was the customary appellation of the eldest son. We do not know that Mārasimha II. was not the eldest son of Bútuga II.: it seems probable, in fact, that he was so, because it is unlikely that he should abdicate after ruling for only ten or eleven years, unless he was considerably advanced in years when he began to rule; and the fact that his half-brother Maruḷadēva was the son of a king's daughter, would easily account for the succession going first to Maruḷadēva's son Bachcha-Gaṅga. The Satyavākya of the Doddabundi inscription, i.e. Rājamalla, is distinctly specified (see page 45 above) as the eldest son of the Nitimārga, i.e. Raṇavikrama, of that record. And Nitimārga-Raṇavikrama was a younger son, if we accept the existence of Sivamāra II.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Ml. 30.

find, however, that he was a younger son of Bûtuga I. And, from the fact that none of the records, that have as yet come to light, speak of him as the *Yuvarāja* or chosen successor of Bûtuga I.,<sup>1</sup> and from certain other indications, it seems likely that he took advantage of the executive authority entrusted to him by Bûtuga I., and diverted the succession from the direct and proper line. There are hints to this effect, in the description of his son Râchamalla I. as a poisonous tree which was uprooted, and of Bûtuga II. as a pure tree which was planted in its place, by Kṛishṇa III.,<sup>2</sup> and in the fact that Kṛishṇa III. gave again to Bûtuga II. the Belvola, Purigere, Kiankād, and Bâgenâd districts,<sup>3</sup> which had previously been given to him, as the dowry of his wife Rêvakanimmaḍi, by Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga. And there is also the statement in the Bêgûr inscription, that Ereyappa governed the Gaṅgavâḍi province as an united whole, after depriving all his enemies of their power.<sup>4</sup> The exact application of this latter statement, indeed, is not yet certain: on the one hand, taken in connection with the mention of hostilities with the Nolambas in A.D. 891-92, in the time of Bûtuga I.,<sup>5</sup> and with the existence of an intrusive Nolamba record of A.D. 895-96 at Tâyalûr in the Maṇḍya tâluka,<sup>6</sup> it may mean that Ereyappa was successful against some determined effort of the Nolambas to overthrow the Gaṅga power altogether; and on the other hand, as the Bêgûr inscription shews that he was, at that time, on very friendly terms with the Nolamba Ayyapadêva, the fact may be that the enemies whom he overthrew were his own relations, and that he was assisted in doing that by the Nolambas. Still, however this may be, we shall probably find hereafter that Bûtuga II. was the eldest son of the Râcheya-Gaṅga whose death in A.D. 891-92, in battle against the Nolamma or Nolamba, is mentioned in the Iggali inscription, and that Râcheya-Gaṅga was the eldest son of Bûtuga I., and that it was the death of Râcheya-Gaṅga in A.D. 891-92 that enabled Ereyappa to secure the succession,—to the exclusion of Bûtuga II., who was eventually placed in possession of his rights by Kṛishṇa III. To the period of the rule of Ereyappa himself belongs the Bêgûr inscription,<sup>7</sup> which mentions him as Ereyappa, and describes him as lending a force to Ayyapadêva, for the purpose of fighting against a certain Vîramahêndra who seems to be the Eastern Chalukya king Bhîma II. This record has to be placed near the end of his rule. To an earlier period in his time belongs an inscription at Gaṭṭavâḍi,<sup>8</sup> which mentions him as the ruling prince under the appellation of Nîtimârṅga, and is dated, without any details of the Śaka year, month, *etc.*, in his fifth year, corresponding probably to A.D. 912-13. There is, apparently, an inscription at Marûr in the Hassan district,<sup>9</sup> dated in his nineteenth year, which would carry him on to about A.D. 929-27. As we shall see shortly, he must have ruled for not less than twenty-five years, up to some date after A.D. 933. And we may provisionally fix the end of his rule in A.D. 938.

Nîtimârṅga-Ereyappa left a son named Râchamalla I. And it was by killing Râchamalla that Bûtuga II. obtained the succession. We know this from the Âtakûr inscription.<sup>10</sup> That the event occurred in or before A.D. 940, is shewn by the Râshtrakûṭa grant from Dêôlî, dated in that year, which mentions the fact and implies that Bûtuga II. received material assistance from the Râshtrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III., who was his brother-in-law; for, it says, Kṛishṇa III. "planted in Gaṅgapâtî, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhûtârya, having uprooted the poisonous

<sup>1</sup> Regarding an instance in which he has been supposed to be thus described, see page 68 above, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> See below.

<sup>3</sup> See page 57 above.

<sup>4</sup> Page 49 above.

<sup>5</sup> Page 68 above.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 18; and see above, Vol. V. p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> Page 49 above.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 98.—This record mentions a certain Mârâgâmunḍa, and a person whose name is given in the published texts as Taparekere-Basavayya. The other Gaṭṭavâḍi inscription (Nj. 97), of the fifth year of a Satyavâkya (proper name not disclosed), mentions evidently the same two persons, the first of them as Mârâgavunḍa, and the second of them as Tâyûra-Parekere-Basavayya according to the published texts. This brings these two records into immediate sequence. And Nj. 97 is, therefore, to be referred either to Satyavâkya-Bûtuga I., or to Satyavâkya-Bûtuga II.

<sup>9</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Page 57 above.

tree Rāchhyāmallā."<sup>1</sup> And the event must also be placed some few years after A.D. 933, because we have a date in that year for Gōvinda IV., and the reign of Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga intervened after that and before the reign of Kṛishṇa III. That Rāchamallā did actually succeed his father, is distinctly implied by the Dēōlī grant. And we have now a record which is to be referred to the period of his rule, and which probably discloses the actual outbreak of hostilities between him and Būtuga I. It is the Hiranandī inscription,<sup>2</sup> which tells us that— "When Eṛeyappa ascended to heaven, Bhuvanāditya came and said that Kīṛiya-Rāchamallā had given, at Mannebetṭa or Mannibīḍu (?), half the country and the treasury; whereupon, the five *Sāmantas*<sup>3</sup> and the *Pergaḍes* and the governor (?) of the Bayalnāḍ country said— We will not allow any other than Rāchamallā to rule; then they fought at Māḡuṇḍi (or perhaps at Bhuvanāytana-Māḡuṇḍi) and the four sons of Nindiya-Korantiyarasa fought and died," etc. It is, thus, plain that Rāchamallā I. did actually succeed to the leadership of the Gaṅgas. And it seems that he deliberately gave half the principality to Būtuga II., and thus paved the way to his own overthrow. At the same time, it appears tolerably certain that he ruled for only a short time. And we may probably place the death of Eṛeyappa, the accession of Rāchamallā I., and the killing of the latter by Būtuga II., all in A.D. 938.

In this way, Rāchamallā I. was succeeded by Satyavākya-Būtuga II., at some time between A.D. 933 and 940, and probably in A.D. 938, or very closely thereabouts. As has been intimated above, we shall probably find hereafter that Būtuga II. was a grandson of Būtuga I., and a son of the Rācheya-Gaṅga who died in A.D. 891-92. And we have, at present, nothing else to add to the account of him given on the previous occasion, except that certain inscriptions at Anṇigere and Gāwarawāḍ in the Dhārwar district, and at Hūli in Belgaum, shew that the exact name of the elder sister of Kṛishṇa III., who was one of his wives, was Rēvakanimmaḍi,<sup>4</sup> and that we have now a later date for him in A.D. 953.<sup>5</sup>

On the present occasion, we are not concerned with the general history of the Gaṅgas after A.D. 940. But it may be conveniently noted here, in connection with Pañchaladēva, that the war between him and the Western Chālukya Āhavamallā-Taila II., in the course of which Pañchaladēva was overthrown and killed, is referred to by the Kanarese poet Ranna,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 289, and Vol. V. p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 116; and see page 62 above.— I take the text, of course, as given by Mr. Rice. But there are points in it that call for comment. The text in Roman characters speaks of "Koṅgaṇi-Kīṛiya-Rāchamallā;" but the text in Kanarese characters omits the Koṅgaṇi, and suggests, instead, some illegible *biruda* of the usual kind ending in *vedēṅga*. For the *Manne-betṭadoḷ* of the Roman text, the Kanarese text has *Manni-bīḍidoḷ*,—presumably for *Manni-bīḍinoḷ*. There is nothing in either text, implying an invitation to go to Mannebetṭa or Mannibīḍu. *Koṭṭām* means "he gave, he has (already) given;" not "he will give or would give." *Bayal-nāḍanu* is certainly not the accusative singular of *Bayal-nāḍ*, governed by *rāḡyamāṇ geyal*: if it is the real reading at all, it is the nominative singular masculine of a base *Bayal-nāḍa*, with the copulative ending *an*, and it must denote some leading official, probably the *Nāḡamunḍa* of the Bayalnāḍ country; we have the same word in the locative, and in the ordinary nominative without the copulative ending, in the Kattemanuganahalli inscription (Hg. 108), which tells us, not that on the day that "there was a fight in Bayal-nāḍ, when Bayal-nāḍ coming, attacked Koṭṭamaṅgala," but that "on the day, or at the time, when there was a quarrel with or war against the *Bayalnāḍa*, the *Bayalnāḍa* came," etc. The *tyām* of the Roman text and *iyām* of the Kanarese text must be a mistake for *tyem*; and *tyem* means, not "we do not wish," but "we will not give, we will not allow."

<sup>3</sup> The five *Sāmantas* were probably the subordinate commanders of five bodies of local troops; compare the reference to the *Sāmantas* of the Nāgattara in the Bēḡūr inscription (page 49 above). The same expression, *ay-sāmantarum*, "and the five *Sāmantas*,"—occurs in an inscription at Mūdahalī, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 130.

<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, a certain correction proposed for line 5 of the Hebbālī inscription (see above, Vol. IV. p. 352, note 3) is not necessary.—The name Rēvakanimmaḍi is, I suppose, practically another form of Immaḍi-Rēvaka; and, if so, it probably means "a Rēvaka who was twice as beautiful or accomplished as any preceding Rēvaka" (see page 51 above, note 4).

<sup>5</sup> See the Postscript, page 83 below.

<sup>6</sup> See Mr. Rice's *Karṇāṭakabaddanūśāsanam*, Introd. p. 28 ff., where Āhavamallā is wrongly identified with Iṛiyabēḍaṅga-Satyāśraya, and Pañchalā is evidently a mistake for Pañchala.

who mentions, in his *Ajitatīrthakarakapurāṇa* or *Ajitatīrthēśvaracharita* (finished A.D. 993-94), a defeat inflicted on the army of Pañchala by a general of Taila II. named Nāgadēva.

\* \* \* \* \*

There is a great deal more to be said, both about the genuine history of the Gaṅgas, and about the spurious records. Both these subjects are of extreme interest to me, partly because the history of the Gaṅgas of Mysore is greatly intermingled, for a certain period, with the history of the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, which has always been my special line of inquiry; and partly because the ancient history of India, as a whole, deserves, and unfortunately still in many respects remains, to be worked out critically and on sound bases, with an elimination of all the fables that have been imported into it from the spurious records of Mysore, from similar records in other parts of the country, and from various chronicles and lists of kings, some of them of early date and some of them quite modern, which have been credited with an authenticity and value which they do not really possess at all. But certain preliminary studies must be completed, before either of these subjects can be handled finally.

In connection with the genuine history of the Gaṅgas of Mysore, we must, among other things, determine more closely the date of the overthrow of the original Pallava dynasty of Kāñchi, and of the supplantation of it by a branch of the Gaṅgas in the person of, probably, Vijaya-Narasimhavarman.<sup>1</sup> We must clear up certain points in the relations of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Dhruva and Govinda III. with the princes of Mysore. And we must examine more fully certain traditions of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga, on the east coast of Southern India, which have a distinct connection with Mysore. These topics will be dealt with shortly. And, for the present, it is sufficient to throw out the following few hints as to what will be established.

We can now recognise clearly one genuine early Gaṅga prince anterior to Śivamāra I. He is the Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman of the Goa grant,<sup>2</sup> which shews him as a viceroy in charge of four provinces under the Western Chalukya kings Kīrtivarman I., Maṅgalēśa, and Pulakēśin II., under an appointment running from A.D. 591-92. He was plainly a close relation, and probably a brother, of Durlabhadēvi of the Batpūra family, the wife of Pulakēśin I. He was an ancestor, and probably the grandfather, of Rājasimha-Indravarman I., the first king of the earlier Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga, who adopted the era of A.D. 591-92 as the official reckoning in his dominions. And the name of "the original great Bappūra race," to which he is allotted by the Goa grant, must be derived from a secondary appellation of some great city in Mysore,—very likely of Kōlār itself.

We have perhaps another Gaṅga name, earlier than that of Śivamāra I., and belonging to the period A.D. 680 to 696, in the case of the official named Kāndarba, who was the administrative officer when the grant was made which is recorded in the Baḷagāmi inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vinayāditya and the Sēndraka prince Pogilli.<sup>3</sup> The emblem at the top of that record is an elephant; the elephant was not the crest of the Western Chalukyas; nor is it likely that it was the crest of the Sēndrakas;<sup>4</sup> but it was the crest

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. V. pp. 157, 160.

<sup>2</sup> See the notice of this record in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 355; and cancel my suggestion (*id.* p. 349, and in the Table at p. 336; also, in the Table in Vol. III. above, p. 2) that this person may have been a son of Maṅgalēśa.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 142. For the emblem at the top of the stone, see the photograph in Col. Dixon's collection, No. 98, reproduced in my *P. S. O.-C. Inscri.* No. 152.

<sup>4</sup> It seems highly probable that the name Sēndraka is the origin of the later name Sinda. The Sinda princes are known for the period A.D. 990-91 to 1179, and chiefly in connection with the country round Paṭṭadakal and Bāḡalkōṭ in the Bijāpur district and Yelburga in the Nizām's Dominions (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 572 ff.). But there was also a branch of them in the neighbourhood of the territory held in earlier times by the Sēndrakas (*id.* p. 577);

of the Western Gaṅgas, and it is found above their records at Bīlūr, Peggu-ūr, Kyātanahalli, and Tāyalūr.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that Vijaya-Narasimhavarman represented the main line of the Gaṅgas; and he was very likely a lineal descendant of Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman.

And it is becoming tolerably certain that Śivamāra I. and his descendants did not belong to the main line, but were the hereditary princes of the Koṅgaṇāḍ eight-thousand province. This would explain why Śivamāra I. and Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa called themselves "the Koṅguni king," and why their descendants assumed the appellation Koṅgaṇivarman, Koṅgūṇivarman, Koṅgiṇivarman, or Koṅgūṇivarman, from which there was evolved, by the persons who fabricated the spurious grants, the name of the fictitious "Koṅgaṇivarman, the first Gaṅga,"<sup>2</sup> as the imaginary founder of the line.

As regards the spurious grants,—only ten, including the Sūḍi grant, were known when I wrote about them in Vol. III. of this Journal, p. 159 ff.; I dealt there with only some of the features in respect of which they have to be criticised; I could not examine any of the details, except the date, of the Hoṣūr grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 762, because I was not aware that the text of it, with a lithograph, had been published in Mr. Rice's article on "the Gaṅga kings" in the *Madras Journ. Lit. and Science*, 1878, p. 138 ff.; and, similarly for want of a lithograph or impressions, I was not able to examine any of the details of the Bangalore Museum grant, which purports to have been issued in the third year of Durvinita. Since then, some more spurious copper-plate grants of the same series have been published.<sup>3</sup> And there are others already known, the publication of which is awaited. In the final examination of them, one interesting line of inquiry will be to collate the texts, examine all the peculiarities of vocabulary and diction, discover the locality in which these curious documents, or at least the majority of them, were fabricated, and trace the order in which they were concocted, and so, perhaps, the steps by which the fictitious pedigree was built up. In connection with all this, it will be desirable to see what real equivalents can be found for the false dates recorded in some of them, and in certain other records of the same nature connected with them: on this point, my present view is that, while some of the false dates are no doubt altogether imaginary, others of them may have been arrived at by calculations more or less correct, and others, again, give the true details of the dates on which the records were fabricated, or of dates, close to those dates, taken from almanacs accessible to the forgers, falsified in respect of the years by striking off an even number of cycles of the sixty-year system, or by similar means, in order to present a semblance of antiquity; and it is an

that branch had the crest of a tiger and a deer; and one of the branches at Bāgalkōt had the tiger-crest. The Sindas claimed to belong to the Nāga race. And a statement referable to the eleventh century A.D., and to be accepted for what it may be worth, would allot the Sēndrakas themselves — (whom it mentions as Sēndras) — to the lineage of the Bhujagēndras or serpent kings (*id.* p. 292).

<sup>1</sup> See the lithographs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101, *Coorg Inscr.* p. 7, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 147 and Md. 14.—In pointing out (above, Vol. V. p. 165, note 4) an objection to treating the Tāyalūr record (Md. 14) as "an intrusive Pallava inscription," I omitted to notice the fact that the emblem of the elephant proves conclusively that it is not such.

<sup>2</sup> This exact expression occurs in an inscription at Kūḍlāpura, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 110, which purports to be of A.D. 1148. It is extremely doubtful whether it is even a genuine record of that period. But, if we assume that it is genuine as far as it goes, then, of course, in putting forward Śaka-Saṃvat 25 expired, = A.D. 103-104, as the date of "Koṅgaṇivarman, the first Gaṅga," it simply puts forward, in good faith, a false statement successfully palmed off on the officials of the period with a view to setting up a previous grant of the village. Historically, as regards the Gaṅgas, the record is worthless; except in perhaps shewing that, by A.D. 1148, the date of A.D. 103-104 had come to be connected with the imaginary Koṅgaṇivarman.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 113, the Hallegere grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 713, and Nj. 122, the Tagadūru grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 267, and Vol. IV., Yd. 60, the Galigēkere grant, Sr. 160, the Gaṇjām grant, and probably (see page 66 above, note 1) Hg. 4, the Saragūru grant; all of them with lithographs.

interesting fact that some of the dates do work out for precisely the period, the eleventh century A.D., which, as will be shewn, best provided all the historical conditions that necessitated the production of forged title-deeds to regain the possession of genuine endowments which had been confiscated and of which the original title-deeds had been lost, and made it possible to produce forged title-deeds to secure endowments the claims to which were false. And, before dealing with the matter finally, we shall have to consider which of the spurious records may really be accepted as ancient forgeries, worth examination, and which of them,—notably, for instance, the extraordinary Harihar grant,<sup>1</sup> which presents an attempt at two, if not three, alphabets, including some of the most modern Nāgarī or Bālbōdh forms,—may have to be rejected as modern forgeries, like the Suradhēnupura document, and consequently to be dismissed as not worth any further thought. All this will take time. And in this line there is no particular objection to delay: partly in order to include in the final examination as many of these documents as can be brought together; and partly because, in view of what we learn from the Suradhēnupura forgery can be attempted even in the present day, there is no particular object in compiling too quickly a manual of hints which would enable a modern forger to concoct a document that might prove not so easy to deal with as the ancient forgeries.

In connection with both lines of inquiry, there are two questions of more immediate urgency. One is the duration and extent of the Chōla occupation of Mysore, and of some of the neighbouring parts of the Western Chālukya territories, during the eleventh century A.D., which, in consequence of the destruction of temples and the confiscation of endowments, created the chief reason for the production of the forgeries of the Western Gāṅga series; and, in connection with this, I shall edit in full an interesting record at Gāwarawād in the Dhārwar district,<sup>2</sup> with extracts from others connected with it. The other is the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A.D.: this will be of use, not only towards exposing fully the palæographic blunders of the ancient forgers, but also for arranging the proper order of genuine undated records not containing information that enables us to refer them to their exact places; and it will be illustrated, in the first instance, by a series of Rāshtrakūṭa records, collotypes of which have already been prepared.

\* \* \* \* \*

The two preliminary studies, indicated just above, will be published without much delay. Meanwhile, I am under the necessity of using such further space, as can be spared to me on the present occasion, chiefly in noticing, as briefly as possible, some remarks by Mr. Rice which are contained in his *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. pp. 6 to 8, and are by way of being a criticism of my exposé of the spurious grants in Vol. III. of this Journal, pp. 159 to 175.

We need not spend any time over Mr. Rice's opening assertion that "facts have proved too strong, and Dr. Fleet has been compelled to admit the existence of the kings from Śivamāra, in the 8th century, downwards, and perhaps Mushkara, two generations earlier." The assertion has been made carelessly, and without sufficient reflection. I have never made the alleged admissions. And nothing has ever yet been brought to light, that would justify me in making any such admissions.

Nor need we spend any time over the bad orthography of the grants,—over Viśva-karman, the alleged writer (not engraver) of some of the grants which purport to be centuries apart in date,—over the identity of the witnesses in two of the grants which purport to be separated by an interval of two hundred and eighteen years,—over a conjectural

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 173, with a lithograph.

<sup>2</sup> Noticed in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 441, note 8. I find that this record contains much more information than I thought from a cursory examination, made when I was writing my *Dynasties* in the leisure moments of official life, of the transcriptions of it and the Anpiger inscription in Sir Walter Elliot's collection.

alteration made by Mr. Rice, in the text of the twelfth verse of the Udayéndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa prince Hastimalla-Prithivipati II., which we now know to be, not only a rather violent liberty, but one that is altogether unsustainable,—and over the dubious title *Rāja* or *Vṛiddhādja*. In each case, the facts are as I stated them. Mr. Rice's remarks are simply an attempt to divert attention from the main issue, the spurious nature of the grants. The points themselves will be dealt with, as far as may be necessary and without reviving any contentious matter, in the ultimate full examination of the spurious grants. They involve nothing of historical importance, except in connection with the Jain teacher Simhanandin, who seems to have been undoubtedly a real person, though the legends about him in Mysore, especially in respect of connecting him with the Gaṅgas, were of a very wild kind. And the time for going usefully into his history will come, when we examine the full Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history that were eventually devised in connection with the Gaṅgas of Mysore.

And we need not spend much time over a point, in connection with the invention of the fictitious pedigree that is presented in the spurious grants, which it would not be necessary to notice here in detail at all, but that I have, in this case, to deal with a more than usually unbecoming misrepresentation of what I said.

In 1894 I said<sup>1</sup>—"The question may very reasonably present itself,—What was the object of the invention of the genealogy that is exhibited in these spurious records?" I remarked,—“There are plain indications that, just about the period,—the last quarter of the ninth century A.D.,—that has been established above as the earliest possible one for the fabrication of the Merkara grant, all the reigning families of Southern India were beginning to look up their pedigrees and devise more or less fabulous genealogies.” And the answer at which I arrived, was, that the Western Gaṅgas had followed, in the person of the great prince Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II., the example that had thus been set, and that the time when their genealogy, as presented in the spurious grants, was invented, was fixed very closely by an inscription at Lakshmēshwar, which purports to be of his time and to be dated A.D. 968-69, and which then seemed to me “to represent, in a rudimentary form, the beginning of a longer genealogy which was elaborated subsequently.”

Mr. Rice has stamped as a “very remarkable statement” what I said as to there being indications that, about the last quarter of the ninth century A.D., there was a general tendency in Southern India to look up pedigrees and devise more or less fabulous genealogies. We may dismiss that observation of his summarily; partly because he has made no attempt to shew how my statement was a remarkable one, and partly because my statement was and is in accordance with facts.

But we cannot dismiss so summarily what he said next. He has said<sup>2</sup> that, “in support of this very remarkable statement,” I have given the information that “the Pallava puranic genealogy first appears in the 7th century; that of the Rāshtrakūṭas in 933; that of the Western Gaṅgas was probably devised about 950 but may have been concocted a little earlier; that of the Chōlas between 1063 and 1112; that of the Eastern Gaṅgas in 1118.” And on this he said, by way of comment,—“But it is singular that not one of these periods falls within the 9th century, the time when all the royal families were imagined to be engaged with a strange unanimity in ‘furbishing up their pedigrees.’ Another thing to be noted is that the genealogy of the Gaṅgas, with whom we are now particularly dealing, is in no sense puranic.”

Now, in the first place, it is only with a reservation that it can be said that the genealogy of the Gaṅgas is in no sense Purāṇic. We know,<sup>3</sup> from inscriptions of the eleventh century

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Cars.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 7 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 308 ff.

at Humcha and other places in that neighbourhood, that eventually a full Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history of the usual kind were duly invented for the Gaṅgas of Mysore. But the Purāṇic element does not figure in the genealogy given in the spurious grants, with which I was dealing. And I treated that genealogy simply as what it is, namely a fictitious genealogy of a pretended historical kind; calling it specifically on one occasion<sup>1</sup> "the pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas." That I, naturally, treated the invention of it in connection with the invention of some of the Purāṇic genealogies, is no reason for saying that I stamped it as Purāṇic. And I did not do so.

In the second place, as regards the extraordinary sentence which Mr. Rice has put, by the use of inverted commas, into my mouth,—no such sentence has ever been written by me; nor has anything ever been written by me, that could justify my statements being represented in that form. The sentence is founded upon words which were actually used by me. But it has been made up by Mr. Rice himself, from garbled extracts from different sentences written by me on different occasions. And my reference to the Pallava Purāṇic genealogy was made in a way very different from that in which it has been presented by Mr. Rice.

In 1894, in the remarks which, in particular,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rice was attacking in 1898, I made no mention at all of the Pallava Purāṇic genealogy; and I wrote<sup>3</sup>— "The Purāṇic genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas makes its first appearance in the Sāṅgli grant of A.D. 933. The Purāṇic genealogy of the Chalukyas presents itself first in the Korumelli grant of shortly after A.D. 1022. The Chōḷa Purāṇic genealogy is, apparently, first met with in the *Kaliṅgattu-Parāṇi*, which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadeva I. (A.D. 1063 to 1112). And the Purāṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara "is first made known by a grant of A.D. 1118-19." I plainly put forward each date as the date at which we first come across each genealogy, and not as the date of its actual invention. And it should be obvious to anyone that the genealogies must have existed for some appreciable time, before they could be actually quoted in records.

So much I wrote in 1894, adding the opinion, from the Lakshmēshwar inscription, that, in the time of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II., the Western Gaṅgas followed the general example that had thus been set, and that their genealogy, as put forward in the spurious grants, was probably invented closely about A.D. 968-69. Subsequently, in 1895 or 1896, in my account of the Pallavas, I wrote<sup>4</sup>— "In their records, the Pallavas claim to belong to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Some of the records give them a regular Purāṇic genealogy which appears first in the "seventh century A.D." And at this place I made no reference at all to any of the other genealogies. Further on in the same work, I had occasion to give a full notice of the legendary history, including the Purāṇic genealogy, of the Chalukyas, taken, in its final and most complete shape, from a record of the period A.D. 1022 to 1063.<sup>5</sup> And to this I attached the following note,<sup>6</sup>—the first part of which does little more than recapitulate what I had said in 1894,— "The Purāṇic genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas makes its first appearance in the Sāṅgli grant of A.D. 933. The pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas may have been concocted a little earlier, but was more probably devised about A.D. 950. The Chōḷa Purāṇic

<sup>1</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 342, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 6, para. 3, the last three lines.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 171 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 316.— I say I wrote this "in 1895 or 1896," for the following reason. The date of a remark must be, ordinarily, the date of the publication of it. The last of the proof-sheets of my *Dynasties* were passed by me, for printing, in September, 1895. And the title-page was among them. It naturally was dated 1895. And that is the date that appears on the title-page of the very few separate copies that were struck off. Nevertheless, and though I expressly gave instructions that uniformity was to be observed, the date was changed, without my being consulted, to 1896, in the title-page as issued in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II., after page 276,— apparently because that volume was not issued till 1896.

<sup>5</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 338 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* p. 342, note 1.

"genealogy is apparently first met with in the *Kaliṅgattu-Parani*, which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva I., A.D. 1063 to 1112. And the Purāṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara is first presented in a record of "A.D. 1118-19." Here, in this note, for the first time I mentioned the Pallava Purāṇic genealogy in connection with the others. But I did not adduce, as Mr. Rice says I did, that genealogy, which appears first in the seventh century A.D., as having been put together in the tenth century, as I then put it,—differing a little from my previous suggestion of the last quarter of the ninth century. What I said, is,— "The Purāṇic genealogy of the Pallavas has been mentioned on page 316 above. This is the earliest such pedigree that has as yet come to light. And possibly a discovery of it, in some ancient record, set the later fashion which became so general."

These are the passages from which Mr. Rice has strung together the extraordinary sentence that he has put into my mouth. He has further, on the same occasion, quoted me as describing the reigning families of Southern India as "furbishing up their pedigrees." He has repeated this twice, as if there were something peculiar in the expression. I cannot find any passage in my writings, in which I used these words; nor can friends, who have searched for it, find it; nor can even Mr. Rice himself, to whom I have applied, give me the reference to any passage in which I have used it. I therefore cannot say whether I did use it, or not. Let it be taken for granted, however, that I did use it. It is a very appropriate expression. "To furbish" means "to polish." And "polishing up" describes exactly the process that each Purāṇic genealogy went through, at some time or another, before it was eventually settled in its final form.

We may leave here all these minor matters, with simply the additional remark that it is easy enough to apparently demolish an opponent by first attributing to him statements and admissions that he has not made, and arguments that he has not used, but that that seems hardly the proper way of carrying on even a controversy. And we may now turn our attention to a more important point, the palæographic question, upon which something useful may be said.

In 1894<sup>1</sup> I noticed some of the palæographic blunders in the spurious grants. There is a good deal more to be said in this line hereafter; for I dealt then with only two characters, the *kh* and the *b*. But these two characters themselves are letters which furnish, as I said, "a leading test in dealing with southern records;" and the later cursive forms of them are, in certain circumstances, "tell-tale letters." The later cursive forms of them cannot be carried back to much, if at all, before A.D. 804. Through the occurrence of them in the spurious grants, I was enabled to present the conclusion that the Merkāra grant, purporting to have been issued A.D. 466, and the Dēvarhalli grant (then known as the Nāgamāṅgala grant), purporting to have been issued A.D. 776-77, cannot have been written before the beginning of the ninth century A.D. And I indicated that the transitional period, when both the old square forms and the later cursive forms of the two characters in question were in use together, was somewhere about A.D. 865.

Mr. Rice has touched upon only one of these characters, the *kh*. He has asserted that of this character "both forms were indiscriminately used from a much earlier period;"<sup>2</sup> and he has told us that he "had determined the above some time ago:"<sup>3</sup> but he has not favoured us with the reference to his examination of the question; and so we cannot consider in detail anything that he may have put forward, but can only say that he has determined a fact which, in Western India, did not exist. He has quoted the Tables of Dr. Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, as giving the cursive form of the *kh* for the fourth, sixth, and seventh centuries A.D. And he has told us that "Dr. Bühler (p. 65 of his work) expressly points out that Dr. Fleet is wrong in

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 161 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7, note 1.

"his dictum as to the age of the cursive form." In support of his assertion that "both forms" "were indiscriminately used from a much earlier period," he has, further, specifically quoted an instance of the occurrence of the cursive *kh* in an inscription on "the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa" at Māmallapuram on the east coast, which, as remarked by myself without any suggestion of dissent, has been assigned by Dr. Hultzsch to probably the sixth century A.D. He has admitted the undeniable fact that both forms occur in the Gaṅga grants that I was reviewing. And he has allowed us to understand that his conclusion is, that the preparation of those records should consequently be referred to a period in which both forms were in use, that is to say, in his opinion, to at any rate a much earlier period than A.D. 804.

Now, for the alleged instance of the fourth century A.D., Mr. Rice has referred us to Dr. Bühler's Table iii. col. XX. But neither does that column, nor does any part of that Table, present a form of the *kh* approximating in any way whatsoever to the cursive *kh* with which we are concerned.

For the sixth and seventh centuries, he has referred us to Dr. Bühler's Table vii. cols. V. and XXIII. Here, again, the form of the *kh* in col. V. does not approximate in any way whatsoever to the cursive *kh* with which we are concerned: it is a very badly formed *kh* of the old square type; and it is, moreover, from a Valabhi record not connected in any way with the territories with which we are dealing. The *kh* in col. XXIII., however, is, indeed, probably a fully developed cursive *kh* of the type of the *kh* with which we are concerned; but I shall shew directly that it has nothing to do with the matter.

As regards the remarks made by Dr. Bühler on page 65 of his work, and referred to by Mr. Rice, they occur in his examination of what he called "the middle step" or period of the Kanarese and Telugu types of the southern alphabets. Dr. Bühler has there drawn attention to "the strongly cursive, already Old-Kanarese, *kha*, Table viii., 12, cols. III. to V., which by Fleet (*Ep. Ind.* III. 162) is said to be not older than about A.D. 800, but which, in the closely cognate "Pallava inscriptions (Table vii., 9, col. XXIII.), appears already since the seventh century."<sup>1</sup> This, of course, is a more important matter, because Dr. Bühler was a very great authority. But, for reasons that will be indicated below, the Tables of his palæographic volume, and some of the results based on them, have to be received with great caution. And, in this case, the remark that he made is a misleading one, not by any means applicable in the way in which Mr. Rice would use it.

Finally, for the instance of the cursive *kh* in the inscription on "the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa," Mr. Rice has referred us to the lithograph in Capt. Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, Plate xiv.,—(to which he might have added Plate xviii., which gives the alphabet of the record in tabulated form),—and to the seventh stanza of the text in Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. I. p. 6, No. 19. Here, there are mistakes, which do not, indeed, involve anything of importance, beyond illustrating further the rudimentary and superficial manner in which Mr. Rice has dealt with the whole question, but which may as well be corrected in order to save perplexity and trouble to others. The intended record, the one of which Capt. Carr has given us a reproduction, is not on the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa; it is at the Gaṇḍēśa temple; the record on the Dharmarāja Maṇḍapa is another copy of it, arranged differently, of which we apparently have not as yet any reproduction; the reference to Dr. Hultzsch's text should have been to p. 4, No. 18; and we look in vain to the seventh stanza for the word that is quoted by Mr. Rice; it is in the ninth verse that it occurs. Now, the inscription really intended is in rather elaborate characters, from which fact Mr. Rice has made a curious deduction; in respect of the lithograph of the entire record given in Capt. Carr's Plate xiv., he has said "there is nothing to show that this is a mechanical copy, but the highly florid nature of the alphabet insures that it must have been carefully copied." There is, of course, a good deal of difference between copying carefully and copying

<sup>1</sup> This is as given to me from the German; the English translation is not out yet.

accurately. With characters so florid and elaborate as are those of this record, and "so faintly cut,"<sup>1</sup> and with the absolute certainty that the reproduction of them, though based on tracings to which "several days' labour" was devoted, was not a purely mechanical one, we have every reason to doubt the absolute trustworthiness of the lithograph. And what do we find on actual examination? The *kh* quoted by Mr. Rice occurs in the word *sumukhaḥ*, line 9; but the lithograph gives us *samakhaḥ*, omitting twice the vowel *u*. The *kh* occurs in also the word *khyātō* in verse 5, line 5; and here the lithograph shews *tyātō*, omitting the *ā* and turning the *kh* into *t*. Here are four mistakes in the reproduction, in only five syllables. But it is not necessary to criticise this reproduction any further; because I do not wish to rely on any faults in it. I grant everything that Mr. Rice wishes. I concede that we have here, in the word *sumukhaḥ*, a cursive *kh* of precisely the same type, and almost of the same form, with the cursive *kh* of Western India which, I say, cannot be carried back to before A.D. 804. And I concede that this instance, adduced by Mr. Rice, is to be referred to probably the sixth century A.D. But it has absolutely nothing to do with the matter that we have in hand. It is a Grantha character,—a character of an alphabet which, though derived from the same original stock with the alphabet of Western India, was developed on totally different lines and at a much earlier period, and which shews, in the sixth century and perhaps before that time, many characters which, while preserving the leading features of the original type, already exhibit many and wide divergencies, both in the type and in the details. To the same alphabet belong the characters of the record in which occurs the cursive *kh* given in Dr. Bühler's Table vii., col. XXIII, No. 9: it is the Kailāsanātha inscription of Rājasiṃha, of which the text has been given by Dr. Hultzsch in his *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 12, No. 24, with a facsimile in a Plate issued in Vol. II.; and the *kh* in question is the *kh* of the word *pramukhaḥ* in verse 7, near the beginning of line 11. And this record, again, has absolutely nothing to do with the development of the alphabet of Western India.

And here we may leave the details of the palæographic question, until the publication of the collotype facsimiles that I have in hand, which will shew the development of the alphabet of Western India during the ninth century A.D., and will prove everything that I have said about the letters *kh* and *b*, and a great deal more too. I have only to add the following general remarks.

In the first place, if we act on Mr. Rice's suggestion, and place the writing of those grants, which shew both forms of the *kh* and *b*, in the period when both those forms really were in use together, we must refer them to about the middle of the ninth century A.D. We must, then—(one instance will suffice),—place about A.D. 850 the Dēvarhaḷḷi grant, which purports to have been issued A.D. 776-77. And the reference of it to a period three quarters of a century (or even one quarter of a century) later than the date asserted by itself, stamps it as a forgery, just as much as the reference of it to any period later still.

In the second place, Mr. Rice has expressed surprise at my saying that the writers of this and other spurious records forgot themselves, and introduced tell-tale characters, when they used in certain words the later cursive forms. But there is no occasion for any such expression of surprise. That is exactly what the writers did. And they simply betrayed themselves in just the same way in which forgers are liable to betray themselves, and do betray themselves, all over the world. In a recent notorious case in England, the first clue to the detection of an almost unparalleled series of forgeries, for genealogical purposes, was given by the fact that the forger forgot himself, and was careless enough to introduce a numeral of quite modern form into a date that purported to be of the sixteenth century.

Finally, a few words as regards the general subject of the present position of Indian palæography. The departments of Indian research are numerous; and each one is a complete

<sup>1</sup> See p. 56 of Capt. Carr's book.

study in itself. My special aim has always been to edit as many records as possible, and to write up from them, and from records edited by others, such branches of the history as have engaged my interest. In the palæographic line, I have been satisfied to be able to determine for myself the age and reliability of any documents with which I might be concerned, and have been content to leave to others the systematic prosecution of that line of research. But I have also sought to help it on as far as possible, by means of the lithographs that were issued with my own articles, or that were prepared under my direction to accompany articles written by others. When, however, the science of Indian epigraphy and palæography was not very far advanced, it was thought more important to publish clear and easily legible lithographs, than to give facsimiles which an unpractised eye might find it difficult to deal with because of their including all the imperfections of the originals due to damage and decay. And that procedure necessitated a considerable amount of touching up by hand, either of the originals, or of the impressions of them, or of the proofs. The mistakes that may be made, in such a process, are well illustrated by the evolution of a cursive *kh*, from the old square *kh* of the original, in the lithograph, which was prepared in 1878 more or less under my own direction, of a record of A.D. 694,<sup>1</sup> and by the introduction into Mr. Rice's lithograph of the Âtakûr inscription, simply to suit a purely imaginary reading, of a syllable which does not exist in the original at all.<sup>2</sup> The mischief of that procedure was recognised about 1882; and attention was then given to obtaining better impressions, from which there might be given, without any manipulation, mechanical facsimiles which would be absolutely faithful and reliable reproductions of typical originals. But, unfortunately, sufficient prominence was not given to the change that was then made, and to the reason for it; and the palæographic inquiry went on, without those who were concerned in it being duly informed. The palæographic line of research has been brought to a climax, for the present, by the publication of Dr. Bühler's volume. And it would be impossible to speak in too high terms of the way in which he sought to attain the objects aimed at in it. But it must be remarked that, great as has been the loss that we have sustained, in every line, through his sudden and premature death, it is peculiarly calamitous that he should have passed away just when so important a book had been issued by him and before it had been subjected to criticism which he himself could have attended to. The Tables of his volume are, unluckily, largely based on the manipulated reproductions that were issued in accordance with the earlier practice. And, moreover, the details of them were by no means all selected and arranged by him. For these reasons, and for others which a study of the work will disclose, we can only receive with great caution the Tables, and some of the results based on them, put forward in his book. And we must hope that someone else will be forthcoming, to carry one stage further the inquiry that he brought so far.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have to add a few words, by way of correction of views previously expressed by me, on the subject of the invention of the fictitious genealogy that is presented in the spurious grants.

In 1894 I suggested<sup>3</sup> that it was devised by the Western Gāṅgas themselves, in imitation of the Purāṇic genealogies of other families,—that it was started in the time of Nalambāntaka-Mārasimha II.,—and that the Lakshmēshwar inscription, dated A.D. 968-69 and purporting to be of his time, seemed to represent the beginning of it in a rudimentary form, and to fix very closely the time when it was invented.

I have, in the first place, to withdraw the Lakshmēshwar inscription as a basis for any such suggestion. This record<sup>4</sup> is on a stone tablet which contains, after it, records that

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. V. p. 155, note 8.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> See page 52 above, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 101.

purport to be of the time of Satyāśraya-(Pulakēśin II.) and the Śēndra prince Durgasakti (not dated), and of Vikramāditya II. (dated A.D. 735). And another stone tablet at the same place<sup>1</sup> contains a record of Vijayāditya (dated A.D. 723), followed by other records of the same king (dated A.D. 730), of Gaṅgakandarpa-(Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II.) (dated, again, A.D. 968-69), and of Vinayāditya (dated A.D. 687). These records, though bearing such very different dates, are all in characters of one and the same period, and were all put on the stones at one and the same time. When I dealt with them,—more than twenty years ago,—I believed, and said, that they are in characters of the tenth century A.D.; that is to say, I took them as having been put on the stones in the recorded year A.D. 968-69, in the time of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II. And I too carelessly endorsed that belief in 1894,<sup>2</sup> without examining impressions of them again. That belief was wrong. The characters are of an appreciably later date, and are fairly referable to the second half of the eleventh century A.D. And there is no doubt that these records were put on the stones in connection with the rebuilding of the Jain temples and the restoration of their endowments under the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, after the end of the Chōla occupation, and for the purpose of what Sir Walter Elliot has called “the unification of the titles.”<sup>3</sup> As regards the historical value of them,—it is obvious that the Chalukya records are, at the best, only copies of originals, to be taken for what they may be worth; and, for the present, we need only remark that, with the exception of the record of Satyāśraya-(Pulakēśin II.) and the Śēndra prince Durgasakti, they are plainly based, more or less directly, on original charters which were deciphered intelligently,—that they are questionable, as dishonest records, only in so far as the writers of them may have substituted names of villages and grantees, to suit their own purposes, for other names standing in the originals,—and that, apparently, the only specially important item in them is the mention of the name Pūjyapāda, as that of the teacher of the alleged grantee, in the record of A.D. 730.<sup>4</sup> As regards the Gaṅga records,—they are questionable in the same way, as dishonest records, in so far as they may put forward fraudulent claims to property. The one that has been edited in full, includes the first three steps of the fictitious pedigree; and, therefore, it was based, in that portion, either on a spurious record, or on a draft of which the ultimate origin is to be traced to the spurious records. But that fact does not make it itself necessarily a dishonest record; because, by the time when it was put on the stone, the fictitious pedigree had evidently become an accepted story, liable to be quoted in even *bonâ fide* records. Even as regards the fictitious pedigree, it makes a mistake, in representing Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II. as the younger brother of the imaginary Harivarman of the third generation. This, however, is a detail, of no real importance, which may be accounted for in any way that may seem appropriate. And the only item of special interest, that can be found in the record at present, is the mention of a Jain temple called Mukkaravasati.<sup>5</sup> The important point, for the present, is, that this record was put on the stone about a century later than the date recorded in it, which is a date that fell during the period of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II., and that, consequently, it does not place in the time of that prince the first attempt to devise the fictitious pedigree.

In the second place, when I formed the conclusions that I presented in 1894, we knew of but very few Western Gaṅga records, beyond these Lakshmēśwar inscriptions and the spurious

<sup>1</sup> Noticed, but not edited in full, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 172, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Coins of Southern India*, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> The possible bearing of this is too complicated a matter to be gone into on the present occasion.

<sup>5</sup> It is mentioned, incidentally, among the boundaries of one of the properties claimed by the record. The mention of it suggests that, at some time before the eleventh century, there was a person named Mukkara, by whom the temple was founded, or after whom it was named. All else that can be said, is, that, if there was such a person, he may have been a Gaṅga—(which, however, the record does not assert),—or he may have belonged to any other family, and that it is highly probable that he was the person from whom there was evolved the imaginary Mookara, or Mushkara, the alleged grandfather of Śivamāra I., of the spurious grants.

copper-plate grants from Sûdi and Mysore. Since then, Mr. Rice has given us, in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vols. III. and IV., about a hundred records on stone, from Mysore, which he has referred to the Gaṅga period, and nearly all of which are genuine and have been properly so referred. And we have further, in the way of genuine records, the Vallimalai inscription of Rājamalla grandson of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, from the North Arcot district,—the Biliūr, Peggu-ūr, and Kôṭūr inscriptions, from Coorg,—the Bēgūr inscription of Eṇeyappa and the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II., from Mysore,—and, from the Dhārwar district, the Adaraguñchi and Guṇḍūr inscriptions of the same prince and the Hebbāl inscription of A.D. 975. Neither anywhere in the whole of this mass of genuine materials, nor in any other such record known to me, is there the slightest allusion to, or hint of, the fictitious genealogy, anterior to Śivamāra I., that is presented in the spurious records. And it is now plain that that genealogy was not claimed by Śivamāra I. and his descendants, but was simply evolved by the persons who fabricated the forged grants, in concocting the necessary pseudo-historical portions of their spurious title-deeds.

The general subject of Purāṇic genealogies will be an interesting topic for examination on some future occasion. Meanwhile, in respect of such of the great families of Southern India as can be traced back to before A.D. 1000, the position is as follows. The earliest such genealogy that we meet with, in any but a merely allusive and rudimentary form, is that of the Pallavas of Kāñchī; and it appears first in the Kūram grant of the second half of the seventh century A.D.<sup>1</sup> We meet next, as a matter of certainty, with that of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhêḍ, in the Nausārī grants of A.D. 915.<sup>2</sup> And that of the Yādavas of the Sēupa country, from whom sprang the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, is first found in the Saṁgamnēr grant of A.D. 1000.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of certainty, the Purāṇic genealogy of the Chôlas is first met with in the so-called Leiden grant of A.D. 1019 or 1020;<sup>4</sup> but it would be carried back, in somewhat different forms, to the period A.D. 900 to 940, if a fragmentary grant of Vīra-Chôḷa from Udayēndiram<sup>5</sup> is a genuine original record and is referable to the time of Parāntaka I.,<sup>6</sup>—and to the year A.D. 915, if the Udayēndiram grant of the Gaṅga-Bāna prince Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II., dated in the fifteenth year of Parāntaka I.,<sup>7</sup> is, again, a genuine original record actually drawn up in that year.<sup>8</sup> The full Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history of the Chalukyas are first met with in a record of the eastern branch, the Korumelli grant of the period A.D. 1022 to 1063.<sup>9</sup> And the Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara are first found in a grant that bears the date of A.D. 1118-19.<sup>10</sup> These are the dates at which, as far as our information goes at present, the genealogies are first met with. But, obviously, each of the genealogies had been selected, thought over, and elaborated, at a time appreciably earlier than that at which we first come across it. The earliest of them was that of the Pallavas. It was, probably, a discovery of it, in some ancient record, that set the fashion which became so general. And all the historical considerations point to the latter half of the ninth century A.D. and to the tenth century, as the period during which the other early great families of Southern India applied themselves to putting forward, or in some cases elaborating, claims to descent from the Lunar and Solar Races, and to working up their own traditions so as to establish presentable historical connections with those races.

In the way of fictitious pedigrees of a pretended historical kind, without Purāṇic introductions, we have an instance in that of the Kādambas of Hāṅgal,—from the name of

<sup>1</sup> *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. I. p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 261, 267.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> See, provisionally, *Archæol. Surv. South-Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 79.

<sup>7</sup> *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. II. p. 375.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> See Dr. Hultzsch's remarks, above, Vol. IV. p. 223.

<sup>8</sup> See page 65 above, note 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 166.

Mayūravarmān I. to that of Ādityavarman,— which is put forward in the Kargudari inscription of A.D. 1108.<sup>1</sup> The alleged genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ, as presented in the spurious records, is a genealogy of this same kind, without a Purāṇic introduction. A Purāṇic introduction was eventually prefixed to it. And, as far as is disclosed at present, in genuine records,— that is to say, in records which contain all that fabulous matter, but put it forward, *bonâ fide*, as a story that had come to be really believed, and without using it fraudulently,— the fictitious historical pedigree and the Purāṇic introduction, both together, first appear in records of the eleventh century A.D. at 'Purale,' Humcha, and 'Kallur Gudda' in Mysore.<sup>2</sup> The Purāṇic introduction seems to have been invented in that century. We shall consider, on another occasion, the period to which the inception of the fictitious historical pedigree may be carried back.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

I subjoin a few supplementary remarks which suggested themselves after this paper had gone into pages.

Page 53, text line 3, and note 7. The reading *a[ṅka]-Tri[nē]tran* may be accepted; see some remarks under Kṛishṇa III., in a note on the appellations of the Rāshtrakūṭa king, which will be given in a subsequent article in this volume.

Page 57, note 8. Another instance of the occurrence of *aṅkakāra* in a *biruda* the first component of which is not a proper name, is Chaladāṅkakāra, "the champion of firmness of character," in the case of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indra IV. (*Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 57, verses 5, 6).

Page 71, line 24. The date of A.D. 953 for Bātuga II. is supplied by an inscription at Chīñchli in the Gadag tāluka; see some remarks under Kṛishṇa III. in the place referred to above.

Page 72, line 2. It may be added that the killing of Pañchala in battle at the command of Nūrmāḍi-Taila II. is attributed to the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Āhavamalla-Bhūteyadēva or Bhūtiga, whose descendant Barma was governing the Lōkāpura twelve and other circles, at Toragal, in A.D. 1187, in the time of Sōmēśvara IV.; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 96, text lines 4 to 6 (the verse has not been well translated). I am indebted to Professor Kielhorn for drawing my attention to this reference.

#### No. 7.— THE DATE OF THE KOTTAYAM (SYRIAN CHRISTIANS') PLATE OF VIRA-RAGHAVA.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

After a careful examination of the Grantha letters in the Kōṭṭayam plate of Vira-Rāghava, above, Vol. IV. page 293, Mr. Venkayya has intimated that, on palæographical grounds, Vira-Rāghava's grant may be assigned to about the 13th or 14th century A.D. Convinced of the general correctness of Mr. Venkayya's conclusion, I have examined the date of the grant for the four hundred years from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1500, and am enabled to state that during that period<sup>3</sup> there is only a single day for which the date is absolutely correct, *viz.* Saturday, the 15th March A.D. 1320.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 249; and see *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* pp. 559, 560.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I. p. 308 ff.; also, his Annual Report for the year ending 31st March, 1891, which gives the date of the Humcha record as Śaka-Saṃvat 999 (expired), = A.D. 1077-78.

<sup>3</sup> For the same period of years I have calculated the date of the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of the Pāṇḍya Jātavarman *alias* Kulakṣharadēva, from the data furnished by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 288, with the result that the only day between A.D. 1100 and 1500 which satisfies all the requirements of the date, is Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214. I may have an opportunity to treat more fully of this date on another occasion.

The data furnished by the original date are—"the day of (the *nakshatra*) Rôhîṇî, a Saturday on which passed<sup>1</sup> (the day) twenty-one (of) the month of Mîna, (when) Jupiter (was in) Makara."

In Śaka-Samvat 1241 expired=A.D. 1319-20 the Mîna-samkrānti by the Ārya-siddhānta took place 3 hours 22 minutes after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 24th February A.D. 1320, which therefore was the first day of the month of Mîna. Accordingly, the 21st day of the month of Mîna was Saturday, the 15th March A.D. 1320. On this day (which was the 5th of the bright half of Chaitra) the moon was in the *nakshatra* Rôhîṇî during the whole of the day, and the true longitude of Jupiter by the Ārya-siddhānta was  $9^{\circ} 1' 14''$ , i.e. Jupiter was in the 10th sign Makara.

I may add that in the period from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1500 there are two other Saturdays, 95 years before and 95 years<sup>2</sup> after the 15th March A.D. 1320, either of which answers two of the other requirements of the original date, but not all of them. They are:—

Saturday, the 15th March A.D. 1225, which was the 21st day of the month of Mîna, and on which the *nakshatra* was Rôhîṇî, while the true longitude of Jupiter was only  $8^{\circ} 27' 58''$ ; and—

Saturday, the 16th March A.D. 1415, when the *nakshatra* was Rôhîṇî, and the true longitude of Jupiter  $9^{\circ} 4' 28''$ , but which was the 20th day of the month of Mîna.

I venture to hope that the results of Mr. Venkayya's examination of the plate and of my own calculations will be considered to render it extremely probable that Vîra-Râghava's grant was made in A.D. 1320, and not in either A.D. 775 or so strangely early a year as A.D. 230.<sup>3</sup>

#### No. 8.—MAYIDAVOLU PLATES OF SIVASKANDAVARMAN.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; DRESDEN.

These copper-plates were found about the middle of 1899 by a man who was digging the soil of a field in the *pāḍu* or abandoned village north of Mayidavôlu. The *pāḍu* is about four acres in extent and contains the ruins of a small old temple. Mayidavôlu<sup>4</sup> is a small village 12 miles east of Narasaraṅgupēta, the head-quarters of a tāluka of the Kistna district. As good luck would have it, the find of the plates came to the notice of that zealous antiquarian, Mr. J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L., to whom epigraphy is already indebted for the Chikkulla plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 193) and the Tottaramūdi plates (*ibid.* p. 318). He forwarded the plates to Mr. Venkayya, who sent me three sets of ink-impressions and the following description of the original:—"Eight plates and fifteen sides. The length of the plates varies from  $6\frac{1}{8}''$  to  $7''$ . As regards the breadth, the plates are slightly narrower in the middle than at the ends; the average may be taken as  $2\frac{1}{4}''$ . The plates were held together by a ring which is  $3\frac{1}{4}''$  in diameter and  $\frac{1}{4}''$  thick; it has been cut by me before taking the impressions. The ends of the ring are secured in an elliptical seal which measures very nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$ . The seal bears in relief an animal couchant and facing the proper right—apparently a bull, as it has a hump on its back—and

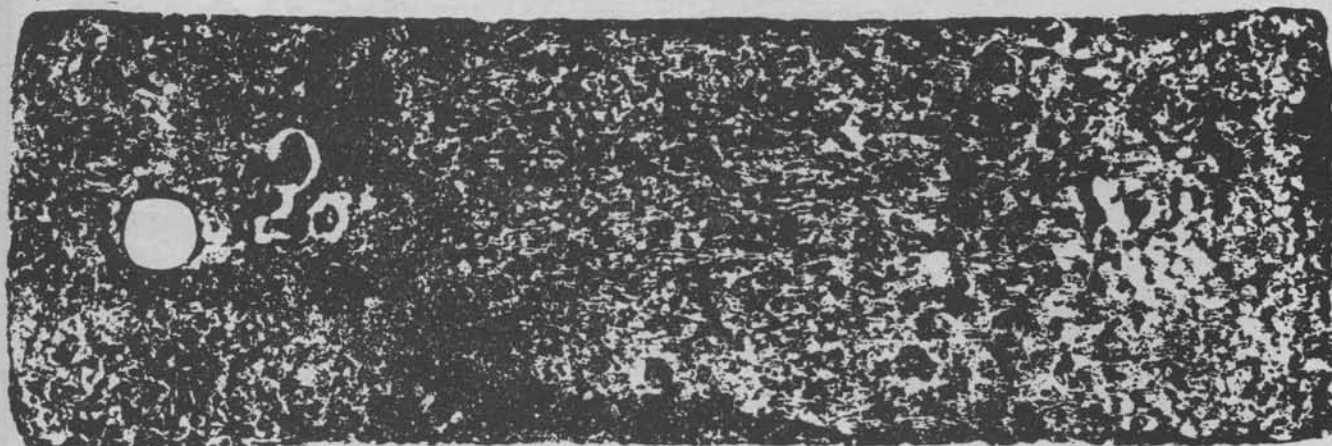
<sup>1</sup> I owe a literal translation of the date to Dr. Hultzsch.

<sup>2</sup> The same number of years (or, more accurately, the number of 84699 days) intervenes between the two days in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. which would answer all the requirements of the date, viz. Saturday, the 10th March A.D. 680, and Saturday, the 11th March A.D. 775.

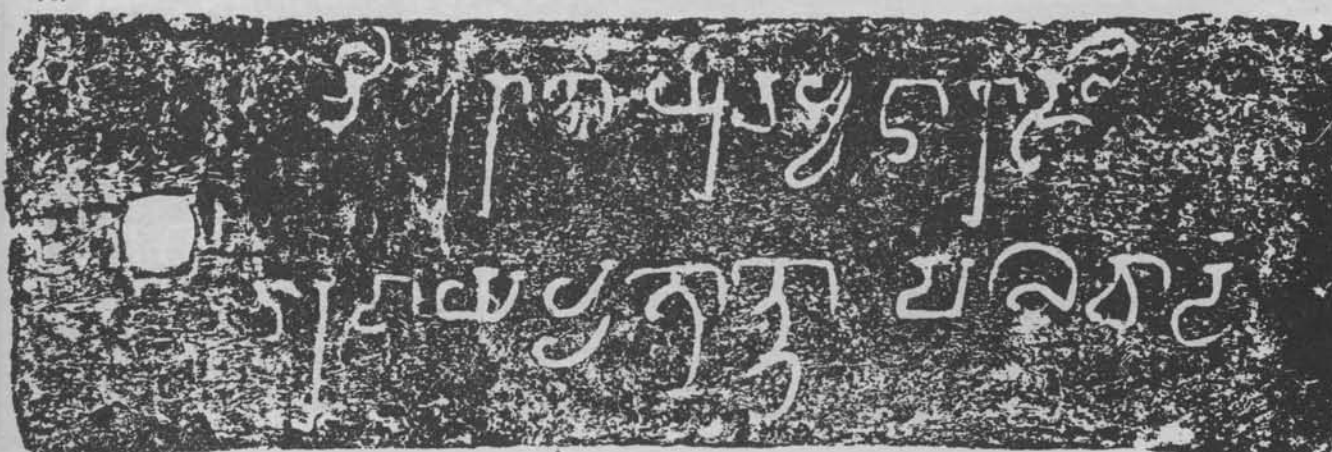
<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. IV. p. 292, note 7. So far as I can see, the astronomical calculations of Mr. Kookel Kaloo Nair were not quite correct. Saturday, the 6th March A.D. 280, was the 21st day of Mîna and the *nakshatra* for part of the day was Rôhîṇî; but Jupiter was in the sign Kumbha, not in Makara.—I do not venture to hope that we ever shall find in an inscription a date of the third century A.D. that would admit of exact verification.

<sup>4</sup> See Mr. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 72.

ia.



ib.



ii a.



ii b.

ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ  
ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ

6

iii a.

ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ  
ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ

8

iii b.

ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ  
ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ ਮੁਖੀ ਹਿੰਦੀ

10

below it, the legend *Śivaska[ndavarmmanah?]* in an alphabet which appears to be slightly different from that of the inscription. The bull and the legend are enclosed in a circle which is partially preserved."

After I had despatched the manuscript of this article to the press, Mr. Venkayya sent me the original copper-plates and informed me that, at the instance of Mr. J. Ramayya, they have now been presented to the Madras Museum by their owner, Mayidavolu Jaya Ramayya. The writing on the plates is carefully done, and its preservation is tolerably good; all damaged syllables can be supplied with certainty.

Like the Hīrahaḍagalli plates,<sup>1</sup> the new copper-plate grant was issued from Kāñchipura by Śivaskandavarman of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and of the Pallava family (ll. 1—3). As he is here styled *Yuva-Mahārāja*<sup>2</sup> or heir-apparent, the date of the grant (l. 25 f.) is apparently prior to that of the Hīrahaḍagalli plates and has to be referred to the reign of Śivaskandavarman's unknown predecessor. Śivaskandavarman granted to two Brāhmanas a village named Viripara (ll. 10 and 12), which belonged to Andhrāpatha<sup>3</sup> (l. 9), i.e. the Telugu country. Viripara, which I am unable to identify, must have been situated near Amarāvati in the Kistna district; for Śivaskandavarman addressed his order regarding the grant to his (or his father's) representative at Dhaññakada<sup>4</sup> (l. 3), the modern Amarāvati. We thus learn that, during the reigns of Śivaskandavarman and his predecessor, the Pallava kingdom included not only—in the south—the Tonḍai-maṇḍalam, to which their capital, Kāñchipura, belongs, and perhaps—in the west—the Bellary district, in which the Hīrahaḍagalli plates were purchased, but—in the north—the Telugu country as far as the Kṛṣṇā river.

The date of the grant (l. 25 f.) is given in words and numerical symbols. It was the 5th tithi of the 6th fortnight of summer in the 10th year (of the reign of Śivaskandavarman's predecessor). As shown by Professor Kielhorn,<sup>5</sup> neither numerical symbols nor season-dates have been found in records later than the 8th century A.D. But the subjoined grant has to be assigned to a much earlier period because of its archaic alphabet, and because, like the Nāsik inscriptions of the Andhra kings, the Hīrahaḍagalli plates, and the plates of Vijayaskandavarman, it is written in Prākṛit.<sup>6</sup>

The language of the inscription is a Prākṛit dialect which differs from the literary Pāli in several respects. Thus consonants are softened in °kaḍa (l. 3), bhaḍa (l. 15), and khāḍaka (l. 13), but hardened in papesa (l. 15) for pavasa. The unaspirate takes the place of the aspirate in Amḍhāpatiḥ (l. 9). The letter y is sometimes replaced by j, e.g. in jo (l. 21) and majāḍā (l. 18) for Sanskrit *maryāḍā* (*marīyāḍā* in Pāli), while y takes the place of j in Bhāradvāja (l. 2) for Sanskrit *Bhāradvāja* and of ch in ya (l. 6) for cha (which occurs in lines 17 and 20). Two cases of peculiar *saṁdhi* are sayatti (l. 27) for *svayam=iti* and Gonamḍāja (l. 9) for *Gonandi + aja*. Of inflected nouns may be noted the Māgadhi nominatives vejayike and vadhanike<sup>7</sup> (l. 5 f.), the ablative °purāto (l. 1), and the neuter āḍim (l. 10) for āḍi (against dāni, l. 5, for idānim). The personal pronoun of the first person is represented by the base amha (ll. 5 and 21), the nominative amho (l. 23) and the instrumental amhehi (ll. 5 and 10). The inscription contains several verbal forms, viz. the gerund atichhitāna (l. 21 f.) from ati + chhid, the presents ānapayati (l. 4) and vitarāma (l. 13), the imperatives pariḥaratha and

<sup>1</sup> Edited by the late Professor Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The same title is applied to Vijayabuddhavarman in the plates of Vijayaskandavarman; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 101, l. 2.

<sup>3</sup> On the synonymous terms Āndhra-maṇḍala, Āndhra-patha, and Vāduga-vali, see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. III. p. 94 and note 5.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 195 and note 4.

<sup>6</sup> See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 5, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, 2nd edition, p. 320.

<sup>7</sup> The same two words occur in the Hīrahaḍagalli plates, l. 9. The plates of Vijayaskandavarman have *vaddhanīyam* (l. 8 f.).

*pariharāpetha* (l. 20), and the potentials *karejjā*, *kārāpejjā* and *karejāmo* (ll. 22—24), which correspond to Pāli *kareyya*, *kārāpeyya* and *kareyyāma*.

As regards orthography, double consonants are rarely expressed by a compound letter, as in *paṭṭikā* (l. 28), *sagotta* (ll. 2 and 7 f.), and *°vammo* (l. 3), or by a nasal with preceding *anusvāra* (in *Dhamṇā*°, l. 3). Generally the writer follows the practice of the cave-inscriptions, where a single consonant does duty for the double letter; see *Agivesa* (l. 7 f.) for Sanskrit *Āgnivēśya*, *diṭṭha* (plate i. a) and *chhaṭṭha* (l. 26) for *diṭṭha* and *chhaṭṭha*, *sāmpadata* (l. 11) against *datta* (l. 27), *ana* (l. 17) for *anna*<sup>1</sup> (*añña* in Pāli), *Palava* (l. 2) for *Pallava*, *sava* (ll. 12, 17, 19) for *savva* (*sabba* in Pāli), and *tasa* (l. 23) etc. for *tassa* etc.

The alphabet of the new plates is an epigraphic curiosity. Though on the whole resembling that of the Hirahadagalli plates, it exhibits a few letters which differ from the corresponding characters of all Indian alphabets. Thus the letter *s* consists of two equal curves, one below the other, but not connected with it. The letter *m* consists of the same upper curve and of a loop which starts from its upper right corner and reaches below the line; in the group *mno* (l. 3) the same loop is attached once more to the right of the syllable *mo*. The dental and lingual nasals are not distinguished from each other, but represented by a symbol which assumes various slightly dissimilar shapes and resembles *d* and *ḍ* so closely, that only the context can show which letter is meant in each individual case. I have transcribed it by *n* wherever it cannot be read as *d* or *ḍ*. The *j* of *vejyike* (l. 5) looks, roughly speaking, like an angle and a circle. This circle is open on the right in *°tūjasa* (l. 8) and *°rājo* (l. 1), while it is joined to the horizontal leg of the angle in *°dijasa* (l. 9). In *majāddāya* (l. 18) and *karejāmo* (l. 24) we have the usual form of *jā*. The group *jjā* in *karejjā* (l. 22) and *kārāpejjā* (l. 23) is identical in shape with *jo* (l. 21).<sup>2</sup> Finally I would draw attention to the letter *e* in *etasa* (l. 11) and *etehi* (l. 16), which looks like an archaic Tamil *ē*.

Plates ii. to viii. are marked with the numerical symbols '2' to '8' on the left of the first side between the ring-hole and the margin.<sup>3</sup> The symbol '10' and duplicates of the symbols '5' and '6' occur in the date portion on plate vii. b. The symbol '4' differs from that of the Hirahadagalli plates and already resembles the corresponding modern figure.

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

##### *First Plate; First Side.*

Diṭṭha[m]<sup>5</sup> [||\*]

##### *First Plate; Second Side.*

1 [Kām]ohipurāto<sup>6</sup> yuva-mahārājo

2 Bhāradāya-sagotto Palavānam

##### *Second Plate; First Side.*

3 Sivakha[m]davammo Dhamṇakaḍe

4 vāpatam ānapayati [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> This form occurs in the Hirahadagalli plates, ll. 6 and 43.

<sup>2</sup> In the Hirahadagalli plates the *jjā* of *kārāpejjā* (l. 40) differs from the *jo* of *°rājo* (l. 2).

<sup>3</sup> The symbol, if any, on the first plate is obliterated.

<sup>4</sup> From Mr. Venkyya's ink-impressions and from the original plates.

<sup>5</sup> The same word is entered on plate i. a of the Hirahadagalli plates.

<sup>6</sup> The first syllable of this word is almost entirely obliterated, but can be supplied with certainty from line 1 of the Hirahadagalli plates.

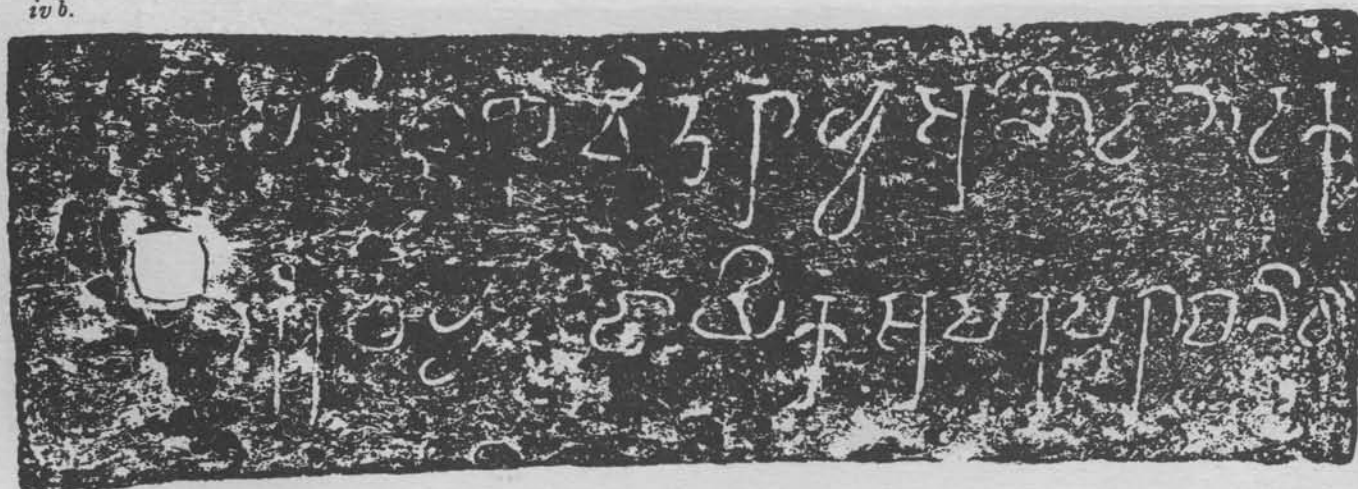
iv a.

12



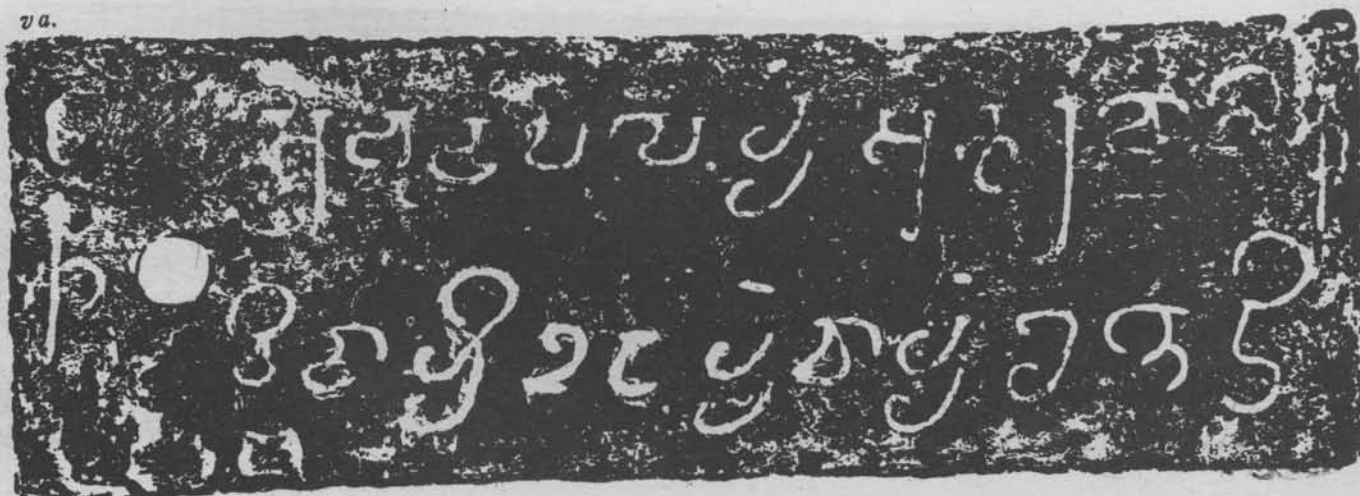
iv b.

14

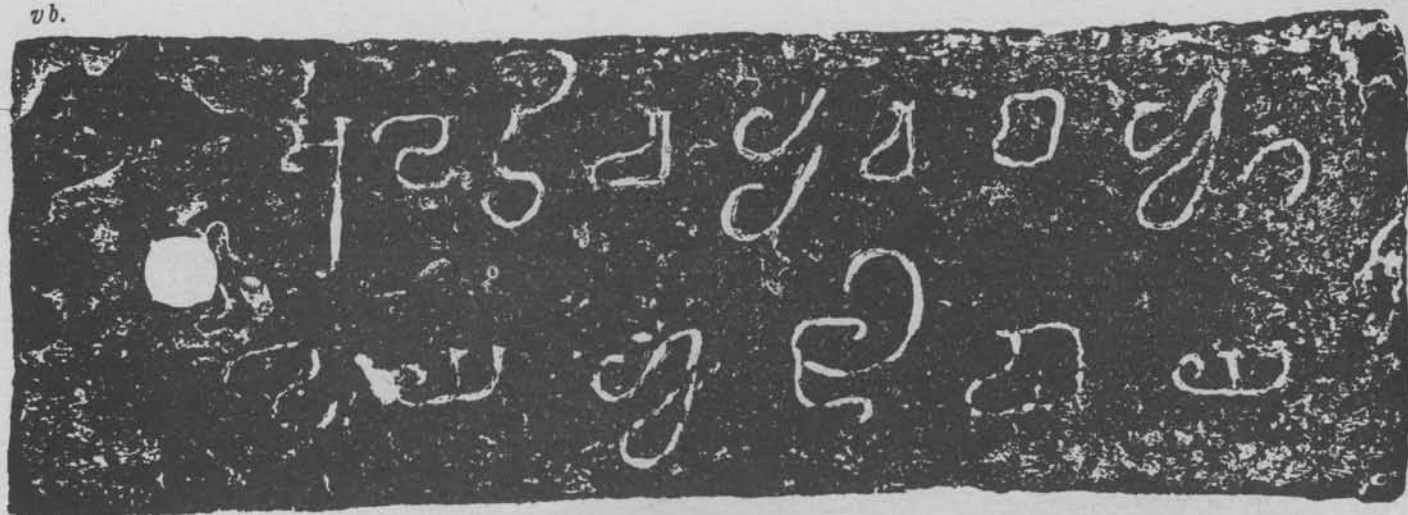


v a.

16

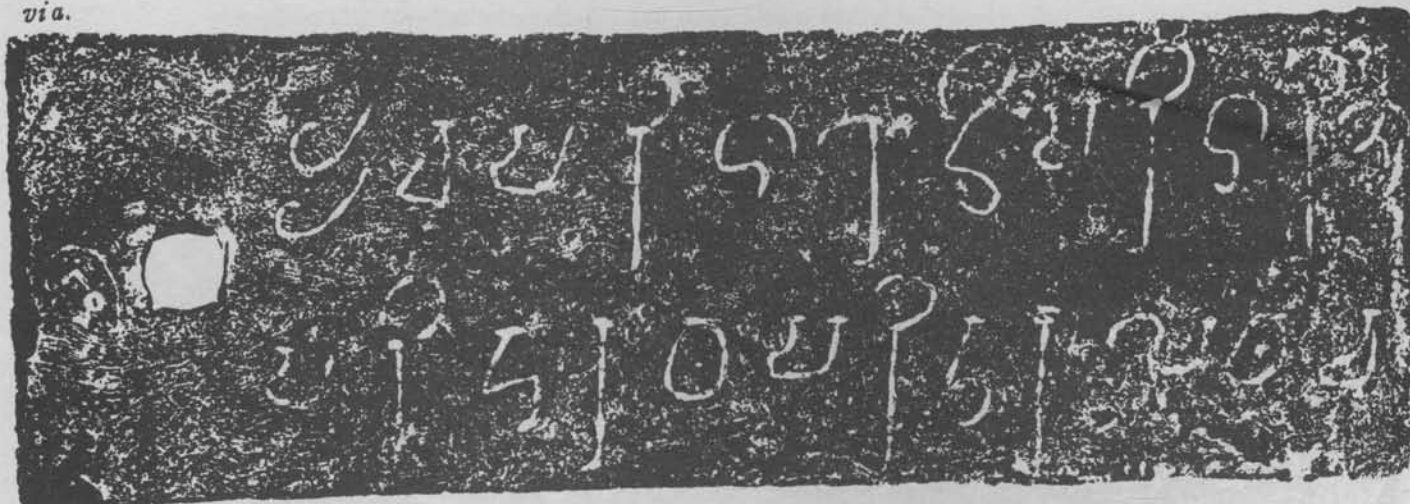


vb.



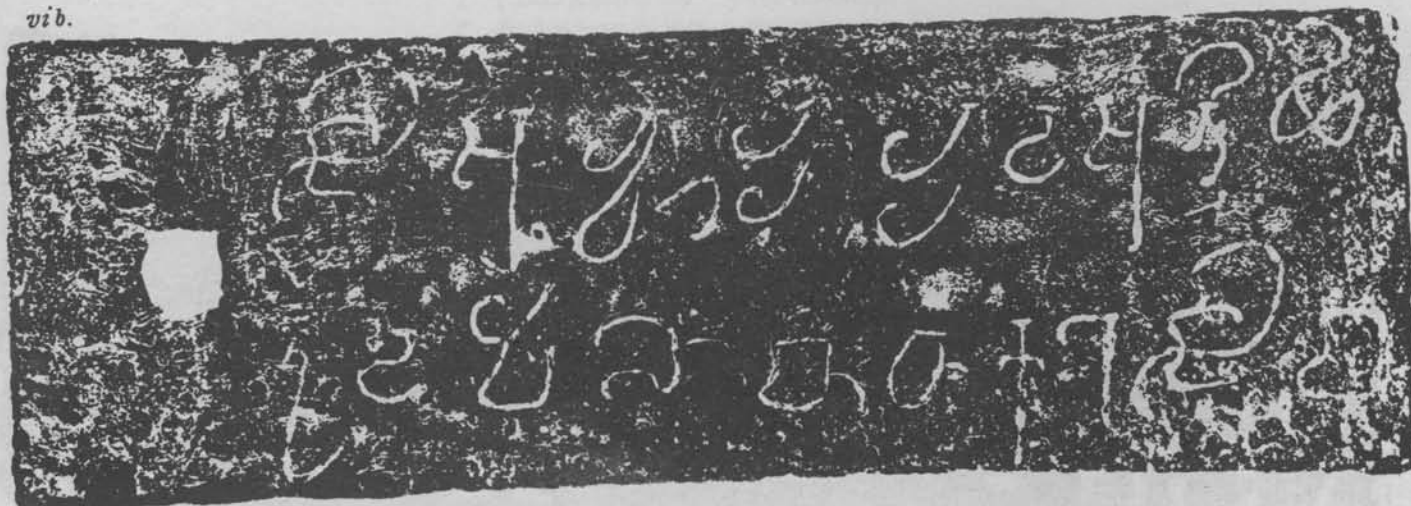
18

via.



20

vib.



22

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 5 amhehi dāni amha-vejayike  
6 [dham]m-āyu-bala-vadhanike ya

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 7 bamhanānam Agivesa-sagottasa  
8 Puvakoṭṭajasa Agi(gi)vesa-sagottasa

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 9 Gonamdiṭṭajasa Amdhāpati(thi)ya-gāmo  
10 [Viripa]raṁ<sup>1</sup> amhehi udak-ādima

*Fourth Plate ; First Side.*

- 11 sampadato [i\*] etasa gāmasa  
12 Viriparasa sava-bamhadeya-

*Fourth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 13 pa[r]i[hā]ro(re) vitarāma [i\*] alona[kh]ādakam  
14 arathasam[vi]nāyikam aparaṁparābaliva[dam\*]

*Fifth Plate ; First Side.*

- 15 abhadapapesam akūracholaka-  
16 vināsikhat[ā\*]samvāsam [i\*] etehi

*Fifth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 17 anehi cha sava-bamha-  
18 deya-majādāya

*Sixth Plate ; First Side.*

- 19 sava-parihārehi parihārīto [i\*]  
20 pariharatha pariharāpetha cha [i\*]

*Sixth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 21 jo amha-sāsanam atichhi-  
22 tūna pīlā bādha[ā] karejjā [vā]<sup>2</sup>

*Seventh Plate ; First Side.*

- 23 [ta]<sup>3</sup> kārāpejjā vā tasa amho  
24 sārīra[m] sāsanam karejāmo [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> Of the first three syllables only slight traces can be distinguished, but the same word is quite distinct in line 12.

<sup>2</sup> This *akshara* and the first *akshara* of the next plate seem to have been scored out by the engraver, who had omitted *kārāpejjā* and had begun to write *vā tasa*, but found out his mistake when he had got as far as *ta*.

<sup>3</sup> See the preceding note.

## Seventh Plate; Second Side.

- 25 sa[m]vaohhara[m] dasamañ 10 gimhā<sup>1</sup>  
 26 pakho chhaṭho 6 divasañ pañchami 5 [!\*]

## Eighth Plate.

- 27 ānati sayatti dattā  
 28 paṭṭikā [!\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(This edict) has been seen.<sup>2</sup>

(Line 1.) From Kāñchipura the Yuva-Mahārāja Śivaskandavarman (of the family) of the Pallavas,<sup>3</sup> who belongs to the gōtra of the Bhāradvājas, orders (his) official (vyāpṛita) at Dhaññakaḍa<sup>4</sup> (as follows):—

(L. 5.) For conferring on ourselves victory (in war)<sup>5</sup> and for increasing (our) merit, length of life, and power, we have now given, with libations of water, the village of Viripara in Andhrāpatha to the (two) Brāhmapas Puvakotuja of the Āgnivēśya gōtra and Gonandija<sup>6</sup> of the Āgnivēśya gōtra.

(L. 11.) To this village of Viripara we grant all the immunities (enjoyed by) brahmadēyas.

(L. 13.) (Let it be) free from diggings for salt,<sup>7</sup> arāṭhasamvīdyika, free from (the supply of) bullocks in succession,<sup>8</sup> free from the entrance of soldiers, free from (the supply of) boiled rice, water-pots, . . . . . cots and dwellings.<sup>9</sup>

(L. 16.) With these and all the other immunities (prescribed) by the rules regarding all brahmadēyas (we have) caused it to be exempted.

(L. 20.) (Accordingly) you<sup>10</sup> have to exempt (it) and cause (it) to be exempted.

(L. 21.) Who, transgressing our edict, shall give or shall cause to be given trouble (and) annoyance<sup>11</sup> (to the donees), on him we shall inflict bodily punishment.

<sup>1</sup> This is an abbreviation for *gimhānam*; compare Nāsik No. 11, l. 12, and No. 14, l. 1.

<sup>2</sup> With the word *dīkham* or, in Sanskrit, *drishtam* we have to supply *idam śāsanam*. It is the equivalent of the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' at the foot of official letters and Government orders. For a different explanation of *drishtam* see above, Vol. III. p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> For other instances of this elliptical use of the genitive see above, Vol. IV. p. 197, note 6, and Vol. VI. pp. 15 and 19.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *dnopayati Govadhane amacha* in the Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 11, A and 15.

<sup>5</sup> The corresponding word in the Hīrahadagalli plates, *vijaya-vejaysike* (l. 9), is omitted in Professor Bühler's translation (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 8).

<sup>6</sup> I.e. Gōnandyaśya. Compare *Nandija* in line 21 of the Hīrahadagalli plates.

<sup>7</sup> This term and the next one occur in the Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 11, A, 11, B and 15.

<sup>8</sup> Compare line 33 of the Hīrahadagalli plates.

<sup>9</sup> With the last term compare *a-khātā-vāś-audanam* (above, p. 14, text line 8), and see line 31 of the Hīrahadagalli plates, where the photo-lithograph reads *akūra*, and not *akara* as the printed text. The word *chōlaka* or *yōlaka* is probably related to *chullakt*, 'a kind of water-pot'; *vināsi* or *vinasi* remains obscure.

<sup>10</sup> I.e. the inhabitants and officials of the district, etc. See line 35 of the Hīrahadagalli plates, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 101, l. 10 f., where Professor Bühler's improved reading (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2, note 2) has to be further corrected by reading with the photo-lithograph *pariharatka pariharapetha*. The translation would then run:— "Knowing this, you, the villagers (and) officials, exempt (it and) cause (it) to be exempted with all the immunities!" In line 7 of Dr. Fleet's text join *Mahānarakadevokula*, and in line 6 f. read *Atukassa kasita* . . . *chhattam* "the . . . . . field ploughed by Atuka."

<sup>11</sup> Here and in the Hīrahadagalli plates (l. 40) one would expect the acc. sing. *pīlam baddham* instead of the acc. plur. *pīlā baddhā*.

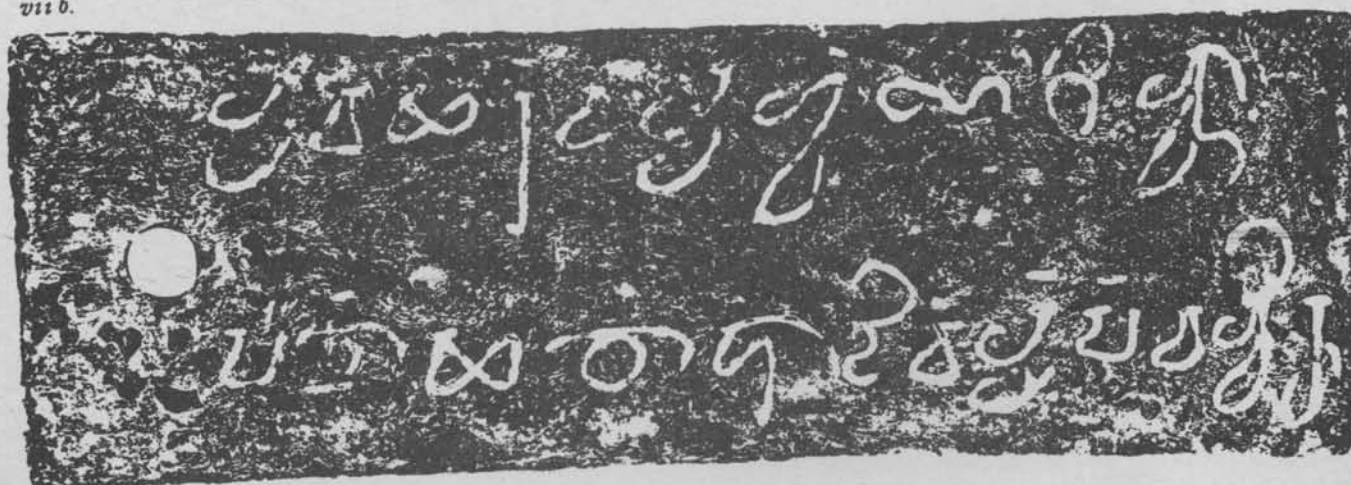
vii a.

24



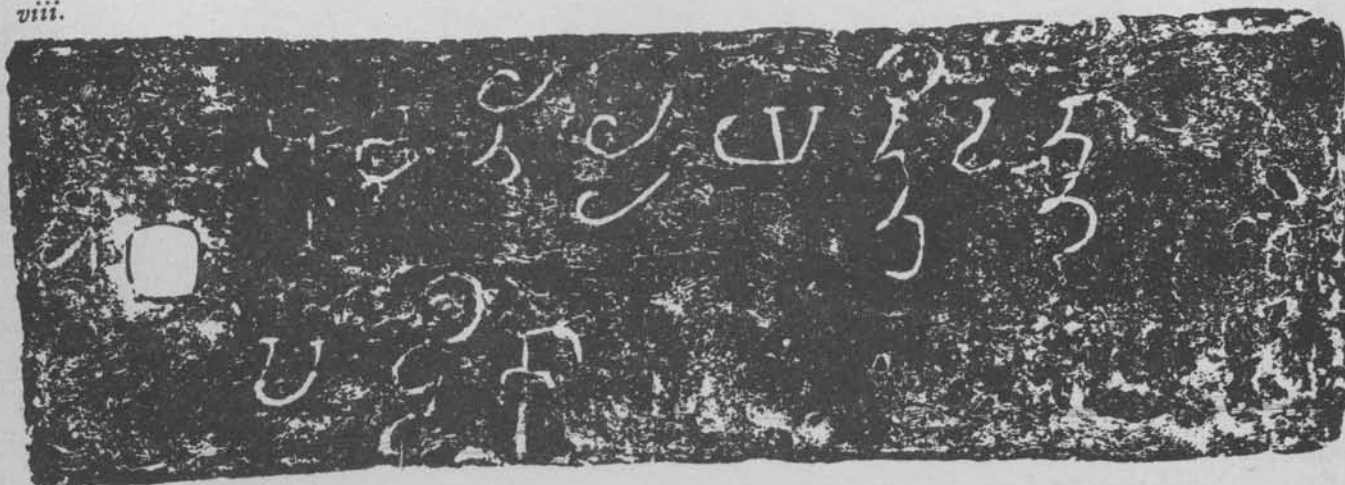
vii b.

26



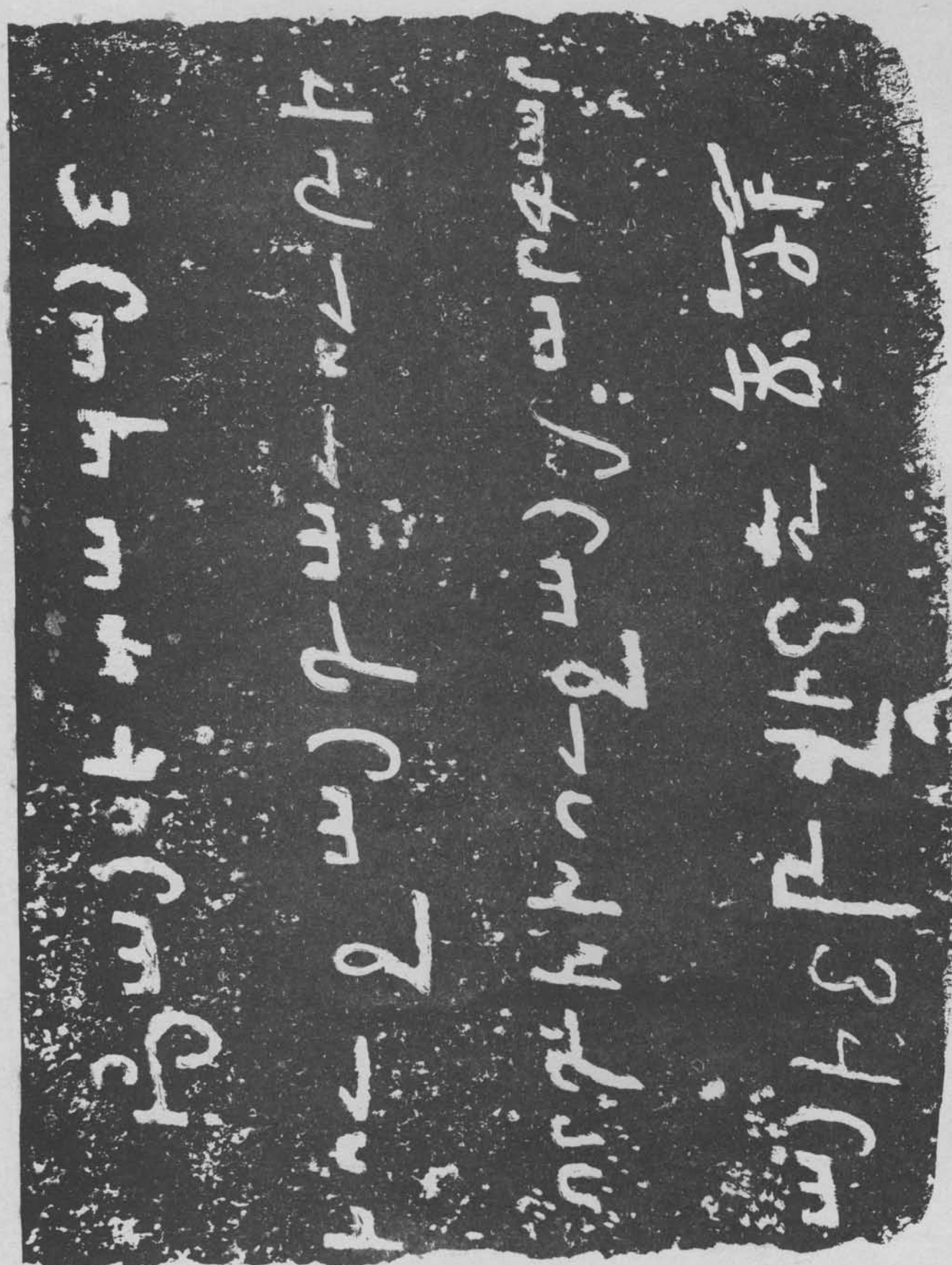
viii.

28









Collotype by Römmler & Jonas, Dresden.

(L. 25.) The tenth—10th—year, the sixth—6th—fortnight of summer, the fifth—5th—lunar day.

(L. 27.) The executor (*djñapti*) (was) myself. Accordingly (*this*) set of plates (*paṭṭikā*) has been given (*to the donees*).

#### NO. 9.—THE ARMENIAN EPITAPH AT THE LITTLE MOUNT.

By FATHER VARTAN MELCHISEDECH, OF THE MECHITHARIST CONGREGATION, VIENNA.

Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities* (Vol. I. page 175 f.) contain a short, but excellent description of the three sites on the south of the city of Madras which are connected with the legend of St. Thomas. These are—the village of St. Thomé, which claims to possess the apostle's grave; the Little Mount, where he is said to have suffered martyrdom; and St. Thomas's Mount, the church on the top of which contains the famous inscribed cross.<sup>1</sup> The church at the Little Mount is reached by a flight of stone steps, and at the foot of these is set up a stone which bears a cross and, below it, the subjoined Armenian epitaph. The stone lately attracted the attention of His Excellency Sir Arthur Havelock, the Governor of Madras. At his instance Dr. Hultsch sent inked estampages of the inscription to Professor H. Hübschmann, of Strassburg, who was the first to decipher it. It is dated in the year 1112 (of the Armenian patriarch Moses), i.e. A.D. 1663, and is the epitaph of an Armenian merchant, named David, the son of Margaré.

#### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

1 Hais<sup>3</sup> ē tapayn<sup>4</sup>  
2 Khujay Davuthi<sup>5</sup>

3 ordi Khujay Margar-  
4 ayin<sup>6</sup> thvin<sup>7</sup> r ch sh b.

#### TRANSLATION.

This is the grave of Khoja<sup>8</sup> David, the son of Khoja Margaré.<sup>9</sup> In the year 1112.

#### NO. 10.—GADAG INSCRIPTION OF VIRABALLALA II.;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1114.

By H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is on a stone standing up against the back wall of the temple of Trikuṭṭa-śvara at Gadag, the chief town of the Gadag taluka in the Dhārwar district of the Bombay

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. IV. p. 174 ff.

<sup>2</sup> As read by Professor Hübschmann from the inked estampages.

<sup>3</sup> This is a cockneyism for Old-Armenian *as*, 'this,' which has become *as* in New-Armenian.—H. H.

<sup>4</sup> Read *tapen*.—H. H.

<sup>5</sup> In Old-Armenian this would be *Davthi*, the genitive of *Davith*. The form *Davuth* seems to be due to the influence of *Dā'ūd*, the Arabic form of the name 'David.'—H. H.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Karst considers *Margarayi* to be the genitive of *Margaré*; and *a* is the definite article.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of *thvin*, 'of the year,' we ought to have *thvin*, with the locative prefix *i*.

<sup>8</sup> This is the Persian *خواجه*, 'a lord, master,' a title generally applied to preceptors and merchants.

<sup>9</sup> This name is identical with the Armenian word *margaré*, 'a prophet.'

Presidency. An abstract of its contents was given by Dr. Bhan Daji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX. p. 321 f. The text was first published, together with a translation, by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II. p. 298 ff.; and a very small photograph of it is given in P.S.O.C.I. No. 98. I now re-edit it from Dr. Fleet's excellent impression, made over to me by Prof. Kielhorn.

The inscription contains 56 lines of writing which covers a space of about 3' broad by 4' 6" high, and is throughout in an extremely good state of preservation. At the top of the stone are some sculptures:— In the centre a man worshipping a *liṅga* with a head lying on a *yōni*;<sup>1</sup> to the left a figure of Gaṇapati, beyond which is a figure of Śiva's bull Nandin; to the right a figure of a Śakti, beyond which are a cow with a calf and a crooked knife.— The size of the letters is about  $\frac{5}{8}$ ".— The alphabet is Old-Kanarese. In the first and third lines some of the letters are drawn out into ornamental flourishes.— The language is Sanskrit. In lines 6 and 32 we have the Kanarese words *hoy* and *malaparolgaṇḍa*. The main portion of the text is in verse; only lines 31-33 and 41-46, speaking generally, are in prose, and besides a few words in lines 1, 36, 37 and 39, and the introductory remarks to the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 46, 47, 48, 49 and 53.— As regards orthography, the groups *ddh* and *bbh* are generally spelt *dhdh* and *bhbh*, the only exceptions being *Vishṇuvarddhana*- in l. 8 and *pātayēd-dharttā* in l. 51; and *b* is written instead of *v* before a consonant in *bratī*- in l. 5 and *kābya*- in l. 37.

The inscription, which records a grant of land by the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa II., contains a number of historical references which have been dealt with already by Dr. Fleet in his account of the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. The following remarks are therefore chiefly based on Dr. Fleet's discussions.

Opening with two verses invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and praising the king, the inscription gives in verses 3-7 the well known legendary account of the origin of the Hoysaḷas. They claimed to belong to the lineage of Yadu; in this race there was a king called Saḷa, 'who, changing the name of the family, caused Yadu, the first of it, to be forgotten.' Once there lived at Śaśakapura an ascetic who, while engaged in performing his rites, was attacked by a tiger. He called Saḷa for assistance with the words: *Hoy Saḷa*, 'Slay, O Saḷa.' Saḷa killed the tiger, and thus acquired for himself and his descendants the name of Hoysaḷa and a tiger as emblem of their banner. Śaśakapura or Śaśapura seems to have been the seat of the first rulers of the dynasty.<sup>2</sup> In inscriptions incised in Śaka 1060 and 1106<sup>3</sup> Vinayāditya, the first historical king, is represented as ruling at Sosavūru, and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of this statement, as the passages containing it were evidently taken from older records. Mr. Rice<sup>4</sup> is undoubtedly right in identifying Sosavūru with Śaśapura, but his identification of Śaśapura with the modern Aṅgaḍi in the Mūdgere tāluka of the Kadūr district, Mysore,<sup>5</sup> does not seem to be well founded.

The inscription then turns to the historical genealogy of the family. After other kings, Vinayāditya became king (v. 8). His son was Ereyāṅga (v. 9), who again had three sons, Ballāḷa, Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya (v. 10). Nothing beyond the name is recorded

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 298, speaks of 'three heads on an altar,' but the drawing accompanying the impression shows one only.

<sup>2</sup> Probably already in the time of Ballāḷa I., and certainly in the time of Viṣṇuvardhana, the capital was Vēlāpura, the modern Bēlūr, whence during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana the seat of government was shifted to Dōrasamudra, the modern Halēbīḍ; compare Dr. Fleet, *loc. cit.* p. 491.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part II. p. 208; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 329, where the name of the town is given as Sonulya. *Ibid.* p. 260, Vinayāditya is said to have been born at Śaśapura.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part II. Introd., p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Part I. Introd., p. 18; Part II. Introd., p. 18.

of Udayāditya, the inscription speaking in the following verses only of the elder two brothers, of whom, after some general praise (v. 11), it is said (v. 12, 13) that, 'when the elder of them,<sup>1</sup> the mighty one, who attacked Jagaddēva, the lord of elephants, with his own horse in the van of battle and overturned him and took away his sevenfold (sovereignty), had ruled the kingdom, after him his younger brother also, Vishṇuvardhana, reigned for a long time.' In other records the defeat of Jagaddēva is attributed to Ballāla's successor Vishṇuvardhana. In an inscription at Bêlūr<sup>2</sup> and in another at Hosakôte<sup>3</sup> Vishṇuvardhana is called 'a Bhairava in destroying (or conquering) the armies of Jagaddēva,' and in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa<sup>4</sup> he is said to have drunk the rolling sea of the armies of the lord of Mālava, Jagaddēva, and others, sent by the emperor (*chakrin*). The discrepancy between these statements is removed by an inscription at Lālanakere,<sup>5</sup> where it is said that at Dōrasamudra the three brothers, Ballāla, Vishṇu and Udayāditya, destroyed the army of Jagaddēva and captured his treasury. The joint victory of the three brothers over Jagaddēva must therefore have occurred before A.D. 1118, the earliest reliable date, as far as I know, for Ballāla's successor Vishṇuvardhana.<sup>6</sup> As to Jagaddēva, the term *saptāṅga* used of his kingdom in the present inscription would seem to indicate, at first sight, that he was an independent ruler; but it is apparently only a hyperbolic phrase, as the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription leaves no doubt that he was a feudatory of some emperor who can only be the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI.<sup>7</sup> I am therefore inclined to agree with Dr. Fleet, who looks upon Jagaddēva as identical with the Śāntara prince Tribhuvanamalla-Jagaddēva of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura<sup>8</sup> who, according to the Baḷagāṁve inscription,<sup>9</sup> was ruling as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* of Jagadēkamalla II. at Sētuvina-bīḍu in A.D. 1149, and who, according to an inscription at Anamkoṇḍ,<sup>10</sup> after the defeat of Taila III., laid siege to the fortress of Anamakōṇḍa. The latter event must have taken place between A.D. 1150 and 1163. There would thus lie an interval of at least 32 years, but probably a much longer time, between the Jagaddēva of the Hoysala records and that of the Chālukya and Kākatiya inscriptions, so that, if the identification should prove correct, Jagaddēva must have enjoyed a considerably long reign.

The next verses (14-17) speak of the conquests and pious gifts of Vishṇuvardhana, 'who, having given away in religious gifts the whole of his own territory, in order to have a kingdom of his own, invaded Uchchangī<sup>11</sup> and other territories belonging to his enemies; who, invading the whole country from his own abode to Bêḷvola, bathed his horse in the ~~Krishnavērṇā~~; who is again and again reminded by his servants whenever they wait upon him: 'Know the Hoysala alone among (all) princes to be unconquerable for king Paramardidēva.'<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> I take *tatra* in the sense of *tyāgh*, and the two verses as forming one sentence.

<sup>2</sup> *Mysore Inscr.* p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part I. p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 138, p. 107. This inscription gives only the direct line of descendants, omitting Ballāla I. and Udayāditya altogether.

<sup>5</sup> *Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part II. p. 200.

<sup>6</sup> *Inscr. at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 59, p. 57; compare *Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part I. p. 120, and *Mysore Inscr.* p. 265. Mr. Rice says (*Inscr. in the Mysore Distr.* Part II. *Introd.*, p. 19) that Ballāla I. died in A.D. 1104, but I do not know his authority for this statement.

<sup>7</sup> Vikramāditya, it is true, did not bear the title *chakravartin*, but his three successors, Sōmēśvara III., Jagadēkamalla II. and Taila III., styled themselves, respectively, *Sarvajñachakravartin*, *Pratīpachakravartin* and *Chālukyachakravartin*, and it is therefore quite intelligible that in a record written in Śaka 1081 this title should have been conferred on Vikramāditya also.

<sup>8</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 484.

<sup>9</sup> *Mysore Inscr.* p. 97 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 13.

<sup>11</sup> Regarding this place see the note by Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 285.

<sup>12</sup> Different translations have been proposed for this verse by Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 487, and Dr. Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p. 87. The version given above differs from that of Dr. Bhandarkar especially as regards the word *pratyupachāram*.

warlike exploits of Vishnuvardhana need not be discussed here, as they have been treated at great length by Dr. Fleet, who also was the first to identify king Paramardideva with the Western Chálukya king Permādi-Vikramāditya VI., the feudal lord of Vishnuvardhana.

Vishnuvardhana's son and successor was **Narasimha**, who married the noble **Bhohaladevi** (vv. 18, 19). Their son was **Vira-Ballāla II.** to whom the rest of the eulogy (vv. 20-36) is devoted. He is said (v. 20) to have acquired the kingdom by worshipping **Vajrēśvara**. This term seems to refer to Indra; but, as *vajra* is occasionally used also with reference to the *śakra* of Vishnu,<sup>1</sup> **Vajrēśvara** may possibly be meant here for Vishnu. At any rate it is stated in another record<sup>2</sup> that he had gained the empire by being the favourite of **Vijaya-Nārāyaṇa**, and in the present inscription also he is represented as an ardent worshipper of Vishnu (v. 24). After a series of laudatory verses (20-33) and the general statement that the **Āṅgas**, **Kāṅgas**, **Vaṅgas**, **Magadhas**, **Chōlas**, **Mālavas**, **Pāṇdyas**, **Kāraṇas** and **Gūjaras** were in fear of him (v. 34), the inscription gives in verses 35 and 36 a more detailed account of two of Ballāla's campaigns: 'And by force, he, the strong one,<sup>3</sup> defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty, the general **Brahman** whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants, and who had conquered sixty tusked elephants with a single tuskless<sup>4</sup> elephant, when, on account of an insult to his father, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the **Kalachuris**. And cutting off **Jaitrasimha** who was, as it were, the right arm of that **Bhillama**, he, the hero, acquired also the sovereignty over the country of **Kuntala**.'

The general **Brahman** mentioned in the former verse was the councillor and general of the last Chálukya king **Sōmēśvara IV.** His name occurs in several Chálukya records from A.D. 1184-85 to 1186-87,<sup>5</sup> and in one of them he is called 'a fire of death to the **Kalachuryas**. Like his father **Kāma** or **Kāvaṇa**, he had originally been in the service of the **Kalachuryas**. **Kāvaṇa** is mentioned as the *daṇḍanāyaka* of king **San̄kama** in a **Haribar** inscription, and again as the commander-in-chief of all the forces of that king in a **Baḷagāṇve** inscription of A.D. 1179, and as the *daṇḍanāyaka* of **Āhavamalla** in a **Baḷagāṇve** inscription of A.D. 1181.<sup>6</sup> And **Brahman** himself is called the *mahāpradhāna*, *sēnādhipati* and *daṇḍanāyaka* of king **Sōvidēva** in a record of A. D. 1175. The reason for his rebellion is given in our inscription in the words '*nyakkārēṇa pītuh.*' Dr. Fleet renders them 'in contempt of his father,' but I doubt that the words admit of such an interpretation. I can only translate them as I have done above, and, considering that the records make it highly probable that **Kāvaṇa** was still alive when **Brahman** revolted against his sovereign, I see no difficulty in assuming that the account of the motives of **Brahman** as given in our inscription is correct. As to **Jaitrasimha**, by whose conquest **Ballāla** is said to have acquired **Kuntala** or the southern **Marāṭhā** country, there can be no doubt that he is identical with the **Jaitasimha** mentioned as the minister of the **Yādava** king **Bhillama** in the **Gadag** inscription of Śaka 1113.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, I see no cogent reason why this **Jaitrasimha** should be identified with **Bhillama**'s son and successor **Jaitugi** or **Jaitrapāla**.<sup>8</sup> The names, it is true, are similar, but if **Jaitrasimha** had been **Bhillama**'s son, one should certainly expect that

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. *Mysore Inscr.* p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhujabhṛt* seems to be an equivalent of *bhujabala*, and is apparently used here in allusion to **Ballāla**'s *viruda* **Bhujabala**, just as *vira* is used in the next verse.

<sup>4</sup> For *tābara* the dictionaries give the meanings 'a bull without horns; a beardless man; a eunuch'; here it evidently denotes a tuskless elephant as opposed to *dantī*, the tusked elephant. A revised translation of the verse was given by Dr. Fleet in his *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 464. I differ from him only with regard to the words *nyakkārēṇa pītuh*.

<sup>5</sup> For this and the following dates see Dr. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 464.

<sup>6</sup> *Mysore Inscr.* p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> *Above*, Vol. III. p. 217 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See especially Dr. Bhandarkar, *History of the Deccan*, p. 106.

this relationship of the two had been hinted at either in the present or in the Gadag inscription referred to above.

Lines 31 ff. then record that the *Pratāpachakravartin*, the glorious *Vira-Ballāḍeḍa*, who was adorned with such titles as 'the refuge of the whole world, the illustrious favourite of the earth, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the lord of the excellent city of *Dvārāvātī*, the sun in the sky of the *Yādava* family, who has perfection as his crest-jewel, the destroyer of the *Maḷapas*, who is fierce in war, a hero even without anybody to help him, who is brave even when alone, who has success even on a Saturday, the conqueror of hill-forts, a *Rāma* in war, having established his victorious camp at *Lokkiguṇḍī*,— at a lunar eclipse on Saturday, the day of the full-moon of the month *Mārgaśīrṣa* of the *Paridhāvin* year, when 1114 years<sup>1</sup> had elapsed of the era of the *Śaka* king,— after having washed the feet of the holy *āchārya* *Siddhāntichandrabhūṣaṇapaṇḍitadēva*, also called *Satyavākya*, who was the disciple of *Vidyābharaṇadēva* and the disciple's disciple of *Sōmēśvaradēva* of (the lineage of) the *āchārya* *Kāḷamukha*, granted out of devotion, with oblations of water, the village of *Hombāḷalu* in the *Beḷvola* three-hundred, with its boundaries as known before and together with the right to hidden treasures, underground stores, water, stone, gardens, etc., together with the *tribbhōga*, together with the full proprietorship of the *aṣṭabhōga*, together with the right of appropriating all things such as tolls and fines, for the sake of the *aṅga*- and *raṅga-bhōga* of the Holy one, the *guru* of all moving and immoveable things, the holy god *Svayambhū-Trikūṭēśvara*, for the sake of repairing anything that might be broken, torn, or worn out through age, etc., for the sake of providing for instruction, and for the sake of feeding, etc., ascetics, *Brāhmaṇas* and others, making it a *sarvanamasya* grant not to be pointed at with the finger by the king or the king's officials.

Inserted into this portion of the text are eleven verses (37-47) glorifying the god *Śiva* *Svayambhū-Trikūṭēśvara* at *Kratuka* and the chief priest (*sthānāchārya*) of his shrine, the said *Siddhāntichandrabhūṣaṇapaṇḍitadēva*, called also *Satyavākya*, of the lineage of the *āchārya* *Kāḷamukha*. Among the verses in praise of the latter, special interest is attached to verse 39, where the *Paṇḍit* is called the living *līṅga* by whom the god who is the lord of the three peaks (*Trikūṭēśvara*) by his three stationary *līṅgas*, in the opinion of people became at the same time a lord of four peaks (*chatuṣkūṭēśvara*). This is an allusion to the legend that *Śiva* in the form of a *līṅga* descended upon the three mountains *Kālēśvara*, *Śrīśaila* and *Bhīmēśvara*, and that these three *līṅgas* marked the boundaries of the country which was in consequence called the *Trilīṅga*, *Teliṅga* or *Telugu* country.<sup>2</sup>

The members of the *Śaiva* school of *Kāḷamukha* seem to have enjoyed considerable local fame. They were originally established at *Baḷagāṇve*, where a quarter of the town was called after them the *Kāḷamukha* *Brahmachārin* quarter.<sup>3</sup> The numerous records at *Baḷagāṇve*,<sup>4</sup> together with the present inscription, the *Gadag* inscription mentioned above, and another *Gadag* inscription of the time of *Vira-Ballāḍa II.*,<sup>5</sup> furnish the following line of *āchāryas*,<sup>6</sup> all of whom

<sup>1</sup> The date is expressed both in words and in figures.

<sup>2</sup> Arden, *Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language*, p. 1, [and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 198 note 13].

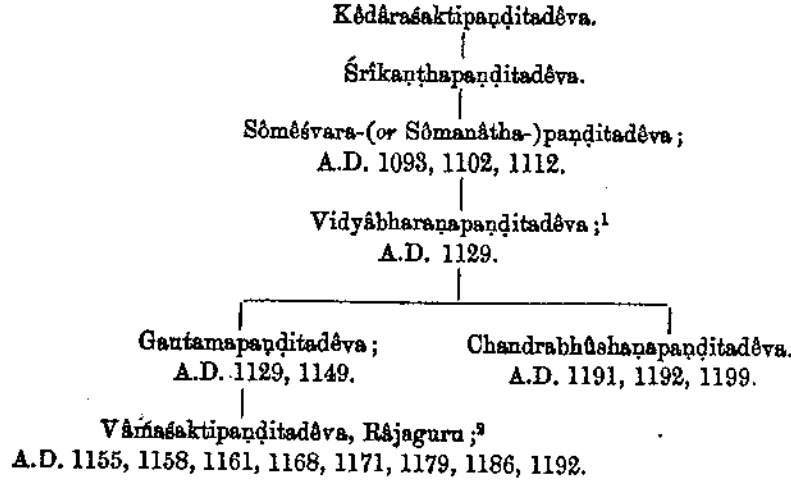
<sup>3</sup> *Mysore Inscr.* p. 147, [and above, Vol. V. pp. 220 to 226].

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 74, 77 ff., 80 ff., 85 ff., 87, 91, 92, 95 ff., 99, 101 ff., 105 ff., 111, 160, 174.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 155 ff. The last two inscriptions record grants in favour of the same temple as the present one.

<sup>6</sup> Another branch of the lineage of *Kāḷamukha Chakravartin* is mentioned *loc. cit.* p. 172,

from Sômesvara onwards, with exception, of course, of Chandrabhūṣaṇa, were in the service of the temple of Dakṣiṇa-Kêdârêśvara at Balagâmve :



Lines 46 ff. contain the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, and the inscription ends with the statement that, by order of king Ballâḍadêva, the *śāsana* was composed by Agniśarman, an emperor among the learned.

The date of our inscription corresponds, as shown by Prof. Kielhorn, to Saturday, the 21st November A.D. 1192, when there was a lunar eclipse visible in India, commencing 0 h. 18 m. before mean sunrise.

Of the localities mentioned, Kratuka is the modern Gadag itself; Lokkigundi, the modern Lakkundi, 5 miles east-south-east of Gadag; and the village of Hombâḷalu, the modern Hombal, 7½ miles north-west of Gadag.

#### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti ☉ Trai[lokyam] pālyatē yēna sadayam sat[t\*]va-vṛittinā | sa dēvō  
Yadu-sārdḍūlaḥ Śrī-patiḥ śrēyaśē stu vaḥ || [1\*]
- 2 Dēvaḥ samasta-sāmanta-mastaka-nyasta-śāsanah | ā-chamdr-ārkkam nṛipaḥ pāyād-  
bhuvam-ambhōdhi-mēkhaḷām || [2\*]
- 3 Āst-kṣhitau kṣatriya-puṁgavānām<sup>4</sup> śirō-maṇiḥ śrī-Yadu-nāmadhēyaḥ | yad-anvavāyē  
sa Harir-dhḍha(ddha)ritri-bhār-āvatār-ārttham-ajō=pi jātaḥ || [3\*] Tad-anvavāyē
- 4 bahavō babhūvur=bhbhu(bbhū)j-ōdbhavā viāruta-kīrtti-bhājah | ady=āpi lōkē charit-  
ādbhūtāni yēshām purāṇēshu paṭhamiti samtaḥ || [4\*] Kāla-kramēṇ=ātha  
babhūva kāschin=maḥi-
- 5 patis=tatra Saḷ-ābhidhānaḥ | kulasya kṛtvā vyapadēsam=anyam vismāritō yēna  
Yadus=tad-ādyah || [5\*] Kēn=āpi bra(vra)ti-patinā sva-dēvakāryyē sārddūlam  
grasitum=upāgataṁ ni-
- 6 hantum | ādishtaḥ Śāśakapurē sa hoy=Saḷ=ēti prāpat=tam kīla vinihatya  
Hoyas=ākhyām || [6\*] Tataḥ-prabhṛiti tad-vamśē pravṛittam Hoyas=ākhyayā |  
sārddūlaś=cha dhvaja-

<sup>1</sup> Vidyâbharana is once called the younger brother of Sômesvara; *ibid.* p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> A pupil of Vâmasakti was probably Svâmidêva or Sâvidêva, of whom in an inscription at Balagâmve dated in A.D. 1181 it is said that 'his head was marked by the lotus buds of the excellent *muni* Vâmasaktiśa, the Śiva seer;' compare *ibid.* p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

<sup>4</sup> The second *anuvāda* of this word has been drawn out by the engraver into an ornamental figure.

- 7 sy=āsīd=amikaḥ śatru-bhayaṃkaraḥ || [7\*] Aparēṣhu cha tad-rājyaṃ bhuktavatsv=atha rājasu | Vinayāditya ity=āst=kramaśaḥ prithivīpatiḥ || [8\*] Ereyamg-ābhidhānō śbhūn=nṛpati-
- 8 s=tasya ch=ātmajaḥ | guṇair=ananya-sāmānyaiḥ prakhyātaḥ prithivī-talē || [9\*] Atha tasy=āpi Ballāḷa-Vishṇuvarddhana-nāmakau | abhūtām=ātmajanmānāv=Udayāditya-
- 9 paśchimau || [10\*] Tājasvinau bhūta-hita-pravṛttau lōka-pūjitan | yāv=abhāsayatām viśvaṃ sūryā-chandramasāv=iva || [11\*] Rana-śirasi yēna balinā gajapatim=ākramya nija-turamgēṇa [1\*]
- 10 vinipātya Jagaddēvaṃ sapt-ā[m\*]gaṃ tasya ch=āpahṛitam || [12\*] Tat=āgrajē nijam rājyaṃ-upabhuktavati kramāt | anujō=pi chiram rājyaṃ bubhujē Vishṇuvarddhna(rddha)naḥ || [13\*] Yō dēśam=agrahā-
- 11 rikṛitya samastam nijam sva-rājy-ārttham | āchakrām=Ōchchamgi-prabhṛitin=anyān=dvishad-dēśān || [14\*] Ārabhya nija-nivāsād=Beḷvola-paryyamtam=akhilam=api viśayaṃ | ākramya
- 12 yēna dhantam turaga-vapuḥ Krishṇavērnṇāyām || [15\*] Yaḥ smāryyatē niyuktaiḥ pratyupachāraṃ nṛpēshv=asādhyatayā | Paramarddidēva-nṛpatēr=Hoysalam=ava-
- 13 dhāray=ēti mubuh || [16\*] Yēn=āgrahārāḥ kratavō mahā<sup>1</sup>śānāni śhōḍaśa | anyāny=api cha puṇyāni paunahpuṇyēna chakrirō || [17\*] Narasiṃha iti khyātō jāta-
- 14 s=tasy=ātmajo nṛpaḥ | yasya varṇayitum n=aiḥ śakyaṃtē mādrisair=gguṇāḥ || [18\*] Tasya Śrīr=iva Daity-ārēḥ Śamkarasy=ēva Pārvvatī | āsīd=Ēchaladēv=iti mahā-dēvī kul-ōdgatā || [19\*]
- 15 ☉ Tēn=āpi tasyām=atula-prabhāvo Vajrēśvar-ārādhana-labdha-rājyaḥ | jātaḥ suto dōr-vva(bba)ḷa-chakravartī śrī-Vira-Ballāḷa iti prasidhḍha(ddha)ḥ || [20\*] Mādhyasthyēn=ōnnatyā kāmchana-
- 16 vibhavēna vibudha-sēvyatayā | yō jaṃgama iva Mēruṃ=mmahābhṛitām=agrapir=jagati || [21\*] Śim-ātikrama-bhīrōr=atigamabhīrasya vipulā-sat[t\*]vasya | ratnā-
- 17 karasya yasya cha na kō=pi lakṣmīvatōr=bhbbhē(bbhē)daḥ || [22\*] Charitam Bharat-ādīnām=api bhuvanō tāvad=ēva bōdya(dhya)m=iha | lōk-ōttarā na yāvad=drīśyantē yasya sādhu-gu-
- 18 nāḥ || [23\*] Vishṇau nisargga-sidhdhā(ddhā)m bhaktim<sup>1</sup> yasy=ādya paśyatām pumsām | Prahrād-ādi-kathā api na viśmayāya prakalpantē || [24\*] Tan=na tapas=tan=n=ēṣhtam tan=na hutam tan=na dānam=ast=iha | a-
- 19 sakṛin=na yēna vihitam dēśē kālē cha [pā]trē cha || [25\*] Strīahv=arbbhba-(rbbha)kēṣhu sūdrēshv=anyēshv=api yēshu kēshuchij=jagati | sō ssti na janō vidhattē yaḥ pāpam yatra śāsitarī || [26\*] Shaṭ-tarkka-
- 20 kāvya-nāṭaka-Vātsyāyana-Bharata-rājanitishu cha | anyēshu tēshu tēshu cha śāstrēshv=akhilēshu yaḥ kuśalāḥ || [27\*] Sarvvēshu darsanēshu cha bhūvi tārkkika-chakravartinō
- 21 yasya | n=aiḥ=āsti prativādī vādi-mada-dvirada-kēsaripaḥ || [28\*] Sarvv-āyudh-ājīva-purāṇasārēṇa samasta-vidvaj-jana-vallabhēna | śāstrāṇi śāstrāṇi cha yēna lōkē sa-
- 22 nāthātām=adya chirād-gatāni || [29\*] Yan-nāmadhēyam=api viśva-[vi]śāsinīnām lōkē vāśīkaraṇa-karmmaṇi sidhdha(ddha)mantrāḥ | tasya pragalbha-vanitā-kusumāyudhasya

<sup>1</sup> Originally *bhaktiḥ* had been engraved, but the lower dot of the *visarga* seems to have been effaced.

- 23 saubhāgya-varṇana-vidhau katamaḥ samartthaḥ || [30\*] Vishvag-vāji-khura-prahāra-  
dalīta-khōṇi-taḥ-prōchchalaḍh-dhōḷi-dhvānta-nimlīṭ-ākhiḷa-diṣi<sup>1</sup> dvamdva-  
pradōsh-āgamō | dāt-i-
- 24 v=stīpatīyasi muhur=iha svas-sundaribhiḥ samam virāpām=abhisāraṇam vitanutē  
yat-khadga-yashtir=dvishām || [31\*] Śaśvad=yat-samaḥ āvatāra-piṣunēshv=  
āhanyamā-
- 25 nēshv=itas=tūryyēshu sva-pati-praṇāsa-chakitāḥ kshubhyanty-arāti-striyaḥ | apy=  
ētāḥ subhata-svayamvara-kritē mamdāra-mālām=itō hastābhyām parigrihya nāka-
- 26 vanitāḥ sajjibhavanty=ambarē || [32\*] Yasmin=Hoyasa-bhūmipāla-dharanī-sāmājya-  
simhāsanaḍ=ārūḍhē sati matta-vārapatēr=yyudhdhā(ddhā)ya pūrvv-āsanam |  
sadya[h\*] sva-
- 27 sva-kula-kram-āgata-mahi-sāmājya-simhāsanaḍ=pratyartthi-kshitipālakair=api raṇē  
valmīkam=āruhyatō<sup>2</sup> || [33\*] Yasmin=dig-vijay-ārttham=udyatavati prasthāna-  
bhāri-ravē
- 28 gaṁbhīrē sphuṭam=ucchecharaty=avanibhṛitv=anyēshu vārtt=aiva kā [i\*] dūrād=  
Aṁga-Kalīṁga-Vaṁga-Magadhās=Chōḷās=tathā Mālavāḥ Pāṇḍyāḥ Kāraḷa-Gūṛjara-  
prabhṛitayō=py=ujjibanti sadyō dhri-
- 29 tim || [34\*] Nyakkārēṇa pituḥ śriyam Kalachuri-kshatr-ānvayāt=karshatā yēn=  
aikēna hi tūbarēṇa karipā shashṭir=jjitā dantīnām | tam cha Brahma-  
chamūpatim gaja-ghat-ā-
- 30 vashṭabdhā-sainyam haṭhād=yēn=śśvair=api kēvalair=bhbhu(bbhu)ja-bri(bhri)tā  
nirjītya rājyam hṛitam || [35\*] Uchchhidya Jaitrasimham dakṣiṇam=iya  
tasya Bhīllamasya bhujam | virēṇa yēna labdham Kuntala-dēś-ādhi-
- 31 patyam=api || [36\*] ☉ Sa cha samastabhuvanāśraya-śrīpithivīlabha-  
mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-Dvārāvati p u r a v a r ā d h ī ś v a r a -  
Yādavakulāmbaradyu-
- 32 maṇi-samyaktvachōḍāmaṇi-malaparolgaṇḍa-kadanaprachamḍa-asahāyaśūra-ākāṁga v i r a -  
śanivārasidhdhi(ddhi)-gīridurggamalla-chaladāmkaRāma-ity-ādi-samasta-prasasta-n ā m -  
āvali-vi-
- 33 rājamāna[h\*] śrīmat-pratāpachakravartī-śrī-Vira-Ballāla-dēvō Lokkigumḍi-nivēṣita-  
vijayaskandhāvārah || ☉ Asti Svayambhūḥ Kratuk-ābhidhānē grāmē  
Trikūṭēśvara-
- 34 nāmādhēyaḥ [i\*] Śivāḥ samasta-kshitipāla-maṇi-maṇi-prabhā-ramjita-ramya-pīṭhaḥ  
|| [37\*] Tasya sthān-āchāryyaḥ Kālamukh-āchāryya-samtati-prabhavaḥ |  
Siddhām(ddhām)ticchamdrabhūṣhapapam-
- 35 dīpadēv-ābhidhō sṭi munih || [38\*] Tam Trikūṭēśvaram dēvam līngais=taih  
sthāvarais=tribhiḥ | jaṁgamēna samam yēna chatukūṭēśvaram<sup>3</sup> viduḥ || [39\*]  
Satata-śarīr-ārdhdha(rddha)-sthita-Gaurī-bhṛīsa-saṁgamā-
- 36 d=vadhūshv=adya | Śiva iva virajyamānō yō bhāti brahmacharyyasthaḥ || [40\*]  
Yas=cha || Kula-śailēshu chalatsv=api maryyādām=atipataten simdhushu cha |  
satyam na Satyavākya-dvitiya-
- 37 nāmā parityajati || [41\*] Anyatra kāhya(vya)-nāṭaka-Vāṭsyāyana-Bharata-rājanity-  
ādau | [n=ai]va kathā-siddhā(ddhā)ntēshv=akhiḷēshv=api yasya n=āsti samah  
|| [42\*] Yēna cha || Ādriyēta kadā-

<sup>1</sup> Read *prōchchhalad-dhōḷi*; compare *Kathāśrītsāgara*, 101, 291: *gulpha-dagha-ōchchhalad-dhōḷa* (*kārdgriḥ*).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Mr. Rice's *Inscr. in the Mysore District*, Part II. p. 206, line 7, and, as pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 69, l. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Read *chatukūṭa*.

- 38 chid-viśrāmō vāridhan tarāṅgāpām | na tv-ēva kṛipā-bhājā pradīyamānē śnatām  
sat[<sup>t</sup>]\*rē || [43\*] Annēn=aiva na kēvalam=api tu suvarṇa-āushadh-āmbu-  
vastr-ādyaiḥ | antō n=āsti ja-
- 39 nānām nirantaram tarpyamāṇām || [44\*] Yēna ch=ātra sthānē || Udhḍhri-  
(ddhri)tya jirṇam=akḥiḥam nirmāya cha nūtana[m] puram ramyam |  
dēv-āntikam=āntā vēśyā-vithi sthitā parataḥ || [45\*]
- 40 Amṛit-ōpama-pāniya-pūṇṇā pushkaraṇī<sup>1</sup> kṛitā | vanam cha Nandana-[sām]yam nānā-  
pushpa-latā-vṛitam || [46\*] Kim jalpitēna bahunā grāva-prākāra-vaḥaya-bāhyam=i-
- 41 ha | yad=yat=samasti tat=tat=samastam=api tasya nirmāṇam || [47\*] ⊙ Tasya  
bhagavataś=charāchara-gurōḥ śrī-Svayambhū-Trikūṭēśvara-dēvasy=āṅga-raṅga-bhōga-  
khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jirṇ-ōdhḍhā(ddhā)-
- 42 r-ādy-arttham vidyā-dān-arttha[m] tapōdhana-brāhmaṇ-ādi-bhōjan-ādy-arttha[m] cha  
Bejvola-triśat-āntarggata-Hombājalū-nāmadhēya-grāmaṁ pūrvva-prasidhḍha(ddha)-  
sīmā-samanvitam nidhi-nikshēpa-
- 43 jāla-pāshāp-ārām-ādi-sahitam tribhōg-ābhya[m]taram=asṭabhōga-tējah-svāmya-yuktam  
sulka-damḍ-ādi-sakala-dravy-ōpārjjan-ōpētam Śakanripakal-ātita-samvatsara-śa-
- 44 tēshu chaturdāś-ādhikēśhv-ēkādaśasu amkatō=pi 1114 varttamāna-  
Paridhāvi-samvatsar-āntarggata-Mārggaśirsha-paurṇamāsyām Śanaishchara-  
vārē sōma-grahanē tasya Kālamukh-ā-
- 45 chāryya-Sōmēśvaradēva-praśishyasya Vidyābharanadēva-śishyasya Satyavākya-āpara-  
nāmadhēyasya śrīmad-āchāryya-Sidhḍhā(ddhā)ntichamdrabbhūshapapaṇḍitadēvasya  
pāda-prakshā-
- 46 lana[m] kṛitvā rājñā rājakiyair=apy=anamguḷiprēkshapiyam sarvvanamasyam kṛitvā  
dhārā-pūrvvakam bhaktyā dattavān || ⊙ Asya cha dharmasya samrakshaṇē  
phalam=ida-
- 47 m=ndāharanti sma tapō-mahima-sākshāt-kṛita-dharma-asthitayō Manv-ādayō mah-  
arshayaḥ || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya
- 48 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Gaṇyantē pāmsavō bhūmēr=  
gganyantē vṛishti-bhūndavaḥ | na gaṇyatē Vidhāt=āpi dharmma-samrakshaṇē  
phalam || Apaha-
- 49 rataḥ samartthasy=āpy=udāsīnasya tair=ēva viparitam=api phalam=udāhṛitam || Sva-  
dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdharam | shashtim varsha-sahasrāpi  
viśthā-
- 50 yām jāyatē kṛimih || Para-dattām tu yō bhūmim=upahimsēt-kadāchana | sa  
badhḍhō(ddhō) vārunaiḥ pāsaiḥ kshipyatē pūya-sōpitē || Kulāni tārayēt=karttā
- 51 sapta sapta cha sapta cha | adhō śdhaḥ pātayēt=dharttā sapta sapta cha  
sapta cha || Api Gaṅg-ādi-tīrtthēshu haṁtur=ggām=atha vā dvijam | nishkṛitih  
syān=na dēvasva-brahmasva-hara-
- 52 nē nṛṇām || Vimḍhy-āṭavishv=atōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-sāyinaḥ [<sup>t</sup>]\* kṛishṇa-sarppā  
hi jāyamtē dēva-dravy-āpahārakāḥ || Karmaṇā manasā vāchā yaḥ
- 53 samartthō=py=upēkshatē | sa syāt=tad=aiva chaṇḍāla[<sup>t</sup>]\* sarvva-karma-  
bahishkṛitah || Ata ēv=āha Rāmachandraḥ || Sāmānyō=yadā dharmma-sētur=  
nṛipāṇām kālē kālē
- 54 pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārtti(rtthi)v-ēmḍrān=bhūyō bhūyō  
yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ || Mad-vamśajāḥ para-mahīpa-
- 55 ti-vamśajā vā pāpād=apēta-manasō bhuvī bhāvi-bhūpāḥ | yē pālayanti mama  
dharmmam=imam samagram tēshām mayā virachitō smjalir=ēsha
- 56 mūrdhni || ⊙ Ballāḍadēva-nṛipatēr=ādēsād=Agnisarmmaṇā rachitā | śāsana-  
padhḍha(ddha)tir=ēshā sāravata-sārvvabhaumēna(pa) ||

<sup>1</sup> Read *pushkaraṇī*; but compare Pāli *poṭṭharaṇī*.

No. 11.—NILGUND INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF AMOGHAVARSHA I;  
A.D. 866.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. And I edit it from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1887. I edit it, partly because it is interesting in itself, and partly because it is closely connected with the Sirūr inscription, of the same date, of which a version has been given by me in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 215 ff. A revised version of the latter record will be given shortly, in the course of some papers which will illustrate the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> And it is convenient to publish the Nilgund record first, because, as far as the words *Annigereyol-ire* in line 22, it was based on the same draft on which was based the same part of the Sirūr record, and, though on the one hand parts of it could hardly have been deciphered without the help of the Sirūr record, on the other hand it supplies a few *aksharas* which are illegible in the Sirūr record and could not be supplied from any other source.

Nilgund is a village about twelve miles S. W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. from Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tāluka of the Dhārwar district. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) as 'Neelgoond.' The modern form of the name is carried back to A.D. 1379 by the Dambal grant of that year, which mentions the place, in Nāgarī characters and in a Sanskrit verse, as *Nilagunda*.<sup>2</sup> The present record gives its name in the older form of *Nirgunda*;<sup>3</sup> the purport of it places Nirgunda in a circle of villages known as the *Mulgunda* twelve, which, again, it places in the Belvola three-hundred district; and *Mulgunda*, from which the circle took its name, is, of course, the modern *Mulgund*, about two miles on the south-east of Nilgund. The inscription is on a stone tablet which was found standing in front of the house of Angaḍi-Rāchappa, in the village of Nilgund.

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, of which the principal ones are the goddess Lakshmī, squatting and facing full-front, with an elephant, on each side, standing towards her: the tips of the trunks of the elephants, which are uplifted, meet above her head, and each of them holds something which may be either a flower or a water-pot or some sacred symbol; and above them, and perhaps supported by them, there is a smaller image, representing probably Vishṇu, squatting and facing full-front. Below the figure of Lakshmī, there is a *svastika*. On the proper right of the latter, there are a cow and a calf; and on the proper left, two objects which, in the sketch submitted to me, look like a thick-set bush and a flowering plant, each in a tub or stand.—The writing covers an area about 3' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 5' 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. Lines 1 to 15 are in a state of fairly good preservation. Lines 16 to 25 have suffered a great deal of damage; and there are many syllables here, in addition to those which I have placed in square brackets, which could hardly have been deciphered with any certainty, if at all, without the help of the Sirūr inscription. Lines 26 to 35, also, are considerably damaged, but not to the same extent.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. They are of a good antique square and upright style, presenting an appearance much older than that of the characters of the Sirūr inscription, of the same date, of which a collotype will be published hereafter. And the size of them ranges from about  $\frac{3}{4}$ " in the *ya* of *traya*, line 12, to about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

<sup>1</sup> See a remark made on page 74 above.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 357, text line 129.

<sup>3</sup> The dental *nd* can be recognised clearly in the impression, both in *Nirggundada*, line 26, and in *Mulgunda*, line 2; and it is, of course, exactly what we should expect. The Nilgund inscription of A. D. 982, however, for some reason or other gives the name as *Nirgundā*, with the lingual *ṇḍ* (above, Vol. IV. p. 206, text line 20).

in the *la* of *Kulappayam*, line 22. Only the first part of the ink-impression, containing lines 1 to 13, is suitable for reproduction; and here the largest *akshara* seems to be the *kā* of *kānt-ēndu*, line 3, which is about  $2\frac{1}{8}$ " high. The record uses final forms of *t* in line 16, of *n* in lines 28 and 33, of *r* in line 27, and of *l* in lines 25 and 27 (twice). And it marks, in the usual way, the difference between the lingual *ḍ* and the dental *ḍ*; this can be recognised in the *ḍā* of *Gauḍān*, line 6, though the *akshara* is somewhat damaged. As regards palaeography, the record, which belongs to the transitional period, favours the older rather than the later types, not only in general style, but also in details. The *kh* occurs twice: in *likhitam*, line 35, it is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to decide whether we have there an old square *kh* rather loosely formed, or a later cursive *kh*; but in the *kha* of *śamkha*, line 12, No. 14, we have clearly the later cursive character. The *j* is damaged and undeterminable in *vijaya*, line 19, and *rājyābhivṛddhi*, line 20; but in every other instance it is unmistakably the old square *j*, of the closed form, and there is no reason to infer anything else from such marks as are discernible in lines 19 and 20: in the lithograph, the intended form of the character is recognisable best in the *ja* of *dhīrāja*, line 9, No. 22. The *ñ* occurs three times, in *ōttuṅga*, line 13 (the last *akshara* but one), and *Nṛpatuṅga*, line 17, and *samvatsaraṅgaḥ*, line 19-20: in each instance, it is damaged and not determinable with certainty; but such marks as are recognisable, indicate that in each case it follows the usual rule which connects it with the *j*, and is of the old square type, with the closed form. The *b* is damaged and undeterminable in *baram*, line 17, and *bbrāhmaṇarumam*, line 29; but in every other instance it is unmistakably the old square *b*, of the closed form, and there is no reason to infer anything else from such marks as are discernible in lines 17 and 29: the intended form of the character is recognisable best in the *bā* of *labdha*, line 3, No. 24. The *l* is damaged and undeterminable in *Lattalūra*, line 16, *Lakshmivallabhendra*, line 17, *salutt-ire* and *kālatīta*, line 18, *salutt-ire*, line 20, *Kulappayam*, line 24, *kālam*, line 26, and *kālē-kālē pālānīyō*, line 34: in the *li* of *maṇḍalikarkkaḷā*, line 10, No. 23, and in the *lā* of *lāṅchanam*, line 16, we have the later cursive *l*, and so also in the upper *l* in *vallabhā*, line 5, *ella*, line 12, and *kallam*, line 35; but in every other instance we have unmistakably the old square *l*, and the intended form of it is illustrated very well by the *la* of *alamkritam*, line 3, No. 20; the formation of it here exhibits, though not to a very marked extent, the prolongation, with a sweep to the right, of the downstroke that makes the end of the letter, which (as will be shewn more clearly hereafter) had been the first step in the development of the later cursive type from the old square type.—As regards the language, we have Sanskrit ordinary verses in lines 1 to 8, and Sanskrit benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 30 to 35, with, among them, a verse in praise of the god Viṣṇu which seems rather out of place there; the remainder of the record is in Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record uses two words which are not included in dictionaries; namely, in line 10, *prātirājya*, employed in the sense of *prātirāja*, 'a hostile king';<sup>1</sup> and in line 24, *rājāśrāvita*, for which the best translation seems to be 'a royal decree.'<sup>2</sup> In *Vāraṇāsīyul*, line 27, we have the locative ending *ul*, which, in genuine records, is of sufficiently rare occurrence, as compared with the endings *oḷ* and *al*, to be

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. III. p. 104. I owe this reference to Prof. Kielhorn.

<sup>2</sup> The word *rāja-śrāvita*,—or *rājā-śrāvita*, as sometimes written, and perhaps in the present record, but wrongly,—means, literally, 'caused to be heard by the king, spoken by the king.' It has been met with before, in an inscription of the period A.D. 680 to 696 at Baḷagāmi, where we have *rāja-śrāvita-mḍge*, "on a royal decree being (issued)," i.e. "under or in accordance with a royal decree" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 145, text line 11-12), and in an inscription of the period A.D. 733 to 747 at Aihole, where we have *rājā(ja)-śrāvita mahājanam naka(ga)-ra-śrāvita*, "a decree by the king, a decree by the *Mahājanas* and (the people of) the city" (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 286, text line 4-5; it may be noted here that, at the end of line 5 of this record, the correct reading is *Vāraṇāsīoḷ*, for *Vāraṇāsīyoḷ*).—The Aḍur inscription helps to illustrate the term, by giving us [*oi*]śrāvita, "having caused to be heard everywhere, having made proclamation" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 69, text line 7-8).—We have the same erroneous lengthening of the *a* of *rāja* in *rājā(ja)-rakṣita dharmma*, "a religious grant protected by the king," in the Belūr inscription of A.D. 1021 or 1022 (*id.* Vol. XVIII. p. 274, text line 37).

worth noting.<sup>1</sup>—As regards orthography, the only points that present themselves are (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in the word *erishṭi*, lines 12 and 33, though everywhere else the vowel seems to be used correctly; and (2) the occasional omission to double a consonant after *r*, in the second *jayati*, line 1, in *Gurjarānt*, line 6, in *ārthan*, line 25, in *brahma-svām*, line 31, and in *nripāṇām*, line 34.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amôghavarsha I., who was on the throne from A.D. 814 or 815 to A.D. 877 or 878. It mentions him by also the *birudas* of Atiśayadhavala, Lakshmivallabhendra,<sup>2</sup> and Nripatuṅga. His proper name is not yet known. But, from the way in which his sovereignty is likened to the sovereignty of the god Viṣṇu, and from the attribution to him, in that passage, of the *biruda* Lakshmivallabhendra or “chief among the husbands or favorites of Lakshmi or Fortune,” and of the epithet *surāsuramardana* or “subduer of gods and demons,” which would hardly be appropriate in any ordinary description of a king, it seems likely that his name either was Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, or else was a name beginning with the word Viṣṇu. It mentions an officer of his, named Dēvaṇṇayya, who,—residing at Annigere,<sup>3</sup> which is the modern Anpigere

<sup>1</sup> The following other instances, the dates of which are known or can be fixed approximately, may usefully be put together here, from genuine records, and from others for questioning which there are no *prima-facie* grounds. *Vārāṇasivaduḥ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 145, line 13; at Bajagāmi; of the period A.D. 680 to 696; and, in line 15 of the same record, *elpattaruḥam*, in which we have the copulative or emphatic ending *am* after the *uḥ*. *Tīmgaḥ*, *pūṇṇamāsaduḥ*, *vishupaduḥ*, *gāṇaduḥ*, and *Vārāṇasīyūḥ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285, lines 3 to 5; at Aihole; A.D. 708. *Ūruḥ* and *okkaluḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., My. 55; at Varuṇa; A.D. 765 to 805. *Okkaluḥ* again; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 93; at Matakere; about A.D. 783. *Maḥmāvindilaruḥ* and *ndyakaruḥ*; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X., p. 33, No. 2, lines 6, 8; at Gūlgānpode; A.D. 850 to 900, or somewhere thereabouts. *Paṭhaduḥ*, *besaduḥ*, and *kōḷeyuḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 75; at Husukūru; A.D. 870-71. *Nāḍinuḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 103; at Kaṭṭemanugasaaballi; A.D. 870-71 to about A.D. 908. *Nāḍuḥ*; *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 134; at Nandigunda; A.D. 1021; and further on in this record we seem to have a very exceptional locative, *baḍagalalu* or *baḍagalal*.—We can now recognise *uḷḷe*, as a development of the *uḥ*-ending, in *Maṅgaluḷḷe*, “at (the village of) Maṅgaḷ,” in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 103, line 8; at Mahākūṭa; A.D. 696 to 733-34. And we have the same ending presented in *saṅghaduḷḷe* and *Kaṭṭappinuḷḷe*, in *Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* Nos. 31, 34; date not yet fixed.

<sup>2</sup> See page 106 below, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> This name occurs in line 22 of the text. In other ancient records, as far as they have come under my notice, it is always written with the lingual *ṇ*,—Anpigere, and the vowel is sometimes marked long,—Anpigēre. A half-Sanskritised form, in which *taḍḍaka* is substituted for *kere*, occurs in a verse in a record of not long after A.D. 1176 (*Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 42); the transcription gives there, also, the lingual *ṇ*; and the metre marks the vowel as short,—Anpitaḍḍaka. Whatever may be the explanation of the use of the dental *n* in the present record and in the Sirūr inscription, we may take it as tolerably certain that the more correct form of the name was always that with the lingual *ṇ*. The vowel, no doubt, was liable to be used either short or long.—As regards the etymology, the first component of the name may be a proper name; or it may be a variant of *anṇa* (1), ‘excellence, purity,’ or of *anṇa* (3), = *anṇi* (3), which occurs in *anṇikallu*, ‘a hailstone,’ and (see, particularly under *āl*, 1) may perhaps mean ‘water, cloud, or rain;’ or it may quite possibly stand for *hannī*, ‘the sunflower,’ which we have in the name *Hannikeri* (see further on in this note), on the analogy of *ḍgu* for *hōgu* (above, Vol. V. p. 262). With the dental *n*, there does not seem to be any word *annī*; and the words *anne* (1), (2), and (3), do not give any suitable meaning.—As regards the modern form, the compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*, issued in 1878, certifies it as ‘Anpīgēri,’ with the lingual *ṇ* and the long *i*; but I feel tolerably certain that, in giving *gēri*, = *kēri*, ‘a street,’ instead of *gēre*, = *kēre*, ‘a tank,’ it does not even represent any correct modern custom outside official circles; for, to the best of my remembrance, the inhabitants of the town always pronounce the name as Anpigere. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) has ‘Anigere,’ which rather suggests that the writer was thinking of *giri*, ‘a hill.’ The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) has ‘Annegere,’ which suggests that the person who then took down the name, heard, correctly, *gēre*. The Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) has ‘Annigēri.’ And the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* uses that same form; *s.g.* pp. 389, 440, 650, 651.—In connection with the official certification of the modern name as ‘Anpīgēri,’ I may add the following remarks, which will be of use in respect of some other names also. In the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, there is a constant tendency to substitute *i* for the final *e* of nominal bases and verbal roots,—for instance, *mane*, ‘a house,’ will just as often, if not more frequently, be written *manī*, and *kare*, ‘to call,’ often becomes *kari*, for conjugational purposes; also, the old character *r* has passed out of use altogether; and the mark which distinguishes the long *ī*, *ē*, and *ō*, is rarely, if ever, used in writing. The result is that a nondescript word *kēri* is

or Annigere, about twelve miles west of Gadag,— was governing the Belvola three-hundred district. And it mentions also a relative of Dēvaṇṇayya, probably named Kulappayya, who was governing the circle of villages known as the Muḡunda twelve. The object of it is to record an assignment of the tax on clarified butter or ghee. The assignment was made under

used to represent, indifferently, either *kere* (*keṛe*), 'a tank,' or *kēri*, 'a street;' and it is impossible to decide which it represents, as the final of a place-name, unless one can hear the name pronounced by a resident of the village itself, or can find it in an ancient record. In cases in which I have been unable to ascertain whether the real termination is *kere* or *kēri*, I have used that nondescript word *keri*, as a reminder to myself that the name has not been determined; and it is for that reason that I have written, for instance, Kaṭṭageri, Beṇḍigeri, and Haṇṇikeri (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 448, note 1, 526, 556). There is, perhaps, more trouble with the words *kere* and *kēri* than in any other detail. But no one, who has not tried it in person, can realise how difficult it is to get at the really correct and undeniable spelling of many a place-name, unless some indication is derivable from an ancient record. My experience is that, among modern publications, the older sheets of the Indian Atlas, though by no means infallible, are in many respects the best guide, in spite of the want of any definite system in them, or rather, because no attempt was made in them to aim, in vain, at any uniformity of system on lines which, at that time, had hardly become definitely fixed even among scholars. The revised sheets are not so useful a guide, because in them (as also in the Bombay Survey sheets) the spelling is adapted to the modern official system. The chief features of this system are, the use of *a*, *ā*, *i*, and *u*, instead of *u*, *ā*, *ee*, and *oo*, and the use of *ḍ*, instead of *r*, for the lingual *ḍ*. It would be good enough, if it were in safe hands; that is to say, under the control of someone who could determine the exact correct spelling everywhere, and could enforce the uniform use of it. But it is not in such hands. It frequently gives the long *ā* where it ought to give the short *a*, and *vice versa*. It has a particularly weak point, in failing to make any distinction between the dental *ḍ* and the lingual *ḍ*, which latter usually appears as *r* in the older sheets of the Indian Atlas. It has produced such monstrosities as 'Kānara' and 'Kānarese,'—(supposed to be critical forms),—instead of the purely conventional but thoroughly well established words Kanara and Kanarese. And, as specific instances of the failure of this system in official hands, we may quote, from the Bombay Survey sheet No. 272 (1894), Kanvād and Kutvād, which are given there instead of Kāvād and Kuvād, and Shirti instead of Shirhatti, and, from sheet No. 239 (1887), Bagui, instead of Bāgni (regarding these names, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIX. p. 278 and note 23, p. 276, and p. 277, note 17). The best way to determine the real name of a place, is, naturally, to make local inquiries in person. And it is, of course, the cultivators and the hereditary village-officials,—not the district officials and their clerks,—who can best furnish information as to the true names of their villages. But what they pronounce, has frequently to be written down by an ordinary clerk who takes no real interest in the matter. And that is where all the mistakes come in now, and, apparently, came in in earlier times also.— In illustration of the way in which the cultivators can help towards the identification of ancient places, we may refer to the case of Bāgalkōṭ in the Bijāpur district. The cultivators call it Bāṅgaḍikōṭa. This name is accounted for, though the exact form of it is not absolutely justified, by the fact that the ancient name of the place was Bāgaḍageyakōṭe, Bāgaḍigeyakōṭe (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 170). This name, adduced by the cultivators, first put me in the way of identifying Bāgaḍage with Bāgalkōṭ. And, in addition to the epigraphic passage which I then quoted, I may now refer to a record of A.D. 1049 at Sirūr, eight miles on the south-east of Bāgalkōṭ, which mentions *Bāgaḍagā-rājapāṭha*, "the highway to Bāgaḍagā."— In illustration of the way in which the cultivators preserve the real names of places, we may take the case of a village close on the east of Gadag and incorporated with that town for municipal purposes. The name of it is certified in *Bombay Places* as 'Betṭēri;' and, I may add, in the Dhārwar volume of the *Gazetteer* it appears as 'Bettigeri' (pp. 712, 713), which illustrates very well the vagaries of official practice. But the cultivators call it Batgere. And the ancient name occurs as Battakere in a record of A.D. 888. In this instance, it happens, the official mistake, of substituting *kēri* for *kere*, is carried back to A.D. 1879 by the Damba grant, which mentions the place as Battageri (*loc. cit.* in note 2 on page 98 above, text line 125), evidently as the result of an ancient official failing to catch the name correctly; and it may be remarked that the same record also mentions as Kaujageri, in line 126, a neighbouring village, the name of which is found in a record of A.D. 933-34 as Kovujageri, or possibly Kovujamgeri.— I would make, here, a correction in the name of a village in the Karajgi tāluka, at which some early Kadamba copper-plate grants were obtained (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 33 ff.). The name of it figures in the Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) as 'Deogere,' and in the Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) as 'Deogere,' and in the Postal Directory (1879) as 'Deogiri,' and in the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the *Gazetteer* as 'Devigiri' (p. 665). I was told that the cultivators call the place Dēvageri and Dēogere. But I was assured that that is a mistake, and that the real name is Dēvagiri. And I, therefore, gave the name as Dēvagiri in editing the grants in question, and elsewhere (*e.g.* above, Vol. V. p. 173). Subsequently, I was led to believe that the real name is Dēvageri; and I have used that form in, for instance, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 287. But I have since then found, from records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at the place itself, that the ancient name was Dēvaṅgēri,— sometimes perhaps written Dēvagēri, without the *anusvara* in the second syllable. I also notice that the Native gentleman, to whom I was indebted in the first instance for impressions of them, wrote the name, on the first of the impressions, as Dēvagiri in English characters (according to official custom),

the authority of a *rājāśrāvita* or royal decree<sup>1</sup> of Amoghavarsha I. And it was made to the hundred-and-twenty *Mahājanas* of Nirgunda,—doubtless in order to make the proceeds of the tax available for expenditure by them on communal purposes, instead of being credited to the royal revenues.<sup>2</sup>

The passages containing the details of the date are partly illegible. But enough can be deciphered to shew that the date of this record is the same as the date of the Sirūr record. The full details, then, are an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyāishtha of the Vyaya *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-Saṃvat 788, in the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarsha I. And the corresponding English date is Sunday, 16th June, A.D. 866, when there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India, at 9 h. 4 min. after mean sunrise.<sup>3</sup>

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Om<sup>5</sup> [||\*] Jaya[t]i<sup>6</sup> bhuvana-kāraṇaṃ Svayambhur-jayati Purandara-nandanō  
Murārīḥ jayati Giri-
- 2 [s]utā-niruddha-dēhō durita-bhay-āpaharō Haraś=cha dēvaḥ [||\*] Sa<sup>7</sup> vō=vyād=  
Vēdhasā dhāma yan-nā-
- 3 [bhi]-kamala[m] kṛitaṃ Haraś=cha yasya kānt-āndu-kalayā kam=alaṃkṛitaṃ [||\*]  
Labdha<sup>8</sup>-pratishṭham=achirāya
- 4 [Ka]li[m] su-dūrā(ra)m=utsāryya śuddha-charitō(tai)r=ddharaṇī-talasya kṛitvā  
punaḥ Kṛitayuga-śrī(śrī)yam=a-
- 5 [p]y=aś[ē]śhām chitraṃ katham Nirupamaḥ Kalivallabhō-bhūt [||\*]  
Prabhūtavarshō<sup>9</sup> Gōvinda-rājā(jaḥ)<sup>10</sup> śauryyēshu
- 6 vikramaḥ<sup>11</sup> jītvā jagat=samastam yat=Jagattuṅga iti<sup>12</sup> śrutāḥ [||\*] Kēraḷa-<sup>13</sup>  
Mālava-Gaudān<sup>14</sup>-sa-<sup>15</sup>Gurjarā[m]ś=Chi-

but as Dēvagēri in the Mōḍī or current Marāṭhī characters. And I entertain no doubt that what the cultivators really call it, is, not Dēvagera (as reported to me), but Dēvagēri, and that this is the form that ought to be used for the future.

<sup>1</sup> See page 99 above, and note 2.

<sup>2</sup> See note 4 on page 107 below.

<sup>3</sup> See Prof. Kielhorn's result in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII, p. 123, No. 59, and Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, p. 198, No. 4939, and Plate 99.—The week-day is specified in the Sirūr record, but not here.—The Śaka year 788 has to be taken as the expired year: for, as pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn, by the mean-sign system the Vyaya *saṃvatsara* lasted from the 23rd September, A.D. 865 (in Ś.-S. 788 current) to the 19th September, A.D. 866 (in Ś.-S. 788 expired), and by the southern lunar-solar system Vyaya was Ś.-S. 789 current (788 expired), = A.D. 866-67,—(as also by the northern system of the same kind).

<sup>4</sup> From the ink-impression.

Represented by a plain symbol; and so also in lines 9 and 30.

<sup>5</sup> Metre, Pūshpitāgrā.

<sup>7</sup> Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka.

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>10</sup> The Sirūr inscription, line 3, has precisely the same reading, *Prabhūtavarshō Gōvinda-rājā*. The run of the metre would have been better suited by *Prabhūtavarsha-Gōvindō rājā*.

<sup>11</sup> Sirūr, line 3, has the same, *śauryyēshu vikramaḥ*; but the *ś* of the *ryyē* was omitted at first and then was added by way of correction. It would be difficult to make any sense of *śauryy-ēshu-vikramaḥ* 'having heroism-arrow-prowess;' and it can hardly be thought that *śauryyēshu Vikramaḥ*, 'a very Vikrama in deeds of heroism,' was intended. I can only suggest that the words are a mistake for *śauryyēsha vikramaḥ*, or else that the text is altogether corrupt here.

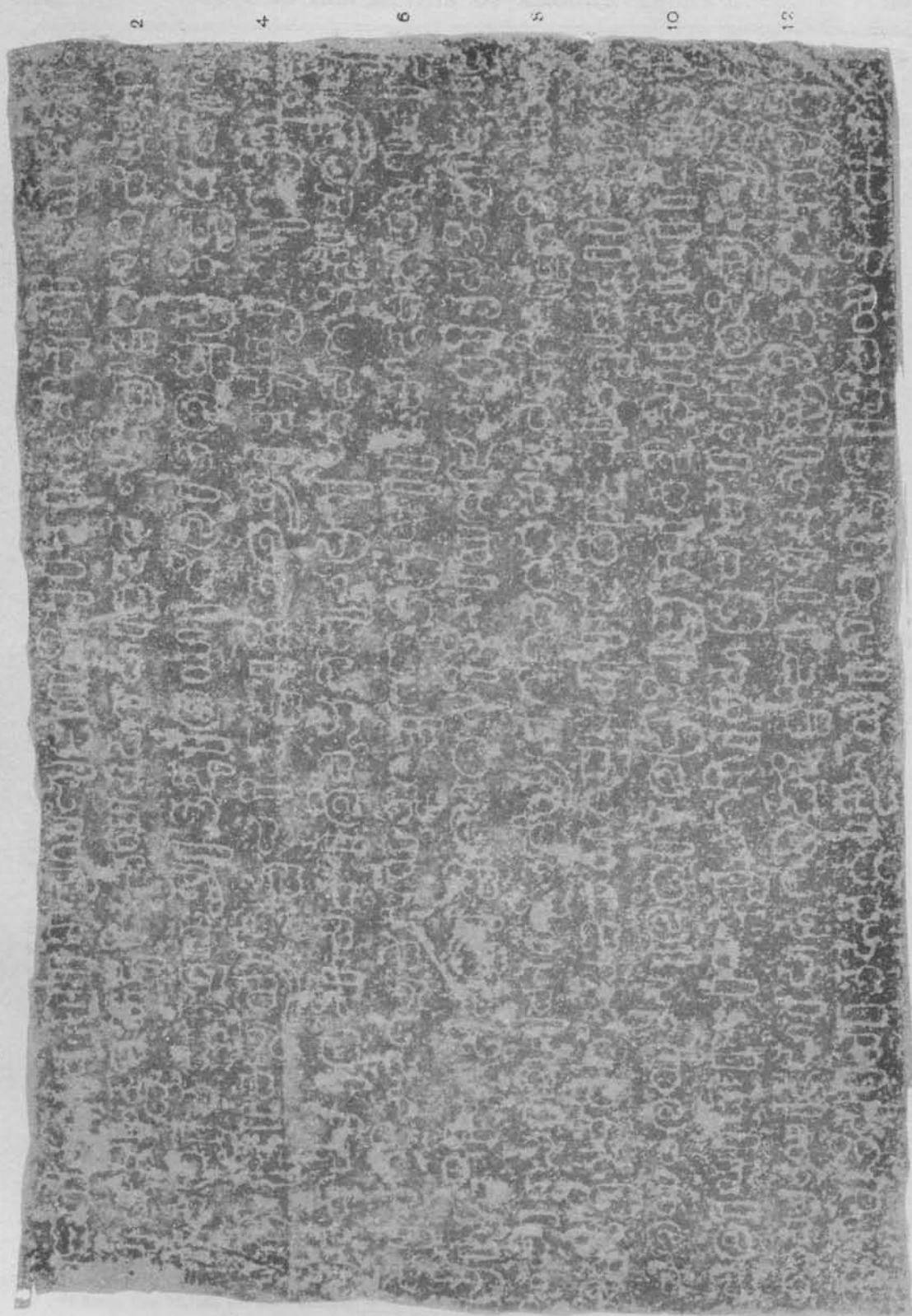
<sup>12</sup> Read *yaj=Jagattuṅga*, which, however, in view of the past participle *jītvā*, must probably be treated as a mistake for *yō Jagattuṅga*. In Sirūr, line 4, the pronoun was omitted altogether and the reading is [*sama*]ś[ā]ṃ [*am*] Jagat[ī]ṃṅga.

<sup>13</sup> Metre; the first two *pādas* are Āryāgīti, and the last two are Āryā: or, we may say, the verse is an Āryāgīti, in the last *pāda* of which the metre of an Āryā has been followed. There is a mixture of metres again in the next verse.

<sup>14</sup> Sirūr, line 4, has *Śauḍān*. In each record, the reading is quite distinct.

<sup>15</sup> Sirūr, line 4, has *Gurjarā*: it gives the short *a*, according to the undoubtedly more correct spelling of the name in the second syllable, it omits the *r*; and,—as the writer seems to have intended *Gurjardā* without *śamāhī* with the following word,—it omits a final *a*.

Nilgund Inscription of Amoghavarsha I.--A.D. 866.



W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.

SCALE 1/20

J. F. FLEET.



- 7 *trakūṭa-giridu[r]gga-sthān=ba[d\*]dhvā Kāñch-iśān=atha sa Kirttinārāyaṇō*  
*jātaḥ<sup>1</sup> [||\*] Ari<sup>2</sup>-nripati-makuṭa-ghaṭṭi-*
- 8 *ta-charaṇas=sakala-bhuvana-vandita-sauryyaḥ Vamg-Āṅga-Magadha-Mālava-Vemg-*  
*iśē(sai)r=archchitō=Tiśayadhava[iaḥ] [||\*]*
- 9 *Om Svasti Śrī<sup>3</sup> Samadhigatapañchamahāśabda-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka*  
*chatur-udadhi-*
- 10 *valaya-valayu(yi)ta<sup>4</sup>-sakala-dharātala-prātirāṇy<sup>5</sup>-ānēka-maṇḍalikarkkaḷā kaṭaka-kaṭi-*  
*sūtra-ku-*
- 11 *ṇḍala-kēyūra-hārā[bha]raṇ-āḷamkṛita-gaṇika-sāhasra<sup>6</sup>-chāmar-āndhakār- ā d h ō - d i r y y a -*  
*viryyamāna<sup>7</sup>-śvi(śvē)-*
- 12 *t-ātapatra-traya-kaḷaha-kāhaḷa<sup>8</sup>-śamkha-pāḷidhvaj-ōru<sup>9</sup>kētu-patāk-āchchhādita-digantār-*  
*ella sri(sri)shṭi-*
- 13 *sēnāpati puravara-taḷavargga-daṇḍanāyaka-sāmant-ādy-ānēka<sup>10</sup>-vishaya-vināma[n]-<sup>11</sup>*  
*ōttu[n]ga-[ki]-*
- 14 *rīta-makuṭa-ghrīṣṭa-pādāravinda-yugma nirjīta-v[ai]ri ripu-nivaha-Kāla-daṇḍa dusṭa-*  
*mada-bha[m]janan<sup>12</sup>=a-*
- 15 *mōgha-Rāmam para-chakra-pañchānanam sur-āsura-marddanam vairi-bhaya-[ka]ram*  
*badd[e]-ma[nō]haram a[bh]imāna-*
- 16 *man[d]iram Ratṭa-vamś-ōdbhava[m] Garuḍa-lāñcha(ñchha)nam<sup>13</sup> tiv[i]i-*  
*paṇeghōshana[m] Lattalūra-p[ra]-paramēśvara[m] śrīmat*

<sup>1</sup> Sirūr, line 5, has *jigati*, which was then corrected into *jagati*.

<sup>2</sup> Metre; the first two *pādas* are Āryā, and the last two are Udgīti; or we may say, the verse is an Āryā, in the last *pāda* of which the metre of an Udgīti has been followed.

<sup>3</sup> Sirūr, line 6, omits the *Om* and the *Śrī*.

<sup>4</sup> Sirūr, line 7, also has *guta*.—Prof. Kielhorn has given me, from the *Dakṣaśāstra*, the quotation *ratndhara-vēdā-mēkhald-vaḷayita-dharant*, which suggests that the original source of the draft used in this record had *chatur-udadhi-vēdā-vaḷayita*, etc. Compare, in some respects, lines 1, 2 of the Bēgūr record (page 48 above).

<sup>5</sup> Sirūr, line 8, also has *prātirāṇy*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *gaṇikā-sahasra*.

<sup>7</sup> Sirūr, line 9, has *āndhakāra-vēdiyya-vēyya-māna*. The words *vīrya*, 'bravery, or heroism,' and *māna*, 'pride,' seem altogether inappropriate in this passage. And I can only suggest that the intended reading was *āndhakāra-dēdīpyamāna*, or else that there may have been meant *dōdhāyamāna*, 'being waved to and fro like fans,' which we have in line 47 of the Kādaba grant (above, Vol. IV. p. 342), applied, however, to *chauris*, not to white umbrellas.

<sup>8</sup> Sirūr, line 9, omits this word, *kāhaḷa*.

<sup>9</sup> The reading is quite distinct here. And it can be recognised, now, that in Sirūr, line 7, the writer or engraver first formed, instead of *ru*, the *k* of *kētu*, and then, before attaching the *ē*, corrected the *k* into *r*, and then added the *u*. This disposes of the *ōkakētu*, the "banner of a bird, or bird-ensign," which I thought was indicated by the Sirūr inscription.

<sup>10</sup> Sirūr, line 10, has the same reading, *ādy-ānēka*. In each record, the reading is quite distinct. *Ādy-ānēka* would be more in accordance with custom. But the use of *ādyā* instead of *ādī* in such a combination, though somewhat unusual, is hardly to be treated as a mistake.

<sup>11</sup> In Sirūr, line 10-11, the reading is very clear,—*vishaya-vināma-ōttuṅga*, except that the *vi* of *vināma* is rather intermediate between *vi* and *dhi*. And the reading is equally certain here, though the subscript *n* of *vināma* is a good deal damaged. We might accept *vināma* as a mistake for the usual Sanskrit word *vināma*, 'bent down,' etc., or for a word *vināma* which might be justified by the use of *namna* by Kausreese authors as an equivalent of *namra*, 'bowing, bent,' etc. (see Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, under *namna* and *namni-kṛita*; and I think that I have met with either *namna*, *ndma*, *vināma*, or *vināma* in Kanarese records, though I cannot at present find the passages). But, as has been pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, no such word would give any suitable meaning here, and what is needed after *ādy-ānēka* is some expression meaning 'chief or ruler of a district.' I am inclined to think, therefore, that what was really intended was *vishaya-dhīndh-ōttuṅga*.

<sup>12</sup> From this point, the present record,— and the Sirūr inscription also,— pays more attention to the case-endings of the nominatives in *a*, which are disregarded altogether in the preceding part of this passage. Sirūr, line 11-12, has here a reading which indicates that there was intended there *bhañjanan amōgha*, without *savdhā*.

<sup>13</sup> Sirūr, line 13, has the same mistake, *ñcha* for *ñchha*.

- 17 Amôghavarsha<sup>1</sup>-Nripatu[n]ga-nâm-â[m]kita-[La]kshmi[va]llabhêndra<sup>2</sup> chandr-  
âditya-kâlam-[baram]<sup>3</sup> [ma]hâ-Vishp[u]va râyam-bol=uttar-ôttaram<sup>4</sup>
- 18 rây-âbhi[vri]ddhi sa[l]utt-ire Śaka-nripa-kâ[l]-â[tita]-samvatsara-śata[m]ga[-ē]-n[ū]-  
enbhatt-ēṭa<sup>5</sup>neya Vyaya-[samva]tsara[m] pra-
- 19 [va]rttise [śri]ma[d-A]môghava[rsha]-Nri[pa]tu[m]ga-[nâm-âmkita]nâ vijaya-  
râjya-pravarddhamâna-samvatsa[ra]-
- 20 [n]ga[-ayva]tt-eradum-uttar-ô<sup>6</sup>ttaram [rây-âbhi vrid dhi<sup>7</sup> sa l]u[tt-i]r e  
A[ti]śa[yadha]va[a-narē]n[d[ra]-dē[va]<sup>8</sup>-prasāda[dind-A]-
- 21 mōgha[varsha]-dēva-p[ā]dapa[m]kaja-[bhra]mara[m]. viśiṣṭa-ja[n-âśra y a n = a] p p a  
śrīmad-Dēvaṇṇayya[m] Beḷvo[la]-
- 22 mūnūman-â[uttu]m Anni<sup>9</sup>geroyol-ire â[ta]na ma[y]du[nam] Kulappayya[m]<sup>10</sup>  
Muḷgunda-pa-
- 23 nneraduman-â[utt-ire] ta[d-a]ntarggata<sup>11</sup>-Jyēṣṭhā<sup>12</sup>-māsada kṛish[n]a-pakshad-  
amāseyu[m]<sup>13</sup> sūryya-graha-
- 24 pamum-âgi<sup>14</sup> Kuḷappa[jya[m]-binnapa[m]-g[e]yye Dēvaṇṇayya[m] Amôgha-  
varshadēvaroḷ rāja[ṣṭhā]-ārā-
- 25 vitam-māḍi tad-anuma[ta]dind-irvvorum mātā[pi]ṭṭi . . . . .<sup>15</sup>m-â[r]tham  
[p]unyam-âg[iy-â] grahanado[l]
- 26 Nirggundada nū-irppadimbarum mahājanada kâ[la]m ka[chi] tuppa-dereya[m]  
sa-bhōga-sāda(dha)-
- 27 kam-âgi biṭṭo[r] [||\*] Ī dharmama[m] k[ā]dom Vāraṇāsiyū sūryya-grahanadoḷ  
sāsira kavile-
- 28 yam veda-vidarkka[=]appa brāhmaṇarkka[ge] koṭṭa punya-phalaman=a(ṣe)yduvon idan=  
aḷid-up[ā]-[ā]vam
- 29 sāsira kavileyum<sup>16</sup> sāsī[r]vvar=[bbr]āhmaṇarumam Vāraṇā[s]i[nyuman-a]ḷida pañcha-  
mahāpāka-

<sup>1</sup> Read *śrīmad-Amôghavarsha*. Sirūr, line 13, omits the *Amôghavarsha* here, and has *śrī-Nripatunga*.

<sup>2</sup> Sirūr, line 14, has the same reading, *vallabhêndra*. But the construction requires the genitive, *valla-bhêndra* or *vallabhêndra*.

<sup>3</sup> Sirūr, line 14, has *chandr-âditya kâlam-varegam*. In the present record, there are only two *aksharas* after *kâlam*, both much damaged. The first of them seems to be *ba*, rather than *va*. The second of them may be *ram*, in which case *baram* was written, quite correctly; or it may be *gam* in which case *bagam* was written by mistake for *baregam*.

<sup>4</sup> Sirūr, line 14, divides the words, and has *râyam-bol uttar-ôttaram*.

<sup>5</sup> The *aksharas* given here in square brackets are supplied entirely from Sirūr, line 15. But there is no doubt about the correctness of them, as the name of the *samvatsara* is quite recognisable, and so also are the other details in line 23.

<sup>6</sup> The preceding note applies here also.

<sup>7</sup> Sirūr, line 17, gives *rây-âbhi vrid dhi*; and the same seems to have been the reading here also. But we require in this place the instrumental *rây-âbhi vrid dhiyā*. The nominative seems to have been carelessly repeated from line 18 above, where it is quite correct.

<sup>8</sup> Sirūr, line 17, omits the *dēva*.

<sup>9</sup> Sirūr, line 19, makes *samāḍi*, and has *dijettum=Anni*. As regards the *ani*, which is quite distinct here as well as in the Sirūr inscription, but is probably a mistake for *ani*, see page 100 above, note 3.

<sup>10</sup> Both here, and in line 24, there seems to be the vowel *u* attached to the *k*. But the name may perhaps be Kalappayya, or even Kālapayya.

<sup>11</sup> Read *tad-varsh-antarggata*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *Jyēṣṭhā*; or, more correctly, *Jyāishṭhā*.

<sup>13</sup> Sirūr, line 19, has *amaseyū*, with the short *a* in the second syllable. Either form is admissible. The week-day, which is specified in the Sirūr inscription, is omitted here.

<sup>14</sup> Sirūr, line 19, has the infinitive form *âge*, instead of the past participle which we have here.

<sup>15</sup> Three *aksharas* are quite illegible in the ink-impression here. We should expect something like *śrīyō-dharm-arīham*, *punya-āpyāyan-arīham*, *punya-dbhivrid dhiy arīham*, etc.; but none of these expressions adapts itself to such traces as are discernible.

<sup>16</sup> Read *kavileyumam*, since we have *brāhmaṇarumam* instead of *brāhmaṇarum*.

- 30 takan<sup>1</sup>=akkum Ōm [||\*] Vyāsa-vākyam [||\*] Sva<sup>2</sup>-da[ttām] para-dattā[m] vā  
yō harēti<sup>3</sup> vasundharām shashṭīm varsha-sabaśā-  
31 ni viśṭhāyām j[ā]yatē kṛimih [||\*] [Dē]va-s[v]am viśham=ity=[ā]hur-brahma-  
svam viśham=[u]chyatē viśham=ēk[ā]kinam hanti bra-  
32 hma-sva[m] putra-pautrika[m] [||\*] Brahma-svam prapayād=bhuktā dahaty=  
ā-saptamam kulam v[i]kramēṇa [yō] bhōjyantē<sup>4</sup> daśa pū-  
33 rrvān=daś=āvarān [||\*] Jayati [a]ṭhiti-sa[m]hāra-sri(sri)shṭikāra[ṇa]-kāraṇa[m]  
Harir-dditija-kānt-āśya-kūś[ā]ya-himāgama[h] [||\*]  
34 Sāmānyō<sup>5</sup>=yam dharmma-s[ēt]ur=uripā[ṇ]am kālā-kā[ḷ]ā pālaniyō bhavadbbih  
sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinah pārtthivēndrān=[bhūyō]-  
35 bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabha[drah] [||\*] . . . . .<sup>6</sup> bhātṭara  
likhitam i kalam Nāgamudḍa(?)na(?) . . . . .<sup>7</sup> [||\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Ōm !— (Verse 1; line 1). Victorious is Svayambhu (Brahman), the cause of the world; victorious is Murāri (Vishnu), the son of Purandara (Indra);<sup>8</sup> and victorious is the god Hara (Śiva), whose body is imprisoned by (the embraces of) (Pārvatī) the daughter of the mountain (Himālaya), and who removes sin and fear !— (V. 2; l. 2). May he (Vishnu) protect you, the water-lily (growing) in whose navel is made a habitation by Vēdhas (Brahman); and Hara, whose head is adorned by a lovely digit of the moon !

(V. 3; l. 3). Since, with his pure actions, he in no long time drove far away from the surface of the earth Kali who had secured a footing there, and made again complete even the splendour of the Kṛita age, it is wonderful how Nirupama-(Dhruva) became (also known as) Kalivallabha.<sup>9</sup>

(V. 4; l. 5). (There was his son)<sup>10</sup> Prabhūtavarsha-Gōvindarāja (III.), who, having conquered the whole world by his heroism and deeds of prowess (?),<sup>11</sup> was known as Jagattuṅga. — (V. 5; l. 6). Having fettered the people of Kēraḷa and Mālava and Gauḍa, and, together

<sup>1</sup> Read *pātakan*. The *ta* stands in the margin, before the *ka*. There are some indications that an attempt was first made to supply the *ta* below the *pa* of the preceding line.

<sup>2</sup> Metre, Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and in the next three verses.

<sup>3</sup> Read *harēti-in*; or *harati*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *bhōkshyantē*; or *bhūjantē*.

<sup>5</sup> Metre, Śālini.

<sup>6</sup> Eight or nine *akṣaras* are illegible here.

<sup>7</sup> Four or five *akṣaras* are illegible here.

<sup>8</sup> The reading *Purandara-nandana* is quite clear and unmistakable in the present record, and in line 1 of an inscription of A.D. 897-98 at Chifchli in the Gadag tāluka, and evidently in also the impressions of an inscription at Kālāñjar, referred to "about the eighth century," from which the verse has already been brought to notice by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. V. p. 210, note 3). And it seems impossible to translate the word otherwise than by "son of Purandara." But, Vishnu was one of the *soyambhu* or self-existing gods; the later mythology represents him as the younger brother of Indra; and, as yet, we know of no other statement that would make him a son of Indra, and we know the expression "son of Indra" only as an epithet of the monkey-king Vālin, of Arjuna, and of Jayanta.

<sup>9</sup> This verse is met with, earlier, in lines 13, 14 of the Wanī grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157), in the description of Dhōra, i.e. Dhruva; and we know from that record that Nirupama and Kalivallabha were *śiṣyas* of Dhruva. The *prima-facie* meaning of the *śiṣya* Kalivallabha would be "favourite of Kali,"—Kali being the personification of the present age. But the verse points out that it would be curious that an enemy of Kali should be called the favourite of Kali. And, either the *śiṣya* means "the favourite of brave men," or else, as has been suggested to me by Dr. Hultzsch, we must explain it by taking *kali* in its meaning of 'dissension, war, battle,' in which case we may render the appellation by "fond of war."

<sup>10</sup> In this and the following two verses, there are no verbs except past participles. I supply, in such terms as seem appropriate, that which appears necessary to complete the construction. It seems likely that these three verses are detached excerpts from some longer composition, which has not yet come to notice in the records of the dynasty; just as the preceding verse about Nirupama-Kalivallabha is an excerpt from the full description of Dhruva given in the Wanī grant (see the preceding note).

<sup>11</sup> See page 102 above, note 11.

with the Gârjaras, those who dwell in the hill-fort of Chitrakûta, and then the lords of Kâśchi, he became (known as) Kirtinârāyaṇa.<sup>1</sup>

(V. 6; l. 7). (And then there came his son) Atiśayadhavaḷa-(Amôghavarsha I.), whose feet are rubbed by the diadems of hostile kings (bowing down before him), and whose heroism is praised throughout the whole world, and who is worshipped by the lords of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Mālava, and Veṅgi.

(Line 9)—Om! Hail! Fortune! While, to an extent ever greater and greater, the increase of the sovereignty of him, Lakshmivallabhendra,<sup>2</sup> who is distinguished by the name of the glorious Amôghavarsha-Nripatuṅga,—the Mahârdjâdhirâja and Paramêśvara and Bhâṭṭâraka who has attained the pañchamahâśabda;<sup>3</sup> he who has covered all the territories of the numerous chieftains<sup>4</sup> of the hostile kings, over the whole surface of the earth which is girdled by the belt of the four oceans, with his thousands of courtesans decorated with waistbands and belts round their hips and ear-rings and armlets and necklaces, and with the darkness (caused by the multitude) of his chauris, and with his very brightly shining (?) three white umbrellas, and with his battle-horns and conches, and with his broad standard of the pâlidhvaja-banner and his (other) flags; he who is a born leader of armies; he whose feet, resembling water-lilies, are rubbed by the lofty tiaras and diadems (bowed down before him) of Daṇḍadyakas (in charge) of capitals and groups of places,<sup>5</sup> and of chieftains and other lords of districts (?); he who has conquered his foes; he who is a very staff of Death to the host of his enemies; he who breaks down the pride of wicked people; he who is a very unfailing Râma; he who is a very lion to the army of his enemies; he who subdues gods and demons; he who causes fear to his foes; he who captivates the minds of truthful women;<sup>6</sup> he who is the habitation of haughtiness; he who has been born in the race of the Râṭṭas; he who has the Garuḍa-crest; he who is heralded in public with the sounds of the musical instrument called ṭiṇṭi; (he who has the hereditary title of) supreme lord of the town of Lattalûra,—was continuing, like the sovereignty of the great Vishnu, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun might last:—

(L. 18)—While the Vyaya samvatsara, the seven [hundred and eighty-eighth] of the centuries of years elapsed of the era of the Śaka kings, was current; and while the

<sup>1</sup> I.e. "a very Nârāyaṇa (Vishnu) in fame." A verse in the description of Gôvinda III. in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 presents this *devada* in the form of Kirtipurusha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 169, text line 24). I then translated it by "the personification of fame." But there is no real authority for that. And, on the other hand, Purusha was Vishnu, who, again, was Nârāyaṇa; and the composer of that verse evidently used Kirtipurusha instead of Kirtinârāyaṇa, simply to suit his convenience in framing his lines.—The Sirûr version of the verse has, instead of *jâtaḥ, jigati*, which was then corrected into *jagati*,—"he (became known as) Kirtinârāyaṇa on the earth." The Chitichli inscription of A.D. 897-98 (mentioned in note 8 on page 105 above), however, presents clearly *jâtaḥ*, again. And *jâta*, which means ordinarily 'born,' seems to be used here in the meaning of 'happened, become, present, apparent, manifest.'

<sup>2</sup> We might take this as simply an epithet, and translate it by "the chief among the husbands or favourites of Lakshmi or Fortune." But various analogies justify us in finding in this word a formal *callabha*-appellation of Amôghavarsha I., which in its simplest form would be Lakshmivallabha.

<sup>3</sup> The present passage is one of a limited number in which this epithet is applied to paramount sovereigns. Two other instances have been given by me in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296, note 9; and a few others will be adduced on some more convenient occasion.

<sup>4</sup> The genitive *maṇḍalikarkoḷa* seems to be governed by *digantar-ella*, the last member of the following compound, rather than by any of the preceding members of it.

<sup>5</sup> From *taḷavarga*, which we have here and in Sirûr, line 10, we have *Talatargin*, which occurs as an official title in Vol. IV. above, p. 258, text line 14.

<sup>6</sup> Kittel's Dictionary gives *badde*, 'a truthful woman,' and indicates that it is a feminine form of *badda*, 'firm, true,' which is a *taddhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *baddha*. The whole word *badde-maṇḍhara*,—half Kanarese, half Sanskrit,—is a *viruddha-samāsa* (more popularly known as an *arisaṁdha*), "an incongruous or improper compound, a compound of heterogeneous words or words dissimilar in kind," which, according to the *Śabdamaṇidarpana*, sūtra 174, is allowed only when sanctioned by poets of old, as, for instance, especially in *devadas*.

fifty-[second] of the augmenting years of the victorious reign of him who is distinguished by the name of the glorious Amôghavarsha-Nripatunga was continuing (with) an increase of sovereignty to an extent ever greater and greater:—

(L. 20)—While, by the favour of his majesty the king Atisayadhavala, the illustrious Dēvaṇṇayya, a very bee on the water-lilies that are the feet of Amôghavarshadēva and a very asylum for excellent people, was dwelling at Annigere,<sup>1</sup> governing the Beḷvola three-hundred; and while his [brother-in-law]<sup>2</sup> Kulappayya was governing the Muḷgunda twelve:—

(L. 23)—When it was the new-moon day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyēsthā in that [year\*], and when there was an eclipse of the sun,—on Kulappayya making a request, Dēvaṇṇayya obtained a royal decree from Amôghavarshadēva,<sup>3</sup> and, with his (Amôghavarsha's) approval, the two of them, for the . . . of their parents, in a meritorious manner, at the time of that eclipse, laved the feet of the hundred-and-twenty *Mahājanas* of Nirgunda, and relinquished<sup>4</sup> (to them) the tax on clarified butter, with a conveyance of the usufruct of it.

(L. 27)—He who protects this act of religion shall attain the reward of the merit of giving at Vārāṇasī, at the time of an eclipse of the sun, a thousand tawny-coloured cows to Brāhmanas who know the Vēdas; whosoever destroys this, shall incur the guilt of the five great sins of destroying a thousand tawny-coloured cows and a thousand Brāhmanas and Vārāṇasī!<sup>5</sup> Om! And there is the saying of Vyāsa:—(V. 7; l. 30). He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the second syllable of this name, as written here, see page 100 above, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> The meanings given to *mayduna* in Kittel's Dictionary, which seem to mark clearly the relationship that is ordinarily intended, are 'a sister's husband, a husband's brother, a wife's brother;' and other meanings are 'a connection, friend, or husband,' and 'a brother's son in his relation to a sister's son.' Reeve and Sandersen's Dictionary gives (under *maiduna*, which is the same word) 'the son of a mother's brother, or of a father's sister, or a man's brother-in-law, if younger than one's self;' and on this authority I have, I think, sometimes translated it by 'cousin.'

<sup>3</sup> *Lit.*, "Dēvaṇṇayya having made a *rdjātrdrita* on Amôghavarshadēva." For *rdjātrdrita*, 'a royal decree,' see page 99 above, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Biḍa* means 'to let loose, to quit hold, to let go, to leave, to abandon, to give up,' etc., etc. We might perhaps understand it to mean here that the tax in question was abolished. But the verb is often used, in the ancient records, in the place of *koḍu*, 'to give;' that is to say, in the sense of 'to relinquish, to assign;' see, for instance, Vol. IV. above, p. 65, text line 23, and p. 353, lines 21, 34, and Vol. V. p. 25, lines 25, 26, 28, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127, line 12, and Vol. XII. p. 226, line 19, p. 256, line 18, and p. 271, line 17-18; and the causal *biḍisa* occurs in the sense of 'causing to relinquish, assign, or allot,' in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 226, line 10. The expression *sa-bhāga-sādhakam-dgi*, "in a manner accomplishing or effecting the enjoyment, with a conveyance of the usufruct," seems to shew clearly that it must be taken in that sense here. And there are three other references to the same matter, of the same period, one of which distinctly specifies a grant of the tax in question. The Sirūr inscription, of precisely the same date (see page 98 above), records that Dēvaṇṇayya, while governing the Beḷvola three-hundred, laved the feet of the two-hundred *Mahājanas* of Śrīvāra and relinquished (to them) (biḍom) the *tuppadege*. An inscription at Soratūr, dated, without full details, in the same year, the Vyaya *samvatara*, Śaka-Samvat 788 (expired), = A.D. 866-67, records that, while he was governing the Purigere *adā*, the *Mahādamanta* Kuppeyarasa "graciously abandoned (*uḷidom*) the *tuppadege* to the fifty (*Mahājanas*) of Saratavura." And an inscription at Gāwarawād, dated in S.S. 791 (expired), in A.D. 869, records that, while he was still governing the Beḷvola three-hundred, Dēvaṇṇayya, under a royal decree (*rdjātrdrita*), "laved the feet of the *Mahājanas* and . . . of Gavadiḷāda, and gave (to them) (*dānam-gotṭa*) the *tuppada tere*, to continue as long as the moon and sun should last." — It seems probable, now, that *biḍu* should be taken in the same sense of 'assigning' in line 6 of the Baḷagāmi inscription of the time of Vinayāditya and the Sōndraka prince Pogillī (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 144). And the purport of that record, accordingly, will be that Kāndarba, under a royal decree, conferred a favour on the specified establishments, etc., by assigning to them the specified fees and duties.

<sup>5</sup> One might, perhaps, rather expect "at Vārāṇasī." But plenty of other cases might be quoted, in which the accusative is used just as it is here. We may quote, in particular, lines 13, 14 of the Doddabuaḍi inscription (page 44 above), where the destruction of only Vārāṇasī is mentioned.

thousand years!—(V. 8; l. 31). They say that the property of a god is poison;<sup>1</sup> and the property of a Brâhman is said to be poison: but poison kills only one person; whereas the property of a Brâhman kills one's sons and grandsons!—(V. 9; l. 32). If a man enjoys the property of a Brâhman through (*breach of*) trust, he burns his family to the seventh generation; and those who enjoy it by force (*burn*) ten ancestors and ten descendants!—(V. 10; l. 33). Victorious is the god Hari (Vishnu),<sup>2</sup> the cause of continuance and destruction and creation, who is a very winter to the water-lilies that are the faces of the wives of the demons!<sup>3</sup>—(V. 11; l. 34). "This general bridge of religion of kings should at all times be preserved by you;" thus does Râmahadra make his earnest request to all future princes!

(L. 35)—Written by . . . . bhattacha. Nâgamudâ (?) [set up] this stone.

### No. 12.—TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA.

By H. LÜDERS, PH. D.; GÖTTINGEN.

Inked estampages of these two inscriptions were sent to me by Dr. Hultzsch through Prof. Kielhorn. The first<sup>4</sup> is engraved on the four faces of a pillar lying on the ground near the steps leading to the temple on the hill at Maṅgalagiri, 12 miles north-east of Guṇṭūr in the Kistna district.

It contains 257 lines of writing.—The average size of the letters is  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". At the top of the fourth face is a representation of the sun and the moon.—The alphabet is Telugu. The chief points in which it differs from the modern script are the following. The *talakattu* is a flattened semi-circle. The *dîrghamu* goes right down to the bottom of the line, except in *îā*, *ṇā* and *hā*, where it is represented by the curve above the line which in the modern alphabet appears in *hā* only. The *guḍi* is like the upper half of a circle, and to denote *î*, the tip is sometimes slightly curved inwards; see *e.g.* *si* in l. 241. But in most cases it is absolutely impossible to distinguish between the long and the short vowel, except in *mî*, which appears in the modern form (l. 25). Medial *ê* has the form of a sickle or a semi-circle open to the left. In *mau* (ll. 54, 107), *yau* (l. 63), and *ryau* (l. 224) the diphthong is expressed by attaching the ordinary sign for *au* to the right of the letter and the sign for *ê* to the middle bar or to the *r*. Initial *a*, *ê*, *ga*, *gha*, *chha*, *ṭa*, *ṇa*, *da*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *ra*, *ṭa*, *sha* and *ha* show still the ancient forms. In the case of *sha* this is all the more remarkable as already in the Vânapalli plates of Anna-Vêma, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1300,<sup>5</sup> occasionally a form of *sha* appears which on account of the division of the middle horizontal line comes nearer to the modern form (see *e.g.* ll. 2, 18, 30). *Ka*, on the other hand, shows, except in *ka* in ll. 22, 177 and *kê* in l. 23, an advanced form which in its characteristic lines already resembles the modern form. *La* has a peculiar form, differing from the sign used *e.g.* in the Bîṭraguṇṭa grant of Saṅgama II. (Śaka-Samvat 1278)<sup>6</sup> and the Vânapalli plates as well as from the modern sign. The *ottu*, the small vertical stroke underneath the letter, which in the modern alphabet is the sign of aspiration, is never found in *kha*, *chha* and *tha*, but, as a rule, it is used in *gha*, *ḍha*, *dha*, *pha* and *bha*, when no other sign stands below

<sup>1</sup> With the first, second, and fourth clauses, supply "if confiscated, or misappropriated."

<sup>2</sup> This verse seems rather out of place in the middle of the benedictive and imprecatory verses.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the expression in the Tufân inscription, which describes Vishnu as "a very frost to (*cause the withering of*) the beauty of the water-lilies which are the faces of the women of the demons" (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 270).

<sup>4</sup> No. 267 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 69 ff., Plates.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 31 ff., Plates.

the letter, as in *ghna*, *dhva*, *bhri*, *bhya*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally, however, the *ottu* is missing without any reason; examples for *gha* are found in l. 18; for *ḍha* in l. 48; for *dha* in ll. 153, 228; 214 (*dha*); 39, 180, 178 (*dhi*); 180, 218 (*rdhi*); 93, 116, 198 (*dhu*); 27, 82, 163 (*dhdha*); for *bha* in ll. 33, 39, 231; 170, 187, 230 (*bhu*); 15, 85 (*bhū*); 233 (*bhā*); 141, 233, 244 (*bhō*). As in the latter cases the *talakattu* disappears, it is, of course, impossible to distinguish *bhā* and *bhō* from *bā* and *bō*. In the groups *chchha* and *rchchha* the *chha* is written above the *cha* (see ll. 15, 102, 160), the subscript *chha* apparently being found impracticable on account of the loop in the middle of the letter. As first letter of a group, *r* is represented by the full sign in *rchā* (ll. 220, 224, 236), and before *y* and *v* with the exception of *rva* in l. 177, *rvā* in l. 24, and *rvi* in ll. 21, 33. Here, as in all other cases, the secondary sign has been used.—The language is Sanskrit, and the whole text is in verse, with the exception of the introductory phrase *śubham=astu* in l. 1, the concluding Telugu words *śrī śrī śrīm jāyuntū* in l. 257, and a few explanatory remarks in Telugu in ll. 46 f., 49 f. and 121.—As regards orthography, it will suffice to state that the doubling of consonants after *r* occurs only in *Rompicharīla* (l. 149) and *vargga* (l. 240). After *anusvāra* a consonant is doubled in *vēdānta* (l. 10), *Kṛṣṇamāmbayā* (l. 61), *saṁtāna* (l. 90), *ākṛānta* (l. 140), *anānta* (ll. 149, 225), *saṁdhānāntam* (l. 163), *Romppicharīla* (l. 226), *-āṁkkitām* (l. 243), and probably in *Koṁḍakāvāri* (l. 255). A superfluous *anusvāra* has been inserted in *Timma* (l. 40, 252). In *nigṛimhya* (l. 5) and *Samhya* (l. 246) the *anusvāra* is due to faulty pronunciation. The group *dāh* is written *dhdh* in *ānadhā* (l. 8), *pātālādāh-dharaṇi[m<sup>2</sup>]* (l. 27), *śudhā* (l. 48), *yadh-dhāṇi* (l. 82), *yudhā* (l. 86), *saṁdhānāntam* (l. 163), and perhaps *-ādhānta* (l. 83). The words *maṇḍapa* and *pradhāna* are written *maṇḍapa* (ll. 155, 168, 173, 184, 204) and *pradhāna* (l. 29; *pratāna* in l. 113).

The proper object of the inscription is to record a grant by *Sāḷva-Timma*, the prime-minister of king *Kṛṣṇarāya* of *Vijayanagara*. It opens with invocations of *Vishṇu* in his boar incarnation (vv. 1, 2), as lord of *Kākūḷa* (v. 3), and as *Rāma* (vv. 4, 5). The title of *Kākūḷa* seems to refer to *Vishṇu* as worshipped at *Śrīkākuḷam*, 19 miles west of *Masulipatam* in the *Kistna* district. Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I. p. 55, states that there is a temple at that place dedicated to *Śrīkākuḷaśvara-svāmin* and considered to be very sacred.<sup>3</sup>

The following verses (6-8) are an eulogy of king *Kṛṣṇarāya*. They contain no historical information besides the statement that 'king *Kṛṣṇa*'s pillar of victory is shining in the court of *Kāḷiṅga*,' an allusion to his conquest of the eastern coast.

The next verses (9-15) give an account of *Kṛṣṇarāya*'s prime-minister *Sāḷva*- (or *Sāḷva-*) *Timma*. He belonged to the *gōtru*<sup>4</sup> of *Kaṇḍinya*, and was the son of the minister *Rācha* and the grandson of the minister *Vēma*,<sup>5</sup> and it may be added here that vv. 43, 44 and 47 incidentally mention the name of his wife, *Lakshmi*.<sup>5</sup> Two verses (13 and 14) are devoted to his conquest of *Koṇḍaviṭṭi*, i.e. *Koṇḍaviṭṭu*, the well-known hill-fort in the *Narasarāvupōṭa tāḷuka* of the

<sup>1</sup> But if the subscript sign stands far enough to the right, the *ottu* appears occasionally; see *ryhya* in l. 159.

<sup>2</sup> That this temple existed long before the time of our inscription is proved by the fact that it contains a number of inscriptions ranging from the latter half of the eleventh to the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Or, as it is called here, *kūḷa*.

<sup>4</sup> I have used throughout the Sanskrit forms of these names, *Rācha*, *Vēma*, *Timma*, *Appa*, etc., though in the text we find also the longer forms *Timmaya*, *Appaya* (ll. 56, 148, 150, 153, 189, 227). Except in *Timmākhya* in l. 42, the longer forms are invariably used in compounds before a word beginning with a vowel, as in *Appayāmditya*, *Gōpayāmditya*, *Timmayāmditya*, *Vēmayāmditya*, *Rāchayāmditya*, *Gōpayāmditya*, *Appayāmditya*.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the praise bestowed on *Sāḷva-Timma* in vv. 11 and 12 for his literary attainments was not quite unfounded. In his *Index to the Sanskrit Mss. at Tanjore*, p. 159, Burnell mentions an 'exceedingly diffuse' commentary (*vyākhyāna*) on *Agastya's Bālābhārata* by *Timmaya*, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The work apparently is the same as the *Bālābhārata-avyākhyāna* described by Taylor in his *Catalogue of Oriental Mss.*, Vol. I. p. 168, where the name of the author is given as *Sāḷva-Timmaṇṇa daṇḍanātha*. The date, the title and the surname of the author make it highly probable that he is identical with the minister of *Kṛṣṇarāya*.

Kistna district. From verse 13, where it is said that he captured 'the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati in Konḍaviṭi,' it appears that Konḍaviṭu was governed at that time by some chieftains subordinate to the Gajapatis of Orissa. This agrees very well with what we can gather from other records. Until the beginning of the 15th century A.D. Konḍaviṭu was ruled by the Redḍis,—the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭa-Vēma, the latest record of the dynasty hitherto published, being dated in Śaka 1333.<sup>1</sup> Not long afterwards the country must have been occupied by the Gajapatis. In Śaka 1377, the cyclic year Yuvan,<sup>2</sup> we find as ruler of Konḍaviṭu a certain Gāṇadēva Rautarāya, whose family was connected with that of the Gajapatis, and who apparently was a tributary of the Gajapati king Kapila.

The capture of Konḍaviṭu formed part of Krishnarāya's victorious campaign against the Gajapatis of Orissa. A detailed account of it is given in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Vijayanagara* written about 1525 and 1535 by two Portuguese horse-dealers, Domingos Paes and Fernão Nunes.<sup>3</sup> There<sup>4</sup> we are told that after the conquest of Odigair or Digary (Udayagiri)<sup>5</sup> king Crisnarao (Krishnarāya) laid siege to Comdovy (Konḍaviṭu) which was one of the principal towns of the kingdom of Orya (Orissa). The king of Orissa approached with a large army in defence of his country. When Krishnarāya had heard of this, he left a portion of his troops at Konḍaviṭu as a guard against any attack from behind, and advanced himself four miles (*legoas*). On the banks of 'a great river with salt-water,' which apparently is the Krishnā, a battle took place which ended in the defeat and flight of the king of Orissa.<sup>6</sup> After this victory the king told his 'regedor' Salvatinea (Sālva-Timma) that he intended to continue the siege of Konḍaviṭu. After two months the fortress surrendered, and Sālva-Timma was appointed governor of Konḍaviṭu. But as he wished to accompany the king on his further expedition against the king of Orissa, he conferred, on his part, the governorship on one of his brothers. After taking the fortress of Comdepallyr (Konḍapalle) and occupying the country as far north as Symamdary,<sup>7</sup> Krishnarāya made peace with the king of Orissa and married one of his daughters. The 'river,' apparently the Krishnā, marked henceforth the boundary between the two kingdoms. After another expedition against Catnir<sup>8</sup> on the coast of Charamōdel (Coromandel) the whole country was pacified, and Sālva-Timma was sent by the king to Konḍaviṭu to organize the administration of the newly acquired territory. On his way to Konḍaviṭu, Sālva-Timma defeated a general of the king of Daquem (Dekkan), called Madarmeluquo. A few months Sālva-Timma stayed at Konḍaviṭu, organizing the civil and judicial administration of the province. Then he returned to Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), where he was received by the king as the principal person of the kingdom. The narrative of the chronicle has the appearance of being, on the whole, perfectly reliable.<sup>9</sup> If the inscription differs from it in ascribing the capture of Konḍaviṭu to Sālva-Timma alone, it is apparently only because he was the general in command of the Vijayanagara forces.

As a counterpart it may be quoted here what local tradition has to tell about the capture of the fort. According to Mr. Boswell,<sup>10</sup> the story goes that about the beginning of the 16th century the last king of the Redḍi dynasty of Konḍaviṭu died childless, and his seventy-two

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 318 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 390 ff. The date is irregular.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga. Manuscrito inédito do século XVI publicado por David Lopes*, Lisboa, 1897, p. lxxvi f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 19-24.

<sup>5</sup> The conquest of Udayagiri and its dependencies took place in 1518; compare Sewall, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 107, and *Sketch of the Southern Dynasties*, p. 109.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be the battle referred to in an inscription at Mēdāru; see Sewall, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> Symamdary is described as 'a very large town.' I therefore consider it to be Rājamahēndri (Rājshumdry), Symamdary being probably an error for Rasmamdary or a similar form.

<sup>8</sup> I cannot identify this place.

<sup>9</sup> One very slight mistake will be noticed hereafter.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 183.

chiefs could not agree upon the selection of a successor. Krishnarāya resolved to make use of this state of things, and to acquire for himself the kingdom. To accomplish his designs, he sent a wily and unscrupulous Brāhman to Koṇḍaviṇḍu. This Brāhman was directed to set up and consecrate a new image in the temple of Gōpīnāthasvāmin at the foot of the fort, and to invite the seventy-two chiefs to the celebration of these rites. They descended from their hill-fortress and were all seated in the great hall. From thence one by one the priest led them to the inner shrine to view the new image. As they stepped into the inner hall, and bowed at the threshold, two ruffians, who were concealed in the chamber, stepped forward, and before the victim had time to raise a cry, precipitated him into a deep well whose mouth it was impossible to discover amid the surrounding gloom. When all had thus found their death, Krishnarāya had no difficulty in seizing the fort. In a Telugu chronicle extracted by Mr. Sewell<sup>1</sup> the name of the wicked Brāhman is given as Rāmayya Bhāskararu. It is hardly necessary to point out that the story, as it stands, is incompatible with the historical facts. Whether it is purely fictitious or based on events which occurred at a different time, cannot be decided at present. At any rate it shows once more that local traditions and local chronicles, by themselves, have no historical value, even when they refer to events of comparatively modern times.<sup>2</sup>

The date of the capture of Koṇḍaviṇḍu is given several times, expressed in words, letters and figures.<sup>3</sup> It took place on Saturday, the Harivāsara of the bright half of the month Āshāḍha in the Śaka year 1437. For Śaka-Samvat 1437 expired, this corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd June, A.D. 1515, when the twelfth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha ended 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise.<sup>4</sup>

Vv. 16-19 give a short genealogy of the two ministers Appa and Gōpa. They were the sons of the minister Timma, who belonged to a family from Nādiṇḍla<sup>5</sup> and to the *gōtra*<sup>6</sup> of Kauśika, and his wife Krishnāmbā or Krishnamāmbā who was the sister of Sālva-Timma, as appears from vv. 19 and 28, where Appa and Gōpa are called Sālva-Timma's sister's sons (*bhāgīnēya*). Later on, however, in v. 30 Gōpa is incidentally spoken of as his son-in-law (*jāmātri*), and in v. 27 as his younger son-in-law (*jāmātrya-avarē*), which term, if used in its strict sense, would imply that both brothers were married to daughters of Sālva-Timma, their cousins. Of the following verses, vv. 20-23 are in praise of Nādiṇḍla-Appa, vv. 24-28 are glorifying Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa, and vv. 29-34 give a description of the latter's pious gifts. With v. 35 the text returns to Nādiṇḍla-Appa, the list of whose donations fills vv. 36-59. Of

<sup>1</sup> *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Of course, this does not exclude that some of their statements may be correct. The account of the Telugu chronicle, for instance, is partly confirmed by the inscriptions and the Portuguese chronicle.

<sup>3</sup> For details I refer to the translation.

<sup>4</sup> My thanks for the calculation of this and the following dates are due to Prof. Kielhorn who has also favoured me with the following additional remarks regarding the term *Harivāsara*. According to Molesworth's *Marāṭhī Dictionary*, *Harivāsara* is a term for the first quarter of the 12th lunar day, and a common term for the 12th lunar days of the light fortnight of the months Āshāḍha, Bhādrapada, and Kārttika, upon which, respectively, occur the *nakṣatras* Anurādhā, Śravaṇa, and Rēvati. In accordance with the latter meaning we find e.g. in two Bombay *Pañchāṅgas* for Śaka 1789 and 1814 *Harivāsara* written opposite to *Āshāḍha-śukla-pakṣa* 12, with, in either case, the Anurādhā-*nakṣatra*, but not in a Bombay *Pañchāṅga* for Śaka 1812, where the *nakṣatra* on *Āshāḍha-śukla-pakṣa* 12 was Viśākhā. That in the inscription also *Harivāsara* is used with the same meaning, is proved by the fact that on the day in question the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Anurādhā by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. With regard to the origin of the name, it may be pointed out here that the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha was considered to be pre-eminently auspicious for the worship of Viṣṇu. The *Dharmasindhu* says '*Āshāḍha-śukla-doddaśyām Vāmāna-pūjanāna naraśāḍha-phalam*.' It is therefore also called *Vaiṣṇava-tithi* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 333, No. 17) and described as *nakṣātithi* (*ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 131, Plate IV. A, l. 16). *Harivāsara* must not be confounded with *Haridina* which, according to Molesworth, is simply a term for the *śuddhā* or 11th day of the waxing or waning moon, and in this sense occurs e.g. in *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I, p. 63 (*Harir-dina*).

<sup>5</sup> On Nādiṇḍla, the modern Nādenḍla, see below, p. 115 and note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Here called *avasya*.

historical value are verses 21, 27, 28 and 35. V. 21 states that Nādiṇḍa-Appa obtained from king Kṛishṇa and the minister Sālva-Timma the right to use a palanquin, two *chauris*, and a parasol, and the posts of commander-in-chief of an army, of superintendent of Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti and Amarāvati, and of sole governor (*śādhurāmdhara*) of that kingdom. Vinikoṇḍa is apparently the modern Vinukonda, a hill-fort and town in the Kistna district, about 37 miles west-south-west of Koṇḍaviḍu.<sup>1</sup> Gutti (Gooty) is the well-known hill-fort in the Anantapur district, and Amarāvati is the equally well-known Buddhist site in the Kistna district. Vv. 27 and 28 state in very similar words that Sālva-Timma gave to Nādiṇḍa-Gōpa the right to use a palanquin and two *chauris*, and the posts of general of an army and sole governor (*śādhurāmdhara*, *dhaurēya*) of the town and country of Koṇḍaviṭi. But in v. 35 we are told that in the year Yuvan, marked as Sālīvāhana-Śaka (*Sālīvāhana-Śak-āṅka*), Nādiṇḍa-Appa obtained the regentship of Koṇḍaviṭi from Sālva-Timma.

The apparent discrepancy between these statements may be solved, I think, with the help of the data furnished by the Portuguese chronicle. We have only to assume that Nādiṇḍa-Appa was temporarily appointed after the capture of Koṇḍaviḍu, when Sālva-Timma left the country in order to accompany the king on his expedition against Orissa, and that afterwards, when Sālva-Timma had settled the administration of the country and intended to return to Vijayanagara, he installed Appa's younger brother Gōpa as governor of Koṇḍaviḍu, while Appa himself received the governorship of Vinikoṇḍa, Gutti and Amarāvati. That Appa was appointed immediately after the capture of the fort, is shown by the date. There can be no doubt that it was Śaka-Saṃvat 1437 expired, which corresponds to Yuvan, although the chronogram does not work out quite correctly. The first three letters present no difficulty, *s(ā)* being 7, *l(i)* 3, and *v(ā)* 4, but, according to Burnell, *h(a)* has the value of 8, whereas here it would have to be taken as 1.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the above assumption agrees with the fact that five years afterwards, in Śaka-Saṃvat 1442, Gōpa was ruling as governor of Koṇḍaviḍu.<sup>3</sup> And from v. 45, where Appa, 'the lord of Vinikoṇḍa etc.,' is said to have made a grant in Śaka-Saṃvat 1439, we may perhaps even conclude that the new arrangement was made in or before that year. The chronicle, it is true, does not mention the second appointment of a substitute, and the first substitute is called there the brother of Sālva-Timma, which certainly is a mistake. On the other hand, the statement that the real governor of Koṇḍaviḍu was Sālva-Timma, and that he, on his hand, appointed a regent, is fully borne out by the terms used in v. 35, and the fact that he granted a village situated in the territory of Koṇḍaviḍu.

The list of Nādiṇḍa-Gōpa's gifts comprises only three items.

1. (V. 29.) In the Śaka year counted by Rāghavāya (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1442) he erected some new buildings (*harmya*) adorned with a wall (*vapra*) and a gate-tower (*gōpura*) in honour of the god Rāghava in Achalapuri. This is the Sanskrit equivalent of Koṇḍaviḍu, as we learn from the following verses that the temple of Rāghava or Raghunāyaka was situated in that town.

2. (Vv. 30-32.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the towns (3), the Vēdas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vṛisha, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Phālguna, he set up an image of Raghunāyaka in the town of Koṇḍaviṭi. This image was surrounded by statues of Rāma's followers.<sup>4</sup> For Śaka-Saṃvat 1443 expired, the date corresponds to Monday, the 10th February A.D. 1522, when the full-moon *tithi* of Phālguna ended 18 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> The older form of the name seems to have been *Viśāṅkunda*; see above, Vol. IV. p. 195, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The chronogram is altogether a very poor one; it has three letters, or, if *āṅka* is to be considered part of it as in *Sālīvāṅka* in v. 14, even four letters too many.

<sup>3</sup> See the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription which will be published at an early date in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> For details I refer to the translation.

3. (V. 34.) In order to do the performance of *niyōga*, exceeding seventy-two,<sup>1</sup> he presented to the temple of the holy Śāluva-Rāghava the fertile village of Unnuva, defined by its four boundaries and completely furnished with all necessary things, together with the eight powers and enjoyments. The temple of Śāluva-Rāghava seems to be identical with the temple of Rāma at Koṇḍaviḍu referred to in the preceding verses. The village of Unnuva is the Vunnava of the map, 5 miles south-south-east of Koṇḍaviḍu.

Of the nineteen grants of Nādiṇḍla-Appa enumerated in vv. 36-59 one is undated, six were made in Śaka 1438, ten in Śaka 1439, one in Śaka 1440, whereas one (v. 38) lies as far back as Śaka 1414. This last date seems to me open to grave doubts;<sup>2</sup> at any rate, it is difficult to see how Appa could have granted a village in the principality of Koṇḍaviḍu 23 years before the occupation of the country. The localities mentioned are situated in the modern tālukas of Vinukonda, Narasārāvuṇḍa, Guṇṭūr, Bāpaṭla, Bezvāḍa, Oṅḡḡḡḡ, and Palnāḍ (?). As we do not know the exact date of Appa's installation as governor of Vinukonda *etc.*, we cannot say with certainty whether he made these grants in the latter capacity or at the time when he was still governor of Koṇḍaviḍu. And even from those cases where the granted villages are expressly stated to have been in the *siman* of Vinukonda, no conclusions can be drawn in this respect, as there is no reason to believe that Vinukonda formed a separate province before the country was divided between Appa and Gōpa.

1. (V. 36.) In the Śaka year to be counted by 9, the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īsvara (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), having founded an excellent village<sup>3</sup> bearing the name of Appāpura, which was supplied with a tank and with some<sup>4</sup> good arable land between Vinukonda and the river Kunti, he gave it to the temple of Aṅgaḍi-Gōpinātha-Hari. From v. 47 we learn that this temple was in the town of Vinukonda. The river Kunti may be the Guṇḍlakamma, or, more probably, one of its tributaries.<sup>5</sup> 4 miles south-west of Vinukonda, on the left bank of the Guṇḍlakamma, the map shows Sabinivinnu Appavupuram, which probably is the same as the Appāpura of the inscription.

2. (V. 37.) To the temple of Ananta-Gōpinātha, situated at Rompicharla, he gave the village of Gōpavara. Rompicharla is 10 miles west of Narasārāvuṇḍa.<sup>6</sup> Gōpavara may be the Gopapuram of the map, 8 miles south of Rompicharla.

3. (V. 38.) In the Śaka year contained in the Indras (14), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1414), he presented a wall (*vapra*) and the whole village of Painimarri to the temple of Mādavidēvi in the town of Madderēla, to be enjoyed as long as the earth will last. Madderēla or, as it is called in v. 48, Madderāla seems to be the Madheralah of the map, 21 miles south-west of Bāpaṭla, 6 miles west of Mōtupalle.<sup>7</sup> Painimarri may be the hamlet of Pamidimarri, the Payidimarri of the map, 8 miles south of Narasārāvuṇḍa, though the distance between Pamidimarri and Madheralah amounts to 30 miles.

<sup>1</sup> *Dvādaśaty-adhikāṁ niyōga-kalāṁ kartum*. I do not know what is meant by this phrase. It occurs again in the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 8), l. 98: *dvādaśaty-adhikāṁ niyōga-raḥaṇḍāṁ . . . kṛitā*.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be some confusion in the verse. The *vapra* which Appa is said to have erected in Śaka-Saṃvat 1414 is apparently the same which according to v. 48 he built in Śaka-Saṃvat 1438.

<sup>3</sup> With *kṛitā grāmaṇḍam* compare *avayuti-kalāṁ-nirmit-Appāpur-ākhyaṁ . . . grāmaṁ* in v. 52, *Appāpuram . . . virachayya* in v. 54, and *grāmaṁ vidhāya* in v. 55.

<sup>4</sup> With *kiyaṁdratāḥ* compare *kiyattāḥ=avayutya bhāṣam* in v. 54, and *avayutya bhāṣam=ukhātāḥ* in v. 55.

<sup>5</sup> The Guṇḍlakamma seems to be identical with the Ōmkāra mentioned in v. 40.

<sup>6</sup> In the village is a temple dedicated to Gōpālasvāmin, which probably is identical with the temple mentioned in the inscription; see Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. Appendix, p. xii.

<sup>7</sup> There is also a Mudderalapudoe (Madderālapāḍu) 6½ miles north by east of Oṅḡḡḡḡ in the Nellore district on the right bank of the Guṇḍlakamma.

4. (V. 39.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the Brahmins (9),<sup>1</sup> the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), he erected a temple (*ālaya*), adorned with a solid hall (*maṇḍapa*), a wall (*vapra*) and a plastered mansion (*saudha*), to Rāmeśvara in the fort of Vinikoṇḍa.

5. (V. 40.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhātṛi (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), he built a splendid temple of Śiva at the village of Nandipāṭi near the river called Ōmkāra. Nandipāṭi seems to be the Nundēepandoo (Nandipāḍu) of the map, 8 miles north of Ōṅgōlu. It is situated on the right bank of the Guṇḍalakamma which in that case would have to be identified with the Ōmkāra river.<sup>2</sup>

6. (V. 43.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Rāmas (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month Śrāvaṇa, he presented a plastered hall (*maṇḍapa*) of stone to the temple of the great Virēśvara in the village called Nūntulapāṭi in the *śīman* of Vinikoṇḍa, for the benefit of Sāḷva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.<sup>3</sup> 29 miles south-south-west of Guṇṭūr, 34 miles east-south-east of Vinukoṇḍa, the map shows Nutalupāḍu, which possibly is identical with the Nūntulapāṭi of the inscription. The date is the same as that of the grant recorded in v. 46.

7. (V. 44.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the air (0), the oceans (4), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Bahudhānya (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1440 expired), he built a fine large hall (*maṇḍapa*) and presented it to the temple of Agastya-Mahēśvara at Krāñjā for the benefit of Sāḷva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.<sup>4</sup> Krāñjā is the modern Kāzā, 9 miles north-east of Guṇṭūr.

8. (V. 45.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), he founded *sarva-mānyas*,<sup>5</sup> (which supplied) the taxes and fees (*mēra*)<sup>6</sup> (due) to village accountants (*karaṇika*), for the eternal prosperity of his father and mother in the Vaikuṇṭha heaven.

9. (V. 46.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Śrāvaṇa, he gave the *agrahāra* Mallavara, filled with all kinds of riches, to be enjoyed for ever,<sup>7</sup> to the temple of Channa-Kēśava-Ramānātha, the lord of that village, whose nature is knowledge.<sup>8</sup> The date is irregular. It corresponds, for Śaka-Saṃvat 1489 expired=Īśvara, to the 1st August A.D. 1517, when the full-moon *tēthi* of Śrāvaṇa ended

<sup>1</sup> *Brahman*, with the value of 9, occurs again in vv. 52 and 54 [and the synonym *Aja* above, Vol. IV, p. 193]. I have found it only in the list given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. The use of *Brahman* in this sense is rather strange, especially as its synonym *pitāmaha* is mentioned by Bérnini among the numerical words for 1.

<sup>2</sup> There is another Nandipāḍu six miles south by east of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. But this would seem to be too far to the south as to be the village referred to in the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase *Lakshmi-ndyaka-Sāḷva-Timma-vibhāḍa* occurs again in v. 47, and with the addition of *punyaḍya* in v. 44 and v. 28 of the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3). The meaning is that the gift was made for the benefit of Sāḷva-Timma and his wife Lakshmi, as clearly stated in the Telugu portion of the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription, l. 163 ff. The words *Lakshmi-ndyaka* are apparently used on account of their ambiguity.

<sup>4</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>5</sup> *Sarvamānya*, 'exempted from all taxes,' is always applied to villages or portions of land allotted to Brahmins or some temple.

<sup>6</sup> [For *mēra* and *karaṇika* see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*.—E. H.]

<sup>7</sup> *Achālam*, literally 'immovable,' seems to have here this meaning.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 129, note 5.

19 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise. But this day was a Saturday, not a Monday.<sup>1</sup> Mallavarâgrahâra may be the Mullavarum Agra of the map, 4 miles north of Tummarakôta in the Palnâd tâluka, on the right bank of the Kṛishnâ, or Mallavaram, 10½ miles north-east of Konḍaviḍu, or Mullavarum, 11 miles north-north-west of Oṅgôlu. There is also a Chinna Mullavarum, 23½ miles north-north-east of Oṅgôlu.

10. (V. 47.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month Vaiśākha, he presented a beautiful large hall (*maṇḍapa*) and a very high wall (*prākāra*) to the temple of Aṅgaḍi-Gôpinâtha-Hari in the town of Vinikonḍa for the benefit of Sâlva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.<sup>2</sup> The same temple we have met with already in v. 36.

11. (V. 48.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438), he presented to the temple of Mâdhavi-dêvi in the town of Madderaâla the wall (*vapra*) which he had caused to be heightened. This temple was mentioned already in v. 38.

12. (V. 49, 50.) In the Śaka year contained in the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhâtṛi (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), having presented the whole village of Âtukûru, surnamed Nâdinḍla, to the Brâhmanas, he gave them a large tank, causing the growth of rice-fields and sugar-cane, for the performance of the daily ceremonies of bathing and praying at the *saṃdhyâs*, etc. This statement is repeated in different words in the second verse.<sup>3</sup> Âtukûru is the Autcoor of the map, 11 miles north of Bezvâda.

13. (V. 51.) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the Râmas (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year Dhâtṛi (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438 expired), he presented a solid temple (*prāsâda*), adorned with nine golden pinnacles (*kumbha*), and a beautiful large hall (*maṇḍapa*) to the temple of Hari, the lord of Maṅgalasâila, and gave also the village of Maṅgalasâila to the temple of Nṛisimha. Maṅgalasâila is, of course, identical with Maṅgalagiri, where the inscription was found.

14. (V. 52.) In the Śaka year counted by the Brahmanas (9), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), having presented to the Brâhmanas the village of Appâpura, which he had formed by taking off a portion of the land in the *śīman* of the village of Rêṭûri, he gave, in aid of them, a large tank for the cultivation of paddy fields, etc. This tank is described in the next verse. Rêṭûri is the Return of the map, 7 miles north by west of Bâpaṭla. One mile to the north-west of it the map shows Appapuram.

15. (V. 54.) In the Śaka year marked by the Brahmanas (9), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), having taken off some land in the *śīman* of Nâdinḍla and having founded Appâpura, which was supplied with a tank, he gave it to the Brâhmanas. Nâdinḍla, which apparently is connected with the name of the donor's family, is the modern Nâdenḍla,<sup>4</sup> 9½ miles east-south-east of Narasarâvupêṭa. 3½ miles south-west of Nâdenḍla, 8 miles south-east of Narasarâvupêṭa, the map shows Appapuram.

16. (V. 55.) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Râmas (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 expired), having taken off a suitable portion of land in the territory of Yêrchûri and having founded a village

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Kielhorn adds that in Śaka-Saṃvat 1439 current—Dhâtṛi the full-moon *tithi* of the second (*aijā*) Śrâvâṇa commenced 6 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 11th August 1616, but he thinks it not at all probable that this day is intended.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 114, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> See the translation.

<sup>4</sup> For inscriptions at this village see above, Vol. IV. p. 37 f.

adorned with a tank and containing 10 *Kēsaripāṭi-puṭṭi*,<sup>1</sup> he gave it to the temple of **Aubhaja-Nārasimha-Hari** at **Yērchūri**. This is the **Yēlchūru**, **Yēlchūru**, or **Ēlchūr**, 12½ miles south-west of **Narasarāvupēṭa**, 4 miles north of **Kommālapāḍu** Bungalow, mentioned by **Mr. Sewell**, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 78. On the map the name of the village is missing, though its site is indicated.

16a. (V. 56.) To the temple of **Ananta-Gōpinātha** at **Rompicharla** he gave the village of **Gōpavara**. This is merely a repetition of v. 37.

17. (V. 57.) In the **Śaka** year to be counted by the **Vasus** (8), the **fires** (3), the **Vēdas** (4), and the **earth** (1), in the year **Dhātṛi** (i.e. **Śaka-Saṃvat** 1438 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month **Vaiśākha**, he gave the whole village of **Bhartapūṇḍi** in the *śīman* of **Vinikōṇḍa**, which he had marked with his own name, together with the eight powers and enjoyments, to the learned **Rāyana-Bhāskara** who belonged to the *gōtra* of **Vasishṭha**. The map shows **Bhartapudi** 5 miles north-east of **Bāpatla**, but the identification must remain doubtful. As the distance between this **Bhartapudi** and **Vinukōṇḍa** is about 52 miles, it could hardly be said to be in the *śīman* of **Vinikōṇḍa**.

18. (V. 58.) In the **Śaka** year contained in the **elephants** (8), the **fires** (3), the **Vēdas** (4), and the **moon** (1), in the year **Dhātṛi** (i.e. **Śaka-Saṃvat** 1438 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month **Śrāvaṇa**, having taken off at **Yērchūri** in the *śīman* of **Vinikōṇḍa** a village called **Gōpapuram**, containing 10 *Kēsaripāṭi-puṭṭi*<sup>2</sup> and adorned with a tank, he presented it to the **Brāhmanas**. **Yērchūri** we have met with already in v. 55; 1½ miles north-west of it the map shows **Gopapuram**.

19. (V. 59.) In the **Śaka** year to be counted by the **treasures** (9), the **Rāmas** (3), the aggregate of the pursuits of life<sup>3</sup> (4), and the **earth** (1), in the year **Īśvara** (i.e. **Śaka-Saṃvat** 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month **Kārttika**, he gave the whole village of **Annavaṛa** in the *śīman* of **Vinikōṇḍa**, marked by his own name, together with the eight powers and enjoyments to the learned **Dēcha**<sup>4</sup> of the *gōtra* of **Kauṇḍinya**. **Annavaṛam** is a very common name, which makes a strict identification impossible. The map shows an **Annavaṛam** **Kandrike** 5 miles west of **Narasarāvupēṭa**, 20 miles north-east of **Vinukōṇḍa**, another **Annavaṛam** (**Annawarum**) 25½ miles south by west of **Vinukōṇḍa**, and a third **Annavaṛam** 17 miles south-east of **Narasarāvupēṭa**, 35 miles east of **Vinukōṇḍa**.

The list of **Nāḍipḍa-Appa**'s donations concludes with a verse (60) in praise of **Sāḷva-Timma**, and the last verse of the inscription (61) records that **Sāḷva-Timma** assigned the village of **Koṇḍakāvūri** to the temple of **Trikūṭēsvara-Nīṭaladriś**, i.e. **Trikūṭēsvara-Śiva**, the lord of the whole world, as long as the moon and the sun and the stars endure. **Koṇḍakāvūri** is the modern **Koṇḍakāvūru**, 8 miles south of **Narasarāvupēṭa**.

The second inscription,<sup>5</sup> also in **Telugu** characters, is engraved on the four faces of a pillar lying in the temple of **Kōḍaṇḍarāmasvāmin** at **Kāzā**, 9 miles north-east of **Guntūr**, in the **Kistna** district. It contains 258 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is ¾". With the exception of the last verse, beginning in l. 255, the whole text of the inscription is identical with that of the **Maṅgalagiri** inscription. Only the order of the verses differs, as shown by the following comparison: **Kāzā** 1—35=**Maṅgalagiri** 1—35; **K.** 36=**M.** 55; **K.** 37—40=**M.** 36—39; **K.** 41, 42=**M.** 45, 46; **K.** 43=**M.** 40; **K.** 44=**M.** 47; **K.** 45—47=**M.** 41—43; **K.** 48—54=**M.** 48—

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the term *puṭṭi* see above, Vol. III. p. 93, note 1. *Kēsaripāṭi-puṭṭi* seems to mean the *puṭṭi* (used in the village) of **Kēsaripāḍu**, which cannot be traced on the map.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> I have not found the word *varga* in any of the published lists of numerical words. The meaning of four is, of course, due to the *chaturvarga*.

<sup>4</sup> [He is styled *śra-Dēcha*, 'the *Dēcha* of (this) village.'—E. H.]

<sup>5</sup> No. 255 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

54; K. 55=M. 44; K. 56=M. 57; K. 57=M. 59; K. 58=M. 58; K. 59=M. 60. M. 56, which is only a repetition of v. 37, occurs in K. once only. In neither case any principle seems to have been followed in arranging the verses. Under these circumstances I have thought it unnecessary to publish in full the text of this inscription; but I have given all the various readings which it presents in the notes on the text of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.

The last verse records that in the Śaka year to be counted by the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1438), the minister Appa built a plastered hall (*maṇḍapa*) at the temple of Agastyaśa at Nallapāṭi. Nallapāṭi, the Nelapadu of the map, is 15 miles north of Guṇṭūr. According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 75, there are several temples in that village. The map shows another Nallapadu 4 miles west of Guṇṭūr, but no remains of temples seem to exist at this place.

A.—Maṅgalagiri Pillar Inscription.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

First Face.

- 1 शुभमस्तु ।[1\*] अथादादिवराहो वस्सरसामु-
- 2 दहन्महीं । निजांगसंगसंजातसांद्रखेदो-
- 3 दयामिव ।[1 १\*] कल्याणमाकलयतादयमादि-<sup>2</sup>
- 4 पोत्री धात्रीमुदरह्य<sup>3</sup> सरसां स रसातिरेकात् ।
- 5 संक्षेपसंभवमवशात्सहसा<sup>4</sup> निर्यच्छ<sup>5</sup> दंतेन
- 6 किंचिददुनोदधरं धरायाः<sup>6</sup> ।[1 २\*] उरसि निहितल-
- 7 ल्लीबाहुवल्लीयुगेन स्वकरयुगळमेकीकृत्य केली-
- 8 विनोदे । कुवलयदळदामानध्वमंदारमा-<sup>7</sup>
- 9 लां दधदिव वितनोतु श्रीकळां काकुळेशः ।[1 ३\*] श्रीरा-
- 10 मः[.]\* श्रियमातनोतु जगतां वेदांस्तवेद्यो ह-
- 11 रि<sup>8</sup> । ज्ञानानंतसदात्मकोपि मधवत्कार्याय मा-
- 12 यातनुः । यं दृष्ट्वा रिपवोपि रावणमुखाः का-
- 13 लावसाने दिवं याताः[.]\* श्रीहनुमद्विभीषणसु-
- 14 खा जाताः कृतार्था<sup>10</sup> भुवि ।[1 ४\*] प्रह्लादादिशिरोम-
- 15 णिच्छविरविप्रातर्भयूखारुणं भूषाठव-
- 16 <sup>11</sup>भिदक्षिरश्मिलहरीभृंगाळिशृंगारितं । मंजीर-
- 17 क्कणितैर्मराळवनितामंशुखनैरंचितं वंदे
- 18 रामपदारविंदमनघं वंदारुक्कलद्रुमं ।[1 ५\*]

<sup>1</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

<sup>2</sup> K. °साधि°.

<sup>3</sup> In K. the *anusvāra* of °संभव° is written twice.

<sup>4</sup> K. दरायाः, but perhaps corrected.

<sup>5</sup> K. वेदांत°.

<sup>6</sup> Read कृतार्था, as correctly in K.

<sup>7</sup> Read °मुद्रह्य, as correctly in K.

<sup>8</sup> Read निर्यच्छ.

<sup>9</sup> Read °नह°.

<sup>10</sup> Read रिपवो, as correctly in K.

<sup>11</sup> Read निदक्षरश्मि°.

- 19 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथशिरोमणिः । राज-  
 20 न्यचूळिकारजनोराजितपदांशुजः ।[ ६\*] श्रीकृष्णचित्ति-  
 21 पालदत्तमणिभिर्विहङ्गवीणां गृह्णा नानारत्न-  
 22 विचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः । अम्भिः<sup>१</sup>  
 23 केवलनीरपूरनिलयसंभाव्यते सज्जनैः । रं.<sup>२</sup>  
 24 भोधिर्जलधिः पयोधिरुदधिर्वासां निधिर्वारिधिः ।[ ७\*]  
 25 आत्मानं रिपुदंतिनामरिपशौर्यपुष्पमोका-  
 26 ध्वरे वैरिखांतनिखातशंकुदितो दीपः प्रता-  
 27 पांकुरः । पाताळाध्वरणी<sup>३</sup> वराहपुषो दं-  
 28 द्रा विभिद्योदता श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपस्य भाति विजय-  
 29 स्तंभः कळिंगांगणे ।[ ८\*] महाप्रधान<sup>४</sup> श्रीसाङ्गवति-<sup>५</sup>  
 30 अस्मच्चिवमेखरः । श्रीकृष्णरायनृपतेस्त्वाम्नाम्भ-  
 31 मधितिष्ठति ।[ ९\*] श्रीसाङ्गवतिस्मसचिवः<sup>६</sup> कौडिन्यकुल-  
 32 शेखरः । वेमयामात्यतनयराचयामात्य-  
 33 नंदनः<sup>७</sup> ।[ १०\*] विद्मो<sup>८</sup> नैकं<sup>९</sup> विशेषं वितरन्मभिर्भवेर्विहङ्ग-  
 34 सराणां पद्मावासीविलासैः प्रगुणमखिगणैः  
 35 पद्मलासीसहस्रैः । रम्यप्रासादहर्षैरतुल-  
 36 परिकरैरग्नहस्तादियानैस्त्वाम्यत्नेभ्यो विशेषं  
 37 समरविजयतस्त्वाम्भवेति<sup>१०</sup> नूनं ।[ ११\*] पंकप्रवे-  
 38 शपरिमार्जनलज्जया किं पंकेरुहालयम-  
 39 पास्य भवन्मुखाभं । पद्माधितिष्ठति सह क्षुपया  
 40 च वाण्या चौहत्तमज्ञ चतुरानन साङ्गवतिं-<sup>११</sup>  
 41 म् ।[ १२\*] सप्तांगोपेतशक्तिचितयचतुरपायै-  
 42 कमन्त्रीयसाङ्गवे तिम्राख्ये कौडवीट्यां गजप-  
 43 तिनिहितान् राजहंसान् गृहीत्वा । धाटी-  
 44 माटीकमाने परनृपतिखगाः क्षुत्पिपासाति-  
 45 खिन्नाः शकाब्दान् मार्गयन्ते गिरिपुरजलधि-  
 46 स्मासु गूढं प्रसीनाः ।[ १३\*] १४३७ शकाब्दात् ।[\*] सुगु-

<sup>१</sup> Read अम्भिः.<sup>२</sup> Read सज्जनैरं.<sup>३</sup> Read पातालाध्वरणी; in K. a small *anustotra* has been added afterwards.<sup>४</sup> K. महाप्रधान; read महाप्रधानः.<sup>५</sup> K. श्रीसाङ्गवतिम्.<sup>६</sup> K. श्रीसाङ्गवतिम्.<sup>७</sup> K. यामा । लनंहनः.<sup>८</sup> In K. between the *d* and *m* of विद्मो the subscript sign for *t* has been inserted.<sup>९</sup> The *anustotra* is very small, and has been inserted afterwards.<sup>१०</sup> K. °तिम्भस्य.<sup>११</sup> K. °तिम्भ.

- 47 ढंप्रलीनाः अक्ष[र\*]संज्ञ<sup>1</sup> ।[1\*] साळुवांकशकवत्सरग-  
 48 ष्ठाषाढशुद्धहरिवासरसौरौ<sup>2</sup> । साळ्वतिम्भसचि-  
 49 वेन गृहीतं कौडवीटिनगरं नगराजं ।[1 १४\*] सा-  
 50 ळुवांक अक्षरसंज्ञ । १४३७ शकवर्षालु ।[1\*] पु-  
 51 चारामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधि का-  
 52 थं चेह पपरत्र<sup>3</sup> सौख्यजनकाखंतानकाख-  
 53 म तान् । भावत्तान् गणनातिवर्तिं कृतवानासितु-  
 54 शीताचलं श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपालमौळिसचिव[:\*] श्रीसा-  
 55 ळ्वतिम्भप्रभुः ।[1 १५\*] कौशिकान्वयसंभूतो ना-  
 56 दिंडुकुलशेखरः । अस्ति 'तिम्भयमंत्रीशबन्ध-<sup>4</sup>  
 57 यात्मविवेकधीः ।[1 १६\*] कृष्णांबारुंधती ख्याता  
 58 भर्तृवाक्यमरुंधती । अनसूयैव सर्व-  
 59 च सानसूयेति गण्यते ॥ [१७\*]

## Second Face.

- 60 नादिंडुतिम्भयामात्यः कळुत्री  
 61 कृष्णसांब्या । तत्पुत्रावप्य-  
 62 'यामात्यगोपयामात्यशेखरी ।[1 १८\*]  
 63 श्रीसाळ्वतिम्भसचिवभागिनेयौ कु-  
 64 लोद्वहौ । नादिंडुयप्ययामा-  
 65 त्यगोपयामात्यशेखरी ।[1 १९\*] अप्यो  
 66 नादिंडुयप्यस्तावाप्यमूर्ति-  
 67 प्रचेतसौ । पश्चिमोदन्वदोशनद-  
 68 क्षिणोदन्वदोशरी ।[1 २०\*] श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपा-  
 69 च तिम्भसचिवात्यक्षकिका<sup>5</sup> चाम-  
 70 रे ।<sup>6</sup> चत्रं<sup>7</sup> यो विनिकौडगुत्तिकनक-  
 71 स्माभृत्युराद्यक्षतां<sup>8</sup> । मत्तभाख-  
 72 पदातिसंकुलमहासेनाधिपत्यं  
 73 महत्तद्राज्यैकधुरंधरत्वमग-  
 74 मनादिंडुयप्यप्रभुः ।[1 २१\*] जंभ-

<sup>1</sup> K. अक्षरसंज्ञ.<sup>2</sup> K. तिम्भय<sup>०</sup>.<sup>3</sup> Read 'किका'.<sup>4</sup> K. कृष्ण; read कृष्ण.<sup>5</sup> Read 'शरी'; K. 'सौरा.<sup>6</sup> Read 'चित्रं', as correctly in K.<sup>7</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>8</sup> Read 'राज्यक्षता', as correctly in K.<sup>9</sup> Read पपरत्र, as corrected in K.<sup>10</sup> K. यामत्यकी<sup>०</sup>.

- 75 द्विदुम्भिकुम्भद्वयसचिवग्रची-  
 76 चास्वद्वयेजकुम्भव्यक्तव्याप्तानु-<sup>1</sup>  
 77 लिप्तप्रसृमरमसृणक्षोदकर्पू-  
 78 रपूरः । यत्कीर्तिः<sup>2</sup> कार्तिर्केदुं<sup>3</sup> प-  
 79 रिहसति निजैः 'खेतमाद्वैतवादै-  
 80 क्षीयं नादिङ्गुय्यप्रभुम-  
 81 णिरखिलस्तुत्यकीर्तिप्रतापः ।[ २२\* ] य-  
 82 'ध्वाटीघोटकोटीखरखुरदम्बित-  
 83 क्ष्मातलोशूतधूमीपाळोपाता-<sup>4</sup>  
 84 ऋकेळोक्तधरणितले खड्गयुग्यस्य  
 85 बाहुः । जिह्वालाभोलभूष-  
 86 हुजगपतिरिव प्रेक्ष्यते युध्वरं-<sup>5</sup>  
 87 ने क्षीयं नादिङ्गुय्यप्रभु-  
 88 रवनिभराक्रांतबाहुप्रतिष्ठः ।[ २३\* ]  
 89 गोपो नादिङ्गुगोपश्च तुल्यवि-  
 90 ति कथं स्तुमः । एकसंतानवा-<sup>6</sup>  
 91 न्पूर्वक्षसंतानवान् परः ।[ २४\* ] ए-  
 92 के चाद्याविता<sup>7</sup> ये वितरणनिगमा-  
 93 न् वेधसा सिंधुचंद्रमाया जा-  
 94 द्यं प्रपन्नाः कति च पशुदृषदाह-  
 95 जात्यातिमूढाः । धत्ते चाद्याप-<sup>8</sup>  
 96 यंस्तान्वितरणनिगमान् गोप-  
 97 यार्यः<sup>11</sup> करेभ्यं कल्पद्रुं कामधे-  
 98 नुं हृदि वदनदृशोसंद्रचिंता-  
 99 मणी च ।[ २५\* ] <sup>12</sup>यहैरिखोणिपालप्रकर-  
 100 पुरमहाचंद्रमालागृहंतः[\*]-<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'वक्षीज', as correctly in K.

<sup>2</sup> K. यत्कीर्ति.

<sup>3</sup> Read कार्तिर्केदुं.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'खेतमा'.

<sup>5</sup> Read ध्वाटी.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the actual reading is 'क्षीयसंतान', as in K.

<sup>7</sup> Read युध्वरं; the *anusedra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>8</sup> K. 'संतान'.

<sup>9</sup> Read चाद्याविता, as correctly in K.

<sup>10</sup> Read चाद्याप, as correctly in K.

<sup>11</sup> Originally ख had been engraved instead of यं, but it seems to have been corrected.

<sup>12</sup> The रि has possibly been corrected out of दि.

<sup>13</sup> K. 'गृहंत'.

- 101 श्रीखंडस्तंभकुंभद्वजगपतिद्व-<sup>1</sup>  
 102 ढालोढदेहार्कवाहाः । मूर्च्छ-  
 103 ओहा[:\*] खलंतः<sup>2</sup> सपदि गतविषा  
 104 वेनतेयेन सद्यो धोमार्गं यां-<sup>3</sup>  
 105 ति सोयं दिनमणिविनुतो भा-  
 106 ति नादिङ्गुगोपः ॥ [२६\*] श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपा-  
 107 लमौळिसचिव[:\*] श्रीसाळ्वतिष्मप्रभु-  
 108 र्जामातर्यवरे धुरंधरवहे<sup>4</sup> श्री-  
 109 गोपमंजोश्वरे । 'प्राधत्ताखिलकी'-<sup>5</sup>  
 110 डवोटिनगरीसाम्राज्यरीरेय-<sup>7</sup>  
 111 कां<sup>8</sup> सत्तेभाश्वपदातिसैन्यकलितां<sup>9</sup>  
 112 पञ्चकिंकां चामरे ।[ २७\*] श्रीकृष्णरा-  
 113 यनरनाथशिरःप्रतानश्रीसाळ्व-<sup>10</sup>  
 114 तिष्मसचिवेश्वरभागिनेयः । ना-  
 115 दिङ्गुगोपसचिवो नयतत्ववे-<sup>11</sup>  
 116 दी श्रीकोडवोटिनगरैकधुरंधरो-  
 117 [भू]त् ।[ २८\*] राघवायगणिते शकव-  
 118 [र्षे] राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्यां ।<sup>12</sup>  
 119 वप्रगोपुरमयेर्नव[ह\*]म्यैर्गो-<sup>13</sup>  
 120 पमंचितिलकेन सपर्याः<sup>14</sup> ॥ [२९\*]

## Third Face.

- 121 राघवाय १४४२ अक्षरसंज्ञ ।[\*] शाकाब्दे पु-  
 122 रवेदवार्धिशशिभिर्गण्ये<sup>6</sup> हषे वत्सरे फाल्गुन्यां  
 123 विधुवासरे शुभदिने श्रीकोडवोटीपुरे । नादि-  
 124 ङ्गान्वयगोपमंचितिलक[:\*] श्रीसाळ्वतिष्मप्रभोर्जा-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'भयंभुजगपतिद्व', as correctly in K.

<sup>2</sup> The subscript sign which I have read & is rather indistinct, and may be meant for something else ; in K., however, the reading ख is quite certain.

<sup>3</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> Read धुरंधरवरे.

<sup>5</sup> Read प्राधत्ता.

<sup>6</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'व्यघरीरेय', as correctly in K.

<sup>8</sup> Read कां, as in K., where तां seems to have been corrected out of कां.

<sup>9</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>10</sup> K. 'प्रधान'; read 'प्रधान'.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'तत्ववे'.

<sup>12</sup> The *anusudra* and the sign of punctuation stand at the beginning of the next line ; K. 'ताचपुर्यां'.

<sup>13</sup> K. 'वह्ये'.

<sup>14</sup> Read सपर्या, as correctly in K.

<sup>15</sup> K. 'वार्दिष'.

- 125 माता रघुनायकस्य कृतवान् सम्यक्प्रतिष्ठावि-  
 126 धिं ।[। ३०\*] सुप्रोवलक्षणविभोषणजांभवद्विश्व-  
 127 युक्तभरतेन हनूमता च । सीतापतिं सप-  
 128 रिवारकमंगदेन रामं च गोपसचिवोक्तत सु-  
 129 प्रतिष्ठं ।[। ३१\*] सीतारामसमन्विता सभरता चैषा  
 130 ह्ययोध्या तता<sup>१</sup> शत्रुघ्राधिकलक्षणा विजय-  
 131 ते श्रीक्रीडवीटोपुरी । सुप्रोवो हनुमान्विभीष-<sup>२</sup>  
 132 ण इह श्रीजांभवत्वंगदो<sup>३</sup> रामं सावरणं प्र-  
 133 तिष्ठितमताच्चादिङ्गुगोपप्रभुः<sup>४</sup> ।[। ३२\*] श्रीक्रीडवीटि-  
 134 पुरिनायक रामचंद्रः<sup>५</sup> किं चंद्रकां<sup>६</sup> समधि-  
 135 गत्य शशः कर्ककः । आयाति यावदिति साङ्गव-  
 136 केतनत्वं धत्ते न चेत्कृत इदं गङ्गध्वजस्य ।[। ३३\*] हा-  
 137 सतत्यधिकां नियोगकलनां कर्तुं बुधमा-  
 138 मिणीः<sup>७</sup> । श्रीमत्साङ्गवराधवाय महितो ना-  
 139 दिङ्गुगोपप्रभुः । प्रादादुबुवनामकं सु-  
 140 फलितं सीमाचतुष्कान्वितं<sup>८</sup> ।<sup>९</sup> सर्वाक्रांततया<sup>१०</sup>  
 141 समस्तमासमाष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं<sup>११</sup> ।[। ३४\*] सालिवा-  
 142 हनशकांकयुवादे सालिवाहनसमोष्-  
 143 यमं चो । साङ्गवतिश्वसचिवाद्दुदवापत्की-  
 144 डवीटिनगराधिपलक्ष्मी ।[। ३५\*] शाकादे नववह्निवा-  
 145 धिं वसुधागणेश्वरे वल्लरे सुचेनं विनिक्रीड-  
 146 कृत्तिसरितोर्मये<sup>१२</sup> कियन्मात्रतः । कृत्वा ग्राम-  
 147 वरं तटाककलितं चाप्यापुरास्थाश्वितं ।<sup>१३</sup> प्रा-  
 148 दादंगडिगोपिनाथहरये नादिङ्गुयण्य-  
 149 प्रभुः ।[। ३६\*] अनंतगोपिनाथाय<sup>१४</sup> रीपिचर्जनवा-  
 150 सिने । प्रादाक्षीपवरं ग्रामं नादिङ्गुयण्य-

<sup>१</sup> Read तथा, as correctly in K.

<sup>२</sup> K. हनुमावि°.

<sup>३</sup> Read श्रीजांभवत्वंगदो or श्रीजांभवत्वंगदो or श्रीजांभवत्वंगदो.

<sup>४</sup> Read °महाप्रा°, as probably corrected in K.

<sup>५</sup> K. पुरना°; read °चंद्र.

<sup>६</sup> Read चंद्रकां, as correctly in K.

<sup>७</sup> Read सणीः, as correctly in K.; the following sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

<sup>८</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

<sup>९</sup> K. °क्रांततया.

<sup>१०</sup> Read °समसमा°, as correctly in K.

<sup>११</sup> Read °मये, as correctly in K.

<sup>१२</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>१३</sup> K. अनंत°.

- 151 मंविराट् ।[। ३७\*] महेरेलपुरमाधविदेवै वप्रमि-<sup>1</sup>  
 152 द्रजलदीदुगशाके<sup>2</sup> । पैणिम<sup>3</sup>मदिशत्पू-<sup>3</sup>  
 153 र्णै ग्राममावसुधमप्यमंको ।[। ३८\*] ब्रह्मा-  
 154 स्निवेदशशिगण्यशकेश्वरेन्दे नादिङ्गुयप्पसचिवो वि-  
 155 निकोडदुर्गे । रामेश्वराय घनमटपवप्र-  
 156 सौधारम्यालय<sup>4</sup> समतनोत्तमतारसन्नः ।[। ३९\*]  
 157 'शकेशवज्जिनिगमैदुगदातृवै<sup>5</sup> नादिङ्गुति-<sup>7</sup>  
 158 म्मसचित्रात्मभवाप्ययार्यः । श्रीकारनामस-  
 159 रिदंतिकनंदिपाटिग्रामे शिवालयमनर्घ-  
 160 मसावज्ञार्णीत् ॥ [४०\*] स्वच्छस्वच्छनखावळिच्छविशिखाके-  
 161 क्कोमराळोद्धतं भूषोद्भासिभुजंगपुंगवल-  
 162 लक्ष्माळाम्णाशान्वितं<sup>8</sup> । वैरिवातशिरोमिळिंद-  
 163 वनितासंदीहसंभानितं ।<sup>9</sup> वंदे दक्षमखा-  
 164 रिपादकमलं वृंदारवृंदार्चितं ।[। ४१\*] दक्षप्र-  
 165 जापतेर्मूर्धा मेघमूर्धायते क्षणात्<sup>10</sup> । यद्दीरकरुणा-  
 166 वैशाख वो वीरेश्वरोवतं<sup>11</sup> ।[। ४२\*] शाकाब्दे निधिरामवेदध-  
 167 रणीगण्येश्वरे वत्सरे यावत्थां विनिकोडशीमनि<sup>12</sup> सु-  
 168 दालिप्तं<sup>13</sup> शिलामंटपं । ग्रामे नूतुलपाटि-  
 169 नामनि महावीरेश्वरायादिशत् लक्ष्मोनायकसा-<sup>14</sup>  
 170 ऋवतिम्मविभवे<sup>15</sup> नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुः ।[। ४३\*] शाकाब्दे गग-  
 171 नादिवेदधरणीगण्ये<sup>16</sup> च संवत्सरे विख्याते बहु-  
 172 दान्यनामनि<sup>17</sup> महात्मादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुः । क्रां-  
 173 जागस्वमहेश्वराय विपुलं रम्यं महामं-  
 174 टपं लक्ष्मोनायकसाऋवतिम्मविभवे पुण्याय क्त-

<sup>1</sup> The *gudi* has been added afterwards; the *anuvada* stands at the beginning of the next line; K. indistinct.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'जलपीद', as correctly in K.

<sup>3</sup> K. indistinct; read 'अपरिपू-'.  
<sup>4</sup> Read 'सौधारम्या'.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'शकेशव', as correctly in K.  
<sup>6</sup> Read 'नधात', as correctly in K.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'शकेशव', as correctly in K.  
<sup>8</sup> K. 'तिम्'.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'मखाखान्वित'.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'संभानित', as probably correctly in K. The sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

<sup>11</sup> For the *aksharas* जाप to क्षणा something else seems to have been originally engraved.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'वत्स', as correctly in K.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'उसीमनि', as correctly in K.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'दालिप्त', as correctly in K.

<sup>15</sup> Read 'महात्मा'.

<sup>16</sup> K. 'तिम्', or perhaps 'तिम्'.

<sup>17</sup> Read 'नामनिवेद'.

<sup>18</sup> Read 'धान्य', as correctly in K.; वा has been corrected from वा.

- 175 त्वादिशत् ॥ [४४\*] निधिवक्त्रिनिगमन्मागस्थशाकेश्वरादे प्रभु-  
 176 वरविनिर्कोडादोशनादिङ्गुयपः । निजजनकजन-  
 177 व्योर्निस्त्वैकुंठसिधौ<sup>१</sup> करणिककरमेरान्<sup>२</sup> सर्वमान्या-  
 178 नकार्णीत् । [४५\*] शाकादे निधिवक्त्रिवेदधरणीगस्थेश्वरे वक्ष-  
 179 रे आवस्थां विभुवास्तरे शुभदिने<sup>३</sup> नादिङ्गुयपप्र-  
 180 सुः । प्रादाभ्यक्षवरापहारमचलं सर्वधिसंपू-<sup>४</sup>  
 181 रितं तद्गामाधिपचनकेश्वरमानाथाय बो-  
 182 धात्मने । [४६\*] शाकादे निधिवक्त्रिवेदधरणीगस्थेश्वरे वक्ष-  
 183 रे वैशाखां विनिर्कोडनामनि पुरे रम्यं मन्त्रा-

## Fourth Face.

- 184 मंठपं । प्रादादंगडिगोपिनाथ-  
 185 हरये प्राकारमस्तुततं लक्ष्मीना-  
 186 यकसाङ्गवतिभविभवे<sup>५</sup> नादिङ्गुय-  
 187 पप्रभुः । [४७\*] महेरालपुरमाधवदेव्यै<sup>६</sup> [व\*]प्र-<sup>७</sup>  
 188 सुकृततरं प्रविधाय । नागवक्त्रिज-  
 189 लक्ष्मीदुगयाके वर्ये एनमदितोप्यय-<sup>८</sup>  
 190 मन्त्रो । [४८\*] शाकादे वसुवक्त्रिवेदधरणी वर्ये  
 191 च दावाङ्ग्यै<sup>९</sup> नादिङ्गुपपदातुक-  
 192 रमखिलं कृत्वा स्वयं विप्रसात् । सं-<sup>१०</sup>  
 193 ध्यास्मानवपात्रिकादिविधये तभ्य-  
 194 स्मटाकं<sup>११</sup> महत्<sup>१२</sup> शास्त्रारामवरेक्षुसा-  
 195 धनमदाकादिङ्गुयपप्रभुः<sup>१३</sup> । [४९\*] उ-  
 196 त्पुञ्जोत्पुञ्जोत्पुञ्जमलवनमिच्छाजर्ज-<sup>१४</sup>  
 197 सायतंसं क्रौञ्चारिप्रौञ्चकक्रम-  
 198 गतिमिधुनक्रौञ्चखिलामनोञ्च<sup>१५</sup> । पा-  
 199 रावारांशकारं तटपुटघटितोत्ता-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'सिधौ'; K. illegible.

<sup>२</sup> The third क of this word is expressed by the old sign. K. seems to read 'ककर' by correction.

<sup>३</sup> K. सुभ<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>४</sup> Read सर्वधि<sup>०</sup>; K. illegible.

<sup>५</sup> K. probably 'तिष्ठ'.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'माधवि'.

<sup>७</sup> K. वप्र<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>८</sup> Read 'वर्य' एनमदितोप्यय-; in K. probably corrected.

<sup>९</sup> Read 'दावा', as correctly in K.

<sup>१०</sup> The anusvara stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>११</sup> Read 'स्मटाकं', as correctly in K.

<sup>१२</sup> Read 'महत्'.

<sup>१३</sup> K. धनमदाका<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>१४</sup> Read 'रुद्रो'.

<sup>१५</sup> The anusvara stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>१६</sup> Read 'मिधुन', as correctly in K.

- 200 लतालं तटाकं कृत्वा नादिङ्गुयप्पप्र-  
 201 भुरक्तततरां विप्रसादातुकूरीः<sup>1</sup> [॥ ५०\*]  
 202 शाकाब्दे गजराजवादिमहिषी दाया-<sup>2</sup>  
 203 ख्यवर्षे घनं प्रासादं भवईमकुं-<sup>3</sup>  
 204 भकलितं रम्यं महामंटपं । श्रीमन्-<sup>4</sup>  
 205 गळ्ळैलनाथहरये. नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभु-<sup>5</sup>  
 206 श्रीमं मंगळ्ळैलनामकमपि प्रादात्<sup>6</sup>  
 207 नृसिंहाय च । [॥ ५१\*] शाकाब्दे ब्रह्मवर्जिभु-  
 208 तिग्रिगणिते सेवराख्ये वर्षे<sup>7</sup> रेटूरिग्राम-<sup>8</sup>  
 209 श्रीमन्भवभुतिकलनानिर्मिताप्यापुरा-  
 210 ख्यं । दत्त्वा<sup>10</sup> ग्रामं द्विजेभ्यस्तदुपकृतिकृते शा-  
 211 विसखादिसिद्धी<sup>11</sup> प्रादात्नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुमचि-  
 212 रुदधिप्रस्थमेकं तटाकं । [॥ ५२\*] अप्यापुरे वार्दिसम-  
 213 स्तटाक<sup>12</sup> पद्माकरोयं द्विजराजवासः । यन्ने<sup>13</sup> वनं  
 214 चाच्युतशालिधाम श्रीजे पयःपूर्णत-  
 215 या नदीक<sup>14</sup> । [॥ ५३\*] नादिङ्गुसीणि कियतीमव-  
 216 युत्वा भूमिमप्यापुरं च विरचा-<sup>15</sup>  
 217 ख्यं तटाकयुक्तं<sup>16</sup> [॥ ५४\*] नादिङ्गुयप्पस-  
 218 [चि]वीदितं तद्विजेभ्यो<sup>17</sup> ब्रह्माग्निवार्धि-  
 219 ग्रामिशाकगुणेश्वरेन्द्रे ॥ [५४\*] शाकाब्दे निधिरा-  
 220 मवेदधरणीगच्छेश्वरे वत्सरे यैर्षू-  
 221 रादतयुत्वा<sup>18</sup> भूमिसुचितां प-  
 222 द्माकरासंस्तुतं । ग्रामं केसरिपाटि-  
 223 पुटिदशकप्रायं विधायादिग्रामे-  
 224 [च]यैर्मङ्गलारसिंहहरये ना-  
 225 [दि]ङ्गुयप्पप्रभुः । [॥ ५५\*] अमन्तनोपिना-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'कूरी', as correctly in K.<sup>2</sup> Read 'शार्दिमहिषी दाया', as correctly in K.<sup>3</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>4</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>5</sup> K. inserts a superfluous sign of punctuation after 'प्रभु'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'प्रादात्'.<sup>7</sup> Read 'वर्षे च वर्षे', as correctly in K.<sup>8</sup> K. 'रेटूरि'.<sup>9</sup> Read 'सीम', as correctly in K.<sup>10</sup> Read 'दत्त्वा'.<sup>11</sup> K. 'विषी'; read 'विषी'.<sup>12</sup> Read 'वार्दिसमस्तटाकः', as correctly in K.<sup>13</sup> Read 'यन्ने'.<sup>14</sup> Read 'नदीकः', as correctly in K.<sup>15</sup> Read 'विरचा', as correctly in K.<sup>16</sup> K. 'युक्तं'.<sup>17</sup> K. 'वार्दिमहिषी'; read 'वार्दिमहिषी'.<sup>18</sup> Read 'रावण'.<sup>19</sup> Read 'पुटि'.

- 226 [या]य रोप्यचर्लनिवासिने । प्रादाद्भी-  
 227 पवरं ग्रामं नादिङ्गुय्यमचि-  
 228 राट्<sup>1</sup> । [॥ ५६\*] शाकाब्दे वसुवह्निवेदधरणीग-  
 229 ष्ठे च दाचब्दे<sup>2</sup> वैशाखां विनिकोडसो-  
 230 मनि सुधो<sup>3</sup> नादिङ्गुय्यप्रभुः । वा-  
 231 [सि]ठाय च भर्तृपूडिमखिलं ग्रामं<sup>4</sup>  
 232 खनामांकितं प्रादाद्रायण-<sup>5</sup>  
 233 भास्कराय<sup>6</sup> निधुषेष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं [॥ ५७\*]  
 234 शाकाब्दे गजवह्निवेदग्रशिगे<sup>7</sup> वर्षे च दा-  
 235 चाब्दे<sup>8</sup> यावण्यां विनिकोडसोज्जि<sup>9</sup>  
 236 कृतधोर्नादिङ्गुय्यप्रभुः । येच-  
 237 राववयुत्य गोपपुरमित्थाख्यं [दि]-  
 238 जेभ्यादिश<sup>10</sup> ग्रामं केसरिपाटिपुटिदश[क]-<sup>11</sup>  
 239 प्रायं तटाकोज्ज्वलं<sup>12</sup> ॥ [ ५८\*] शाकाब्दे निधिरां-<sup>13</sup>  
 240 मवगांधरणीगष्टेक्षरे वत्सरे कार्तिकां<sup>14</sup>  
 241 विनिकोडसोज्जि सुकती नादिङ्गुय्य-  
 242 प्रभुः । प्रादाधनवराभिदं<sup>15</sup> च सकलं  
 243 ग्रामं खनामांकितं कौडिभ्यान्व-  
 244 ययूरदेचविदुषेष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वितं<sup>17</sup>  
 245 । [॥ ५९\*] यावज्जुसुतानियंनकासुता-<sup>18</sup>  
 246 श्रीसंज्ञपुत्रीपय[:\*]पूरास्ते पुनते भु-  
 247 वं च सकलां श्रीकोडवीटोपुरीं । या-  
 248 वत्काव्यसुधांशुरागिलहरोहेलां  
 249 विधत्ते कविस्तावत्साकुवतिभ्यकोर्तिशति-

<sup>1</sup> This verse is a repetition of v. 37, and occurs in K. once only.

<sup>2</sup> K. चाचब्दे । ; read चाचब्दे.

<sup>3</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> Read विदुषे, as correctly in K. <sup>7</sup> K. वैधय.

<sup>5</sup> K. कोडसोज्जि.

<sup>10</sup> K. जेभ्यादिश ; read जेभ्यादिशद्वा.

<sup>11</sup> Read पुटि ; in K. a very small ट् seems to have been added afterwards.

<sup>12</sup> Read कोज्ज्वलं.

<sup>13</sup> K. निधिरा.

<sup>14</sup> K. रे । का ; read कार्तिका.

<sup>15</sup> K. प्रादाद्वं ; read प्रादाधनवराभिधं.

<sup>16</sup> K. perhaps देव.

<sup>17</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>18</sup> In K. the वा of the first सुता appears to have been corrected from some other *akṣara* ; विवाचक, perhaps corrected.

<sup>19</sup> In K. the *visarga* was inserted afterwards ; read श्रीसुधा.

<sup>6</sup> Read सुधीर्ना, as correctly in K.

<sup>8</sup> K. दावा.

<sup>9</sup> K. चाचव्य । ; read चाचव्ये.

- 250 का 'पुण्यत्वजसं भुवि ॥ [६०\*] श्रीकृष्णचोषिपा-  
 251 लप्रचुरतरमहाराज्यधीरेयनो-  
 252 तिप्रागल्भ्यस्मात्कृतिमप्रभुवरति-  
 253 लको राचयामात्यसूतः । आचं-<sup>3</sup>  
 254 द्रादित्यतारस्थिरतरमदिशक्तो-<sup>4</sup>  
 255 वृकावूरिनामख्यातपामं<sup>5</sup> चि-  
 256 कूटेश्वरनिटलदूरी विश्वलोकेश्वरा-  
 257 य ॥ [६१\*] श्री श्री श्री जेयुनु<sup>6</sup> ॥

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Let there be prosperity !

(Verse 1.) May the primeval boar protect you, he who lifted the earth that was wet as if it *(were a woman that had fallen in love with him)* and were in violent perspiration on account of the touching of his body !

(V. 2.) Let this primeval boar devise what is propitious ! When he had lifted the wet earth from the flood of water, he held it with great force for fear lest it should slip down,<sup>7</sup> and *(thereby)* hurt a little the lower part of it with his tusk *(like a lover who, when he has lifted his mistress in excess of passion, bewildered by the contact with her body, squeezes her with great force and inflicts a little wound to her lower lip with his tooth)*.

(V. 3.) The lord of Kākula who, in love's wanton sports, interlacing his own *(blue)* hands with the tender *(white)* arms of Lakshmi clinging to his chest, wears, as it were, a garland of *mandāra* flowers<sup>8</sup> entwined with strings of leaves of the blue water-lily, — may he exhibit the skill of fortune !

(V. 4.) The holy Rāma *(who is identical with)* Hari, who may be known from the Vēdānta;<sup>10</sup> who, though his nature is knowledge, without end,<sup>11</sup> and existence, yet, in order to perform the duties of Maghavat,<sup>12</sup> wears an illusory body ; at whose sight even his enemies, such as Rāvaṇa and the rest, went to heaven<sup>13</sup> at the end of their time, and others, such as Hanumat and Vibhishana, felt perfect satisfaction on earth, — let him grant welfare to the worlds !

(V. 5.) I do homage to the sinless lotus-like foot of Rāma, the tree of desires to those who worship it, which is reddened by the splendour of the crest-jewels of Indra and the other

<sup>1</sup> Read पुण्यत्वजसं.

<sup>2</sup> The following verse is not in K.

<sup>3</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> The subscript sign of the first *akṣara* of this line is very indistinct.

<sup>5</sup> For the reading of K. see the text.

<sup>6</sup> Both here and in the next verse the boar and the earth are represented as two lovers, and the words have to be taken in a double meaning.

<sup>7</sup> Literally, 'on account of the unsteadiness of the contact.'

<sup>8</sup> As Lakshmi is represented as being of white or golden colour, *mandāra* seems to be used here as a name of the white variety of *Calotropis Gigantea*, not of the scarlet-flowering *Erythrina Indica*.

<sup>10</sup> Compare *Vēdānta-sūty-dīpan*. . . *Vishṇu* in l. 185 of the Pithāpuram inscription of Prithivīvara ; above, Vol. IV. p. 46.

<sup>11</sup> I have translated *ananta*, as this is the reading of both inscriptions. But I think it not unlikely that *ananta* is a mistake for *duanda*. *jñāna-duanda-sat* corresponding to the well known *sach-chid-duanda* which in such texts as the *Rāmāyana-Upanishad* is frequently applied to Rāma-Vishṇu.

<sup>12</sup> *I.e.* Indra.

<sup>13</sup> *I.e.* obtained salvation.

(gods) bowing (before him) as (the lotus is reddened) by the early rays of the sun; which is embellished by the waves of light from the thunderbolt of the slayer of Vṛitra<sup>1</sup> as (the lotus is embellished) by flights of bees; and which is distinguished by the tinkling of its anklets as (the lotus is distinguished) by the sweet sounds of the female flamingoes.

(V. 6.) There is (a king) called the glorious Kṛishṇarāya, the head-ornament of kings, whose lotus-like feet are illuminated by the crest-jewels of princes.

(V. 7.) Through the precious stones presented by the glorious king Kṛishṇa the houses of the learned and the poets have pavements sparkling with jewels of different kinds, and have (thus) become jewel-mines;<sup>2</sup> veracious people (therefore) speak of the ocean which is (now) only a receptacle of floods of water (only in terms meaning water-receptacle, such) as ambhōdhih, juladhīh, payōdhih, udadhīh, vārām nidhih, vāridhih.

(V. 8.) In the court of Kālīṅga is seen the pillar of victory of the glorious king Kṛishṇa, (resembling) a stake for (tying) the elephants of his enemies, a post for (sacrificing) his foes in battle like cattle at a sacrifice, a shaft thrust into the hearts of his enemies, a lofty radiant shoot of splendour, the tusk of the boar-bodied (Viṣṇu) rising from the lower regions by piercing the earth.

(V. 9.) The great chancellor, the glorious Sālva-Timma, the best of ministers, rules the empire of the glorious king Kṛishṇarāya.

(V. 10.) The glorious minister Sālva-Timma, the best of the family of Kaundinya, is the son of the minister Rācha, the son of the minister Vēma.

(V. 11.) We are not aware that the leaders of the learned differ in any way (from Sālva-Timma) as to their wealth (obtained) by donations, their sports with Padmā<sup>3</sup> or Vāṇī,<sup>4</sup> the number of their excellent jewels, the thousands of their fair-eyed women, their beautiful mansions and palaces, their unequalled attendants or their carriages for horses, elephants, etc.; (but) verily, well we know how (in one thing) Sālva-Timma differs from them, for he is victorious in battle.

(V. 12.) Was it, because she was ashamed (of being obliged) to clean herself from the contact with the mud, that Padmā gave up the dwelling in the mud-born (lotus) and abides in the water-born (lotus) of thy face, together with her daughter-in-law Vāṇī,<sup>5</sup> O Sālva-Timma! (who on that account art both) Chaubattamella (and) Chaturānana?<sup>6</sup>

(V. 13.) When Sālva (or the hawk), surnamed Timma, the one chief minister on account of (his knowledge of) the four means and the three powers together with the seven constituents (of government),<sup>7</sup> after having captured the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati in Koṇḍavīṭṭi, is planning an attack, the hostile princes, secretly absconding, tormented by hunger and thirst, are searching for the Śaka years in the mountains (7), the towns (3),<sup>8</sup> the oceans (4) and the earth (1), (thus) resembling birds which, flying off unnoticed, tormented by hunger

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Indra.

<sup>2</sup> Or, oceans, *ratndkara* being a common term for ocean.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the goddess of riches.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the goddess of learning.

<sup>5</sup> Vāṇī (Sarasvatī) is called here the daughter-in-law of Padmā (Lakṣmī), because, as a rule, learning and wealth agree as little with each other as, according to Indian ideas, a mother-in-law with her daughter-in-law.

<sup>6</sup> Sarasvatī is generally supposed to dwell in the mouth of Chaturānana (Brahman), while Lakṣmī is the consort of Viṣṇu. Chaubattamella, therefore, seems to be used here as a name of Viṣṇu, though I do not find it mentioned anywhere else. *Chaubatta* seems to be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Chaturhastā*; compare *Chaturbhūja*, a common name of Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇu.

<sup>7</sup> The four means (*upāya*) are *dāna*, *dāna*, *bhēda*, and *dandā*; the three powers (*śakti*) are *prabhāva*, *śūdrha*, and *mantra*; the seven constituents of government (*aṅga*) are *śāmin*, *amātya*, *śūrya*, *kōśa*, *śāstra*, *durga*, and *bala*; compare *Amaratīkā*, II. 8, 17; 19; 20. The four numbers give the date 1437.

<sup>8</sup> I have found *pura* with the value of 3 only in the list of numerical words given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. It occurs in the same meaning in v. 30 below. *Pura* in this sense refers to the three cities built by Maya and destroyed by Śiva.

and thirst, are looking for herbs and (rain-giving) clouds in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth.<sup>1</sup>

(V. 14.) On Saturday, the Harivāsara of the bright half of the month Āshāḍha, to be counted in the Śaka year marked by Sāluva (Sāluvaṅka), the town of Koṇḍaviṭi, the excellent hill-fort,<sup>2</sup> was taken by the minister Sāḷva-Timma.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 15.) (The procreation of) a son, (the planting of) a grove, (the construction of) a tank, (the consecration of) a temple, the marriage (of a girl) to a Brāhmaṇ, (the hoarding of) a treasure, and (the composition of) a poem are the seven *samīdanaka* acts which cause happiness in this world and in the next one; the glorious lord Sāḷva-Timma, the prime-minister of the glorious king Kṛishṇa, has so often performed them, from the Bridge to the snowy mountain, that one cannot count them.<sup>4</sup>

(V. 16.) There is, born in the lineage of Kauśika, the best of the family of Nādiṇḍla, an excellent minister, Timma, who has the true knowledge of him whose nature is intelligence.<sup>5</sup>

(V. 17.) Kṛishṇāmbā, renowned as Arundhati,<sup>6</sup> because she does not oppose (*arundhati*) the command of her husband, is regarded as Anasūyā, because she is always free from spite (*anasūyā*).

(V. 18.) The minister Nādiṇḍla-Timma was married to Kṛishṇamāmbā; his sons were the excellent ministers Appa and Gōpa.

(V. 19.) The sister's sons of the glorious minister Sāḷva-Timma, who continued his family, were the excellent ministers Nādiṇḍla-Appa and (Nādiṇḍla-)Gōpa.

(V. 20.) Appa,<sup>7</sup> who manifests himself in the waters and (who bears the epithet) Praśhētas, and Nādiṇḍla-Appa, who is easily accessible<sup>8</sup> and intelligent, are the lords, the one of the western, and the other of the southern ocean.

<sup>1</sup> In order to remove any doubt about the meaning of the words *giri-pura-jaladhi-kshmdm gūḍham praitndh* an explanation has been inserted at the end of the stanza: 1 437 Śak-dōdā [1\*] *su gūḍham praitndh aksha[ra\*]-samyāna*, i.e. '1437 Śaka years; *su gūḍham praitndh* is a notation by letters.' We have therefore to take *s(u)* as 7, *g(ḍ)* as 8, *qā(ā)* as 4, and *p(ra)* as 1. There is a slight irregularity in the last *akshara*. According to the established usage, in groups of consonants the last consonant only counts (compare Burnell, *South-Indian Palaeography*, 2nd ed., p. 79), whereas in this case *p* must have been intended to express the numeral, *r* having the value of 2. As the reading *praitndh* is supported by both inscriptions as well as by the Koṇḍaviṭa inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), I have not ventured to alter the text, although the reading *praitnda* seems to me far better. In that case the meaning would be that the princes are searching for the Śaka years deeply hidden in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth, which, from an Indian point of view, would be an excellent pun, whereas in the text as it stands the words *gūḍham praitndh* are quite superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> With *naga-rājā* compare the terms *duṛggūḍha adrovaḥkṣmaḥ* and *giri-varaḥ* applied to a hill-fort in an inscription of the time of king Bukka; *South-Ind. Ins.* Vol. I. p. 167. The neuter form of the word, though not in accordance with grammar, is warranted also by the Koṇḍaviṭa inscription (compare p. 112, note 3).

<sup>3</sup> Here again, at the end of the stanza a gloss has been inserted, stating that *Sāḷvedhaka* is a chronogram: *Sāḷvedhaka akshara-samyāna* | 1437 Śaka-varāḍā. It appears that *s(ḍ)* is 7, *i(u)* 3, *v(ā)* 4, and *k(a)* 1. This again is not quite in accordance with the table given by Burnell, where *j* has the value of 9. The author of the inscription apparently looked upon *j* as equal to *ḍ* or *l*.

<sup>4</sup> The seven *samīdanas* or *samīdatis* are mentioned also in v. 24 below, in v. 43 of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription of Gaṇapati, above, Vol. III. p. 88, in v. 9 of the Vānapalli plates and v. 17 of the Naḍupūru plates of Anna-Vēma, *ibid.* pp. 61 and 289; compare the notes of Dr. Hultzsch on the first two passages.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* Rāma. With *chisamay-dīman* compare the epithets *jānu-danta-sad-dīmaka* and *bōdā-dīman* applied to Rāma in vv. 4 and 46.

<sup>6</sup> This would be the literal meaning of the passage, but the author did not want to say that Kṛishṇāmbā really was called Arundhati. In the Koṇḍaviṭa inscription (compare p. 112, note 3) *sānam* has therefore been substituted for *kāyāḍā*.

<sup>7</sup> *I.e.* Varuṇa.

<sup>8</sup> *Appa-mārti*, as applied to Nādiṇḍla-Appa, seems to mean 'whose person is obtainable,' i.e. 'who is easily accessible.'

(V. 21.) It was the lord Nādiṇḍla-Appa who obtained from the glorious king Kṛishṇa and the minister Timma (*the right to use*) a palanquin, two *chauris*<sup>1</sup> and a parasol, and the posts of superintendent of Vinikonda, Guttī, and the city on the golden mountain (Mēru),<sup>2</sup> of commander-in-chief of a large army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and of sole governor of that kingdom.

(V. 22.) (*The man*) whose fame—a swelling smooth cloud of pulverized camphor, anointing, covering and spreading on, the beautiful rounded breasts of Śachi<sup>3</sup> which resemble<sup>4</sup> the two frontal globes of the elephant of the slayer of Jambhā<sup>5</sup>—derides the moon in the month Kārttika by asserting that it has not its equals in whiteness,<sup>6</sup>—that man is this excellent lord Nādiṇḍla-Appa whose brilliant fame (*therefore*) is to be praised by all men.

(V. 23.) (*The man*) whose arm, when it brandishes a sword on the battle-field on the surface of the earth which he has made (*appear*) like the Pātāla world<sup>7</sup> by the clouds of dust whirled up from the ground crushed by the hard hoofs of millions of his war-horses, looks like the formidable licking lord of the serpents who supports the earth,—that man is this lord Nādiṇḍla-Appa whose arm (*therefore*) is the support on which the weight of the earth rests.

(V. 24.) How can we praise Gōpa and Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa as being alike to each other? (*For*) the former has (*only*) one *saṁtāna*, while the latter has seven of them.<sup>8</sup>

(V. 25.) Some, (*although they were*) taught the rules of donation by the creator, are dull (*or cold*), such as the ocean and the moon, and some are exceedingly stupid, because they belong to the class of cattle, stone or wood; (*but*) the honourable Gōpa, teaching them the rules of donation, carries in his hand the ocean, in his heart the tree of desires and the cow of wishes, in his face the moon, and in his eye the stone of desires.

(V. 26.) Having their bodies licked by the lords of the serpents decorating the sandal-wood pillars in the large apartments on the top of the houses in the towns of the numerous kings hostile to him,<sup>9</sup> becoming totally insensible and faltering, (*but*) having instantly lost their poison through (*the presence of*) Vainatēya,<sup>10</sup> the horses of the sun are suddenly walking along the sky;—brilliant is he, this Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa who is praised by the sun.<sup>11</sup>

(V. 27.) The glorious lord Sālva-Timma, the minister of the glorious Kṛishṇa, the first among kings, gave to his younger son-in-law, the glorious Gōpa, the best among governors and

<sup>1</sup> [Compare above, Vol. IV. No. 4, verse 8.—E. H.]

<sup>2</sup> [The city on the mythical mountain Mēru is Amarāvati, the residence of god Indra. Here this poetical term is applied to Amarāvati in the Kistna district.—E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> The wife of Indra.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'having for companions.'

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Indra.

<sup>6</sup> If my translation is correct, we should rather expect *nija-śētim-śāśaita-oddaiḥ* instead of *nijaiḥ śētim-ddaita-oddaiḥ*, which, however, is supported also by the Koṇḍaviḍu inscription (compare p. 112, note 8).

<sup>7</sup> Pātāla is the abode of the serpents.

<sup>8</sup> As to the seven *saṁtānas* compare the note on v. 15. In the case of Gōpa, i.e. Kṛishṇa, *saṁtāna* seems to refer to the one celestial tree which Kṛishṇa, on the advice of his wife Satyabhāmā, carried off from Indra's heaven, though the name of this tree is generally given as Pārijāta. But the names of the five celestial trees are sometimes mixed up; compare e.g. v. 16 of the Vānapallī plates of Anna-Vēma, above, Vol. III. p. 62, where the Pārijāta tree takes the place of the Kalpa tree, or v. 8 of the Bīṭraguṇṭa grant of Saṁgama II, *ibid.* p. 25, where Kalpa is used for the celestial trees in general; see also the note of Mr. H. Krishna Sastri on this passage. There is hardly any allusion to Saṁtāna-Gōpāla, one of the names of Kṛishṇa, when worshipped as giver of progeny.

<sup>9</sup> Snakes are supposed to be fond of sandal-wood. The towns of Gōpa's enemies were deserted by their inhabitants and therefore abounded in snakes. The houses were so high that their tops touched the sun.

<sup>10</sup> I.e. Garuda. This bird must have been the device on Gōpa's banner (compare v. 23 below) which had been planted on the top of the palaces of his conquered enemies.

<sup>11</sup> The sun is grateful to Gōpa whose banner saved his horses.

an excellent minister, the post of governor of the whole empire of the city of Koṇḍaviṭi, together with an army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and (*the right to use*) a palanquin and two *chauris*.

(V. 28.) The sister's son of the prime-minister, the glorious Sālva-Timma, the chancellor (*pradhāna*) of the glorious Krishnarāya, the first among kings,—the minister Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa, versed in the principles of policy, was the sole governor of the excellent city of Koṇḍaviṭi.

(V. 29.) In the Śaka year counted by Rāghavāya the excellent minister Gōpa showed his veneration for (*the god*) Rāghava in Achalapuri by (*erecting*) new buildings adorned with a wall and a gate-tower.<sup>1</sup>

V. 30 records the setting-up of an image of Raghunāyaka.

(V. 31.) Rāma, the husband of Sītā,<sup>2</sup> with a circle<sup>3</sup> consisting of Sugrīva, Lakshmana, Vibhishana, Jāmbavat, Bharata together with Śatrughna, Hanumat and Aṅgada, were duly set up by the minister Gōpa.

(V. 32.) Possessed of Sītā and Rāma, Bharata, Śatrughna and Lakshmana, this excellent city of Koṇḍaviṭi is flourishing (*like*) Ayōdhyā; (*but*) here are (*also*) Sugrīva, Hanumat, Vibhishana, Jāmbavat and Aṅgada, (*for*) the lord Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa set up Rāma with his circle.

(V. 33.) O Rāmachandra, glorious lord of the city Koṇḍaviṭi, dost thou, having become a moon (*chandra*), assume the ensign of the hawk (*adhuva*), because thou thinkest that the hare comes in as a stain? If not, why (*dost thou assume*) this (*ensign*) of him who has the Garuḍa as his emblem?<sup>4</sup>

V. 34 records the grant of a village to Sālva-Rāghava.

(V. 35.) In the year Yuvan, marked as Sālīvāhana-Śaka,<sup>5</sup> the minister Appa, who is equal to Sālīvāhana, obtained the regentship of the city of Koṇḍaviṭi from the minister Sālva-Timma.

<sup>1</sup> At the end of this verse we find, as before, the explanation of the chronogram 'Rāghavāya 1142 akṣhara-*śaṅkā*.' This time it shows nothing peculiar, *r(d)* being 2, *gh(a)* 4, *v(d)* 4, and *y(a)* 1.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to mean 'with Sītā on his lap.'

<sup>3</sup> *Saparivdraka* is apparently the same as *asvarana* in the next verse. *Asvarana* seems to be a technical term for the circles formed by the statues of Rāma's followers round the statue of their master. Thus we read in the *Rāmopdratāpanīya-Upaniṣad*, v. 43 ff., that Rāma is surrounded (*darita*, vv. 55, 56) by five circles, called *asvarana* in Nārāyaṇa's *Dīpikā*. The third of these circles is formed by the son of the wind (Hanumat), Sugrīva, Bharata, Vibhishana, Lakshmana, Aṅgada, Arimardana (Śatrughna) and Jāmbavat (vv. 53, 54), exactly the same persons as those mentioned above. Sītā is not mentioned in the description of the Upaniṣad, though in the preceding verse 47 she is represented as sitting on Rāma's lap; compare also v. 26. That the author had in view some arrangement of statues similar to that described in the inscription, and not, as the commentator thinks, of figures drawn in a diagram, is probable from the fact that in describing the position of the figures he uses the terms *udag-dakṣiṇayōḥ*, *agrataḥ* (v. 50), *paśchimē* (v. 51), *agnyōddishu* (v. 53), whereas in the description of the diagram (v. 53 ff.) he speaks only of *madhyē*, *taṭpdrīṣṭe*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. either Viṣṇu or Sālva-Timma. I am not at all sure that my translation of this verse is correct. Its principal object apparently is a pun on the name of the god, Sālva-Rāghava, mentioned in the next verse; compare vv. 41, 42 which in a similar way praise Śiva Virāṭvara mentioned in v. 43. The name of the god is certainly connected in some way with that of Sālva-Timma, where, to judge from the analogy of such names as Nādiṇḍla-Timma, etc., the first part would seem to be properly a family name. Whether Sālva in this sense has anything to do with the tribal name of the Sālvas or Sālvas, must be left undecided; compare Winternitz, *Mantrapāṭha*, p. xlvii. On the other hand, in the titles *Gaṇḍa Kāṭṭāri Sālva*, borne e.g. by Narasiṃharāya of Vijayanagara and Veṅkṭa I. of Kāṇṭa (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. pp. 86, 131), and by the former king even with repetition of the last word (*Sālva-sālva*; *ibid.* p. 132), *sālva* is clearly only a *śiruda*. According to Dr. Hultzsch it means 'the hawk,' and in this sense, and as a synonym of *Garuḍa*, it seems to have been used in the present case also.

<sup>5</sup> As to the chronogram see the remarks on p. 112 above.

Vv. 36-40 record various grants.

(V. 41.) I worship the lotus-like foot of the destroyer of the sacrifice of Daksha,<sup>1</sup> which is revered by the hosts of the gods; which is covered by the brilliant rays of the lines of its exceedingly white nails, as (*a lotus is covered*) by ducks kept for pleasure; which is adorned with huge serpents glittering like ornaments, as (*a lotus is adorned*) with the floating fibres of its stalk; which is surrounded by the heads of the hosts of his enemies, as (*a lotus is surrounded*) by flights of female bees.

(V. 42.) Let that Virāśvara protect you whose deep compassion with heroes was the cause of Daksha-Prajāpati's head becoming quickly the head of a ram!<sup>2</sup>

Vv. 43-49 record various grants.

(V. 50.) Having made at Ātukūru a tank, where lines of swans meet in the clusters of the widely opened water-lilies floating on the waves; which is charming, because the curlews are (*seen there*) striding in circles and sporting in pairs, (*pressing each other*) with their throats, (*at the same time*) uttering sharp cries; which is the rival of the ocean; where a loud dabbling noise origioates in the cavities of the banks, the lord Nādiṇḍa-Appa presented it completely to the Brāhmana.<sup>3</sup>

Vv. 51 and 52 record two grants.

(V. 53.) This tank at Appāpura, resembling the ocean, which, abounding in lotuses, was the abode of the kings of birds,<sup>4</sup> became a forest, a field of rampant maddy, and in the hot season a stream, because (*even at that time*) it was full of water.

Vv. 54-59 record various grants.

(V. 60.) As long as the floods of the daughter of Jahnu, the daughter of Tryambaka and the holy daughter of Sahya are purifying the earth and the whole city of Koṇḍavīṭṭi,<sup>5</sup> as long as a poet is sporting in the waves of the nectar-ocean of poetry, so long shall the creeper of Sāḷva-Timma's fame continually blossom on earth!

V. 61 records a grant by Sāḷva-Timma.

(L. 257.) Happiness! Happiness! May it cause happiness!

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* Śiva.

<sup>2</sup> This is an allusion to the legend that Śiva, irritated because he had not been invited to the sacrifice of Daksha-Prajāpati, the father of his wife Satī, decapitated his father-in-law, but afterwards, out of pity, revived him and gave him the head of a ram.

<sup>3</sup> I find it impossible to render the niceties of the text in my translation. The terms used are such as to convey the idea of an arena, where circles of kings (*rdjahams-dvatumsa*) are assembled, where a wrestling (*mithuna-kṛōḍa-khēḍa*) takes place, where a champion (*aśtakdra*) appears, and where loud applause (*utṭāḍa-tāḍa*) is heard.

<sup>4</sup> *Dvijardja* seems to be meant for *rdjahamsa*.

<sup>5</sup> The daughter of Jahnu is the Gaṅgā. The daughter of Tryambaka is the Gōḍāvarī which rises on mount Tryambaka; compare the verse in Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Paḍiyajitvana*, quoted by Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Sanscr. Bibl. Bodl.* p. 318a:

*Yatr-dgāḍ Tryambaka-parvatāch-cha Gōḍāvarī Sindhuṇedēna yukṭā |*  
*tatr-ēḍitī Gōḍā-tāḍa-madhya-dēḍit Shatkhēḍak-ākhyam nagaram suramyam |*

The Tryambaka forms part of the chain of mountains on the north-west side of the Peninsula which commonly are called Sahya; in the *Paḍyapurdāna*, I. 45, 104, the Gōḍāvarī therefore appears in the list of rivers which rise on the Sahya. Here, however, the daughter of Sahya is the Kṛishṇā, as shown by the corresponding verse in the Koṇḍavīṭṭi inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), where *Kṛishṇasvayṇā* has been inserted instead of *Sahyaputṛī*. Rivers are frequently called the daughters of the mountains where they arise; even in the dry geographical description of the *Paḍyapurdāna* the rivers rising on mount Mahēndra are called his daughters (45, 106). The statement that the Kṛishṇā purifies the city (*part*) of Koṇḍavīṭṭi is, of course, a poetical exaggeration, the distance between Koṇḍavīṭṭi and the river being more than twenty miles.

## B.—Kazā Pillar Inscription.

END OF THE TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## Fourth Face.

- 255 . . . . . 'शाके वसुभिर्वेदे-<sup>2</sup>  
 256 दुग्ध्यगस्यशमंठपं । नक्षपाटो सु-  
 257 धासितं कृतवानप्यमंचिराट् ॥ [६०\*] श्री  
 258 श्री श्री जेयुन्' [॥\*]

## No. 13.—TWO GRANTS OF DANDIMAHADEVI.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

The two grants of which at Dr. Hultzsch's request I give an account here from excellent impressions supplied to him by Mr. Venkayya, were preserved in the office of the Collector of Gañjām and will be deposited in the Madras Museum. There is no information as to where or by whom they were discovered. They have been briefly noticed already in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 32 f., Nos. 216 and 217;<sup>3</sup> and I have for years been in possession of rubbings of them which formerly belonged to the late Sir A. Cunningham. The grants record donations by a lady named Daṇḍimahādēvi, whose ancestors are enumerated in both, in almost identical verses.

## A.—DANḌIMAHĀDĒVĪ'S GRANT OF THE YEAR 180.

This is a single copper-plate which measures about 1'  $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by 10  $\frac{1}{8}$ " high, and is inscribed on both sides. On to its proper right is soldered a seal, half of which sticks to the plate, while the other half projects beyond it. This seal rests on an expanded lotus flower the petals of which enclose it; it is circular and measures 2  $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It bears in relief on a countersunk surface, across the centre, the legend *śrīmad-Daṇḍimahādēvi*, in characters resembling those on the first side of the plate; above the legend, a couchant bull facing to the proper right, with the sun and the moon's crescent above its hump and a conch-shell above its hips; and below the legend, two straight lines over an expanded lotus flower the stalk of which rises out of the margin of the seal.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{8}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$ " on the first side of the plate, and between about  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{3}{8}$ " on the second side. Both the general style of writing and the forms of individual letters shew that the two sides of the plate were written by different persons. The writer of the first side, who affects a monumental style of writing, apparently has taken some pride in his work and has done it fairly well; the writer of the second side, who writes in a current hand, has performed his task in a very slovenly manner and committed many blunders, some of which I am unable to correct. The characters on both sides belong to the northern part of Eastern India. They

<sup>1</sup> From an inked estampage supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.<sup>2</sup> Up to this, the text is practically identical with that of the preceding inscription.<sup>3</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>4</sup> Read जेयुन्; after this comes a sign the meaning of which I do not know.<sup>5</sup> The prince 'Indulālā' of Mr. Sewell's account, to whom is ascribed the feat of having rescued his brother's throne, owes his existence to the epithet *vyādha-dhōṣṭadra-līlā* in verse 6 of the two grants. Most of the princes who are really mentioned in the grants have been omitted by Mr. Sewell's informant.

may be classed together with those of e.g. the Nadagām (in Gañjām) plates of Vajrabasta of Śaka-Samvat 979 (No. 357 of my *List of Inscr. of North. India*), the Bāmanghātī (in Orissa) plate of Raṇabhañja (*ibid.* No. 655), the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyādharaḥaṇja (*ibid.* No. 658), the Paṭṭā, Katak and Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta I. and II. (*ibid.* Nos. 659, 660, 664 and 665), the Buguḍa (in Gañjām) plates of Mādhavavarman (*ibid.* No. 673), the Gañjām plates of Prithivivarman (*ibid.* No. 672), and even the Assam plates of Ratnapālavarman, Indrapālavarman and Balavarman (*ibid.* Nos. 711-714). To prove this with full details would lead me too far here, but I may invite the reader's attention at least to the forms of the *akṣaras* *ṭa* and *ṭṭa* used in the present inscription (e.g. in the word *kṣṭṭa* in line 30, and in *Ummatta-* at the end of line 5), the type of which is equally found in all the eastern inscriptions enumerated,<sup>1</sup> while it is absent from the records of other parts of Northern India. Of peculiar forms of letters on the first side of the plate I would point out that of the letter *n* (e.g. in *nivāsi-*, l. 3, and *ānandaṣ-*, l. 4), which has found no place yet in our palaeographic Tables; it also occurs in the Nadagām plates of Vajrabasta (above, Vol. IV. p. 189, and Plate, e.g. in *bhuvana-vinuta-*, l. 1). I may mention besides that in the word *charitārtha-* in line 12 the *r* of the *akṣara* *rtha* clearly is written on, not above, the line. On the second side attention may be drawn, amongst other things, to the form of the letter *h* (e.g. in *mahiyasī mahīm=ahi-* in line 20), which also is absent from our palaeographic Tables, but occurs e.g. in the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyādharaḥaṇja (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVI. Part I. Plate ix.); to the form of the subscript *ā*, e.g. in *chi[hna]-bhūtā*, l. 21, and *vabhāva*, l. 22, which is the form of *ā* constantly used in the Nadagām plates; to the medial *ā* in *pathārha* (for *yathārham*), l. 28, in the *nā* of *Dānālavah*, l. 40,<sup>2</sup> and in the *grā* of *-grāmā*, l. 41; to the fact that the letters *t*, *r* and *j* occasionally are turned the wrong way, as in *chiram=* and *sutā tasyā* in line 20, and *dhīrāja-*, l. 23; to the final *t* in *samvat*, l. 35, and *śrīmat*, l. 38; to the occurrence of the rare letter *jh* in *ajhāraṭa-* at the end of line 42;<sup>3</sup> and to the apparently very modern forms—peculiar, so far as I can see, to Orissa—of the letters *p*, *ph* and *sh* in the corrupt passage *mā bhūda-aphasā saḥ para-dātishu* in line 37. Nor would I omit to mention that in line 26 the first *akṣara* of the word which I have transcribed by *[sth?]ānāntari[k]ān=* is denoted by a strange sign which bears no resemblance at all to the ordinary sign for *sth*.<sup>4</sup> But what in this inscription—a record which from its general appearance could hardly pretend to any great antiquity—seems to me most remarkable, is the employment of numerical symbols<sup>5</sup> in the date of it (in lines 35 and 36), which I have transcribed by *samvat 100 80 Mārgaśīrṣa-vadi 5 (?)*. In this respect, I can compare with the present grant only the Bāmanghātī (in Orissa) plate of Raṇabhañja, in which the year of the date is similarly denoted by numerical symbols (for 200, 80 and 8).<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that both these grants come from the same part of India, where

<sup>1</sup> In some of these inscriptions it is difficult to distinguish between the signs for *ṭ* and *ṭṭ*, and there are some in which no difference at all is made between the two.

<sup>2</sup> The same sign for *nā* is used in line 39, in the word transcribed by *[pā?]nā[kā]*. The medial *ā* is occasionally written in the same manner in the Kudopali plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 258, Plate), in the *akṣaras* *gā*, *nā*, *ṭṭā*, *dhā* and *śā* (and also in *nā*).

<sup>3</sup> The sign for *jh*, here employed, resembles the sign for the same letter used in the Assam plates of Vallabhadēva, above, Vol. V. p. 185, l. 41, in the phrase *sa-jhāṭa-viṭapa*. A similar sign for *jh* also occurs in line 11 of the Kudopali plates, above, Vol. IV. p. 258, where the actual reading, as I now see, is *sa-jhāṭa-viṭap-dranya* (for *sa-jhāṭa-viṭap-dranya*), not *sa-[vā?]ṭṭa-viṭap-dranya*.

<sup>4</sup> The sign employed by the writer is perhaps really meant for *thā*, not *sthā*.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 195, note 4, I have given the latest known copper-plate inscriptions with numerical symbols, the time of which can be fixed with certainty, and have stated that they are all anterior to A.D. 800. The only stone inscriptions with numerical symbols which are later than A.D. 800, so far as I know, are Nos. 501, 545 and 560 of my *List of Inscr. of North. India*.

<sup>6</sup> See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XL. Part I. Plate ii. last line; and Prof. Bühler's *Ind. Palaeographie*, Plate IX. col. xviii., where (probably only in consequence of the numerical symbols) Raṇabhañja's plate is assigned to the 9th century A.D.

such symbols therefore would seem to have been longer in practical use than in other parts of the country. As regards the individual signs employed in this inscription, the symbol for 100 is something between *lva* and *lu*, just as the symbol for 200 in the Bāmanghātī plate is *lū*; and that for 80 is nearly identical in both plates. The exact form of the symbol—if it be intended as such—for the number of the *tīthi* of the date I have not been able to trace elsewhere, and I am very doubtful whether I have correctly taken it to denote '5.'<sup>1</sup>—Excepting the description of the boundaries in lines 42 and 43, where some local dialect appears to be used, the language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The first part of the grant up to line 22, which gives the genealogy of Daṇḍimahādevī, is in verse, but includes a short prose passage in line 3. The formal part of the grant, from line 22 to the end, is in prose, except that in lines 36-39 it contains some benedictive and imprecatory verses or fragments of verses—here, as in some cognate inscriptions, given very corruptly—as well as a verse which records the name of the composer of the *prastāvi*, i.e., as I take it, of the genealogical account. In respect of orthography the only general remarks called for are, that the letter *b* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the writer of the second side (like some Telugu writers) has found some difficulty in distinguishing between the vowels *i* and *ī*. The second side of the grant, as I have intimated already, has been written so carelessly that it would be impossible here to point out all orthographical mistakes. On the first side it may suffice to call attention to the use of the *akshara* *tea* instead of *chekhā* in the word *saptatsada* (for *saptachekhāda*) in line 2, which finds its counterpart in the common *sāmvachchhaa* (for *sāmvatsara*).—I regret that in the formal part of the grant there are several words or phrases regarding the exact reading and interpretation of which I am uncertain. They are the words transcribed by *pa[vā?]ka*, l. 27, *gōku[ta]*-, l. 29, *lēkhari-pravṛṣṇānā[s]īyā*, l. 31, and *[pā?]nā[kō]*, l. 39. I also am unable to interpret the greater part of lines 42 and 43, which, as stated already, are not in Sanskrit.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhāṭṭārīkā Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvari Daṇḍimahādevī* (l. 24), whose ancestors are enumerated in verses 2-9. There was a king named Ummattasimha (l. 5), from whose family sprang Maṅgapāda (l. 7) and other kings. In their family there was the king Lōṇabhāra (l. 9); his son was Kusumabhāra (l. 13); after him ruled his younger brother Lalitabhāra (l. 13); he was succeeded by his son Śāntikara (l. 15), and he again by his younger brother Śubhākara (l. 18). When the last of these princes died, his queen<sup>2</sup> ascended the throne, and afterwards her daughter Daṇḍimahādevī (l. 20) 'ruled the earth for a long time.' This queen, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), from 'the camp of victory'—appropriately compared in verse 1 with the commencement of autumn (the season of war)—at Guḥṣavarapātaka (l. 3), issues the following order to the present and future functionaries in the Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala (l. 24), viz. the *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antarāngas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Vishayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāṇḍapāśikas*, *Śihānāntarīkas*<sup>3</sup> and others who enjoy the royal favour, those belonging to the regular and irregular troops and (royal) favourites;<sup>4</sup> and to the people, headed by the . . .<sup>5</sup> *Sāmantas* and *Sāmaśājins*,<sup>6</sup> who dwell in the eastern division of the *Varadākhaṇḍa-vishaya* (l. 26):—

"Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents, ourselves and all beings, we have, on the occasion of a *samkrānti* (l. 34), by means of a copper-charter

<sup>1</sup> The doubtful sign seems to me to bear some kind of resemblance to the symbol for 5 in the Chikkulla plates, above, Vol. IV. p. 197, l. 26, Plate.

<sup>2</sup> Her name is not given, but from the epithets applied to her in verse 9 we may suspect that it was Gaurī.

<sup>3</sup> I do not remember having met this term before; *śihānāntarīkas* occurs above, Vol. III. p. 320, l. 11 of the text, and *śihānāntarīka* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 179, l. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 10, *chāḍa-bhāṣa-vallabhajitīyā*; instead of *vallabha* we have *vallabhajitīyā* above, Vol. III. p. 342, l. 6; p. 347, l. 7; and elsewhere.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 138, note 25.

<sup>6</sup> The term *sāmaśajins* occurs above, Vol. IV. p. 258, l. 14; instead of it we have *sāmaśajika*, *ibid.* p. 200, l. 11; and *sāmaśajika*, above, Vol. III. p. 352, l. 27 (where the published text has *sāma[śajika]*).

with pouring out of water given, in the way of a perpetual endowment and free from taxes, the village of Villa (l. 29) which belongs to this *vishaya*— with the *uparikara*, with the *uddēsa*,<sup>2</sup> with its weavers, *gōkūṣa* (?), distillers of spirituous liquors and other artisans (?), with its hamlets<sup>3</sup> (?), landing-places (or steps on the river-side), ferry-places<sup>4</sup> etc. and thickets, exempt from all molestation, not to be entered<sup>5</sup> . . . , in accordance with the maxim called *bhūmichchhidra* and for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure— to the door-keeper Dhavala (l. 34), the son of Vās[u ?] . . . and grandson of Apratidāghōsha, an immigrant from Viṅgipātaka (?), belonging to the Viśvāmītra *gōtra*, with the *pravara* Dēvarāta and *anupravara* Audala, and student of the Kaṇva-śākhā. Wherefore, out of respect for what is right, you should preserve this our gift !”

This order is followed (in line 35) by the date, the 5th (?) of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha of the year 180; and (in lines 36-38) by benedictive and imprecatory verses. Lines 38-40 repeat that this is a charter of Dandīmahādēvi; give the name of the author of the *prastāvi*, the poet Jambhala, son of the great poet Jayātman (?); and record the names of certain officials, viz. the Rānaka Dāpālava who was the *dātaka* (?) of the grant, the *Mahākṣhapatalika* Nṛ[siṃha ?], the *Mahāsamdhivigrahin* Ugrāditya, and the *Mahāpratihāra* (?) Prahāsa.

Line 41 adds that a quarter (?) of the village of Villa on the occasion of a *samkrānti* was given by Dhavala to the Brāhmanas; lines 42 and 43, in which the names of the villages of Hōṇḍala and Khairapata occur, apparently state the boundaries of the village granted; and the inscription ends with the name of the engraver, Sambhaka.

Beyond saying that, judged by the writing, this inscription could hardly be older than the 13th century A.D., I do not venture at present to express any opinion regarding its age. I do not know to what era the year 180 of its date and the year 288 of the date of Raṇabhaṇja's grant should be referred, and can only trust that other inscriptions, similarly dated, will be obtained from the same part of the country, which may both help us to fix definitely the dates of these grants and throw more light on the general question of the employment of numerical symbols in Eastern India.

The place Guhēśvarapātaka from which the grant was issued, the villages mentioned in it, and the *vishaya* in which they were situated, I have not found on the maps. The name Kōṅgōḍa<sup>6</sup> of the *maṇḍala* to which the *vishayas* of both the grants A and B belonged I have from the first ventured to identify with the name Kong-u-t'o (Kong-yu-t'o) of Hinen Tsiang (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. p. 206), and I am assured by Professor S. Lévi that from a linguistic point of view this identification is in every respect unobjectionable. As stated by

<sup>1</sup> The phrases *akaratoḥa* and *akarākṛitya* are very common in grants from the same part of India.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 254, I have translated *sōddēsa* by 'with all their localities,' but *uddēsa* has probably a more specific meaning. *Sōparikarāḥ sōddēsaḥ* (which apparently is the proper reading also in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXIV. Part I. p. 126, l. 4 from the bottom) may be equivalent to the *sōdrāṅgaḥ sōparikarāḥ* of other inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> In the phrase which commences here the reading of the word *gōkūṣa* appears to be certain, but its meaning is not apparent. For some expressions (the exact meaning of which is uncertain), in which the word *prakṛiti* occurs, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 183, note 82. For the general import of the phrase here used I would compare above, Vol. V. p. 112, lines 65 and 66, where the village-artisans are stated to be included in the grant; also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 58, l. 52, and above, Vol. IV. p. 296, "We (also) gave the oil-mongers and the five (classes of) artisans as (his) slaves." For taxes on looms etc. see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. pp. 88, 89, 103, 155 etc.

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, Vol. V. p. 52, last line of the text ("ferry-boats" etc.).

<sup>5</sup> The phrase commencing with *-līkṣant*(?)—I am unable to explain. It recalls, of course, such well-known expressions as *achāḍābhāṭaprasāda*, *achāḍābhāṭaprasādiya*, *akimohitpragrāhiya*, *abastaprasakṣhāntiya*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> According to the grant B the Kōṅgōḍa-maṇḍala (or-maṇḍalaka) was in Dakṣhiṇa-Kōśala.—For a village or town named *Kṣiṅgōḍa* see above, Vol. III. p. 42.

Mr. Beal, Sir A. Cunningham supposed Kong-u-t'o (hitherto transcribed by Kōnyōdha) to be Gañjām, and Mr. Fergusson took it as nearly certain that the small kingdom of Kong-u-t'o was 'somewhere between Kuttack and Aska' (in the Gañjām district). Inasmuch as both our grants come from Gañjām, either statement would tend to support my identification. On the maps I have searched in vain for a name like Kōngōda. In Hinen Tsiang's account of the kingdom of Kong-u-t'o there is one point to which, in concluding these remarks, I may draw attention. The written characters of the people of that kingdom, he says, 'are the same as those of Mid-India.' In other words, they belonged to the northern alphabet, just as is the case with the characters of the grants here edited, grants which otherwise one would rather have classed with the southern inscriptions.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Side.

- 1 Om<sup>2</sup> [1\*] Svasti<sup>3</sup> vyastajal-ābhra-vibhrama-haraiḥ<sup>4</sup> śvātā[tpa]tr-<sup>5</sup>ōtkarair=  
<sup>6</sup>avathīya-śrutichāmaraiś=va(cha) 7 bha(ha)śita-vyākōśa-kā-
- 2 śōdayair-uddāmair-mmada-saurabhais=cha karipām=ākshipta-saptatsa(chchha)d-<sup>8</sup>āmōdaiḥ  
sannihitām sad=aiva śara-
- 3 d-ārambha-śriyam=vi(bi)bhrataḥ || [1\*] Śrīmad-Guhēśvarapāṭṭa(ṭa)ka-nivāsi-<sup>9</sup>  
vijayaskandhāvārāt || Sarvv-śśā-pa-
- 4 ripūraṇ-ādhika-ruohir=yas=tāpam=astan=nayann=ānandan=kṛitavān(ñ)=janasya manasi  
<sup>10</sup>prāptam=pratishtā(śhṭhā)ñ=chiram [1\*]
- 5 saddṛishṭi-pratirōdhi yēna cha tamō nirmūlam=ū(u)nmūlitam  
śrīmān=indur=iv=āvanipatir=abhūd=Ummaṭṭa-
- 6 aiṅgh-āhvayaḥ<sup>11</sup> || [2\*] Tad-vamśād=abhavann=anindita-guṇā muktāmayaḥ  
sadgatāḥ<sup>12</sup> sad-vṛittāḥ sukha-
- 7 al(śi)talāḥ kshatibhṛitāḥ<sup>13</sup> śrī-Madgapād-<sup>14</sup>ādayaḥ | yē nītā hṛiday-ōgra-tāpa-  
sa(śa)manō dē-
- 8 v-āṅganābbhiḥ svayaṇ=kaṇṭhāślāsha-sukha[m?] sthiti-prapayinō hār-ābbhirāmāḥ  
kṛitāḥ || [3\*] Ta-
- 9 d-vamśē=bhavad=ūrjjita[h\*]<sup>15</sup> kṛita-vu(bu)dha-prīti[h]<sup>16</sup> pratit-ōdayō dēvaḥ  
śatruvadhū-mukhēndu-tarapi[h]<sup>17</sup> śrī-Lō-
- 10 ṇabhārō<sup>18</sup> nripaḥ [1\*] yasy=ākramya gurupratāpa-śikhinaḥ prithvibhṛita[h]<sup>19</sup>  
prōdva(dḍha)tān dūram . sarvva-
- 11 digantarēṣu tarasā<sup>20</sup> svairam=prasasruḥ karāḥ<sup>21</sup> || [4\*] <sup>22</sup>Tasy=ātmajaḥ  
prapata-pārthiva-ohakra-ohūdā-
- 12 nirvvyāja-rōpita-padaś=charitārtha-nāmā [1\*] vistāri-saurabha-guṇ-ōdaya-pūrit-śśas=  
tasma-<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.<sup>2</sup> Metre of verses 1-4: Śārdūlavikṛitā ta.<sup>3</sup> B has *śvātātpatr*; read *śvātātpatr*.<sup>4</sup> B has *haraiś*.<sup>5</sup> B has *śvātāka-śśita-ō*; I should have expected *śvātāk-śśita-vi*.<sup>6</sup> B has only *prāptam chiram*.<sup>7</sup> B has *saditāḥ*; read *sāngatāḥ* (or *sāngatāḥ*). B omits *sad-vṛittāḥ*.<sup>8</sup> B has *śhṭhībhritāḥ*.<sup>9</sup> B has *urjjita*.<sup>10</sup> The sign of *vicarga* was originally omitted, but seems to have been inserted afterwards; B has *-stīh*.<sup>11</sup> This sign of *vicarga* also was originally omitted.<sup>12</sup> This sign of *vicarga* also was originally omitted.<sup>13</sup> B has *karā*.<sup>14</sup> Instead of *tasma* B has *śrīma*, which is a better reading.<sup>15</sup> Denoted by a symbol.<sup>16</sup> The grant B has *-vibhrama-dharaiḥ*.<sup>17</sup> B has *astīya*; read *astīya*.<sup>18</sup> B has *saptāchchād*.<sup>19</sup> B has *śh-āhvaya*; read *śh-āhvayaḥ*.<sup>20</sup> B has *sad-vṛittāḥ*.<sup>21</sup> B has *śrīmadagapād*; read *śrī-Madgapād* (?).<sup>22</sup> B has *-Lōṇāhārō*.<sup>23</sup> B has *tarasā*.<sup>24</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

- 13 d=abhūt=Kusumabhāra iti kabhīśah || [5\*] Abhīta<sup>1</sup> Lali[ta\*]bhārah kshma-  
bharam=bhūri-tējās=tad=ann  
14 tad=annjanmā vyūḍha-bhōgindra-līlah | anayad=amalimānam yad=yaśahpūram=  
uchai(chohai)r=api ripu-rama-  
15 nīnām=añjan-ōnmīśram=aśrah<sup>2</sup> || [6\*] <sup>3</sup>Tasmin=nripō divam=upēyushi tat-  
tanūjah sāsāt=āvanēr=ajanē(ni) Śā-  
16 ntikar-ābhivā(dhā)nah || [7\*] yēn=ōddhritēshv=akhila-durmmada-kapṭakēshva(śhu)  
rēmē <sup>4</sup>yavō(thā)-sva(su)kham=apāsta-bhiyā janēna || [7\*] Tasya  
17 prasa(śa)sya-charit-ā[r\*]jita-bhūri-kā(ki)rtti[r\*]=vvīśvambharā-vibhur=abhūd = a n u j a s =  
tatō=pi || [8\*] śrēyōbhir=ēka-padam=ity=a-  
18 khilāh śri(śri)t-ātma yah śri-śubhākara iti prathitō yavō(thā)rtham || [8\*]  
Tasya tripishṭapa-jusha[h]<sup>5</sup> paramēśvara-  
19 sya dēvi samasta-janatā-ma(na)ta-padēpadmā<sup>6</sup> || [9\*] siughāsanam<sup>7</sup> śasikar-  
āmala-kā(ki)rtti-gauri Gaur=iva gaurava-

## Second Side.

- 20 <sup>8</sup>padam chiram=adhyarōhatah<sup>9</sup> || [9\*] Tatō<sup>10</sup> Daṇḍimāhādēvi<sup>11</sup> sutā tasyā<sup>12</sup>  
mahi(hī)yaśi || [10\*] mahīm=ahi(hī)-  
21 nasā(yā)<sup>13</sup> matyā chē(chi)ra-kālam=apālayata<sup>14</sup> || [10\*]  
<sup>15</sup>Avichohhā[nn]āyatiprā[s]au varṇsē[kā]ra-mahibhritām || [10\*] chī[hna]-bhūtā pa-  
22 tāk=ēva yā va(ba)bhūva vibhūshapam || (I) lāvaṇy-āmṛita-nihayanda-<sup>16</sup>  
sundaram dadhatī vapuh || (II) [11\*] Paramamā-  
23 hēvari<sup>17</sup> mātāpitri-pādānudhyatā paramabha[tṭ]ārikā mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-  
paramēśva-  
24 ri(rī) śrtmad-Daṇḍimāhādēvi<sup>18</sup> kusalini ||<sup>19</sup> Kō[m]gōda-mē(ma)ṇḍē(ṇḍa)lō  
vartamā[na\*]-bhavishyan-mā(ma)hā-  
25 <sup>20</sup>sāmāntam-māhārāja-rājaputr-āntaraṅga-kumārāmāty-ōparikarikā.<sup>21</sup>vishaya p a t i - t a -  
26 <sup>22</sup>dātynkuka-daṇḍavāsika-[sth?]<sup>23</sup>ānāntari[k]ān=anyān=[chē?]<sup>24</sup> rājaprasādina(nō)  
bha[ṭa]-chāṭa-valla[bha\*]jātinā<sup>25</sup> Varadā.  
27 khaṇḍa-vishayē pu(pū)rvva-khaṇḍē pa[vā?]<sup>26</sup>ka.<sup>27</sup>sāmānta-sāmavāji-pramukha-  
nivāsind ja-

<sup>1</sup> Metre: Mālinī; B omits the first two words of this verse.

<sup>2</sup> Read =śra, which is the reading of B.

<sup>3</sup> B has yathā-suddham.

<sup>4</sup> Read =padapadmā.

<sup>5</sup> Above the aksharas mādēvi sutā tasyā of this line 10 aksharas are engraved in small letters. So far as I can make them out, they are sāmāntasya mudāmalapaja; I do not understand their meaning.

<sup>6</sup> B has =adhyarōt (or =rōtā); read =adhyarōhat.

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11: Śloka (Anushtubh). Verse 11 contains six Pādas.

<sup>8</sup> B has Daṇḍimāhādē; read Daṇḍimāhādēvī.

<sup>9</sup> B has =ahīnasā.

<sup>10</sup> Read avichohhinn-dyati-prāptan (?) vadhakara-mahābhritām.

<sup>11</sup> Read =niyanda-.

<sup>12</sup> Read hīvarī.

<sup>13</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous. In the following name the sign of anusvāra is very faint in the impressions; in the grant B the name is written Kōngōda-.

<sup>14</sup> Read sāmānta-mahārāja.

<sup>15</sup> Read =sparika-.

<sup>16</sup> The second akshara of this line, transcribed by *tyu*, is really *tyā* with the sign of *a* below it; of the 10th akshara, transcribed by *sthā*, the sign for *sth* seems to be no proper letter at all. Read dātynkuka-dāṇḍapādika- In B *sthānāntarika-* is quite clear.

<sup>17</sup> Read =any dāś-cha.

<sup>18</sup> Read =jātyān; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 10, and note 9.

<sup>19</sup> Read pradhāna (?) or rāṇaka- (?). For the following sāmavāji compare *ibid.* p. 258, l. 14, and note 16.



20

22

42

26

28

30

32

34

36

38

40

42

20

22

24

26

28

33

32

43

36

38

40

42

- 28 napadāna<sup>1</sup> pa(ya)thārha[ṛḥ\*] mānayaṭi vō(bō)dhayati(ti) <sup>2</sup>pramajūāpayati [i\*]  
<sup>3</sup>Viyitam=asu bhavāra-  
 29 tadashasamana-Villa-grāma[h\*]<sup>4</sup> sya(sō)parikara[h\*] sōthēshah<sup>5</sup> sa-tamtravāya-  
 gōku[ṭa].<sup>6</sup>saundī-<sup>7</sup>  
 30 k-ādi-prakutitah sa-khēṭa-ghaṭa(ṭṭa)-nadi(di)tarasthān-ādi(di)-gulaśakah sarvva-  
 pīḍā-va-  
 31 rjitō=lēkhari-pravēsanās[t]iyā<sup>8</sup> bh[ū]michhidr-āpivāna-<sup>9</sup>nyāyēn=ā-ohandr-ārka-kshiti-  
 sama-kālam ma(mā)tāpitro-  
 32 r-ātmanah sarvva-sa[t\*]tvānā[n-cha] puky(ṇy)-ā[bh]ivṛi[d\*]dhayā Viṅgināṭaka-<sup>10</sup>  
 vin[i]rgatāya Viśvāmitra-gōtrāya Dēva-  
 33 rāta-pravarāya Andal-ēta<sup>11</sup> anupravarāya Kaṇḍa(ṇva)śākh-[ā]ddhyāyi<sup>12</sup>  
 Apratiḍāghōsha-paṇtrāya Vās[u?]-  
 34 <sup>13</sup> . . . -putrāya pratihāra-Dhavalāya saṅkrāntyaṁ hast-ōdakēn=āsm[ā]bhis-  
 tāmvrasāsa[n]ikṛity-ākshapanivi-dha-<sup>14</sup>  
 35 rmēn-ākaratvēna pratiyā(pā)ditasad=<sup>15</sup>śah=āsma-dati=ddharma-gauravād=bhavadbhīh  
 pariphalaniyā<sup>16</sup> [||\*] Samvat<sup>17</sup> 100  
 36 80 Mārgasīrsha-vadi 5(?) [H\*] <sup>18</sup>Vahubhir=vasuddhā [da\*]ttā | rājāna<sup>19</sup> Sagar-  
 ādibhīh [i\*] yasya yasya yadā bhumih tasya tasya  
 37 tadā pālāh [||\*] Mā<sup>20</sup> bhud=aphasanā saḥ para-datishu pā[tth]ivā [||\*] Sva-datā  
 para-datam=vā yō harē vasuddharā [i\*] sa viśṭhāyā  
 38 kṛimir=bhuvā pitribhi saba pachyatēh [(||) <sup>21</sup>Śrīmat Daṇḍimahādēvyā  
 tāvachhāsanam=ast=īdām | Prasasti<sup>22</sup> samasta-  
 39 vacchāśā kavīn=ēha mā(ma)hākavēh [i\*] kṛitā Jambhala-nāmn-ēyam=ātmajenam<sup>23</sup>  
 Jayatmanah [||\*] <sup>24</sup>[Pā?]pā[kō]-pi rāṇaka-śrī-

<sup>1</sup> Read *niedri-janapaddant=cha* (?).<sup>2</sup> Read *samjūd*.<sup>3</sup> Read *Viditam=asu bhavāra=stād-vishaya-sambaddha*.<sup>4</sup> Of the name of the village (read by me *Villa*.) the consonant of the first *akshara* has a somewhat odd form, and the second *akshara* might possibly be *lga*; below, in line 41, the name is written either *Vila*- or *Vēla*-.<sup>5</sup> Read *sōthēshah*.<sup>6</sup> B has distinctly *gōkuṭa*; in the present inscription the sign transcribed by *ṭa* differs somewhat from the sign for *ṭa* which elsewhere is used here.<sup>7</sup> Read *saundīk-dī-prakṛitikaḥ*.<sup>8</sup> B has *lākhant-pravēsatay[d]*. I do not find a similar term (containing *lākhant*) elsewhere, and am unable to suggest a suitable emendation.<sup>9</sup> Read *bhūmichhidr-dbhīdhana*.<sup>10</sup> Read *Viṅgināṭaka* (?) or *Vaṅgināṭaka* (?)<sup>11</sup> Read *ōdy=Andal-ēty-ānu*.<sup>12</sup> Read *ddhyāyīn*, and compare above, Vol. IV. p. 258, l. 16 of the text. With the following name which is clear in the impression, compare *Kōigōdēha* and *Vallabhaghōshā*, above, Vol. III. p. 344, l. 42 of the text.<sup>13</sup> Here one *akshara* is mutilated and illegible in the impression.<sup>14</sup> Read *īdmraśāntkrity-dkshayantrī-dha*.<sup>15</sup> Read *ōdita=stād=śah=stmad-dattira*.<sup>16</sup> Read *ōbhīh pariphalantyd*.<sup>17</sup> Read *samvat*; compare my introductory remarks.<sup>18</sup> I consider it unnecessary to correct all the numerous mistakes in the following verses; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 28 ff., and p. 259, l. 22 ff.<sup>19</sup> Read *rājānaḥ*, which actually occurs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 49, l. 18. Instead of it, we have *rājāna* also above, Vol. III. p. 19, l. 24, and Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 24; *rājāni* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 276, l. 19; and *rājāna* above, Vol. IV. p. 259, l. 21.<sup>20</sup> Intended for *mā bhūd=aphala=śākh saḥ para-dattishu* (instead of the ordinary *para-datt=stī*) *parthivedh*; compare e.g. above, Vol. III. p. 45, l. 47. The second half of the verse, commencing with *svadānt*, is omitted here.<sup>21</sup> Read *īrīmad-Daṇḍimahādēvyā=stāvach=chhāsanam* (?) or *īdmra=śāsanam* (?)<sup>22</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).—Read *prasastiḥ*; for the following *samasta*, which is quite clear in the impressions, I cannot suggest a suitable emendation.<sup>23</sup> Read *śēna Jayatmanah* (?).<sup>24</sup> The engraving is quite clear here, but I can read with confidence only the second *akshara* (*nd*).—Read *ddēkō* (?).

- 40 Dāṇālayaḥ mākāśhapāṭala<sup>1</sup> śrī-Nṛī<sup>2</sup> | mā(ma)hāsandhivigrahi(hī) śrī(śry)-  
Ugrāditya[h\*] || māpratira<sup>3</sup> śrī-P[r]ahāsaḥ [||\*]  
41 'Vila-grāmā<sup>4</sup> chat[v]ār[ō?] bhāgā[h\*] | tau-maddhā(dhyē) Dhavalēna  
vrā(brā)hmaṇānā[dēsha ?]<sup>5</sup> bhāga[h\*] saṅkrāntya[m\*] hast-ōdakēna  
datam<sup>7</sup> [||\*]  
42 \*U[ttā]ra-parvata-śikhara sādḍhi tivāḍisigāḍi pōchāḍigāḍi hōṇḍimasigagāḍi  
sādḍhi ajhēraṭa-  
43 [ga]kagāḍi sādḍhi Hōṇḍala-grāma sādḍhi Khairapaṭa-grāma sādḍhi cha[tu]-  
sim-ōpalakshita<sup>9</sup> [||\*] Utkāṁṇa<sup>10</sup> Sambhakēna [||\*]

### B.—UNDATED GRANT OF DAṆḌIMAHĀDĒVĪ.

This is another single copper-plate which measures 10½" broad by from 8½" to 8¾" high and is inscribed on both sides. On to its proper right is soldered a circular seal, 2½" in diameter, in the same manner as in the grant A. This seal bears in relief on a countersunk surface, across the centre, the legend *śrīmad-Daṇḍimahādēvī*, in the characters of the inscription;<sup>11</sup> above the legend, a couchant bull facing to the proper right, with the sun and the moon's crescent above its hump and a conch-shell above its tail, and on each side of the bull what may be either an elephant-goat or a lampstand; and below the legend, two straight lines over an expanded lotus flower the stalk of which rises out of the margin of the seal.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between ¼ and ⅓". The characters furnish another specimen of the northern alphabet peculiar to Eastern India; they closely resemble those of the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyāharabhaṇḍa, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LVI. Part I. Plate ix. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Lines 1 to (the middle of) 20 are substantially identical with lines 1 to (the middle of) 21 of the grant A. The remainder of the text, which contains the formal part of the grant, is in prose, except that it includes a benedictive and imprecatory verse in lines 35-37. In respect of orthography, what strikes one most is the promiscuous employment of the three sibilants: *s* is often used for *ś*, and *ś* nearly as often for *s* (e.g. in *śalīla*, l. 33, and *śakalam*, l. 36); *sh* for *ś* in *śhāsana-darśanād-*, l. 34; *ś* for *sh* in *purukai* (for *purushaiḥ*), l. 37; and *s* for *sh* in *manuṣya-*, l. 36. The consonant *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and medial *ū* by the sign for *u*. Besides it may be noted that *t* is used for *d* in *bhumichchhīr-*, l. 29, and *Autalya-*, l. 39; and that *upējushī*, l. 14, is written for *upēyushī*; *-āpivīrdhayā*, l. 33, for *-ābhivīrdhayā*;<sup>12</sup> and *udārḥita*, l. 36, for *udāhṛita*. In general, the formal part of this grant is less faulty than that of the grant A; its phraseology is about the same.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhāṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvarī Daṇḍimahādēvī* (l. 21), the names of whose ancestors are given exactly as in the grant A. From 'the camp of victory' at Guhāśvarapaṭaka (l. 3) this queen issues the following order to the

<sup>1</sup> Read *mākāśhapāṭalikaḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> Here part of the name (perhaps *śikhāḥ*) has been omitted.

<sup>3</sup> Read *māḍpratīdṛaḥ* (?) *śrī-*.

<sup>4</sup> The reading of the name here may be either *Vila-* or *Vāla-*; compare above, l. 29, where the name apparently is written *Vāla-*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *-grāmasya*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *gandam-śka* (?).

<sup>7</sup> Read *datṭaḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> The passage which begins here I do not understand. It apparently gives the boundaries of the village, but is not in Sanskrit. The word *sādḍhi* (or *saddhi*), which occurs in it five times, is written in another (unpublished) Gañjām grant both *śadḍhi* and *sadḍhi*; compare *śmā-sandhayaḥ* above, Vol. III. p. 223, l. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Read *chātushsim-ōpalakshitaḥ*; compare above, Vol. IV. p. 200, l. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Read *utkāṁṇa*. (The Gañjām grant mentioned above, note 8, has the extraordinary word *udagīrtam* for *utkāṁṇa*).

<sup>11</sup> According to Mr. Sewell's informant the legend is "Śrī Mahā Sōmadhāsēvī in Telugu characters." This statement is purely imaginary.

<sup>12</sup> In line 30 this word is written correctly.

various functionaries, as they may be present from time to time, in the Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalaka in Dakṣiṇa-Kōśalā (l. 22), viz. the Mahāsāmantas, Mahārājas, Rājaputras, Antarāgas, Kumārāmātyas, Uparikas, Viśayapatis, Taddiyuktakas, Dāṇḍapāṭikas, Sthānāntarikas<sup>1</sup> and others who enjoy the royal favour, those belonging to the regular and irregular troops and (royal) favourites; and also to the Mahāmahattaras, Brihadbhōgin,<sup>2</sup> Pustakapālas, . . . . .  
and other officials in the Arttani-vishaya (l. 25):—

“Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents, ourselves and all beings, we have, on the occasion of the uttarāyana<sup>3</sup> (l. 32), with pouring out of water given, free from taxes, the village of [Ga]rasāmbhā which belongs to this vishaya—with the uparikara, with the uddēsa, with its weavers, gōkūṭas(?), distillers of spirituous liquors and other artisans (?), with its hamlets (?), landing-places (or steps on the river-side), ferry-places etc. and thickets, exempt from all molestation, not to be entered . . . . ., in accordance with the maxim called bhāmichchhīdra and for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure—to the Bhāṭṭaputra Purushōttama, of the Kāśyapa gōtra, with the pravaras Kāśyapa, Avatsāra and Naidhrva, a member of the Vājasanēya charaṇa and student of the Kāṇva śākhā (of that Vēda). Wherefore, seeing this order, out of respect for what is right and out of respect for ourselves, nobody should cause any obstruction!”

This order is followed (in lines 35-38) by a benedictive and imprecatory verse; by the names of the writer, the Mahākṣhapatalika Bhōgaḍa, and of the engraver, the copper-smith [Kaṇṭha?]kaka; and by the statement that the village granted is (given as) contained within its well-known four boundary lines.

Lines 38 and 39 add that half of the village was given by the grantee Purushōttama to the Bhāṭṭaputra Ravika, of the Kauśika gōtra, with the pravaras Audalya, Viśvāmitra and Dēvarāta.

The inscription is not dated. Regarding the localities mentioned in it I can only refer the reader to my remarks on the grant A; the village granted by the present inscription, and the vishaya in which it was situated, I have not been able to identify.

#### TEXT.\*

##### First Side.

19 . . . . . ‘Tatō<sup>4</sup> Daṇḍimahā[dē\*]vi sutā tasya<sup>5</sup> mahīyasi [\*]  
20 mahīm=ahīnasā(yā) matyā<sup>6</sup> chira-kālam=apālayata<sup>7</sup> || [10\*] Para[ma\*]māhēsvari  
māta(tā)pitri-pādānudhyātā parama-  
21 bhāṭṭārikā mahārājādhirā(rā)ja-paramēśva(śva)ri śrīmad-Daṇḍi(ṇḍi)mahādēvi  
kuśāl(li)nī || thā<sup>8</sup> || Dakṣiṇa-Kō-  
22 śālyām Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalakē yathākāl-ādhyāsīnō

<sup>1</sup> For this term and some others in what follows see the notes on the preceding grant.

<sup>2</sup> I do not remember having met with the terms *brihadbhōgin* and *pustakapāla* in other grants; with *brihadbhōgin* one may compare the ordinary *bhōgapati*. I am not able to explain the term [ku]ṭakōlāsa- of the text.

<sup>3</sup> I take *uttarāyana* (like the expression *uttarāyana-nimittā* of several Eastern Chalukya grants) to be used in the sense of *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, ‘on the occasion of the sun’s entering upon his northern course.’

<sup>4</sup> From impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

<sup>5</sup> Except for some various readings the most important of which have been given above under A, the preceding portion of the text is the same as in A, and need not therefore be published.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>7</sup> Read *tasya*, which is the reading of A.

<sup>8</sup> Read =apālayat.

<sup>9</sup> The same *akṣara* *tha*, between two signs of punctuation, is used at the end of Vidyādharaḥṣaṇja’s plates mentioned above. Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 140, note 46, and Prof. Bühler’s *Ind. Palaeographie*, p. 86. There should have been no sign of punctuation after *kuśālinī*.

## Second Side.

- 23 <sup>1</sup>bhaviṣṭyan-mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-rājaputr-āntarāgara-<sup>2</sup>kumārāmāty-u (ō) p a r i k a -  
vishayapati-tadāyu-
- 24 ktaka-dāṇḍapāsika-sṭhānāntarikā[n]=anyān=api rājaprasādinaś=chāṭa-bhaṭa-  
vallabhajāṭṭy[ā]-
- 25 n=Arttani-vishayā=pi mahāmata-tura-<sup>3</sup>vṛi(bṛi)hadbbhōgi-pustakapāla-[ku]ṭakōlas-  
ādy-[ā]dhikarāṇa<sup>4</sup>
- 26 yathārha[m\*] mānayati vō(bō)dhayati sajjāpayati<sup>5</sup> cha [i\*] Vīditam=astu  
bhavata(tā)m=ētaḍ-vishaya-samva(mba)ddha-[Ga]-
- 27 rasāmbhā-grāmaḥ sōparikarāḥ sōddāṣaḥ sa-tavra(ntra)vāya-gōkuṭa-sō(sau)ṇḍi[k]-ādi-  
prakṛita(ti)kaḥ
- 28 sa-khēta-ghaṭṭa-nadi(dī)tarasthān-ādi-gulmakāḥ sarvō(rva)-pi(pī)ḍā-vivarjitō=lōkhanī-  
pravēsatay[ā]<sup>6</sup>
- 29 <sup>7</sup>bhumichchhitr-āpidhāna-nyāyēn=ā-chandr-ārka-kṣhiti-sama-kāla[m\*] <sup>8</sup>mātāpimātāpi-  
trōr=ātmanāḥ sarva-sa[t\*]tvānāñ=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayō Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kā-
- 30 śyap-Āvachchhā-<sup>9</sup>Naidhruva-pravarāya <sup>10</sup>Vājasēna-charanāya Kāpvaśākha-āyadhy[ā]y[i]-<sup>11</sup>
- 31 nē bhaṭa(ṭṭa)putra-Purushōta(ṭṭa)māya<sup>12</sup> ih=aiva utrāyanē datam<sup>13</sup> mātāpitṛō-
- 32 r=ātmanas=cha puṇy-āpivṛiddhayō<sup>14</sup> śaliladhārā-purasarēna<sup>15</sup> chandr-ārka-kṣhi-
- 33 ti-sama-kālam=akari(rī)kritya pratipāditō=smābbhir-yatām(taḥ)<sup>16</sup> āhā(ā)śāna-
- 34 darsha(rśa)nā-
- 35 d=dharma-gō(gaṇ)ravād=asmad-gauravāch=cha na kēnachit=paripanthinā  
bhavitavyam [i\*] Iti<sup>17</sup> kama-
- 36 ladal-āmva(mbu)vindu-lōlā[m\*] śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya mānasya(shya)-jī(jī)vitam  
cha [i\*] śa(sa)kālam=idam=udārhitā<sup>18</sup> vu-
- 37 dhvā na hi puruśai(śaiḥ) para-ki[r]tayō vilōpyā[h] || Lōkhakō  
mā(ma)hākṣhapāṭalika-Bhōgaḍaḥ | Utkīrnam<sup>19</sup> tam-
- 38 [vā?]ra-<sup>20</sup>[Kāṇṭha?]kakēna i(ii) Grāmō=yam prasiddhā-[da]tāśma[ś=cha?]<sup>21</sup> [i\*]  
Āsya grāmasy=ā[r]ddhō bhāgaḥ Purushōta(ṭṭa)mēna Kau-
- 39 śika-gōtrāya<sup>22</sup> Autalya-Viśvāmitra-Dēvarāja-<sup>23</sup>pravara-bhaṭa(ṭṭa)putra-Ravikāya dattāḥ  
ardhdha<sup>24</sup> amūśam [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> Before this one misses the word *varṇamāna*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *āntarāgra*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *mahāmahattara*.

<sup>4</sup> Officials named *pustakapāla* I have not found mentioned elsewhere; the following [ku]ṭakōlas- I am unable to explain; and instead of -[ā]dhikarāṇa I should have expected *ādīkaraṇikā*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *samjāpayati*.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 139, note 8.

<sup>7</sup> Read *bhumichchhitr-dbhīdhāna*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *mātāpi* (only once).

<sup>9</sup> Read *āśvattā*.

<sup>10</sup> See the same form of the word (*Vājasēna* for *Vājasanīya*) above, Vol. IV, p. 200, l. 14, and note 13.

<sup>11</sup> Read *ādhyāyī*.

<sup>12</sup> Originally *ādya* was engraved; read *ādya-śāśa-ōttarādyā*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *dattō*; but this word and the following as far as *ōttarādyā* should have been omitted.

<sup>14</sup> Read *puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayō*; compare *puṇy-āpivṛiddhayō* above, Vol. IV, p. 200, l. 18; and *puṇya-yatā* p. *ivarddhā* *ibid.* p. 269, l. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Read *śaliladhārā-purāśarēna* (for *śarām*); compare above, Vol. III, p. 46, l. 40; Vol. IV, p. 200, l. 14; and elsewhere. Some grants have *śaliladhārā-purāśarēna vīdhīnā*.

<sup>16</sup> Compare above, Vol. IV, p. 201, l. 21.

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Pushpitāgrā. For the spelling of some words of this verse compare *ibid.* ll. 32 and 33.

<sup>18</sup> Read *uddhṛitam cha buddhā*.

<sup>19</sup> Read *atīrnam*.

<sup>20</sup> Read *tamdrā* (for *tamrakdrā* ?); compare *kāśādrā* for *kāśayādrā*.

<sup>21</sup> Read *prasiddhā-chaṭuṣṭamaś=cha*. The last *akṣara*, which I have given as *śka*, looks in the original like *ni*, preceded by part of the letter *ś*.

<sup>22</sup> Read *gotrāy=Autalya*.

<sup>23</sup> Read *Dēvarāja*.

<sup>24</sup> Intended for *ardhō-māśa*, but these words are superfluous.

No. 14.—PLATES OF THE TIME OF SASANKARAJA;  
GUPTA-SAMVAT 300.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

These plates were received in February 1900 from Mr. H. D. Taylor, I.C.S., Acting Collector of Gañjām, in whose office they had been lying unclaimed. It is not known where they come from. They will be deposited in the Madras Museum.

These are three copper-plates, the first of which bears writing on one side only, and the other two on both sides. But the second side of the third plate is so much worn that I have not been able to read the whole of it. The plates measure  $5\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth and  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in height. Their edges are slightly raised into rims for the protection of the writing. On the left side of each plate a hole is bored for passing through a ring, which is  $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and which was cut by Mr. Venkayya on receipt of the plates. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an elliptical seal, which measures 1" by  $1\frac{3}{8}$ ". In the depression of the seal are, in relief, a couchant bull facing the proper right, a vertical line across the breadth of the seal, and at the bottom the legend *Śrī-Saṁyabhitā[y\*]a*.

The alphabet is the 'acute-angled type with nail-heads,' which forms the transition from the Gupta to the Nāgarī alphabet.<sup>1</sup> Two signs of interpunctuation are used, viz. a single horizontal line (ll. 1, 24, 27) which corresponds to the single vertical line of other records, and the usual double vertical line.—As regards orthography, I would note that the *upadhmanīya* occurs twice (ll. 5 and 17) and that *b* is throughout represented by the sign for *v*. In *saṁhāra* (l. 16) the guttural nasal stands for the *anusvāra*; in *nri(tri)bhuvaṇa* (l. 17) the vowel *ri* takes the place of the syllable *ri*; and in *saṁhāra* (l. 5) *h* is an error for *gh*. The group *ddy* is simplified into *dy* in *udyōtita* (l. 15), while *t* is doubled before *r* in *śatattrayē* (l. 2), *mātāpitrōḥ* (l. 21) and *gōttra* (l. 22). The *anusvāra* is generally changed into the corresponding nasal before consonants of the five first classes. Two cases of wrong *saṁdhi* are *paradattam=va* (l. 27) and *ādāt=mahārāja* (l. 8).—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The bulk of it is in prose; lines 24 to 29 contain four imprecatory verses; and after them there seems to have been a fifth verse of which I can read only the last word (l. 31). The Sanskrit of the prose portion is not very correct. Thus in line 8 f. the words *priya-tanayō mahārājā(ja)-Yaśōbhītaḥ* ought to stand in the genitive case and the following pronoun *tasya* ought to be omitted; in line 11 four words have to be transposed; line 16 contains a compound in which two superfluous synonyms are included; and in line 21 f. we find *arddhēṇa* and *purassarēṇa* for *arthē* and *purassaram*.

The inscription is dated in the Gupta year three hundred (l. 2), i.e. in Gupta-Samvat 300 = A.D. 619-20, and during the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅkarāja* (l. 3). This king is probably identical with Śaśāṅka, the king of Karnaśuvārṇa, who, according to Hsien Tsiang,<sup>2</sup> murdered Rājyavardhana, the elder brother and predecessor of the great king Harsha of Thāṇṇesar. In Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* the slaying of Rājyavardhana is attributed to the king of Gauda who, according to one manuscript of the *Śrīharshacharita*, was called Narēndragupta,<sup>3</sup> but who, according to the commentator on the *Harshacharita*,<sup>4</sup> was named Śaśāṅka. The translators of the *Harshacharita* very ingeniously find an allusion to king Śaśāṅka in the word *śaśāṅka-maṇḍalam*.<sup>5</sup> If the Śaśāṅka of the *Sī-yu-ki* and of the *Harshacharita* is

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, § 23.

<sup>2</sup> Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Bombay 1892, p. 195.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199, and Cowell and Thomas' translation, p. x and p. 275.

really identical with the Śaśāṅkarāja of this inscription, it follows that he must have continued to reign at least 13 years after the murder of Rājyavardhana and the accession of Harsha.

As, at the beginning of the inscription, Śaśāṅkarāja is mentioned as the *Mahārājādhirāja* ruling the earth, he must be understood to have been the sovereign of the prince who issued the grant. This was the *Mahārāja Mahāśānta Mādhavarāja II.* (l. 17 f.) of the Śailōdbhava family (l. 10), the son of Yaśōbhita (l. 9) and grandson of Mādhavarāja I. (l. 8). He was a worshipper of Śiva (ll. 14-17) and, to judge from the legend on the seal of his grant, bore the surname Sainyabhita. The only other inscription of the same dynasty, which has been published, are the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavarman, surnamed Sainyabhita,<sup>1</sup> of the family of Śailōdbhava.<sup>2</sup> As the alphabet of these plates is considerably more modern than that of the subjoined inscription, it follows that Yaśōbhita's son Sainyabhita Mādhavarman of the Buguḍa plates was a remote descendant of Yaśōbhita's son Sainyabhita Mādhavarāja II., the contemporary and subordinate of Śaśāṅkarāja.

At an eclipse of the sun (l. 23) Mādhavarāja II. granted to a Brāhmaṇa the village of Chhavalakkhaya (l. 18 f.) in the Krishnagiri-vishaya. He issued his order 'from the victorious Kōṅgēda' (l. 8) on the bank of the Śālimā river (l. 7). None of these local names can be traced on the map at present. Krishnagiri, the head-quarters of the *vishaya*, might be identical with its synonym Nilagiri, which is a name of Jagannātha (Puri) in Orissa.<sup>3</sup> Kōṅgēda is mentioned in the form Kaṅgōda as the residence of Mādhavarman in the Buguḍa plates (l. 29), and the Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala occurs in the two grants of Dapḍimahādēvi. Professor Kielhorn identifies Kōṅgōda with the Kong-u-t'o of Hiuen Tsiang.<sup>4</sup>

#### TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

##### First Plate.

- 1 श्री<sup>6</sup> स्वस्ति । चतुस्रदधिसलिलवीचीमिखलानिलीनायां सद्दीपा-<sup>7</sup>
- 2 गरपत्तनवत्या वसुन्धरायां गौताब्दे<sup>8</sup> वर्षशतत्रये वर्त्तमाने
- 3 महाराजाधिराजाश्रीमहाह्वराज्ये<sup>9</sup> शासति गगणतल-
- 4 विनि[\*]सुतभगीरथावतारिताया हिमवन्निरेक्षपरि
- 5 पतना[द\*]नेकशिलासंज्ञातविभिन्नवह्निपातालात्तर्जलौघे<sup>10</sup>
- 6 सुरसरित इव विविधतक्षरकुसुमसंज्ञकोभयतटा-

##### Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 न्तविनिपतितजलाशयायाः श[र]लिमासरितः <sup>11</sup>कुला[प]कण्ठा-
- 8 <sup>12</sup>हेजयकोङ्केदात्महाराजमहासामन्तश्रीमाधवराजस्य प्रियतनयो
- 9 महाराज(र)यश्रीभीतस्तस्यापि प्रियसुतः स्वगुण[म]रीचिनिकर-
- 10 <sup>13</sup>प्रबोधितशिलोद्भवकुलकमलो विकीरणीलोत्पल-

<sup>1</sup> In taking Sainyabhita (verse 9 of the Buguḍa plates) as a surname of Mādhavarman (v. 12 of the same plates) I differ from Professor Kielhorn, who understands Mādhavarman to have been the son of Sainyabhita.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 41 E.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India*, No. I. p. 59, note 3, and p. 69, No. 291.

<sup>4</sup> See page 136 above.

<sup>5</sup> From the original copper-plates.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Read सद्दीपनिरपत्तनवत्या.

<sup>8</sup> Read गौताब्दे.

<sup>9</sup> Read °राजश्रीमहाह्वराज्ये.

<sup>10</sup> Read °संज्ञातविभिन्नवह्निपातालात्तर्जलौघायाः(P).

<sup>11</sup> Read कुलोप°.

<sup>12</sup> Read °हेजयकोङ्केदात्महाराज°.

<sup>13</sup> Read प्रबोधित.

i.

ॐ श्री-सुभद्रादेव्यै नमः ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥  
 २ ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥  
 ४ ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥  
 ६ ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥

ii a.

ॐ श्री-सुभद्रादेव्यै नमः ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥  
 ८ ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥  
 १० ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥  
 १२ ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥

ii b.

ॐ श्री-सुभद्रादेव्यै नमः ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥  
 १४ ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥  
 १६ ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥  
 १८ ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥  
 २० ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥ यथासाधनं विनाशं कुरुते ॥

iii a.

22  
24  
26

22  
24  
26

22  
24  
26

iii b.

23  
30

28  
30

- 11 प्रतिस्वर्णि(नी)खड्गधारानिमित्तनिश्चेषप्रतिष्ठतरिपु-<sup>1</sup>  
 12 वली<sup>2</sup> दीनानायकपणवनीपकोपभुज्यमानविभवः खभु-  
 13 जपरिचयुगलोपार्जितनृपत्री[:\*] कमलविमलरुधर-<sup>3</sup>

*Second Plate; Second Side.*

- 14 तनुर्जगन्म[ख\*]लमण्डनश्रुतशौर्यधैर्यगुणान्वितो महाहृषभपर्यङ्क-  
 15 'ककुधोपधानविन्यस्तवाहीर्वालचन्द्रोद्योतितजटाकलापैकदे-  
 16 शस्य भगवतस्त्रित्युत्पत्तिप्रलयसृष्टिसङ्कारकारणस्य<sup>4</sup>  
 17 'नृभुवनगुरो'पादभक्तः परमब्रह्मस्थो<sup>5</sup> महाराजमहासा-  
 18 मन्तश्रीमाधवराजः कुशली कृष्णगिरिविषयसंवद्वच्छवल-<sup>6</sup>  
 19 क्लयग्रामे 'वर्त्तमानभविष्यकुमारामात्योपरिकतदायुक्तकानन्यास'<sup>7</sup>  
 20 यद्यार्ह<sup>8</sup> पूजयति मानयति च [i\*] विदितमस्तु भवतामयं ग्रामो-

*Third Plate; First Side.*

- 21 आभिरर्क्षेण<sup>9</sup> मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिष्टुभये सलिलधारायुर-  
 22 'स्मरेणाचन्द्रार्कसमकालीनाक्षयनीये'<sup>10</sup> भरद्वाजसमीक्षायाङ्गि-  
 23 रसवार्हस्यप्रवराय<sup>11</sup> हरम्पस्वामिने सूर्योपरानी प्रतिपादित[:\*] ॥  
 24 उक्तश्च श्रुतिशास्त्रे । 'वहुभिर्बहुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [i\*]  
 25 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमितस्य<sup>12</sup> तस्य तदा फलं ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा-  
 26 णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [i\*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके  
 27 वसे[त्\*] ॥ स्वदत्ता<sup>13</sup> परदत्ताम्बा (i) यो हरेत वसुधरा[म् i\*] स विष्ठायां

*Third Plate; Second Side.*

- 28 [क्षमि]र्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पश्यते ॥ मा<sup>14</sup> भुतफलशङ्का व[:] परदत्ते-  
 29 [ ति ] पार्थिव[i\*] ॥ स्वदाना[त्\*] फलमानन्त्य<sup>15</sup> (ii) परदत्तानुपालने ॥ . . .  
 30 . . . . .  
 31 [प्र]यच्छति ॥

<sup>1</sup> निमित्त ought to stand before खड्गधार, and प्रतिष्ठत before निश्चेष.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'वली.

<sup>3</sup> Read रुधिर.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'ककुधोपधानविन्यस्तवाहीर्वालचन्द्रोद्योतित'.

<sup>5</sup> Read संहार.

<sup>6</sup> Read चिभुवन.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'ब्रह्मस्थो.

<sup>8</sup> Read संवत्.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'भविष्यकु'.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'व्यास.

<sup>11</sup> Read यद्यार्ह.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'रक्षे.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'स्वरमा'.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'क्षीनोषययीयो.

<sup>15</sup> Read वार्हस्य.

<sup>16</sup> Read वहु'.

<sup>17</sup> Read भूमितस्य.

<sup>18</sup> Read स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा.

<sup>19</sup> Read भूदफल'.

<sup>20</sup> Read 'नरकं.

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om*. Hail! While the Gupta year three hundred was current (and) while the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Śaśāṅkarāja*, was ruling over the earth surrounded by the girdle of the waves of the water of the four oceans, together with islands, mountains and cities,—from the victorious *Kōṅgēda* near the bank of the *Śālimā* river, on both of whose banks, covered with the flowers of various excellent trees, pools of water have formed, (and which therefore) resembles the river of the gods (*Gaṅgā*), which issued from the sky, which was brought down by *Bhagīratha*, (and) the streams of whose water are split and dashed outside by many masses of rock at (her) fall on the top of the Snowy Mountain,—the dear son of the *Mahārāja Yaśōbhita*, (who was) the dear son of the *Mahārāja Mahāśānta*, the glorious *Mādhavarāja* (I.),—the very pious *Mahārāja Mahāśānta*, the glorious *Mādhavarāja* (II.), who has caused to bloom the lotus—the *Śilōdbhava* family, by the mass of rays—his virtues; who has repulsed the armies of all the enemies by the sharp edge of (his) sword which rivals an unfolded<sup>1</sup> flower of the blue lotus; whose wealth is being enjoyed by the distressed, helpless, poor, and mendicants; who has acquired the prosperity of a prince by the pair of his bar-like arms; whose body is as spotless and as brilliant as a lotus; who possesses the virtues of learning, courage and constancy which adorn the whole world; (and) who is devoted to the feet of the blessed lord of the three worlds (*viz.* *Śiva*) who is the cause of existence, creation and destruction,<sup>2</sup> whose arms are placed on the hump of the great bull (*viz.* *Nandi*) as on the pillow of a couch, (and) whose matted hair is illuminated in one place by the crescent of the moon,—being in good health, suitably worships and honours princes, ministers, officers, their subordinates, and others who are present or shall be present at the village of *Chhavalakkhaya* which belongs to the *Kṛishnagiri-vishaya*, (and informs them as follows) :—

(L. 20.) “Let it be known to you (*that*), for the sake of (*our*) father and mother and for the increase of (*our*) own merit, with libations of water, at an eclipse of the sun, we have given this village, to last for the same time as the moon and the sun, to *Chharampaśvāmin* who belongs to the *gōtra* of *Bharadvāja* (and) has the *pravara*s of *Āṅgīra*s and *Bārhaspatya*.”

(L. 24.) And it is said in the Law-book (*Smṛitīśāstra*):<sup>3</sup> [Here follow four of the customary verses, and perhaps a fifth verse which is obliterated.]

## No. 15.—TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS AT AMARAVATI.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

These two inscriptions (Nos. 269 and 270 of 1897) are engraved on the four sides of a pillar at the southern entrance to the central shrine of the *Amaréśvara* temple at *Amarāvati* in the *Sattenapalli tāluka* of the *Kistna* district. The alphabet is *Telugu*, and the languages are *Sanskrit* and *Telugu*.

## A.—Inscription of Kēta II.;

Śaka-Samvat 1104.

This inscription contains 52 *Sanskrit* verses. There are passages in *Telugu* prose in lines 108 to 127, 131 to 149, and 170 to 187.

The inscription opens with the mention of the city of *Śrī-Dhānyakataka*, which contains the *Śiva* temple called *Amaréśvara*, and close to which is ‘a very lofty *Chaitya*’ of god *Buddha*

<sup>1</sup> This meaning of *vikōśa* is not given in the dictionaries.

<sup>2</sup> The words *śrīṣṭī* and *śamādra* are mere repetitions of *śipatti* and *pralaya*.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (I. 44 f.) the same four verses are stated to be quotations from the Law of *Manu*.

(v. 1 f.). Dhānyakāṭaka is the old name of the present Amarāvati;<sup>1</sup> the temple of Amarēśvara is the one in which the inscription is preserved; and the *Chaitya* of Buddha is the famous Amarāvati Stūpa, which at the time of the inscription must have been still in good preservation. In that city, the inscription continues, was a royal family which claimed descent from the feet of the Creator (v. 3 f.), i.e. which belonged to the Śūdra caste. Four generations are mentioned, viz. Bhīma I. (v. 6), Kēta I. (v. 24), Bhīma II. (v. 28) whose wife was Sabbamādēvi (v. 32), and Kēta II. (v. 33). Nothing of historical importance is related of any of these princes in the 43 Sanskrit verses with which the inscription opens. The first passage in Telugu (l. 108 ff.) gives a list of the *birudas*<sup>2</sup> of Kēta II. He was styled the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṭa-Kētarāja*,—in which the word *Kōṭa*, 'the fort,' perhaps refers to the fort of Dharaṇikōṭa<sup>3</sup> near Amarāvati,—'the lord of the district of six-thousand (villages) on the southern (bank) of the Krishnavennā river, obtained through the favour of the glorious Triṇayana-Pallava,'<sup>4</sup> and 'the lord of Śrī-Dhānyakāṭaka, the best of cities.' Two further generations of the same family are known from the Yenamadala inscription of Gaṇapāmbā,<sup>5</sup> which mentions Kēta (identical with Kēta II.), his son Rudra, and the latter's son Bēta who became the husband of the Kākatiya princess Gaṇapāmbā.

The grants recorded in the inscription were all made on Thursday, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha in Śaka-Samvat 1104.<sup>6</sup> The grants are five in number. The 1st, 2nd and 5th are specified both in Sanskrit verse and Telugu prose, while the 3rd and 4th are only worded in Telugu:—(1) Kēta II. granted to Buddha the village of Kranteru in the district of Kaṇḍravāḍi, and the villages of Mēḍukonḍūru and Doṅkiparṇu in the district of Koṇḍapaḍumati (v. 44 and ll. 121 to 124); (2) Kēta II. granted to Buddha 110 sheep, the milk of which had to be used for ghee to feed two perpetual lamps (v. 46 and the subsequent Telugu passage); (3) Gaṣavi-Sūramadēvi, one of the king's concubines, gave to Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp (l. 141 ff.); (4) a similar gift was made by Prōlamadēvi, apparently another of the king's favourites (l. 145 ff.); and (5) Kēta II. himself granted to Brāhmaṇas the following villages for the merit of his mother Sabbamādēvi,<sup>7</sup> of his father Bhīmarāja,<sup>8</sup> of his elder brother Chōḍerāja,<sup>9</sup> and for his own merit:—Kōkallu (v. 48) in the district of Goṇḍanātavāḍi (l. 173); Giṇḍipāḍu, Challagarā and Tāḍivāya (v. 49) in the same district (l. 176); Ammalapāṇḍi (v. 50) in the same district (l. 179 f.); Kuṇṭimaddi and Uppalapāḍu (v. 51) in the same district (l. 182); Sattenapalli, Chintapalli (v. 51), Kēteṇipalli and Eṇṇagunṭa (l. 184 f.) in the district of Koṇḍapaḍumati (l. 183 f.); and Oṅkadona (v. 51) in the district of Doḍḍikaṇḍravāḍi (l. 185). The names of these villages were changed, respectively, into Sabbāmbikāpuram (l. 174) after the name of his mother; Bhīmāvuram (l. 177 f.) after that of his father; Chōḍāvuram (l. 180 f.) after that of his elder brother; and Jagamechehuganḍapuram (l. 185 f.) after one of his own surnames.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 85 and note 4. The village of Viripara (*loc. cit.*) is perhaps the modern Vipparla (No. 95 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli taluka), 12 miles west of Amarāvati.

<sup>2</sup> Four of these are not Telugu, but Kanarese, viz. *Kaṭigaḷa-mogada-kai*, *Bēḍavarig-tva-kai*, *Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa* and *Nanni-mārtanḍa*.

<sup>3</sup> See Mr. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> The same *biruda* occurs in the Yenamadala inscription; above, Vol. III. p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> This date is given five times: v. 44, ll. 119 to 121, v. 46, l. 183 f., and v. 47. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks:—"The date is incorrect. It would correspond, for Ś. 1104 current, to Saturday, the 16th January A.D. 1182; for Ś. 1104 expired, to Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1183, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise; and for Ś. 1105 expired, to Tuesday, the 24th January A.D. 1184. I am of opinion that the year intended is Ś. 1104 expired, and that either the week-day or the *tithi* has been quoted incorrectly."

<sup>7</sup> Identical with Sabbamādēvi (v. 32).

<sup>8</sup> Identical with Bhīma II. (v. 28).

<sup>9</sup> The same person is mentioned in No. 267 of 1897 as '(his) elder brother Kōṭa-Chōḍarāja' (*anna Gōḷa-Chōḍarāja*).

It appears from the foregoing abstract that the majority of the villages were granted to Brāhmanas, but that, in spite of that, and though Kēta II. and his predecessors were worshippers of Śiva-Amarēśvara,<sup>1</sup> he granted three villages and two lamps to Buddha, and two further lamps were granted to Buddha by two of the inmates of his harem. This proves what is already suggested by the second verse of the inscription, that at the time of Kēta II. the Buddhist religion continued to have votaries in the Telugu country and was tolerated and supported by the Hindū rulers of Amarāvati. I hope I am not unjust to Kēta II. if I suggest that his gifts to Buddha were a case of '*Cherchez la femme*!' The two *dēvis* of his who granted lamps to Buddha may have been Buddhist *upāsikās* and may have induced him to join them in making donations to their own god, though he professed the Śaiva creed. It may have been to atone for his apostasy that he subsequently granted a large number of villages to Brāhmanas, as recorded in the inscription.

The villages granted by Kēta II. belonged to four different districts:—Kaṇḍravāḍi, Doḍḍikaṇḍravāḍi, Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi, and Goṇḍanātavāḍi. Kaṇḍravāḍi is evidently the same as the Kaṇḍeruvāḍi-vishaya of the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> which also mention an Uttara-Kaṇḍeruvāḍi-vishaya.<sup>3</sup> Doḍḍikaṇḍravāḍi is perhaps meant for Doḍḍakaṇḍravāḍi, i.e. 'the great Kaṇḍravāḍi.' The district of Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi corresponds to the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli tāluka of the Kistna district; for, the villages of Mēḍukonḍūru, Doṇkiparru, Sattenapalli, Chintapalli and Erragunṭa<sup>4</sup> are identical with the modern Medikondur, Dokiparru, Sattenapalli, Chintapalli and Yerraguntapadu.<sup>5</sup> Goṇḍanātavāḍi is identical with the Konnātavāḍi-vishaya which was ruled over by Kēta II. according to the Yenamadala inscription.<sup>6</sup> It corresponds to the western portion of the Sattenapalli tāluka; for, the villages of Giḷḷipāḍu, Challagarā, Tāḍivāya, Kuṇṭimaddi and Uppalapāḍu<sup>7</sup> are identical with the modern Gunjapalli, Challagaregi, Taduvaya, Kuntamaddi and Vuppalapadu.<sup>8</sup>

The date of the present inscription was probably the very day of the accession of Kēta II. to the throne.<sup>9</sup> Two other inscriptions of the Amarēśvara temple (Nos. 257 and 264 of 1897) are dated on the very same day. From the first of them we learn that Sabbā (or Sabbamā), the mother of Kēta II., was the sister of Goṅka,<sup>10</sup> who is probably identical with Goṅka III. of Velanāḍu.<sup>11</sup> Later inscriptions of Kēta II. at Amarāvati and Peddacherukūru are dated in Śaka-Samvat 1119, 1122 and 1131.<sup>12</sup>

TEXT.<sup>13</sup>East Face.<sup>14</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>15</sup> [॥\*] अस्मि श्रीधा[न्य]कटकं [पुरं सुरपुरा]हरं । यथाभरेख-  
2 रथंभुरभरेखरपूजितः ॥ [१\*] बुद्धो देव[सु]-

<sup>1</sup> See verse 3 and l. 118 f.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 127.<sup>3</sup> Nos. 188, 186, 148, 22 and 164 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tāluka.<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 102, v. 11.<sup>5</sup> Nos. 19, 20, 21, 18 and 51 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tāluka.<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 155, note 2.<sup>7</sup> No. 257 of 1897, ll. 29 to 33:—

सूपाकरवयसस्तुल्यवर्जिता नौचचित्तौवर्जिनो भगिनी गुवासा ।

सम्पादया कलकषादकरा सुटं श्रीकलाभनप्रियतमा पुदवीतलस ।

<sup>8</sup> See above, Vol. IV. pp. 35, 37 and 38.<sup>9</sup> Nos. 261, 251 and 244 of 1897.<sup>10</sup> From an inked stampage, prepared in 1897 by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.<sup>11</sup> All the verses of this face, with the exception of verse 2, are found also on the east face of No. 262 of 1897.<sup>12</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 सान्निध्यो यत्र धाम्ना प्रपूजितः । चै-  
 4 त्यमत्युन्नतं यत्र नानाचित्रसु-  
 5 चित्रितं ॥ [२\*] अस्ति तत्र स्थिरैश्वर्यं राज्ञामाज्ञावतां  
 6 कुलं । अमरेश्वरदेवेन रक्षितं रक्षकं नृणां ॥ [३\*] जातं सु-  
 7 रेंद्रदैत्यैर्द्रमुनीन्द्रगणवदितात् । श्रेयसां<sup>१</sup>  
 8 भूयसां दातुर्वातुर्थश्चरणहयात् ॥ [४\*] क्षी-  
 9 णीक्षेमंकरा भूपा यत्र शत्रुभयंकराः ।  
 10 शंकरास्त्राधुहत्तानां शंकरस्य तु किंकराः ॥ [५\*]  
 11 तन्नामरेशसंकाशो भीमो नाम नृपोभवत् ।  
 12 विश्वे विश्वंभराधीश यत्पदाङ्गुजपद्मदाः ॥ [६\*]  
 13 उर्वीपतिषु सर्वेषु सदृक्षो यस्य नेक्षितः ।  
 14 प्रजानां पालने सम्यग्दिषासुश्रूषणे तदा<sup>२</sup> ॥ [७\*]  
 15 चक्रे पवित्रचारित्र्यो भक्त्या शक्त्या च भव्यया ।  
 16 यस्सुरेशाक्षरेशांश्च वरदास्करदानपि ॥ [८\*] यो  
 17 भूरिभक्तिसुप्रीतशर्वस्वमनोरथान् ।  
 18 कृतवान्निवसंचस्य कृतवाञ्छन्नुसंहतेः ॥ [९\*]  
 19 विष्णोःपितृणां यस्य विष्णोरितरणान्तरा ।  
 20 वीरपूरितजंभारिपुरा रणपरंपरा ॥ [१०\*]  
 21 यस्य च्छाचक्रशक्रस्य चक्रिचक्रसमीजसा ।  
 22 चक्रेषु विक्रम्य दिशां चक्रं चक्रे भृशं वशं ॥ [११\*]  
 23 क्षिप्रं विपक्षवक्षांसि पाटयंत्येतिपाट-  
 24 वात् । नृसिंहनखरेभ्योपि प्रखरा यच्छरा वधुः ॥ [१२\*]  
 25 कात्या पूरणां<sup>३</sup> रणे तूर्णं<sup>४</sup> यदनुप्रेरितैश्चरैः<sup>५</sup> ।  
 26 अर्धचंद्रैर्व्यलूयंतं<sup>६</sup> वक्रचंद्रा विरोधिनां ॥ [१३\*]  
 27 महामहीध्रानारोह्यद्रुषे विदुता द्विवः [१\*]  
 28 तीक्ष्णैः<sup>७</sup> क्षुब्धाः पुनश्चक्षैर्धा मयातिशयादिव ॥ [१४\*]  
 29 यद्गटोद्गटदोर्द्विचंडासुधविखंडिताः [१\*]  
 30 अखंडविक्रमाश्चाक्रमाक्रामचरयः पुरं [॥] [१५\*]  
 31 पांसुव्राते समुध्मूते<sup>८</sup> यद्ययैश्चमरीध्वतैः<sup>९</sup> [१\*]

<sup>१</sup> The *anuredra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>२</sup> No. 262 of 1897 reads तदा.

<sup>३</sup> No. 262 of 1897 reads "नेत्रितैः".

<sup>४</sup> Read समुध्मूते.

<sup>५</sup> Read पुरणां.

<sup>६</sup> Read "रीरते".

<sup>७</sup> Read तूर्णं.

<sup>८</sup> No. 262 of 1897 reads "चंद्रैर्व्य".

- 32 व्योमव्यापिनि सक्तेषं समुत्ससाध्वसमयः ॥ [१६\*]  
 33 नमयन्ती भुवं भीमाः पदव्यासेन यज्ञजाः ।  
 34 द्विजानां रणे चक्रुर्द्विजानां च पीडनं ॥ [१७\*]  
 35 चलयद्भी रणारंभेष्वचलामचलैस्सह ।  
 36 यज्ञलैश्चक्रुर्गौर्याणां चालनं लीलया कृत ॥ [१८\*]  
 37 प्राकारैः पातितैस्सम्यक्परिखाः परिपूर्य्य यः ।  
 38 प्रध्वंस<sup>१</sup> रिपुदुर्गाणां प्रागभावसमं व्यधात् ॥ [१९\*]  
 39 दूरस्था अपि वीरस्य यस्य भ्राजिष्णुतेजसः ।  
 40 आज्ञां कुर्व्वति सर्व्वं स भूभृतः प्राभृतप्रभाः<sup>२</sup> ॥ [२०\*]  
 41 येन धर्मप्रधानेन कारुण्योपेतचेतसा । पु-  
 42 त्रा इव परित्राताश्चक्रवर्क्षरणागताः ॥ [२१\*]  
 43 चरित्रेण पवित्रेण विद्यया निरवद्यया ।  
 44 भूषितास्तोषिता येन भूसुरा भासुरान्वयाः ॥ [२२\*]  
 45 विवेकेनारिषड्वर्णमरिवर्मा भुजौजसा । जि-  
 46 त्वार्जितचतुर्व्वर्णां नृपवर्मां रराज यः ॥ [२३\*] ❀

North Face.

- 47 ❀ तस्य प्रशस्यचारित्र[स्या]तः  
 48 केतनृपस्तुतः । पटुर्द्दिनार्तिहर[णे]  
 49 रणे वितरणे च यः ॥ [२४\*] युष्टे यष्टे-  
 50 तिभित्तारिकिरीटमणिभिः<sup>३</sup> श्रिता । घना-  
 51 हतोत्तमलोहस्फुलिंगैरिव भूर-  
 52 भात् ॥ [२५\*] बहुशोभिसुखप्राप्तं  
 53 स्फुटाभ्यागमपर्व्वसु । राजमं-<sup>४</sup>  
 54 डलमग्रासि सम्यग्यज्ञादुराहु-  
 55 णा ॥ [२६\*] सर्व्वसर्व्व[स]हाधीशगर्व्वपर्व्व-  
 56 तपाटने । पटुः प्रथीयान्<sup>५</sup> प्रथितो  
 57 यत्प्रतापपविर्भुवि<sup>६</sup> ॥ [२७\*] तस्यासीद्भी-  
 58 मभूमीशस्तनयो विनयोमतः ।  
 59 यज्ञोभाश्चक्रुर्भूपानां भागां  
 60 भानुरिवाहरत् ॥ [२८\*] दूरपाता दृढा-

<sup>१</sup> No. 262 of 1897 reads प्रध्वंस.

<sup>२</sup> No. 262 of 1897 reads °प्रदाः.

<sup>३</sup> The *anusedra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>४</sup> Read प्रथीयान्.

<sup>५</sup> Read °पविर्भुवि.

- 61 घाता भोषणा रुक्मभूषणाः । च-  
 62 मोघा यस्य बाणौघा रेजिरे स-  
 63 मराजिरे ॥ [२८\*] विक्रमादक्रियन्तो-  
 64 शैर्येन नानाधराधराः । चस्त-  
 65 बुधरिचीशकुलाकुलगुहागृहाः ॥ [३०\*]  
 66 कृताः पुण्यवता येन सर्वसंप-  
 67 त्समन्विताः । विबुधा भूमिविबु-  
 68 धा विबुधा इव विष्णुना ॥ [३१\*] त-  
 69 ह्यार्या सब्बमादेवी ख्याता-  
 70 भूभुवि वीरसुः । वंश्याश्वी-  
 71 र्योन्नता यस्याः पित्रोः[\*] खग-  
 72 रयोरपि ॥ [३२\*] तस्मात्तस्यां समु-  
 73 दूतः केतभूषः प्रतापवान् ।  
 74 सङ्गुणैरुपमानानां योका-  
 75 र्षीदुपमेयतां ॥ [३३\*] नेता सम्य-  
 76 क्प्रजानां यो जेता युद्धेषु  
 77 विद्धिषां । दातार्षिभ्योर्यितार्था-  
 78 नां आता [च] शरणार्थिनां ॥ [३४\*] यः]  
 79 प्रहोक्तभूपालो भूपास-  
 80 नयपंडितः । पंडितस्तुत-  
 81 सङ्गुत्त[\*] सङ्गुत्तजनवत्सलः ॥ [३५\*] येन  
 82 ध्वस्तविभूतीनामरातीनाम-  
 83 भूभुखं । अंतस्संतापसप्ता-  
 84 र्चिर्भूमेनेव मलीमसं ॥ [३६\*] वा-  
 85 शैः किरणदेशीयेर्ध्वीतदेश्वादि-  
 86 पुद्दिपान् । तिग्मांशुकाद्या भिदं<sup>1</sup>  
 87 ति यद्गटा[स]मरोद्गटाः ॥ [३७\*] चित्तस-  
 88 त्रिवमौर्जीदुसुधाद्रौ इव यज्ञिरः ।]  
 89 मधुरा नित्यमानंदममंदं तन्व-  
 90 ते सतां ॥ [३८\*] प्रतिग्रामं प्रतिपुरं प्र-  
 91 त्त्विकः प्रतिचत्वरं । प्रतितोर्थं प्रति-

<sup>1</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 92 सभं यस्यौदार्यं प्रशस्यते ॥ [३८\*]  
 93 चित्रैस्त्रिचालयैर्यस्य पृथिव्यां [प्र]-  
 94 धितं ययः । बुभुक्षु[भिभुक्षु]-  
 95 घातप्रभूतप्रीतिहेतु[भि]: [॥ ४०\*] [ॐ]

## West Face.

- 96 ॐ अनंतप्राणिसुप्रीतिकारिभिर्भूरिवा-<sup>१</sup>  
 97 रिभिः । तडागैस्त्रागराभोगैर्यो विभूषि-  
 98 तभूतलः ॥ [४१\*] चारामान्योतनोत्सारात्स-  
 99 रोभिश्चोभितांतरान् । उत्फुल्लकंजकिंज-  
 100 ल्कपुंजपिंजरितांतरेः ॥ [४२\*] देशालयै-  
 101 स्सुधाशुभ्रैस्सुवर्णकलशांकितैः<sup>२</sup> । पता-  
 102 काचुंबिताभोदैर्यैश्चर्मो नीत उन्नति ॥ [४३\*]  
 103 शाकाब्दे युगखंडुरुपगणिते माघे  
 104 दशम्यां तिथौ शुक्लायां गुरुवासरे  
 105 गुणनिधिसंप्राप्तराज्योन्नतिः । श्रीम-  
 106 क्तैतद्वृषस्समस्तगुरवे ग्रामान्वरेखान्व-  
 107 ह्नसंप्रादात्सुगतेश्वराय विपुल-  
 108 श्रीर्धर्मसंतुष्टये ॥ [४४\*] ॐ ॐ ॐ स्वस्ति चतुश्चसु-  
 109 द्रमुद्रितनिखिलवसुंधरापरिपालकश्री-  
 110 मन्त्रिणयनपद्मवप्रसादासादितक्रिष्णवेश्वा-<sup>३</sup>  
 111 नदीदक्षिणषट्सहस्रावनीवत्सभ भयलोभ-  
 112 दुर्लभ चोडचाक्रुक्खसामंतमदानेक[प]-  
 113 सुगेंद्र विभवामरेंद्र श्रीमदमरेश्वरदेव-  
 114 दिव्यश्रीपादपद्माराधक परबलसाधक  
 115 श्रीधान्यकटकपुरवराधीश्वर प्रतापलंके-  
 116 श्वर कलिगळमोगदके वेङ्गरिगीवके गंडरगं-  
 117 ड गंडभेर्गंड जगमेजुगंड नन्निमार्त्त-<sup>४</sup>  
 118 ड नामादिसमस्तप्रशस्तिसहित श्रीमन्महा-  
 119 मंडलेश्वर कोटकेतरालुलु शकवर्धसुलु  
 120 ११०४ गुनेटि माघ शुद्ध १० गुरुवारसु-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'भिर्भूरि'.<sup>२</sup> Read 'सुवर्णक'.<sup>३</sup> Read 'लक्ष्मणेश्वर'.<sup>४</sup> The *anuvāsa* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 121 न श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकु सुंकमुल्लोतुगा सर्वा-  
 122 यमुल्लोतीनाचंद्रार्कमुगानिचिन ऊड्लु कंड-  
 123 वाडिल्लोनि क्रंतेऽ॥ कौडपडुमटिल्लोनि मेडु-  
 124 कौडूरुनु डौकिपळ्ळुनु [॥\*] ई ध[र्मा]म नडप-  
 125 निवारु पंचमहापातकमुल्लु सेसिनवा-  
 126 रु वारणासि व्रश्चिनवारु तम पेह कोडुकु क-  
 127 पालमुनं गुडिचिनवारु [॥\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां  
 128 वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । षष्टिं वर्षस-  
 129 हसाणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ [४५\*] ◎ ◎ ◎  
 130 ॐ वेदाशेदुमिते शाके माघे शुक्ले गुरोर्हिने । दशम्यां<sup>१</sup>  
 131 केतभूपालो दीपौ बुडाय दत्तवान् ॥ [४६\*] स्वस्ति सम-  
 132 स्तप्रशस्तिसहितं श्रीमन्महामंडलिखर कोटकेतरा-  
 133 जुल्लु शकवर्षमुल्लु ११०४ गुनेटि माघ शुक्ल १०  
 134 गुरुवारमुनं दमकु धर्मात्यमुगा श्रीमद्भु-  
 135 वदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिदीपमुल्लु रेटिकिने इचिन इ-  
 136 न्यएड्लु ११० [॥\*] वीनिल्लोनि दामकभमरेवोयुंडु [ए]भदेनु गो-  
 137 ळियलं जेकोनि आचंद्रार्कमुगां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन  
 138 नित्य मानेडु सेसि नेयि वीयंगलवांडु ॥ ऊटुकूरि के-  
 139 तेवोयुंडु एंभडेनु<sup>२</sup> गोऴियलं जेकोनि आचंद्रार्कमु-  
 140 गां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेडु सेसि नेयि वी-  
 141 यंगलवांडु ॥ ◎ भोगस्त्रील्लोनिं गसविसूरमदेवुल्लु द-  
 142 नकु धर्मात्यमुगा श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिदीपमु-  
 143 नकिचिन इत्यएड्लु ५५ [॥\*] वीनिं जेकोनि सव्वकमारवोयुंडु  
 आचंद्रा-  
 144 र्कमुगां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेडु सेसि नेयि वीयं-<sup>३</sup>  
 145 गलवांडु ॥ भंडारु प्रोलमदेवुल्लु दनकु धर्मात्यमुगा  
 146 श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकुनखंडवर्त्तिदीपमुनकिचिन इत्यएड्लु ५५ [॥\*]  
 147 विनिं<sup>४</sup> जेकोनि चेंबळ्ळु कोम्भनबोनि कोडुकु माचेनवोयुंडु  
 148 आचंद्रार्कमुगां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेडु  
 149 सेसि नेयि वीयंगलवांडु ॥ ◎ ◎ ◎ श्री श्री श्री [॥\*]

<sup>१</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>२</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>३</sup> Read एंभदेनु.<sup>४</sup> Read वीनिं.

South Face.<sup>1</sup>

- 150 ॐ शक[ब्दे] वार्हि[ता]रा[पय]शशिवसुधासन्नि[ति]  
 151 मा[च]मा[से] शुक्ले प[ञ्चे] दशम्यां त्रि[दि]वपरिवृढा-  
 152 चार्थ्य[वं]रे वरेण्ये । सीयं संप्राप्तराज्यस्यकल-  
 153 गुणनिधिः केतविश्वभरेशी ग्रामान् विज्ञातसीमा-  
 154 न् प्रथितगुणगणान् प्राददाद्वाङ्मणेभ्यः ॥ [४७\*]  
 155 ग्रामं [को]ककुनामानं प्रशस्यं सस्यसंप-  
 156 दा । विहङ्गो द्विजवर्येभ्यो जनन्या[ः\*] श्रेयसेद-  
 157 दात् ॥ [४८\*] गिंजिपाडुं चक्षगरां ताडिवायं<sup>३</sup>  
 158 च शोभनान् । ग्रामान्द्विजवा<sup>४</sup> कृतवान्भूय-  
 159 से श्रेयसे पितुः ॥ [४९\*] सम्यगन्मलपू[डिं\*] च ग्रामं<sup>५</sup>  
 160 भूमिगुणान्वितं । विप्रसात्कृतवाङ्मनातु-  
 161 र्ज्यायसे<sup>६</sup> श्रेयसे मुदा ॥ [५०\*] सत्तेनपत्तिं प्रा  
 162 दिशदुष्पलपाडुं<sup>७</sup> च चिंतपत्तीं च तथा<sup>८</sup> ।  
 163 षोडशदीनकुंठिमही धर्मात्यं स्वस्य स  
 164 द्विजेभ्यो ग्रामान् ॥ [५१\*] त्रीद्विप्रातैस्तुजातै-  
 165 रलघुफलभरैश्शालिसस्यैः प्रशस्यैश्चा-  
 166 [टै]स्तुप्ररुटैस्तिलयवच[ण]कैर्मुह-  
 167 भाषैश्चापीषैः । धान्यैश्चान्यैसमृद्धा<sup>९</sup>  
 168 दिशि दिशि लसिताश्शोभनैश्चाकवाटैश्शोभं-  
 169 तां श्रीसमेतास्सकलजनदृशामुत्स-  
 170 वाश्शश्वदेते ॥ [५२\*] ॐ स्वस्ति समस्तप्रशस्तिसहितं  
 171 श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर कोटकोतराजुलु त-  
 172 म तस्मि स[ब्ध]मदेवुलकु धर्मात्यमुगा श्रीम-  
 173 द्वाङ्गपो[त्त]मुलकुं गौडनातवाडिलोनिश्चिन यू-  
 174 र कोककु दीनि पेरु सन्नामिकापुरमु [ः\*] तम तं-  
 175 द्वि भीमराजुनकु धर्मात्यमुगा श्रीमद्वाङ्ग-  
 176 षोत्तमुलकुं गौडनातवाडिलोनिश्चिन यू[ड्यु]

<sup>1</sup> Verses 47 to 52 are found also on the south face of No. 264 of 1897.

<sup>2</sup> No. 264 of 1897 reads प्रथितपुषुगुणान्.

<sup>3</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>5</sup> No. 264 of 1897 reads ०दुष्पलपाडुं.

<sup>6</sup> No. 264 of 1897 reads ०श्रेयस्यवा.

<sup>7</sup> See Pāṇini, V. 4, 55.

<sup>8</sup> Read ०ज्यायसः.

<sup>9</sup> No. 264 of 1897 reads तथा.

- 177 मिंजिपाडु चक्षगरा ताडिवाय इवि भीमा-  
 178 वुरमुलु [\*] तमन्न चोडिराचुनकु धर्मात्यमु-  
 179 गा श्रीमद्वाङ्मणोत्तमुलकु गौडनातवा-  
 180 डिलोनिच्चिन यूरु अम्मलपूडि दोनि पेरु चो-  
 181 डावुरमु [\*] तनकु धर्मात्यमुगा श्रीमद्वा-  
 182 ञ्मणोत्तमुलकु गौडनातवाडिलोनिच्चिन  
 183 यूडुलु कुंठिमहि उप्पलपाडु कौडपडु-  
 184 मटिलो सत्तेनपत्ति चित्तपत्ति केतेपत्ति ए०००गुं-<sup>1</sup>  
 185 टलु दोडिकंजवाडि चंदु श्रीकदोन इवि ज-  
 186 गमेच्चुगंडपुरमुलु [\*] ईययहारमु-  
 187 लु सर्व्वक(१)रपरिहारमुगा मन्निच्चित्तिमि ॥

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

*Om.* (Verse 1.) "There is a city (named) *Śrī-Dhānyakataka*, which is superior to the city of the gods, (and) where (the temple of) *Śaṃbhu (Śiva)* (named) *Amarēśvara* is worshipped by the lord of gods (*Indra*);

(V. 2.) "Where god *Buddha*, worshipped by the Creator, is quite close, (and) where (there is) a very lofty *Chaitya*, well decorated with various sculptures.

(V. 3.) "In that (city) there is a family of powerful kings, enjoying uninterrupted prosperity, protected by the god *Amarēśvara*, (and) protecting men;

(V. 4.) "Which (family) was born from the pair of feet—worshipped by the crowds of lords of gods, lords of demons, and lords of sages,—of the Creator, the bestower of great bliss."

In this family was born *Bhīma* (I.) (v. 6). His son was *Kēta* (I.) (v. 24). His son was *Bhīma* (II.) (v. 28), whose wife was *Sabbamādevī* (v. 32). Their son was *Kēta* (II.) (v. 33), a worshipper of *Śiva* (v. 38). He built alms-houses (*satthālaya*, v. 40) and constructed tanks (*taṭṭāga*, v. 41), gardens (*ārāma*, v. 42), and temples (*dēvālaya*, v. 43).

(V. 44.) "In the *Śāka* year reckoned by the *Yugas* (4), the sky (0), the moon (1), and *rūpa* (1),—(i.e. 1104),—in (the month of) *Māgha*, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright (fortnight), on a Thursday,—the glorious king *Kēta*, a treasury of virtues, possessing great prosperity, having been raised to the kingdom,<sup>2</sup> gave, for the increase of (his) merit, many excellent villages to the preceptor of all (men), the lord *Sugata* (*Buddha*).

(Line 108.) "Hail! The glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṭa-Kētarāja*, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the lord of the district of six-thousand (villages) (*Shatsahasr-āvanī*) on the southern (bank) of the *Kṛishṇaveṇṇā* river, obtained through the favour of the glorious *Triṇayana-Pallava*, the protector of the whole earth surrounded by the four oceans; inaccessible to fear and greed; the lion to the rutting elephants—the *Chōḍa* and *Chālukya Sāmantas*; resembling the lord of gods (*Indra*) in power; the worshipper of the divine lotus-feet of the holy god *Amarēśvara*; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lord of *Śrī-Dhānyakataka*,

<sup>1</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to imply that the date of the grant was that of the king's accession to the throne. A similar statement occurs in verse 47.

the best of cities; resembling the lord of Laṅkā (Rāvaṇa) in valour; he whose hand closes with<sup>1</sup> heroes; he whose hand gives to suppliants; the hero of heroes; the double-headed eagle (*Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa*); the hero praised by the world (*Jagameśchuganḍa*); and the sun of truth,— in the Śaka year 1104, on the 10th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha, on a Thursday,— gave to the holy god Buddha the (*following*) villages, together with all revenue including tolls, for as long as the moon and the sun shall last:— Kranteru in (*the district of*) Kaṇḍravāḍi, and Mēḍukonḍūru and Doṇkipaṇṇu in (*the district of*) Koṇḍapaḍumati. Those who do not keep up this charity, will have committed the five great sins, will have destroyed Vāraṇāsi, (*and*) will have eaten from the skull of their eldest son." Here follows an imprecatory verse (45).

(V. 46.) "In the Śaka (*year*) measured by the *Vēdas* (4), the directions (10), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* 1104),— on the tenth *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha, on a Thursday,— king Kēta gave two lamps to Buddha.

(L. 131.) "Hail! He who was possessed of all glory, the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kōṭa-Kētarāja,— in the Śaka year 1104, on the 10th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha, on a Thursday,— gave for his own merit to the holy god Buddha 110 sheep<sup>2</sup> for two perpetual lamps. Having received fifty-five sheep among these, Dāmaka-Amare-Bōya with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *māna*<sup>3</sup> of ghee as long as the moon and the sun shall last. Having received (*the remaining*) fifty-five sheep, Kēte-Bōya of Ūṭukūru<sup>4</sup> with his sons and further descendants has to supply *etc.*

(L. 141.) "Gaṣavi-Sūrama-dēvi, (*one*) among the concubines (*of the king*), gave for her own merit to the holy god Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these, Sabbaka-Māre-Bōya has to supply *etc.*

(L. 145.) "Prōlamadēvi, (*who was in charge*) of the treasury, gave for her own merit to the holy god Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these, Māchena-Bōya, the son of Kommana-Bōya of Chembarti, has to supply *etc.*

(V. 47.) "In the Śaka year measured by the oceans (4), the sky (0), the moon (1), and the earth (1),— (*i.e.* 1104),— on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha, on an excellent Thursday,— that treasury of all virtues, king Kēta, who had obtained the kingdom, gave villages whose boundaries were well known, (*and*) whose numerous advantages were famous, to Brāhmaṇas."

He granted to Brāhmaṇas the village of Kōkallu for the merit of his mother (v. 48); Giṇḍipāḍu, Challagarā and Tādivāya for the merit of his father (v. 49); Ammalapūṇḍi for the merit of his elder brother (v. 50); and Sattenapalli, Uppalapāḍu, Chintapalli, Oṅkadona and Kuṇṭimaddi for his own merit (v. 51).

(L. 170.) "Hail! He who was possessed of all glory, the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kōṭa-Kētarāja, gave, for the merit of his mother Sabbamadēvi, to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the village of Kōkallu in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi, (*changing*) its name (*into*) Sabbāmbikāpuram. For the merit of his father Bhimarāja, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the villages of Giṇḍipāḍu, Challagarā (*and*) Tādivāya in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi, (*changing*) their (*names into*) Bhimāvuram. For the merit of his elder brother Chōḍerāja, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the village of Ammalapūṇḍi in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi, (*changing*) its name (*into*) Chōḍāvuram. For his own merit, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brāhmaṇas the villages of Kuṇṭimaddi and Uppalapāḍu in (*the district of*) Goṇḍanātavāḍi; Sattenapalli, Chintapalli, Kētepalli and Erraguṇṭa

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s.v. *moge* 5.

<sup>2</sup> In modern Telugu *eḍḍu*, the plural of *eḍḍu*, means 'bullocks'; but *inpa-eḍḍu* (ll. 135 f., 143 and 146) or *inpa-eḍḍu* (below, p. 158, l. 218) must be synonymous with *goriyalu*, 'sheep,' in ll. 136 f. and 139.

<sup>3</sup> According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* this measure is the sixteenth part of a *tāmu*.

<sup>4</sup> This is perhaps the modern Vutukur, No. 76 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli tāluka.

in (the district of) *Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi*; and *Oṅkadona* in (the district of) *Dodḍikaṇḍravādi*, (changing) their (names into) *Jagamechchuganḍapuram*.<sup>1</sup> We have exempted these *agrahāras* from all taxes."

**B.—Inscription of Bayyamāmbā;**

**Śaka-Samvat 1156.**

This inscription is engraved on the south face of the pillar, below the end of the inscription of Kēta II. It consists of 12 Sanskrit verses and a passage in Telugu prose (ll. 215 to 220).

This is another grant to god **Buddha** at *Śrī-Dhānyaghāṭi* (i.e. *Amarāvati*), made on **Thursday**, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Jyēṣṭha* in **Śaka-Samvat 1156** (expired), the cyclic year **Jaya**. According to Prof. Kielhorn, "the date corresponds to **Thursday**, the 11th May A.D. 1234, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise." The donor was **Bayyamāmbā** (v. 11) or *Kōṭa-Bayyalamahādēvi* (l. 216), the daughter of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* *Rudradēva-Mahārāja* (l. 215 f.), the son of **Budda** (v. 5) and grandson of **Durga** (v. 4), who belonged to the *Chaturthakula* (i.e. the *Śūdra* caste) and resided at **Maḍapalli** in the district of *Nāthavādi* (l. 215) or *Nāthavāṭi*<sup>2</sup> (vv. 1 to 3). From the word *Kōṭa*<sup>3</sup> which is prefixed to the name of *Bayyalamahādēvi* in l. 216, it may be concluded that she was married to one of the chiefs of *Amarāvati*. Verse 12, which is mutilated, contains the name of **Manma-Gēta**, i.e. 'the grandson\* Kēta.' This seems to refer to **Kēta II.** of *Amarāvati*, the grandson of **Kēta I.** Very probably **Bayyamāmbā** was one of the wives of **Kēta II.**

**TEXT.**

*South Face (continued).*

- 188 श्रीं [॥\*] अस्ति स्वस्तियुतो देशो नाथवाटीति विव्रुतः । पूगपुष्पागवकुळ-  
 189 निषुळाळिमनोहरः । [१\*] तत्र श्रीमत्पुरवरं मडपल्लिपुरं परं ।  
 190 परैरमेद्यसुद्योतविद्योतितदिगंतरं<sup>४</sup> । [२\*] धातुस्ममृजगतं<sup>५</sup> क-  
 191 र्त्तश्चरणपंकजात् । जातं विशिष्टं तत्रास्ति चतुर्थकुलमत्तमं<sup>६</sup> । [३\*] त-  
 192 स्नाभवत् पृथुययाः<sup>७</sup> परिमातदोषो ह्यंभोजबंधुरिव नन्दि-  
 193 तसर्व्ववर्गः ।<sup>८</sup> श्रौय्यादिष्वर्थगुणगर्व्वितभृत्यवर्गो दुर्गचित्तो-  
 194 [श इ\*]ति सुप्रथितः प्रथिव्या<sup>९</sup> ॥ [४\*] तस्यासीत्तनयः प्रभूतविनय-  
 195 . . हितश्रीयुतो<sup>१०</sup> नानासद्विजमुख्यपोषणरतश्चान-  
 196 . . गात्रयः । प्रत्यर्थिप्रबलप्रवृद्धनरकच्छेदो विधेयस[दा]  
 197 [जा\*]तो विष्णुरिषापरो<sup>११</sup> गुणनिधिर्बुद्धमावल्लभः ॥ [५\*] [त]-  
 198 [स्व](र) पत्नी मुपमांदा पुरारिचरणांबुजे । जातकौतुकसा-  
 199 कृतव्रितिः<sup>१२</sup> पतिपरायणा ॥ [६\*] मुपमाबुद्धदंपत्योर्जातो

<sup>1</sup> This name was derived from his surname *Jagamechchuganḍa*; see l. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding these two geographical names see p. 169 below.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 147 above.

<sup>4</sup> See Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, s. v. *manamadu*.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> Read °मुद्योत°.

<sup>7</sup> Read °मस°.

<sup>8</sup> Read °मुपमं°.

<sup>9</sup> Read परिषत्°.

<sup>10</sup> Read श्रौय्यादि°.

<sup>11</sup> Read पृथिव्या°.

<sup>12</sup> Read °सद्व्रिति°.

<sup>13</sup> Read °व्रिति°.

<sup>14</sup> नि of निधि is entered above the line.

- 200 रु[द्र]नरेखरः । विष्णुविष्णुभराधीशो योसौ धर्म इवापरः[.] [॥ ७\*]  
 201 तस्य पत्नी मैलमांवा धर्मकीर्त्तिरिति श्रुता । विष्णुतनु[त]-  
 202 संपन्नविद्वच्चिन्तामणि[ः\*]<sup>1</sup> स्वयं ॥ [८\*] अजीजनत्सुतान्<sup>2</sup> अ-  
 203 द्यौ विष्टये शिष्टसम्मतान्<sup>3</sup> । लोकपालप्रतीकाशान् या म-  
 204 हिंन्नेव भूयसी ॥ [९\*] चातुर्य्यौदार्य्यभूमिस्त्रिभु-  
 205 वनविवरस्थितसौ[भाग्य\*]भाग्या या च श्रीकीर्त्तिमुत्ति[ः\*]<sup>4</sup> सकल-  
 206 गुणिगणानंदसंदीप्तदात्री । <sup>5</sup>इष्टापूर्त्तादिकर्मप्रतिप-  
 207 दमुदिताखर्व्वगीर्वाणगर्व्वी सर्व्वोर्व्वीवक्रवालस्फुर[दु]रु-<sup>6</sup>  
 208 महिमाक्रांतलोकावकाशा ॥ [१०\*] तत्पुत्री वय्यमांवा प्र-  
 209 धितगुणगणा सत्कलापूर्व्ववर्त्ता<sup>7</sup> (॥) <sup>8</sup>[शि]ष्टार्त्ताप्राप्तकीर्त्ति[ः\*] स्वयमपि  
 विदु-  
 210 धामप्रणीरधगण्या । वि[ह][त्\*]पद्माकराणां तरणिरु[चि]रसौ या च  
 211 सौजन्यसिंधोरक्षासा[येदु]रेखा निखिलज[न]नुतालंक्रि[ति]र्मूर्त-<sup>10</sup>  
 212 धायाः ॥ [११\*] आकाशे तर्कबाणक्षितिरग्निगणिते<sup>11</sup> वत्सरस्त्रिंश-  
 याख्ये ज्ये-  
 213 ष्ठे मा[सी]न्यवारे सुररिपुदिवसे शुक्लपक्षे प्रश[स्ते] । प्रादा[तु]<sup>12</sup> श्री-  
 214 [धान्यघा]टीस्थितिकृतचयै <sup>13</sup>बुधदेवाय भूम्ने सा [दे]वी मन्मथेत-  
 215 . . . . . [॥ १२\*] श्रीमन्म(म)हामंडलेखर  
 नाथवा[डि] रु-  
 216 द्रदेवमहाराजुल कंतु०० कीटवय्यलमहादेविचमं-<sup>14</sup>  
 217 गारु [द]नुकु<sup>16</sup> धर्माख्यसुगा <sup>15</sup>श्रीमद्बुधदेवरकुनाचंद्रा-  
 218 र्कमखंडदीपमुनकुनिचिन<sup>17</sup> इनुपेडु ५५ [१\*] वीनिं जेकी[नि]  
 219 मुंठिचनेवोयुंडु [द]न पुचानुपवुचिकसु नित्य  
 220 [मा]नेंडु नेयि पोयंग[ल\*]वांडु ॥ श्री<sup>18</sup> [॥\*]

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

*Om.* In the district (*désa*) of Nāthavāṣi, in the town of Maḍapalli, in the Chaturthakula which was produced from the foot of the Creator, was born Durga (vv. 1 to 4). His son was Budda, whose wife Muppamāmbā was devoted to Śiva (v. 5 f.). Their son Rudra married Maḍamāmbā and had by her eight sons (vv. 7 to 9) and a daughter, Bayyamāmbā (v. 11).

<sup>1</sup> Read °विद्वच्चिन्ता°.<sup>4</sup> Read °मूर्त्तिः°.<sup>7</sup> Read प्रथित°.<sup>10</sup> Read °वर्त्तति°.<sup>12</sup> Read प्रादात्री°.<sup>14</sup> Read चय्य°; the anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>16</sup> Read श्रीमद्बुध°.<sup>2</sup> Read °तानद्यौ°.<sup>5</sup> Read इष्टा°.<sup>8</sup> Read °पूर्व्ववर्त्ता°.<sup>11</sup> Read °श्रि°.<sup>13</sup> Read बुध°.<sup>17</sup> Read °निचिन°.<sup>3</sup> Read °सम्मतान्°.<sup>6</sup> Read चक्रवाल°.<sup>9</sup> Read शिष्टार्त्ता°.<sup>15</sup> Read दनुकु°.<sup>18</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

(V. 12.) "In the Sāka year reckoned by *tarka* (6), the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the moon (1),—(i.e. 1150),—in this (*cyclic*) year called **Jaya**, in the month **Jyēṣṭha**, on a **Thursday**, on the day of **Mura's enemy** (*Vishnu*),<sup>1</sup> in the auspicious bright fortnight,—this queen [the wife of] **Manma-Gēta** . . . . . gave, for the sake of (*her*) prosperity, [a lamp] to god **Buddha** who is pleased to reside at **Śrī-Dhānyaghāṭi**.

(L. 215.) "**Kōṭa-Bayyalamahādēvi-amma**, the daughter of the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Rudradēva-Mahārāja** of **Nāthavāḍi**, gave for her own merit to the holy lord **Buddha** 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp, to last as long as the moon and the sun. Having received these, **Gupṭi-Anē-Bōya** with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *māna* of ghee. *Om.*"

#### POSTSCRIPT.

In connection with the preceding inscription of Bayyamāmbā, I publish below a short Telugu inscription of her father on a pillar of the ruined *Kanakadurgā-maṇḍapa* at the foot of the Indrakila hill at **Bezavāḍa** (No. 279 of 1892). It records the gift of a lamp to the **Mallēśvara** temple at **Bezavāḍa** by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Rudradēvarāja** of **Maḍapalla** in **Nātavāḍi**, the son of **Buddarāja**, who was the brother-in-law of the **Kākatiya** king **Ganapati**.<sup>2</sup> The date of the grant was **Thursday**, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of **Vaiśākha** in **Śaka-Samvat 1123** (expired), the cyclic year **Durmukhi**, which is a mistake for **Durmati**. According to Prof. Kielhorn, "the date corresponds to **Thursday**, the 19th April A.D. 1201, when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise."

The town of **Maḍapalla** and the district of **Nātavāḍi** are identical with **Maḍapalli** and the district of **Nāthavāḍi** or **Nāthavāṭi** in the inscription of Bayyamāmbā.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Ramayya identifies **Maḍapalla** or **Maḍapalli** with a village near **Madhira**, a station on the **Nizam's State Railway**, and **Nātavāḍi** with the district of **Nat[ri]paṭi** in the **Chikkulla** plates.<sup>4</sup> As, however, **Lendulūra**, whence the **Chikkulla** plates were issued, is the modern **Dendulūra** near **Ellore**, **Maḍapalla** or **Maḍapalli** might as well be the same as the village of '**Maḍapulli**' which is mentioned in the *Postal Directory of the Madras Circle*, p. 746, as being situated near **Ellore**.

#### TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति [१\*] शकवर्षवृत्तु ११२३ [७]गु दुर्मुखिसंवत्सर वै-
- 2 शाख शुभ १५ गुरुवारमुन स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहा-
- 3 शब्दमहामंडलीखर १ मण्डपपुरवराधीश्वर चाळुक्य-
- 4 राज्यमूलस्तंभायमान शिष्टे[ष्ट]निदान श्रीम[त्\*]विभुवना-
- 5 धीश्वरपादाराधक परबलसाधक नामादिसमस्तप्रश-
- 6 स्तिसहित<sup>10</sup> श्रीमहामंडलीखर नातवाडि रुद्रदेवराजु-
- 7 लु समस्तप्रशस्तिसहितलै[न] काकतियगणपतिदेव[म]-
- 8 हाराजुल मल्लदि तम तंदि बुराजुलु सुक्तिगाजु

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the eleventh *tithi*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. III. p. 95; Vol. V. p. 142 f.; and Vol. VI. p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 157 above.

<sup>4</sup> From an inked stampage.

<sup>5</sup> Read एव.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. V. Add. and Corr. p. v f.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Read मंडलीखर.

<sup>9</sup> Read ०वर्षवृत्तु.

<sup>10</sup> Read ०सहित.

- 9 बेजवाड मल्लेश्वरश्रीमहादेवरकु आ[चं]द्रार्कस्थायि.<sup>1</sup>  
 10 [ग]ा एत्तिन अखं[ड]दी[प]मुनकिच्चिन मेक[लु] ५५ [१\*] वीनिं  
 जेको[नि] को-  
 11 [ड]सुरेवीयुंडु तन पुत्रपौत्रुचालुक्रममुन नित्य नं-<sup>2</sup>  
 12 धिमानेडु नेयि नडपंगलवांडु ॥

## TRANSLATION.

*Om.* Hail! On Thursday, the 15th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of *Vaiśākha* in the Śaka year 1123, the *Durmukhi-samvatsara*,—Hail! the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* *Rudradēvarāja* of *Nātavāḍi*, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the lord of *Maḍapalla*, the best of cities; the chief pillar, as it were, of the *Chālukya* kingdom; the end of (*i.e.* fulfilling) the desires of holy men; the worshipper of the feet of the holy lord of the three worlds; and the destroyer of hostile armies, gave— for the salvation of his father *Buddarāja*, the brother-in-law of *Kakatiya-Ganapatidēva-Mahārāja* who was possessed of all glory,— 55 goats for lighting a perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun shall last, before the god *Mahādēva* of the *Mallēśvara* (*temple*) at *Bejavāḍa*. Having received these, *Koṇḍa-Sūre-Bōya* with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *māna*, (stamped with) a *Nandi*, of ghee.

## No. 16.—SOME RECORDS OF THE RASHTRAKUTA KINGS OF MALKHED.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

This is the first of some papers which will deal with some selected records of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* kings of *Mālkhed*. The records have been chosen, partly because of the general historical interest that attaches to them, and partly in order to illustrate the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A.D.<sup>3</sup> As regards the latter point, I cannot undertake to deal fully with all the palaeographic details: to do so, would be beyond my particular sphere of work, and would occupy time which I prefer to devote to other matters of wider interest; and I must leave that line of inquiry to be dealt with, in its minute particulars, by anyone who is more concerned than I am with the special illustration of Indian palaeography. I shall notice a few details that may seem of particular interest. But, for the most part, I shall only deal, on somewhat broad lines, with certain characters which furnish leading tests in determining the sequence and approximate dates of undated genuine records which belong to the period in question or may fall within about half a century before it, and in arriving at some conclusion as to the order in which certain spurious records were fabricated and the periods to which they are really to be referred.

A.—Hatti-Mattūr inscription of the time of *Kṛishṇa I.*

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1882.

<sup>1</sup> The *r* of *rāka* is indistinct.

<sup>2</sup> The *anuvēda* stands at the beginning of the next line; read नंदि°.

<sup>3</sup> See some remarks on pages 74, 77, above.

**Hatti-Mattūr**, or "cotton-Mattūr,"—evidently so called to distinguish it from a neighbouring village, which seems to be known either as simply Mattūr, or as Dombara-Mattūr, "Mattūr of the Dōms or Gipsies,"—is a village about six miles N.-N.-W. from Karajgi, the head-quarters of the Karajgi tāluka of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews it as 'Huttee Muttoor.' It is mentioned, by its full appellation, in the Bhairanmaṭṭi inscription of the period A.D. 1069 to 1076, which speaks of the (measuring)-rod of **Pattiya-Mattaūra**.<sup>1</sup> The present record mentions a village named **Maṭṭavur**, which may be either Hatti-Mattūr itself, or the other Mattūr, which is three miles and a half S.-E.-by-E. from Hatti-Mattūr. The inscription is on a *virgal* or monumental tablet, on the bank of the tank at Hatti-Mattūr.

The upper part of the stone is occupied by sculptures, which shew, in the centre, a *līṅga*, with a priest standing to it; on the proper right, the bull Nandi, with the sun above it; and on the proper left, a cow and calf, with the moon above them.—The writing, which is in a state of good preservation, covers an area about 1' 11½" broad by 1' 5½" high.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them<sup>2</sup> ranges from about 1" in the *ś* of *śridor*, line 4, to about 1½" in the *i* of *ivu*, line 5; and the *śrī* in line 1 is about 3½" high. The characters include final forms, or forms with the *virāma* attached, of *r* in lines 3 and 4, and of *l* in lines 3 and 5. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* does not occur. The *j* and the *ṣ* occur in *rājyaṇ*, line 2, Nos. 4 and 5; and they are both of the old square type, closed. The *b* occurs in *irbbara*, line 5, No. 6, and is, similarly, of the old square type, closed. The *l* occurs three times: it, also, is of the old square type, but with rather a marked prolongation and sweep to the right of the downstroke with which the formation of the character ended; this feature, which was the first step in the development of the later cursive type of the character, can be seen very clearly in the *la* of *Akāla*, line 1, No. 6, and also in *ālayake*, line 4.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose.—The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king **Akālavarsha**, who, because of the locality to which the record belongs and of the standard of the characters, is to be identified with the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Akālavarsha-Śubhatuṅga-Kṛishṇa I.**<sup>3</sup> The object of it is to record the death, in some local affray, of two heroes named **Dāsamma** and **Eṛeya**.

The record is not dated. But it is to be placed after A.D. 754, which date we have for Dantidurga, the predecessor of Kṛishṇa I., and before A.D. 783-84, which date we have for his successor. And we may place it roughly about A.D. 765.

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti Śrī-Akālavarisha-bhaṭararā<sup>5</sup> pri-
- 2 thuvi-rājyaṇ-geye Surageyurā Dā-
- 3 samm-Eṛeyar Maṭṭavurā ūr-aḷivinoḷ
- 4 iṇḍu sattu svargg-ālayake<sup>6</sup> śrīd[or] [||\*]
- 5 Ivu tammatt<sup>7</sup>-irbbara kaḷgaḷ [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> See page 41 above.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of him, see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), p. 390.

<sup>4</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>5</sup> Read *bhaṭṭarar*.

<sup>6</sup> We have here the use of the dative for the accusative; see page 43 above, note 5. It occurs again in line 4 of the Naregal inscription, B. below.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary* gives this word with only the single *t*,—*tammata*. It is presented again with the double *tt* in *tammatt-irbbor* in an inscription at Kūragallu (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 92).

## TRANSLATION.

Hail ! While the *Bhaṭāra*,<sup>1</sup> the glorious Akālavārsha-(Kṛishṇa I.), was reigning over the earth :—In the destruction<sup>2</sup> of the village of Maṭṭavur, Dāsamma and Eṛeya, of the village of Surageyur,<sup>3</sup> pierced (*some of their foes*) and died<sup>4</sup> and ascended to heaven. These are the stones of those two men themselves.<sup>5</sup>

## B.—Naregal inscription of the time of Dhruva.

This inscription was brought to notice by me in 1895 or 1896, in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 394, note 3. It is now edited for the first time. I edit it, and the colotype is given, from a plain uninked estampage sent to me in 1882 by Mr. Govind Gangadhar Deshpande.<sup>6</sup>

Naregal is a village about eleven miles E.-N.-E. from Hāṅgal, the head-quarters of the Hāṅgal tāluka of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews it as 'Neirgul.' The record gives its old name in the form of Nareyaṅgal, and tacitly places it in the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. The inscription is on a *virgal* or monumental tablet, found on, and apparently built into the wall of, the sluice of the tank.

I have no information as to whether there are any sculptures on this stone.—The writing covers an area about 2' 2½" broad by 1' 0" high, and is in a state of excellent preservation throughout.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about ⅜" in the *th* of *prithuvi*, line 1, to about 1½" in the upper *t* of *sattu*, line 4; and the *rgg* of *svargg*, line 4, is about 3⅝" high. The characters include final forms of *n* (damaged) in line 4, and of *l* in line 3; and the distinct form of the lingual *q*<sup>7</sup> is clearly recognisable in *Kāḍavam*, line 4. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* and *ā* do not occur. The *j* occurs in *rājyaṁ*, line 1, No. 11, and is of the old square type, closed; and so, also, is the *b*, which we have in *Bhanamāsi*, line 2, No. 5. The *l* occurs in three syllables, and is perhaps seen most clearly in the *lo* of *puyyalol*, line 3, No. 13: it, also, is of the old square type; it does not present, here, the marked prolongation and sweep to the right of the downstroke which we have met with in the Hatti-Mattūr inscription, A. above; and the downstroke is closed in onto the body of the letter, towards the bottom. As regards the way in which the vowel *o* is formed in the same word, *puyyalol*, see page 164 below.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record gives us, in line 4, *Domma*, as another form of *Domba*, = *Domba*, 'a

<sup>1</sup> This word,—a title of paramount sovereignty, as used here,—occurs sometimes with the double *tt*, *bhaṭṭāra*, in which form, only, it is given in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, new edition, with the meanings of 'a noble lord (= *pājya*); honourable.' For other instances of the use of the title, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 368, 393, 394, 402.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Batgers inscription of A.D. 888—(in a continuation of this paper),—which describes Śāḍeva as "destroying" Baṭṭakeṛe. The expression *ūr-aḷieu*, 'village-destruction,' occurs again in a record of A.D. 1092 at Srirāṅṅpur in the Belgaum district, which mentions *Jakkirāḍad-ūr-aḷieu*, "the village-destruction of Jakki-vāḍa." And we have it, practically, again in an inscription at Kuḍakūru (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ha. 50), where, however, the translator has confused *aḷieu* with *aḍavi*, *aḍivi*, and has rendered *Peṭṭiyūr-aḷieuṇol* by "in the Peṭṭiyūr forest."

<sup>3</sup> This is, perhaps, the modern 'Surangi,' which the Bombay Postal Directory places somewhere in the Karajgi tāluka.

<sup>4</sup> Or "were pierced and died."

<sup>5</sup> There are or were, then, two memorial tablets at this place,—the second of them perhaps without any writing on it.

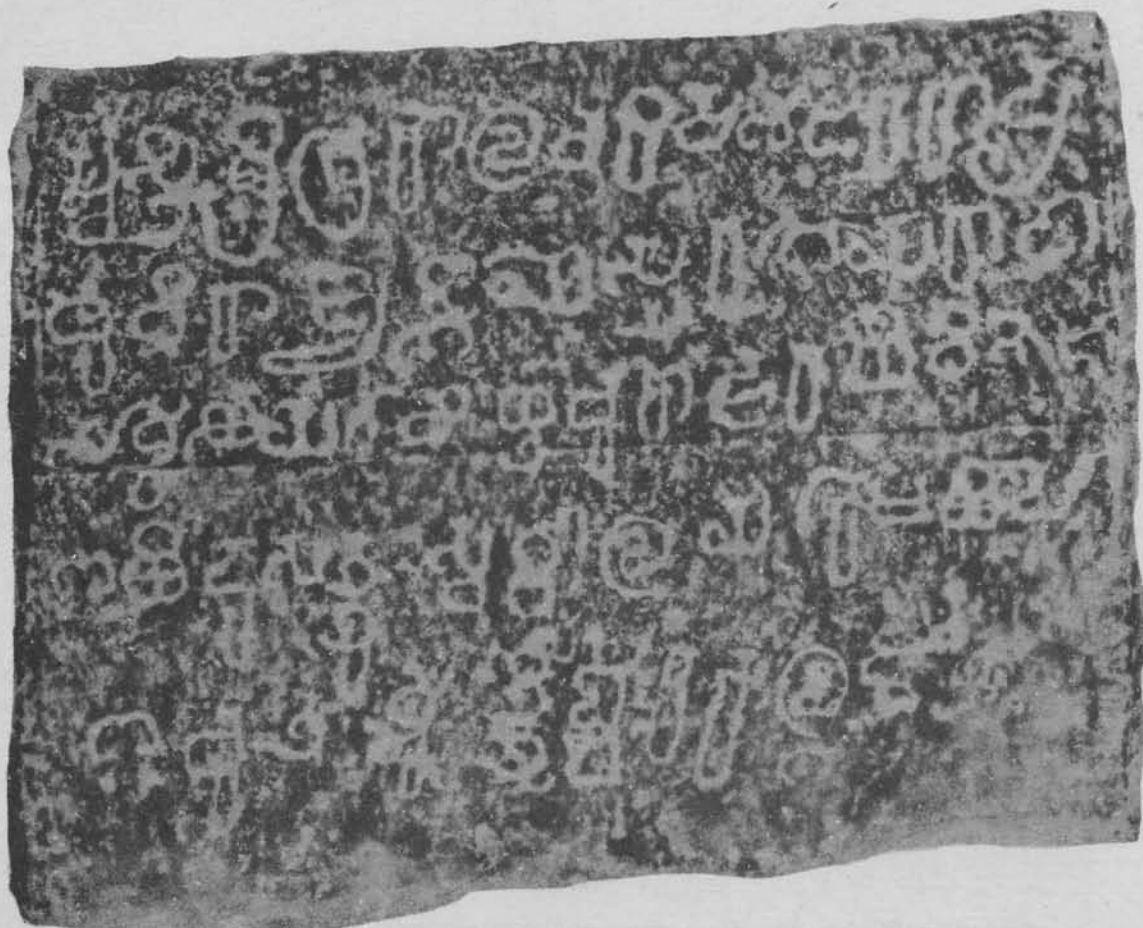
<sup>6</sup> I regret that I had forgotten this, and did not turn up my note of it in time to indicate the fact below the colotype.

<sup>7</sup> See page 41 above.

A.—Hatti-Mattur Inscription of Krishna I.

2

4



SCALE .25

B.—Naregal Inscription of Dhruva.

2

4



J. F. FLEET.

SCALE .25

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.



tumbler, a man of low caste, a Dôm or Gipsy ;<sup>1</sup> and— (unless we should take *turupina* to be a mistake for *turuvina*)— in line 3 it gives us *turupu*, either as a variant of *туру*, 'a cow, kine,' or as the Kanarese form of some original Drâviḍian word which has given us, in Tamil, *toruvu*, 'a crowd, a herd of cows.'— The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king named Dôra, who is to be identified with the Râshtrakûṭa king Dhruva, son and successor of Kṛishṇa I.:<sup>2</sup> his name occurs in the Prâkrit form of Dhôra in, for instance, the Wanî grant of A.D. 807;<sup>3</sup> and the form Dôra, which we have in the present record, is to be taken as a corruption of Dhôra.<sup>4</sup> The record mentions also a certain Mârakkarasa, who was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province,—of course, as a feudatory of Dhruva. The object of the inscription is to commemorate the death, on the occasion of a cattle-raid, of a local hero named Dommara-Kâḍava, "Kâḍava of the Dombas or Gipsies."

The record is not dated. But, as we have for Dhruva the date of A.D. 783-84,<sup>5</sup> it may be placed roughly about A.D. 780.

TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Ôm? Svasti Śrî-Dôram prithuvi-râjyam-keye Mâra-  
 2 kka-arasar-Bbanamâ(vâ)si-pannirchchârasinum<sup>7</sup>-âle Nareyam-  
 3 galla sâsirvvara turupina puyyalol  
 4 Dommara-Kâḍavam sattu svargg-[\*]layakk<sup>10</sup>-âridan [||\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Ôm! Hail! While the glorious Dôra was reigning over the earth, and while Mârakkarasa was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand:— In the fight<sup>11</sup> about the cows<sup>12</sup> of the thousand (*Mahâjanas*) (?) of Nareyamgal, Dommara-Kâḍava died and ascended to heaven.

## C.—Lakshmêshwar inscription of the time of Śrîvallabha.

This inscription was brought to notice by me in 1882, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 156, from an indistinct ink-impression which led me to speak of it then as only a fragment not capable of being edited. It is now edited for the first time. I edit it from a plain uninked estampage and an inked impression obtained by me in 1892. The colotype is from the estampage, which is better adapted for reproduction than is the ink-impression. In the title of the colotype, "Śrîvallabha" should be substituted for "Gôvinda III."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The word *domba*, *ḍomba*,— which, through the form *ḍôma*, gives the origin of the Gipsy expression Romany-Rye, "a Gipsy gentleman," = *Dômani rây*, "a king of the Dôma" (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 15),— occurs with both the lingual ḍ and the dental d; but more usually, I think, with the lingual ḍ. In the present case, however, we seem to have clearly in *domma* the dental d. A Domma figures in the Anamkoṇḍ inscription of A.D. 1163, among the foes of the Kâkatya king Budradêva (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. pp. 10, 17).

<sup>2</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 393.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 6.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the name Dôrayya,— equivalent to Dhôrayya,— in an inscription at Kuḍakûra (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hs. 50).

<sup>5</sup> See page 195 ff. below.

<sup>6</sup> From the estampage.

<sup>7</sup> Represented by a plain symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Nothing is wanting after this syllable. The irregular corners of the estampage, here and at the bottom, are apparently due to projecting masonry work.

<sup>9</sup> Read *pannirchchâsiranam*. The \* of the last syllable is quite clear in the estampage, though it is hardly recognisable in the colotype.

<sup>10</sup> See page 161 above, note 6.

<sup>11</sup> See at the top of this page.

<sup>12</sup> *Lit.* "in the beating, striking, etc."

<sup>13</sup> See page 165 below, and note 3.

**Lakshmēshwar** is a well known town, the head-quarters of the Lakshmēshwar subdivision of the Senior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) shews it as 'Lukmeshwar,' in lat.  $15^{\circ} 7'$ , long.  $75^{\circ} 31'$ . The record mentions it by the old name of **Purigere**. The inscription is on a stone which is stored, with various other inscribed stones, at the *kachēri*. I have no information as to where it was found. And there is nothing to explain why a stone of so irregular a shape should have been used for a formal record.

There are not any sculptures on this stone.—The writing covers an area ranging from about 5" broad in line 1 to about 9" in line 10 and about  $1' 6\frac{1}{2}"$  high, with blank spaces at the top and bottom as if for the purpose of setting it in a wall. It is in a state of fairly good preservation.—The characters are Kanarese, well formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about  $\frac{1}{2}"$  in the *ya* of *Bāraṇḍasiya* in line 11 to about  $\frac{3}{4}"$  in the *n* of *nālvattu*, line 6; and the *śri* in line 1 is about  $2\frac{1}{4}"$  high, on the slant. They include a final form of *m*, in line 12, which, however, is damaged and does not appear clearly in the collotype. The distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is clearly recognisable in *kiḍiḍo*, line 10. As regards the palaeography,—the *kh* does not occur. The *j* occurs in the word *rājyaṇ*, line 2, No. 6, and is of the old square type, closed. The *ṣ* occurs in the same word, and again in *mūruṇ*, line 4; it presents the old square type, closed, corresponding to the *j*, and shews a somewhat unusually marked extension, to the right, of what is ordinarily only a very slight projection or knob in the centre of the letter: it is seen most clearly in the *ṣkē* of *mūruṇ-kēriyā*, line 4, No. 3. The *b* occurs in line 1 in *ballaham*, and again in line 10 in *Bāraṇḍasiya*; it, also, is of the old square type, closed, though the actual forms are considerably rounded off: it is seen best in the *ba* of *ballaham*, line 1, No. 5. The *l* occurs six times, and is, similarly, of the old square type throughout, though, as with the *b*, the actual forms are rounded off; it is seen most clearly in the *lva* of *nālvattu*, line 6, No. 6, where the downstroke is closed in onto the body of the letter, and in *kavileya*[*m*], line 11, where it is not closed in. In the *lō* of *lōkakke*, line 12, which is clearer in the estampage than in the collotype, we have the same form of the *akshara* that we have in, for instance, *sakalōttarā* in line 9 of the Vakkalēri grant of Kirtivarman II. of A.D. 757,<sup>1</sup> and, earlier, in *lōkakke* in line 10 of one of the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions of Vikramāditya II. of the period A.D. 733 to 747;<sup>2</sup> it is a somewhat cursively formed variety (but preserving the old square type of the *l*, and not introducing any approach to the later cursive type) of the old square *lō* which we have in *lōkaḥṣ* in line 3 of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēsin II. of A.D. 634-35,<sup>3</sup> and in *Lōkamahādēviyarā* in line 3 of the companion Paṭṭadakal inscription of Vikramāditya II.,<sup>4</sup> and which appears again in *modalō* in line 9 of the Kanarese grant of Gōvinda III. of A.D. 804,<sup>5</sup> where, however, there is the difference that the side-stroke which converts *le* or *lē* into *lo* or *lō* is turned downwards: and the *lō* as formed in this Lakshmēshwar inscription, by a modification of the upper part of the *l*, is more archaic than the *lo* of *puṣṣyalō* in line 3 of the Naregal inscription, B. above, which is probably earlier in date; the vowel is there represented, not by a modification of the upper part of the *l* itself, but by two distinct vowel-marks attached before and after the entire *l*. On the other hand, in the present record, in *kavileya*[*m*], line 11, the *e* is formed by a vowel-mark attached to the entire *l*, instead of being denoted by a modification of the upper part of the *l* itself, according to the archaic custom, as, for instance, in *kālē* in line 16 of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēsin II. of A.D. 634-35.<sup>6</sup> In *geyya*, line 3, the subscript *y* is represented, very exceptionally,

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 202, and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164, No. 99, and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> Page 4 above, and Plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164, No. 100, and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127, and Plate.

<sup>6</sup> Page 7 above, and Plate; and see note 6 on page 5. The proper difference between *li* and *le*, *lē*, seems to have been that in *li* the *i* should be denoted by a circle on the top of the straight part of the upstroke of the *l*, and that in *le*, *lē*, the vowel should be denoted by turning in the curve of the top of the letter to meet the top of the straight part of the upstroke.

by an ordinary *y* (but without the top-stroke) attached below the upper *y*, instead of by the usual subscript form which we have in the preceding word *rājyaḥ*: I cannot quote any similar instance in so late a record;<sup>1</sup> and it seems to be here a freak.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record gives us, in line 1-2, *ballaha*, as a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *vallabha*; in line 4-5, *paṭṭagāra*, as a variant of *paṭakāra*, 'a weaver'; in line 5, *sēniya*, 'a (head)-man of a guild,' from *sēni*, = *srēni*, + *a* (3), with which we have to compare *nāḍa*, 'a (head)-man of a district,' from *nāḍ*, *nāḍu*, + *a* (3);<sup>2</sup> in lines 7 and 9, *sāmpu*, which seems to mean 'a length (of cloth or silk),' and to be another variant of *chāpu*, 'stretch, length, extent,' *jōpu*, 'the measure of a long stride,' and *dāpu*, 'stretch, etc., the measure of a stride;' and in line 8, *keḷagu* (with the copulative affix), as a variant of *keḷagu*, 'under, down, below.'—The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king whom it mentions by only the *biruda* Śrīballaha, that is to say Śrīvallabha. On palæographic grounds, it is to be placed in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. For that reason, coupled with the locality to which it belongs, it is unquestionably a Rāshtrakūṭa record. And this king Śrīvallabha is, in all probability, to be identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruva: the only alternative is that he is Dhruva's son Gōvinda III.; but, in spite of what has previously been thought, it now appears very questionable whether Gōvinda III. was so specifically well known by the *biruda* Śrīvallabha as was his father Dhruva.<sup>3</sup> The object of the inscription is to record that the head-man of the guild of the weavers of the *mūrum-kēri*<sup>4</sup> of Purigere-(Lakshmēshwar)

<sup>1</sup> It was the ancient way of forming the subscript *y*; see the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rndradāman, in the word *mahākshatrapasya* near the end of line 3, and in other places (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 128, and Plate).

<sup>2</sup> For an instance of the word *nāḍa*, see page 71 above, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> When I first brought this inscription to notice, I treated it as a record of the reign of Gōvinda III. At that time, in dealing with the Rāshtrakūṭas I was chiefly following the lead of Dr. Bühler. His Table of the Rāshtrakūṭas shewed the *biruda* Śrīvallabha for only Gōvinda III.; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 72, and his remarks (*ibid.* p. 64) in his introduction to the Rāḍbanpur grant which he was then editing, and his translation (*ibid.* p. 71) of the passages from which he took the *biruda*. And, as a matter of fact, it is only recently,—since the time when the colotype of this record, now issued, was prepared and titled,—that it could be recognised that this *biruda*, when used in a Rāshtrakūṭa record, referable to an indefinite date in the period A.D. 775 to 800, in the special manner in which it is used in this record, does not by any means necessarily denote Gōvinda III. On this point, see further on, under the use of the *biruda* Śrīvallabha in the Rāshtrakūṭa records.

<sup>4</sup> This word *mūrum-kēri*, — or *mūru-kēri*, as actually written in this record, with the guttural nasal instead of the *anusvāra*, — would mean, by literal translation, 'three streets.' But it seems to be a technical expression, the exact purport of which is to be found in connection with the wider meaning of 'quarter, quarters, a division of a town,' which *kēri* has in, for instance, *holegēri*, 'the Holar's quarters,' the well known expression for that part of a village (usually outside the village itself) in which the Mahārs, Māṅgs, and other low-caste people dwell. I do not at present find anything, helping to explain it, in any of the other records at Lakshmēshwar. A proverbial saying, which may or may not indicate some clue, is given in the Rev. Mr. Kittel's Kanuṇḍa-English Dictionary, under *nāru*, namely *nāru dru iddarā kēri bēṭu*, "though there be fully a hundred (*persons*), a street is necessary;" and it is explained to me by Mr. Kittel as meaning that a hundred persons, or more, may be a large number, but, if their houses are erected unsystematically, one here and one there, there is no proper village, and a street, along which houses are built in rows, is necessary to constitute a regular village.—It seems likely that we have a synonym of *mūrum-kēri* in another technical expression, *mūrum-pura*, of which, also, the exact purport is not apparent. *Mūrum-pura* would mean, by literal translation, 'three towns;' but the exact bearing of it is, no doubt, to be explained in connection with the more special meaning, which *pura* has, of 'a division of a town, a ward,' particularly in the actual names of such divisions or wards. There was a *mūrum-pura* at Baḷagāmi. A record there, of A.D. 1129, likens the *pañca-maṭhaṅgaḷ* or five *maṭhas* of that place, which it specifies as the shrines of Hari (Viṣṇu), Hara (Śiva), Kamalāsana (Brahman), Vitarāga (Jinendra), and Bauddha (Buddha), to the five-fold string of pearls of the Earth, and likens the *mūrum-puraṅgaḷ*, which it calls *alliya mūrum-kangaḷ* or "the three eyes of that place," to three strings of pearls on the neck of that same lovely woman (the Earth), who is thus superior to even the perfect Lakshmī (*P. S. O.-C. Inscri.* No. 178, lines 43 to 46, and see *Mysore Inscri.* p. 90). Also, a record of A.D. 1181, at the same place, mentions a certain Sāvidēya, who is described as — *nagara-paṁchamaṭha-mūrum-purada sanda(?)re-hergaḍe*, — "the *Saudore(?)re-Hergaḍe* of the *nagara* and the

made a religious grant, in the form of a proportionate quantity of the goods turned out by the weavers,—doubtless for the purposes of some temple, not mentioned in the record, at which the stone must have been set up.

The record is not dated. But, selecting a year which suits both the palæographic standard of the characters and the bare possibility of the inscription being of the time, not of Dhruva, but of Gôvinda III., for whom we have the date of A.D. 794 from the Paithan grant,<sup>1</sup> we may place it about A.D. 793.

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Om<sup>3</sup> Svasti Śriballa-
- 2 haṁ prithuvi-rājya-
- 3 n-geyye Purigereyā
- 4 mūruṇ-kāriyā paṭṭa-
- 5 gāra sēṇi(ni)ya-
- 6 n-itta dharmma nālvattu
- 7 sāmpano=ondu mūva-
- 8 ttaṇa kelaguṇ i[nn]ū-
- 9 ṛa mēluṇ are-sāmpu [||\*] Idū nī[l]n-
- 10 dāvu<sup>4</sup> [||\*] Idān=kiṇisido[m\*] Bāra-
- 11 nāsiya sāsira kavileya[m]
- 12 kondona<sup>5</sup> lōkakke sandon=ak[k]u[m] [||\*].

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! While Śriballaha was reigning over the earth :—The religious grant, that was given by the head-man of the guild of the weavers of the *mūruṇkēri*<sup>6</sup> of Purigere, was one

*pañchamaṭha* and the *mūruṇpura*" (*P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 192, line 62, and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 119). And this last passage seems to separate the *mūruṇpura* from the *nagara* or city, and to mark the expression as the name for some distinct portion or portions of the township, outside the town proper. The expression *mūruṇpura* occurs again, with *pañchamaṭha*, in the Konnūr inscription which purports to reproduce a charter of the time of Amoghavarsha I. (page 84 above, text line 71); and it seems, therefore, that there was a *mūruṇpura* at Konnūr also.—I would suggest, incidentally, that the word *svatāla*, meaning literally 'own surface,' which we have in *Valabhi-svatāla* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 15, text line 11 of plate ii., and Vol. XIV. p. 330, text line 25, and probably also in Vol. IV. p. 175, text line 7-8), is to be taken as the equivalent of *nagara*, and that *Valabhi-svatāla* does mean "Valabhi proper, Valabhi within the walls," as taken by Dr. Bühler in dealing with the first of these passages. The *vihāra* built by Duddā and situated in *Valabhi-svatāla* according to that passage, appears to be described in another passage as situated in *Valabhi-pura* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 67, text line 2 of plate ii.); and this seems to make *svatāla* synonymous with *pura* in the sense of *nagara*. *Svatāla* occurs again, in the case of a village called Trisatimaka (by mistake for Trisamgamaka) in another record of the Maitrakas of Valabhi (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 9, text line 14).—Another technical expression containing *mūru*, 'three,' and requiring explanation, is *mūruṇ-modala*, meaning literally 'three beginnings, roots, bases;' we have it in the genitive, *mūruṇmodala*, qualifying *mahājanaṁ*, in the Nandwādige inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 221, text line 8).

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> From the estampage and the ink-impression.

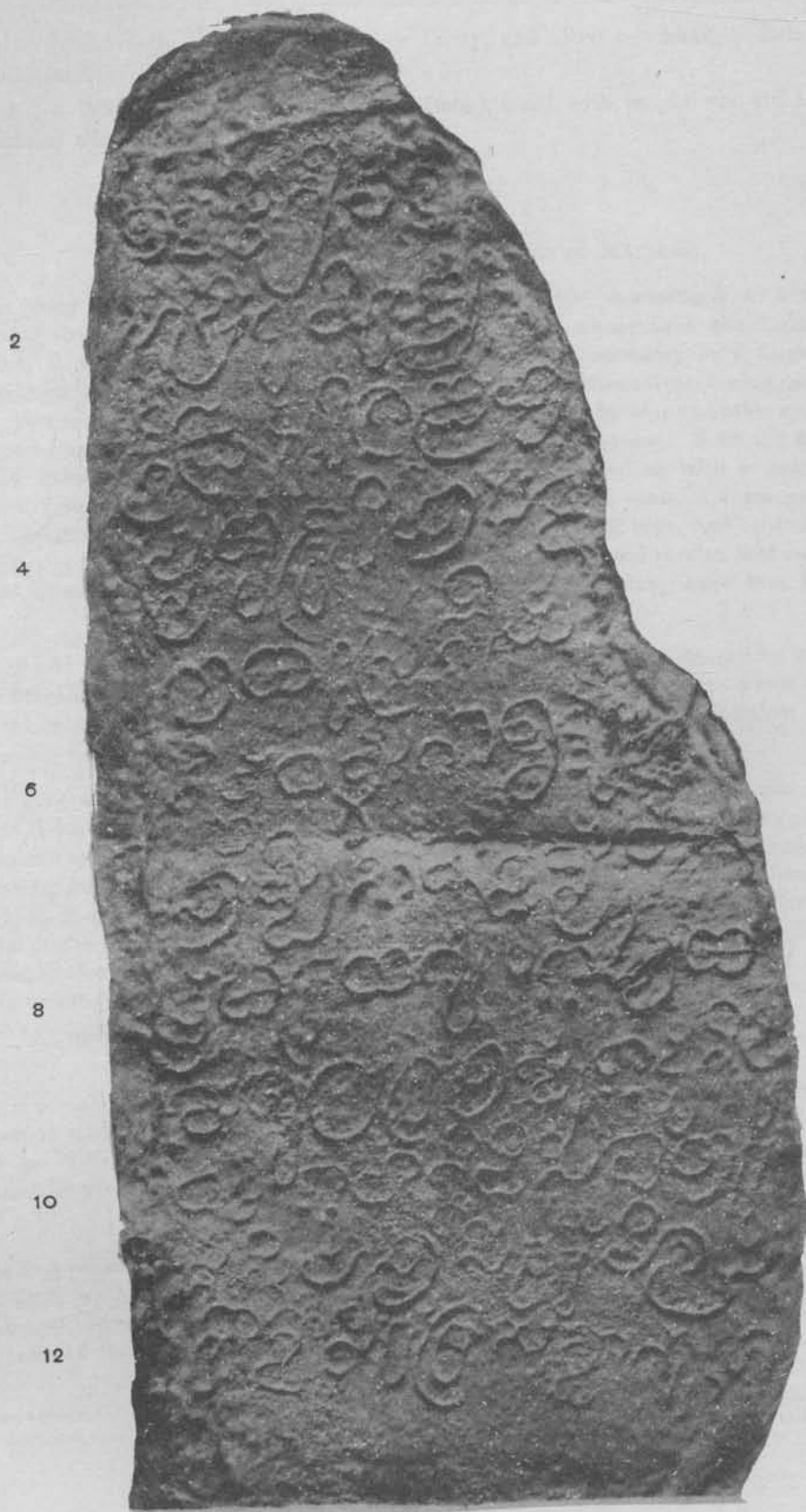
<sup>3</sup> Represented by a plain symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Read *nīludu*, or *nīlludu*; or else read *ieu*, with *nīludu* or *nīlludu*.

<sup>5</sup> This *ekshara*, *na*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the *lō* of *lōkakke*.—For the expression *kondona lōkakke*, compare, e.g., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 164, No. 99, line 10, where the correction *kondard* now seems unnecessary. We seem to have *kondard lōkakke* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 286, text line 6 (see the lithograph). The more usual, and probably more strictly grammatical expression, is *konda lōkakke*; see, for instance, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285, No. 57, text line 5, and Vol. X. p. 165, No. 101, text line 12, and p. 166, No. 102, text line 6.

<sup>6</sup> See page 165 above, note 4.

C.—Lakshmeshwar Inscription of Govinda III.



J. F. FLEET.

SCALE 40

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE.



(length) on (each) forty lengths; (but) below thirty, and above two hundred, half a length.<sup>1</sup> This shall continue!

(L. 10)— Whosoever destroys this will associate himself with people who kill a thousand brown cows of Bāraṇāsi!

\* \* \* \* \*

#### The appellations of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ.

This study is the outcome of some inquiries that were commenced with a view to determining exactly who may be the king Śrīvallabha, to whose time the Lakshmēshwar inscription, C. above, refers itself. For that purpose, it was necessary only to go as far as Amôghavarsha I. But some other points of interest presented themselves during the inquiry, in connection with the proper names of the kings as well as their *birudas* and other appellations; and it seemed useful and convenient to go through the whole dynasty. I am not sure that I have quite exhausted the subject; it is difficult to do that in dealing with so many records, edited in different works and not arranged chronologically, and some of them published in Nāgari characters which do not adapt themselves to capitals, thick type, and other devices for catching the eye quickly. But, at any rate, I am able to put forward results that can be easily completed, at any future time, in respect of any few details that may have been overlooked here.

I may add that I commenced the inquiry with the expectation that the results would prove that the Śrīvallabha of the record in question, and of an important passage which furnishes a date, could only be Gôvinda III. The steps by which we are driven to a different conclusion on this point, will disclose themselves in due course.

Two general remarks may as well be made here. One is that, for any particular point, it is usually sufficient to refer to only that passage, the earliest in date, which first brings it forward; the value of a statement is seldom, if ever, in any way enhanced by the mere repetition of it in successive records which do no more than reproduce the exact words of earlier records. The other is that, in matters of technical detail, prose records in general, and in particular the formal preambles of the prose passages which introduce the special subject of each copper-plate charter, are obviously of more importance than any preliminary verses, in which flights of fancy were naturally permissible and were plainly sometimes indulged in, and in which absolute accuracy might at any time be made subordinate by an unskilful composer to metrical and other similar necessities.

For a complete list of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ and of the first Gujarāt branch, for use in connection with the remarks made in the following pages, reference may be made to the Table given by me in Vol. III. above, opposite page 54, or to the same Table in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part II.), opposite page 386.

The first paramount king in the dynasty of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ was Dantidurga. Of his time, we have the *Sāmāngaḍ grant*, issued in A.D. 754. And this record, it may be mentioned, opens the pedigree with his great-grandfather Gôvinda I., and thus carries the family back as far as do any of the subsequent records, with the exception of the inscription

<sup>1</sup> I.e., apparently, half a length on any piece of less than thirty lengths, one length on each forty lengths up to two hundred, and then half a length on each forty above that number.

at the Daśavatāra cave at Ellōrā,<sup>1</sup> which puts forward the names of Indra I. as the father, and Dantivarman I. as the grandfather, of Gōvinda I. The verse in the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant which introduces Dantidurga, gives his proper name in the form of Dantidurgarāja; the formal preamble of the prose passages of the record adds *dēva*, and styles him Dantidurgarājadēva;<sup>2</sup> and a verse at the end of the record presents his name in the variant of Dantivarman, a form which rather curiously and unexpectedly crops up again, two centuries and a half later, in the Bhādāna grant of A.D. 997,<sup>3</sup> — (a record of one of the Śilāhāra princes of the Northern Konkan, which recites the Rāshtrakūta pedigree), — without, as yet, any trace of it, in his case, in any of the intermediate records.<sup>4</sup> The second verse in the description of Dantidurga in the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant may be interpreted as giving him the *biruda* of Rājasīmha,<sup>5</sup> which, we now know, occurs at any rate in the case of other kings of other lines; but we have not as yet obtained any corroboration of it elsewhere in his case, and, from the first historical verse in the same record, the same *biruda* might be equally well established in the case of Gōvinda I., though the latter was only an ancestor and not a reigning king. Be that as it may, the formal preamble of the prose passages of the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant does establish for Dantidurga the *birudas* of Prithivivallabha and Khadgāvalōka.<sup>6</sup> And a verse in the Paithān grant of

<sup>1</sup> *Cave-Temple Inscriptions* (No. 10 of the brochures of the Archaeological Survey of Western India), p. 92, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's version; see also *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 87, where the Pandit's text has been reproduced, in transliteration, by Dr. Bühler; the latter version has thus become the more convenient one to quote. The record is probably of the time of Amoghavarsha I.; because, after taking the early part of the pedigree as far as Dantidurga, it proceeds next to mention Amoghavarsha I., without any notice of the intermediate names. But it was left unfinished, breaking off abruptly in even the middle of a verse. And therefore we cannot say with absolute certainty that it was not composed in, and intended to run on to, a later time.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 112, text lines 16 and 28, respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 271, text line 4.

<sup>4</sup> The only other known instances of this name among the Rāshtrakūtas, are (1), as mentioned above, in the Ellōrā inscription, which puts it forward as the name of the original ancestor of the family; (2) in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, which mentions a *Rājaputra* Dantivarman who was perhaps a son of the feudatory prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 161, text line 68); and (3) in the Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A.D. 888, which puts it forward as the name of apparently the father of the alleged feudatory prince Akālavarsha-Krishnarāja of that record (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, verse 20).

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* (note 2 above), text line 19; the word is there translated, by "a very lion of a king."

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* text lines 27, 28. — The first of these two appellations was not recognised as a formal *biruda* when the record was edited; and it was treated as an abbreviation of *Śrīprithivīvallabha*. But we are now able to see that a distinction must always be made between, on the one hand, Prithivivallabha, "favourite of the Earth," and Śrīvallabha, "favourite of Fortune," which were formal *birudas* restricted to individual cases, and, on the other hand, *Śrīprithivīvallabha*, "favourite of Fortune and of the Earth," which was a paramount epithet of general application. A pointed instance in which the distinction between the *biruda* Śrīvallabha and the epithet is marked, is furnished by a passage in one of the Nausāri grants of A.D. 915, which describes Indra III. as *paramadhatṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Śrīprithivīvallabha-Śrīvallabha-Śrīman-Nityacārāmanārādhatṭa* (*Jour. As. Soc. Vol. XVIII. p. 264, A. plate ii. b, text lines 11, 12*). And, whereas we often find the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, at any rate, used as a substitute for a proper name, we do not find the epithet *Śrīprithivīvallabha* used in that way. — The idea underlying both the two *birudas* and the epithet, was, that Fortune and the Earth were accounted actual wives of kings; and it would, therefore, be more strictly correct to render *vallabha* by 'husband' in this epithet and in these two *birudas* and any exactly similar ones, and there are a few passages in which it should be so rendered, in order to bring out the meaning fully: but there are other *birudas* and expressions, in which that particular meaning of *vallabha* does not apply; and it seems on the whole desirable to render the word by 'favourite' even in the epithet and in the *birudas* in question, partly for the sake of uniformity of translation, and partly to mark the point that the original texts use *vallabha* and not any such word as *pati*, *dhartṛi*, etc. The idea is presented by Kālidāsa, in the *Raghuvamśa*, i. verse 82, which says that, extensive as was his harem, the king Dilīpa considered himself really provided with wives only in the persons of Sudakṣiṇā (his actual wedded wife) and Fortune; and — (the commentator points out) — the poet, using for 'king' the word *śaśadādhikīpa*, 'lord of the earth,' implies that the Earth was also his wife, but his group of real wives was not complete without Fortune and Sudakṣiṇā. An epigraphic passage in

A.D. 794 speaks of him as **Vallabharāja**, "the Vallabha king," or, possibly, "the king of the Vallabhas."<sup>1</sup> This designation however,—as also the simpler designation **Vallabha**,—was, not a special *biruda*, but an appellation of general application. The two appellations were not restricted to the Rāshtrakūṭa family; and the name **Vallabha** does not always denote a Rāshtrakūṭa even in the Rāshtrakūṭa records.<sup>2</sup> And the fuller one of them, **Vallabharāja**, is of interest in connection with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ chiefly because, through its Prākṛit forms, it explains the name, "the Balharās," by which the contemporaneous Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. used to speak of those kings.<sup>3</sup> The Kaḍaba grant, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 813, would set up for Dantidurga the *biruda* of **Vairamēgha**,<sup>4</sup> by which appellation alone it mentions him; but we cannot admit this as established, until we obtain some authentic confirmation of it from a record the nature of which is unquestionable.

Dantidurga was succeeded by his paternal uncle **Kṛishṇa I.** The Paithan grant of A.D. 794 introduces him as **Kṛishṇarāja**, and then presents two verses which establish for him the *birudas* of **Śubhatuṅga** and **Akālavarsha**.<sup>5</sup> Another verse in the same record might perhaps be taken as practically speaking of him as **Śrīvallabha**: but the appellation is there divided into two words, *śrīyō vallabhah*,<sup>6</sup> which is at least a very exceptional manner of putting forward any formal epithet, title, or *biruda*; with that passage we have to compare the descriptions, similarly in verse, of Jagattuṅga II. as *vallabhō vira-Lakshmyāḍḍh* in the Nausārt

one of the Pāla records tells us that "Gōpāla was the husband of Fortune as well as the lord of the Earth," or, more literally, that "Gōpāla was a lord (*pati*) of the Earth who was the fellow-wife (*sapatni*) of Fortune" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI p. 257, and note 55). And the Chōla records constantly utilise the idea: thus, an inscription of the twenty-ninth year of Rājakesarivarman-Rājādhirāja says that, "while the goddess of the Earth was beaming under his fringed white parasol, the king wedded the goddess of Fortune" (*South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III. p. 56); an inscription of the second year of Rājakesarivarman-Rājamahendra says, from the opposite point of view, that "while the goddess of Fortune was resplendent, he wedded the great goddess of the Earth, in order that she might abide joyfully under the shade of a single parasol" (*ibid.* p. 114); an inscription of the fourth year of Parakēsarivarman-Rājendradēva says that, "while the goddess of Fortune and the great goddess of the Earth became his great queens, the king raised on high his brilliant white parasol" (*ibid.* p. 61); and an inscription of the twelfth year of Parakēsarivarman-Rājendrachōla I., expanding the idea by introducing Victory as another so-called wife, and referring also to his actual wedded wife, speaks of "his long life, in which the great goddess of the Earth, the goddess of Victory in battle, and the beautiful and matchless goddess of Fortune, who had become his great queens, gave him pleasure while his own illustrious queen was prospering" (*id.* Vol. I. p. 99). It may be added that we have a still more figurative expansion of the general idea, by the suggestion of a city as a wife of a king, in the verse in the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634-35 which says that Pulakēsin I., who was Śrīvallabha or favourite (in this passage, more exactly, husband) of Fortune, became also the bridegroom of the town Vātāpipuri (page 8 above, verse 7): so, also, a country is put forward, in the same way, in the description of the earliest Śilāhāra princes of the Northern Konkan as "favourite of the Konkan" and "favourite of the whole Konkan" (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 134, text line 3, p. 135, line 2, p. 136, line 1-2; and, in another direction, we find Learning indicated, by the use of the word *vallabhā*, as a wife of wise men (see page 187 below, note 10).—Both in the *biruda* **Prithivivallabha** and in the epithet *śrīprithivivallabhā*, the Sanskrit records use, indifferently, either *prithivī* or *prithvī*, while the Kanarese records often present the corruptions *prithuvi*, *prithuvi*, *prithuvi*, and *prithuvi*. No distinction seems to be involved. And, while giving in the present study, in each individual case, the form that is actually used, it seems desirable, for the sake of uniformity in indexing, etc., to adopt for general purposes the form *prithivī*, which, though it is strictly only a substitute for *prithivī*, is decidedly the more familiar word of the two and also seems to be the more common term.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 106, text line 17. As regards the alternative rendering of this appellation by "the king of the Vallabhas," the Tamil form *Vallavar kōṅ*, which has been translated in that way by Dr. Hultzsch (*South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III. p. 69), occurs in a passage in a Chōla record in which it denotes the Western Chālukya king Āhavamalla-Sōmēśvara I.

<sup>2</sup> See two passages referred to on page 193 below, notes 2 and 3. See also the end of note 4 on page 190.

<sup>3</sup> See page 190 below, and note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 346, after verse 2; and see p. 336.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 106, text lines 17 to 21.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.* text line 26-27.

grants of A.D. 915<sup>1</sup> and of Indra III. as *rājya-kriyā bhartā* in the Kardā grant of A.D. 972;<sup>2</sup> we do not infer from those verses that Jagattuṅga II. and Indra III. were formally known as Viralakshmivallabha and Rājyaśribhartṛi; in the same way, we do not take it as proved by the verse in the Paithan grant that Śrīvallabha is established as a specific *biruda* of Kṛishṇa I.;<sup>3</sup> and the Wapī grant of A.D. 807 styles him simply Vallabha.<sup>4</sup> A verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, which describes Kṛishṇa I. as raining down wealth in excess of even the utmost desires of his servants,<sup>5</sup> might be taken as conveying a hint that he had a second *varsha*-appellation, in the shape of Dhanavarsha;<sup>6</sup> but, in the Kāvī grant of A.D. 826 or 827,<sup>7</sup> the same verse was made to do duty in the case of the feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa prince Suvarnavarsha-Karkarāja of Gujarāt; and it seems, therefore, that it was not intended to have any special meaning in either case. It may be added here that another verse in the Paithan grant tells us that Kṛishṇa I. conquered in battle a certain Rāhappa, and then or thus "quickly extended the sovereignty which was resplendent with a row of *pālidhvaja*-banners." It seems probable that Rāhappa was the more familiar name of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kakkarāja II., of another branch of the family in Gujarāt, who was reigning over the territory on the north of the Tapti in A.D. 757,<sup>8</sup> or else that it was the name of his successor. And it is perhaps, in the same connection,—rather than with any reference to Dantidurga, as I have previously thought,—that we should apply the statement, in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, that Kṛishṇa I. uprooted a *vaṁśya* or "kinaman" who had taken to evil ways, and appropriated the kingdom to himself for the benefit of his family.<sup>9</sup>

Kṛishṇa I. left two sons, Gōvinda II. and Dhruva. They are introduced by their proper names, as Gōvindarāja and Dhruvarāja, in two consecutive verses in the Paithan grant of A.D. 794.<sup>10</sup> And the second verse shews that Gōvinda II. was the elder of the two brothers. A statement, which has been understood to imply that Gōvinda II. succeeded to the throne and held it for a while, is made,—and as far as all known records go, appears for the first time,—a century and a half later in the Dāḍhī grant of A.D. 940, which says that "sensual pleasures made him (Gōvinda II.) careless of the kingdom; and, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama-(Dhruva), he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose."<sup>11</sup> But no statement that he reigned is made in the Paithan grant, which is the first record after his time that puts forward details of the genealogy and succession. The verse which introduces him in that record, speaks, it is true, of his white umbrella with which the rays of the sun were warded off from his head as he moved in battle, and says that he conquered the world, and talks of his causing widowhood to the wives of his enemies and of his bursting asunder in war the temples of the elephants of his foes. These, however, are merely vague poetical statements, introduced to eke out the verse that first mentions him, of no more

<sup>1</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII.; the words are rendered in the translation (p. 267) by "the beloved of the soldierly Lakshmi."

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 19.

<sup>3</sup> The verse, in fact, simply reproduces one part of the general idea (see note 6 on page 168 above), and incidentally describes Kṛishṇa I. as being, among other things, a husband of Fortune; much in the same way, as a verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text lines 21, 22) says of Dhruva that "bearing in mind, personally, that whatever is appropriate should be done in securing Lakshmi, he was always successful; but what was there wonderful in that?, since any man, who does not look about for assistance (and thus create factitious difficulties), is able to make his own wife subject to his control:" this latter verse intimates that Dhruva was, in his turn, a lawful husband of Fortune; but it does not establish for Dhruva any *biruda* based on that idea.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text lines 11, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Just as Gōvinda IV. had the two *birudas* of Prabhātarsha and Suvarnavarsha.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 147, verse 83.

<sup>8</sup> See *Dya. Kan. Dist.* pp. 391, 392.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 163.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 107, text lines 27 to 30.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 193, verse 10; for the translation which I use, see the rendering of the same verse as verse 11 in the Kardā grant of A.D. 958 (above, Vol. IV. p. 287).

specific purport and value than are the very similar statements that are made in the same record about Gōvinda I. and Indra I., who were not reigning kings, but were simply ancestors of the first reigning king. And the Wapi grant of A.D. 807, which is the next record of the same kind, specifically tells us that Dhruva obtained the sovereignty by "leaping over his elder brother (*jyēshth-ōllāghana*)," whose name it does not even take the trouble to mention.<sup>1</sup> This is a most distinct assertion that Dhruva superseded his elder brother altogether. And further light is thrown on the matter by another passage in the Paithan grant,<sup>2</sup> which says that Gōvinda II. fetched in large numbers even hostile kings,—the ruler of Mālava and others, the lord of Kāñchī, the Gaṅga, and him of Veṅgī,—but the mind of Dhruva, after that he had possessed himself of his ruby-ornaments and store of gold, underwent no change in regard to him; and then, having made conciliatory overtures to him in vain, Dhruva speedily defeated him in battle, and drove away the eastern and the northern opponents,<sup>3</sup> and thus "obtained the whole sovereignty." This makes it clear that Gōvinda II. did not submit quietly to being deprived of his rights. And we have, perhaps, an intimation that he established himself in the northern territory, while Dhruva set himself up as his rival in the south, and that time elapsed before Dhruva made himself master of the whole kingdom. But it is plain that, at the best, Gōvinda II. made a stand for only a short time. And it seems more probable that the passage simply seeks to describe him, as Pulakēśin II. is described in the Aihole record, as engaging in the act called *aparuddhacharita*, that is to say, wandering abroad, debarred altogether from his rights, and endeavouring to obtain them by the help of other rulers.<sup>4</sup> The statement made in the Wapi grant would not be inconsistent with the possibility that Gōvinda II. was the intended successor of Kṛishṇa I. Also, we have not as yet found, in any of the records, any statements in respect of Dhruva similar to those which are made in respect of his son and successor Gōvinda III.; namely, in the Rādhapur grant,<sup>5</sup> that Gōvinda III. received from his father the *kaṇṭhikā* or necklet (which was the badge of appointment as *Yuvarāja*), but protested against a transfer of the sovereignty itself to him while his father was still alive, and, in the Paithan grant, that he was chosen for the succession out of several sons, because he surpassed his brothers in merit. We, therefore, cannot say that the succession was not intended to pass, at this point, from the father, Kṛishṇa I., to the elder son, Gōvinda II. And the pointed expression used in the Wapi grant is, in fact, rather suggestive that, not only was Gōvinda II. the intended successor, but also the appointment of him as *Yuvarāja* had actually been made. We naturally, however, follow the information furnished by the Paithan and Wapi grants, which are so near in time to the events themselves, in preference to a loose statement, which first appears a century and a half later, in a record which does not follow any of the ancient drafts but presents an altogether new composition. If, indeed, that statement could be looked upon as authoritative at all, it might be interpreted, just as readily, as meaning that Gōvinda II. was so much engrossed in sensual pleasures that he was altogether indifferent about the sovereignty and deliberately allowed Dhruva to usurp it, which, however, we know from the Paithan grant was not the case. But, obviously, the statement owes its existence to nothing but the fact, which we can recognise from also other independent drafts, that the name of Gōvinda II. had been duly preserved in the *raṁśāvalī* and archives of the dynasty, and to a flight of fancy on the part of the composer of the draft that was followed in that record, who, differing from the composers of some other drafts, thought it worth while to mention Gōvinda II., and said about him the first thing that came into his head and sufficed to fill out a verse with some

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 7.

<sup>2</sup> For the literal full translation, see above, Vol. III. p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> The Gaṅgas, then, in the south, apparently remained to be dealt with on a subsequent occasion.

<sup>4</sup> See Professor Kielhorn's explanation of the technical term in question (page 9 above, note 2).

<sup>5</sup> In the Wapi grant, which is slightly earlier in date, part of this passage was carelessly omitted, and two complete verses, of four *pādas* each, were combined into one verse with the exceptional number of five *pādas*.

kind of a suggestion as to why the succession passed to the younger brother.<sup>1</sup> And the conclusion at which we arrive from the authoritative early records, is, that Dhruva set himself up as king immediately on the death of Krishna I., and that Gōvinda II. had not any real part at all in the succession.<sup>2</sup> The Kadaba grant, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 813, would set up for Gōvinda II. the *biruda* of Prabhūtarsha.<sup>3</sup> But we do not accept this, until we find it in some unquestionable record. And the only secondary appellation that is as yet established for him, is that of Vallabha; it is supplied by the Paiṭhaṇ grant, which, in the first verse that mentions him, says that he was Gōvindarāja who had the *ākhyā* or name of Vallabha, and, in the other passage, uses that name to denote him.

The successor, then, of Krishna I. was his younger son Dhruva. The Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794, of his son and successor Gōvinda III., mentions him, in the verses, by the name of Dhruvarāja and the *biruda* of Nirupama;<sup>4</sup> and the formal preamble of the prose part of it further establishes for him the *biruda* of Dhāravarsha, because, using a certain technical expression of very constant occurrence, it describes Gōvinda III. as meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara* Dhāravarshadēva.<sup>5</sup> A verse in the Wapi grant of A.D. 807 gives his proper name in the Prākṛit form of Dhōra,<sup>6</sup> though a subsequent verse in the same record gives it in the usual Sanskrit form of Dhruva;<sup>7</sup> and an intermediate verse in the same record further establishes for him the *biruda* of Kalivallabha.<sup>8</sup> In the Paṭṭadakal inscription of his time, he is designated Dhāravarsha and Kaliballaha,<sup>9</sup> — the latter being the Prākṛit form of Kalivallabha. And the Naregal inscription gives Dōra, as another variety of the Prākṛit form of his proper name.<sup>10</sup> Another important *biruda* of his, Śrīvallabha, will be brought forward further on. A verse in the Sāngli grant of A.D. 933

<sup>1</sup> We have a similar flight of fancy, or at any rate an unquestionably erroneous statement, in the assertion made in the Śilāhāra Bhādāna grant of A.D. 997, that Amoghavarsha II. reigned for a year; see page 176 below.

<sup>2</sup> The other Rāshtrakūṭa records which deal with this part of the genealogy and succession, treat Gōvinda II. as follows. The Rādhanpur grant of A.D. 807 follows the draft of the Wapi grant, and refers to him, in the same way, only as the unnamed elder brother whom Dhruva superseded (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 69, verse 5). The Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 passes him over without any allusion of any kind (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 162, 163); and so does the Kāpaḍwapi grant of A.D. 909 or 910 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 56); and so also, do even the Nausāri grants of A.D. 915 (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 286), which aim at presenting the whole line from Dantidurga to Indra III., with the first rudimentary introduction of a Purāṇic preface. The Nausāri grant of A.D. 817 (*Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 144, 145, verses 18, 19), and the Kāvī grant of A.D. 826 or 827 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 149, 150, verses 18, 19), and the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835 (*id.* Vol. XIV. p. 201, verses 2, 3), and the Bagumrā grant of A.D. 866 or 867 (*id.* Vol. XII. p. 187, verses 15, 16), and the Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, of A.D. 888 (*id.* Vol. XIII. p. 67, verses 9, 10), repeat the two verses which introduce the two brothers in the Paiṭhaṇ grant, but do not include the subsequent matter stated in that record about them. The Sāngli grant of A.D. 933 mentions Gōvinda II. between his father Krishna I. and his younger brother Nirupama (Dhruva), but does not make any assertion that he reigned (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 252). The Karhād grant of A.D. 959 follows the draft of the Dēoli grant of A.D. 940, and so repeats the statement that sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom, *etc.* (above, Vol. IV. p. 287, verse 11). And the Kardā grant of A.D. 972 mentions him between his father and his younger brother, but does not revive the statement that is made in the Dēoli and Karhād grants, and does not say anything else tending to suggest that he reigned (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 267).

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 342, line 40.

Above, Vol. III. p. 107, text lines 29, 35, 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 108, text lines 42, 43. It seems that the *biruda* was actually written there, carelessly, as Dhāravarshadēva. If any doubt should be entertained as to what was really intended, reference may be made to the corresponding passages in the Wapi and Rādhanpur grants, both of which, it may be added, give the *biruda* with the ending *dēva*, just as the Paiṭhaṇ record does.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.* text line 26. When this passage was translated, and, before it, the same passage in the Rādhanpur grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 70, verse 17), the fact that the word is here a proper name was not recognised, and it was rendered, with the following *iva*, by "already."

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* text line 14. Regarding the meaning of this *biruda*, which had evidently been misunderstood both by Dr. Bühler and by myself, see page 105 above, note 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, text lines 1, 2.

<sup>9</sup> Page 168 above, text line 1.

seems clearly to intend to allot to him the *biruda* of Iddhatêjas, because it speaks of him as "the king Iddhatêjas, who had the other name of Nirupama,"<sup>1</sup> instead of using such a construction that the word might be taken as an ordinary adjective qualifying *râjâ*; but it is very problematical whether there is anything authentic about that appellation, appearing, as it does, for the first time at that late date.

Dhruva was succeeded by his son Gôvinda III. His Paithan grant of A.D. 794 introduces him, in verse, as Gôvindarâja, son of Nirupama, and tells us that he was chosen for the succession out of several sons, because he surpassed his brothers in merit; and, in the preamble of the prose passages, it denotes him by the *birudas* of Prithvivallabha and Prabhûtavarsha, in combination with a third appellation Śrīvallabhanarêndradêva, which apparently uses the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, and which, in that case, is to be rendered by "his majesty the king Śrīvallabha."<sup>2</sup> His grant from the Kanarese country, issued in A.D. 804, uses, from among his various *birudas*, only that of Prabhûtavarsha, and presents his proper name in the Prâkrit form of Gôyinda.<sup>3</sup> Like the Paithan grant, his Wari and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807 do not mention any of his *birudas* in the verses; in the formal prose passages, the Wari grant uses the *birudas* Prabhûtavarshadêva and Prithvivallabha, followed by his proper name as Gôvindarâjadêva,<sup>4</sup> while the Râdhanpur grant follows the Paithan draft, and places the Prithvivallabha first, gives the Prabhûtavarsha without the ending *dêva*, and uses Śrīvallabhanarêndradêva, "his majesty the king Śrīvallabha," instead of the proper name.<sup>5</sup> The Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, issued in his time, gives him, in verse, the *biruda* Kirtipurusha,<sup>6</sup> which we meet with in the Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866 in the form of Kirtinârâyana<sup>7</sup> more in accordance with the habitual style of the Rashtrakûta *birudas*; and further on, in another verse, it speaks of him as Śrīvallabha.<sup>8</sup> The Torkhêdê grant of A.D. 813, also issued in his

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249, text lines 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> For the rendering of the honorific termination *narêndradêva*, see page 188 below.—That the *śrī* is an integral and essential part of the appellation, and not the honorific prefix,—that is to say, that Gôvinda III. really had the *biruda* Śrīvallabha,—seems to be established by the corresponding passage in the Râdhanpur grant of A.D. 807, which (unless we choose to assume a mistake of some kind or a piece of carelessness) intentionally repeats the *śrī*, or, in other words, prefixes the honorific *śrī* to the *biruda* Śrīvallabha. The text in that record (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. b, text lines 3, 4) runs — *Prithivai[ī]abha-śrīmat-Prabhûtavarsha-śrī-Śrīvallabhanarêndradêva*; using, in addition to the *śrī* before Śrīvallabha, the honorific *śrīmat*, which has precisely the same value, before Prabhûtavarsha. And, if it were not for that passage, there would be sufficient authority for treating the *śrī* in the Paithan passage as the honorific prefix, and for rendering the appellation used there by "his glorious majesty the king Vallabha," just as we have to render *śrīmad-Vallabhanarêndradêva* in the formal prose passages of records of Gôvinda IV., Kṛishna III., and Kakka II. (see further on, under those kings); particularly as the Nausâri grant of A.D. 817 seems to single out Prithvivallabha as the special *vallabha*-appellation of Gôvinda III. (see further on in the text above). We should then have to treat in the same way the expression used in the Torkhêdê grant. And the result would go far towards cancelling the *biruda* Śrīvallabha altogether in the case of Gôvinda III.; in fact, the only remaining authority for it would be the verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 (see further on in the text above).—On the occasional emphasising of *śrī* as an integral part of proper names and *birudas*, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8, note 3, clause (3) on p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 126, text line 3-4, and p. 127, text line 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 159, text lines 34, 35.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. b, text lines 3, 4; and see note 2 above.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text line 24. The word was then translated by me, by "the personification of fame," for which, however, there seems no justification.

<sup>7</sup> Page 103 above, text line 7; and see page 106, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.* (note 6 above), p. 160, text line 35.—Because Amoghavarsha I. had the *biruda* Lakshmi-vallabha, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to identify the Śrīvallabha of this passage with that king, who, he suggested, was "then hair-apparent of Gôvinda" (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 124). But that identification is not tenable. The verse occurs in the account of Indrarâja of Gujarât younger brother of Gôvinda III., to whom the rule over the province of the lords of Lâta was given by Gôvinda III. It says that he put to flight the leader of the Gurjara, and that the array of the *Mahâsamantas* or feudatory princes of the Dakshinâpâtha or Dekkan, terrified and not holding together in the course of having their power or

time, uses the *birūdas* Prabhūtavarsha and Śrīvallabha,—the latter with the simpler ending *narēndra*, Śrīvallabhanarēndra, “the king Śrīvallabha;” and it further establishes for him the *birūda* of Jagattuṅga,<sup>1</sup> which is mentioned again in the Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866,<sup>2</sup> and was used alone, to denote him, in the Kanheri inscription, of A.D. 851, of the time of his successor Amōghavarsha I., who is there described as meditating on the feet of Jagattuṅgadēva.<sup>3</sup> A verse in the Nausāri grant of A.D. 817, issued shortly after his time, can hardly be construed except as putting forward for him the *birūda* of Janavallabha.<sup>4</sup> But the next verse, which says that “his other name, known or renowned in the world, was Prithvivallabha,” seems clearly to seek to attach some particular importance to that *birūda*, and, in fact, to single it out as his special vallabha-appellation. The other authentic records do not add anything. The Kaḍaba grant, however, which purports to have been issued in his time in A.D. 813, while introducing him as Prabhūtavarsha, denotes him further on by the appellation Vallabhēndra, instead of by that *birūda* or by his proper name.<sup>5</sup>

Gōvinda III. was succeeded by a son, whose proper name has not yet come to light,<sup>6</sup> and who is known best, by his principal *birūda*, as Amōghavarsha I. The earliest known record of his time is the Nausāri grant, issued in A.D. 817 by the feudatory prince Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarāja of Gujārāt, which introduces him by the *birūda* of Mahārājāsarva, “a very Śarva (Śiva) among Mahārājas or great kings,”<sup>7</sup> and then, in the next verse, brings forward his more familiar *birūda* of Amōghavarsha; and the former of these two *birūdas*, Mahārājāsarva, is used to denote him in the inscription at the Daśavatāra cave at Ellōrā,<sup>8</sup> a subsequent verse of which may perhaps be interpreted as putting forward for him the *birūda* of Rājasimha.<sup>9</sup> The

possessions ravaged from them by Śrīvallabha, obtained protection from him (Indrarāja) by shewing respect to him. There is no reason to explain this, as the Pandit did (*loc. cit.*) as meaning that, “in attempting to establish “himself in independent power, Indra aided certain of the Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories in an effort to shake off the “overlordship of Amōghavarsha,” or, as I myself have done (*Dyn. Kon. Distrs.* p. 400), as meaning that “apparently in opposition to his brother and sovereign, he gave protection to some chieftains of the south, whose “possessions were taken away from them by Gōvinda III.” The passage is evidently to be taken in connection with the combination that was formed against Gōvinda III. by Stambha and eleven other princes. It is to be understood as meaning that Indrarāja helped Gōvinda III. in the north, and made the rebellious feudatories there submit to himself. And it is plainly in return for this service that Gōvinda III. gave Indrarāja the province of Lāṭa.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 54, text lines 5, 6; as regards the Śrīvallabha, see note 2 on page 173 above.—This record puts forward the Jagattuṅga in the form of Jagatūnga, by a metrical license in adapting the verse which was used in the Paithāq grant to put forward the *birūda* Subhatuṅga for Kṛishṇa I.

<sup>2</sup> Page 102 above, text line 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 184, No. 15, text line 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 138, text line 36, verse 23.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 343 f., text lines 68, 82.

<sup>6</sup> Regarding some indications that we may expect to find that it either was Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, or else was a name beginning with Viṣṇu, see page 100 above.

<sup>7</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 139, text lines 43, 44.—Moulier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary gives Śarva as a name of also Viṣṇu: but I do not trace the authority for that; and the word is certainly best known as a name of Śiva, apparently in one of his Rudra-manifestations (see, for instance, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's translation, Vol. I. p. 116, Vol. II. p. 24).—With this *birūda* Mahārājāsarva, compare Nṛpatitripētra, “a very Tripētra (Śiva) among kings,” in the case of Gōvinda IV., and Rājatripētra, meaning the same thing, in the case of Kakka II.—If the intention of the composer of the verse had been to describe the king by a proper name as “the great king Śarva,”—according to the translation of this verse that has been put forward in the place referred to (p. 146, verse 29), and on previous occasions when the verse has been handled by others dealing with other records in which it occurs,—he ought, in conformity with epigraphic as well as grammatical usage, to have framed his verse so as to speak of him, not as Mahārājāsarva, but as Sarvamahārāja or Sarvarāja.

<sup>8</sup> *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 89, text line 12.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.* text line 13. This, however, is somewhat doubtful, as also in the case of Dantidurga (page 168 above), as this *birūda* has not as yet been explicitly found anywhere in connection with Amōghavarsha I.

Kanheri inscription of A.D. 843-44 establishes for him the *biruda* of *Prithvivallabha*,<sup>1</sup> in addition to mentioning him as *Amoghavarsha*. The Kanheri inscription of A.D. 851 mentions him only as *Amoghavarshadēva*, who meditated on the feet of Jagattuṅgadēva-(Gōvinda III.).<sup>2</sup> The Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866 establishes for him the further *birudas* of *Atisayadhavala*, *Nripatūṅga*, and *Lakshmivallabha* with the ending *indra*.<sup>3</sup> And this completes the list of *birudas* established for him by records of his own time.<sup>4</sup> Some of the subsequent records, however, put forward others, in respect of which we can only say that, while there may not be any very conclusive objections to them, still they cannot be taken as established until we find them in records of his own time. Thus, the Kāpaḍwaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910 appears to mention him, in verse, as *Mahārājashanḍa*, "a very bull (i.e. most powerful or pre-eminent) among *Mahārājas*."<sup>5</sup> A verse in the Nausāri grants of A.D. 915 says that Jagattuṅga-(Gōvinda III.) begat Śrīvallabha, who subsequently became *Viranārāyaṇa*;<sup>6</sup> and here we may remark that, though there may be no particular reason why *Amoghavarsha* I. should not have been known as *Śrīvallabha*, still it is quite possible that the composer of this record, which does not follow any of the early drafts, simply used, to suit his own convenience, a more familiar synonym of the special *biruda* *Lakshmivallabha* which is established by the Nilgund record. And finally, the Śilāhāra Bhādāna grant of A.D. 997 seems clearly to style him *Durlabha*, as well as *Amoghavarsha*.<sup>7</sup>

*Amoghavarsha* I. was succeeded by his son *Kṛishṇa* II., whose name is given as *Kṛishṇavallabha*, in verse, in the Mulgund inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 902-903,<sup>8</sup> and in the Prakrit form of *Kannara*, in prose, in the Aihole inscription, also of his time, dated in A.D. 903.<sup>9</sup> The Batgere inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 888,<sup>10</sup> establishes for him the *biruda* of *Akālavarsha*, which was evidently used, alone, to denote him in the Nandwāḍige inscription of A.D. 903.<sup>11</sup> The Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued somewhat earlier in A.D. 888, speaks, in verse, of a certain *Vallabhanripa* or "Vallabha king," who can hardly be anyone but *Kṛishṇa* II.<sup>12</sup> And the Kāpaḍwaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910 establishes for him the *biruda* of *Śubhatūṅga*,<sup>13</sup> in addition to *Akālavarsha*,

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 136, No. 43 B., text line 1. I cannot help thinking that it may also mention him as *Mahārājasaṛva*: the apparent description of him there, immediately after his *biruda* *Amoghavarsha*, as *śrī-mahārāja*, "the glorious *Mahārāja*," is not very appropriate; and where there has been read *jña*, in brackets as being damaged, followed by a *visarga*, there may possibly be the syllables *jaśaṛva*, crowded up together; moreover, the proposed genitive *mahārājñāḥ* would be, according to all general usage, a mistake (for *mahārājasya*)

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 134, No. 15, text line 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pages 108, 104, above, text lines 8, 17, 19, and 20; in the last passage, the ending *varāndradēva* is attached, in prose, to the *Atisayadhavala*.

<sup>4</sup> The Sirūr inscription of A.D. 866 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 215; for a revised version, see further on in the present selection of records) only endorses the *birudas* used in the Nilgund inscription; the Kāvi grant of A.D. 826 or 827 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 144) appears not to mention him at all, for some reason or other; the Bagumrā grant of A.D. 866 or 867 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 179) gives only *Mahārājasaṛva* (verse 22) and *Amoghavarsha* (verses 23, 29); and the latest known record, the Kanheri inscription of A.D. 877-78 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 135, No. 43 A.) gives only *Amoghavarshadēva*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 54, text line 14.

<sup>6</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII., translation, p. 266. The *biruda* *Viranārāyaṇa* is used for him in the Konnūr inscription, which, really written in the twelfth century A.D., purports to reproduce the matter of a copper-plate charter issued in A.D. 860 (page 86 above, verse 84).

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 271, verse 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 190, text line 3; and see further on in the present series of records.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 222, text line 2.

<sup>10</sup> Brought to notice in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 410. It will be edited further on in this series of records.

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 221, text line 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, verse 23.

<sup>13</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 57, verse 11.

and further seems to speak of him as Vallabharāja.<sup>1</sup> The Hebbāl inscription of A.D. 975, which is a Western Ganga record, would set up for him the *biruda* of Chalakenallāta;<sup>2</sup> but it seems likely that it only carries it back to him, mistakenly, from his great-grandson Kṛishṇa III.

Kṛishṇa II. had a son, through whom the succession was transmitted, but who did not himself reign: his proper name has not yet come to light; and he is only known, by a *biruda*, as Jagattuṅga II. That he did not reign, and that the succession passed direct from Kṛishṇa II. to Indra III., is shewn by the formal preambles of the prose passages of the Nausāri grants of A.D. 915, which describe Nityavarshanarēndradēva-(Indra III.) as meditating on the feet of Akālavarshadēva-(Kṛishṇa II.).<sup>3</sup>

Kṛishṇa II., then, was succeeded by his grandson Indra III., son of Jagattuṅga II. His Nausāri grants of A.D. 915 mention him, in the verses, first by the *birudas* of Raṭṭakandarpadēva and Kīrtinārāyaṇa, and then by the proper name of Indrarāja;<sup>4</sup> and, in the formal preambles of the prose passages, one of them mentions him by the *birudas* of Śrīvallabha and Nityavarsha, the latter with the ending *narēndradēva*,<sup>5</sup> — Nityavarshanarēndradēva, "his majesty the king Nityavarsha," while the other omits the Śrīvallabha and mentions him as only Nityavarsha, again with the same honorific ending.<sup>6</sup> The Hattī-Mattūr inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 916-17, mentions him by only the *biruda* of Nityavarsha;<sup>7</sup> and so also does an inscription at Lakshmēshwar, dated in the same year.<sup>8</sup> To the preceding *birudas*, established by the records of his own time, a verse in the Sāṅglī grant of A.D. 933, issued after his time, adds that of Rājamārtanḍa,<sup>9</sup> which seems probable and admissible.

Indra III. had two sons. The proper name of the elder one has not yet come to light; and he is only known as Amōghavarsha II., by the *biruda* by which he is mentioned in the Dēōlī grant of A.D. 940 and the Karhād grant of A.D. 959;<sup>10</sup> the Sāṅglī grant of A.D. 933 merely refers to him as the elder brother of Gōvinda IV., without mentioning him by any appellation at all.<sup>11</sup> A later and extraneous record, the Śilāhāra Bhādāna grant of A.D. 997, asserts that he reigned for one year.<sup>12</sup> But no such statement is made in the Dēōlī and Karhād records. And, that there was no basis of truth for the assertion, is distinctly proved by

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* (see note 13 on page 175 above), verse 20. If so, the verse seems to refer to seven hundred and fifty villages, which constituted his private personal estate. But it is possible that the reference here is to the feudatory prince Akālavarsha-Kṛishṇarāja, whose existence is set up by the Bagumrā grant purporting to have been issued in A.D. 888 (see note 12 on page 175 above).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 352, text line 2.

<sup>3</sup> See notes 5, 6, below.

<sup>4</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 259, B., plate ii. 5, text lines 5, 7, 9, and p. 263, A., plate ii. 5, text lines 2, 5-6, 8. The translation gives Vīranārāyaṇa, by mistake for Kīrtinārāyaṇa.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 264, A., plate ii. 5, text line 12; and see page 168 above, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 259, B., plate ii. 5, text line 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 224, text line 1.

<sup>8</sup> Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression. The details of the date include Ādityavāra, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of, perhaps, [Bhādra]pada; but only the last two syllables of the name of the month remain, and they are very doubtful. In this record, the *saṃvatsara*, Dhāta (for Dhātu, or Dhātṛi), is coupled with Śaka-Saṃvat 839 (current, by the southern luni-solar system), = A.D. 916-17, the year being expressed plainly in words. In the Hattī-Mattūr record, it is coupled with Ś.-S. 838, which we must apparently take as expired, by the same system, again = A.D. 916-17.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text line 19; the word was then translated, by "a very son of a king."

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 193-94, verse 16; and Vol. IV. p. 288, verse 18.

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text lines 23 to 25.

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 271, verse 6. The assertion is possibly based on some such authority as the spurious Wudgaon grant (noticed, *Dyn. Kam. Distrs.* p. 416, note 6; to be explained more fully in an article on Spurious Indian Records in the *Indian Antiquary*), which puts forward as the reigning king, and as the alleged giver of the donation claimed by it, an Amōghavarsha by whom it really means Indra III. Or, perhaps, the Bhādāna grant has mistakenly applied to him an assertion which might be correct in respect of his uncle Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga, whose reign was certainly not a long one.

the Sāṅglī grant, in which the formal preamble of the prose passages describes Suvarṇavarsha- (Gōvinda IV.) as meditating on the feet of Nityavarshadēva,<sup>1</sup> i.e. as the immediate successor of Indra III.

The successor, then, of Indra III. was his younger son Gōvinda IV., who is first introduced, in his Sāṅglī grant of August, A.D. 933, by the name of Gōvindarāja;<sup>2</sup> the next verse in that record gives him the *biruda* of Sāhasāṅka;<sup>3</sup> the next verse says that, though he was Prabhūtarsha, he was called Suvarṇavarsha because he made the whole earth entirely golden by showers of gold;<sup>4</sup> some lines in prose, containing epithets with rhyming endings, which stand before the usual preamble of the prose passages, give him the *birudas* of Nityakandarpa, Chāṇakyaachaturmukha, Vikrāntanārāyaṇa, and Nṛpatitripētra;<sup>5</sup> and finally, the formal preamble of the prose passages mentions him as Suvarṇavarshadēva, Prithvivallabha, and Vallabhanarēndradēva, "his majesty the king Vallabha," who meditated on the feet of Nityavarshadēva-(Indra III.).<sup>6</sup> The Daṇḍāpur inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 918, quite early in his reign, mentions him by only the *biruda* of Prabhūtarsha,<sup>7</sup> which is in accordance with what we understand from the Sāṅglī record, namely that he was Prabhūtarsha first and became known as Suvarṇavarsha subsequently. The inscription at Kaḷas in the Baṅkāpur tāluka, dated in A.D. 930,<sup>8</sup> does not seem to include any *varsha*-appellation: in the verses, in addition to giving his name, in its Prākṛit form, as Gojjiga, Gojjigadēva, and Gojjigavallabha, it gives him the *birudas* of Nripatūṅga, Viranārāyaṇa, and Raṭṭakandarpadēva; and, in addition to using again Gojjigavallabha and Viranārāyaṇa, the prose passage which leads up to the date and other details speaks of him as Gaṇḍamārtanḍa, Madagajārūḍhamātāṅga (P),<sup>9</sup> and Raṭṭavidyādhara, and also includes one or two other *birudas* of which the reading is not at all certain. The inscription at Kaḷasāpur in the Gadag tāluka, dated in December, A.D. 933,<sup>10</sup> mentions him by only the *biruda* of Suvarṇavarsha. And so also does an inscription at Kaujgere in the Rōp tāluka,<sup>11</sup> which is

<sup>1</sup> See note 6 below.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text line 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* text line 25. The word was then translated, by "characterised by daring;" with, however, the remark in a footnote that it might be taken as a *biruda*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* text lines 25, 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 251, text lines 36, 37, 38.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* text lines 39, 40. The appellation is preceded by the honorific *śrīmat*,— not *śrī*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 223, text line 1. The record was then wrongly allotted by me to Jagattuṅga II.— In *ndivattavuttā*, line 2, *avuttā* is a form of the present participle of *avi* (2), 'to be spoiled, damaged; to rot; to perish; to go out, be extinguished.' And thus the record is dated on the winter solstice of the month Pausa of the Pramāthin *samvatsara*, when the Śaka year eight hundred and forty was "coming to an end." Pramāthin can be connected with the figures 840 only by the mean-sign system of the cycle, according to which it began on the 12th February, A.D. 918, Śaka-Samvat 840 current, and ended on the 8th February, A.D. 919, Ś.S. 840 expired, or else by the northern luni-solar system, according to which it coincided with S.S. 840 expired, = A.D. 918-19; and, in either case, the date would fail in December, A.D. 918. If we were to apply the southern luni-solar system, we should have to assume that 840 is a mistake for 841; because, by that system, Pramāthin coincided with S.S. 841 expired, = A.D. 919-20. Prof. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 269) has adduced a later instance, of A.D. 930 (the date of the Kaḷas inscription, noticed further on), in which we must apply the northern luni-solar system. And we may take it, therefore, that there is no mistake in the year in the Daṇḍāpur record, and that it is dated in December, A.D. 918. Compare notes 3 and 4 on page 180 below.

<sup>8</sup> Noticed, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 211, No. 48, and p. 248, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 416. For the exact date, the 17th January, A.D. 930, see Prof. Kielhorn's result in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 114, No. 7, and his remarks in Vol. XXIV. p. 269.

<sup>9</sup> The antepenultimate syllable is doubtful, but seems to be *ma* or *mā*. In the penultimate syllable, it is not quite certain whether the vowel with the *f* is *a* or *u*. Madagajārūḍhamātāṅga may be rendered, as suggested to me by Prof. Kielhorn, by "the most excellent rider of rutting elephants."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 416 f. To the details of the date given there, add "at the Uttarāyanaśamkrānti." If this is to be taken as the leading detail, the equivalent cannot be Sunday, 29th December, but must be either Sunday, the 22nd, or Monday, the 23rd. The week-day, Ādityavāra, is quite distinct; and it seems impossible to read the *śifā* as anything but *aśāṅam*.

<sup>11</sup> Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression

dated, without full details, in the Vijaya *saṃvatsara* coupled with Śaka-Saṃvat 855 (expired), = A.D. 933-34.

Gōvinda IV. was succeeded by a paternal uncle, whose proper name is known, as yet, only in the Prākṛit forms of *Baddegadēva* and *Vaddigadēva*.<sup>1</sup> The Dēolī grant of A.D. 940 introduces him, in verse, by only the *biruda* of *Amōghavarsha*;<sup>2</sup> so, also, does the Karhād grant of A.D. 959, using the same verse;<sup>3</sup> and so, in other verses, do the Sālōtgi inscription of A.D. 945<sup>4</sup> and the Kardā grant of A.D. 972.<sup>5</sup> the Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 949-50 mentions him, in prose, only as *Amōghavarshadēva*.<sup>6</sup> His proper name is met with first, as *Baddegadēva*, in the Western Gaṅga inscription of A.D. 975 at Hebbāl;<sup>7</sup> the Bhādāna Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 997 gives it as *Vaddigadēva*;<sup>8</sup> and the Khārēpāṭa Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 1008 speaks of him as *Vaddiganripa*, "king *Vaddiga*."<sup>9</sup> We have, as yet, no records that can be referred with certainty to the time of *Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga*. But, that he did reign, is shewn by the formal preambles of the prose passages of the Dēolī and Karhād grants, which describe *Akśavarshadēva*-(Kṛishṇa III.) as meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara Amōghavarshadēva*;<sup>10</sup> and so, also, by the Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 949-50, which, in a less stereotyped fashion, describes Kṛishṇa III. as a bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Amōghavarshadēva*.<sup>11</sup>

*Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga* was succeeded by his son Kṛishṇa III. His earliest record, the Dēolī grant of A.D. 940, introduces him as *Kṛishṇarājadēva*, and then, in another verse, gives him the *biruda* of *Śrīvallabha*;<sup>12</sup> and, in the formal preamble of the prose passages, it styles him *Akśavarshadēva*, *Prithivīvallabha*, and *Vallabhanarēndradēva*, "his majesty the king *Vallabha*."<sup>13</sup> The Sālōtgi inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 945, does not add anything; as it only mentions him as *Prithivīvallabha*, *Akśavarshadēva*, and *Kṛishṇarāja*.<sup>14</sup> The Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 949-50 presents his name in the Prākṛit form of *Kannaradēva*,<sup>15</sup> and adds the *birudas* of *Aṅkatripētra*, "a very Tripētra (Śiva) in battle," *Ānevedōṅga*, "a marvel with elephants," *Vanagajamalla*, "a wrestler against forest-elephants," and *Kachohēga*,

<sup>1</sup> Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary gives *baddiga* as another form of *bandiga*, and the latter as a *taddhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *bandhika* or *bandhaka*; but this does not seem to help us towards the Sanskrit name. The St. Petersburg Dictionary gives *Vandika*, also written *Bandika*, as a name of Indra; but it is hardly likely that Jagattuṅga II. would name two sons after that god. We shall probably find the Sanskrit form of the name, sooner or later, among the Kalachuris of Central India, into whose family Jagattuṅga II., as well as his father Kṛishṇa II., intermarried. Meanwhile, we can only remark that the Karhād grant of A.D. 959 goes on, after the verse in which it introduces him (see note 3 below), to liken him, in a verse of its own which does not stand in the Dēolī grant, to *Mannu*, *Kārtavīrya*, *Bali*, and *Dilīpa*, and says that, though by possessing the qualities which they possessed he acquired pre-eminent and permanent fame, still "his behaviour towards elderly persons was humble through modesty,"—*eriddhāske samra-charitō vinayēna yō-bhādī*. It is just possible that there is a hint here that his proper name was something beginning with *Vṛiddha*, of which *Vaddiga* would be a perfectly admissible Prākṛit form, on the analogy of *baddī*, *vaddī*, as *taddhava*-forms of *eriddhī*.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 194, verse 19.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 268, verse 21; as regards verse 22, see note 1 above.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 62.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, text lines 21, 24-25.

<sup>6</sup> Page 65 above.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 252, text line 5.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 271, text line 12. It is this record which, in the preceding verse, distinctly specifies him as the younger brother of *Nityavarsha*-(Indra III.).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 298, text line 12.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 195, text lines 43 to 45; and Vol. IV. p. 265, text lines 54, 55.

<sup>11</sup> Page 65 above.

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 194, text lines 31, 34.

<sup>13</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 195, text line 45-46. The last appellation seems to be preceded, as it is in his Karhād grant of A.D. 959, by the honorific *śrīmat*,—not *śrī*.

<sup>14</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 60, text lines 9-10, 18.

<sup>15</sup> Page 64 f. above, text lines 4, 20, 21.

"he who wears the girdle (of prowess)."<sup>1</sup> The Soratūr inscription of A.D. 951 endorses Ānevedēga, presents Vanagajamalla in the variant of Madagajamalla, "a wrestler against rutting elephants," and adds Chalakenallāta, "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of firmness of character."<sup>2</sup> The Ukkal inscription, dated in his sixteenth year, styles him Kachchhiyun-Tañjaiyūn-koṇḍa, "conqueror of Kāñchi and Tanjore."<sup>3</sup> His Karchād grant of A.D. 959 follows the Dēoli grant of A.D. 940, except that, in adapting the verse which first mentions him, it substitutes Krishnarājanripati, "king Krishnarāja," for Krishnarājadēva;<sup>4</sup> but it adds a new *biruda*; it tells us that he was then encamped at Mēlpāṭi (Mēlpāṭi in the North Arcot district) for the purpose of creating livings for his dependents out of the provinces in the southern region, and of taking possession of all the property of the lords of provinces, and of founding temples of (Śiva under the names of) Kālapriyēśvara, Gaṇḍamārtanḍēśvara, Krishnēśvara, and "so on;"<sup>5</sup> and, we find the Gaṇḍamārtanḍa, which is deduced from this passage, used, as well as Vanagajamalla, to denote him in the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of the Western Gaṅga prince Nōḷambāntaka-Mārasimha II.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Page 53 above, text line 3; and see the notes to the translation.—I there expressed a doubt as to the *biruda* Añkatrinētra (see note 7 to line 3 of the text); but that doubt may now be cancelled. My objection to the appearance of the compound, however, is justified, while the acceptance of the *biruda* itself, as a half-Kanarese half-Sanskrit word, is also justified, by the fact that the *biruda* is given as one of the examples to Kēśirāja's *Sādhamaṇidarpana*, sūtra 174, which deals with the compounds called *viruddha-samāsa* (more popularly, *śri-samāsa*) or "incongruous or improper compounds, or compounds of heterogeneous words dissimilar in kind," which, according to that sūtra, are allowed only when sanctioned by poets of old, as, for instance, especially in *birudas*. In Kittel's Dictionary, from which I have obtained the reference to the *Sādhamaṇidarpana*, it is suggested that the *biruda* may perhaps mean "the well-known Śiva;" but there can be no doubt that it is equivalent to the Kadanatrinētra of another passage referred to in my note on the *biruda*.—Since writing the above, I have received from Mr. H. Krishna Sastri a suggestion, based on an inspection of the original stone, that the *biruda* may perhaps be Añmutrinētra, "a very Trinētra in valour." But I think that, on the whole, Añkatrinētra is preferable.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 257, text lines 1, 2.—As regards Chalakenallāta, which I then read Dhālakenallāta, I can see now, from a better ink-impression, that the vowel of the first syllable is the short *a*, not the long *ā*, and that the consonant (which does look rather like *dā*) is really a rather badly formed or damaged *ch*; and the *biruda* occurs again, quite distinctly, in the Chīschli inscription of A.D. 953 (see page 180 below).—Another *biruda* in which *chala* occurs, is Chaladanḥarāma, applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Śāntivarman in the Saundatti inscription of A.D. 980 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 204, text line 9); for the rendering then suggested to me, "a very Rāma in the fierce fight" (*ibid.* p. 208-209), there is to be substituted "a very Rāma distinguished by firmness of character," in accordance with the translation given by Mr. Kittel in his Dictionary, under *chala*.—There is one instance of a *biruda* ending in *nalla*, which is practically the same as *nallāta*, among the Eastern Chalukyas. Vijayāditya III. had a *biruda* which is presented in the various forms of Guṇaka, Guṇaga, Guṇagāṅka, and Guṇakenalla (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 103). On the apparent authority of a passage which runs *Guṇaga-Vijayāditya-patir-āṅkakdra=ādkeḥdd*, etc., I explained the *biruda* as meaning "a thorough arithmetician" (*loc. cit.*). It is, however, now plain that the proper form of the *biruda* was Guṇakenalla, meaning "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of his virtues," and that *āṅkakdra* is to be taken, not as a Sanskrit word explaining the *biruda*, but as standing for the Kanarese *āṅkakdra*,—the meaning being "a veritable champion."—The *biruda* Guṇakenalla is given among the examples to the *Sādhamaṇidarpana*, sūtra 174 (mentioned in the preceding note), in Guṇakenalla-Gaṇēśa, which has been rendered by Mr. Kittel, under *guṇa* in his Dictionary, by "Gaṇēśa who is good on account of his merit."

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 11, No. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 284, text line 37; and see note 13 on page 178 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 285, text lines 57 to 59.—This passage perhaps also suggests that he had the *biruda* of Kālapriya, which might mean either "dear to Śiva" or "devoted to Śiva." But Kālapriya or Kālapriyanātha was itself a name of Śiva, apparently in his form of Mahākāla of Ujjain (see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, under *kāla*, 2); and therefore we are not of necessity to take the name Kālapriyēśvara as being based, as Gaṇḍamārtanḍēśvara was, on a *biruda* of the king. The dramas *Uttarardmacharita* and *Mālatīmaddhava* were played to celebrate the festival of Kālapriyanātha (Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 287, Vol. II. p. 10); and, apparently, so also the *Mahādvacharita* (Pickford's translation, p. 4 and note, from which we learn that a commentator has explained the name thus:—"Kāla, another name of Śiva; Kālapriya, dear to Śiva, i.e. Pārvatī, his wife; Kālapriyanātha, the husband of Pārvatī, i.e. Śiva").

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 179.

And finally, an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, which records the death of his grandson Indra IV. in A.D. 982, presents his proper name, in verse, in the form of *Kṛishṇarājēndra*.<sup>1</sup> To the facts already known about *Kṛishṇa* III., we may conveniently add here the following. An inscription at Dēvi-Hosūr, in the Karaḷgi tāluka,<sup>2</sup> refers itself to his reign, mentioning him as *Akālavarshadēva* and *Kannaradēva*, and gives for him a fixed date, in December, A.D. 961, two years and nine months later than the date of the Karhād grant. And an inscription at Chiñchli in the Gadag tāluka,<sup>3</sup> which refers itself to his reign, mentioning him as *Akālavarshadēva*, *Chalakenallāta*, and *Kannaradēva*, mentions also, by the appellations *Satyavākya*-*Koṅṇunivarma*-*Jayaduttaraṅga*-*Permānadi*, the Western Gaṅga prince Būṭṅa II., whom it describes as "governing" the Gaṅgavādi ninety-six-thousand; and it supplies for Būṭṅa II. a fixed date, in April, A.D. 953, three years later than the latest date previously established for him.

*Kṛishṇa* III. was succeeded by a younger brother, whose proper name is known, at present, only in the Prākṛit forms of *Khottiga*, *Kottiga*, and *Khōtika*, of which the first was probably the original corruption of his Sanskrit name, whatever that may have been.<sup>4</sup> His appellations are given most fully in the Adaraguñchi inscription of A.D. 971, which mentions him by the name of *Kottigadēva*, with the *birudas* of *Nityavarshadēva*, *Rājamārtanḍa*, *Rattakandarpa*, and *Chitravedhaga*, "a marvel among marvels" (P).<sup>5</sup> And an inscription at Hirē-Handigōl in the Gadag tāluka,<sup>6</sup> which again presents his name as *Kottigadēva* and uses the *biruda* *Nityavarshadēva*, adds *Yasakenallāta*, "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of fame." An inscription at Nāgāvi, in the same tāluka,<sup>7</sup> again presents his name as *Kottigadēva*, and again mentions him as *Nityavarshadēva*. The Kardā grant of his successor's time, issued

<sup>1</sup> *Inters. at Śrav.-Bel.* No. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression. — The passage giving the date (lines 6 to 9) runs — *Sa(śa)ka-varsha 884 Dundubhi-samvatsar-āntarggata-Pausha-su(śu)ddha-trayōdasi(ṭi) Ādityavāram-Uttarāyana-samkrānti-yandu*. — By the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, Dundubhi was Śaka-Samvat 884 expired, = A.D. 962-63. In that year, Pausha śukla 13 ended at about 3 hrs. 58 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Friday, 12th December, A.D. 962; and the solstice occurred at 12 hrs. 38 min. on Tuesday, 23rd December. — By the northern luni-solar system (compare note 7 on page 177 above), Dundubhi was Ś.-S. 884 current, = A.D. 961-62. In this year, Pausha śukla 13 ended at about 17 hrs. 47 min. on Sunday, 22nd December, A.D. 961; and the solstice occurred at 6 hrs. 25 min. on the next day. The date is, thus, not quite correct. But we need not hesitate, I think, about accepting the result for the *tithi* as the real date of the record.

<sup>3</sup> Not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression. — The passage giving the date (lines 4 to 7), runs — *Sa(śa)ka-bhūpāja-kāḷākrānta-samvatsara-sa(śa)tanḡaḷ-ṇṇṇu-nṛuḷ-patt-āraṇya Ānanda-samvatsarada Vaiśākha-su(śu)ddha-bidige Sāmavāramuṃ Mṛigaśira-nakshatramuṃ-āge(? gi)*. — By the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, Ānanda was Śaka-Samvat 876 expired, = A.D. 954-55. In that year, Vaiśākha śukla 2 ended at about 21 hrs. 16 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Friday, 7th April, A.D. 954, and cannot be connected with a Monday at all. — By the northern luni-solar system (compare note 7 on page 177 above), Ānanda was Ś.-S. 876 current, = A.D. 953-54. And, in this year, Vaiśākha śukla 2 ended at about 6 hrs. 18 min. on Monday, 18th April, A.D. 953; and the moon entered Mṛigaśiras at about 11 hrs. 8 min. or 12 hrs. 15 min.

<sup>4</sup> I can suggest only *Krōshṭu*, which occurs as the name of one of the sons of Yadu (*Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's translation, Vol. IV. pp. 53, 61), and might perhaps turn into *Khottiga*, *Kottiga*, *Khōtika*, in the Prākṛit of the Kanarese country. I notice, however, that Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary gives *Kōtika* as the name of the son of a prince, from the *Mahābhārata*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 255 f., text lines 1 to 5.

<sup>6</sup> Noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 422, note 3. — It records a grant that was made at the Uttarāyanasamkrānti or winter solstice (line 16); but the details of the (month and) *tithi* and week-day, by which the exact date might have been fixed, were not given. Line 1 contains the Śaka year, in figures, and the *samvatsara*; again, without any details: but the passage is much damaged, and all that can be said from the ink-impression, is that, while the first figure, 8, is quite unmistakable, the other two are altogether uncertain, — that then there comes the usual ordinal ending *ṇya* (= *ameya*), — and that then we may perhaps have either *Prabhava*, *Pramōda*, or *Prajāpati*. This would give a date in December, A.D. 967, 970, or 971, with the southern luni-solar system of the cycle.

<sup>7</sup> At the temple of Kannūra-Basappa; noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 422, note 3, where I have wrongly represented it as giving the name with the aspirated *kā*.

in A.D. 972, is the first record to present his name as **Khottigadēva**, with the aspirated *kh*.<sup>1</sup> This form is presented again in the Bhādāna Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 997.<sup>2</sup> But the Khārēpāṭaṇ Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 1008 gives **Khōṭika**.<sup>3</sup>

Khottiga was succeeded by a nephew, who is most conveniently known as **Kakka II**. His Kardā grant of A.D. 972 seems to present his proper name first, in verse, as **Kakkarāja**;<sup>4</sup> but it is possible that we ought to find there a superscript *r*, imperfectly formed or damaged, and that we ought to take the name to be **Karkarāja**, which seems more likely to be the Sanskrit form of it: further on, in prose, it presents it as **Kakkaladēvarāja**,<sup>5</sup> which, from the practice noted further on regarding the ending *dēva*, we must take to be its Prākṛit form. The form **Kakkaladēva** was used in the Guṇḍūr inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 973.<sup>6</sup> The Bhādāna Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 997 calls him Kakkalēśa, "the lord **Kakkala**."<sup>7</sup> And the Khārēpāṭaṇ Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 1008 calls him simply **Kakkala**, without any ending.<sup>8</sup> Among other later extraneous records, the Kaṭhēm Western Chālukya grant of A.D. 1009 gives his name as **Karkara**;<sup>9</sup> and the Kaṭachurya inscription of A.D. 1161 at Managōḷi presents it as **Kakkara**.<sup>10</sup> His Kardā grant of A.D. 972 gives him, in some lines in prose, containing epithets with rhyming endings, which stand just before the usual preamble of the prose passages, the *biru-*  
*das* of Amōghavarsha, Nūtanapārtha, Ahitamārtanda, Viranārāyana, Nṛpatuṅga, and

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 25.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 272, text line 16-17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 298, text line 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 26.—There is not, apparently, any such word as *kakka*. And the name seems to be certainly *karka*, 'white, good, excellent; a white horse; a crab; the sign Cancer; etc.—The name occurs in four instances among the Rāshtrakūṭas before Kakka II. We meet with it first in the cases of Kakkarāja II. of the first Gujārāt branch, and of his ancestor Kakkarāja I, in the grant of A.D. 757 from the Surat district; and there, in all three passages, the first component of the name is distinctly written *Kakka*, without the *r* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 107, text line 3, and p. 108, lines 16, 23). We meet with it next in the case of Karka or Kakka I, father of Kṛishṇa I. of the main line: the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754 gives his name as Kakkarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 111, text line 9); the Paithān grant of A.D. 794, however, gives it as Karkarāja in using the same verse, and again in a subsequent verse (above, Vol. III. p. 106, text lines 7, 17); the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812, using a new verse, gives it again as Karkarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text line 5); the Ellōrā inscription at the Daśavatāra cave, using again a new verse, apparently gives it in the same form, Karkarāja (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88, text line 8); so, also, apparently do the Nausāri grant of A.D. 817 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 142, 143, verses 6, 11) and the Kāvi grant of A.D. 826 or 827 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 146, verses 5, 11), both using the two verses of the Paithān grant, though the Baroda grant of A.D. 866 or 867, using again the same two verses, seems to give it as Kakkarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 182, text lines 5, 11); the Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A.D. 888, uses again the two verses of the Paithān grant, and gives it as Karkarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 66 f., text lines 5, 10); and, finally, the Bhādāna Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 997 gives it as Karkarāja, in a new verse of its own (above, Vol. III. p. 271, text line 3). And we meet with the same name again in the case of the feudatory prince Suvarpavarsha-Karkarāja of the second Gujārāt branch: the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 gives his name as Karkarāja in the verse which introduces him and in the usual preamble of the prose passages (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160, text lines 36, 42), but seems rather to give it as Kakkarāja in the passage that purports to be his signature (*Ibid.* p. 161, text line 68); the Nausāri grant of A.D. 817 apparently gives it as Karkarāja in the verse, a new one, which introduces him, and also in the preamble of the prose passages (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 139, text lines 52, 55; in respect of the signature, the translation shews Karkarāja, p. 148, but the text has Kakkarāja, p. 141, text line 80); the Kāvi grant of A.D. 826 or 827 apparently gives Karkarāja, in a new verse (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 147, verse 31); the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835 does the same (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 199, text line 14), in reproducing the verse of the Nausāri grant of A.D. 817; the Bagumrā grant of A.D. 866 or 867, using both the verse of A.D. 826 or 827 and then the verse of A.D. 817, apparently gives it, in both places, as Kakkarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 183, text line 6); and the Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A.D. 866, using the verse of A.D. 817, gives it as Karkarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 67, plate II. a., text line 9).

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 266, text line 47.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 272, text line 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 28, text line 41

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 271, text line 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 298, text line 17.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 16, text line 12.

Rājastripētra;<sup>1</sup> and the formal preamble of the prose passages, using first Amôghavarsha with the ending *dēva*, adds the *biruda* Prithvivallabha, and further styles him Vallabhanarāndradēva, "his majesty the king Vallabha."<sup>2</sup> The Guṇḍār inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 973, uses his Prākṛit name Kakkaladēva, as already noted, and presents the *biruda* Prithvivallabha in the *tadbhava*-form Prithuvivallabha.<sup>3</sup>

Kakka II. was the last Rāshtrakūṭa king of Mālkhēḍ. After his overthrow in the latter part of A.D. 973 or early in the next year by the Western Chālukya Taila II., an attempt was made by the great Western Gaṅga prince Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II. to continue the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereignty by crowning Indra IV., grandson of Kṛishṇa III.<sup>4</sup> But, though Indra IV. lived on till A.D. 982, there is nothing to shew that the attempt was even temporarily or locally successful; doubtless, because Mārasimha II. was either dead, or else had abdicated and passed into religious retirement, before June-July, A.D. 974,<sup>5</sup> and because before August, A.D. 975, another Western Gaṅga prince, Pañchaladēva, had set himself up as paramount sovereign, in opposition to Taila II., in the southern provinces of what had been the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom.<sup>6</sup> Indra IV. eventually died, starving himself to death in the performance of the *sallekhand*-vow, on the 20th March A.D. 982.<sup>7</sup> The record which furnishes that information,<sup>8</sup> mentions him by the proper name of Indrarāja, and puts forward for him the *birudas* of Raṭṭakandarpadēva, Rājamārtanda, Chaladaṅkakāra, "the champion of firmness of character,"<sup>9</sup> Abhitarajava, "the Death of enemies," Chaladaggali, "the door-bar of firmness of character," Kirtinārāyaṇa, Kaligaḷaḷganda, "the hero among brave men," Birarabira, "the bravest of the brave," and Ejevabedeṅga, "a marvel among those who take by force (the property of others)."

#### Some special features in the use of the appellations.

We have now to notice certain special features, attending the use of the appellations of the members of the family, whether they were actually reigning kings or not, which are disclosed by the technicalities that are recognisable in the diction employed in the Rāshtrakūṭa records.

And first as regards the proper names in their Sanskrit forms. It has been mentioned that the verse in the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant which first introduces Dantidurga, gives his name as Dantidurgarāja, while the formal prose passage adds *dēva* and styles him Dantidurgarājadēva. The habitual earlier practice, and evidently the correct etiquette, was that the verses of the records should be constructed in such a way that the Sanskrit names should have the ending *rāja* and nothing else,—in the case, not only of the paramount sovereigns and other members of the main line of Mālkhēḍ, but also of the feudatory princes of the Gujārāt branch. This was done so constantly, that it is necessary to notice only the cases in which it was not done. And I have found at present only the following exceptions, most of which occur in records which were

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, text lines 38 to 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* text lines 44, 45. This appellation is preceded by the honorific *śrīmat*,—not *śrī*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 271, text lines 3, 5.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. V. p. 170, and note 4. An allusion to the attempt is to be found in the Western Chālukya Kautbēḥ grant of A.D. 1009, which presents an imaginary item of ancient history in asserting that Jayasimha I., the original ancestor (about A.D. 500) of the earlier Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi, re-established his line, after a period during which its power had been in abeyance, by conquering a Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra, son of Kṛishṇa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 17). The assertion is certainly based (see *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 342) upon nothing but the overthrow of Kakka II. by Taila II., and on the names of Kṛishṇa III. and Indra IV. and the crowning of the latter.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 152.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 172.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 124, No. 64.

<sup>8</sup> *Inscr.* at Śrāv.-Bej. No. 57.

<sup>9</sup> This is to be added to the two instances given above, page 57, and note 8, of the occurrence of *sakkadga* in a *biruda* the first component of which is not a proper name.

independent compositions not following standard drafts, or else in additional passages which were not integral parts of standard drafts. A verse in the Wari and Râdhanpur grants of A.D. 807 presents the name of Dhruva without the ending *râja*.<sup>1</sup> A verse in the Nausâri grant of A.D. 817 brings forward the name of Stambha without the ending *râja*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, a verse in the inscription at the Daśâvatâra cave at Ellôrâ, which appears to be of the period of Amoghavarsha I., speaks of Dantivarman I. as simply Dantivarman.<sup>3</sup> The Nausâri grants of A.D. 915,—the first, as far as our present knowledge goes, with the exception of the Daśâvatâra inscription, of a series of later official compositions which departed completely from the early standard drafts,—use for Dantidurga an altogether new verse which omits the *râja* and speaks of him as “the king, the glorious Dantidurga;”<sup>4</sup> the Dêlî grant of A.D. 940, using another new verse (which stands also in the Karhâd grant of A.D. 959), mentions him as simply Dantidurga;<sup>5</sup> and so also, in still another new verse, does the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972;<sup>6</sup> the Sânglî grant of A.D. 933 speaks of Indra III. as “king Indra;”<sup>7</sup> and the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972 speaks of Krishna II. as “king Krishna” and of Indra III. as “king Indra.”<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the ending *dêva* after *râja* is used, in verses, in the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867 of the feudatory prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja (the second of the name) of Gujarât, in a verse which speaks of him as Dhruvarâjadêva but which stands after the proper introduction of that form of the name in the formal prose passage,<sup>9</sup> and in the Nausâri grants of A.D. 915, in the introductory verse which speaks of Indra III. as Indrarâjadêva,<sup>10</sup> and in the Dêlî grant of A.D. 940, in a verse which speaks of Krishna III. as Krishnarâjadêva,<sup>11</sup> and in the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972, in a verse which speaks of Krishna III., again, as Krishnarâjadêva.<sup>12</sup> The double ending *râjadêva* with proper names was properly restricted to prose passages. And, just as we find it in the case of Dantidurga in his Sâmângaḍ grant, so also we find it in the formal prose passages in the Wari grant of Gôvinda III. of A.D. 807,<sup>13</sup> and in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812 of the feudatory prince Suvarnavarsha-Karkarâja of Gujarât,<sup>14</sup> and in the Nausâri grant of A.D. 817 of the same prince,<sup>15</sup> and in the Kâvi grant of A.D. 826 or 827 of the feudatory prince Prabhûta-varsha-Gôvindarâja,<sup>16</sup> and in the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835 of the feudatory prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja,<sup>17</sup> and in the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867 of the second feudatory

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text line 26, and Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. a, text line 13; and see note 7 on page 172 above.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 138, text line 40. Regarding Stambha, who has not been mentioned in the preceding pages, see pages 195, 197, below.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88, text line 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. p. 257, B., text line 8, and p. 261, A., text line 7-8. The actual expression is *śrī-Dantidurga-nripatiḥ*. The composer perhaps found it inconvenient to introduce the *râja* here. But he employed it, as usual, in the case of Krishna I., whom he mentions as *śrī-Krishnarâja-nripatiḥ*, B. line 15-16, A. line 14.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 193, text line 13, and Vol. IV. p. 282, text line 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 264, text line 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 250, text line 22,—*Indra-varêndra*.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.* (note 6 above), p. 265, text line 17,—*Krishna-nripa*, and line 19,—*Indra-nripa*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 184, plate ii. b, text line 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.* (note 4 above), B. text line 5, and A. text line 4.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 194, text line 31. In this same verse as used in the Karhâd grant of A.D. 959, *nripatiḥ* was substituted for *dêva* (above, Vol. IV. page 284, text line 37).

<sup>12</sup> *Loc. cit.* (note 6 above), p. 265, text line 24.

<sup>13</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, text line 35.

<sup>14</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160, text line 42. In the prose passage near the end of the grant which records the signature, *dêva* is not attached to the name either of Karkarâja or of his father. It appears first, in that part of a record, in the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835, mentioned further on, and then again in the Bagumrâ grant of A.D. 866 or 867.

<sup>15</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. page 139, text line 55.

<sup>16</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 147, plate ii. b, text line 18.

<sup>17</sup> *Id.* Vol. XIV. p. 199, text line 25.

prince Dhāravarsha-Dhruvarāja.<sup>1</sup> In the Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued by a feudatory prince Akālavarsha-Kṛishṇarāja in A.D. 888, the *dēva* is omitted in the formal prose passage;<sup>2</sup> and this omission now furnishes another point against the genuineness of that record. In the formal prose passages of the Paithān grant of A.D. 794, of the Rādhānpur grant of A.D. 807, of the Nausārī grants of A.D. 915, of the Sānglī grant of A.D. 933, of the Dēōlī grant of A.D. 940, of the Karhād grant of A.D. 959, and of the Kardā grant of A.D. 972, other appellations are used, instead of the proper names: but the ending *dēva* is attached to them in the same way; and, in the Paithān and Rādhānpur grants, Gōvinda III. is styled Śrīvallabhanarēndradēva,<sup>3</sup>—in the Nausārī grants, Indra III. is styled Nityavarshanarēndradēva,<sup>4</sup>—in the Sānglī grant, Gōvinda IV. is styled Vallabhanarēndradēva,<sup>5</sup>—in the Dēōlī and Karhād grants, Kṛishṇa III. is similarly styled Vallabhanarēndradēva,<sup>6</sup>—and in the Kardā grant, Kakka II., again, is styled Vallabhanarēndradēva.<sup>7</sup> From all these facts we gather, in the first place, that the authors of the later records,—from about A.D. 900 onwards,—in abandoning the drafts that had been followed in the introductory passages of the earlier records, and in adopting a more florid style of composition in verses of their own invention, freely neglected, whenever it suited their convenience, certain rules that had been previously observed, with almost unfailing uniformity, in respect of the proper names in their Sanskrit forms. But we also learn that the ending *dēva* was not an integral part of those names, but was only a honorific termination used, properly, only in prose passages for an enhancement of dignity. And we also learn that the ending *rāja* was not an essential part of those proper names. In dealing with the records, whether in editing fresh ones or in revising published versions, it may be convenient sometimes to translate those endings,—*rāja* by “king,” and *dēva* by “his majesty,”—or sometimes, and in fact more usually, to let them stand as parts of the proper names. But, for other purposes,—for genealogical tables, general historical accounts, etc.,—it is most convenient, and most conducive to an easy discrimination between different persons of the same name, to drop those endings altogether in the case of the paramount sovereigns (whom we have occasion to mention most frequently), retaining them in the case of the feudatory princes (whom it is not necessary to refer to so often). Only one instance is as yet forthcoming, of the use of any special word, except *rāja*, in immediate combination with a proper name in its Sanskrit form; it is found in the Mulgund inscription of A.D. 902-903, in a verse which speaks of Kṛishṇa II. as śrī-Kṛishṇavallabha-nripa, “the glorious king Kṛishṇavallabha,” or “the glorious king Kṛishṇa, the Vallabha.”<sup>8</sup> And there is one instance in which, after the word *rāja*, there is added the ending *indra*, which seems to have been more properly restricted—(except, of course, in the word *narēndra*)—to the combination *vallabhēndra*;<sup>9</sup> it occurs in the inscription of A.D. 982 at Śrāvāṇa-Belgoḷa,<sup>10</sup> in the verse which mentions Kṛishṇa III. as Kṛishṇarājēndra: this appellation—(if it is sought to translate it)—may be taken as meaning either “Kṛishṇa, the chief of kings,” or “Kṛishṇarāja, the chief of Kṛishṇarājas.”

Secondly, as regards the proper names in their Prākṛit forms, by which I mean, not simply and strictly such forms as would be recognised as technically Prākṛit forms by

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 184, plate ii. b, text line 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 67, plate ii. b, text line 2.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 108, text line 43-44; and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 67, plate ii. b, text line 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.* (note 4 on page 183 above), p. 269, B. plate ii. b, text line 13, and p. 261, A. plate ii. b, text line 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 261, text line 40.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 195, text line 45-46, and Vol. IV. p. 295, text line 55. In the Dēōlī record, something else was written first; and, in the corrections that were made, the syllables *llabha* were not brought out quite clearly.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, text line 44-45.

<sup>8</sup> *Jour. As. Soc. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 190, text line 3. A revised version of this inscription will be given in the present selection of Rāshtrakūṭa records.

<sup>9</sup> See page 187 below, and note 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Inscr. at Śrāv. Bel.* No. 57, verse 2.

Prākṛitists, but all the corrupted or more familiar forms<sup>1</sup> of the Sanskrit names, which we meet with mostly in the vernacular records, and some of which cannot, perhaps, be exactly accounted for by any of the regular rules of Prākṛit grammar. These Prākṛit names were not used at all freely in the verses: in fact, we can only quote a verse in the Waṇi grant of A.D. 807, repeated in the Rādhanpur grant of the same year, which speaks of Dhruva as Dhōra, without any ending to the name,<sup>2</sup> and some verses in the Kaḷas inscription of Gōvinda IV., of A.D. 930,<sup>3</sup> of which three present his name as Gojjigadēva, one gives it as Gojjigavallabha or "Gojjiga, the Vallabha,"<sup>4</sup> one speaks of him as Gojjigabhūpāla or "king Gojjiga," and the remaining one calls him simply Gojjiga, without anything attached to it, and a verse in the Kardā grant of A.D. 972, which mentions Khotṭigadēva.<sup>5</sup> The Prākṛit names do not appear to occur anywhere in the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate grants, from which we have quoted above the usage of those passages in respect of the Sanskrit forms of the names and of some appellations that were sometimes substituted there for the proper names. In the prose records on stone, the Prākṛit names are sometimes found without any ending; for instance, Dōra, in the case of Dhruva, in the Naregal inscription,<sup>6</sup> and Gōvinda, in the case of Gōvinda III., in his Kacarese grant of A.D. 804,<sup>7</sup> and Kannara, in the case of Kṛishṇa II., in the Aihole inscription of A.D. 911-12.<sup>8</sup> We more usually find the ending *dēva* attached to the Prākṛit names; for instance, we have Kannaradēva, in the case of Kṛishṇa III., in the Ātakār inscription of A.D. 949-50,<sup>9</sup> and in the Soratūr inscription of A.D. 951,<sup>10</sup> and in the Tirukkālukkunṇam inscriptions of his seventeenth and nineteenth years,<sup>11</sup> and in the Vellore inscription of his twenty-sixth year,<sup>12</sup>—Kotṭigadēva, in the Adaraguñchi inscription of A.D. 971,<sup>13</sup> and in the Hirē-Handigōl inscription and the Nāgāvi inscription at the temple of Kannūra-Bassappa,<sup>14</sup>—and Kakkaladēva, in the Guṇḍūr inscription of A.D. 973;<sup>15</sup> and so again, in the Hebbāl inscription of A.D. 975, which is a Western Gaṅga record, we have Kannaradēva and Baddegadēva.<sup>16</sup> Evidently, the more formal official practice was to attach the ending *dēva* to the Prākṛit names. But we can readily see that it was not an integral or essential part of those names, and that it may be disregarded for all general purposes. To the rule of using the ending *dēva* with the Prākṛit names in prose passages, only one exception, substituting another ending, is forthcoming; it is found in the Kaḷas inscription,<sup>17</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> It can hardly be imagined that a Vikramāditya, a Vishnuvardhana, a Jayasīma, a Daotidurga, a Parakṣarivarman, a Narasiṃhavarman, and so on, would be habitually addressed by such formal appellations, in the domestic circle and in other spheres of private life. There must have been more familiar names for use in such circumstances. In the present day, the Chiefs of the Southern Marāṭhā country have *vyavahārika*-names, 'practical, current, or familiar names,' or *aliases*,—such as Appā Sāheb, Appā Sāheb, Bābā Sāheb, Bāpū Sāheb, Dādā Sāheb, Nānā Sāheb, Rau Sāheb, Tātyā Sāheb, etc.,—by which they are in fact better known, even officially, than by their real Sanskrit, Marāṭhī, or Kanarese names. These *vyavahārika* names, however, are distinctly *aliases*, not corruptions of the real names. In former times, probably the Prākṛit corruptions of the formal Sanskrit names were used as the *aliases* are used now; primarily in private life, and then finding their way into the official records.—For another note on Prākṛit names, ancient and modern, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 410, note 1. The modern forms given there would, I think, be used, not by Chiefs and other persons of rank, but only by ordinary people.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157, text line 6; and Vol. VI. p. 65, text line 5.

<sup>3</sup> Noticed, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 249; not yet published.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the solitary instance, among the Sanskrit names, of Kṛishṇavallabha, which, also, occurs in verse (see page 184 above).

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, text line 25.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 127, text line 5.

<sup>7</sup> Page 54 f. above, text lines 4, 20, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 284, text line 1-2, and p. 285, text line 2. And so also in the Ukkal inscription of his sixteenth year (*South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III. p. 12).

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 82, text line 1.

<sup>10</sup> See page 180 above, notes 7, 8.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 352, text lines 2, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Page 163 above, text line 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 222, text line 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 257, text line 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 256, text line 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 271, text line 5.

<sup>17</sup> See note 3 above.

gives us Gojjigavallabha again in the prose passage which leads up to the date and other details of the record, though here, of course,—no metrical conveniences being involved,—the form Gojjigadēva might have been used just as easily. We do not anywhere find the ending *rāja* used in direct connection with a Prākṛit name. The only approach to an instance of that is found in the Kardā grant of A.D. 972, in a prose passage (standing after the usual formal preamble) which speaks of Kakka II. as Kakkaladēvarāja;<sup>1</sup> and here the *rāja* was only added after the customary ending *dēva*.

Finally, as regards the principal *birudas*, most of which occur in both the Sanskrit and the Kanarese records. In the first place, it may be remarked that these must be the *gauna*-names, 'the secondary or subordinate names, or the names relating to and indicative of qualities,' which are spoken of in contrast to the *mukhya* or principal names in a verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812.<sup>2</sup> As to the use of them, in the verses of the earlier records they occur without any endings; for instance, we have the plain unqualified Śubhatuṅga, Akālavārsha, and Nirupama, in the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794,<sup>3</sup> Nirupama and Kalivallabha, in the Wanī grant of A.D. 807,<sup>4</sup> Śrīvallabha, in the Baroda grant of A.D. 811 or 812,<sup>5</sup> Janavallabha, Prithvivallabha, Mahārājaśarva, and Amōghavarsha, in the Nausāri grant of A.D. 817,<sup>6</sup> Prabhūtavarsha, Jagattuṅga, Kirtinārāyaṇa, and Atiśayadhavala, in the Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866,<sup>7</sup> and Mahārājashaṇḍa, Śubhatuṅga, and Akālavārsha, in the Kāpaḍwapaṇaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910.<sup>8</sup> The Nausāri grants of A.D. 915 first present an occasional practice of attaching the ending *dēva* to the *birudas* in verses; thus, they give us Jagattuṅgadēva and Rattakandarpadēva;<sup>9</sup> but it was plainly nothing but a matter of convenience for the purpose of filling out the verses; and the only instances that can be found in the subsequent records, are Nripattuṅgadēva, in a verse in the Dēōlī grant of A.D. 940 (repeated in the Karhād grant of A.D. 959),<sup>10</sup> and Akālavārshadēva, in a verse in the Sālōṭgi inscription of A.D. 945,<sup>11</sup> though the preceding verse has Amōghavarsha without any ending. On the other hand, the prose passages indicate that the proper practice was to use in prose the ending *dēva* with the leading *birudas*,—doubtless because in prose they were generally introduced under conditions of greater ceremony. In the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate grants, the ending *dēva* is invariably found attached, as a mark of respect, to the *biruda* that was used to denote the king who was referred to as the immediate predecessor of the reigning king, though it was not always attached to the corresponding *biruda* of the reigning king himself: thus, the Paiṭhaṇ grant of A.D. 794 describes Prabhūtavarsha-(Gōvinda III.) as meditating on the feet of Dhārāvarshadēva-(Dhruva),<sup>12</sup> and the Wanī grant of A.D. 807 describes Prabhūtavarshadēva-(Gōvinda III.) as meditating on the feet of Dhārāvarshadēva-(Dhruva);<sup>13</sup> and the same rule was observed, in the case of the predecessors, in the Rādhapur grant of A.D. 807, the Nausāri grants of A.D. 915, the Sāngli grant of A.D. 933, the Dēōlī grant of

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 266, text line 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 159, text lines 4, 5; and see also another verse which first appears in the Tōrkhdē grant of A.D. 813 (above, Vol. III. p. 55, text lines 10, 11). I am indebted to Prof. Kielhorn for reminding me of this.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III. pp. 106, 107, text lines 19, 20-21, 35, 37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text lines 14, 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 160, text line 35.

<sup>6</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 188, text line 86, and p. 139, lines 44, 45.

<sup>7</sup> Pages 102, 103, above, text lines 5 to 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 54, text lines 14, 16.

<sup>9</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 258, 259, B. plate ii. a, text line 12, and plate ii. b, lines 4, 5, and pp. 262, 263, A. plate ii. a, line 10, and plate ii. b, lines 1, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 193, text line 18; and Vol. IV. p. 283, text line 19. It may be noted that the Dēōlī grant gives Jagattuṅgadēva in prose in line 49, but immediately afterwards uses Jagattuṅga, without any ending, in verse in line 51.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 60, text line 10.

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 108, text line 43.

<sup>13</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, text lines 34, 35.

A.D. 940, the Karhād grant of A.D. 959, and the Kardā grant of A.D. 972.<sup>1</sup> Among the stone records, a similar formal preamble is found in the Kanheri inscription of A.D. 851, which duly describes Amoghavarshadēva I. as meditating on the feet of Jagattuṅgadēva-(Gōvinda III.);<sup>2</sup> and, though a formal preamble was not used in the Ātakū inscription of A.D. 949-50, still that record duly follows the same rule in describing Kṛishṇa III. as a very bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of Amoghavarshadēva-(Vaddiga).<sup>3</sup> In the other prose records on stone, we find sometimes the ending *dēva*, and sometimes the plain *biruda* without any ending; the instances on each side are about equal in number: we might expect to find the honorific ending used in all cases in which the *biruda* was used alone, without the proper name; but that was not done in, for instance, the Hattī-Mattūr inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa I., which employs for him no appellation except that of Akālavārsha,<sup>4</sup> and the Pattadakal inscription of the time of Dhruva, which uses only the appellations Dhārāvārsha and Kalivallabha;<sup>5</sup> and, though these two happen to be private records, not requiring any official drafting or approval, some of the others are official records, and, accordingly, we cannot determine the existence of any custom in this matter, dependent on the nature of the record and its liability to official scrutiny. It seems evident, however, that the better general practice was to use the ending *dēva* with the *birudas* in prose. No instance has as yet been found, in which the word *rāja* is used as the ending of a *biruda*, either in verse or in prose: other words meaning "king" occur in some of the verses; for instance, Amoghavarsha-nṛpati, "king Amoghavarsha," in the Dēdī grant of A.D. 940,<sup>6</sup> and Jagattuṅga-nṛpa, "king Jagattuṅga," Amoghavarsha-nṛpati, and Amoghavarsha-nṛpa, in the Kardā grant of A.D. 972;<sup>7</sup> but the more special word *rāja*, used so pointedly with the Sanskrit proper names, is not met with anywhere. Another ending used with a *biruda* in prose, is *indra*, which we have in Lakshmitvallabhendra, in the Nīlgund inscription of A.D. 866:<sup>8</sup> an exceptional instance of its use with a proper name, in Kṛishṇarājendra, has been noted on page 184 above; and another exceptional instance of it with a *biruda* is found in Nirupamendra, in the case of the feudatory prince Dhārāvārsha-Dhruvarāja (the second of that name) of Gujārāt, in a verse in the Baroda grant of A.D. 866 or 867;<sup>9</sup> but it seems to have been, properly, restricted to the combination *vallabhendra*, as an honorific form of *vallabha*.<sup>10</sup> And other endings, used in prose, were *narendra*, in, for instance, Śrīvallabhanarendra, in the Tōrkḥēḍē grant of A.D. 813,<sup>11</sup> and *narēndradēva*, in, for instance, Śrīvallabhanarēndradēva, in the Paithan grant of A.D. 794.<sup>12</sup> But the manner in which the Nīlgund inscription of A.D. 866 speaks of Amoghavarsha I. as, indifferently, Amoghavarsha,

<sup>1</sup> The Sāmāṅgā grant does not mention any predecessor of Dantidurga; because he was the first paramount Rashtrakūta king. The Kanarese grant of A.D. 803, and the Tōrkḥēḍē grant of A.D. 813, and the Kāpaḍwāṇaj grant of A.D. 909 or 910, do not include the formal preamble mentioning predecessors. The other copper-plate grants are records of the feudatory Gujārāt branch of the family; and in the records of that line it was not the custom to name the previous princes in the preambles of the prose passages.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 134, No. 15, text line 2.

<sup>3</sup> Page 53 above, text line 2.

<sup>4</sup> Page 161 above, text line 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, text lines 1, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 194, text line 31.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 264, 265, text lines 12, 13, 24-25.

<sup>8</sup> Page 104 above, text line 17, and see page 106, note 2; see also page 188 below.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 184, text line 17; the appellation was there translated by "king Nirupama" (p. 188, verse 37).

<sup>10</sup> For the appellation Vallabhendra, see page 169 below, page 193, note 1, page 191.—The ending *indra* is met with once, in a Western Chalukya record (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 17, text line 8), in the paramount epithet of which the customary form was simply *śrīprithivīvallabha*; the epithet is there presented as *śrīprithivīvallabhendra*.—There is a miscellaneous use of *vallabhendra*, otherwise than in a regal *biruda* or epithet, in a record at Sravāṇa-Belgoḷa (*Inscr. at Srav. Bel.* No. 3), which describes the Kalbappu hill as "worthy to be praised by gods, Vidyāvallabhendras (i.e. those who are the chiefs of favourites or husbands of Learning, those who are eminently learned people), demons, men, and saints."

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 54, text line 5.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 103, text line 43-44.

Amôghavarshadêva, Atisayadhavala, and Atisayadhavalanarêndradêva,<sup>1</sup> is enough to shew that all these endings, also, were not integral and essential parts of the *birudas*, and are to be disregarded for all general purposes. In editing records, it may be convenient to retain the ending *indra*, rather than to translate it by rendering, for instance, Lakshmivallabhendra by "Lakshmivallabha, the chief of Lakshmivallabhas or of favourites of Fortune." But the other two will be better treated by translation,—*narêndra* being rendered by "king," and *narêndradêva* by "his majesty the king."

We have next to note that the most distinctive and leading *birudas* of the Râshtrakûtas were those ending in *varsha*. Not only are they found most frequently in the stone records, and often without any other appellation accompanying them, but also, in the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate charters of the kings of the main line, it is always the *biruda* ending in *varsha* that is used,—and without any other appellation,—to denote the predecessor, and the *biruda* ending in *varsha* of the reigning king is always presented with such others of his appellations as are put forward; and, in the corresponding passages of the copper-plate charters of the feudatory princes of the Gujarât branch, the *biruda* ending in *varsha* is always prefixed to the proper name of the prince. We may find, hereafter, an exception to this rule about the designation of the predecessor in the copper-plate charters of the main line, when we obtain any such record of Amôghavarsha I.; for, the Kapheri stone inscription of A.D. 851 describes him as meditating on the feet, not of Prabhûtavarshadêva, but of Jagat-tuṅgadêva,<sup>2</sup> and, as we shall see further on, there are other indications that Gôvinda III. was best known as Jagattuṅga after his death, though, as we shall also see, in his lifetime he was best known as Prabhûtavarsha. But, after the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754, all the copper-plate records of the main line that we know at present, conform, with such variations as have been indicated above in the actual selection (without omitting the *biruda* ending in *varsha*) and order of the appellations of the reigning king, to the practice of the Paithan grant of Gôvinda III., which describes him as Pṛithvivallabha, Prabhûtavarsha, his majesty the king Śrīvallabha, meditating on the feet of Dhāravarshadêva;<sup>3</sup> and the Âtakûr stone inscription uses only the *biruda* Amôghavarshadêva to denote the predecessor of Kṛishṇa III.<sup>4</sup> And another special feature of the *birudas* ending in *varsha* is that we cannot trace back the conception of them to any predecessors of the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkhêḍ,<sup>5</sup> nor even to the first Gujarât branch of the Râshtrakûtas which was represented by Karkarâja II. son of Gôvinda-râja in A.D. 757, nor to the early Râshtrakûtas of Central India whose existence is disclosed by the grants of Abhimanyu and Yuddhâsura-Nandarâja.<sup>6</sup> They were plainly first devised by the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkhêḍ. The fashion seems to have been set by Akâlavarsha-Kṛishṇa I., as we have no *biruda* ending in *varsha* for his predecessor Dantidurga. And it seems likely that each subsequent member of the family was invested with a *varsha*-appellation at the time when he was selected for the succession and was formally appointed as *Yuvarâja*.

Other special Râshtrakûta *birudas* were those ending in *avalôka* and *tuṅga*. Of the former, we have two instances in the Mâlkhêḍ line, namely, Khadgâvalôka in the case of Dantidurga, and Ranâvalôka in the case of Stambha, son of Dhruva;<sup>7</sup> and we find two instances

<sup>1</sup> Pages 103, 104, above, text lines 8, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 134, No. 15, text line 2.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 103, text lines 43, 44.

<sup>4</sup> Page 53 above, text line 2.

<sup>5</sup> But, when once they had been started by the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkhêḍ, the fashion was followed, probably as the result of intermarriages, in other families also; for instance, we have the Kalachuri king Kêyûtaravarsha-Yuvarâja I., at some time about A.D. 925 (see Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 61, No. 429), and the Paramâra king Amôghavarsha-Vâkpatirâja, with the date of A.D. 974 (*ibid.* p. 8, No. 46), and Karivarsha-Sâhilladêva, a king of Chanpaka-(Chambâ) (*ibid.* p. 81, No. 593), and the Paramâra chieftain Dhâravarsha, with the date of A.D. 1209 (*ibid.* p. 23, No. 193).

<sup>6</sup> See *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 386.

<sup>7</sup> See pages 195, 197, below.

in another branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa stock, in the case of Guṇāvalōka-Nanna and his grandson Dharmāvalōka-Tuṅga, whose names are disclosed by an inscription at Bōdh-Gayā.<sup>1</sup> The *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* start, like those ending in *varsha*, with Kṛishṇa I., who, accordingly, seems to have set the fashion in both respects. Both the *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* and those ending in *avalōka* appear to be, originally, exclusive appellations of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ, since, as in the case of the *birudas* ending in *varsha*, we cannot trace the conception of them to any other source.<sup>2</sup> But any similarity between them and the *birudas* ending in *varsha* ceased there. The *birudas* ending in *avalōka* appear to have soon gone out of fashion. Of the *birudas* ending in *tuṅga*, we have only one instance in the feudatory Gujārāt branch, in the case of Akālavārsha-Śubhatuṅga (proper name not yet disclosed) between A.D. 834-35 and 866-67. In the main line, we have not as yet obtained any such *birudas* in the cases of Gōvinda II., Dhruva, Indra III., Amōghavarsha II., Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga, Kṛishṇa III., Khottiga, and Indra IV. And, except in the single case of the use of Jagattuṅga, in the Kanheri inscription of A.D. 851, to denote Gōvinda III. as the predecessor of Amōghavarsha I., there is no evidence that the *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* could be used for official purposes in the particular manner in which the *birudas* ending in *varsha* were constantly used, namely as substitutes taking entirely the places of proper names.<sup>3</sup> That was the special characteristic of the *birudas* ending in *varsha*.

The remaining leading *birudas* are those ending in *vallabha*. Of these, there is apparently only one, Śrīvallabha, which could be used, like the *varsha*-appellations, to take entirely the place of proper names. And there is another feature in which they differ from the *birudas* ending in *avalōka* and *tuṅga* as well as those ending in *varsha*; namely that, together with the appellations *Vallabha* and *Vallabharāja*, they were not first devised by the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēḍ, but the idea of them was taken over by the Rāshtrakūṭas from their predecessors.

We will examine first the appellations *Vallabha* and *Vallabharāja*, which were taken over by the Rāshtrakūṭas from their predecessors, the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. In the Western Chalukya records themselves, we find<sup>4</sup> the plain appellation *Vallabha* used, as a substitute for their proper names, to denote both Pulakēsin I. and his grandson Pulakēsin II.;<sup>5</sup> we find it attached after the names of the original ancestor Jayasimha I., and of Pulakēsin I., Kīrtivarman I., and Pulakēsin II.; and it is given as an appellation of Raṇavikrānta-Buddhavarmanarāja of the first Gujārāt branch of the Western Chalukyas.<sup>6</sup> With the honorific ending *indra*, that is, in the form *Vallabhēndra*, we find it once, in the same series of records, attached after the name of

<sup>1</sup> See Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 85, No. 630.

<sup>2</sup> But, the fashion having once been set, *birudas* ending in *tuṅga* were, like *varsha*-appellations, adopted by other families; again probably as the result of intermarriages. Thus, we have Mugdhatuṅga as a *biruda* of the Kalachuri king Prasiddhadhavalā, father of the Kēyūṭavarsha-Yuvarāja I. who has been mentioned in note 5 on page 188 above (see Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 58, No. 407, and p. 61, No. 429); and elsewhere we have the name of Jayatūṅgasimha of the Kamā country (*ibid.* p. 79, No. 575), and, doubtfully, the name of Sidhituṅga with the date of A.D. 1347 (*ibid.* p. 38, No. 267).

<sup>3</sup> And for these reasons, I think, the words *Tuṅga itī kṣhitibhujāḥ prathitā babhūvuh*, "the kings became known in the world as Tuṅgas," which occur first in the Dēśī grant of A.D. 940 (above, Vol. V. p. 192, text line 10 f.; and see Vol. IV. p. 279), are to be taken, not as implying—(at any rate, correctly)—that the family-name was Tuṅga, but simply as seeking to draw attention to one of the leading appellations of some of the members of the family. The family-name was Rāshtrakūṭa in its Sanskrit form, and *Raṭṭa* in Prākṛit; we have, for instance, *Rāshtrakūṭa-duvya* in verse in the Wanī grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text line 17), and *Raṭṭa-namā* in prose in the Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866 (page 108 above, text line 16).

<sup>4</sup> See *Lyn. Kan. Dist.* p. 342 f. The exact references may be given in full on some future occasion, in a separate note on the appellations of the Western Chalukya kings; here it is only necessary to give a few of them in special cases.

<sup>5</sup> Respectively, in the Nerūr grant of Maṅgalēsa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161, text line 5), and in the Nerūr grant of Pulakēsin II. himself (*id.* Vol. VIII. p. 43, text line 3).

<sup>6</sup> It is also attached after the name of Vijayāditya in the Guḍigere inscription of A.D. 1076-77 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 39, text line 20).

Jayasimha I.<sup>1</sup> So thoroughly was the appellation Vallabha identified, for that period, with the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, that we find Vallabharāja and Vallabha used as substitutes for their proper names to denote Pulakēśin II. and Vikramāditya I. in one of the Pallava records.<sup>2</sup> And, by the Rāshtrakūṭas themselves, the appellation Vallabha was first used to denote the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II., as is shown by the verse in the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754, which tells us that Dantidurga acquired the sovereignty by conquering Vallabha.<sup>3</sup> The appellation itself was promptly adopted by the Rāshtrakūṭas; and it became, in the same way, thoroughly identified with them. As we have seen above, the next record that enters into details, the Paithan grant of A.D. 794, styles Dantidurga Vallabharāja, and gives to Gōvinda II. the appellation Vallabha. The Wapi grant of A.D. 807 gives the same appellation, Vallabha, to Kṛishṇa I. The Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 888, mentions a Vallabhanripa, or "king Vallabha," who must be either Amoghavarsha I. or Kṛishṇa II.<sup>4</sup> The Muḷgund inscription of A.D. 902-903 attaches Vallabha after the name of Kṛishṇa II. The Kāpaḍwapaḷ grant of A.D. 909 or 910 speaks of (probably) Kṛishṇa II. as Vallabharāja. The Sāṅgli grant of A.D. 933, the Dēoli and Karhād grants of A.D. 940 and 959, and the Kardā grant of A.D. 972, apply the appellation "his majesty the king Vallabha" to Gōvinda IV., Kṛishṇa III., and Kakka II. And, from the Prākṛit forms Ballaharāya and Ballarāya,<sup>5</sup> the Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. used the name Balharā to denote, generally, the Rāshtrakūṭa kings of Mālkḥēḍ.<sup>6</sup> The Kadaba grant,

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 16, text line 2. — In the Eastern Chalukya records, sometimes Vallabha is attached to the *biruda* Satyāśraya which in them takes the place of the proper name of Pulakēśin II., and sometimes Vallabhendra is used instead of it (see, for instance, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. pp. 41, 48). In that series, Vallabha is sometimes attached after the name of Jayasimha I., son of Kubja-Vishnavardhana I. (see, both ways, the same references); but it is not found with any subsequent names.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, in the Udayāndiram grant of Pallavamalla-Nandivarman (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 370, 371). This record says that the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I. frequently conquered Vallabharāja at Pariyala, Maḷimāṅgala, Sūramāra, and other places, and that his grandson Paramēśvaravarman I. defeated the army of Vallabha in the battle of Peruvuḷa-Nallūr. The identities are established by the Kūram Pallava grant, which tells us (*id.* Vol. I. p. 152 ff.) that it was Pulakēśin (II.) whom Narasimhavarman I. conquered at Pariyala, etc., and gives (though without mentioning the name of the place) a very vivid description of a great battle in which Paramēśvaravarman I. inflicted a crushing defeat on the army of Vikramāditya (I.).

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, verse 23. — The Baroda grant of A.D. 866 or 867 says that the feudatory prince Dhāravarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarāja of Gujārāt (the first of that name) put to flight the army of Vallabha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 188, verse 32), and that his son Akālavarsha-Subhatuṅga quickly recovered his paternal territory that had been attacked or invaded by the army of Vallabha (verse 34), and that the second Dhāravarsha-Nirupama-Dhruvarāja quieted in one direction the army of the Gujārās that hurried up to encounter him, and in another direction the hostile Vallabha (verse 37). These allusions, I think (see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 408, notes 2, 4), — as also the statement in the Baroda grant of A.D. 834 or 835, that Suvarṇavarsha-Karkarāja, of the same branch of the family, vanquished some tributary Rāshtrakūṭas, who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army, and that he speedily placed Amoghavarsha I. on his throne (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 261, verse 10), — refer to some persistent attacks on the dynasty of Mālkḥēḍ, in their northern provinces, by descendants of the Kakkarāja II., of the first Gujārāt branch, for whom we have the date of A.D. 757. If so, these passages would show that the members of that line, also, were classed among the Vallabhas; to which there is no apparent objection. Or, perhaps, these passages containing Vallabha refer to some descendants of one or other of the Gujārāt branches of the Western Chalukya family.

<sup>5</sup> The latter may be assumed from Vallarāja, which one document gives as a form of the name of the Aṅghilwād Chaulukya king Vallabharāja, son of Chāmūḍarāja son of Mūlarāja I. (see Dr. Ehandarker's Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for the year 1883-84, p. 10). — An inscription of A.D. 866-67 at Soratūr, in the Gadag tāluka, gives one of the *birudas* of Amoghavarsha I. in the form of Prithiviballava. This perhaps gives us *ballava*, as another Prākṛit form of *vallabha*. But it is possible that the writer may have formed *va* by mistake for *ḍa*, or that he may have carelessly used *ballava*, 'a man who knows,' instead of *ballaha*.

<sup>6</sup> See Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, edited by Prof. Dowson, Vol. I. pp. 3 to 40. In later times, the Arabs used the name Balharā to denote the Chaulukya kings of Aṅghilwād (e.g. Al-Idrisi, towards the end of the eleventh century A.D.; *ibid.* pp. 85, 86, 87); and, as we have seen in the preceding note (see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 198, 200, 213), Vallabharāja occurs as the name of a king in that dynasty with the date of A.D. 1009-10.

which purports to have been issued in A.D. 813, uses the appellation Vallabhendra, in the place of his proper name or of the *biruda* by which he was most customarily mentioned, to designate Gōvinda III.<sup>1</sup> And the Piṭhāpuram inscription of A.D. 1202, which recites the early Eastern Chalukya pedigree and history, uses the same appellation Vallabhendra, in the same way, to denote either Amoghavarsha I. or Kṛishṇa II.<sup>2</sup>

The *biruda* Prithivivallabha, "favourite of the earth,"<sup>3</sup> was, similarly, taken over by the Rāshtrakūṭas from the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. The Aihole inscription of A.D. 634-35 specially speaks of it as the title of the Chalukyas.<sup>4</sup> And, in their records,<sup>5</sup> we find it applied to Kirtivarman I., Maṅgalēsa, Pulakēśin II., Ādityavarman, Chandrāditya, Vikramāditya I., and Kirtivarman II. It is mentioned in the Nausāri grant of A.D. 739, as one of four "other names" or titles which were conferred as a mark of favour by the paramount sovereign upon the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja of Gujārāt.<sup>6</sup> And it is, doubtless, under similar circumstances that we find it used before the name of the Sēndraka prince Nikumbhallasakti in the Bagumrā grant of A.D. 655.<sup>7</sup> In the Rāshtrakūṭa period, we meet with it at the outset, in the earliest record, the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754, which applies it to the first paramount king, Dantidurga; and, in the subsequent records, we find it used in the cases of Gōvinda III., Amoghavarsha I., Gōvinda IV., Kṛishṇa III., and Kakka II.

And so, also, the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, "favourite of Fortune,"<sup>8</sup> was in the same way taken over by the Rāshtrakūṭas from the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. The origin of this *biruda*, however, is carried back to earlier times; as it appears first, as a general epithet of the Pallavas, in the grant of Siṃhavarman II., which describes him as "a *Mahārāja* of the Pallavas, who are Śrīvallabhas or favourites of Fortune."<sup>9</sup> It was evidently obtained by the Western Chalukyas from the Pallavas. It does not occur often in the Western Chalukya records. But we do find it in them. In the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634-35, we are told that, though Pulakēśin I. was Śrīvallabha or favourite (here, more exactly, husband) of Fortune, he became also the bridegroom of the city of Vātāpipurī.<sup>10</sup> In a record of the time of Pulakēśin II., it occurs before the name of his maternal uncle, the Sēndraka prince Sēnānandarāja,<sup>11</sup>—probably under circumstances similar to those in which the *biruda* Prithivivallabha occurs in connection with the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja of Gujārāt.<sup>12</sup> And the passage in the Nausāri grant

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 344, text line 82.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 227, and p. 239, verses 9, 10.

<sup>3</sup> For the rendering of this *biruda*, see page 168 above, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Page 8 above, verse 4. And see note 9 below, about the original idea of this *biruda*.

<sup>5</sup> See page 189 above, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, Āryan Section, p. 282, text line 34.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 268, text line 15.

<sup>8</sup> For the rendering of the *biruda*, see page 168 above, note 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 155, text lines 16, 17. The original inception of the idea is perhaps found in the grant of his father Vishnugōpavarman, which speaks of the Pallavas as "the abodes of the Fortune (*śrīvilāga*) of other kings who have been overcome by their valour" (*ibid.* p. 51, text lines 15, 16).—The *biruda* Prithivivallabha has not yet been traced to the Pallavas, actually in that form; but the idea of it, among them, is found in the Kūram grant, which speaks of "the family of the Pallavas who are favourites of the whole world (*sakala-bhuvanavallabha*)" (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 148, text line 11): this record, however, is later in date than the first use of the *biruda* by the Western Chalukyas.

<sup>10</sup> See page 8 above, verse 7.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 51, text line 10.

<sup>12</sup> See above.—In the appellation, Satyāśraya-Dhruvaśāya-Indravarmān, of the governor who is mentioned in the Goa grant of the time of Pulakēśin II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 365; regarding the identity of this person, see page 72 above), the *biruda* Satyāśraya is probably to be accounted for in the same way. And so also, the first component of the appellation Śembiyaṇ-Māvalivāṇaśāyaṇ, which is applied to the Gaṅga-Bāṇa prince Haetimalla-Prithivipati II. in the Udayēndiram grant (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 390). Two other instances of feudatories having appellations the first components of which were the *birudas* of their paramount sovereigns, are furnished by the names of Āhavamalla-Bhūtēyadēva, an officer of Āhavamalla-Taṭṭa II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 98), and of the Sinda prince Jagadēkamalla-Permaḍi I., a feudatory of Jagadēkamalla II. (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 256).

of A.D. 739, which speaks of the conferring of the four titles upon the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja of Gujārāt, denotes the paramount sovereign, who conferred them, by the appellation Śrīvallabhanarēndra, "the king Śrīvallabha,"<sup>1</sup> meaning, no doubt, Vikramāditya II., of the main line of Bādāmi. It may be added that, in the Ragumrā grant of A.D. 655 of the Sēndraka prince Prithivivallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti, the name of the *Dātaka*, or messenger for the conveyance of the grant, is given as Śrīvallabha-Bappa;<sup>2</sup> this, again, is perhaps to be accounted for by an explanation similar to that suggested above for the possession of the *biruda* Prithivivallabha by Nikumbhallaśakti himself.

These two special *birudas*, Prithivivallabha and Śrīvallabha, were thus unquestionably taken over by the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkbed, with the appellations Vallabha and Vallabharāja, from their predecessors, the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. How far the amplification of the list of *birudas* ending in vallabha,—of which we have also Kalivallabha in the case of Dhruva, Janavallabha in the case of Gōvinda III., and Lakshmivallabha in the case of Amoghavarsha I.,—was a Rāshtrakūta idea, will probably become more clear hereafter. But a passage in the Nerūr grant of Maṅgalēśa can hardly be construed except as establishing for Pulakēśin I. the *biruda* of Lōkavallabha,<sup>3</sup> which is of practically the same purport as Janavallabha. And it thus appears not impossible that we may find, on closer scrutiny, that the Western Chalukyas themselves had a more extensive list of *vallabha*-appellations than now seems to have been the case.

**The appellations by which the earlier members of the family were remembered in later times.**

We wind up this study by noting the appellations by which the earlier members of the family were best remembered in later times. For this purpose we have to quote, among the Rāshtrakūta records themselves, certain compositions which, as already remarked, depart altogether from the early standard drafts; namely, the Nausārī grants of A.D. 915,<sup>4</sup> the Sāngli grant of A.D. 933,<sup>5</sup> the Dēōli grant of A.D. 940,<sup>6</sup> the Karhād grant of A.D. 959,<sup>7</sup> and the Kardā grant of A.D. 972,<sup>8</sup> and, among extraneous records, the Bhādāna Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 997<sup>9</sup> and the Khārēpāṭaṇ Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 1008.<sup>10</sup>

In the case of the first paramount king, Dantidurga, there is curiously revived in the Bhādāna grant the variant of his name, *Dantivarman*, which is presented by the verse at the end of his Sāmāngaḍ grant of A.D. 754, and of which there is at present, in his case, no trace in any of the intervening records. In the other seven records, he is mentioned by only the name of Dantidurga or Dantidurgarāja.

His paternal uncle and successor Kṛishṇa I. is mentioned, in all the eight records, by only his proper name, as Kṛishṇarāja.

Gōvinda II., the elder son of Kṛishṇa I., is not mentioned, or in any way alluded to, in the Nausārī grants. The other six records all mention him as Gōvindarāja.

Dhruva is mentioned by his proper name in only the Bhādāna grant, which speaks of him as *Dhruv-āśka adhirāja*, "the king who had the mark, stigma, or brand, of Dhruva," and does not exhibit any of his other appellations. The other seven records all mention him as Nirupama. But the Dēōli and Karhād grants use also his well established *biruda* Kalivallabha. And the Sāngli grant puts forward for him a very questionable new *biruda* in the form of Iddhatējas.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* (page 191 above, note 6), text line 33-34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 269, text line 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161, text line 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 257, 261.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 247.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 188.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 278.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 263.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 267.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 292.

Gōvinda III. is mentioned, in all the eight records, only as Jagattuṅga and Jagattuṅga-dēva, without any allusion to his proper name or to any of his other *birudas*.

Amōghavarsha I. is mentioned in the Nausārī grants as Śrīvallabha, who then became Viranārāyaṇa. The Sānglī, Kardā, Bhādāna, and Khārēpāṭa grants mention him as Amōghavarsha,—the Bhādāna record putting forward also a very questionable new *biruda* for him, in the form of Durlabha. The Dēōlī and Karhād grants use only his *biruda* Nṛipa-tuṅga-dēva.

And Kṛishṇa II. is mentioned by his proper name only, as Kṛishṇarāja, in the Nausārī, Dēōlī, Karhād, and Bhādāna grants, and by only his *biruda* of Akālavarsha in the Sānglī and Khārēpāṭa grants; while the Kardā grant presents both his proper name and the same *biruda*, mentioning him first as Akālavarsha, and then supplying his proper name as Kṛishṇanripa, "king Kṛishṇa."

It is rather curious that Gōvinda III. was thus remembered only as Jagattuṅga; for, as we shall see further on, this *biruda* was certainly not the appellation by which he was best known in his own time. It appears first in the Tōrkhedē grant of A.D. 813, issued in his time. And all that we know as to the origin of it, is the assertion in the Nīlgund inscription of A.D. 866, of the next reign, that he, Prabhūtavārsha-Gōvinda-rāja, conquered the whole world and so became known as Jagattuṅga. It evidently became his leading *biruda*, supplanting the *biruda* that was at first his distinctive appellation; because it was used, most exceptionally, in violation of the custom of using the *biruda* ending in *varsha*, to denote him in the Kanheri inscription of A.D. 851, in the formal passage which mentions him, as Jagattuṅga-dēva, as the predecessor of the then reigning king Amōghavarsha I.<sup>1</sup> His assumption of the *biruda*, and the fact that it eventually became his most well known appellation, are evidently to be attributed to something or other that occurred when his reign was well advanced, and after A.D. 807 because there is no allusion of any kind to the *biruda* in the Wapi and Rādhapur grants of that year.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### The use of the *biruda* Śrīvallabha in the Rāshtrakūṭa records.

We have now to consider who is most likely to be intended by the *biruda* Śrīvallabha as used to denote the reigning king,—without any other appellation, or any other hint,—in a Rāshtrakūṭa record which, like the Lakshmēshwar inscription, C. above, is not dated but is referable to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.

We have first to note that from Śrīvallabha, "favourite of Śrī or Fortune," we have the derivative śrīvallabhata, "the condition of being a Śrīvallabha." In the Rāshtrakūṭa records, this word *śrīvallabhata* is met with as the equivalent of *rājādhirājaparamēśvaratā*, "the condition of being an over-king of kings and a supreme lord." And these two words were used in the general sense, according to free translation, of "supreme sovereignty;" for instance, a verse in the Sāmāṅgaḍ grant of A.D. 754 describes Dantidurga as acquiring the *rājādhirājaparamēśvaratā* by conquering Vallabha,<sup>2</sup>—which appellation denotes there, and in the passage quoted below, the Western Chalukya king Kīrtivarman II.,—while another verse in the inscription at the Daśavatāra cave at Ellōrā says that, by defeating the army of Vallabha and subjugating certain other kings, he acquired the *śrīvallabhata*.<sup>3</sup> And, in view of this, the *biruda* Śrīvallabha might, without any objection, be applied to any paramount king without exception.

<sup>1</sup> As already said, we may expect to find it used, in the same way, in the formal preambles of the prose passages of copper-plate records of Amōghavarsha I., if we ever obtain any such records.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 112, text lines 24, 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88, text lines 10, 11.

But we do not find it used in that general manner, at any rate in the Rāshtrakūṭa records. In those records, as far as they have been considered at present, we perhaps find the *biruda* Śrīvallabha suggested in the case of Kṛishṇa I.; but, if so, it is put forward for him in verse, in a very unusual and inconclusive fashion, and not in a record of his own time. We have it first apparently established<sup>1</sup> in the case of Gōvinda III., by the formal prose passages of his own records; and it is certainly used to denote him in a verse in the Baroda grant of his time. We next find it put forward, in verse, for his son Amōghavarsha I.; but this is done in a late record of A.D. 915, and under circumstances which suggest that it was used simply as a convenient metrical substitute for his formal *biruda* Lakshmivallabha, which, though synonymous in meaning, is not the same appellation in form. We meet with it next in the case of Indra III., in the formal prose passage of one of the records of his time. We find it last used to denote Kṛishṇa III., in a verse which stands in his records of A.D. 940 and 959. And we thus have it established as a distinctive official appellation,—by formal prose passages, which, as has already been said, are far more decisive in any points of this kind than the verses are,—only in the cases of Gōvinda III. (apparently) and Indra III.

From this, we might conclude that, in a Rāshtrakūṭa record referable to about the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., the *biruda* Śrīvallabha must denote Gōvinda III., for whom we have the date of A.D. 794 from his Paithan grant. And, if we accept the indication that is given in the formal prose passage in the Rādhanpur grant of A.D. 807, it certainly was a well established *biruda* of him, and an important and distinctive one because there, and in the corresponding passage in the Paithan grant of A.D. 794, it takes the place that is occupied by his proper name in the Wanī grant of A.D. 807.

Nevertheless, Śrīvallabha was not the principal and most distinctive appellation of Gōvinda III. As we have already seen, in later times he was remembered only as Jagattuṅga. A verse in the Nausārī grant of A.D. 817 seems clearly to single out Prithivīvallabha as his special *vallabha*-appellation. But even that was not his most distinctive appellation. His most distinctive *biruda* during the earlier part of his reign was, evidently, **Prabhūtavarsha**. Even the Nilgund inscription of A.D. 866 of his successor's reign,—written at a time when there was, plainly, a preference for speaking of him as Jagattuṅga, tells us that he was **Prabhūtavarsha**, who became Jagattuṅga; and the only other of his *birudas* that it mentions, is Kirtinārāyaṇa. In the records of his own time, the *biruda* **Prabhūtavarsha** occupies a prominent position in the Paithan, Wanī, and Rādhanpur grants, and also in even the Tōrkhêḍē grant; standing, in all of them, before either his proper name or the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, and, in the Tōrkhêḍē grant, also before the introduction of the *biruda* Jagattuṅga. In the grant of A.D. 804 from the Kanarese country, the *biruda* **Prabhūtavarsha** is used, and no other, with his proper name. The same is the case in an undated inscription in the Shimoga district, Mysore, which refers itself to the reign of a **Prabhūtavarsha-Gōvindarasa**, and is, no doubt, to be referred to his time.<sup>2</sup> And an inscription at Shisuvinhāḷ in the Baṅkāpur tāluka, Dhārwar district,<sup>3</sup> which can only be referred to his time, mentions him, as the reigning king, as “the favourite of Fortune and the Earth, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Bhaṭāra*, **Prabhūtavarsha**,” without presenting any other *biruda*, and without even finding it necessary to give his proper name.

And there are records in Mysore, which show unmistakably that Dhruva was distinctively known by the *biruda* of Śrīvallabha, at least as well as was his son Gōvinda III. One of them is an inscription at Matakere in the Heggaḍadēvankōṭe tāluka, Mysore

<sup>1</sup> See page 178 above, and note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 10, and note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Not published; I quote from an ink-impression. The record is so much damaged that it can hardly be edited; but the first two lines are fortunately quite legible.

district,<sup>1</sup> which refers itself to the time when Dhāravarsha-Śrīvallabha was reigning over the earth, and Kambharasa was [governing] the (Gaṅgavāḍi) ninety-six-thousand province : here, the immediate collocation of the two *birudas* admits of no interpretation except that they belonged to one and the same person, and that he was both Dhāravarsha and Śrīvallabha ; and Dhāravarsha, as we have already seen, was Dhruva. And another is an inscription at Śrāvana-Belgoḷa,<sup>2</sup> which, mentioning the Kambharasa of the preceding record as Raṇāvalōka-Kambayya and describing him as reigning over the earth, speaks of him as the son of the *Paramēśvara* and *Mahārāja Śrīvallabha*. For these two records we are indebted to Mr. Rice. In connection with the second of them, we take another record, also brought to notice by him ; namely, a copper-plate grant from Maṇṇe, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 802.<sup>3</sup> It expressly mentions Raṇāvalōka-Kambhadēva as the elder brother of Pṛithuvīvallabha-Prabhūta-varsha-Gōvindarājadēva, who, it says, meditated on the feet (i.e. was the successor) of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara Dhāravarshadēva*. The Gōvindarājadēva of this passage is shewn, by the verses in the genealogical introduction of the record, to be Gōvinda III., son of Nirupama-Kalivallabha-Dhōra, i.e. Dhruva. His elder brother Raṇāvalōka-Kambhadēva was, therefore, also a son of Dhruva. Accordingly, in the Śrāvana-Belgoḷa inscription, again, the *biruda* Śrīvallabha denotes Dhruva. And thus we have the *biruda* Śrīvallabha thoroughly well established as a leading and distinctive appellation of Dhruva also, and so pointedly that it is most probably he who is intended by that *biruda* in the Lakshmēshwar inscription, C. above.

#### The date of Dhruva.

The importance of the point that Śrīvallabha was a leading and distinctive *biruda* of Dhruva lies in the fact that we are thereby enabled to fix an actual date for him.

That date is supplied by a passage in the Jain *Harivaṃśa* of Jinasēna, which tells us that that work was finished in Śaka-Saṃvat 705 (expired), = A.D. 783-84, when there were reigning,— in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with the modern Wadhvān in the Jhālāvād division of Kāthiāwār,— in the north, Indrāyudha ; in the south, Śrīvallabha ; in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avanti

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Hg. 93.— In answer to a reference, Mr. Rice has been kind enough to assure me that the *Śrīvallabha* follows *Dhāravarsha* without any interval ; that line 1 contains less matter than the other lines because the letters are larger ; and that there is no doubt whatever about the word *Kambharasa*. There can, of course, be no question about the correctness of supplying *bha* as the *akshara* which is more or less damaged and illegible after *īrt-Dhāravarsha-Śrīvallabha*. And the damaged and illegible *akshara* after the *bha* must be a final *a* or *r*.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr. at Śrāv.-Bel.* No. 24.— I have to make the following remarks on this record, from an ink-impression. Line 2 ends with *Śrīvallabha*. At the beginning of line 3, five *aksharas* are (judging by the impression) hopelessly damaged and illegible. Then we have, distinctly, *jādhi*. And then, after a space representing three full-size square *aksharas* such as *ja*, *dha*, *ma*, etc.,— apparently equally damaged and illegible,— we have *m[ē]śvara-mahār[d]jard magandir Raṇāvalōka-īrt-Kambayya*, etc. The lacunae may be appropriately and exactly filled in by reading *Śrīvallabha-[Dhruva-mahār[d]jādhi[rāja-para]m[ē]śvara-mahār[d]jard* ; to which the only objection is the use of both titles, *mahārājādhirāja* and *mahārāja* ; and I do not see any other way in which they can be appropriately and exactly filled in, unless we should read *Śrīvallabha-[Dhāravarsha-rd]jādhi[rāja-para]m[ē]śvara-mahār[d]jard*, which is open to a similar objection and, further, does not adapt itself to such marks as are discernible. But, of course, it is by pure conjecture that the actual name Dhruva is supplied here ; except that there is a mark, in exactly the proper place, which does look like an *r* attached to an *akshara* consisting of a consonant with its vowel.— On the subject of this record, see also *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 397, note 1 ; the view suggested there is, of course, now withdrawn.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 5. I have photographs of this record, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Rice.

(Ujjain); and, in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha,<sup>1</sup> in the territory of the Sauryas. It is to be remarked that, of the two kings Indrāyudha and Śrīvallabha, one or the other is specified in the passage as the son of a king Kṛishṇa. But we determine the application of the passage without taking that point into account either way.

When this passage was first brought to notice, the translation that was put forward was—"when Indrāyudha was ruling over the North;—when Śrīvallabha, the son of king Kṛishṇa, was governing the South," etc.<sup>2</sup> And I suggested that Śrīvallabha was "perhaps the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda II., the son of Kṛishṇa I."<sup>3</sup>

Subsequently, however, it became plain, in the first place, that the *biruda* Śrīvallabha is not identical with the appellation Vallabha, which is the only name of that kind that we have for Gōvinda II., and in the second place, that Gōvinda II. did not actually reign.<sup>4</sup> And then, as the word meaning "son of king Kṛishṇa" may be construed at least as well with the word that gives us the name of Indrāyudha as it may with the word that gives us the name of Śrīvallabha,<sup>5</sup> I abandoned that view and transferred the words "son of king Kṛishṇa" to Indrāyudha, and took the passage as referring to Gōvinda III., son of Dhruva, and as establishing the date of A.D. 783-84 for him.<sup>6</sup>

There is nothing inherently impossible, in the way of allotting the date of A.D. 783-84 to Gōvinda III.; except that it would perhaps give him too long a reign,—at least thirty years,—

<sup>1</sup> The original passage has *jaya-guṇe vīre Vardhā*; and Dr. Peterson considered (Fourth Report on Sanskrit MSS., Index of Authors, p. 43, and note), that the meaning is, not "the victorious and brave Varāha," but "the brave Jayavarāha,"—just as the name of Vatsarāja is expressed in the preceding line by *Vats-dī-rājē*. It is not possible to settle that point off-hand, either way. But, in support of Dr. Peterson's view, we may quote two other names in which *vardha* is found as the termination. One is Ādivarāha, a name of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, which occurs in verse 22 of the Gwalior inscription of A.D. 875 or 876 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 155, 158). The other is Dharaṇivarāha, which we meet with most notably in the case of a Chāpa prince, with the date of A.D. 914, whose residence was Vardhamāna, and who was ruling the territory round Haddāla on the south-east of the above-mentioned Waghvān in the Jhālāvāḍ division of Kāthiāwār (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. pp. 194, 195); and it is not impossible that, in this prince, we have a descendant of the Varāha or Jayavarāha of A.D. 783-84, though his pedigree is not carried back beyond a certain Vikramārka who would have to be placed, roughly, about A.D. 825.—It may be noted here that the name Dharaṇivarāha seems to have been rather a favourite one. We meet with it again in the case of a prince referable roughly to about A.D. 925, in the Bulandshahr plate of A.D. 1176 or 1177 (see Prof. Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, above, Vol. V. Appendix, p. 25, No. 170), and again in the case of a prince who was contemporaneous with a Rāshtrakūṭa king or prince named Dhavala who held the country round Hatōṇḍī in Mārwār just before A.D. 997 (see *ibid.* p. 9, No. 53). We perhaps have the same name Dharaṇivarāha in the case of a king or prince, of uncertain date but apparently referable to "a period not long anterior to the Muhammadan invasion," who ruled more to the east, in the Jaunpur district, North-West Provinces (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 635, 636); but, here *dharanī* may be a mistake or misreading for *dharanī* as the accusative with *santōshayan-nīja-guṇair*, and in that case the name is simply Varāha. We certainly, however, have Dharaṇivarāha as a *biruda* of some princes, of the sixteenth century A.D., who claim descent from the Eastern Chalukya king Kulōttunga I. (Report of the Government Epigraphist for 1899-1900, p. 16). And apparently we have it again as a *biruda* of one or other of the kings of Vijayanagara in a record of A.D. 1528 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Sr. 2).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 142. For the text, see now, preferentially, Peterson's Fourth Report on Sanskrit MSS., Extracts, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* note 3.

<sup>4</sup> And, on this point, see now, more fully, page 170 ff. above.

<sup>5</sup> The text runs—*uttarāṇ pṛthivī Indrāyudha-nāmanī Kṛishṇa-nripa-jē Śrīvallabhē dakṣiṇāṇ*. We know that Dhruva was a son of Kṛishṇa I. And, now that we know what we did not know until recently,—namely, that Śrīvallabha was one of his leading *birudas*,—it is easy enough to say that the words "son of king Kṛishṇa" were meant to qualify the Śrīvallabha of the passage, and not the other person. But it is impossible to say, simply from the text itself, whether *Kṛishṇa-nripa-jē* was intended to be in apposition with the locative which immediately precedes it, or with the locative which immediately follows it; and it is fairly arguable that, Śrīvallabha being a complete appellation in itself, whereas Indrāyudhanāman is an adjective rather than a noun, the latter wants something, namely, the next following word, to complete its meaning.

<sup>6</sup> *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 394 f., and see note 1 on p. 395.

before so very long a reign as that of his son Amoghavarsha I., who was on the throne for not less than sixty-two years. But we can now recognise a distinct reason for which that date should not be allotted to Gōvinda III. We know, from the Wapi and Rādhapur grants of A.D. 807, that the first important event after the death of Dhruva was the formation of a confederacy against Gōvinda III. by twelve kings and princes, whom he had to overthrow before his succession to the throne was made secure.<sup>1</sup> We may note that we learn from the Nausāri grant of A.D. 817 that the confederacy was headed by a certain Stambha,<sup>2</sup> in respect of whom Mr. Rice has made the suggestion,<sup>3</sup> quite soundly, that he is to be identified with the Raṇāvalōka-Kambayya, Kambharasa, or Kambhadēva of the Mysore records, son of Śrīvallabha-Dhruva and elder brother of Gōvinda III. And we trace the motive for it to the fact, stated in the Paithan grant of A.D. 794, that Gōvinda III. had been selected for the succession from among several sons,—to the exclusion, therefore, of at least Stambha-Kambayya,—because he surpassed his brothers in merit.<sup>4</sup> But, what we have to note in particular, is, that this confederacy was the first important event after the death of Dhruva and the accession of Gōvinda III., and that there is no allusion of any kind to it in the Paithan grant of A.D. 794. We must understand, then, that that record gives a very early date in the reign of Gōvinda III., before the occurrence of the events connected with the confederacy, and that it is, therefore, not permissible to carry him back ten years earlier, to A.D. 783-84.

The only other Śrīvallabha of that period, distinctively known by that appellation, was Dhruva. And, irrespective of the question whether the Śrīvallabha of the passage quoted above is described in that passage as "the son of Kṛishṇa," or whether he is not so described,<sup>5</sup> we need not hesitate, now, about deciding that it is to Dhruva that the passage refers by the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, and that it is for him that it establishes the date of A.D. 783-84.<sup>6</sup>

As regards another of the kings who are mentioned in that passage, it may be noted that Vatsarāja of Ujjain is mentioned again in connection with Dhruva in the Wapi and Rādhapur grants of A.D. 807, in a verse which tells us that Vatsarāja, who had easily seized the kingdom of Gaṇḍa (in Bengal), was driven away by Dhruva (from his possessions in Mālwa, round Ujjain) into the path of misfortune in (the deserts of) Maru (Mārwār).<sup>7</sup> Varāha or Jayavarāha, who was ruling the territory of the Sauryas,—which apparently means Saurāshṭra or Kāthiāwār,—remains to be exactly identified, but may, as has been suggested above,<sup>8</sup> very possibly have been a Chāpa king. Indrāyudha, the king of the north, may be safely referred to the family to which belonged Chakrāyudha, to whom Dharmapāla, after defeating Indrarāja

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 161, and Vol. VI. p. 70, verse 13. The event has been wrongly placed by Pundit Bhagwanlal Indrajī in the life-time of Dhruva (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 123). The text of the record distinctly says that Dhruva was then dead.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 145, verse 27.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 107, text line 37 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> See page 196 above, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> In following my original proposal as to the application of the passage, and in accepting it as meaning Vallabha-Gōvinda II., Dr. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. II. Part I. p. 197) has overlooked the point that the appellation is, not Vallabha, but Śrīvallabha, which is quite a different thing; and, when he wrote, he was of course not aware that Śrīvallabha was a *biruda* of Dhruva.—As regards the hysterical outburst, in connection with this matter, to which Mr. K. B. Pathak has given vent on page 5 f. of the Introduction to his edition of the *Kavirājamārga* (see also *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 26), it is sufficient to remark that, in his second-hand and crude dissertation on Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa I., Gōvinda II., and Dhruva, he has put forward nothing new of any historical value, and, in re-asserting the date of A.D. 783-84 for Gōvinda II. according to my original proposal, he has, from sheer ignorance of the subject and incapability of dealing with it, simply reiterated a mistake and missed the very point on which there was an useful correction to be made. His paroxysmal note 3 on page 5 of the Introduction (see also *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 25, note 18) is, except in the first line of it as far as the words "A.D. 750," nothing but an attribution to me of statements that I have not made and views that I have not formed.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 161, and Vol. VI. p. 69, verse 8.

<sup>8</sup> Page 196 above, note 1.

and other unnamed enemies, gave back the sovereignty of **Mahôdaya (Kanauj)**;<sup>1</sup> but we have still to determine what may have been the relations between his family and the family of *Mahārâjas* in which we have *Prabhâsa-Bhôja I.*, *Bhâka-Mahêndrapâla*, and *Harsha-Vinâyakapâla*, who issued charters from *Mahôdaya (Kanauj)* in A.D. 706, 761, and 794.<sup>2</sup>

#### No. 17.—TWO BHUVANESVAR INSCRIPTIONS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The two inscriptions<sup>3</sup> of which I give an account here from excellent impressions, prepared for Dr. Hultsch by Mr. Krishna Sastri, are on two slabs of dark stone which are now in the western wall of the court-yard of the temple of *Ananta-Vâsudêva*<sup>4</sup> at **Bhuvanêśvar** in the Puri district of Orissa. The stones were taken away from *Bhuvanêśvar* and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart about 1810, but to please the people, they were returned to their original place in 1837.<sup>5</sup> In the latter year, the inscriptions were both edited, with specimen facsimiles of the characters by Mr. Prinsep, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 89 ff. and p. 280 ff., the one here marked A. with a translation by the Rev. Wm. Yates, and the other, marked B., with a translation by Captain G. T. Marshall, Examiner in the College of Fort William; and the inscription A. has been edited again, *ibid.* Vol. LXVI. Part I. p. 11 ff., by Mr. Nagendra Natha Vasu, who was not aware of its having been published sixty years before. A. records the foundation of a temple of (Śiva) *Mêghêśvara* by *Svapnêśvara*, a connection and general of the (Eastern) *Gaṅga* king *Aniyaṅkabhîma* (*Anaṅgabhîma I.*) of *Trikaliṅga*; and B. gives a eulogistic account of a scholar named *Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadêva Bâlavalabhibhujāṅga*, of whom some literary works are still extant.

#### A.—INSCRIPTION OF SVAPNÊŚVARA, OF THE TIME OF ANIYAṆKABHÎMA.

This inscription contains 26 lines of writing which cover a space of 3' 6" broad by 1' 6½" high. The writing is well done and carefully engraved, and with the exception of a few letters, in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ½". Many of the characters are the same as those of the ordinary *Nāgarī* alphabet used in Northern India during about the 12th and 13th centuries A.D.; but there are some by which this inscription would be undoubtedly referred to the eastern parts of Northern India. To shew this, I would draw the reader's attention, e.g., to the initial *ī*<sup>6</sup> in *īti*, l. 1; the initial *ē* in *ēkô*, l. 1; the *kh* in *sikhi*, l. 1, and *kharuvikarôti*, l. 2; the *ñ* in *ratnâṅkura*, l. 10, *piṅgala*, l. 1, and *vaṅsa*, l. 6; the *ṇ* in *śītaṇ=cha*, l. 21, and *vāṇchhita*, l. 13; the *ṭ* in *jatāṭavī*, l. 1, *paṭu*, l. 6, and *-dviṭ*, l. 15; the *ṭṭ* in *paṭṭê*, l. 26 (twice); the *ṇ* in *raṇa*, l. 9, etc. One point in which the alphabet differs from that of other eastern inscriptions is, that, while in the latter special signs (without the superscript *r*) are generally used<sup>7</sup> to denote the three conjuncts *rgg*, *rnn* and *rth*, the present inscription has such a sign only for *rth*, and employs the superscript *r* in the two other conjuncts. See e.g. the *rth* of *=ârthatô*, *=ârthibhir=* and *=ârthini* in line 10, as compared with the *th* of *prithivîm* in line 8; on the

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Kielhorn for this point. For the necessary references, see his *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, above, Vol. V. Appendix, p. 86, No. 638; and see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 187, and *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. V. pp. 209, 210, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Government Epigraphist's collection of 1899, Nos. 227 and 228. Compare my *List of North. Inscr.* Nos. 669 and 670.

<sup>4</sup> See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXVI. Part I. p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.* Vol. VI. p. 279 f.

<sup>6</sup> The form of the initial *ī* here used is identical with one of the two forms of *i*, used in the *Kanauji* plates of *Vaidyadêva*, No. 644 of my *List of North. Inscr.*

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. V. p. 182.

other hand, see the *rgg* in *durgg-ālayō mārggaḥ*, l. 22, and the *ṛṇṇ* of *-āvakirṇṇa-*, l. 8, and compare with the latter the *ṇṇ<sup>1</sup>* of *kshunṇa-*, l. 8. For the rest, it may suffice to state that *anusvāra* is often denoted by a circle with the sign of *virāma* below it, placed after the *akshara* to which it belongs, as in *nirebharam*, l. 6, and *palabhujām*, l. 7; and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed no less than 13 times, as in *°bhujā śnēna*, l. 9, and *vriddhō srujām* and *rājyē śbhishiktam-*, l. 11, etc.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the introductory *Om om namaḥ Śivāya*, the text is in verse. The orthography calls for few remarks. The sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *rasmī-* and *vans-* (for *vamś-*), l. 3, *śasāsa*, l. 8, *yasaś*, l. 12, *sāsvata-*, l. 13, *sāsvan-*, l. 22, and *sāsvad-*, l. 24, and the palatal for the dental in *śrōtaḥ*, l. 1, and *surasārit-*, l. 21; and instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal has been employed in *vanśa-*, l. 6, and *-sudhāñśū*, l. 25, and the dental nasal in *vans-ōttansa-*, l. 3. Besides, the rules of *samdhī* have now and then been neglected. The language is not always grammatically correct. The ablative cases in construction with adjectives in the positive (instead of the comparative) degree in verse 28 might of course be justified by analogous constructions in the epics; for the wrong position of the word *mallī* in the compound *mallikīrttivallī* (for *kīrttimallivallī*) at the end of line 3 the Prākṛit of the author might possibly be held responsible; and to account for the employment of the Present participle *hasat* (instead of *hasita*) in the compound at the end of verse 22 one or two similar instances may be quoted from Jaina poetry; but *śrī-Svapnēśvara-nāma* (for *-nāmā*) in line 5 is an offensive blunder that should not have been committed even *chhandō-bhaṅga-bhayāt*. The poetry of our author strikes me as being poor. His poetical conceptions as a rule are of the tritest, and more attention has been apparently paid by him to the sound of the words than to their exact meanings or effective employment. As a translation would be as tiresome to write as it might be tedious to read, I content myself with giving a short abstract of the contents.

After the words 'Om, om! Adoration to Śiva!', verse 1 invokes the protection of the moon which is on Śiva's head, and v. 2 glorifies the sage Gautama (Akshapāda). In that sage's family (*gōtra*) was born the king's son (*rāja-putra*) Dvārādēva (v. 3). From him Mūladēva was born (v. 4), and from him, Ahirama (v. 5) who, besides other children, had a son named Svapnēśvara, and a daughter named Suramādēvi (v. 6). Verses 7-9 then eulogize a king of the lunar race, named Chōdagāṅga. When he was dead, his son king Rājārāja victoriously ruled the earth (vv. 10-12). He married Suramādēvi, the lady already mentioned (v. 13), and in his old age installed in the government his younger brother Aniyāṅkabhima, 'a moon of a Gaṅga prince,' 'a lord of Trikaṅga' (vv. 14-17).—Verses 18-21 then praise (Rājārāja's brother-in-law) Svapnēśvara-dēva, in war 'a divine weapon of the kings of the Gaṅga lineage,' a man 'more powerful than a complete army' (and apparently therefore a general of the Gaṅga kings); and verses 22-32 record the acts of piety performed by him which occasioned this *prastīti*. He founded a magnificent temple of the god (Śiva) Mēghēśvara, 'the lord of the clouds' (vv. 22-24), gave a number of female attendants to the god (v. 25), laid out a garden near the temple (vv. 26 and 27), built a tank near it (v. 28), and in connection with the tank erected a *maṇḍapa* or open hall (v. 29). He also provided wells and tanks on roads and in towns, lights in temples, cloisters for the study of the Vēdas, etc. (v. 30); and to the pious Brāhmanas he gave a *brahmapura* which was superintended by the Śaiva teacher Viṣṇu (v. 31), who also consecrated<sup>2</sup> the Mēghēśvara temple (v. 32).—By Viṣṇu's order this *prastīti* was composed by the poet Udayana (v. 33); it was written on the stone at the Mēghēśvara temple by Chandradhavaḷa, the son of Diśidhavaḷa (v. 35), and engraved by the *sūtradhāra* Śivakara (v. 36).

<sup>1</sup> A comparison of the signs for *ṇṇ* and *ṛṇṇ* will shew that in the latter the superscript *r* is really superfluous. Even without it, the sign used by the writer would have to be read as *ṛṇṇ*, and is actually employed in other inscriptions to denote that conjunct.

<sup>2</sup> As *pratishṭhita* is occasionally used for *pratishṭhāpita*, so I would take *pratyatishṭhat* in verse 32 to have been employed in the sense of the causal *pratyatishṭhipat*.

Though the inscription is not dated, the connection of Svapnāśvara with the (Eastern) Gaṅga kings Rājarāja and Aniyaṅkabhīma permits us to fix its age with confidence. From No. 367 of my *List of North. Inscr.* we know that the great king Chōḍagaṅga was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava, who was anointed king in Śaka-Samvat 1064 = A.D. 1142-43 and reigned for 10 years; that Kāmārṇava again was succeeded by another son of Chōḍagaṅga, named Rāghava, who reigned for 15 years; he again by Chōḍagaṅga's son Rājarāja [II.], who reigned for 25 years; and he by his younger brother Aniyaṅkabhīma (or Anaṅgabhīma I.), who reigned for 10 years. Taking these figures to be approximately correct, it follows that Aniyaṅkabhīma, the last king mentioned in the present inscription, ascended the throne about A.D. 1192, and that this inscription therefore must have been composed about the end of the 12th century A.D.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> om namaḥ Śivāya || <sup>3</sup>Vidyutpiṅgala-bhālalōchana-sikhi-jvālā-galat<sup>4</sup> svāmrīta-śrō(śrō)taḥ-sparśana-jīvitāḥ śavaśiraḥ-śrēṇṇ Śivē nṛityati ||(1) ēkō Rāhur=anēkatān-gata iti trāsād-iva prēkṣhya tās=Chandraḥ sāndra-jatāṭavi-surasarid-durgg-āśritaḥ pātu vaḥ || [1\*]
- 2 <sup>5</sup>Kō=yam lla(la)llā(lā)ṭatata-nētrapuṭasya garvvāt kharvvikarōti jagad=ity=abhidhāya Sambhau | yah sabbhyasūyam=akarōch=chacha(ra)nē=kshi-lla(la)kshmiṇ jiyāt=sa Gautama-munir=mmuni-vṛinda-vandyaḥ || [2\*] <sup>6</sup>Tad-gōtrē rāja-putraḥ samajani jagatī-maṇḍanaḥ paṇḍitānām mānyaḥ puṇy-aikadhāma prativa(ba)la-jaladhi-
- 3 kshōbhha-manthāchala-śrīḥ | śrīmān=satkṛttivalli-valayita-vasudhāmaṇḍalaś=chaṇḍa-raśmi(śmi)-sphūrijat-tējōbbhir=ugra-glapita-ripuyasāḥ-kairavō Dvārādēvaḥ || [3\*] Samajani<sup>7</sup> nija-vans-ōttansa-lakshmiṇ=alakshmiḥkṛita-nikhila-virōdhi-sphūrijad-ambhō-dhir=aśmāt | dalita-lalita-mallikirttiya-<sup>8</sup>
- 4 lli-vitāna-prasṛita-<sup>9</sup>hasita-chaṇḍrō Mūladēvaḥ kṛit-indraḥ || [4\*] <sup>10</sup>Tasmāt=puṇy-aikarāśēr=abhavad=Ahiramō nāma dhāma stutitām=ārāmaḥ sāma-nīter=aparimita-yaśaḥpūrachandr-ōdayādriḥ | yasy=ōdyad-dānadharmm-ōtsava-janita-mahōtsāha-kālē trilōka-prāsād-āgrē sphuranti sphurad-a-
- 5 malayaśō-vaijayantyō jayantyāḥ || [5\*] <sup>11</sup>Tasmān=naika-sutād=va(ba)bhūvatur=apān-nāthād=iv=ēndu-Śriyau śrī-Svapnēśvara-nāma<sup>12</sup> nāma Suramādevī cha sārth-āhvayā | ēkaḥ kshmatāla-maṇḍanāya sakal-ādharas=tath=ānyā jagad-dāridrajvara-nāśanāya jagatī-chintāmaṇi-śrīr=abhūt || [6\*] <sup>13</sup>Nata-nṛipati-kirīṭa-kō-
- 6 ṭi-ratna-dyuti-paṭu-<sup>14</sup>pīṭha-śayālu-pādapaḍmaḥ | ajani Bajanijāni-vāṇsa-<sup>15</sup>chōḍāmaṇir=anīm-ādi-guṇēna Chōḍagaṅgaḥ || [7\*] <sup>16</sup>Yātrā-vāji-khura-prahāra-visarad-dhōli-samudrē sphurattējō-bhāskaramaṇḍalē kshītibhujām=astangatē nirvha(rbbha)raṇ | yaṁ saṅgrāma-grihōdarēshu vijaya-śrīḥ sārddham=A-
- 7 śā-sakhī-vṛindair=bhinna-gajēndra-maṇṭikavati bhūyō=bhisarttuṇ=gatā || [8\*] Rē vā(bā)lāḥ kula-vṛiddha kin=nu bhavatān=durbhikṣham=āyāsyati sphīṭaṇ=kiṇ sa tu sa[t\*]tra-daḥ palabhujām svarggāya sannahyatē | yasy=ēti

<sup>1</sup> From impressions prepared by Mr. Krishna Sastri.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Read -galat-svāmrīta-.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Śragdharā.

<sup>8</sup> For the sake of the metre *mālikirtti* has been put for *kṛttimallī*.

<sup>9</sup> The *akṣhara ta* was originally omitted and is engraved above the line.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śragdharā.

<sup>12</sup> For the sake of the metre put for -nāma.

<sup>14</sup> This word (which has been misread as *pada* and *paṭa*) is quite clear in the impressions; it is used in the sense of *sphuṭa*.

<sup>15</sup> Read -vāṇsa-.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Mālinī.—Read *nija-vamē-ōttamsa*.

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

<sup>16</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

- śrutim-ākalayya samarē nirvbbhi(rbbhi) nna-vīra-dvishām=<sup>1</sup>vallūraiḥ paripūrayanti  
paritāḥ prētāḥ ku-
- 8 śāl-ōtkarān || [9\*] Tasmin<sup>2</sup> Purandarapuri-tilakāyamānē dānē samunnata-matis=  
tanayas-tadīyah | sāmrajya-bhāra-vahan-aikadhuripa-vā(bā)huh śrī-Rājarāja-  
nripatiḥ prithivīm śasā(śā)sa || [10\*] <sup>3</sup>Yasy-ōdyad-vāji-rāji-khura-śikhara-  
bhāra-kshuppa-bhūchakra-sarppad-dhūli-jāl-āvakirṇa-tridaśapurasari-
- 9 d-bhūri-pāṅkē vilagnaṁ | nirakriḍā-nimajjat-surapatikaripaṁ vyākulāḥ Śakra-  
bhṛityā dhṛitvā lāṅgūlam-ēkē karatalam-aparē tīram-uttōlayanti || [11\*] <sup>4</sup>Raṇa-  
bhūvi yadi nityan=n-āhataḥ śatru-sārthaḥ<sup>5</sup> tulita-Haribhujēna kāmābhujā  
snēna nūnam | katham=iha kali-kālē kalpit=ānāpa-pāpa-praṇayi-
- 10 ni sura-ariṣṭiḥ arashṭur=asyān=divi syāt || [12\*] <sup>6</sup>[Tē]n-ōḍhā puruṣhōttamēna  
Suramādēvi Ram=siv-ārthatō nāmā śntahpurasundarijana-sirōratnānkura-śrīr=  
iyam | pratyāruhya tulāḥ priyēna saha sā yat=<sup>7</sup>svaṇṇa-śailān=dadāv=ētai[h]<sup>8</sup>  
sphitatarā dhar=ārthibhir=ahō jāt=ārthini kēvalam || [13\*] <sup>9</sup>Sarvva=na-
- 11 rēndra-tilakaḥ kalikāla-kalpāśākḥ<sup>10</sup> sukḥ-au]gham=anubhūya chiram sa rājā |  
vṛiddhō śnujam manujarāja-nat-āṅghriyugmaṁ rājyē śbhishiktam=akarōd=Aniyāṅka-  
bhīmaṁ || [14\*] Sa<sup>11</sup> śrīmān=Aniyāṅkabhīma-nripatiḥ sāmrajyalakṣmī-patiḥ  
pratyarthi-kṣhitipāla-mauli-tilakaḥ<sup>12</sup> tyakt-ārikānt-āla-
- 12 kaḥ | samprāpy=aiva samudra-mudrita-mahachakraṁ=karāgra-sphurach=chakraṁ Śakra-  
parākramas=samakarōd=Gāṅgēndra-chandraḥ kṣapāt || [15\*] Hē bhōgindra kim=  
āttha kūrma dharapī-bhārah sa tuchchhō mahān<sup>13</sup> jānāsi Trikalinganātha-  
yasa(śa)śā khyātan=na jānē śrīṇu | dēvē smin=vijaya-prayāna-rasikē prēm-  
13 [kha]t-turaṅga-kshura-kshōbh-ōddh[ū]ta-rajōbbhir=amva(mba)ram=agād=ardham kṣamā-  
maṇḍalam || [16\*] Jātā saṅgara-nradhōḥ sphurad-asivyālēndra-bhāsvad-  
bhujāmanthādrēr=asat-iva vāñchhita-[va(ba)]hu-prītiḥ sadā śrīr=iyam | asminn=  
ēva narā[dhi]nātha-tilakē sthairyān=gatā yat=punar=vvījan=tatra kil=āśya  
sā(śā)svata-
- 14 [m=a]sau jāgrād=yaśas-chandramāḥ || [17\*] Udyad-digvijay-ārtha-sādhana-vidhan  
Gāṅgānvaya-kāmābhujān=divy-āstram chaturāṅgatō=dhikatarah saiyāt=sa ōkō=  
bhavat | śrī-Svapnēśvaradēva ēva vilasat<sup>14</sup> śāstra-kṣat-āri-kṣarat-kilālaugha-  
vinirmit-āṣṭamamahāmbhōdhir=nnay-āmbhōnidhiḥ || [18\*] Lakṣmīdēvyāḥ<sup>15</sup>  
patir=a-
- 15 yam=adhō=nēna<sup>16</sup> chakrē vali-dvit<sup>17</sup> gōpālasya pri[ya]-suhṛid=ayam sarvva-kāryē=  
chyntō sau | Viśvakṣēnō dharapir=iyam=apy=uddhṛitā yēna magnā [sō] smin(n)=  
janmany=api sura(cha)ritair=ēsha<sup>18</sup> Viśvambharō śbhūt || [19\*] <sup>19</sup>Yad-dāna-  
vigalad-vāri-mātrikā bhūtamātrikā | sasya-sampatti-sambhārair=ddina-hin=ābhavan=mahī  
16 || [20\*] <sup>20</sup>Kailāsādri-Himāchala-stanataṭa-vyāsaṅgi-Mandākinī-hāra-śrīr=yadi kirttir=asya  
tilakam chandraḥ=kalaṅk-āśayāt | jyōtmā-hāsa-mukhī payōdhivasanā-kunda-dyuti[r\*]=  
nn=ātyajāt kv=āyam syād=iha Chandrasēkhara-pad-ārōḍhō Mṛḍāni-patiḥ || [21\*]  
Bhaktiprahva-surāsūrēndra-vilasan-maulistha-ratnāva-

<sup>1</sup> Read -*deishdm*.<sup>2</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>3</sup> Read *yāna*.<sup>4</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>5</sup> Read -*kaipatāḥ*; the sign of *visarga* in this word seems to have been struck out already in the original.<sup>6</sup> Metre of verses 15-18: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.<sup>7</sup> Read *maḍḍā*.<sup>8</sup> The *akṣara* *na* was originally omitted and is engraved above the line.<sup>9</sup> Read *ba* (or *ba*)-*deid*.<sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 21-23: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.<sup>11</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>12</sup> Read -*śāśāsa*.<sup>13</sup> This sign of *visarga* was originally omitted.<sup>14</sup> Metre: Śragdharā.<sup>15</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.<sup>16</sup> Read -*tilaka*.<sup>17</sup> Read -*tilaka*.<sup>18</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā.<sup>19</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā.<sup>20</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>21</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

- 17 li-chohkhāyā-śakradhanuḥ-sphurat-pada-lasan-Mēghēśvarasy-āmuna | unnatyā spara-parvato va(ba)hutara-dravya-vyayam kurvata prasādo rachitas-sudhā-chohkhavihasat-Kailāsa-śailēśvaraḥ<sup>1</sup> || [22\*] Svarṇpādriḥ sa sur-ālayo hari-khura-kshuppaścha pūrvvō girir-vvāruṇyā parichumvi(mbi)tō sata-śikharī mānyah sa Gauri-
- 18 [gu]ruḥ | ity=ady=āpi parāmriṣha(śa)n=nava-nava-sthānam chalan-mandirō Laṅkēndrēṇa śil-ōchchayam griham=adaḥ prāptō śnavadyam Śivaḥ || [23\*] Iha<sup>2</sup> vijayinā prākāra-śrīr-mmahōpala-nirmmitā jaladhara-gatīr=atyunnatyā nirōddhum=iv=ōddhatā | kali-jalanidhēr=mmaryādāli-bhayād=iva tasya vai śarapa-
- 19 m=avisad=dharmmo yatra Trinētra-surakshayā || [24\*] <sup>3</sup>Yāsān=nētrāñchala-taralimā viśvavaśy-aikamantraḥ pāda-nyāsas=tribhuvana-gatī-stambhanam samvidhattē<sup>4</sup> | nṛity-ārambhē valaya-manibhir=nnirmitāsyatna-dīpās=taṁmai dattās=Tripura-jayinē tēna tās-tā mṛigākshyah || [25\*] <sup>5</sup>Upavanam=atha chakrē tēna Mēghēśva-
- 20 rasya sphurita-kusuma-rēṇu-śrēṇi-chandrātapa-śrī | avirata-makaranda-syanda-sandōha-varshair=ddhṛita-Ratipati-lilā-yantradhārāgrihatvam || [26\*] <sup>6</sup>Vaśrī-muktā-rak<sup>7</sup> dara-dalita-pushp-ōtkara-milat-parāgair=bhṛiṅg-ālī kalita-sitimā yatra japanī<sup>8</sup> | munēḥ Pushpāstrasya sphaṭika-ghaṭit-ākshava-
- 21 lir=iyam=<sup>9</sup>vasant-ōdyan-matta-dvipa-śirasi nakshatra-vitatiḥ || [27\*] Atyachchham<sup>10</sup> śarad-amva(mba)rāt-surāśa(sa)rit-tōyāch=cha pāp-āpaham gambhīran=naya-śālinō=pi hṛidayāt<sup>11</sup> śitān=cha chandra-dyutēḥ | hṛidya-svādu sudhā-rasād=api sarō vārān=nidhēḥ sōdaran=tēn=ākhāni narēśvara-prapayinā Mēghēśvarasy=ā-
- 22 layē || [28\*] Ānand-aikanikētanam nayanayōḥ sa(śa)śvan=manahkairava-jyōtan-aughaḥ khalu Viśvakarma-nipuṇa-vyāpāra-vaidagdhyā-bhūḥ | grīhṁma-grāsa-bhaya-śtibhita-janatā-śautīrya-durgg-ālayō mārggaḥ kīrtti-vijimbhapaśya jayinā prōttambhitō maṇḍapah || [29\*] Apām<sup>12</sup> śālā-mālāḥ pathi pathi tadāgāḥ prati-
- 23 puram pradīpāḥ sampūrṇāḥ prati-suragriham yasya vimalāḥ | maṭhā vēd-ādīnām divijapura-vihārāḥ prati-diśām virājantē sa[t\*]trāpy=api cha paritas=sētu-nivahāḥ || [30\*] <sup>13</sup>Ārād=vra(bra)hmapuram Vṛi(bṛi)haspati-pura-sparddhi Smarārēḥ sad=ābhāryam Viśṇum=abhisphura[d\*]=divijavara-grāmāya dharmmātmanē | dattam tēna mudā sad-ōdi-
- 24 ta-makha-prārvdha(bdha)-dhūmadhvaja-sphūrijad-dhūma-chayāna yatra sa kali-vyālah samutsāryatē || [31\*] Tam<sup>14</sup> pratyatishtha[d\*]=divijarāja-pūjyah prasādam=īśasya sa-nandaka-śrīḥ | sudarsanēn=ānvita śha Viśṇur=āchārya-rājah sa prithak<sup>15</sup> na Viśṇōḥ || [32\*] <sup>16</sup>Udayana-kavis=tasy=ādēśāt=prasasti-vilāsinim sulalita-padanyāsaḥ sa(śa)śvad=vi-
- 25 [dagdha]-manōbarām | dhvanibhir=anīśam kaṇṭhē śliṣṭām=alamkṛiti-hāriṇim=atīrasatayā śayy-āyātām prasādhitavān=imām || [33\*] <sup>17</sup>Yāva[j\*]=jyōtnā-sudhānē<sup>18</sup> dharani-phapipatī yāvad=ambhōja-Lakshmyau yāvad=yāvach=cha Gaṅgā-Himadharaḥidharau yāvad=ēv=ārṇav-ōrmmī | vāg-arthau yāvad=asminś=chiram=anuvatatō śdyaita-rūpō-
- 26 pa lōkē tāvat=prasāda-kīrtti tribhuvana-kuharē rājatām=asya nityam || [34\*] Śrī || <sup>19</sup>Disidhavalā-dhīra-tanayah sa Chandradhavalah prasastim=iha patṭē | saral-ākshara-mālābhir=ililēkha Mēghēśvara-dvārē || [35\*] Sūtradhārāḥ<sup>20</sup> Śivakaras=

<sup>1</sup> This compound (formed with *hasat* instead of *hasita*) is incorrect; compare *hasita-chandrō*, I. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: Hariṇi.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā.

<sup>4</sup> Read *samvidhattē*.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Mālini.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Śikharīṇi.

<sup>7</sup> Read *-erag-*.

<sup>8</sup> This word might be (and has been) read *jayanā*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *=iyam*.

<sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 28 and 29: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

<sup>11</sup> Read *ōyāch=chāḥ*.

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Śikharīṇi.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>15</sup> Read *prithag-*.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Hariṇi.

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>18</sup> Read *-sudhānē*.

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>20</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

sadyrittām=akṣharāvalīm |      nichakṣhāna      śilā-paṭṭe      muktāphala-nibhām=  
iha || ॐ || [36 ||\*]

### B.—EULOGY OF BHATṬA-BHAVADĒVA BĀLAVALABHIBHUJĀṄGA.

This inscription contains 25 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' broad by 1' 4½" high. The writing, here too, is carefully executed and, with the exception of about a dozen effaced akṣharas at the end of line 24, well preserved. The size of the letters is about ½". The characters are similar to those of the inscription A. Contrary to what is the case in that inscription, *ṛṇṇ* as well as *rṭh*—*rgg* happens not to occur—are here denoted by signs without the superscript circle, and perhaps in *samartham*=, l. 7). Moreover, *anusvāra* is written only by the superscript circle, and the sign of *avagraha* is nowhere employed. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the introductory *Om om namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvyā*, the effaced passage at the end of line 24, and the short line 25, the text is in verse. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the dental nasal is employed instead of *anusvāra* in the word *mīmāṃsā*, ll. 16 and 17, and in *tamānei*, l. 16, and *lilāvataṇṣ-*, l. 19; and the word *śrīvatsa* is written *śrīvachchha*, l. 20. In a few places the rules of *sandhi* have been neglected by the writer; and in line 6 the author himself has written *śrī-Ādidēva* instead of *śrī-Ādidēva*, which would not have fitted into the verse. Otherwise the text is correct; and, for a *prastāvi*, the style generally is simple and unpretending.

The poem in line 25 is described as a eulogy of the *Bhaṭṭa*, the illustrious *Bhavadēva*, surnamed *Bālaivalabhibhujaṅga*. It was composed by his friend, the Brāhmaṇ *Vāchaspatī* (v. 33). After the words 'Om, om! Adoration to the holy Vāsudēva!', the author in verse 1 invokes the blessing of the god Hari (Vishṇu), and in verse 2 appeals to the goddess of speech to favour his task of proclaiming the praises of *Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadēva's* family. Verses 3-14 give a sketch of *Bhavadēva's* descent; vv. 15-26 eulogize him, chiefly for his scholarly achievements; and vv. 27-32 record the pious works which furnished the occasion for writing this *prastāvi*. The details are as follows:—

Of the villages granted to, and the homes of, Brāhmaṇs learned in the Vēdas who are born in the family of the sage *Sāvarna*, a hundred may adorn the lands of *Āryāvarta*; but foremost among all is *Siddhala*, which is the ornament of the country of *Rāḍhā*<sup>1</sup> (v. 3). At that village prospered a family to which belonged a certain *Bhavadēva* (v. 5), whose elder and younger brothers were *Mahādēva* and *Aṭṭahāsa* (v. 6). He, to whom the king of *Gauḍa* granted (the village of) *Hastinibhiṭṭa*, had eight sons, the chief (or eldest) of whom was *Rathāṅga* (v. 7). From *Rathāṅga* sprang *Atyāṅga*; and his son was *Budha*, surnamed *Sphurita* (v. 8). From him *Ādidēva* was born (v. 9), who became minister of peace and war (*sandhivigrahin*) of the king of *Vaṅga* (v. 10). His son was *Gōvardhana* (v. 11), distinguished as a warrior and a scholar (v. 12). He married<sup>2</sup> *Sāṅgokā*, the daughter of a *Vandyaghaṭṭiya*<sup>3</sup> Brāhmaṇ (v. 13), and begat on her the person in whose honour this *prastāvi* was composed, *Bhavadēva* (v. 14), whom the poet glorifies as a divine being, while he indicates his worldly position by telling us that, aided by his counsel, (the king) *Harivarṇadēva* long exercised the government, and that his policy rendered prosperous the reign of that king's son also (v. 16). More interesting is the

<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, that part of Bengal which is west of the Hūgli and south of the Ganges. Like *Vaṅga*, it belonged to the *Gauḍa* country. In a *Khajurāhō* inscription it is stated that the wives of the kings of *Kāñchi*, *Andhra*, *Rāḍhā* and *Āṅga* were imprisoned by the *Chandēlla* *Dhaṅgadēva*; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> From verse 11 it appears that *Gōvardhana's* mother was *Dēvaki*, and that he himself had another wife named *Sarasvatī*.

<sup>3</sup> A member of that high family or class of *Rāḍhiya* Brāhmaṇs which *Colebrooke* (*Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 189, note) calls 'Bandyagati, vulgarly Banoji.' *Vandyaghaṭṭiya* occurs as the surname of *Sarvānanda*, the author of a commentary on the *Amarakōśa*; see *Prof. Aufrecht's Cat. Cat.* Vol. I. p. 703, and *Dr. Burnell's Tanjore Cat.* p. 46.

account of Bhavadēva's attainments as a scholar (vv. 20-25), which as far as possible may be given in the author's own words :—

(V. 20.) A pattern of those who know the Brahma's non-duality, a creator of wonder to those (even) who are learned themselves, a sage who comprehends the deep meaning of Bhaṭṭa's<sup>1</sup> *laya*, a very Agastya to the Bauddha sea, clever in refuting the devices of cavilling heretics, he playfully acts the part of the Omniscient on earth.

(V. 21.) Seeing across the ocean of the *Saṃhitās*, *Tantras*<sup>2</sup> and computation, causing wonder to all by his knowledge of astrology,<sup>3</sup> himself the author and promulgator of a new work on horoscopy (*hōrā-sāstra*), he clearly has proved another Varāha.<sup>4</sup>

(V. 22.) In the several branches of law he has eclipsed the old expositions by composing suitable treatises of his own; by a good comment elucidating the verses on law of the sages, he has swept away all doubt regarding the rites taught by the *Smṛitis*.

(V. 23.) In the *Mīmāṃsā*, by following the lead of Bhaṭṭa, he has composed that well-known guide whose thousand maxims, like the rays of the sun, do not endure darkness. What need is there to say more? Proficient in the whole range of sacred hymns, in all the arts of the poets, in every traditional lore, in the works on worldly affairs, in the sciences of medicine and of arms, etc., he indeed is without a second.

(V. 24.) By whom, indeed, is his (other) name Bālavālabhībhujaṅga not honoured—a name, heard and celebrated and chanted with rapture even by the *Mīmāṃsā*?

(V. 25.) Restoring to life all the world by his magical spells which are like the morning tunes of music to the night of stupefaction caused by the bites of fanged furious serpents, he, a new vanquisher of death, in sporting with poisons has proved (a very) Nilakanṭha.<sup>5</sup>

This Bhavadēva, then, had a reservoir of water constructed in the country of Rāḍhā (v. 26). Moreover, at the place where the inscription is, he set up a stone image of the god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) (v. 27), and founded a temple of the god (v. 28), in which he placed images of his in the forms of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha (v. 29). He also gave to Harimēdhas (Viṣṇu) a number of female attendants (v. 30), and had a tank dug in front of his temple (v. 31), and a garden laid out in its neighbourhood (v. 32).

The interest of this inscription lies in the fact that it treats, not of kings and princes, but of a scholar of whom, so far as we know, at least two literary works are still extant. From the more definite statements in the verses which have been translated above, it appears that, in astronomy and astrology, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva was the author of a *Hōrā-sāstra*; that he wrote one or more treatises and a commentary relating to law or to religious rites; and that, as a student of the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy, he composed a work connected with the writings of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila. His *Hōrā-sāstra* has not been traced yet in the published catalogues. But as regards his other works, Prof. Eggeling in his *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* under No. 1725 describes a Ms. of the '*Prāyascitta-nirūpaṇa*' (or *prakaraṇa*),<sup>6</sup> a treatise on expiatory rites, 'composed by Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva, surnamed Bālavālabhībhujaṅga'; and under

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Kumārila, the author of the *Mīmāṃsā-tantravārttika*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Saṃhitā* in its wider sense denotes a complete course of the *jyotiṣśāstra*, of which *tantra* is the special branch treating of the motions of the heavenly bodies; in a narrower sense the word denotes that branch of astrology which is also called *śākhā*. See Dr. Thibaut's *Astronomie*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Phala-saṃhitā* apparently is equivalent to *phala-graṇthā*, 'a work describing the effects (of celestial phenomena on the destinies of men).'

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the well-known writer on astronomy, etc., Varāhamihira.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the god Śiva, on whom the poison which he swallowed at the churning of the ocean, beyond leaving a blue mark on his throat, had no effect whatever.

<sup>6</sup> The second of the introductory verses of this work is: *Mano-ādī-smṛiti-dīkhye su-vicikhye yatādi kṛmāḥ | kriyāḥ Bhavadēva prāyascitta-nirūpaṇam |*

No. 2166 a Ms. of the 'Tautātīmatatīlaka, a gloss on Kumārila's *Tantravārttika*,' by the same author.—What is the exact meaning of the surname Bālavālabhībhujaṅga, and why Bhavadēva was so called, is not apparent.

Our inscription is not dated. It has indeed been stated<sup>1</sup> that line 24, part of which is effaced, ends with *saṃvat 32*; but this by itself would be of no value, and besides it seems more probable to me that the line really ended with *saṃkhyā 33*, a statement which I should take to refer to the number of verses of this *prastāvi*. On palaeographical grounds I do not hesitate to assign this record, like the preceding one, to about A.D. 1200.

The villages Siddhala and Hastinibhīṭṭa which are mentioned in the inscription, and the king or chief Harivarmadēva, who was a contemporary of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Ōm<sup>3</sup> ōm namō bhagavatē Vāsudēv[ā]ya<sup>4</sup> || <sup>5</sup>Gādhōpāgūḍha-Kamalā-kucha-kumbha-pattra-mudr-āṅkitēna<sup>6</sup> vapushā pariripsamāna[h] | mā lupyatām-abhinavā vanamālik-ēti Vāgdēvat-ōpahasitō-stu Hariḥ āriyē vaḥ || [1\*] Vā(bā)lyāt=prabhṛity=ahar-ahar-yyad=upāsīt=āsi Vāgdē-
- 2 vatē tad=adhunā phalatu prasīda | vaktāsmi Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadēva-kula-prasāsti-sūktākṣharāṇi rasān-āgram-adhīrayēthāḥ || [2\*] Sāvarṇṇasya<sup>7</sup> munēr=mmahīyāsi kulē yē jajūirē śrōtriyās=tēshām śāsana-bhūmayō janigriha-<sup>8</sup>grāmāḥ śataṁ santu tē | Āryāvartta-bhuvām=vi.<sup>9</sup>
- 3 bhūṣhapam=iha khyātas=ta sarvv-āgrīmō grāmāḥ Siddhala ēva kēvalam=alankārō=sti Rādhā-āriyāḥ || [3\*] <sup>10</sup>Sat-pallavaḥ sthitiṁmayō dṛiḍhava(ba)ddha-mūlāḥ śākhāgra-lagna-mukhara-dviḥ-ślita-śrīḥ | na granthilō na kuṭilāḥ saralāḥ suparvvā sarvv-ōnnataḥ sukham=iha prasasāra vamsāḥ || [4\*]
- 4 <sup>11</sup>Tadvamā-ōttama-maṇē<sup>12</sup> kalasīyadāt=āpi<sup>13</sup> tāpana-pratimāḥ | Bhava iva vidyā-tattva-prabhavaḥ prava(ba)bhūva Bhavadēvaḥ || [5\*] <sup>14</sup>Agraj-ānujayōr=mmadhyē Mahādēv-Āṭṭhāsāyōḥ | sa jajñē Yajūapurushō Viriñchi-Harayōr=iva || [6\*] Sa<sup>15</sup> śāsanaṁ Gauḍa-nripād-avā-
- 5 pa śri-Hastinibhīṭṭam=abhīṣṭa-bhūmi<sup>16</sup> | aṣṭan sūtān=aṣṭa-Mahēsa-mūrtti-prakhyān vijajñē=tha Rathāṅga-mukhyān || [7\*] <sup>17</sup>Rathāṅgād-Ātyaṅgaḥ samājani janānanda-jananaḥ śās=iva kshīrōdād=avikala-kalā-kōli-nilayaḥ | sphurat-prajñāyōtiḥ Sphurita iti nāmna di-
- 6 āi diśi prakāśō=bhūt=saumya-graha iva Vu(bu)dhas=tasya tanayaḥ || [8\*] <sup>18</sup>Tasmād=abhūd=abhijan-ābhīyuday-aikaviḥjam=avyāja-pauruṣa-mahātarn-mūlakandaḥ |

<sup>1</sup> See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 98, note, where Mr. Prinsep says: "the missing sentence consists of nothing more than the month (illegible) and the year "*Samvat 32*" distinctly visible."

<sup>2</sup> From impressions prepared by Mr. Krishna Sastri.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Originally *ādāya* was engraved.

<sup>5</sup> Metre of verses 1 and 2: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>6</sup> Originally *śakīṭ* and in the place of *sa vapushā* something else (*nava-śakīṭ*?) seems to have been engraved.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>8</sup> Originally *janigrikṣa* was engraved, but the sign of *śaśvedra* has been apparently struck out.

<sup>9</sup> Read *śāśvedra* vi.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>12</sup> Read *mañiḥ*.

<sup>13</sup> The *akṣharas dīdipi* are quite clear in the impressions; the three preceding *akṣharas*, in which some correction has been made, look like *kalasīya* or *kēlasīya*. I can only suggest the reading *kal-dvaddīṭ-āpi*.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>15</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>16</sup> The *editio princeps* reads here *śri-Hastinibhīṭṭamābhīṣṭābhūmi*, but the reading given by me is perfectly clear in the impressions. With the ending *bhīṭṭa* of the name *Hastinibhīṭṭa* I would compare *bhīṭṭi* in the name *Champabhīṭṭi*, which occurs in line 44 of the Maṇabali plate of the Pāla Madanapāla, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXX. Part I. p. 73.

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Śukhariṇi.

<sup>18</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

- śrī-Ādidēva<sup>1</sup> iti dēva iv-Ādimūrtir=mma[r]ty-ātmanā bhuvanam=ētat=alamkarishnuḥ || [9\*] Yō<sup>2</sup> Vaṅgarāja-
- 7 rājyaśrī-viśrāma-sachivaḥ śuchiḥ | mahāmantrī mahāpātram=avandhyaḥ sandhivigrahi || [10\*] Sa<sup>3</sup> Dēvaki-garvbha(rbbha)bhavaṁ bhuvāḥ sthitau samartham=uchchaitḥpada-lavdha(bdha)-pauruṣam | Sarasvatī-jānim=ajjanat=sutam jagatsu Gōvarddhanam=Achyut-ōpamam || [11\*] <sup>4</sup>Vira-sthalīṣhu cha sabhāsu cha ti-
- 8 rthikānām<sup>5</sup> dō[r]-llīlayā cha kalayā cha vachasvitāyāḥ | yō varddhayan vasumatī=cha Sarasvatī=cha dvēdhā vyadhata nija-nāmapadam sad-artham || [12\*] Vandyām<sup>6</sup> Vandyaghaṭṭiyasya vra(bra)hmaṇaḥ prayatām sutām | Sāṅgōkām=aṅganā-ratnam=patnīm sa paripitavān || [13\*] Tasyām<sup>7</sup> svapna-[vi]dhā-
- 9 na-vō(bō)dhita-mij-ōtpādaḥ sa dēvō Harir-jātaḥ śrī-Bhavadēva-mūrtir=amutaḥ kṣhmāmaṇḍali-Kāśyapāt | yat-pāni-prapasyi dvayañ-jalajayōr=ālakṣitam lakṣmaṇā yasy=āntar=nnihitō=sti kaustubha iti jñātām prakāś-ōdayāt || [14\*] Lakṣmīn=dakṣhiṇa-dōshṇi mantra-vibhavē viśva-
- 10 mbharā-maṇḍalam jihv-āgrē cha Sarasvatīm ripu-tanaṁ nāg-āntakam pattripam | chakram=pāda-talē nivēsitavatā divyan=tad=ādyam=<sup>8</sup>vapur=nihnōtun=nija-chihnam=ētat=amunā nūnam=<sup>9</sup>viparyyāsitam || [15\*] <sup>10</sup>Yan-mantra-śakti-sachivaḥ suchiram chakāra rājyam sa dharmma-vijayī
- 11 Harivarṇmadēvaḥ | tan-nandanē valati yasya cha daṇḍanīti-vartm-ānugā va(ba)hala-kalpalat=ēva lakṣmīḥ || [16\*] <sup>11</sup>Sat-pātrasya mahāśayasya kamal-ādhārasya yasya khamām=vi(bi)bhrāṇasya guṇ-āmvu(mbu)dhēr=akalitas=āntar=nnā dīn-ātmanaḥ | maryyādā-mahima-prasā-
- 12 da-śuchitā-gāmbhīryya-dhairyya-sthiti-prāyāḥ prāyasa ēva vāk-patham-atikrāntāḥ svadantē guṇāḥ || [17\*] <sup>12</sup>Mahāgaurī kīrtiḥ sphuradasi-karālā bhūja-latā rapa-kriḍā chaṇḍi ripu-rudhira-charchchā rapa-bhuvāḥ [1\*] mahā-lakṣmīr=mmūrtiḥ prakṛiti-lali-
- 13 tās=tā gira iti prapañchaḥ śaktinām yam=iha Paramēśam prathayati || [18\*] <sup>13</sup>Yad-vrā(bṛā)hma-tējasi va(ba)liyasi manda-vīryyaḥ khadyōta-pōta-karapīm taraṇis=tanōti | uchchair=udāñchati yadiya-yaśaḥ-śarirē jātas=Tushāra-śikharī nanu jānudaghnaḥ || [19\*] <sup>14</sup>Vra(bra)hmā-
- 14 dvaita-vidām=udāharapa-bhūr=udbhūta-vidyā-ādbhuta-sraṣṭā Bhaṭṭa-girām gabbūrima-guṇa-pratyakṣhadriśvā kaviḥ | Vau(bau)ddhāmbhōniḍhi-Kumbhasambhava-muniḥ pāshaṇḍa-vaitaṇḍika-prajñā-khaṇḍana-paṇḍitō=yam=avanau sarvvajñalīlayatē || [20\*] <sup>15</sup>Siddhānta-tantra-gaṇi-
- 15 t-ārṇava-pāradriśvā viśv-ādbhuta-prasavitā phala-samhitāsu | karttā svayam prathayitā cha navina-hōrāsāstrasya yaḥ sphuṭam=abhūd=aparō Varāhaḥ || [21\*] Yō dharmmaśāstra-padaviṣhu jaran-niva(ba)ndhān-andhichakāra rachit-ōchita-satprava(ba)ndhaḥ | su-vyākhyayā viśada-
- 16 yan-muni-dharmmagāthāḥ smārttakriyā-vishaya-saṁśayam=unmamārjja || [22\*] <sup>16</sup>Mīmāṁsāyām=upāyaḥ sa khalu virachitō yēna Bhaṭṭ-ōkta-nityā yatra nyāyāḥ

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of the metre put for *śrī-Ādidēva*.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Yamāsasta*.

<sup>3</sup> This word is quite clear in the impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 14 and 15: *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *nām*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Sikharinī*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 21 and 22: *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Śloka* (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>9</sup> Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: *Śloka* (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>11</sup> Read *ādya*.

<sup>12</sup> Metre: *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

<sup>15</sup> Metre: *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

- sahasrañ ravikirana-samā na kshamantē tamānsi<sup>1</sup> | kim bhūmnā śimni  
sāmnāñ sakala-kavikalāśv=āgamēshv=artha-
- 17 śāstrēshv=āyu[r]vved-āstravēda-prabhritishu kṛta-dhīr=advitīyō=yam=ēva || [23\*]  
Yasya<sup>2</sup> khalu Vā(bā)lavalabhibhujāṅga iti nāma n=ādṛitam kēna |  
mīmāṃsay=<sup>3</sup>āpi sapulakam=ākarpita-varṇpit-ōdgitam || [24\*] <sup>4</sup>Damśhtrāla-dushta-  
bhujaga-vraṇa-mōharātri-pratyūsha-tūryya-nina-
- 18 dāir=iva mantravarṇaṇāḥ | yō jīvayan<sup>5</sup> jagad=asēham=abhūd=apūrvva-mṛityuñjayō  
garala-kēlishu Nilakaṇṭhaḥ || [25\*] <sup>6</sup>Rādhāyām=ajalāsu jāṅgalapatha-  
grāmōpakaṇṭha-sṭhali-sūmāsu śramamagna-pāntha-parishat-prāṇāsaya-priṇanaḥ | yēn=  
ākāri jalāsayaḥ pa-
- 19 risara-snāt-ābhijātāṅganā-vaktrāvja(bja)-prātivi(bi)mva(mba)-mugdha-m a d h u p i - s ā n y -  
āvji(bji)nikānanaḥ || [26\*] Tēn=āyam bhagavān bhavārṇava-samuttārāya  
Nārāyaṇaḥ śailaḥ sētur=iva prasādhita-dharāpīṭhaḥ pratishṭhāpitaḥ | yaḥ  
prāchī-vadanōndu-nīlatilakō līlāvatana<sup>7</sup>ōtpalañ bhū-
- 20 mēr=bhūṭala-pārijātaviṭapi saṁkalpasiddhi-pradaḥ || [27\*] Tēna<sup>8</sup> prasāda ēsha  
Tripurahara-giri-sparddhayā varddhita-śrīḥ śrīmān<sup>9</sup> śrīvachchha(tsa)-lakṣmā  
Harir=iva vihitō viaphurach-chakrachihuaḥ | jītvā yō Vaijayantañ viyati  
vitanutē vaijayanti-vilāsān Kailāsē
- 21 n=ābhilāshañ kalayati Girisō yasya saṁlakshya lakshmiñ || [28\*] <sup>10</sup>Nyavivisad=  
vēśmani tatra Viśṇōḥ sa nirvha(rbbha)ram garvha(rbbha)grih-āntarēshu |  
Nārāyaṇ-Ānanta-Nṛisimha-mūrttir=vvidhātri-vaktrēshv=iva vēda-vidyāḥ || [29\*]  
Ītasmai<sup>11</sup> Harimēdhasē vasumatāvisrānta-Vidyādharī-vibhrānti-
- 22 n=dadhatīḥ śatañ sa hi dadan śaraṅgāsāvi-dṛisāḥ | dagdhasy=Ōgradṛisā dṛis=aiḥ  
dīsatīḥ Kāmasya saṁjīvanam kārāḥ kāmī-janasya saṅgama-grihañ saṅgita-kēli-  
śrīyām || [30\*] <sup>12</sup>Prāsād-āgrē sa khalu jagataḥ puṇyapany-aikavīthiñ chakrē  
vāpīñ marakatamañi-sva-
- 23 chchha-suchchhāya-tōyām | madhyē-vāri pratikṛiti-mishād=darsayant=iva tādrig=  
Viśṇōr=ddhām=ādbhutam=ahi-kulasy=ādhikam yā chakāsti || [31\*] Vyadhita<sup>13</sup>  
vivu(bu)dha-dhāmnaḥ śimni saṁsāra-sārañ sa khalu nikhila-nētr-ānanda-nisyanda-  
pātrañ | tribhuvana-jaya-khinn-Ānāga-vīsā-
- 24 ma-dhāma prathita-rati-vibhāya-sṭhānam=udyāna-ratnañ || [32\*] <sup>14</sup>Tasy=aiḥ priya-  
suhridā dvij-āgrimēṇa śrī-Vāchaspati-kavinā kṛitā prasastīḥ | ā-kalpañ suchi-  
suradhāma-mūrtti-kīrttār=adhyāstām jaghanam=iyam suva[rṇa]-kāñchi || [33\*]  
<sup>15</sup> . . . . . [sa]mkh[yā] [33 ?]<sup>16</sup> [||\*]
- 25 Prasastir=iyam Vā(bā)lavalabhibhujāṅg-āparanāmnō Bhāṭṭa-śrī-Bhavadēvasya ||

<sup>1</sup> Read *tamānsi*.<sup>2</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>3</sup> Read *mīmāṃsay=*.<sup>4</sup> Metre: Vasantīlakā.<sup>5</sup> Read *jīvayan=*.<sup>6</sup> Metre of verses 26 and 27: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.<sup>7</sup> Read *ōtāns=*.<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śragdhara.<sup>9</sup> Read *śrīmān=*.<sup>10</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>11</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.<sup>12</sup> Metre: Maudākrāntā.<sup>13</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>14</sup> Metre: Praharabīñī.<sup>15</sup> Here about 8 *akṣaras* are entirely illegible.<sup>16</sup> Of the word transcribed by [sa]mkh[yā] the signs of *anusvāra* and *kh* seem to me quite clear in the impressions, and the word is not *samvat*. The figures (if they are such) at the end of the line seem to me 33 rather than 32.

No. 18.—ALAS PLATES OF THE YUVARAJA GOVINDA II.;  
SAKA-SAMVAT 692.

By DEVADATTA RAMAKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined grant were found in the village of Alās in the Kurundwād State, Bombay Presidency, while an old earth-buttress was being excavated. The Senior Chief of Kurundwād, to whom the village belongs, sent the plates to my father, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who made them over to me for publication.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 9½" long by 5½" broad at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. The edges are fashioned slightly thicker so as to serve as rims for the protection of the inscription. The grant is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second plate. They are strung together by a circular ring of about 3½" in diameter and of about ⅜" in thickness, passing through holes on the left sides of the plates. The ends of the ring are joined together by means of a large knob bearing a round seal, which measures 1½" in diameter and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, an image of Garuḍa above a floral device, seated with the palms of his hands joined close to his breast and with his wings raised.—The engraving is fairly deep, but not well executed. The letters *ka* and *ma* have been most indifferently incised. A few other letters, again, have unusual shapes and consequently are scarcely legible.—The characters are of the southern type which came into vogue at the time of the later Chalukyas of Bādāmi. For *kha* two forms are used, one in line 2 and the other in ll. 7 and 44. The letter *la* has been written in three different ways, in ll. 1, 9 and 32. The sign denoting the medial *ri* is invariably reversed in the case of *kri*. And lastly, the side-stroke towards the left used to signify *ṣ* is very often attached to the bottom, and not to the top, of the letter, e.g. in ll. 11 and 24.—The language is Sanskrit throughout. The grant commences with the usual word *svasti*. Then follows the curt line *sa vō=vyād=maḥā-Vishṇuḥ*, and not the verse *sa vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhāma, etc.*, which we find at the beginning of almost all the Rāshtrakūṭa grants. Then nearly 20 lines are in verse, and the rest is in prose, excluding the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end. Most of the verses are found in the Sāmāṅga plates and in the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa grants, but all of them occur only in the Paithan charter of Gōvinda III.—As regards orthography, it is worthy of note (1) that the rules of *saṁdhi* are not unfrequently disregarded; (2) that there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r*. Thus the consonant is doubled in *śarvarishu* (l. 2), *śarva-ṛtti-nirmathanā* (l. 20), etc., but not in *gōtramanir=babhāva* (l. 5 f.) etc.; (3) that there is a tendency to the substitution of *ḷa* for *la*, e.g. in *sakaḷa* (l. 22) and *Māṇḍavaḷōka* (l. 27); (4) that the final *m* of a word has been twice changed to *n* before *cha* of the following word, in ll. 16 and 38; and (5) that the *visarga* followed by *sa*, *sha* or *sa* is almost invariably changed to that letter, e.g. in *bhūpaś=śaśāṁka*° (l. 2), *vash=shaś*° (l. 29), and *yas=sahasā* (l. 12).

This grant was made by Gōvindarāja (II.),—the son of Kṛishnarāja (I.) (vv. 7, 8) of the Rāshtrakūṭa family (v. 3), surnamed Śubhatuṅga (v. 9), Akālavarsha (v. 10) and Śrīprithivīvallabha (l. 20 f.). Gōvindarāja was Yuvarāja or crown-prince at the time (l. 24). He had the special *birudas* of Prabhūtavarsha and Vikramāvalōka (l. 23 f.). Of the time of Kṛishna I. we have no record, and this is the first hitherto discovered that refers itself to his reign. The charter was issued by Gōvindarāja from his camp located near the confluence of the Kṛishnavernā and the Musi (l. 26), after he had humbled the lord of Vēṅgi. It is dated, in words, in the six-hundred-and-ninety-second year of the Śaka era, on the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Āshāḍha, Saumya being the Jovian year (ll. 29-31), i.e. in A.D. 769. The grant was made, we are told, at the request of one Vijayāditya, also styled Māṇḍavaḷōka Ratnavarsha, son of Dantivarman and grandson of Dhruvarāja (ll. 26-28). The grantee was a Brāhmaṇa of the name of Jaggu, son of Śrīdhara and grandson of Kēsava, of the Bhārad-vāja gōtra (l. 31 f.).

Wars frequently took place between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chalukyas who were the kings of Vēṅgi. The Rādhapur plates<sup>1</sup> of Gōvinda III. inform us that, in obedience to his message, the lord of Vēṅgi attended upon him as a servant. The Śirūr inscription<sup>2</sup> states that worship was done to Amōghavarsha I. by the ruler of Vēṅgi. Again, Kṛishṇa II. is represented to have overrun the territory of the king of Vēṅgi.<sup>3</sup> One record<sup>4</sup> also mentions that Gōvinda IV. waged war with the lord of Vēṅgi. But from these plates it appears that hostilities had sprung up between the two rival dynasties long before the time of Gōvinda III. For, Gōvinda-rāja, son of Kṛishṇa I., is herein represented, while he was prince royal, to have reduced the king of Vēṅgi, and this event came off as early as the Śaka year 692 which is the date of our grant.

The verses descriptive of the genealogy teach us nothing new. It, however, deserves to be noticed that our grant mentions *Dantivarman* as the name of the predecessor of Kṛishṇa I., instead of *Dantidurga* as we find in all the Rāshtrakūṭa records except the Sāmāṅgaḍ plates of this king, where both the names occur. Again, the early date of our grant settles a point regarding which there is a little divergence of opinion. A copper-plate charter from Kardā<sup>5</sup> dated A.D. 972 states that *Dantidurga*, having left no issue, was succeeded by his paternal uncle Kṛishṇa I. The Bagumrā grant<sup>6</sup> of A.D. 867 simply says that, after the death of *Dantidurga*, Kṛishṇa I. came to the throne. But the Baroda charter<sup>7</sup> of A.D. 812 omits the name of *Dantidurga* and asserts that Kṛishṇa I. ascended the throne by ousting a relative of his who had taken to vicious courses. Since this last charter is a much earlier record and passes over *Dantidurga*, it has led some to suppose that *Dantidurga* was the relative whom Kṛishṇa I. ousted, and that the statements of the remaining two grants mentioned above must be discredited on the ground that they bear a later date.<sup>8</sup> But against this it may be urged that the verse in the Bagumrā plates which says that, after *Dantidurga* had gone to heaven, Kṛishṇa I. became king, is also found in the Paithan grant<sup>9</sup> of Gōvinda III. dated in A.D. 794. This surely is an earlier record than the Baroda charter of A.D. 812 just referred to. Nay further, the same verse also occurs in our grant, which was issued in the reign of Kṛishṇa I. himself. The assertion, therefore, that *Dantidurga* was the relative whose throne Kṛishṇa I. usurped, has no grounds to stand upon, and the omission of the name of *Dantidurga* in the Baroda charter may be explained away on the ground that the object of the writer was only to trace the genealogy of the reigning prince, with reference to whom *Dantidurga* was but a collateral.

As regards the rivers mentioned in the inscription, the *Kṛishṇavernā*, it need scarcely be said, is the river Kṛishṇā. The *Musi* has preserved its name unaltered to the present day; it is the last important feeder of the Kṛishṇā and joins it on the confines of the modern Kistna district of the Madras Presidency. *Alaktakā*, the name of the province (*vishaya*, l. 32), a village of which was granted, corresponds to the present *Ājatā*, the name of a division in the Kōlhāpur State. *Arasiyavāḍa* (l. 34), the first part of which can be recognised in *Alās*, the place where the plates were found, is perhaps now represented by that village.

#### TEXT.<sup>10</sup>

##### First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति [॥\*] स खोव्याह्ववि[ण्णु]रासीद्विपत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलायो<sup>11</sup>

2 <sup>12</sup>अस्तस्यदमिसुखो रणमर्वरीषु [१\*] भूपस्याकवदवास-<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol. III. p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> Read "विश्वः ॥ रासीद्विपत्तिः".

<sup>11</sup> In other Rāshtrakūṭa grants the reading is भूपः सुविर्विपत्तिरात्रः.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XII. p. 219.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XII. p. 267.

<sup>8</sup> See Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 391.

<sup>9</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XX. p. 109.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 187.

<sup>12</sup> Read अस्ति नयः.

- 3 दिगन्तकीर्तिः<sup>1</sup> गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिंहः [॥ १\*] तस्यात्म-  
 4 [जी]<sup>2</sup> जगति विद्युतदीप्तकीर्तिः<sup>3</sup> आर्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारि<sup>4</sup> [॥ १\*]  
 5 भूपस्त्रिविष्टपनृपानुक्तिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकङ्कराज इति गोचम-  
 6 णिर्बभूव । [२\*] तस्य प्र[भि]न्नकरटच्युत[दा]नदन्तिदन्तप्रहा-  
 7 र[र]चिरोक्लिखितांसपोठः[\*] । आपः क्षितौ क्षपित[श]चुरभू-  
 8 तनृजः स[दा]दृक्कटक[नका]द्विरिवेन्द्रराजः [॥ १\*] तस्योपार्जितयशसः(-)  
 9 स्तनय[स]तुल्यदधिवलयमालिन्याः [॥ १\*] भो[क्ता] भुवश्चत[क्र]तुसदश[\*] श्री-  
 10 'ददिवर्माभूत् । [४\*] का[क्षी]शकेरुनराधिपचोळपाण्यश्रीहर्षवज्रट[वि]-  
 11 भेदविधा[न]दक्षं [॥ १\*] कर्वाटक<sup>6</sup> बलमनन्तमजय[म]न्यैः<sup>7</sup> भृत्यैः कि-  
 12 य[ज्ञि]रपि यस्मिन्[सा] जिगाय । [५\*] अभूविभंगमष्टहितनिशातशस्त्रं<sup>8</sup>

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 13 अज्ञात[म]प्रणिहिताज्ञ[मं]पेतयज्ञं<sup>9</sup> [॥ १\*] [यो] वज्रभं सपदि दण्ड[बले]न  
 14 जिह्वा<sup>10</sup> राजाधिराजपर[मि]श्वरतामवाप [॥ ६\*] तस्मिन्[न्दि]वं प्रयाते  
 वज्रभराजे पि-<sup>11</sup>  
 15 तौ प्रजापालः [॥ १\*] श्रीकङ्कर[१\*]ज[स्त्र]तुर्माहीपति<sup>12</sup> कृष्णराजोभूत<sup>13</sup> ॥ [७\*]  
 यस्य स्वभुज-  
 16 पराक्रमनिशेषोत्सारितारिदिक्कक्रः<sup>14</sup> [॥ १\*] कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं च[रित]<sup>15</sup> श्रीकृष्णस्य<sup>16</sup> ।  
 [८\*] शु-  
 17 भतुंगतुंगतुरगप्रहरे[ण]ध्वंश्चरविकिरणं ॥ श्रीक्षेपि<sup>17</sup> नभो [निशि]-  
 18 स्त<sup>18</sup> प्राहृष्टास्त्रायते स्मष्टं [॥ ८\*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु  
 19 य[धिष्ट]विष्टं समीहितमजस्रं [॥ १\*] तत्क्षणमकाल-  
 20 व[र्ष]र्षं वर्षति सर्वास्तिनिर्मथने । [१०\*] तस्याकालवर्ष<sup>19</sup> श्रीप्रिधि-  
 21 वोवज्रभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य(१) प्रिया-  
 22 [त्त]जः<sup>20</sup> सकळभुवनाभिष्टुतयौवराज्याभिषेकपवित्रीकृतोत्तमां<sup>21</sup>  
 23 गः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः प्रभूतवर्षविक्रमा-  
 24 बलीकश्रीगोविन्दराजो युवराजः<sup>22</sup> वैगिमण्णलोपय्या-

<sup>1</sup> Read °कीर्तिर्गोविन्द°.

<sup>2</sup> The letter जी is very badly engraved.

<sup>3</sup> Read °कीर्तिरासीति°.

<sup>4</sup> Read °धारी°.

<sup>5</sup> Read °दन्ति°.

<sup>6</sup> Read °कर्वाटक बलम°.

<sup>7</sup> Read °न्यैर्धन्यैः°.

<sup>8</sup> Read °ष्टहीतनिशातशस्त्रमज्ञात°.

<sup>9</sup> Read °पेत°.

<sup>10</sup> Read जिह्वा.

<sup>11</sup> Read क्षितौ.

<sup>12</sup> Read °पतिः°.

<sup>13</sup> Read °सूत°.

<sup>14</sup> Read °दिक्कक्र°.

<sup>15</sup> Read °क्षेप चरितं°.

<sup>16</sup> Read श्रीकृष्णराजस्य.

<sup>17</sup> Read श्रीक्षेपि.

<sup>18</sup> Read निशि.

<sup>19</sup> Read °वर्षश्रीपृथि°.

<sup>20</sup> The letter m in *lmo* is unfinished and stands at an unusual distance from the other component of the group.

<sup>21</sup> Read °यौवराज्या°.

<sup>22</sup> Read युवराजो.

i.

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark plate, with a circular hole on the left side.

ii a.

14  
16  
18  
20  
22  
24

14  
16  
18  
20  
22  
24

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark plate, with a circular hole on the left side.

ii b.

26 26  
28 28  
30 30  
32 32

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a dark background. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines. A large circular hole is visible on the left side of the fragment.

iii.

34 34  
36 36  
38 38  
40 40  
42 42  
44 44

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a dark background. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines. A large circular hole is visible on the left side of the fragment.

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 25 यातविजयस्कन्धावारे कोशदण्डात्मभूमिसमर्पणे-  
 26 नानते वेगोशे कृष्णवेण्यामु[सी]संगमे ध्रुवराज-  
 27 पौत्रेण दन्ति[व]र्मापुत्रेण माणावळोकरद्वर्षश्रीविज-  
 28 यादित्येनाभ्यर्थितो 'विक्रमावळोकस्सर्वानाम-  
 29 न्वयति स्म' [1\*] विदित[म]स्तु 'वष्पट्कृते दिनवत्यधिके शक-  
 30 वर्षे सौम्यसंव[त्स]रे' आषाढशुक्लपक्षे सप्त-  
 31 म्यां भारद्वाजगोत्राय केशवपौत्राय श्रीधरपुत्राय  
 32 जगन्नाम्ने ब्राह्मणाय अलक्तकाविषये हरिय-  
 33 गिरेर्दक्षिणदिग्भागे प्रसादिनीतटे 'उत्तर'६

*Third Plate.*

- 34 ना[मा] अर[सियवाडग्राम[वाने]न सह सभोगो दत्तः [1\*]  
 35 [पूर्व]स्यां दिशि 'परचुरगीनामग्रामः दक्षिणस्यां नीवीवा-  
 36 ड[ब्रा]ह्मणग्रामः पश्चिमस्यां मज्जिमग्रामः उत्तरस्यां प-  
 37 र्वत एव [1\*] इति चतुराघाटशुद्धः [1\*] एवं विदित्वास्मदंशैर-  
 38 न्यैश्च स्वदत्तिनिर्विशेषं परिपालनीयः [1\*] उक्तञ्च  
 39 भ[ग]वता वेदव्यासेन (वेद)व्यासेन । बहु[भि]र्वसुधा  
 40 दत्ता (१) राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः६  
 41 तस्य तस्य तदा पलं९ । [११\*] षष्टिं वर्षसङ्ख्याणि स्वर्गं मोदति  
 42 भूमिदः१० [1\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च (१) तान्येव नर[क]११ वसेत् ॥  
 [१२\*]  
 43 विम्याटविश्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1\*] [कृष्णा]ह[यो] हि  
 44 जायन्ते १२ ब्रह्मदेयापहारकाः [॥ १३\*] श्रीसेनेन लिखितमिदं. ति१३ [॥\*]

१ This epithet is repeated unnecessarily, as we have already had it in l. 23-24.

२ The letters ति अ are omitted in the text, but supplied at the foot of the plate; this omission has been indicated by a cross after य.

३ First यी was engraved, and then it was corrected into व by erasure.

४ Here and in the following the rules of *samāhā* have not been observed.

५ I am not certain of the reading of the text from उत्तरद to सङ्ग in the next line.

६ After उ two letters had originally been engraved, but were afterwards erased. For these the three letters नर[क] are to be substituted as is indicated by the cross.

७ परचुरगी० is also possible.

८ Read भूमिस्तस्य.

९ Read पलं.

१० Read भूमिदः.

११ Read नरके.

१२ Read ब्रह्म०.

१३ The letter before ति looks like यी, which perhaps is a mistake for य.

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail ! May the great Vishnu protect you !

(Verse 1.) There was a king named Gōvindarāja (I.), a royal lion among kings, whose fame reached the ends of the quarters, (and) who, raising his scimitar (and) facing (them), destroyed his enemies in battles, just as the moon, whose lustre spreads to the ends of the quarters, raising the tip of her disc (above the horizon), (and transmitting her rays) straight forward, dispels darkness at night.

(V. 2.) His son, known as the glorious Kakkarāja (I.), a king whose brilliant fame was heard of throughout the world, who relieved the sufferings of the distressed, who possessed the spirit and valour of Hari,<sup>1</sup> who rivalled (Indra) the king of heaven, (and) who was grateful (for services rendered), became a jewel of (his) race.

(V. 3.) His son, king Indrarāja (II.), whose expansive shoulders were full of graceful scratches consequent upon the strokes of the tusks of (hostile) elephants from whose cleft temples ichor trickled down,<sup>2</sup> (and) who destroyed (all his) enemies on earth, became, as it were, the golden mountain (Mēru) of the excellent Rāshtrakūṭas.

(V. 4.) The son of him who had acquired fame, the glorious Dantivarman (II.), who resembled Indra, enjoyed the earth whose garland is the circle of the four oceans.

(V. 5.) With a handful of followers he suddenly vanquished the countless forces of Karpātaka, which were invincible to others, (and) which had proved their efficacy by inflicting crushing defeats on the lord of Kāñchi, the king of Kēraja, the Chōla, the Pāṇḍya, Śrīharsha and Vajraṭa.

(V. 6.) Without knitting his brow, without using any sharp weapon, without (anybody's) knowledge, without giving orders, without effort, he suddenly conquered Vallabha by the (mere) force of (his) royal sceptre (i.e. majesty) and attained to the state of 'king of kings' and 'supreme lord.'<sup>3</sup>

(V. 7.) When that Vallabharāja had gone to heaven, king Krishnarāja (I.), the son of the glorious Kakkarāja (I.), became the protector of (his) subjects on earth.

(V. 8.) The career of that glorious Krishnarāja (I.), during which the multitude of enemies in (all) directions was completely driven away by the prowess of his arms, was spotless like that of Kṛishṇa.

(V. 9.) The whole sky, wherein the rays of the sun above were obstructed by the dust raised by the lofty steeds of Śubhatuṅga (Krishnarāja I.), looked clearly like (the sky in) the rainy season, though it was summer.

(V. 10.) Akālavarsha (i.e. 'the untimely rainer,' viz. Krishnarāja I.) instantly rains (i.e. fulfills) unceasingly the desired objects of the miserable and the helpless, and of (his) favourites, in any way he likes, so as to remove all (their) distress.

<sup>1</sup> The second line of this verse is one long compound which we should split up, as Dr. Bühler has done, into two parts, either of which should be taken as an attribute of Kakkarāja. But Dr. Bühler's rendering of the second part of the line is based on the etymological sense of the words *vikrama* and *dāmas*, and is therefore not likely to be the correct one.

<sup>2</sup> Both Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet connect *prabhīna-karaṇa-chyuta-dāna* with *ruchira*, and *danti-danta-prahra* with *ullikkita*; but this course is objectionable because the word *dantā* occurring after *dāna* shows the preceding expression to be a *Bahuvrīhi* compound and an attribute of *dantā*.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Bühler and Dr. Fleet adopt *saḥśravibhāṅgam* for their Kāvi and Sāmāṅgaḍ inscriptions respectively. Further, these plates read *daṇḍalakṣa* instead of *daṇḍabalēsa*, the reading of our grant, which is identical with that of the Pāṭhaṇ plates. This is a very knotty verse. First, it is very difficult to determine whether *abharāvibhāṅgam* etc. are to be taken as adjectives or adverbs. Dr. Bühler supposes all of them to be adjectives except *saḥśravibhāṅgam*. Dr. Fleet takes them all to be adverbs. This mode of interpretation is, I think, the correct one. Secondly, the meaning of *daṇḍabalēsa* is not clear.

(L. 20.) Of this **Akālavarsha**, the favourite of Fortune and of the Earth, the *Mahārājā-dhīrāja Paramēśvara Bhāṭṭāraka*,—the favourite son, **Prabhūtavarshe Vikramāvalōka**, the glorious **Gōvindarāja** (II.), the heir-apparent, whose head was sanctified at (*his*) anointment as heir-apparent, which was hailed with delight by the whole world, (*and*) who had acquired the five great sounds,—from (*the camp of*) the victorious army that invaded the **Vēṅgi-maṇḍala**, when the lord of **Vēṅgi** was humbled by the cession of (*his*) treasury, (*his*) forces, and his own country, at the confluence of the **Krishnavarnā** and the **Musi**,—being requested by **Mānāvalōka Ratnavarsha**, the glorious **Vijayāditya**, son of **Dantivarman** (*and*) grandson of **Dhruvarāja**,—(*this*) **Vikramāvalōka** notifies to all :—

(L. 29.) “Be it known to you (*that*), in the **śaka** year six-hundred increased by ninety-two, in the (*cyclic*) year **Saumya**, in the bright half of **Āshāḍha**, on the seventh *tithi*, (*I*) have granted, with (*all*) enjoyments (*bhōga*), (the village) named **Uttara**,—(*situated*) on the bank of the **Prasādini** (*river*), on the southern side of the **Hariyagiri** (*hill*), in the **Alaktaka-vishaya**, together with the groves of trees (*pāṇa*)<sup>1</sup> of the village of **Arasiyavāḍa**,—to a **Brāhmaṇa** of the name of **Jagga**, of the **Bhāradvāja gōtra**, son of **Śrīdhara** (*and*) grandson of **Kēśava**.

(L. 35.) “(*The village is*) thus defined by the four boundaries :—To the east (*is*) the village named **Parachurage**; to the south the **Brāhmaṇa** village of **Nivivāḍa**; to the west the village of **Majjhima**; to the north the mountain only.

(L. 37.) “Knowing this, (*the village*) should be preserved by our descendants and others just as they would their own grants.

(L. 38.) “And it has been said by the holy **Vyāsa**, the compiler of the **Vēdas** :—

[Here follow three of the customary verses.]

(L. 44.) “This has been written by **Śrīśeṇa**.”

#### NO. 19.—BELATURU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAJENDRADEVA;

SAKA-SAMVAT 979.

By REV. F. KITTEL, PH.D.; TüBINGEN.

This inscription is engraved on a stone lying in the field called **Adḍakaṭṭe-hola** on the eastern side of the village of **Belatūru** in the **Heggadadēvankōṭe tāluka** of the **Mysore** district. It has been published before by Mr. Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IV., Pg. 18. I re-edit it from inked estampages prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri and transmitted to me by Dr. Hultzsch.

The alphabet and language of the inscription are **Kannaḍa**. There are 23 verses in various metres, and short passages of prose in lines 33 f. and 36. Mr. Krishna Sastri contributes the following note. “Of the many metres used in the inscription two are particularly interesting, viz. **Akkaram** and **Lalitavṛittam**. On examination, these two are found to correspond to the **Piriyakkara** and **Lalitapada** which are described, respectively, in verses 302 and 233 of **Nāgavarma's Canarese Prosody**. Of the first it may be remarked that either the description given in the *Prosody* is transgressed in the inscription, or else the verse describing it has been misinterpreted; for while, according to Dr. Kittel's translation, verse 302 says that in **Piriyakkara** there ought to be, in the first line, one *aja*, five *vishṇus* and one *rudra*; in the second line, one *aja*, four *vishṇus*, one *aja* (again) in the sixth place, and then a *rudra*; and that in the third and fourth lines the same should be repeated as in lines 1 and 2,—the **Akkara** of the inscription has one *aja*, five *vishṇus* and one *rudra* throughout (i.e. in all the four feet). It is difficult to

<sup>1</sup> [Or correct *grāmagraṇāṇa* and compare above, Vol. V. p. 69, note 2.—E. H.]

understand how Malla, who calls himself "the friend of eminent poets," could deviate from the rule laid down by Nāgavarma. Accordingly verse 302 of the *Prosody* will have to be interpreted differently. I would translate it thus: "*Ajagana* comes in the beginning without fail; then (come) five *gaṇas* which are *viśṇu*; in the place called the end (i.e. at the end), the *rudragana* will remain permanently everywhere (i.e. in all the feet); in the foot counted the second,— if in the sixth (place) the *ajagana* occurs in intimate connection, at the choice of the author,— we (then) have the wonderful (i.e. rarely used metre) Piriyaṅkara, O moon-faced one!" Thus we see that, the occurrence of the *ajagana* in the sixth place being left to the option of the author, Malla adopted the *viśṇugana* throughout. As regards Lalitavṛtta, it may be noticed that the name given to it by Dr. Kittel's manuscripts, viz. Lalitapada, over verse 233 of the *Prosody*, is rather misleading. The name occurs as Lalitavṛtta in the very verse which describes it, as well as in the subjoined inscription. If this name is not given to the metre, it is likely to be confounded with other Sanskrit metres of the same name. It may be noted also that, according to a few manuscripts, Nāgavarma claims to have been the inventor of these two metres; see Dr. Kittel's Introduction to Nāgavarma's *Canarese Prosody*, p. xix." To this I would add that there is one verse in the Piriyaṅkara metre in Argalaḍēva's *Chandraprabhapurāṇa* (1189 A.D.), āśvāsa iv. v. 18.<sup>1</sup> Other Piriyaṅkaras occur in the *Pampabhārata* edited by Mr. Rice, pp. 112, 116, 153, 343, and Akkaras on pp. 331, 343.

Verse 1 of the inscription contains the date,— a specified week-day and *tithi* in the Śaka year 979 (in words), the cyclic year Hēmalambin, and the sixth year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājēndradēva. Professor Kielhorn has calculated the details of the date and found that it corresponds to Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.<sup>2</sup> A reference to Rājēndradēva's predecessor Rājādhirāja is found in Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōla-Permāḍi-Gāvunḍa, a surname of Raviga of Nugunāḍu (v. 7), which is derived from Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōla, one of the names of Rājādhirāja.<sup>3</sup> The same verse of the inscription mentions, among other kings, Siḷamēgha who seems to be identical with one of the two Ceylon kings named Vira-Siḷamēga. The first of them was killed by Rājādhirāja,<sup>4</sup> and the second by Rājēndradēva.<sup>5</sup>

Two families of Kuḍiyas (Śūdras) (vv. 6, 8, 9 and 22) are named in the inscription, viz. the Avacha family of Nugunāḍu (vv. 2, 6, 17, 19 and 22) and the Kuṇvanda family of Pervayal in Navalēnāḍu (vv. 13 and 17). To the first one belonged Raviga (v. 4), who was raised by the Chōla king to the rank of superintendent of a province (v. 8). Raviga's principal seat became Beḷatūru (v. 11), and he married Ponnakka, the daughter of the headman of Nālgōḍu in Eḍonāḍu (v. 10), whose name is not mentioned. Raviga's daughter Dēkabbe was given in marriage to Ēcha of the Kuṇvanda family (v. 13). When the king killed Ēcha at Talekāḍu (v. 14), his widow committed herself to the flames (vv. 15 to 20). Before her end she granted to Śiva a garden for a perpetual lamp, and a paddy-field for oblations (v. 18 f. and l. 33 f.). Dēkabbe's father, Raviga, set up the stone which bears the inscription, as a memorial of his daughter (v. 22).

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Beḷatūru (v. 11) is identical with the village where the inscription exists. Talekāḍu (v. 14) is the old capital of the Western Gaṅgas,<sup>6</sup> at which the Chōla king seems to have been staying at the time of the inscription. Nugunāḍu is, perhaps, named after the river Nugu (also called Bhṛigu), a tributary of the

<sup>1</sup> In my manuscript the verse reads thus:—

Toreyal=end=irddā rājyaman enitirdduṁ maṇeyal=end=idirddā bandhu-samūhamam  
neṇapal=end=irddā sat-tavō-vṛttiyam maṇad=atirāga-vihvalateyindam  
toreyade maṇeyade neṇeyad=āyusbyam paṇe paḍuvāgaḷe berchehid-ante  
maṇaguva maruḷamg=ārayvand=ī bhavaṁ maṇu-bhavaṁ nāḍeyuṁ vyartitham aite ||

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 23, No. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 53 and 56.

<sup>4</sup> See Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 289 and note 2.

<sup>5</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 59 and 63.

Kabbani, in the Nañjangūd tāluka of the Mysore district. Both Nugunāḍu and Navalēnāḍu are mentioned in a Western Gaṅga record.<sup>1</sup>

This is perhaps the first inscription that has been discovered, concerning the self-immolation of a Śūdra's wife after her husband's death. This self-immolation is not identical with the so-called suttee (*sati*) of Brāhmapical usage, according to which a wife, on being widowed, burned herself with the corpse of her deceased husband upon the funeral pile. In this instance there is no pyre (*chitā*, *chitī*, *chityā*, the *tadbhava*-form of which is *śidige* in Kannada), but a *koṇḍa* (*tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *kuṇḍa*), a hole in the ground for any fire, especially one for the fire of a burnt oblation.

The Śūdras at the time of the present inscription, worshippers of Śiva, probably in most instances disposed of their dead by cremation (instead of which the Liṅgavantas introduced burying), and thus the body of Ēcha may have been burned at Talekāḍu. That *sahagamana* was customary among Śūdras, does not follow from the inscription; the contrary seems to be proved, as the parents and relations of Dēkabbe strongly oppose her burning herself; she herself however (who may have been influenced at the time somehow by Brāhmapical notions), seeks to justify her act by pointing out the dishonour that would be brought upon the families by her surviving as a widow.

The *koṇḍa* into which Dēkabbe threw herself was obviously neither at Talekāḍu nor at Pervayal, but at her native place Belatūru (where she had gone in the absence of her husband and heard the report of his death), near the house of her own people, and had been filled with kindled charcoal, *etc.*, for presenting funeral oblations.

Malla, the poet who composed the inscription, uses two epithets of a peculiar kind regarding Raviga, the father of Dēkabbe, who had the monument erected, *viz.* "a lion to the angry" and "powerful over the envious" (v. 22); and at the end (l. 36) the engraver quotes the very same two epithets. Malla also calls himself "a discus to those among Brāhmanas who fret" (v. 23). It is highly probable that these epithets are directed against Brāhmanas who might find fault with the erection of a monument that praised a Śūdra widow as, so to say, a suttee.

### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 [Ōm]<sup>3</sup> [H\*] Svasti<sup>4</sup> śrī-Chōla-rājāṁ sakala-vasudheyaṁ koṇḍu Rājendradēva[m]  
<sup>5</sup>d[ri]st-āri-vrāta-ghātaṁ negaḷe barisaṁ-āṅ-āge mattaṁ Sak-ābdaṁ vi[stā]-
- 2 ra[m\*] tom̐bhat-ēl-ombhatum=ene barisaṁ Hēmaḷāmbi prasiddhaṁ svastaṁ  
 māsaṁ gaḍaṁ Kā[r\*]ttikaṁ-asī[ta]-dinaṁ dvādasi Sōmavāraṁ ! [1\*]  
 Kandaṁ ! Svasti śrīma-
- 3 tu sakala-jaga-[stu]tar=Avaoh-āgraganyar=ūrjita-punya<sup>6</sup> vistāra-chāru-vīra-rasa-  
 stitar=<sup>7</sup>iṅiv=iva [kā]va Nugunāḍ-adhipar ! [2\*] Enipa kula[da]lli puttī[da]-
- 4 n=anupaman=Ēreyaṁgan=avana nija-sutan-Ēchaṁ Manu-nibhan=avāṁge puttīda  
 tanūbhavaṁ Javani[ya][r\*]mmaṁ=arivīṅg-ārmmaṁ ! [3\*] Ant-ā  
 Javanayyaṁgaṁ
- 5 kāntājana-tilakam=enipa Jākabbegam=olpan=taleye puttīdaṁ ripu-santāna-nagēndra-  
 viḷaya-pa[v]igaṁ Ravigaṁ ! [4\*] Ravigaṁ puttīdaḍ=odaṁ=udbhava-
- 6 m-āyt=ariv=arivin=odaṁ puttīdud=āyaṁ sa[va]-sand=āyadoḍaṁ saṁbhavam-ādudu  
 chāgam=intuṭ=a[nya]rol=umtē ! [5\*] Vṛittaṁ ! Kuḍiyara<sup>8</sup> vallabhaṁ ku-

<sup>1</sup> See page 69 above.

<sup>2</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultsch.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Sragdhare.

<sup>5</sup> Read *dript*.

<sup>6</sup> The *r* of *-punyar* is written above the line.

<sup>7</sup> Read *-sthitam*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Champakamāla.

- 7 diyar=ābharanam Nugunāda Rāman=endade Kalikāla-Karṇana vinōdada chāgada  
bīrad=ārppan=i gaḍina nikṛishṭa-nirggupa-nikṛitya-nirāchara-[nô]ṭavītarām<sup>1</sup> kaḍu-
- 8 jaḍar=entū pōliparo dhanyan=enipp=Avach-āgraganyana<sup>2</sup> | [6\*] Akkaram | Chōla  
Pallava Pāṇḍya Siḷ[ā]m[ē]gha Kēraḷa Sōraṣar-Gōva<sup>3</sup> Bhōja Lāla Gajapati  
Hayapati
- 9 Narapatiy=enipa mahipālar=āstānadā<sup>4</sup> kēla tannane naṭa-vandi-māgadhar<sup>5</sup> kai-  
kopḍ[u] pogalake negaḷe ballam mēla-māṇikav=e-
- 10 nipa Jayamgōḍa-Chōla-Permmādi-Gāvūḍam takkam | [7\*] Kandaṁ |  
Pallava-sattige samkam jhallali jayamaṅgaḷaṅgaḷa[m] Chōla-mahivallabhan=ittade
- 11 kuḍiyara vallabhan=uṛe maṇḍaḷika-padamaṁ paḍedaṁ | [8\*] Kaḍala kaḍe-varam=  
Aj-āṇḍada kuḍi-varam=āśa-gajēndrad=antu varam taḷt=o-
- 12 ḍan=[o]ḍane parvv[i] baḷedudu kuḍiyara vallabhana ki[r\*]tti-late kōmaḷadiṁ |  
[9\*] Manu-nibhan=Edēnāḍ=adhipati vineya-nidhi[m] sa]-
- 13 tya-vākya Nālgōḍina mukhyana kula-vadhū Būtabbegē janiyisi \*Kālikāla-Site-  
vesaram paḍedaḷ | [10\*] Vanitā-rannam Ponnakkana-
- 14 n=alīye maduve-gōḍu Beḷatūr=adhipaṁ Manu-nibhan=ene negaḷv=itana vanitege  
bhū-vanitey-olage perā[r=e]ney-olārē | [11\*] Vri-
- 15 tta[m] | <sup>7</sup>Nirupama-siladiṁ<sup>6</sup> guṇadin=uttama-dānadin=ātma-bhaktiyim Gi[ri]ute |  
Rāmbē Mīnaki<sup>9</sup> Sarasvati Rugmīni Satyabhāmayol dore-
- 16 y=enal=allad=i gaḍina duṣṭa-kaniṣṭa-duṣṭa-durggūp-ādhareyan=entū pōliparo  
nirmala-chittada Ponnakabbeyam | [12\*] Akkaram | Chār[u]-
- 17 chāritre naya-vinay-ākare gōtra-pavitre <sup>10</sup>[s]uṣṭa-yukte nārijana-rannam=enipa  
Ponnabbeḡam Ravigamgam puṭṭida Dēkabbeya[m]
- 18 [vi\*]ram Navalenāḍ=adhipati Kuruvanda-gulada Peruvayal-ātan=Ēchaṅg-īye  
vārij-ānane <sup>11</sup>vināya-chintāmaḷi pati-hitey-oḍa-gū-
- 19 ḍi sukhadin=iḷdu | [13\*] Kandaṁ | Jeṭṭigan=ene negaḷ=ahita-gharattam sukhām=  
iḷdu tanna dāyigaram taḷt=ottajiyin=iṇidaḍ=avanam neṭṭa-
- 20 ne Talekkaḍal-uydu kondaṁ narapaṁ | [14\*] Kalikāla-Vēlan=enisida kali-  
chāgiyan=iṇidu kondar=embudu mātām lalit-āṅgi kē[ḷ]du Ravi-
- 21 gana kula-dipaki sāyal=endu koṇḍake naḍedaḷ | [15\*] Tandeyum=abbeyum=  
oḍaneya bandugalum bandu magale sāyade māp=nīn=e-
- 22 (ne)nd=ellaṁ kāl-viḍidaḍ=anindite Dēkabbe munidu baggasi nuḍidaḷ | [16\*]  
Nugunāḍ=adhipati Ravigana magal=āgiyum=ante Navale-
- 23 nāḍ=adhipatig=ām negaḷe satiy=āgi bālp[u]du bagedappene koṭṭa koṇḍa mane yasam=  
alīyal | [17\*] Endu parichchēḍisiṁ nayadindaṁ dēvarge
- 24 tōṁta-khaṇḍada maṇṇam nandā-divigeg=itt-aravind-ānane sale nivēdyak=end=ann-  
nayadiṁ | [18\*] Maḍida sale gōli-gaḷḍ[e]ya paḍuvaṇa kaḍeya-
- 25 lli temkal=ay-goḷa-bedeyam kaḍugū[r]ttu<sup>12</sup> koṭṭu Nugunāḍ=[o]ḍeyana kula-putre  
pēlchi<sup>13</sup> mattam mattam | [19\*] Vṛittam | Nered=ellaṁ<sup>14</sup> bēda māp=enda-
- 26 ḍe nuḍiyadiriṁ pōgiv=ām māṇen=end=ādaradindaṁ bhūmi poṁ-putṭage paṇu  
dhanamaṁ dānamaṁ niḍutūm dēvara dēvaṅgaḷti-
- 27 yim kay-mugid=uriv=uriyam pokku Dēkabbe tannam dharey=ellaṁ mechchi  
nichchaṁ [po]gaḷe negaḷutūm dēva-lōkaḷkē vōdaḷ | [20\*] Lalitavṛittam |

<sup>1</sup> Nōṭavītarām is a compound of nōṭa and vītarām, and represents nōṭakke vītarām.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'ganyana'.

<sup>3</sup> Or =Gōva?

<sup>4</sup> Read =dethānadā.

<sup>5</sup> The r of -māgadhar is written above the line.

<sup>6</sup> Read Kalikāla.

<sup>7</sup> The ma of nirupama is written above the line.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Champakamāle.

<sup>9</sup> Read Mīnake.

<sup>10</sup> Read suṣṭa.

<sup>11</sup> Read vinaya.

<sup>12</sup> Kaḍugūrttu is a compound of kaḍu and kūrṭtu, 'having greatly desired.'

<sup>13</sup> Read pēlchi.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Mahāragadhare.

- 28 Śrī-ramaṇi Gauri Sachi Dhārīṇiya putri Rati Bhū-ramaṇiy-andada sarūpav-  
āṇiv-olp-andāre-jaya-dhāre jasa-dhāre naya-dhā-  
29 r[e] bhaya-hāre pati-bhakte dhṛita-śaktey=ene samnd=[i]<sup>3</sup> vira-nidhiyaṁ chalada  
vāri-nidhiyaṁ guṇada chāru-nidhiyaṁ n[e]galda Dēkaleya-  
30 n=int=i nārījana-rannamam=<sup>4</sup>ad=āro maṇavar 'śakaḷa-dhārīṇiyol=intu vara-kānte-  
dorey=āva[i] | [21\*] Akkara[m] | Paṇḍit-āśrayam Nug[u]nā-  
31 da Rāghavaṁ munivara siṁga māchakadāvalam chaṇḍa-vikramaṁ kuḍiyara  
vallabham Kalikāla-Karṇa machcharipavara guṇḍam vandi-  
32 chintāma[ṇi\*] Śiva-pāda-sēkharam nija-suteg=anurāgadiṁ maṇḍalakk=ellam  
paḍi[cha]ndam=āge silā-stam[bha]ṁ śāsanam=āge natṭam || [22\*] ◎  
33 Śrī Dēkabbe Mahādēva[r\*]gge biṭṭa pūm-bolaṁ tōmṭa-khaṇḍamumam  
Nirmamaṇaḷti-keṇeya t[em]kaṇa kaḍeyal aydu-koḷagam galdeyu-  
34 mam i vamsada[l\*] puṭṭidavar kā[da]lisuge<sup>5</sup> salisad[a]var nara[ka]-bhājanar=appar |  
Kandam | Maṇupara chakraṁ dvijaroḷ kaṇe-maṇ[e]y-i-  
35 H=enipa kuṇipin=ādityam sand=aṇikeyavagāda<sup>6</sup> Mallam jaṇuchada kavirāja-  
bāndhavam baredan=idam | [23\*] ◎  
36 Kaṇḍarisidam<sup>7</sup> munichara=<sup>8</sup>siṁg-āchāriyaṁ machcharipara-gaṇḍ-āchāriyu[m] ||\*

## TRANSLATION.

Om. (Verse 1.) Hail! When the glorious Chōḷa king had taken possession of the whole earth,—(he) Rājendradēva, the slayer of crowds of proud enemies,—(and) was renowned, when six years (of his reign) had passed, and when one said: “the Śaka year in (its) extent (is) ninety-seven and nine,” (and when) the (cyclic) year (was) the well-known Hēmaḷambi, the auspicious month indeed Kārttika, (and) the day of the dark (half) the twelfth (tithi). a Monday,<sup>9</sup>—

(V. 2.) Hail! Glorious, praised by the whole world, the best of the Avachas, rich in virtue, firm in extensive and beautiful heroism, piercing (enemies), giving (alms), (and) protecting (the subjects)—(such were) the chiefs of Nugunāḍu.

(V. 3.) In the said family the matchless Ereyāṅga was born; his own son (was) Êcha, resembling Manu; the son born to him (was) Javanīyarma,<sup>10</sup> excelling in knowledge.

(V. 4.) Now to that Javanayya and to Jākabbe who was called an ornament of women, so that they obtained (great) good (by his birth), was born Raviga,<sup>11</sup> (who resembled) a thunderbolt of destruction to the great mountains—hostile races.

(V. 5.) When Raviga was born, knowledge was produced along (with him); along with knowledge (proper) income (or revenue) was born; along with proper income liberality was generated: does so much exist among other people?

<sup>1</sup> Read -ariv-.

<sup>2</sup> Cancel the anusvara.

<sup>3</sup> Read sand=i.

<sup>4</sup> Read sakala-.

<sup>5</sup> Kādāṣisuge is kādu and aṣisuge, this aṣisuge being in meaning equal to aṣavadisuge; see aṣavadisug under aṣa, 2, in my Dictionary.

<sup>6</sup> Read -arīkeyavan=āda.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding the verb kaṇḍariṣu (which appears also as khaṇḍariṣu), ‘to engrave,’ it may be remarked that it is a tadbhava-form of khaṇḍiṣu, ‘to cut,’ from the Sanskrit khaṇḍana, ‘cutting,’ which noun appears also in the tadbhava-form of khaṇḍarane, ‘engraving,’ as Dr. Hultzsch informs me. Compare the corresponding formation of chētarisug and chētararug from chētarana (see my Dictionary). For the use of khaṇḍariṣu, with the aspirated kh, see above, Vol. V. p. 214, p. 231, notes 3 and 13; and for khaṇḍarane see p. 234, note 7.

<sup>8</sup> Read munivara-.

<sup>9</sup> This date must be connected with verse 15.

<sup>10</sup> Or Javanayya, v. 4. Javanīyarma stands for Javanīyārma, “the able or strong Javani” (=Javanīyārma). In arivig=ārmam the répha represents an r (i.e. ārmam), as it does also in drppan (i.e. ārmam) in v. 6.

<sup>11</sup> He was surnamed “the Rāma (or Rāghava) of Nugunāḍu;” vv. 6 and 23.

(V. 6.) When one says: "the Râma of **Nugunâdu**, the chief of **Kuḍiyas** (**Śūdras**), (and) the ornament of **Kuḍiyas**," (it refers to) one who in (this) age of sin is fully equal in happiness, liberality (and) heroism to **Karṇa**: how can foolish people compare the base, the bad, the dishonest, the lawless, the men of a mere appearance of greatness at the present period, with the best one of the **Avachas**, who is called a blessed man?

(V. 7.) So that the kings who were called **Chôla**, **Pallava**, **Pāṇḍya**, **Siḷamēgha**, **Kēraḷa**, **Sōraṣa**, **Gōva**, **Bhōja**, **Lāḷa**, **Gajapati**, **Hayapati**, **Narapati**, heard (of it) in (their) courts, (and) so that actors, bards (and) minstrels fixed their thoughts on him and were zealously active to praise (him),—(so) great was **Jayaṅgonḍa-Chôla-Permāḍi-Gāvunḍa**,<sup>1</sup> who was a ruby of assemblies, (he) the very worthy man.

(V. 8.) When the **Chôla** king<sup>2</sup> presented (him) with a pearl umbrella, a conch, cymbals (and) a royal elephant, (he) the chief of **Kuḍiyas** (**Śūdras**) got indeed the rank of a **Maṇḍalika** i.e. of a superintendent of a province.)

(V. 9.) To the further shore of the sea, to the end of the world, (and) also to the great elephants of the points of the compass, there approached and quickly spread and nicely grew the creeper of the fame of the chief of **Kuḍiyas** (**Śūdras**).

(V. 10.) To **Būtabbe**, the virtuous wife of the headman (of the village) of **Nālgōḍu**, who resembled **Manu**, (and who was) the chief of (the district of) **Ēḍenâdu**, a mine of refinement, (and) a veracious man, was born one who got the name of "the **Sitâ** of the age of sin."<sup>3</sup>

(V. 11.) (Her), **Ponnakka**,<sup>4</sup> a pearl of women, the chief of **Beḷâtûru**, from love, took in marriage,—he who was so renowned that he was called an equal of **Manu**: are others of the wives on earth equal to his wife?

(V. 12.) How could one compare **Ponnakabbe** of pure mind with the vicious, worthless, reprobate, ill-natured, low women of the present day, who are unfit to be called equal to **Pârvatî**, **Rambhâ**, **Mēnakâ**, **Sarasvatî**, **Rukmiṇî** (and) **Satyabhâmâ** in matchless character, virtue, excellent liberality (and) innate devotion?

(V. 13.) When (they) gave **Dēkabbe**,<sup>5</sup>—who was born to **Ponnabbe** that was of pleasing conduct and decorous behaviour, a purifier of (her) family, of an amiable disposition, (and) a pearl of women, and to **Raviga**,—(in marriage) to the brave **Ēcha**, (the headman) of **Pervayal**, the chief of **Navalenâdu**, (and) of the **Kuruvanda** family, he lived happily with the lotus-eyed one, the gem of good conduct, who was devoted to (her) husband.

(V. 14.) When (he) the grinding-stone of (his) enemies, who was renowned as a wrestler, (thus) lived happily, (but in course of time) grappled with his kinsmen<sup>6</sup> and by (his) superiority pierced (and killed them), the king took him off straight to **Talekâdu** and killed (him).

(V. 15.) When the beautiful woman, the light of the family of **Raviga**, heard the report that they had pierced and killed the strong hero who was called "the **Vēḷa** (**Skanda**) in the age of sin," she walked to the (fire-)pit in order to die.

(V. 16.) When (her) father, mother and near relatives came, said: "Daughter, do not die!; desist!," and all embraced (her) feet, the blameless **Dēkabbe** became angry and loudly spoke:—

(V. 17.) "As I am known as the daughter of **Raviga**, the chief of **Nugunâdu**, and as the wife of the chief of **Navalenâdu**, can I wish to live while the house which gave (me and that) which took (me) loses (its) good name?"

<sup>1</sup> I.e. "the village-chief of His Majesty **Jayaṅgonḍa-Chôla**," viz. of **Rājādhirāja**; see above, p. 214 and note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Probably **Rājādhirāja**, the predecessor of **Rājēndradēva**.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. **Ponnakka**, v. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Or **Ponnakabbe**, v. 12, or **Ponnabbe**, v. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Or **Dēkale**, v. 21.

<sup>6</sup> "His kinsmen" might be grammatically applied either to the kinsmen of the **Chôla** king or to those of **Ēcha**.

(V. 18 f.) Thus the lotus-faced one spake, made a final decision, presented with propriety the soil of a garden-plot to the god for a perpetual lamp, and gave, with reverential deportment (*and*) with great desire, for oblations regularly repeated, after (*she*) would have died, the Gôlî-paddy-field on the south-western side (*which requires*) five *koḷas* (i.e. *koḷagas*) of seed; and (*she*) the noble daughter of the lord of Nugunâḍu ordered (*thus*) again and again.

(V. 20.) Then all united said: "Do not (*die*)!; desist!;" (*but*) Dêkabbe said: "Speak not. but go!; I will not desist;" and respectfully giving land, gold (*-embroidered*) clothes, cows and money as a present, she piously put the palms of (*her*) hands together (*in obeisance*) to the god of gods, entered the blazing flames, and went with glory to the world of gods, so that the whole earth will be pleased (*with her*) and continually praise her.

(V. 21.) She who is known as possessing the beauty, knowledge, goodness, liberality and victory of the goddess Śrî, Gaurî, Śachi, the daughter of the earth (Sîtâ), Rati, (*and*) the goddess of the earth, (*and*) as being rich in renown, intelligent, dispelling fear, devoted to (*her*) husband, (*and*) firm in strength,—this mine of heroism, (*this*) ocean of resoluteness, (*this*) beautiful mine of good qualities, (*viz.*) the renowned Dêkale, this pearl of women,—who can forget her?; what woman on the whole earth (*is*) therefore equal to (*this*) excellent woman?

(V. 22.) The Râghava (Râma) of Nugunâḍu, the refuge of the learned, a lion to the angry, a chastiser of knaves,<sup>1</sup> ardent in prowess, the chief of Kuḍiyas (Śûdras), a Karna in the age of sin, powerful over the envious, a wishing-stone to the bards, (*and carrying*) Śiva's feet on (*his*) head,<sup>2</sup> erected for his daughter from affection (*this*) stone-monument for the whole province, as a document (*and*) as a representation (*of what his daughter had done*).

(Line 33.) Hail! May those who are born in this family, protect and keep up the garden-plot (*that is*) a flower-field, and on the southern side of the Nirmapamaḷî-tank the paddy-field (*requiring*) five *koḷagas* (of seed), which Dêkabbe left to Mahâdêva! Those who do not fulfil (*this*), will become victims to hell.

(V. 23.) A discus to those among Brâhmanas who fret, a sun the (*distinguishing*) mark of which is that it has neither spot nor veiling, Malla, who has recognised knowledge, who is never (*excessively*) verbose, and who is a friend of eminent poets, wrote this.

(L. 36.) The *Āchâri*<sup>3</sup> of "the lion to the angry," the *Āchâri* of "him who is powerful over the envious,"<sup>4</sup> engraved (*this*).

#### No. 20.—BHIMAVARAM INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA I.;

SAKA-SAMVAT 1037.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

This inscription (No. 473 of 1893) is engraved on a pillar in the *mandapa* in front of the Nârâyaṇasvâmin temple at Bhimavaram in the Cocanada division of the Gôdâvari district. It consists of two Sanskrit verses and a passage in Telugu prose.

<sup>1</sup> This is a translation of the compound *mâchakaddvalam*. *Mâchaka* stands for *mâjaka* and *tâvalam* is a *tadâhava* of *tâpana*, *v* having taken the place of *p* (compare *kavâḍa* for *kapâḍa*, *kavîle* for *kapîle*, etc.) and *l* that of *n* (compare *chandaḷa* for *chandana*, *lambaḷa* for *lambana*).

<sup>2</sup> I.e. 'a worshipper of Śiva'; see *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. II. p. 388. note 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Āchâri* may be translated 'artificer'.

<sup>4</sup> According to verse 22, "a lion to the angry" and "powerful over the envious" were surnames of Ravîga.

The date is Śaka-Samvat 1037 (l. 14 f.) and the 45th year of the reign (l. 13 f.) of a Chālukya king who bore the surnames *Parāntaka*<sup>1</sup> (l. 1), *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja* (l. 11 f.). If the regnal year is deducted from the Śaka year, the result is Śaka-Samvat 992 = A.D. 1070 as the date of the king's accession to the throne. Consequently he must be identical with the Chālukya-Chōla king *Rājendra-Chōla II. alias Kulōttunga-Chōla I.* whose reign is known to have commenced in A.D. 1070.<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of the inscription is to record the gift of a lamp to *Nārāyaṇa*<sup>3</sup> (l. 18), the deity of the temple in which it is still found, and which is stated to have been built by a Vaiśya named *Maṇḍaya*<sup>4</sup> (ll. 7 and 18). *Bhīmavaram* bore the name of *Chālukya-phimāpura*<sup>5</sup> or *°vura* (ll. 6 f. and 17) and belonged to the district of *Sakata-mantani-nāṇḍu* (l. 16 f.). The date of the grant was the vernal equinox (l. 15 f.). The donor of the lamp was a minister of the king, named *Mādhava* (l. 3) and surnamed *Rājavallabha* (l. 2). He was a native of the Chōla country (l. 19), and his full Tamil name was *Vēlāṇ Mādhavaṇ, alias Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṇ* (l. 21 f.). The small Leyden grant (ll. 11 f. and 49), which was issued in the 20th year of the reign of Kulōttunga I., contains the name of a minister (*samdhivigrahin*) *Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṇ*, who is perhaps identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription.

The following is a list of other inscriptions of Kulōttunga I. which contain both a Śaka date and a regnal year. All are in the *Bhimēśvara* temple at *Drakshārāma*,<sup>6</sup> with the exception of No. 1 which is near the *Nāgēśvara* temple at *Chēbrōlu*.<sup>7</sup>

A.—Inscriptions in which the king is designated only by his titles *Sarvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja*.<sup>8</sup>

1.—No. 151 of 1897.

- 1 Svasti <sup>9</sup>Śakha-varshambhu 998 n=ēmti Nala-samvatsa-<sup>10</sup>
- 2 ra śrāhi svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-
- 3 <sup>11</sup>Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājula pravarddhamā-
- 4 na-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara[mblu]<sup>12</sup> 7 n=ēṇḍu . . .
- 6 . . . . . Māgha-māsamuna
- 7 punnamayu <sup>13</sup>Sukravāramuna sōmagrahana-
- 8 nimittamunan= . . . . .

2.—No. 180 of 1893.

- 1 <sup>14</sup>Saka-var[sha]mulu 1006 svasti [Sa]rvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājula
- pravar[ddha]mā-
- 2 na-vijaya-rājya-samvatsaramu 15 gu [śrā\*]hi dina 307 ṇḍum . . . . .

3.—No. 374 of 1893.

- 1 [Sva]sti Śaka-va[r\*]shambulu 1036 svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājula<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This had been the name of two Chōla kings; see *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. I. p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. IV. p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> According to other inscriptions the name of the temple was *Rājanārāyaṇa-Vinnagara*; see above, Vol. IV. p. 280 and note 3.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Donepūṇḍi* grant the temple is referred to as *Maṇḍe-Nārāyaṇa*; above, Vol. IV. p. 358.

<sup>5</sup> This name is derived from that of Chālukya-Bhīma I.; see above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. IV. p. 37, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. V. p. 142, and Vol. VI. p. 38.

<sup>8</sup> Prof. Kielhorn's calculations of the dates 1 and 3 will be published shortly.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Śaka*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *-samvatsa*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *Vishṇu*.

<sup>12</sup> The syllable *ṣa* is engraved below the line; read *-samvatsa*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *Śukra*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *Śaka*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *-mahārājula*.

- 2 [pra]varddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-divya-samvatsa 45 Dhanu-māsamuna śukla-  
pa[kshamu]na śkāda-  
3 [ś]iyu Budhavāramu-nāṇḍu Uttarāyana-vyatiyipāta-<sup>1</sup>nimittamuna . . . . .

B.—Inscriptions in which the full titles and names of the king are given as follows:—  
*Samastabhuvanāstraya Śrīprithivīvallabha mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara paramabhāṣṭ[ā\*]-  
raka Ravikulatilaka Chōḍakulaśekhara Pāṇḍyakulāmtaka Samastarājāstraya Rājārājēndra  
Viramahēndra Vikramachōḍa Vijayābharana Rājakesarivarmma-permmanadigalu<sup>2</sup> Gaṃggā-  
Kāvērī-paryyanta-dharitri-pati<sup>3</sup> saptamō Vishṇuvarāddhanul-aina<sup>4</sup> tribhuvanachakravartti<sup>5</sup>  
śrī-Kulōttuṃga-Chōḍadēva.*

4.—No. 365 of 1893.

- 7 . . . . . Śāk-ābdē nayan-ākshi-kh-ēndu-gapitē<sup>6</sup> . . . . .  
12 vat[sa]<sup>7</sup> 31 ṇḍagu śr[ā]hi dina 300 ṇḍa . . . . .

5.—No. 389 of 1893.

- 3 . . . . . Śāk-ābdā[nām pra]-  
4 māṇē nidhi-nayana-viyach-chandra-gē<sup>8</sup> . . . . . [sa]m[k]rāmtiyām Vaishu-  
vatiyām= . . . . .  
11 . . . . . rājya-sam[va]tsarambulu [3]7 dina 289 ṇḍa Vishuvu-samkr[ā\*]m-  
12 ti-[ni]mittamuna . . . . .

6.—No. 396 of 1893.

- 4 . . . . . Śāk-ābdē nidhi-nē[tra]-kh-ēndu-[gapi]tē<sup>9</sup> . . . . .  
5 [rā]jya-samvatsarambulu [3]7 dina 289 ṇḍa . . . . . Vishuvu-sam[krāmti-  
nimi]ttamuna . . . . .

7.—No. 402 of 1893.

- 4 . . . . . Śaka-va[rusha]mbulu 1034 . . . . .  
8 . . . . . rā-  
9 jya-samvatsa [4]2 śrāhi dina 220 ṇḍan=Uttarāyana-samkr[ā\*]mti-nimitya-  
mnām . . . . .

8.—No. 415 of 1893.

- 1 Svasti Śaka-varusha[m]bulu [10]37 . . . . .  
4 . . . . . rājya-divya-samva-  
5 tsa 45 śr[ā]hi . . . . .

9.—No. 194 of 1893.

- 3 . . . . . Śā[k]-ābdē vyōma-vēd-āmba[ra-śāsi]-ga[ni]tē<sup>10</sup> . . . . .  
4 . . . . . Śaka-va[r\*]shambulu 104[0] ṇḍa . . . . .  
7 <sup>11</sup>jya-divya-samvatsa 49 yagu śr[ā\*]hi dinamulu 250 . . . . . =Uttarāyana-  
samkr[ā\*]m[tī-ni]-  
8 mtittamuna<sup>12</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Read *vyatipāta*.

<sup>2</sup> No. 386 of 1893 omits this compound and inserts *nija-bhuj-ōpdrjita* before *Gaṃggā*.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 194, 365, 402 and 415 of 1893 omit *dharitri-pati*.

<sup>4</sup> No. 365 of 1893 reads *anand-aina* (singular instead of plural).

<sup>5</sup> No. 365 of 1893 inserts *śrīmat* before *tribhuvana*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *rājya-samvatsara*.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. Śaka-Samvat 1023.

<sup>10</sup> I.e. Śaka-Samvat 1040.

<sup>11</sup> Read *rājya*.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. Śaka-Samvat 1022.

<sup>9</sup> I.e. Śaka-Samvat 1023.

<sup>12</sup> Read *mittamuna*.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## A.—West Face.

- 1 स्वस्ति [श्री]शसमे परांतकनृपे चालुक्यराज्य-
- 2 श्रियं प्राप्तां रक्षति राजवल्लभ इति [ख्या]-
- 3 तः कृतो माधवः [१\*] तन्मन्त्रिप्रवर[२\*] स्वबन्धुस-
- 4 दृ[शो लोक]स्य लो[को]त्तर[श्रीको]त्ति[३\*] श्रितरक्षणे-
- 5 कनिष्ठुणो लक्ष्मीपतिप्रीतिमान् [॥ १\*] श्रीचा-
- 6 लुक्कधरासरोजसमे<sup>२</sup> चालुक्यभी-
- 7 मापुरे श्रीमन्मण्डयवैश्वर्यर-
- 8 चिते लक्ष्मीपतेर्धामनि [१\*] दत्तादात्म-
- 9 ह्रिषोस्तु विंशतिमतिस्त्राघ्या<sup>३</sup> बभूवो-
- 10 रिणीराचंद्रार्कमनश्चरं स्थिरयथा
- 11 दीपं प्रदीपो भुवः [॥ २\*] स्वस्ति सर्व्वलो-
- 12 काश्रयश्रीविष्णुवर्धनमहाराज-
- 13 ल प्रवर्धमानविजयराज्यसं-
- 14 वत्सरंबुलु ४५ गु आदि सक<sup>४</sup>

## B.—South Face.

- 15 वर्षंबुलु<sup>५</sup> १०२७ गुनेण्डि<sup>६</sup> वै-
- 16 चविषुसंक्रांतिनि[मित्त]मुन सक-
- 17 टमंतनिनाष्टि चालुक्यभीमावुरमुन
- 18 मण्डयगुडि नारायणदेवरकुं
- 19 [जो]डमण्डलमुन बिरुदराजभयं<sup>७</sup>
- 20 करवलनाष्टि मन्निनाष्टि कडंबंगुडय-
- 21 [ण्ड] वेलाण्डु माधवुण्डेन राजवल्लभप-
- 22 लवरयण्डु आचंद्रार्कमुन[कु]नखण्ड-
- 23 वत्तिमां वेष्टिन दीप[सु]न[कु] गुण्डि[य]-
- 24 [बो]युनि कोडकु पापन[बो]युनियुं गो-
- 25 सनवीयुनि कोडकु गु[ण्डि]यवीयुनि-
- 26 [यु] वसमुनं वेष्टि[न] एनुसुलु २० [१\*] वीनि-

<sup>1</sup> From an inked estampage prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

<sup>२</sup> Read °सरोजम्°.

<sup>३</sup> Read बहु°.

<sup>४</sup> Read शक°.

<sup>५</sup> Read °वर्षंबुलु°.

<sup>६</sup> Read °नेष्टि°.

<sup>७</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

27 कि नित्यपडिं [वीय]गच्छ नेति राज-

28 राजमानयोक्कु[ण्डु] [॥\*]

#### TRANSLATION.

##### A.—Sanskrit portion.

Hail ! While king Parāntaka, who resembled (Vishnu) the lord of Śrī, was protecting the fortune, acquired (*by him*), of the Chālukya kingdom,— the best of his ministers, the pious Mādhava, who was renowned by the name of Rājavallabha, who seemed to be a near relative of (*all*) men, whose prosperity and fame were extraordinary, who was excessively skilled in protecting refugees, who was devoted to (Vishnu) the lord of Lakshmi, whose fame was constant, (*and who was*) the light of the earth,— having given a lamp, which was not to cease (*burning*) as long as the moon and the sun shall exist, to the temple of the lord of Lakshmi, which had been built by the illustrious Maṇḍaya, the best of Vaiśyas, in Chālukyabhimāpura, which resembles a lotus in the tank (*that is*) the prosperous Chālukya country,— gave twenty most excellent buffalo-cows which supplied much milk.

##### B.—Telugu portion.

Hail ! In the 45th year of the increasing and victorious reign of the asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalōkāsraya*), the glorious Vishnuvardhana-mahārāja, (*and*) in the Śaka year 1037, on the occasion of the Vishuva-saṁkrānti in Chaitra,— Vēlāṇḍu Mādhavunḍu, *alias* Rājavallabha-Pallavarayanḍu,<sup>1</sup> the lord of Kadambaṅgu[ḍi]<sup>2</sup> in Manni-nāṇḍu,<sup>3</sup> (*a subdivision*) of Birudarājabhayaṁkara-valanāṇḍu,<sup>4</sup> (*a district*) of Chōḍa-maṇḍala, gave a lamp, whose wick must not cease (*burning*) as long as the moon and the sun shall exist, to Nārāyaṇadēva, (*the god*) of the Maṇḍaya temple at Chālukyabhimāvura in Sakatamantani-nāṇḍu. For (*this lamp he*) gave 20 buffalo-cows into the possession of Pāpāna-Bōya, the son of Guṇḍiya-Bōya, and of Guṇḍiya-Bōya, the son of Gōsana-Bōya. From these (*buffalo-cows*) one Rājarāja-measure<sup>5</sup> of ghee has to be supplied daily (*for feeding the lamp*).

#### No. 21.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

##### A.—Chēbrōlu Inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1049.

This inscription (No. 153 of 1897) is engraved on a slab in the Kēśavasvāmin temple at Chēbrōlu in the Bāpatla tāluka of the Kistna district. The alphabet is Telugu, and the language is likewise Telugu, with the exception of one corrupt Sanskrit śloka at the end of the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> The Telugu nominatives Vēlāṇḍu and Pallavarayanḍu represent the Tamil Vēlāṇ and Pallavaraiyaṇ. Mādhavunḍu is the Telugu nominative of Mādhava.

<sup>2</sup> Kadambaṅgudayanḍu corresponds to the Tamil Kadambaṅgudaiyaṇ, an abbreviated form of Kadambaṅgudi-udaiyaṇ.

<sup>3</sup> The district of Manni-nāṇḍu is mentioned in Tamil inscriptions ; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, pp. 125, 324, 336, and Vol. III, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> This territorial designation is derived from a surname of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. which occurs in the *Kalīngattu-Parani* ; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 152.

<sup>5</sup> This measure may have been named after the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I.

The date is the day of a lunar eclipse in the month of *Jyāishṭha* in the cyclic year *Plava*, which corresponded to the *Śaka* year 1049 and to the 9th year of the reign of *Vikrama-Chōlādēva* (l. 11 ff.).<sup>1</sup> *Śaka*-*Samvat* 1049 (expired) corresponds to the cyclic year *Plavaṅga* (not to *Plava* as the inscription has it) and to A.D. 1127-28. As this was the 9th year of the king's reign, he must have ascended the throne about A.D. 1119. This result is in accordance with the fact that his father *Kulōttuṅga-Chōla* I. ascended the throne in A.D. 1070<sup>2</sup> and reigned for 49 or 50 years<sup>3</sup> to about A.D. 1119. According to Professor Kielhorn's calculations, the inscriptions of *Vikrama-Chōla* in the *Tamiḷ* country seem to show that his reign began on the 18th July A.D. 1108.<sup>4</sup> This discrepancy may be explained by assuming that 1108 was the year in which he was appointed *yuvārāja*, while his actual accession to the throne took place after his father's death in A.D. 1119.

The name of the king is preceded by a list of his *birudas*. These are identical with the surnames borne by his father *Kulōttuṅga-Chōla* I.<sup>5</sup> Among them we find *Vikrama-Chōla* (l. 7 f.), which was one of the *birudas* of his father, but is rather out of place here because it is identical with the name of the king himself, and *Rājakēśarivarman* (l. 8 f.), which is known to have been a surname of the former, while *Vikrama-Chōla* in his *Tamiḷ* inscriptions bears the title *Parakēśarivarman*.<sup>6</sup>

The inscription records the grant of a lamp to the temple of *Kumārasvāmin* (l. 18 f.) or *Mahāsēna* (l. 33) at *Chembrōlu* (l. 18), the modern *Chēbrōlu*. Hence it appears that the slab containing the inscription, which is now in the *Kēśavasvāmin* temple, was originally set up in the temple of *Kumārasvāmin*, which is now called *Nāgēśvara*.<sup>7</sup>

The donor was a feudatory of *Vikrama-Chōla*,—the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* *Nambaya* (l. 30 f.) of the *Durjaya* family (l. 23 f.). Among his surnames are 'the lord of the city of *Kollipākā*' (l. 22 f.), 'the lord of the country of six-thousand (villages) on the southern bank of the *Kriṣṇavennā* river' (ll. 25-27), and 'the scent-elephant of *Malla*' (l. 28). *Kollipākā* is mentioned as *Kollipāke* in an inscription of the Western *Chālukya* king *Jayasimha* II.<sup>8</sup> and as *Kollippākkai* in the inscriptions of *Rājendra-Chōla* I.<sup>9</sup> and of *Rājādhirāja*.<sup>10</sup> The second surname of *Nambaya* was borne later on by the chiefs of *Amarāvati*.<sup>11</sup>

From another inscription of the same chief in the *Bhīmēśvara* temple at *Drākshārāma* (No. 266 of 1893)<sup>12</sup> we learn that he ruled over the district of *Oṅgērumārga*:—[*Svasti*] *sa[madhi]gata-paṁchamah[ā]śābda-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kollipākā-puravarēśvara Durjjayakula-kumuda-chandra ripuga[ja]-mri(mri)gēndra mallikā-vallabha [pa]rāṅganā-durllabha vilāsa-Vidyādhara bhōga-Purāṇḍara Kri(kri)ṣṇa[ja]venṇānadi-tiradakṣhipa-<sup>13</sup> shaṭ[s]ahasra-vishay-ādi(dhī)śvara vīra-Mahēśvara kirtti-sudhākara guṇa-ratnākara Vēṅgi-Chālukya-rājya-mu(mū)lastambha <sup>14</sup>ripudalitakumbhikumbha Jayāṅganā-gri(gri)ha-tōraṇa Mallana-gaṁn[dh]avāraṇa nām-ādi-samasta-prasasti-sah[i]tāmb[u]na śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaray=Oṅgērumārggamuna Nambirāju Śaka-[va][r\*]shamulu 1052 ṇḍ=aguṇ=ēmti Vaiśākha-punnamayū Sōmavāramu Vyatipāta-ni[m]ittamunamdu . . . . . "On the*

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of this date will be published shortly.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 220, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 55, and above, Vol. IV. p. 327.      <sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 266.

<sup>5</sup> See page 221 above. The only *biruda* which was not taken over by *Vikrama-Chōla*, is *saptamē Viṣṇu-vardhana*.

<sup>6</sup> See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 68, and above, Vol. IV. pp. 73 and 263 f.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. V. p. 143.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 231.

<sup>9</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 67 and 68, and Vol. II. Nos. 9-20.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 52.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 147 and note 4.

<sup>12</sup> This inscription is noticed by Dr. Fleet from Sir Walter Elliot's transcript; *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 437 f., note 6.

<sup>13</sup> Read *-dakṣhiṇattra-*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *dalitaripu*.

occasion of Vyatipāta on Monday, the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1052," etc.

The same slab bears an inscription of Trailōkyamalla, the son of Nambhirāja (No. 267 of 1893):— Svasti samadi(dhi)gata-paṃcchamahāśha(śa)bda-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kollipākā-puravar-ādhiśvara Durjjayakula-kumud[a]-chandra ripugaja-mri(mṛi)gēndra mal[l]ikā-vallabha pa[r]āṃgganā-rdullabha<sup>1</sup> [vilā]sa-V[i]dyādihara bhōga-Puraṃ[da]ra Kr[i](kṛi)shṇaverṇṇānadi-tīradakshina-shatsahasra-vishay-ādhiśvara vīra-Mahēśvara ki[r]tti-sudā(dhā)kara guṇaratna-ratnākara V[ē]m[gg]i-Chālukya-[rā] . . . . . [ri]pu[da]litaku[m]bhikumbha Ja[y]ā[m]gganā-gr[i](gṛi)ha-tōraṇa [sat]ya-Harī[ch]andra dīnānādhā(tha)jana-sasya-pramēghavarsha Nambbhana-gaṃdda(dha)vāraṇa nām-ādi-samasta-prasasti-sah[it]ambuna śrīman-[m]ah[ā]maṇḍa] . . . . . r[gg]a[m]una Nambh[i]rā[ju] ko[ḍu]ku Trai[lo]kyamallera[ju] svasti [Śa]ka-[va][r\*]shāmbulu 1081 n= ēmtti Vaiśākha-bah[u]lapaksha ashtamiya Śa[ni]v[ā]ramuna . . . . . "On Saturday, the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1081," etc.

It will be noticed that in this inscription Trailōkyamalla is called 'the scent-elephant of Nambha,' i.e. of his father Nambaya or Nambirāja. Consequently it may be assumed that the latter, who bore the surname 'the scent-elephant of Malla,' was the son of Malla. In this way we obtain three generations of the chiefs of Oṅgērumārga:— Malla; his son Nambha, Nambaya or Nambirāja; and his son Trailōkyamalla.

Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks. "The date of No. 266 of 1893 would correspond, for Śaka-Samvat 1052 current, to Sunday, 5th May A.D. 1129, and for Śaka-Samvat 1052 expired, to Friday, 25th April A.D. 1130. In Śaka-Samvat 1053 expired, the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha commenced 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 13th April A.D. 1131, when the *yōga* was Vyatipāta for about the last quarter of the day. I believe this to be the day intended, but can give no reason why the writer should not have quoted Tuesday (the 14th April) on which the full-moon *tithi* ended. The date of No. 267 of 1893 would correspond, for Śaka-Samvat 1081 current, to Wednesday, 23rd April A.D. 1158; for Śaka-Samvat 1081 expired, to Tuesday, 12th May A.D. 1159; and for Śaka-Samvat 1082 expired, to Saturday, the 30th April A.D. 1160, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 hours after mean sunrise. In both dates the given Śaka year is short by 1 of the year of our Tables. This is not uncommon in dates from the eastern part of Eastern India."<sup>2</sup>

### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

#### A.—Front of Slab.

- 1 स्वस्ति समस्तभुवनान्य
- 2 श्रीप्रियवीरभ मह[1\*]राजा-
- 3 धिराज राजपरमेश्वर प-
- 4 रमभट्ट[1\*]रक्त रविकुलतिलक चो-
- 5 लकुलसेखर<sup>5</sup> पाण्ड्यकुलां<sup>6</sup>
- 6 तक्त समस्तराजान्य राजरा-
- 7 जेद्र वीरमहेन्द्र विक्रमचो-

<sup>1</sup> Read -darliabha.

<sup>2</sup> "See e.g. my *List of North. Inscr.* Nos. 367 and 370.

<sup>3</sup> From two inked estampages.

<sup>4</sup> Read श्रीपुष्टी.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'सेखर.

<sup>6</sup> The *anuvada* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 8 ८७ विजया[भ]रन<sup>1</sup> श्रीराजके-
- 9 <sup>2</sup>सखिचमपेर्मीनडिगलु गंगा-
- 10 कावेरीपय्यांत(क)<sup>3</sup> श्रीम[त्\*]त्ति[मु].
- 11 वनचक्रवर्त्ति विक्रमचो-
- 12 ८७देवर 'प्रवर्द्धमानवि-
- 13 जयराज्यसंवत्सरं-
- 14 लु ८ अगुने[ण्ड] <sup>4</sup>सक[व].
- 15 वर्षंलु १०४८ अ-
- 16 गु <sup>5</sup>प्रवसंवत्सर जेष्ट<sup>7</sup>.
- 17 भास सोमग्रहननिमित्त<sup>8</sup>
- 18 मुन चेंब्रोलि श्रीकुमा-
- 19 [रस्ता]मिदेवरकुनख-
- 20 [ण्डव]त्तिदिवियकु स्वस्ति
- 21 समधिगतपंचमह[र]श-
- 22 ष्महामण्डलेखर कोलिपा-
- 23 कापुरवरेखर दुर्ज[य]-
- 24 कुलकुलाचलन्निर्गेंद्र<sup>9</sup> स-
- 25 त्यहरिचंद्र <sup>10</sup>क्रिष्णवेन्नान-
- 26 <sup>11</sup>दीदक्षिनतीरपट्टसहस्र<sup>12</sup>
- 27 महीवल्लभ मल्लिका-

B.—Back of Slab.

- 28 वल्लभ मल्लनगंधवारन<sup>13</sup>
- 29 नामादिसमस्तप्रसस्तसहि<sup>14</sup>
- 30 तं <sup>15</sup>श्रीमनुमह[र\*]मण्डलेख-
- 31 र नंबय यिच्चिन गोठिय
- 32 ५० [र\*] वीनिं चैकीनि संत्तानक-
- 33 मंडुनं गाचि मह[र\*]सेन-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'भरन'.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'वर्ष'.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'पर्यंत' and add 'धरिचौपति' in accordance with some inscriptions of Kulottunga-Chōla I.; see above, p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'प्रवर्द्धमान'.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'मक'.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'वृष'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'जेष्ट' or, more correctly, 'ज्यैष्ठ'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'सहस्र'.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'मर्गेंद्र'.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'क्रिष्णवेन्नान'.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'दीक्षित'.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'सहस्र'.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'वर्ष'.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'प्रसस्त'.

<sup>15</sup> Read 'श्रीमन्'.

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 16  
 18  
 20  
 22  
 24  
 26

28 ದ್ರವವು ಸಗಡದೊರೆ  
29 ನಾಡುನಿವು ಸುಡುಗುನು  
30 ತಂದಿವುನು ಪವವು ಜಲವು  
32 ರನು ಬಯವು ಬಿನು ನಡಿಯ  
34 ಲವಿನು ಬಕುನು ತುನು  
36 ಮುನು ಗವನು ಪವನು  
38 ವುನು ನುನು ನುನುನು  
40 ವುನು ನುನು ನುನುನು  
42 ಯನು ನುನು ನುನುನು



- 34 सुन नित्य मानेणु नयि  
 35 वीर्यगलवाण्डु सुरवी-  
 36 युनि कीमय [1\*] इंदुल  
 37 स्थानपतुलु सुबुर्वु  
 38 मानुलु सुबुर्वुय्यलु ब्र-  
 39 तिपालिपंगलवार । खदत्त<sup>1</sup> प-  
 40 रदत्तं रवा यो हरेतु ख-  
 41 सुंदर [1\*] धविं वरुषय-  
 42 ह्यनि मिष्टयां जा-  
 43 यते क्रिमि ॥

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! In the 9th year of the increasing and victorious reign of the asylum of the whole world, the favourite of Fortune and of the Earth, *Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Paramabhāṭāraka*, the front-ornament of the race of the Sun, the crest-jewel of the Chōla family, the destroyer of the Pāṇḍya family, the asylum of all kings, *Rājārājendra, Vira-Mahendra, Vikrama-Chōla*, he whose ornament is victory, the glorious *Rājakesarivarman-Permanaḍi*, [the lord of the earth] as far as the Gāṅgā and the Kāvēri, the glorious emperor of the three worlds, *Vikrama-Chōladēva*,—

(L. 14.) On the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month of Jyēṣṭha in the *Plava-samvatsara* which was the Śaka year 1049,—

(L. 20.) Hail! the glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nambaya*, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the lord of *Kollipākā*, the best of cities; the lion of the principal mountain—the *Durjaya* family; a *Hariścandra* in truthfulness; the lord of the country of six-thousand (*villages*) on the southern bank of the *Kṛishṇavennā* river; the lover of the jasmine flower; (and) the scent-elephant of *Malla*,—

(Ll. 18-20 and l. 31 f.) gave 50 sheep to the temple of the god *Kumārasvāmin* at *Chembrōlu* for a perpetual lamp.

(L. 32.) Having received these (*sheep*), *Kommaya*, (*the son*) of *Sūra-Bāya*, with (*his*) descendants in succession, has to tend (*them*) and to supply daily to the *Mahāsēna* (*temple*) one *māna*<sup>2</sup> of ghee.

(L. 36.) The three-hundred temple servants (*sthānapati*) (and) the three-hundred dancing-girls of this place have to protect (*this grant*).

[Ll. 39-43 contain one of the usual minatory verses.]

## B.—Śēvilimēḍu Inscription of the Sixteenth Year.

This inscription (No. 43 of 1900) is engraved on the west wall of the *Kailāsanātha* temple at *Śēvilimēḍu*, a village on the northern bank of the *Pālāru* and about 2 miles south-west of *Conjeeveram*.

<sup>1</sup> This well known Sanskrit verse is here full of mistakes.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 156, note 2.

The inscription consists of eight verses in quaint Sanskrit. The alphabet is Grantha. The Tamil letter *r* is used in *Kōmpura* (vv. 4 and 7). Final *m* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *chiram*, *vidushām* (v. 2) and *labdham* (v. 5). Instead of *prōdghriṣṭa* and *udbhava* we find *prōtghriṣṭa* (v. 1) and *utbhava* (v. 3). *Āmhvaya* occurs twice (vv. 1 and 2) instead of *āhvaya*, and *sā[r\*]ddha* (v. 5) instead of *sārttha*. The Tamil names *Kirāñji*, *Ōdimākki*, *Kodi*, *Ponnambi* and *Kōmbura* are spelt *Kirāñchi* (v. 8), *Ōtimākki* (v. 4), *Koti* (v. 5), *Ponnampi* (v. 6) and *Kōmpura* (vv. 4 and 7), with *ch*, *t* and *p* instead of *j*, *d* and *b*.

The date is Monday, the day of Uttara in the second fortnight of Vaisākha during the sixteenth year of the reign of Vikrama-Chōladēva (v. 3).<sup>1</sup> This king bore the surnames *Akalaṅka* and *Tyāgavārākara* (v. 1). According to Mr. Venkayya, the former is applied to Vikrama-Chōla in the *Kulōttuṅga-Sōlaṅ-ulā*, an unpublished Tamil poem composed in honour of Kulōttuṅga II., and *Tyāgasamudra*, with which *Tyāgavārākara* is synonymous, occurs in the *Vikkirama-Sōlaṅ-ulā*<sup>2</sup> and in the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadēva.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription records that three persons assigned to the Śiva temple in the village of Rājasundari (v. 2) or Nripasundari (v. 3) some land (v. 3) and a garden (v. 5). The village of Rājasundari is evidently identical with Śevilimēdu, and the temple of Śiva, to which the grant was made, is the Kailāsanātha temple<sup>4</sup> on which the inscription is engraved.

Besides the subjoined inscription, six Tamil inscriptions have been copied in the same temple, the ancient name of which was Mūlasthāna. In three of them (Nos. 40-42 of 1900) the village is named Śevānamēdu. It belonged to Virpēdu-nādu<sup>5</sup> or Virpēṭṭu-nādu, a subdivision of Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam,<sup>6</sup> a district of Jayanṅga-Chōla-maṇḍalam, and bore the surname Nagariśvara-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.

#### TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

1 स्वस्ति श्री ॥— राजा विक्रमचोळ एष ज[य]ति प्राणेश्वरो भूयि-  
योर्भ्यस्मन्नतराजमौलिमकुटप्रोत्पृष्टपादाम्बुजः<sup>8</sup> [१\*] दूरोत्सारि[त]पापराशिरतुल-  
श्रीस्यागवाराकरस्वत्सम्पत्तिविवृद्धितुरनिश्वदेवोक्तकाङ्क्षयः<sup>9</sup> ॥— [१\*]

2 पुण्यपण्यविपणिस्वरस्वतीवासभूमिरमला सुनीन्द्रधीः<sup>10</sup> [१\*] राजसुन्दरि-  
समाङ्गयश्चिरम्<sup>11</sup> ग्राम एष विदुषाम्<sup>12</sup> विराजते ॥— [२\*] श्रीमद्विक्रम[म]चोळदेव-  
नृपतेर्वि[र्ष] शुभे षोडशे ग्रामे श्रीनृपसुन्दरीति विदिते वैशाखमासपरे [१\*] पक्षे  
सीत्तरचन्द्रवारविदिते काले शिवा-

3 यादिशन्<sup>14</sup> कुण्डूकभवक्षणभट्टनिधि[ल]यादेन लब्धाम् महीम् ॥— [३\*]  
कम्पत्तिप्रभवः क्षणपुरदेवोक्तकाङ्क्षः [१\*] आत्[त]कीम्पु, ७जो भट्टावोतिमू[क्ति]-

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of this date will be published shortly.

<sup>2</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 309 and note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> The present name of the temple is perhaps alluded to in verse 5 by the words "the ancient (god) who resides on the Kailāsa (mountain)."

<sup>5</sup> The same *nādu* is mentioned also in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, p. 117, and Corrigenda on p. 184. Virpēdu is the modern Vippēdu, 2 miles west of Śevilimēdu.

<sup>6</sup> The same district is referred to in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, Nos. 84, 85, 147, 148, and Vol. III, pp. 2, 138, 142.

<sup>7</sup> From three inked estampages.

<sup>8</sup> Read °प्रोत्पृष्ट°.

<sup>9</sup> Read °काङ्क्षयः.

<sup>10</sup> Read °धिः.

<sup>11</sup> Read °समाङ्गयश्चिरम्.

<sup>12</sup> Read °विदुषां.

<sup>13</sup> The *m* of °द्विक्र[म]° is engraved below the line.

<sup>14</sup> Read °कुण्डूक°.

2  
4  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...

2  
4  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...

2  
4  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...

2  
4  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...

2  
4  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...  
புதுபுது...



तुसर्वेकटी<sup>1</sup> ॥— [४\*] प्रादुस्त्रयोपि चितयं स्वप्रं कैलासवासाय चिर[न्त]नाय  
[१\*] आधेन लब्धम्<sup>2</sup> कीर्तिवीरवर्ध्नीः कृष्णाश्रया-

४ अं सतुरीयसाहसम्<sup>3</sup> ॥— [५\*] पीदम्पि[न]ान्ना ग्रामोणमङ्गलस्येन मया  
त्विदम् [१\*] साधुप्रियेण लिखितम् प्रमा[णं] साक्षिणः परे ॥— [६\*] 'दक्षि-  
णामूर्तिभट्टोयमळ्ळूर्हिजवरसुधीः [१\*] कृष्णद्वैपायनो यच्चा वेदकोमुपु<sup>4</sup>जयः  
[॥ ७\*] त्वित्<sup>5</sup> किराक्षिजनितावळ्ळळसंज्ञो तौ ताणकप्रभव-

५ रामयुतावितोमे [१\*] लेख्यं ग[त]ासुक्ततसाक्षिण एव धर्म<sup>6</sup> रक्ष-  
न्निवमदृपवराशिवभक्तकाश्च ॥— [८\*]

#### TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! (Verse 1.) Victorious is this king Vikrama-Chôla, the husband of the Earth and of Fortune, whose lotus-feet are frequently rubbed by the diadems on the heads of bowing kings, who has driven far away all sins, whose glory is matchless, the ocean of liberality (*Tyāgavārākara*) who continually causes the increase of the prosperity of good men, the king named Akalaṅka.

(V. 2.) Resplendent for a long time is this village of learned men, named Rājasundari, a market for the trade in good deeds, the pure place of residence of the goddess of learning, (and) the seat of lords of sages.

(V. 3 f.) In the auspicious sixteenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Vikrama-Chôladēva, in the month of Vaiśākha, in the second fortnight, at the time known as Monday combined with Uttara,<sup>7</sup>—the two *Bhaṭṭas* Kṛishṇapuradēva Aruḷāluka, born at Kammatti, and Ōdimōkki,<sup>8</sup> born at Āttañ-Kōmbura, together with Vēṅkata, assigned to Śiva, at the village known as the prosperous Nripasundari, land which (they) had received through the great piety<sup>9</sup> of Kṛishṇabhāṭṭa, born at Kuṇḍūr.<sup>10</sup>

(V. 5.) The same three persons gave to the ancient (god) who resides on the Kailāsa (mountain) their three-fold garden,<sup>11</sup> which (they) had received through the piety of Kodi and Viravali,<sup>12</sup> in which *kōkīlas* (*kṛishṇa*) lived on mango-trees, (and) which possessed a number of men of the fourth (caste) (as attendants).

(V. 6.) By me, the village arbitrator (*madhyastha*)<sup>13</sup> named Ponnambi, the friend of good men, this document (*pramāṇa*) was written. Witnesses (are) the following.

<sup>1</sup> Read °सर्वेकटी.

<sup>2</sup> Read °सार्धम्.

<sup>3</sup> Read °सहस्रम्.

<sup>4</sup> Read °सम्.

<sup>5</sup> Read °मूर्ति.

<sup>6</sup> Read °धर्म.

<sup>7</sup> *Uttiram* is the usual Tamil form of *Uttara-Phalgunī*. The Tamil form of *Uttara-Bhadrapadda* is *Uttirattiddi*, and that of *Uttarāshādhā* is *Uttirādam*.

<sup>8</sup> The same name, which seems to mean 'narrow-nosed,' occurs in an inscription at Ukkaḷ; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Śraddha* seems to be used incorrectly for *śraddhā*.

<sup>10</sup> A village of the same name is mentioned in two inscriptions at Maṇimāṅgalam; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 75.

<sup>11</sup> I take this meaning of *vapra* from Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*. The meaning 'field' does not fit here because mango-trees are stated to have grown in the *vapra*.

<sup>12</sup> The same name occurs in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 74.

<sup>13</sup> See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 2.

(V. 7 f.) Dakṣiṇāmūrti-Bhaṭṭa, a wise Brāhmaṇa of Allūr,<sup>1</sup> Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Yajvan, Jannaya Ritvij of Vēda-Kōmbura,<sup>2</sup> (and) the two persons named Arnāḷa, who were born at Kirāñji,<sup>3</sup> together with Rāma, born at Tāṇaka. These were written down as the only witnesses of (this) pious gift. Let the best of kings and the devotees of Śiva protect this grant!

No. 22.— KONDAVIDU PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF  
KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA;  
SAKA-SAMVAT 1442.

By H. LÜDERS, PH.D.; GÖTTINGEN.

Inked estampages of this inscription<sup>4</sup> were sent to me by Dr. Hultsch through Prof. Kielhorn with the following note: "On four faces of a pillar near the *agrahāra* at Kondaividu. The pillar is supported on two sides (north and south) by stones which made it impossible to copy and ink the top lines of the inscription in full."<sup>5</sup>

The inscription contains 166 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is  $\frac{3}{4}$ ".—The alphabet is Telugu and, with few exceptions, resembles that of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.<sup>6</sup> Several times *ka* appears here in the old form; see e.g. ll. 3, 6, 15, 16, 30, 43, 118, 145 (*ka*); 27, 111 (*kā*); 142, 146 (*kī*); 11 (*kī*); 17, 157 (*ku*); 7 (*kṛi*); 11 (*kē*); 142 (*kku*), while such forms as *ka* in ll. 7, 64, *ku* in l. 46, *kē* in l. 92, *kau* in l. 39, may be called transitional. The *sha* occasionally shows the younger form occurring also in the Vānapalli plates; see ll. 69 (*sha*); 24 (*shṭha*); 33 (*kshmd*). *ḷa* appears throughout in the form of the Bīṭraguṇṭa grant and the Vānapalli plates. In *dha* the *ottu* is used only in *dhi* in l. 19 (*vārām nidhīr*), *dhi* in l. 72, and in the subscript *dh* of *dhdha* in l. 34. But in *gha* and *ḍha* it is used quite regularly, and in *bha* it is only missing in *bhā*, *bhu*, *bhō* in l. 163, and in *bhrī* in ll. 5, 59 and *bhyā* in l. 7 on account of the subscript sign. In the groups *rma*, *rya* and *rva* the full sign of *r* is generally used, but in *ryā* in l. 20 and *rmmyai* in ll. 23, 92 it appears in the secondary form, as in all other combinations, and in *rvē* in l. 163 and *rma* in l. 165 it is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.—The language is Sanskrit from the beginning to l. 108, and again from the middle of l. 162 to the end. The rest is in Telugu.<sup>7</sup> With exception of the concluding words *śrī śrī śrī* in l. 108, the Sanskrit portion is in verse, whereas the Telugu portion is in prose throughout.—The orthography calls for few remarks. In the interior of a word *k*, *g*, *ch*, *t*, *d* and *v*, if followed by a vowel, are generally doubled after *anuvāra*; exceptions are *śamkur* (l. 20), *-āmkuraḥ* (l. 21), *-āmkā* (l. 34), *saptāṅgō-* (l. 29), *pañchā-* (l. 107), *maṁdāra* (l. 12), *Maṁdāvalūm* (l. 102), and several words in the Telugu portion (see for *m* ll. 127, 145; *ṁg* ll. 113, 115, 130, 141, 156, 158; *mch* ll. 117, 118, 119, 145, 153, 157; *mā* ll. 111, 121, 135). *ḍ* also is doubled in *śrīkhamḍḍa* (l. 76), *Komḍḍavīṭṭi* (ll. 98, 111), and *dh* in *baṁdhāhuṣhu* (l. 40), *-āruṁdhḍhatī* (l. 41); compare also *chīmṭṭapaṁdhḍhu* for *°paṁḍu* in l. 134. *tr* is written *ttr*

<sup>1</sup> A village of the same name is mentioned in two inscriptions at Maṇimaṅgalam; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. pp. 73 and 74. It may be identical with 'Allur' in the Māduraṅtakam tāluka between the 'Perumbair' and 'Olakur' railway stations.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Dvāḍai-Kōmburaṁ in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 259 and note 3.

<sup>3</sup> The same place is mentioned in an inscription at Tirukkalukkuṇṭam; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> No. 342 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

<sup>5</sup> This defect is not very serious, as the few missing *akṣaras* in ll. 87-89 can easily be replaced from other inscriptions.

<sup>6</sup> See my remarks, above, p. 108 f.

<sup>7</sup> The text and translation of the Telugu portion have been contributed by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

after *anuvāra* in the word *mantrin* in ll. 30, 85, 103, but with a single *t* in ll. 40, 92. Final *anuvāra* has caused the doubling of *g* in *-ākaratvaṃ ggaṭāḥ* (l. 17). As first letters of a group *t* and *d* are doubled in *ttritaya* (l. 29), *puttrā-* (l. 35), *kaṭattri* (l. 43), *puttrāv* (l. 44), *dārumam* (l. 7), *pāyādd=raghū-* (l. 8), *kalpaddruṃ* (l. 72), *dāyō-* (l. 80), whereas a double mute is represented by a single mute in *tatva* (l. 89) and *ujvalataram* (l. 98). After *r* a consonant is doubled in *-ārka* (l. 78), *mārggayaṃttē* (l. 33), *mārggam* (l. 80), *mūrchokhan* (l. 78), *-ātivartti* (l. 38), *kirttiḥ* (l. 50), *kirtti* (ll. 54, 106), *harmmyair* (ll. 28, 92), and in the Telugu *samarppimchchi* (l. 121). *ddh* is always written *dhdh*. A superfluous *anuvāra* has been inserted in *prapaṃnnāḥ* (l. 68), *-ātikhiṃnnāḥ* (l. 32) and some Telugu words in ll. 119, 125, 161. In *amṛitapallakunnu* (l. 119 f.) and *kāramallu* (l. 133), the double *l* is expressed by *l+l*. In accordance with the pronunciation of Sanskrit in the Telugu country we find a nasal inserted before *h*, followed by a consonant, in *prāṃhu-ēndrā-* (l. 3) and *grāṃhyā* (l. 164), and even with the complete loss of the *v* in *jimhālā-* (for *jihvālā-*; l. 58). On the other hand this pronunciation has led to the erroneous insertion of a *v* after an original *mh* in *siṃhvāsand-* (l. 14). The words *maṇḍapa* and *pradhāna* are always written *maṇḍapa* and *prathāna*; compare ll. 95, 116; 23, 88, 113, 153.

The object of this inscription is to record some grants by Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa, the governor of Kondaṇḍu, during the reign of Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagara. The inscription has much in common with the Maṅgalagiri and Kāzā pillar inscriptions edited above, p. 108 ff. Up to v. 26, it contains only 3 verses not found in those inscriptions (vv. 1, 3 and 7),<sup>1</sup> among which only v. 7 deserves to be noticed, as Kṛṣṇarāya is styled here a descendant of Yādū. This is apparently a mistake of the author; for, though Yādū was actually the reputed ancestor of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, the second dynasty, to which Kṛṣṇarāya belonged, traced their origin back to Yādū's younger brother Turvaṇu.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless the inscription is of some importance because it clearly shows that in Śaka 1442 Gōpa was governor of Kondaṇḍu, the verses about Appa's dignities<sup>3</sup> being omitted here altogether.

With v. 26 begins a list of some gifts made by Nādiṇḍla-Gōpa. V. 26 is identical with v. 29 of the Maṅgalagiri inscription and refers to the same gift as that mentioned in the next verse. Vv. 27-28 record that in the Śaka year counted by the eyes (2), the yugas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vikrama (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1442 expired), he presented, by order of Sālva-Timma, the minister of king Kṛṣṇarāya, an exceedingly high temple (*prāsāda*) furnished with nine gilt domes (*kalāṣa*), a gate-tower (*gōpura*), a wall (*prākāra*), and a festive hall (*utsava-maṇḍapa*), to the holy Rāmabhadra, and images for processions (*utsava-vigraha*), golden ornaments, two pearl necklaces, a great quantity of excellent beautiful ornaments, and the performance of *nīyōga*, exceeding seventy-two,<sup>4</sup> to Rāma in the town of Kondaṇḍi for the benefit of Sālva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.<sup>5</sup> V. 29 adds that, by order of Sālva-Timma, he assigned to the temple of the holy Rāghava, the lord of the town of Yajñavāṇi, the customs<sup>6</sup> on all the roads in the country of Kondaṇḍi and the village of Mainḍavōlu, at the same time keeping up the former donation of the village of Lemballe.

The Sanskrit part of the inscription concludes with a verse in praise of Sālva-Timma (30) found also in the Maṅgalagiri inscription, and another (31) stating that the *mahōpādhyāya*, who

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 1 and 3 are in praise of Rāma. V. 1 alludes to the legend quoted above, Vol. III. p. 251, note 9.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Hampe inscription of Kṛṣṇarāya, above, Vol. I. p. 361 ff.; Saṅkalāpura inscription of the same, *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 206 ff.; British Museum plates of Sadāśivarāya, *ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 1 ff.; Ūṇamāṇḍjēri plates of Achyutarāya, *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 147 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 21 and 35 of the Maṅgalagiri inscription.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding this term see note 1 on p. 113 above.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding this term see note 2 on p. 114 above.

<sup>6</sup> *Māṇḍasa* is a Telugu word about which see below, p. 232, note 6.

was acquainted with the doctrine of the five fires, the performer of the *dvādaśāha* ceremony, Lōlla-Lakshmidhara Yajvan,<sup>1</sup> was the author of the record.

In the Telugu portion (l. 109 ff.) the date given above is further specified, and a more detailed account of Gōpa's donation is given, especially as regards the establishment of the customs. It may also be noted that Nādiṇḍa-Timma is incidentally said here (l. 114) to have been a follower of the Yajñsākhā and the Āpastambasūtra, and that Sālva-Timma's wife is called here Lakshmamma (l. 155). Mr. H. Krishna Sastri contributes the following translation of the Telugu portion :—

(L. 109.) "Hail! Prosperity! On the auspicious occasion of a lunar eclipse, on Wednesday the 15th (*tithi*) of the bright (half) of Vaiśākha in the (cyclic) year Vikrama which corresponded to 1442 of the years of the victorious and increasing Śālivāhana-Śaka,—Gōparsayyāṅgaru,<sup>2</sup>—the son of Nādiṇḍa-Timmarāja who belonged to the Kausika-gōtra, followed the Āpastambasūtra, and was a student of the Yajñsākhā,—and the nephew of Sālva-Timmarayyāṅgaru, the glorious chief minister who bore the burden of the empire of the glorious Kṛṣṇadēva-mahārāja,—built a spire for the sacred (temple) of the god Raghunāyaka of Yajñavalkī in Koṇḍaviḍu, carried out the whitewashing (in connection with other) spires, *maṇḍapas* and towers, set up golden pinnacles, built the hall surrounding the temple,<sup>3</sup> and the enclosure (*prākāra*), presented idols (to be carried) in processions (*utsava-vigraha*), restored the village of Lemballe which had previously been granted (to the temple), and bestowed the village of Maindavōlu for all enjoyments,<sup>4</sup> rice<sup>5</sup> and festivals, [and assigned] *mūlavīśas*<sup>6</sup> at all places in the country (*sīma*) of Koṇḍaviḍu where tolls were paid, (*viz.*) at *vasantagaruvus*<sup>7</sup> in (the town of) Koṇḍaviḍu, at water-sheds,<sup>8</sup> at salt-beds and market-towns,<sup>9</sup> and at roads frequented (by people), such as (those to) the Tirumala hills.<sup>10</sup>

(L. 125.) . . . . . "at the rate of half a *paikamu*<sup>11</sup> on every bag of the following (articles): great millet, millet, . . . . ., salt, mangoes, myrobolan fruits, brinjals, clearing-nuts, and *māvena*;<sup>12</sup> at one *paikamu* on every bag of the following: green gram, black gram, Bengal gram, horse-gram, red gram, wheat, sesamum seeds, oil seeds, black pulse, pulse, cotton, tamarinds, gall-nuts, myrobolan seeds, yam, *chāma*, (and) *chirugaḍam*

<sup>1</sup> [In the colophon of his commentary on Śaṅkaradehārya's *Saundaryalaharī* (Dr. Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No. I. p. 78, No. 393), Lakshmidhara-Dēśika calls himself the seventh in descent from the mahōpādhyāya Mahādēvāchārya, who was 'the founder of the doctrine of the Lōlla-kula' and 'the commentator on the *Lōllagrantha*.' The author of the inscription, Lōlla-Lakshmidhara Yajvan, who also calls himself a mahōpādhyāya, may have belonged to the same school or sect.—H. Krishna Sastri.]

<sup>2</sup> The suffix *ayyāṅgaru* or *ayyagḍru* is the plural of *ayya*, a *tadbhava* of *ārya*. The appellation *ayyāṅgar* is now monopolised by a class of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmanas, while *ayya*, *ayyagḍru* and its Tamil equivalent *aigar* are restricted to non-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmanas. That *ayyāṅgaru* and *ayyagḍru* are both used in the inscription for the same person, shows that in the 16th century these two appellations bore no religious or sectarian significance.

<sup>3</sup> *Tiruchuttumḍile* or *tiruchuttumḍilika* (above, Vol. IV. p. 380, text line 14) are corruptions of the Tamil *tiruchekurumḍiligaḥ*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding *aṅgarāṅgavaibhava* see above, Vol. IV. p. 269 and note 2.

<sup>5</sup> For *amṛitapaḍi* see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 82, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> For the fiscal term *vīśa* see above, Vol. V. p. 23 and note 6.

<sup>7</sup> This word is not found in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*. Perhaps it denotes a rest-house somewhat like the modern *vasantamaṇḍapa*, which, according to Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, means 'a shed erected in gardens, near roads and temples, used during the hot weather for recreation's sake etc.'

<sup>8</sup> *Aruvāṇṭya* is apparently the same as the Kanarese *aravāṇṭe*, *aravāṇṭige* or *aravāṇṭige*, which means 'a water-shed.' Another Kanarese word which occurs in this inscription is *lāḍi* (l. 125).

<sup>9</sup> *Karavāṇṭe* is the same as the Sanskrit *kharvāṇṭa*, 'a market-town.'

<sup>10</sup> This refers to the hill of Tirupati in the Chandragiri taluka of the North Arcot district.

<sup>11</sup> According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *paikamu* means 'a small copper coin, a farthing, a half-penny.'

<sup>12</sup> This is perhaps the same as *māmēna*, which means 'a fragrant root like māsaparilla.'

(roots); at one *damma*<sup>1</sup> on every bag of the following: onions, turmeric, dammer, fenugreek, cumin, mustard, *salagas*<sup>2</sup> of new gunny bags, green ginger, lime fruits, (and) cocoa-nuts; at two *dammās* on every bag of the following: jaggery, cleaned cotton, ghee, castor oil, *saṅgaḍi*,<sup>3</sup> flowers of the *Bassia Latifolia* (tree), dry ginger, iron, and steel chisels; at three *dammās* on every bag of mango jelly; at four *dammās* on every bag of the following: sugar, areca-nuts, cotton thread, and betel leaves; at six *dammās* on every bag of the following: long pepper, pepper, sandal, cloves,<sup>4</sup> nutmeg, mace, lead, tin, (and) copper; and at one *chavela*<sup>5</sup> on a double bullock-load of women's garments:— the *mūlavīśas* levied at this rate from many (people) were granted (to the temple) by Nāḍiṇḍa-Gōparsayyaṅāru for the merit of the glorious chief minister Sāḷuva-Timmarsayyaṅāru and his wife Lakshamma.

(L. 157.) “If (any) Oḍḍa kings<sup>6</sup> and Teluṅgu kings shall violate this charity, they shall incur the sin of killing cows on (the banks of) the Gaḅḅā; if (any) Turuka (i.e. Musalmān) kings shall violate (this charity), they shall incur the sin of eating pigs.”

The inscription ends with one of the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit and the first half of another. Although the Śaka year is called a current year, the addition of the cyclic year leaves no doubt that really the expired year was intended. For Śaka 1442 expired=Vikrama the date corresponds, according to Prof. Kielhorn's calculation, to Wednesday, the 2nd May A.D. 1520, when a partial eclipse of the moon, visible at Vijayanagara, took place 18 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

The village of Maindavōlu is the modern Mayidavōlu,<sup>7</sup> 12 miles east-south-east of Narasārvupēṭa. The village of Lemballe I am unable to identify. Yajñavātipura seems to have been the name of a quarter or a suburb of the town of Konḍavidu.

### TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

North Face.

- 1 श्रीरामचंद्र[ः\*] त्रियमातनोतु सीता-
- 2 सहायो मुनिधर्मपत्न्याः । यस्यांघ्रिपङ्केदहरे-
- 3 गुरासीदाश्मव्रतोद्यापनकर्महेतुः<sup>9</sup> ॥ [१\*] <sup>10</sup>प्रज्ञेद्रादिशिरो-
- 4 मणिच्छविरविप्रातर्मयूखारणं भूषावृत्तमिदश्मरश्मिलह-
- 5 रोमंम्माळिभृंगारितं । मंजीरकणितैर्मराळवनितामंजुख-
- 6 नैरञ्चितं वहे रामपदारविहमनचं वंहाकल्प-

<sup>1</sup> This is apparently the same as *dramma*; see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. p. 21, notes 1 and 6; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 168 f.; *ibid.* Vol. II. p. 130; and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. I. Introd. p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *salaga* or *selaga* is 'a word used in measuring grain etc., one lot from which a new reckoning begins.'

<sup>3</sup> This term is not intelligible. It occurs in the obscure *biruda Saṅgaḍirakṣhapālaka* of a Redḍi king, in an unpublished Amarāvati inscription (No. 258 of 1897).

<sup>4</sup> *Karāmbhu* is probably the Tamil *karāmbu* or *kirāmbu*, 'cloves.'

<sup>5</sup> I.e. *chavalamu*, 'the fraction  $\frac{1}{4}$  (of a pagoda etc.).' According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* this is about one shilling.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. kings of Orissa. The special mention of these kings and of the Muhammadans in the imprecation shows that they were continually disturbing the peace of Kṛṣṇarāya's dominions.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 84 and note 4.

<sup>8</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch.

<sup>9</sup> The last *akṣhara* has been corrected.

<sup>10</sup> Read प्रज्ञेद्रा.

- 7 इमं ॥ [२\*] यत्कटाक्षश्च करुणक्रीडाभ्यां शबलीकृतः । विभी-<sup>१</sup>  
 8 षणे रावणे च स वः पायाद्भूदहः ॥ [३\*] अव्यादादिवरा-  
 9 हो वस्तरसामुहहमही । निजांमसंमसंजात-  
 10 सांद्रस्वेदोदयादिव ॥ [४\*] उरसि निहितलक्ष्मीबाहुवक्षीयु-  
 11 गेन स्वकरयुगळेकीकृत्य केळीविनोदे । कुवलयदळदामा-  
 12 न्धमंदारमालां दधदिव वितनीतु श्रीकळां काकुळेशः ॥ [५\*]  
 13 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथशिरोमणिः । राजन्यचूळिकारत्न-  
 14 नीराजितपदांबुजः ॥ [६\*] सिंहासनानर्हताया द्वापरे लज्ज-  
 15 या हलिः<sup>४</sup> । कलौ सिंहासनासीनः कृष्णरायो यदूह-  
 16 हः ॥ [७\*] श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कवीनां गृह्णा नाना-  
 17 रत्नविचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं माताः । अद्भिः<sup>५</sup> केवलनीर-  
 18 पूरनिलयस्त्रभाष्यते सज्जनैरंभीधिर्जलधिः पयोधि-  
 19 रुदधिर्वां निधिर्वारिधिः ॥ [८\*] आलानं रिपुदंतिनामरिप-  
 20 शौर्यपुष्पमीकाध्वरे वैरिस्त्रांतनिष्ठातर्शकुरुदितो  
 21 दीपः प्रतापांकुरः । पाताळाध्वरणीं<sup>६</sup> वराहवपुषो दंष्ट्रा  
 22 विभिद्योदता श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपस्य भाति विजयस्तंभः कळिंमांगणे ॥ [९\*]  
 23 महाप्रधानः<sup>७</sup> श्रीसाङ्गवतिमन्त्रसचिवशेखरः । श्रीकृष्णरायनृ-  
 24 पतेस्त्राम्राज्यमधितिष्ठति ॥ [१०\*] श्रीसाङ्गवतिमन्त्रसचिवः कौडिन्यकु-  
 25 लशेखरः । वेमयामात्यतनयराचयामात्यनंदनः ॥ [११\*] वि-  
 26 श्वो नैकं विशिषं वितरणविभवैर्विहदयेसराणां पद्मावाणी-  
 27 विलासैः प्रगुणमणिगणैः पद्मलाक्षीसहस्रैः । रम्यप्राका-  
 28 रहर्म्यैरतुलपरिकरैरश्महस्यादियानैस्त्रयस्त्रेभ्यो विभेदं<sup>८</sup>  
 29 समरविजयतस्त्राङ्गवतिमन्त्र जाने ॥ [१२\*] समांगीपेतशक्तिश्चि-  
 30 तयचतुरपायैकमंश्रीशसाङ्गे तिम्राख्ये कौडवीर्यां  
 31 गजपतिनिहितान् राजहंसान् गृहीत्वा । धाटीमाटीक-  
 32 माने परनृपतिखगाः क्षुत्पिपासातिखिन्नाः शाकाब्दान् मा-  
 33 र्गयन्ते गिरिपुरजलधिस्त्रासु गूढं प्रलीनाः ॥ [१३\*] साङ्गु-  
 34 वांशकवत्सरगच्छाषाढशुद्धहरिवासरसौरौ<sup>९</sup> । साङ्गु-  
 35 तिमन्त्रसचिवेन गृहीतं कौडवीटिनगरं नगराजं ॥ [१४\*] पुष्पा-

<sup>१</sup> After विभी a superfluous ष has been effaced.

<sup>२</sup> Read सिंहा.

<sup>३</sup> Read °ल्लाहरणी.

<sup>४</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>५</sup> Read वलिः?

<sup>६</sup> Read °प्रधानः.

<sup>७</sup> Read नङ्.

<sup>८</sup> Read अद्भिः.

<sup>९</sup> Read °शुद्ध.

- 36 रामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधिः<sup>1</sup> काव्यं चे[ह परच]  
 37 [सौख्य]जनकाश्वत्तानकाश्वत्त तान् । आ०त्तान् म[णनातिव]-  
 38 त्ति कृतवानासेतुग्रीताचलं श्रीकृष्णद्विपतिपासमोक्षिसचि-  
 39 वः[\*] श्रीसाङ्गवतिप्रभुः ॥ [१५\*] कौशिकान्वयसंभूतो नादिङ्कु-  
 40 कुलशेखरः । अस्ति तिमयमंजीशस्वमतस्त्वर्वबंधु<sup>2</sup> ॥ [१६\*]  
 41 कृष्णांवारुंधती<sup>3</sup> नूनं भर्तुवाक्वमरुंधती । अनसूया  
 42 हि सर्वत्र ह्यनसूयेति गण्यते ॥ [१७\*] नादिङ्कुतिमयामात्यः

*West Face.*

- 43 कळची कृष्णमांबया ।  
 44 तत्पुत्रावप्ययामात्य-  
 45 गोपयामात्यशेखरौ ॥ [१८\*]  
 46 जंभट्टिकुंभिकुंभट्ट-  
 47 यसचिवशचीचारुवचो-  
 48 जकुंभव्यक्तव्याप्तानुलि-  
 49 मप्रसृमरमसृणक्षोद-  
 50 कर्पूरपूरः । यत्कीर्त्तिः  
 51 कार्त्तिकेहुं परिहसति नि-  
 52 जै[\*] श्वेतिमादैतवादैस्त्रीयं  
 53 नादिङ्कुयप्पप्रभुमणि-  
 54 रत्निलस्तुत्यकीर्त्तिप्रतापः ॥ [१९\*]  
 55 'यध्वाटीघोटकीटीखरसु-  
 56 रदकितस्मातलोधूतधूलि-<sup>4</sup>  
 57 पाळोपाताळकेळीकृतधरणित-  
 58 ले खड्गयुग्यस्य बाहुः । जिं<sup>5</sup>  
 59 हालाभीलभूभृजगप-  
 60 रिपुटी लक्ष्यते 'सिध्धसंघेस्त्री-  
 61 यं नादिङ्कुयप्पप्रभुर-  
 62 वनिभराधारबाहुप्रतिष्ठः ॥ [२०\*]  
 63 गोपो नादिङ्कुगोपस तुल्या-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'निधि.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'बंधु.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'रुंधती.

<sup>4</sup> Read यध्वाटी.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'लोचुत.

<sup>6</sup> The *anuvāsa* stands at the beginning of the next line; read जिह्वाला.

<sup>7</sup> Read सिद्ध.

- 64 विति कथं ब्रुवे । एकसंस्तान-  
 65 वान्पूर्वस्वस्तसंस्तानवान्परः ॥ [२१\*]  
 66 एके चाध्यापिता ये वितरण-  
 67 निगमान्वेषसा सिंधुचंद्र-  
 68 [प्रा]या जायं प्रपंचाः कति  
 69 च पशुदृषद्वाजात्यातिम्-  
 70 ठाः । धत्ते चाध्यापयंस्तान् वि-  
 71 तरणनिगमान् गोपयार्थः क-  
 72 रेभिं कष्यं कामधेनुं ह-  
 73 दि वदनदृशोचंद्रचिंताम-  
 74 बी च ॥ [२२\*] यद्दैरिचोणिपालप्र-  
 75 करपुरमहाचंद्रगालाम्-  
 76 हंतः श्रीखंडुस्तंभशुं-  
 77 भङ्गजगपरिवृढालीढदेहा-  
 78 र्जवाहाः । मूर्च्छोहा[.] ख-  
 79 लंतस्त्रपदि गतविषा वैनते-  
 80 येन सद्यो ह्योमार्ग यां-  
 81 त्ति सोयं दिनमणि[वि]नुती  
 82 भाति नादिङ्गुगोपः ॥ [२३\*] श्रीकृष्ण-  
 83 चित्तिपालमौक्तिसचिवः श्रीसाङ्ग-  
 84 तिस्रप्रभुर्जामातर्यवरे धु-  
 85 रंधरवरे श्रीगोपमंघ्रीश्वरे ।  
 86 प्रादत्ताखिलकोडवीटिनगरी-

*South Face.*

- 87 साम्राज्य[धीरेयतां मत्तेभार्यप]दातिसैन्यकलितां प-  
 88 क्षांक्षिका<sup>१</sup> चा[मरे ॥] [२४\*] [श्रीकृष्णरायन]रनाथशिरःप्रधानः<sup>२</sup> श्रीसाङ्ग-  
 89 तिस्रसचिवेश्वर[रभागिनेयः । नादिङ्गु]गोपसचिवो नयतत्त्व<sup>३</sup>  
 90 वेदी श्रीकोडवीटिनगरैकधुरंधरीभूत् ॥ [२५\*] राघवाय १४४२  
 91 गणिते शकवर्षे राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्या । वप्रगीपु-  
 92 रयुतेर्नवहर्म्यैर्गोपमंचितिलकेन सपर्या ॥ [२६\*] शाका-  
 93 न्देक्षियुगाभ्विचंद्रगणिते संवत्सरे विक्रमे श्रीकृष्णचित्ति-

<sup>१</sup> Read क्षिकिका.

<sup>२</sup> Read प्रधानश्रीसाङ्ग-.

<sup>३</sup> Read तत्त्व-.

- 94 पालमौळिसचिवः<sup>१</sup> श्रीसाळ्वतिस्मान्नया । प्रासादं नव-  
 95 भिन्नं हेमकलशैरत्युन्नतं गोपुरप्राकारोत्सवमंट-  
 96 पैरुपचितं श्रीरामभद्राय च ॥ [२७\*] ॥ रामायोत्सवविग्र-  
 97 हांश्च कनकाकल्पांश्च सुक्तावळी सुख्यं चामरणीव-  
 98 सुज्वलतरं<sup>२</sup> श्रीकौंडवीटीपुरे । हासतत्यधिकां नियोग-  
 99 रचनां नादिङ्गुगोपप्रभुर्लक्ष्मीनायकसाळ्वतिस्मवि-  
 100 भवे पुण्याय कृत्वादिशत् ॥ [२८\*] ॥ श्रीयज्ञवाटिपुरनायक-  
 101 राधवाय श्रीकौंडवीटिसकलाध्वसु मूलवीसान् ।  
 102 लेखज्ञेमाद्यमनुपात्य च मैदवोलुं श्रीसाळ्वतिस्म-  
 103 वचसादित गोपमंजरी ॥ [२९\*] यावज्जुसुताचियंव-  
 104 कसुताश्रीकृष्णवेण्णापयःपूरास्ते पुनते भुवं च विपुलां<sup>३</sup>  
 105 श्रीकौंडवीटीपुरीं । यावत्काव्यसुधांबुराशिलहरी-  
 106 हेलां विधत्ते कविस्तावत्साळ्वतिस्मकीर्तिलतिका पुण्यात्त्वज-  
 107 स्तं भुवि ॥ [३०\*] मञ्जोपाध्यायपंचाम्बिदीक्षितो द्वादशाहकृत् [१\*]  
 108 लोक्कलक्ष्मीधरो यज्वा 'प्राद्वैतधर्मशासनं' ॥ [३१\*] श्री श्री श्री [१\*]  
 109 स्वस्ति श्री [१\*] जयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्षशुभ १४४२  
 110 भगुनेटि विक्रमसंवत्सर वैशाख शुद्ध<sup>४</sup> १५ शु<sup>५</sup> । सोमशङ्ख-  
 111 पुण्यकालमंदु कौंडवीटि श्रीयज्ञवाटिकारघुनायकुलकु  
 112 श्रीकृष्णदेवमहारायल साम्राज्यधुरंधर श्रीम-  
 113 महामुखान<sup>६</sup> साळ्वतिस्मसंयंगारि मेनकुडैन कौशिक-  
 114 गोच आपस्तंबसूत्र यज्ञःशाखाध्यायुलेन नादिङ्गु-  
 115 तिस्रराजंगारि कुमारंडैन गोपसंयंगार दे-  
 116 वुनिकि शिखरसु गट्टिचि शिखरमंटपगोपुराल सुख-  
 117 वनुलु चेरिचि प[यि]डिकुंडलु येत्तिचि तिरु-  
 118 बुट्टुमालेनु प्राकारसुसु कट्टिचि उत्सवविग्रह[१]-  
 119 ल समर्पिचि चंगारंगवैभवालकुंजु अमृतपञ्चल-  
 120 [कु]सु उत्सवालकुसु पूर्वान सागि वञ्चि[न\*] लेखज्ञेयामसु  
 121 सागिंश्चि मैदवोलि ग्रामसु समर्पिचि कौंडवीटि  
 122 सोमलोनु संखसु<sup>७</sup> सागिन चोटनलानु मूलवीसालु  
 123 [कौ]ंड[वी]डु[कुं]डु वसंतमंडलानु आरवंद्यालानु

<sup>१</sup> Read 'सचिववीसाळ्व'.<sup>२</sup> Read 'प्राद्वैतधर्म'.<sup>३</sup> 'प्रधान'.<sup>४</sup> Read 'सुज्वलतरं'.<sup>५</sup> Read 'शुभ'.<sup>६</sup> Read 'सुखसु'.<sup>७</sup> Read 'विपुला'.<sup>८</sup> I.e. पुष्यवार.

- 124 [उप्य]ल[लु]कर[वठ]लालु तिरुमलपर्वतालु मोद[ले]न वच्चि [पो]-  
 125 [इ]<sup>1</sup> हादि [म]। . . . . [न कि]र्ने[य] . . . जो[न]लु की[ळ]लु आ . .

*East Face.*

- 126 उप्य मामिडिकायलु उग्रि[रि]-  
 127 केकायलु वीकायलु इ.<sup>2</sup>  
 128 हुपुकायलु मावेन वीनिकि  
 129 [गो]ने १ कि अरपैकं लेखनु<sup>3</sup> । पेस-  
 130 लु मिनुसुलु सनंगलु उलुव-  
 131 लु कंदुलु गोधुम-  
 132 लु नुवुलु आमदालु  
 133 कारामळु अनुसुलु प्रप्ति  
 134 चिंतपंथु<sup>4</sup> करकाय उग्रि-  
 135 केप्यु कंद चाम चिरुगडं  
 136 वीनिकि गोने १ कि 'पइकमुलु [१\*] उक्ति प-  
 137 सपु गुगिलं मेत्ति जिलकळी आ-  
 138 वालु कोत्तगोनेल ससग अलं नि-  
 139 अपंडलु टेकायलु वीनि[कि] गो-  
 140 ने १ कि दम्मासुलु [१\*] वेजसु दूदि [ने]-  
 141 इ<sup>5</sup> आसुदं संगडि इप्पू शो-  
 142 ठि इनुसु उळुदुलुलु वीनिकि  
 143 गोने १ कि दम्मालु रेडुलु [१\*] मा[मि]-  
 144 [डि]ताड गोने १ [कि] दम्मा[१\*]हु मुंडु<sup>6</sup> [१\*]  
 145 पंचधार पौकलु नूलु तम-  
 146 लपाकुलु वीनि गोने १ कि दम्मालु  
 147 नालुगु [१\*] पिप्पलि मिरियालु गं-  
 148 धसु करांभुड आजिकाय  
 149 आजिपत्ति सोससु तगरसु रा-  
 150 गि वीनि गोने १ कि दम्मालु आरु [१\*] को-  
 151 कल मलगकु चवेल [१\*] ई मर्याद-

<sup>1</sup> Read पीये.<sup>2</sup> Read लेखनु.<sup>3</sup> Read नेय्य.<sup>4</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>5</sup> Read 'पंडु.<sup>6</sup> Read पैक.<sup>7</sup> Read मूडु.

- 152 नु पेकंइचात मूलवोसातु  
 153 [इ]पिचि श्रीमन्महाप्रधान<sup>1</sup> सा-  
 154 ऋवतिमसंयगारिकिचि वारि दे-  
 155 तुलु लक्ष्मन्मगारिकिचि पुण्यसु-  
 156 [ग]नु नादिङ्गुगोपसंयगा-  
 157 रु समर्पिचनु<sup>2</sup> । ई धर्मानकु षो-  
 158 'डिराजुलु तेलंगुराजुलु  
 159 त[पि]रा<sup>4</sup> गंगलोनु गोवृत्<sup>5</sup> चेशि-  
 160 न दोषान बोवुवार [1\*] तुरुकरा-  
 161 जुलु तपिरा पंदि दि[न] दोषा-  
 162 न 'बोडवार ॥ ए[कैव] भगिनी लोके  
 163 सर्वेषामे[व]<sup>7</sup> भूभुजां [1\*] न भोज्य[1]  
 164 [न] करयांछा<sup>8</sup> देवदत्ता वसुंध-  
 165 रा ॥ [३२\*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये<sup>9</sup> दाना-  
 166 ऋयेयीनुपालनं ॥

## No. 23.—RADHANPUR PLATES OF GOVINDA III.;

SAKA-SAMVAT 730.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription has already been edited, with a translation and a photo-lithograph, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 59 ff., by the late Professor Bühler, to whom the original plates were lent by the authorities of Rādhānpur, a Native State under the supervision of the Political Superintendent of Pālanpur, in the Bombay Presidency. As it is considered desirable to issue a true facsimile of this record, I now re-edit it from ink-impressions placed at my disposal by Dr. Fleet, who obtained the original plates on loan from the Political Superintendent of Pālanpur in 1884. There is no information as to whom the plates may actually belong to.

The inscription is on two copper-plates the first of which is engraved on one side only. It is incomplete; the third plate that would have completed it is lost; and so are the ring and seal which probably accompanied the plates. Either plate measures about 11½" by 7⅞". Their edges were fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; but the surfaces are a good deal corroded by rust—a fact which was altogether obscured by the manipulated photo-lithograph issued with Professor Bühler's paper in 1877—and some letters, in

<sup>1</sup> Read प्रधान.<sup>2</sup> Read 'केनु.<sup>3</sup> Read षोडश°.<sup>4</sup> Read तपिरा.<sup>5</sup> Read गोवृत्.<sup>6</sup> Read बोध°.<sup>7</sup> The r of सर्वेषा° is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.<sup>8</sup> Read करयांछा.<sup>9</sup> The r of पालनयोर्मध्ये is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign.

consequence, are more or less illegible. The weight of the two plates is 4 lbs. 6½ oz. The letters shew through faintly on the back of the first plate; they bear the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. Their size is between about ⅜" and ½".—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may perhaps be drawn to the initial *ā* in *ā-chandr*, l. 51; to *ñ* in *Vēṅg-īśvarō*, l. 34; *ja*, e.g. in *Krishnarājah*, l. 3; *jā* in *jātu*, l. 8; *ñ* in *kin=n-āñ-ēva*, l. 21, and *pañcha*°, l. 54; *tō* in *bhaṭṭadhatēna*, l. 11; *ḍa* in *nigaḍa*, l. 24; *ḍha* in *upagūḍha*, l. 2; the subscript *n* in *Krishna*°, l. 3, and *karnṇa*°, l. 7; *phu* in *phalakē*, l. 25; and to the final *t*, e.g. in *bhrājītāt*, l. 3. The very rare letter *jh*, which occurs in *nirjjhara*, l. 11, and probably in *duvējha*, l. 47, unfortunately in either case is not very distinct.—The language is Sanskrit, but some proper names from the southern vernaculars occur in the formal part of the grant, in lines 44-48. In respect of orthography the following points may be mentioned. The sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; *j* is used for *y* in *jātē*, l. 22; *chchha* for *tṣa* in *ādichchhayā*, l. 22; and the vowel *ri* is seven times employed for *ri*, e.g. in *-bhay-āsrīta*, l. 3, and *-śriyam*, l. 15. An original final *n* before a following consonant is generally (altogether 14 times) wrongly changed to *anusvāra*, e.g. in *saṁ* (for *san*), l. 7, *sprishṭavām*, l. 12, and *tasmīn*, l. 21. *Visarga* is everywhere (permissibly) omitted before following *sth*, *sp* and *sph*, e.g. in *urasthala*, l. 1, *ya sprishṭavām*, l. 12, and *‘bhūshītā sphuṭam*, l. 19. The rules of *sandhi* have been frequently neglected, and occasionally an *akshara* has been omitted by the writer.

The inscription records a grant by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvindarāja [III.], or, as he is called in lines 39-41, the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* and *Prithivīallabha*, the glorious *Prabhūtavarsha*, the glorious *Śrīvallabhanarēndradēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the glorious *Dhārāvarshadēva*. After the word *ōm*, and the well-known verse *Sa vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhāma*, it has nineteen verses glorifying the kings *Krishnarāja* [I.], his son *Dhōra* (*Dhruva*) *Nirupama Kalivallabha*, and his son *Gōvindarāja* [III.], the donor of the grant. With the exception of verses 7, 15 and 19, the first half of verse 12, and part of verse 13 of the present inscription, the same verses also occur in the *Wañi* grant, edited by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 157 ff.; and all the nineteen verses are found—generally in a very corrupt form, yet with one or two more correct readings—in the *Manne* grant mentioned in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 5, of which a photograph, received from Mr. Rice, has been lent to me by Dr. Fleet. Verse 9 also occurs in the *Śirūr* inscription, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 218, lines 2 and 3 of the text. An examination of the language and general style of most of these verses can leave no doubt that their author or authors<sup>1</sup> for their expressions and poetical devices are greatly indebted to such works as *Subandhu's Vāsavadattā* and *Bāpa's Kādambari* and *Harshacharita*; and to shew this, I have quoted in the notes on my translation some of the parallel passages which I have collected from those literary works. Regarding the facts recorded in the verses and their historical bearing, I could not add anything of value to what other scholars already have stated; but, concerned as I am with the proper interpretation of the text, I must submit here at least one short remark on the first words of verse 5, which I have found great difficulty in translating and may not perhaps have translated very satisfactorily. The words *jyēshṭh-ōllanṅhana* of that verse I have rendered, with reference to *Dhōra*, by ‘the passing over of his eldest brother,’ because, in regard to the moon with which *Dhōra* is compared, I had to translate the same words subsequently by ‘after having passed *Jyēshṭhā*.’ But I would not wish the reader to understand from my translation that the author must necessarily be taken to say that *Dhōra* immediately succeeded his father, to the exclusion of his eldest brother from the succession. The words of the original text may equally well mean that *Dhōra* superseded his eldest brother after the latter had succeeded their father, or that he secured the throne for himself by revolting against that brother. The verb *ul-laṅgh* and

<sup>1</sup> In the verses 13 and 19 of the present inscription, their author—if my readings be correct—has employed a construction and a form for which analogies may be found in epic poetry, but which are contrary to the rules of classical Sanskrit; see my notes on the text.

*ullaṅghana* are generally equivalent to *ati-kram* and *atikrama*—in fact, I believe our author to have used *jyēshṭhōllaṅghana* in actual imitation of the expression *jyēshṭhātikrama* which occurs in the passage from the *Kādambarī* quoted in my notes—and may well convey the various meanings of the latter.<sup>1</sup> Nor would the circumstance that Dhōra's action is compared with a certain proceeding of the moon be at all calculated to enlighten us on what the author meant exactly to express by the word *ullaṅghana*, because, in accordance with the very nature of the figure of *ślēṣha*, that word might denote one thing with regard to the moon, and something quite different in the case of Dhōra. The question, therefore, whether Dhōra immediately succeeded his father, or superseded his eldest brother after the latter had ascended the throne, cannot in my opinion be answered from a consideration of the words under discussion.

The *prastuti* which is spoken of in the above, and of which a full translation will be given below, is followed in line 38 of the plates by another, very common verse :—

(V. 21.) "Having seen that this life, unstable like wind and lightning, is void of substance, he (Gōvindarāja) has devised this gift to a Brāhmaṇ, most meritorious on account of a donation of land."

And in the prose passage which follows this verse, the king, here called *Prabhūtavarsha* (l. 40) and described as already stated above, in the usual terms issues an order to the *Rāshṭrapatis* and other officials, to the effect that, while in residence at *Mayūrakhaṇḍī* (l. 42), on the occasion of a solar eclipse on a date to be given below, he granted the village of *Rattajjuna* (or *Rattajuna*, ll. 45 and 49), situated in the *Rāsiyana bhukti*, to *Paramēśvarabhatta*—a son of *Chandiyamma-Gahiyasāhasa*,<sup>2</sup> and son's son of *Nāgaiyyabhatta* who dwelt at *Tigavi* (l. 43), was a member of the community of *Trivédins* (or students of the three Vēdas) of that place, and a student of the *Taittiriya Vēda*, and belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*—for the purpose of keeping up the so-called five great sacrifices.

The boundaries of the village of *Rattajjuna* (or *Rattajuna*) were (l. 45) : on the east, the river *Sinhā* ; on the south, *Vavulāṭā* ; on the west, *Miriyaṭhāna* ; and on the north, *Varaḥagrāma*, 'the village of Varaha.' And regarding the village it is further stated that it was (the village) of certain Brāhmaṇs—the chief of whom were *Anantaviśāṇubhatta*, *Viṭṭhduvā[jha?]*,<sup>3</sup> *Gōindamma-shaḍaṅgavid*, *Savvaibhatta*, *Chandaḍibhatta*, *Kuṇṭhanāgaibhatta*, *Mādhavairiyappa*, *Viṭṭhapu*, *Dēvaṇaiyyabhatta*, *Rāyaiyyabhatta*, etc.—associated with the forty *Mahājanas*.<sup>4</sup> This latter remark I can only understand to mean that the people mentioned were settled at the village.

<sup>1</sup> From my first note on the translation of verse 5 it will be seen that the commentator of the *Nirukta* uses *ati-kram* with reference to the action of a younger brother who had himself crowned to the entire exclusion of his eldest brother from the succession. But *atikrama* in *jyēshṭhātikrama* quoted *ibid.* from the *Kādambarī* is understood by the commentator merely to mean 'the transgression of the commands' (*nirdhī-ḥllaṅghana*) of an eldest brother. Similarly, *atikrama* is explained by *ajñā-tikrama* in the commentary on *Yājñavalkya*, II. 232; and in *Manu*, III. 63, *brāhmaṇ-tikrama* is translated by 'violence to Brahmins' and 'irreverence to Brāhmaṇas,' while the different commentators on *Manu* paraphrase *atikrama* here by *adhikāśp-ādī*, *tiraskār-ādī*, and *apājana*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gahiyasāhasa* apparently is equivalent to *ghaiśasa* which we have in the names *Prabhākara-ghaiśasa* and *Vāsiyana-ghaiśasa*, above, Vol. III. p. 216, l. 11 of the text, and in other names, e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 306, and Vol. XIV. pp. 71 and 72. *Ghaiśasa* is a family name now found among Chitpāvan Brāhmaṇs; see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> The word affixed to the next name, *shaḍaṅgavid*, 'knowing the six Vēdāṅgas,' shows that the word affixed to the name *Viṭṭhu* most probably is some equivalent of the Sanskrit *dvivēda* or *dvivēdin*, 'a student of two Vēdas'; but I know no rule by which either could become *davējha*. In the *Wani* grant, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 159, l. 96, we have *davēdi*. for *dvivēdi*, and elsewhere (*ibid.* Vol. XIV. p. 71, ll. 1 and 2) occur *dvēdi* and *davē*. The last might suggest *Viṭṭhu-davē*, but I do not see my way to connect the *akṣara jha* (if it is really correct) with the following proper name which, standing for *Gōyindamma*, *Gōvindamma* (*Gōvindappa*), seems unobjectionable.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 10, note 2, Dr. Fleet has stated that the *Mahājanas* of a village were the collective body of the Brāhmaṇs of the village. I cannot reconcile this statement with the circumstance that the present inscription speaks of the Brāhmaṇs of the village as associated with (or accompanied by) the forty *Mahājanas*.

Of the localities mentioned in the preceding, *Rāsiyana*, from which the *bhukti* was named in which the village granted was situated, has been already identified by Prof. Bühler with the modern *Rāsin*, a town in the Ahmadnagar Collectorate of the Bombay Presidency,<sup>1</sup> the 'Raseen' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, in lat. 18° 26', and long. 74° 59'. The village granted, *Rattajjuna* or *Rattajuna*, is identified in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres.* Vol. XVII. p. 352, with the village of 'Rátájan,' the 'Rátanjan' of the Postal Directory, and 'Ratunjun' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, about 24 miles north-north-east of 'Raseen.' It lies on the western bank of the river *Sinā* ('Seena') which is the *Sinhā* river of the grant. Three miles almost exactly south of it is 'Baboolgaon,' the *Vavulāla* of the grant; and a little more than two miles west of 'Ratunjun' we find 'Meernjgaon,' which must be *Miriyathāna*. Lastly, the name of *Varaha-grāma* which was north of *Rattajjuna* survives in the names 'Wurgaon' and 'Wurgaon-kota-che,' which are found in the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 39, eight and five miles respectively north by west of 'Ratunjun.'—*Tigavi*, the place of residence of the grantee's grand-father and most probably his own, is suggested by Dr. Fleet to be 'Tugaon,' a village about eight miles north-east by north of *Sāngamnēr*, the 'Sungumner' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 38; it would be distant about 80 miles north-west by north from 'Ratunjun.'—On *Mayūrakhaṇḍi* whence the grant was issued, see Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 396.

As has been already stated, the grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse; and the date on which this eclipse took place is given (ll. 53 and 54) as the new-moon *tithi* of the dark half of *Śrāvaṇa* in the (Jovian) year *Sarvajit* and the *Śaka* year 730 (given in words only). I have already had occasion to shew—see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIII. p. 131, No. 108, and compare Vol. XXV. pp. 267, 269 and 292—that this date for *Śaka-Saṃvat* 730 expired corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 808, when there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India. At *Rāsin* the greatest phase of this eclipse was about 5 digits, and the moment of the greatest phase was shortly after true sunrise. The year *Sarvajit* can be connected with the date only by the so-called northern system, because by the strict mean-sign system *Sarvajit* had ended on the 26th May A.D. 808, and by the southern system *Sarvajit* corresponds to *Śaka-Saṃvat* 730 current.

The second plate ends with the usual admonition not to obstruct the grantee in the enjoyment of this grant, and the missing third plate may be assumed to have contained some similar remarks and a number of benedictive and imprecatory verses.

I consider it unnecessary to publish a full translation of the prose part of this inscription; as regards my translation of the introductory verses, I can only say:—*Yatnē kritē yadī na sidhyati kō 'tra dōṣhaḥ?*

### TEXT.\*

#### First Plate.

Om<sup>3</sup> [||\*] Sa<sup>4</sup> vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhāma yan-nābhi-kamalam kṛitam [||\*]  
 Harāś=cha yasya kānt-ēndu-kalayā kam=alamkṛitam [|| 1\*] <sup>6</sup>Bhūpō=bhavat=  
 vṛi(bṛi)had-urasthala-rāja-  
 2 māna-śrī-kaustubh-śyata-karair=upagūḍha-kaṇṭhaḥ<sup>5</sup> [||\*] satyanvitō vipula-chakra-  
 vinirjit-ārichakrō=py=akṛishṇacharitō bhu-

<sup>1</sup> See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres.* Vol. XVII. p. 784.

<sup>2</sup> From an impression supplied by Dr. Fleet.

<sup>3</sup> Denoted by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Śloka* (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>6</sup> Originally the sign of *anusedra* was engraved above *ka*, but it has been struck out again.

- 3 vi Kṛiṣṇarājāḥ [|| 2\*] <sup>1</sup> Pakṣhaśchchhēda-bhay-āśrī(śrī)t-ākṣhila-mahābhūbhṛitkula-  
bhrājītāt<sup>2</sup> durlamghyād=aparair=anēka-vimāla-bhrājishqu-  
4 ratu-ānvitāt [1\*] yaś=Chālukya-kulād=anūna-vivu(bu)dha-vrāt-āśrayō vāridhēr=  
Lakṣmīn(m)=Mandaravat=sa-līlam=achirād=ākṛiṣṭavām=Vallabhāḥ [|| 3\*]  
5 Tasy=ābhūt=tanayaḥ pratāpa-visarair=ākṛānta-digmaṇḍalāḥ<sup>4</sup> chaṇḍāmśōḥ sadṛiśō=py=  
achanḍakarātā-prahlādita-kṣhmātālāḥ [1\*] Dhōrō  
6 dhairya-dhanō vipakṣha-vanitā-vaktrāmṇu(mbu)ja-śrī-harō hārikṛitya yaś[ō] yadiyam=  
anītam dig-nāyikābhīr=dhṛitam [|| 4\*] Jyēsth-ō[1\*]lamghana-  
7 jātay=āpy=amalayā lakṣmyā samētō=pi sam<sup>5</sup> yō=bhūn=nirmāla-maṇḍala sthiti-yutō  
dōshākarō na kvachit [1\*] karṇ-ādhaṣṭhita-dāna-sam-  
8 tatī-bhṛitō yaś=ānya-dān-ādhikam dānam vikṣhya su-la[j\*]jitā iva diśām prāntē  
sthītā diggajāḥ [|| 5\*] <sup>6</sup> Anyair=na jātu vijitam  
9 guru-śaktisāram=ākṛānta-bhūtalam=ananyasamāna-mānam [1\*] yēn=ēha va(ba)ddham=  
avalōkya chirāya Gaṅgā[m\*]  
10 dūram sva-migraha-bhiy=ēva Kalīḥ prayātāḥ [|| 6\*] <sup>7</sup>Ēkatr=ātma-va(ba)lēna<sup>8</sup>  
vā[r]inidhin=āpy=anyatra rudhvā<sup>9</sup> ghanam niṣkṛiṣṭā[si\*]-<sup>10</sup>  
11 bhaṭ-ōddhatēna viharadgrāh-ātibhīmēna cha [1\*] mātāmgān=madavāri-nirjjhara-  
muchaḥ prāpy=ānatāt=Pallavāt  
12 tach=chitraṁ mada-lēsam=apy=anudinam ya sprīṣṭavām<sup>11</sup> na kvachit [|| 7\*]  
[Hēlā]-svī[kṛi]ta-Gauḍa-rājya-kamālā-mattam pravēśy=āchirāt<sup>12</sup> du-  
13 rmārgam maru-madhyam=aprativa(ba)lair=yō Vatsarājām va(ba)lai[h] [1\*]  
Gauḍiyam śaradindu-pāda-dhavalam <sup>13</sup>chchhatra-dvayam kēvala[m] tasmān=n=āhri-  
14 ta tad-yaśō=pi kakubhām prāntē sthitam tatksaṇāt [|| 8\*] <sup>14</sup>Lavdha(bdha)-  
pratīṣṭham=<sup>15</sup>achirāya Kalīm sudūram=utsārya suddha-charitair=ddhara-  
15 xi-talasya [1\*] kṛitvā punaḥ Kṛitayuga-śrī(śrī)yam=apy=asēsham chitraṁ katham  
Nirupamaḥ Kali-vallabhō=bhūt [|| 9\*] <sup>16</sup>Prābhūr=dhairya-vataḥ  
16 tatō Nirupamād=indur=yathā vāridhēḥ suddh-ātmā paramēśvar-ōnnata-śiraḥ-samśakta-  
pādaḥ sutāḥ [1\*] padm-ānandakaraḥ  
17 pratāpa-sahitō nity-ōdayaḥ sōnnatēḥ pūrv-ādrēr=iva bhānumān=abhimatō  
Gōvindarājāḥ satām [|| 10\*] Yasmi[m]<sup>17</sup> sarva-  
18 guṇ-āśrayō kṣhitipatau śrī-Rāṣṭ[r]akūt-ānvayō jātē Yādavavamsāvan=Madhuri[pā\*]v=  
āśid=alamghyaḥ paraiḥ [1\*] dṛiṣṭ-āśā-

## Second Plate ; First Side.

- 19 vadhayāḥ kṛitāsyasadrīśā<sup>18</sup> dānēna yēn=[ō]ddhatā muktāhāravibhū[ahitā]<sup>19</sup>  
sphuṭam=iti pratyarthi[nō=p]y=arthin[ō]=py=asy=ākāra-<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre of verses 3-5: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.<sup>2</sup> Read *śāśvada*.<sup>3</sup> Metre: Vasantatīlākā.<sup>4</sup> This reading is quite certain; Prof. Bühler read *valēna*.<sup>5</sup> *Niṣkṛiṣṭāśrī* is the reading of the Mappa grant. Prof. Bühler's text has *niṣkṛiṣṭāśrī*, and the photo-lithograph actually has the *akṣhara* *vi* at the end of line 10; but, so far as I can judge, that *akṣhara* was never really engraved, and owes its presence solely to Prof. Bühler's conjectural reading.<sup>6</sup> Read *apṛiṣṭavāna*. Prof. Bühler has suggested the reading *yat=apṛiṣṭā*, but this alteration of the original text seems to me unnecessary.<sup>7</sup> Read *achirād*.<sup>8</sup> Read *chhatra*.<sup>9</sup> Metre: Vasantatīlākā.<sup>10</sup> Originally the sign of *anusvāra* was engraved above *śāśha*, but it has been struck out again.<sup>11</sup> Metre of verses 10-20: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita. — Read *prabhād=dhairya-vata*.<sup>12</sup> Read *gasmi*.<sup>13</sup> Read *kṛitā syasadrīśā*.I should have expected *śāśhād*; but the plate seems really to have *śāśhād*, which is the reading of the Wasi and Mappa grants.Read *arthindm* [|| 11\*] *Tasya-ākāra*.

- 20 m=amānuṣaṁ tri(tri)bhuvaṇa-vyāpatti-rakṣa-ōchitaṁ Kṛishṇasy=ēva nirikṣhya  
yachchhati pitary=aikādhīpatyaṁ bhuvaḥ [1\*] āstām tāta ta-
- 21 v=aitad=apratihatā dattā tvayā kaṭhikā kin=n=ājū=ēva mayā dhṛit=ēti pitaraṁ  
yuktaṁ vachō yō=bhyadhāt [11 12\*] Tasmim<sup>1</sup> svarga-
- 22 vibhūṣaṇāya janakē jā(yā)tā yaśaśśeṣhatām=ēkibhūya samudyatām<sup>2</sup> vasumatī-  
sainhāram=ādichohhayā<sup>3</sup> [1\*] vichchhāyām<sup>4</sup>
- 23 sahasā vyadhata nripatīn=ēkō=pi yō dvādaśa khyātān=apy=adhika-pratāpa-  
visaraiḥ samvartakō=rkān=iva [11 13\*] Yēn=ā-
- 24 tyanta-dayālun=ātha nigada-klēśād=apāsy=āyātāt svam dēśam gamitō=pi darpa-  
visarād=yah prātikūlyō sthitaḥ [1\*] yā-
- 25 van=na bhrutu(ku)tī lalāta-phalakē yasy=ōnnatē lakṣhyatē vikṣhēpā vijitya  
tāvad=achirād=va(ba)ddhaḥ sa Gaṁgaḥ punaḥ [11 14\*] Sam-
- 26 dhāy=āśu śilimukhām<sup>5</sup> sva-samayām<sup>6</sup> vā(bā)ṇāsanasy=ōpari prāptaṁ varddhita-  
vām(bam)dhujiva-vibhavaṁ padm-ābhivṛiddhy-anvi-
- 27 tam [1\*] sannakṣhatram=ndikṣhya yaṁ śarad-ritum parjanyavad=Gūrjarō nashtaḥ  
kv=āpi bhayāt=tathā na samaram sva-
- 28 puṇ=pi paśyēdayathā [11 15\*] Yat-pādānatimātrak-aika-śarapām=ālōkya lakṣmī[m\*]  
nijām dūrān=Mālava-nā-
- 29 yakō naya-parō yaṁ prāpamat=prāmjalih [1\*] kō vidvām<sup>7</sup> valinā sah-  
āpa-va(ba)laka sparddhām vidhattē param<sup>8</sup> nī-
- 30 tēs=tad=dhi phalaṁ yad=ātma-parayōr=ādhiḥya-samvēdanam [11 16\*] Vimdhy-  
ādrēḥ kaṭakē nivishṭa-kaṭakam śrutvā charair=yaṁ nijaiḥ svam dēśam
- 31 samupēgataṁ dhruvam=iva jñātv[ā] bhiyā prēritaḥ [1\*] Mār[āśa]rva-  
mahīpatir=drutam=[ag\*]ād=aprāptapūrvaiḥ paraiḥ<sup>9</sup> yasy=ēchchhām=a-
- 32 nukūlayam<sup>10</sup> kula-dhanaiḥ pādau prajāmair=api [11 17\*] Nītvā Śrībhavanē  
ghanāghana-ghana-vyāpt-āmva(ba)rām prāvṛisham tasmā-
- 33 d=āgatavām<sup>11</sup> samam nija-va(ba)lair=ā-Tuṁgabhadra-taṭam [1\*] tatra-sthaḥ  
svakara-sthitām=api punar=na(mi)hśēṣham=ākṛiṣṭavām<sup>12</sup> vikṣhēpair=api
- 34 chitram=ānata-ripur=yah Pallavānām śri(śri)yaṁ [11 18\*] Lēkhāhāra-mukhōdit-  
ārdha-vachasā yatr=aitya Vēṅg-lāvarō nityam kiṁkaravad=vya-

<sup>1</sup> Read *tasmim* =.

<sup>2</sup> Read *samudyatām* =. From the St. Petersburg Dictionary it will be seen that *udgata*, *abhyudyata*, *praty-udgata*, *samudyata*, etc., occur in various epic and purāṇic texts where we should have expected *udgata*, etc. The case is the same with the word *samudyatām* in the present passage. Here the fact that the twelve princes are compared with twelve suns shews beyond a doubt—see the passages which will be quoted in connection with the translation of the verse—that we want a word which means “risen,” and this could only be *samudyatām*. I prefer this explanation to the assumption that *samudyatām* might have been erroneously put by the writer for *samudyatō* (from *sam-ud-i*).

<sup>3</sup> Originally *vasumatīm* was engraved, but the sign of *anuvēda* clearly is struck out. In the two *akṣaras* *mādhī* the *d* of *mā* also looks as if it had been struck out, and *dhi* may perhaps have been altered, but I do not see what alteration could be resorted to. As the Manu grant actually has *vasumatī-samādhram=ddhīrayā*—the Wang grant, omitting part of the verse, has *vasumatī=ēkō=pi yō dvādaśa*—I adopt the same reading also for the present grant; but it should be stated that the construction of a noun substantive like *ddhīrayā* (derived from the Desiderative) with the accusative case, though not unknown in epic poetry, is contrary to the strict rules of classical Sanskrit. Prof. Speiser in his *Sanskrit Syntax* quotes e.g. *Mahābhārata*, I. 113, 21, *jigishayā mahīm*, “with the desire of conquering the earth.”

<sup>4</sup> Read *vichchhāyām* =.

<sup>5</sup> Read *mukhām* =.

<sup>6</sup> Read *mayām* =.

<sup>7</sup> Read *vidvām=balind*.

<sup>8</sup> Originally *param* was engraved, but the vowel *a* of the second syllable appears certainly to have been struck out.

<sup>9</sup> Read *paraiḥ* =.

<sup>10</sup> Read *kūlayam* =.

<sup>11</sup> Read *āvatām* =.

<sup>12</sup> Read *śīlavatām* =.

*[The manuscript page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, organized into approximately 20 horizontal lines. The ink appears dark brown or black on aged paper. There are some visible stains and wear marks across the surface.]*

20  
22  
24  
26  
28  
30  
32  
34  
36

20  
22  
24  
26  
28  
30  
32  
34  
36

56

56

- 35 dhād=avirataḥ karma svasarm-ēchchhayā [1\*] vāhyālī-vṛtīr=asya yēna  
rachitā vyōm-āgra-lagu=ā[ra]chat<sup>1</sup> rātrau mauktika-<sup>2</sup>māli-  
36 kām=iva vṛitā<sup>3</sup> mūrdhastha-tārā-gaṇaiḥ [|| 19\*] Sautrāsāt=para-chakra-rājakam=  
agāt=tatpūrva-sēvavidhiḥ<sup>4</sup> vyāvaddh-āmjalī-  
37 śobhitēka(na) śaraṇam mūrdhnā yad-amhri(hri)-dvayam [1\*] yad-yad-datta-  
parārdhya-bhūṣaṇa-gaṇair=<sup>5</sup>n=ālamkṛitam [ta\*]t=tathā mā bhaishī-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 38 r=iti satya-pālita-yasasthityā yathā tad-girāt<sup>6</sup> [|| 20\*] <sup>7</sup>Tēn=ēdam=anila-  
vidyu[ch\*]-chamchalam=avalōkya jīvitam=asāram [1\*] kshiti-  
39 dāna-paramapunyaḥ pravartitō vra(bra)hma-dāyō=yam [|| 21\*] Sa cha  
paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīma-  
40 d-Dhārāvashadēva-pādānudhyāta-paramabharamabhaṭṭāraka-<sup>8</sup>mahārājādhirāja-para-mē-  
śvara-prithivīvala(lla)bha-śrīmat-Prabhū-  
41 tavarsha-śrī-Śrīvallabhanarēndradēvaḥ kuśālī sarvān=ēva yathā-samvudhyamānakām<sup>9</sup>  
rāshṭrapati-vishayapati-grāmakūtākūyu.<sup>10</sup>  
42 ktaka-niyuktak-ādhikārīka-mabattar-ādīm<sup>11</sup> samādīsaty=astu vaḥ samividitām yathā  
śrī-Mayūrakhaṇḍi-samāvāsītē-  
43 na mayā mātāpitṛrō=ātmanāś=ch=aihi-āmushmika-punya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē<sup>12</sup>  
Tigavivāstavya.<sup>13</sup>ta[ṭ\*]traividyaśāmānya-Tē(tai)thirīya-  
44 <sup>14</sup>yasavra(bra)hmachāri-Bhāradvājaśagōtra-Nāgaiyyabhaṭṭa-putrāya  
<sup>15</sup>Chandiyammagahiyasāhasa-putrāya Paramēśvarabha-  
45 ṭṭāya Rāsiyanabhukty-antargataḥ<sup>16</sup> Battaḥjuna-nāma-grāmaḥ tasya ch=āghātanāni  
pūrvataḥ Sinhā nadī dakṣiṇataḥ Va.

<sup>1</sup> Read =drachad=. Instead of *rachat*, Prof. Bühler's text has *na chāt*, and in the photo-lithograph the first *akṣhara* of the group is figured as *na*. But in the original plate that *akṣhara* is very different from what it has been represented to be in the photo-lithograph in the *Ind. Ant.*, and certainly is not *na*. It looks like a *ra*, the *s* of which, as is shown by the back of the paper impression, may have been struck out; the Munro grant also, after *lagad*, has *rucham*. The consonant of the second *akṣhara* of the group is *ch*, with a mark above it which Prof. Bühler has taken to be the sign for *ē*; but that mark is so far away from the *ch*, and differs so much from the sign for *ē* generally here used, that I regard it as an accidental scratch. At any rate, I am convinced that, if *ē* was really engraved, it has been struck out. The actual reading therefore is *-lagadruchāt* or *-lagadrachāt*, and I adopt the latter because in *drachāt* we obtain a verb that may govern the following accusative case *mauktika-māliḥ* which otherwise, like *Trisāṅku*, would stand in the air — derived from the root *rach* which is frequently found in construction with *mālā*, 'a garland.' Compare e.g. *Harshach*, p. 167, *rachita-muṇḍamālaka*; *Kād.* p. 139, *edhapajalavindubhir=drachitām sphatikākṣhamālīkām*; and *Datākumdrach*, Prof. Bühler's 2nd ed., p. 45, *drachita-muṇḍamālā*, 'one who has assumed a beautiful garland.' The difficulty which remains is, that in classical Sanskrit *rach* is a root of the 10th class — compare e.g. *Harshach*, p. 158, *lavāṅgamālā rachayantībhīḥ* — and that our author, in writing *drachāt*, would have used a form for which an analogy could be found only in epic poetry. For this compare the construction of *adhitā*, above, p. 244, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *mauktikē* was engraved, but the superscript *ē* has been struck out.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Bühler gives *dhritā*, which would be a possible reading.

<sup>4</sup> Read *vidhi-vyābaddh*.

<sup>5</sup> Between *nai* and *rad* another *akṣhara* may have been originally engraved.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tad-girāt*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: *Āryā*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *-paramabhaṭṭāraka*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *-samvudhyamānakām*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *-grāmakūt-dyu*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *-ādīm=samādīsatī* | *Astu*.

<sup>12</sup> This mark should be struck out, and may have been struck out already in the original.

<sup>13</sup> Prof. Bühler read the name of the village *Tyāgāsi*, but in the impression I fail to recognise any sign of *anusāra* over the word.

<sup>14</sup> The *akṣhara ya* has been wrongly repeated here and should be struck out.

<sup>15</sup> Originally the sign of *anusāra* seems to have been engraved over the first *ya* of this word. Prof. Bühler read the name *Chandriyamma*.

<sup>16</sup> Here and in other places below the rules of *samādhi* have not been observed.

- 46 vulāia paschimataḥ Miriyasthāna uttarataḥ Varaha-grāmaḥ<sup>1</sup> ḍvam=ayam<sup>2</sup>  
chaturāghāṭan-ōpalakṣhitāḥ tathā A-
- 47 <sup>3</sup>nantavippu(shnu)bhaṭṭa-Vitthuduvē[jha].<sup>4</sup> Gōinda[m] mashaḍamga[v]i[t?]-  
Savvaibhaṭṭa-Chandaḍibhaṭṭa-Kunṭhanāgaibhaṭṭa-Mādhā-
- 48 vairiyappu-Vitthapu-Dēvapaiyyabhaṭṭa-Rēyaiyyabhaṭṭ-ēty-ḍvamādi-pramukhānām (nām)  
vrā(bra)hmaṇā-
- 49 nām chatvārimśad-mahājana-samanvitānām Batajuna-grāmaḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ sa-  
parikarāḥ sa-
- 50 daśāparādhah sa-bhūtōpāttapratyāyāḥ s-ōtpadyamānaviṣṭikāḥ sa-dhānyahiranyādēyāḥ  
a-chāṭa-
- 51 bhaṭa-prāvēśyāḥ sarva-rājakiyānām=a-hastaprakṣhēpaṇiyāḥ ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇava-  
kṣhiti-sarit-parvata-
- 52 samakālīnāḥ putra-pautr-ānyaya-kram-ōpabhōgyāḥ<sup>5</sup> pūrvaprattā-dēvavrā(bra)hmadāya-  
rahitō-bhyantarasi[d\*]dhyā bhū-
- 53 michchhidra-nyāyēna Śa[ka\*]nripakāl-ātita-samvatsara-śatēshu saptasu  
trīm(trim)śad-uttarēshu Sarvajin-nāmnī samvat[sa]-
- 54 rē Śrāvāna-vahula<sup>7</sup> amāvāsyaṁ sūryagrahāna-parvaṇi va(ba)li-charu-  
vaiśya(śva)dēv-āgniḥōtra-pañchamahāyājña.<sup>8</sup>
- 55 kri(kri)y-ōtsarapaārtham anātva-ādy-ōdak-ātisargēna pratipāditaḥ [i\*] Yatō=sy-ōchitayā  
vra(bra)hmadāya-sthityā
- 56 bhūmjatō bhōjayataḥ kṛishatō karshayataḥ pratidīśatō vā na kaischid=aIp=āpi  
paripamthanā kāryā

#### TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-20.

Om. (Verse 1.) May He<sup>9</sup> protect you the lotus of whose navel was made by Brahmā into his own abode, and Hara<sup>10</sup> too, whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent of the moon!

(V. 2.) There was on the earth a king Kṛishṇarāja, whose neck was clasped by the outstretched hands of Fortune<sup>11</sup> shining on his broad chest, who was gifted with truth,<sup>12</sup> and who by his large armies defeated the armies of opponents—[and who thereby was like the god Kṛishṇa] whose neck is hidden by the long rays of the *Kaustubha* gem glittering on his broad chest, who is united with Satyā, and who with his broad disc defeats hosts of enemies—yet whose deeds were not like Kṛishṇa's<sup>13</sup> [i.e. whose deeds were not black (*kṛishṇa*)].

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Bühler read the name *Vaḍaḥa*, but the second *akṣhara* undoubtedly is *ra*.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Bühler read *ḍvam=ēva*.

<sup>3</sup> In the names in this line and the next Prof. Bühler read 14 *akṣharas* differently.

<sup>4</sup> I am not absolutely certain that the *akṣhara* in brackets is really *jha* in the original, but it certainly looks more like *jha* than anything else. See above, p. 251, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Very probably this final *t* was engraved above the line, between *vi* and *sa*, where the impression and the accompanying collotype shew a kind of blot which has been carefully effaced in the photo-lithograph accompanying Prof. Bühler's paper.

<sup>6</sup> Originally *-kramōpabhōgyāḥ* was engraved.

<sup>7</sup> Read *-bahul-āmdēśyām*.

<sup>8</sup> Before this word one would have expected to read, as in the *Wāṇī* grant, *-āgniḥōtra-dītiḥi*.

<sup>9</sup> I.e. Viṣṇu.

<sup>10</sup> I.e. Śiva.

<sup>11</sup> Referred to the king, *śrī-kaustubha* would literally mean 'Fortune (as bright as) the Kaustubha gem,' and referred to the god Kṛishṇa it might mean either 'the glorious Kaustubha gem' or 'Lakṣmī and the Kaustubha gem.' Similar compounds are most common; and so is the idea that Fortune rests on a king's breast.

<sup>12</sup> *Satyānvita* = *satya* + *anvita* and *Satyā* is a shorter form of the name *Satyabhāmd*, denoting one of Kṛishṇa's wives. Compare *Vds.* p. 122, *Kṛishṇa iva satyabhāmdēśyāt*, 'he was endowed with truth (*satya*), splendour (*bhāmd*), and fortune (*mā*), and therefore like Kṛishṇa who is united with Satyabhāmā.'

<sup>13</sup> Only for those who are not familiar with the devices of Indian poets, I would state that these words are by no means intended either to convey any censure of the god Kṛishṇa, or to draw a distinction between that god and the king. The poet merely employs the figure of speech termed *virōdha* (or *virōdhābhāsa*). In saying that

(V. 3.) Aided by<sup>1</sup> the total number of his wise men, He easily and swiftly drew to himself, Vallabha as he was,<sup>2</sup> Fortune from the Chālukya family, which was illustrious because all the families of great monarchs resorted to it from fear of being shorn of their partisans, was difficult to be thwarted by others, and possessed of many stainless brilliant treasures<sup>3</sup>—just as the Mandara mountain,<sup>4</sup> supported by the whole assemblage of the gods, easily and swiftly drew Lakshmi forth from the sea which glittered with the throng of all the great mountains that had sought refuge with it from fear of having their wings clipt,<sup>5</sup> is difficult to be crossed by others, and full of many flawless sparkling gems.

(V. 4.) He had a son who—though like the cruel-rayed sun which with the intensity of its ardour torments the quarters all around, he dominated the circle of the regions by the excess of his prowess—yet delighted the dwellers of the earth by his mild taxation:<sup>6</sup> Dhōra, who, setting store by fortitude only, robbed of their beauty the lotus-faces of his opponents' wives, (and) whose fame the guardian mistresses of the quarters incessantly wore as their garland.

(V. 5.) United with Fortune unblemished, even though attained by the passing over of his eldest brother, [and thereby like the moon] when she shines with a pure lustre even after having passed Jyēsthā, yet [surpassing the moon, whose orb is not spotless, who was wanting in continence, and is ever 'the maker of night'] He kept those around him free from blemish, was endowed with steadfastness, and noways a source of vice.<sup>7</sup> Seeing that His liberality exceeded the

Krishnarāja was like the god Kṛishṇa, and that yet his deeds were not like Kṛishṇa's, he expects the reader to reconcile the two apparently contradictory statements by taking the second of them to mean that his deeds were not black. Compare *Kdd.* (here and below, except when otherwise stated, Prof. Peterson's edition), p. 10, *ati-suddha-sadbhāvam api kṛishṇa-charitam*, 'although his character was very pure, his deeds were black' (i.e., really, his deeds were like Kṛishṇa's).

<sup>1</sup> The compound ending with *dīraya* I of course take as a Bahuvrīhi. For the double meaning of *vibudha* compare *Vds.* p. 14, *Mérur iva vibudhālayaḥ*, 'he was a home of the learned, and therefore like the Mēru which is the habitation of the gods.'

<sup>2</sup> By the way in which the poet pointedly places the word *Vallabhaḥ*, at the end of the verse, and in close proximity to the word *akṛishṭavats*, I understand him to suggest that Krishnarāja, just because he was Vallabha, had a right, or was particularly qualified, to draw to himself Fortune from the Chālukya family. And he had this right or qualification, and Fortune came to him willingly, because he was 'the favourite' of Lakshmi, *śrīyō vallabhaḥ*, as he is called in another inscription (above, Vol. III. p. 107, l. 26 of the text).

<sup>3</sup> *Ratna*, 'a jewel,' may be used to denote any possession of great value ('*ratnaṁ śrīśhṛṣṭaṁ māṇḍa=api*' *iti Vīśvaḥ*). The epithet *ratna-vibudha-bhāj* in the *Raghuvamśa*, XVI. 1, is explained by *tailachchhārṣhṛṣṭha-vastu-bhāj*. In *Kdd.* p. 80, the prince Chandrāpīḍa looks upon the horse Indrayudha sent to him by his father as one of the king's *sakalatribhuvana-durlabdhāni ratnāni*; and in the gloss on *Harshach.* p. 142, horses, elephants and a beautiful woman are enumerated among the *mahā-ratnāni* of monarchs.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Harshach.* p. 108: the king Pushyabhūti (Pushyabhūti) was *Mandaramaya iva lakshmi-samdhakarāṇḍ*.

<sup>5</sup> In *Kdd.* p. 90, the author describes the royal palace as *śādhim iva bhayantahpravishṭa-sapaksha-bhāsmīdhrit-sahasra-samkūlam*.

<sup>6</sup> Or by the leniency with which he took tribute from those whom he had subjugated.

<sup>7</sup> In this first half of the verse the poet uses the figure of *vyatirika*. In one respect Dhōra was like the moon, but in others he surpassed that luminary. The clouds generally begin to gather and to hide the moon at the beginning of the month of Āshāḍha—compare the *Meghadūta*, v. 2, *Āshāḍharya prathama-divasē mēgham dīpishṭa-samum . . . dadarśa*—which follows immediately upon Jyēsthā; yet occasionally the moon may be clearly visible even in the rainy season. Similarly, it has ever been considered sinful for a younger prince to set aside in the succession—compare *Nirukta*, II. 10, *adharmas teyaḥ charitō jyēsthāṁ bhrātaram antaritya-dbhishchchitam*, where *antaritya* is paraphrased by *atitramya*—or generally to act in opposition to, an elder brother; yet in the case of Dhōra who was guilty of such conduct, his action—the wording of the verse does not make it certain wherein it exactly consisted—and the personal advantage derived from it, were regarded as free from blemish. On the other hand—as the poet suggests—the moon's orb always has a dark spot; (in carrying off Brihaspati's wife Tārā, though he had many beautiful wives of his own) the Moon was wanting in continence; and the very name *dāshakara*—really 'the maker of night'—of the moon shows its possessor to be 'a mine of vice.' Dhōra's qualities on the contrary, as may be seen from the translation, were the very reverse of all these blemishes.—As regards particulars, compare in the first instance *Kdd.* p. 56, *śatīṇḍ jyēsthāntikramah*; in Tārāpīḍa's reign

liberality of others, while their own practice of liberality lagged behind that of Karna<sup>1</sup> [i.e. while the stream of their rutting-juice flowed beneath their ears (*karna*)], the elephants of the quarters, utterly abashed as it were, posted themselves at the confines of the quarters.

(V. 6.) The Kali age—witnessing how the Gaṅga, who, of consummate strength, had never been conquered by others, and who, having overrun the face of the earth, was filled with unparalleled conceit, at last by Him was imprisoned—fled far away, for fear, as it were, of being chastised in its own body.

(V. 7.) Having closely hemmed in the Pallava, on the one side by his army abounding in warriors with drawn<sup>2</sup> swords, and on the other by the sea fearful with sporting sharks, and having received from him, bent in submission, elephants shedding streams of rutting-juice, He, strange (to record), day after day touched never even an atom of rutting-juice<sup>3</sup> [i.e. He betrayed never even an atom of pride].

(V. 8.) By his matchless armies having quickly driven into the trackless desert<sup>4</sup> Vatsarāja who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of royalty of the Gaṇḍa, He in a moment took away from him, not merely the Gaṇḍa's two umbrellas of state, white like the rays of the autumn moon, but his own fame also that had spread to the confines of the regions.

(V. 9.) Since by the pure conduct of the dwellers of the earth He swiftly drove far away the Kali age that was established here, and completely reinstated the glory of the golden age,<sup>5</sup> it is marvellous how Nirupama came to be Kali-vallabha, 'the Favourite of the Kali age.'

(V. 10.) As the moon, whose rays cling to Paramēśvara's<sup>6</sup> lofty head, emerges bright from the sea, and as the sun, causing joy to the lotus, day by day rises brilliant from the high orient mount, so from that Nirupama, firm of character, was born a son of pure disposition, whose feet

the moon indeed passed Jyēṣṭhā, but otherwise there was not found on the earth any *jyēṣṭhādikrama*, i.e. overstepping or, as the commentator puts it, transgression of the commands (*nirāśāṅghana*) of an eldest brother. For the moon's behaviour towards Bṛhaspati's wife compare *Vds.* p. 273, *Guṇḍara-graṇṇaṣṭhā dvijarājā 'karōti; Harṣach.* p. 97, *deivānām rājā Guṇḍara-graṇṇam akṛṣṭi*; and especially the beautiful story told *ibid.* p. 281. For *dōṣha*, 'vice,' and *dōṣhā*, 'night,' see e.g. *Kād.* p. 37, *gharmakṛdā-dīpasa iva kṣapita-bāhu-dōṣhaḥ*, 'he had subdued many vices, and was therefore like a summer day which shortens the long night,' and for the double meaning of *maṇḍala* compare *Vds.* p. 189, *sūryāya rakta-maṇḍalaḥ . . . rājānpatih*, where *maṇḍala* is paraphrased by *bimba*, 'orb,' and *amṛtyādī-samūha*, 'the collection of ministers etc.'

<sup>1</sup> The adjective ending with *-saṃtatibhṛitāḥ* can only be taken to qualify *diggajāḥ*. Employed in accordance with the figure of *kṛtyalīnga*, it gives the poet's reason why the elephants were ashamed and retired to the confines of the quarters. The king's liberality exceeded that of all others, theirs was inferior at any rate to that of Karna. Karna is well-known as a pattern of munificence. For the double meaning of the word *karna* compare *Vds.* p. 62, *Suyōdhana-dhṛitim iva karna-vitrānta-lōchanam*, 'her eyes extended to her ears (*karna*), and she therefore was like Suyōdhana's firmness which left him when he saw Karna,' for that of *dāna*, *ibid.* p. 74, *matā-mātāṅga iva . . . adhartṛitā dānaḥ*, 'he eclipses the liberality (of others), and is therefore like a rutting elephant whose rutting-juice is flowing down,' *Kād.* p. 90, *diggajam iva dvichchhina-mahādāna-saṃtānam*; etc.

<sup>2</sup> The ordinary Sanskrit expression for 'to draw' the sword is *ut-khan*, and the dictionaries give no quotation to shew that *nish-kriṣh* has the same meaning; but the latter verb is used e.g. in *Harṣach.* p. 130, *nishkriṣṭa maṇḍalāgrau*, 'with drawn swords.'

<sup>3</sup> In *Harṣach.* p. 220, it is similarly said of Skandagupta, the commandant of Harsha's elephant troop: *atmaṣṭha-saṃasta-matā-mātāṅga-siddhantāḥ 'py-asprishṭō madhva*, 'with a whole army of rutting elephants at his disposal, he was yet untouched by rut' (i.e. presumption; compare Prof. Cowell's Translation).

<sup>4</sup> Or 'Mara country' (Mārvād); and 'the king of the Vatas.'

<sup>5</sup> Beneath the rule of Prabhākara-vardhana 'the golden age (*kṛita-yuga*) seemed to bud forth in close packed lines of sacrificial posts, the evil time (*kali*) to flee in the smoke of sacrifices meandering over the sky,' see *Harṣach.* p. 133, and Prof. Cowell's Translation.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. Śiva's. For the double meaning of *paramēśvara* compare e.g. *Harṣach.* p. 162, *iddānī tu kāt-tva śirasā paramēśvarīn-āśi vōḍhavyō jātāḥ*, 'but now you are one to be supported by the king, like the moon by Paramēśvara (Śiva), on his head,' for that of *pāda*, *ibid.* p. 215, *kṣamāpātīnām śiraṣu sara-savit-eva laldān-tapān prayachchhā pāda-nydān*, 'like the autumn sun, set your forehead-burning footsteps (rays) upon the heads of kings (the tops of mountains).'

rest on the proud heads of monarchs, who causes delight to millions,<sup>1</sup> is endowed with valour and ever rising—Gōvindarāja, the beloved of the good.

(V. 11.) When this king, the resort of all that is excellent, was born, the glorious Bāshttrakūta lineage became unsurpassable by others, as the Yādava clan did on the birth of Madhu's foe;<sup>2</sup> a king who—causing haughty adversaries to seek the confines of the regions and to relinquish food and ornaments by his harassment<sup>3</sup>—clearly made even them quite like unto the suppliants, who see their desires granted to the full and are adorned with pearl-strings by his munificence.

(V. 12.) When, seeing his superhuman form, like that of Kṛishṇa, fit to ward off calamity from the three worlds, his father offered to him the sole sovereignty of the earth, He addressed to him the seemly words: "Let it be, dear father! This is yours. Have I not worn, like a command unchallenged, the necklet (of heir apparent)<sup>4</sup> which you have given to me?"

(V. 13.) When, to adorn the heavens, that father of his had gone to that state where nothing but his glory was left, He, though unaided, by the profusion of his superior splendour at once deprived of their lustre the twelve princes, famous though they were, who jointly rose with the desire of appropriating his land, just as the world-destroying fire does to the twelve suns<sup>5</sup> which rise together to bring about the destruction of the earth.

(V. 14.) Afterwards, when in his infinite compassion He had released the Gaṅga from the long suffering of captivity and sent him to his own country, and when that Gaṅga in the excess of his arrogance nevertheless continued in hostility, He, even before a frown appeared on his high broad forehead, defeated him by a raid<sup>6</sup> and again threw him into prison.

(V. 15.) As the rains cease on the approach of the starry season of autumn, which, having quickly placed its bees on bāṇa and asana flowers,<sup>7</sup> enhances the beauty of the bandhujīva flower

<sup>1</sup> The word *padma*, in the sense in which I take it here, denotes really 1,000 millions or billions; compare above, Vol. V. p. 120, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the god Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa.

<sup>3</sup> Commentators would paraphrase *dāna*, as used here, by *khaṇḍana* and *vīśraṇa*. Passages in which the word is similarly employed are *Vās.* p. 11, *Nṛisimha iva darśita-hiranyakātipukshhētra-dāna-vismayah*, 'he caused astonishment by granting gold, food and clothing, and land, and was therefore like the Man-lion (Viṣṇu) who did so by mangle the body of Hiranyakātipu;' and p. 126, *lakshadāna-chyutiḥ sdyatānām*, 'missiles failed to hit their aim—the bestowal of lace (of money) never failed.'—The word *dā* often conveys the two meanings which it has in this verse; see e.g. *darśitā* in the verse in *Kdd.* p. 149. With *muktādhara*<sup>9</sup> one may compare *vimuktādhara* in the verse *ibid.* p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> On *kaṣṭhikā* see above, Vol. V. p. 138, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> These twelve suns are mentioned frequently; compare e.g. *Vās.* p. 160, *pralayakāldīta-daddatāravi-kiraṇakālpa-īśvaravirahigai-dahyamānām atikṛitām viprānām iva tanuḥ bibhrati*; and *Harshach.* p. 209, *keśava-dīpasa-īśvādīta-daddatādinakara-durnirīkshya-mūrtiḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> So the word *vikshēpa* is translated (in my opinion, correctly) by Prof. Cowell in *Harshach.* p. 170, *adharma-vikshēpa-iva lūṭhitam*, 'sacked by the raids of demerit;' and the same meaning (in addition to its ordinary sense) the word even more clearly has in *Kdd.* p. 107, *dūrasthitāny-āpi phaldn-īva dāṇḍa-vikshēpa-ir mahākūlāni śāyanti*, 'by the raids of their troops they humble great families, even though they be far away, as by throwing sticks one brings down fruit that grows on a high (tree).' Compare below, v. 18.

<sup>7</sup> To make it convey this meaning, I take *bāṇasana* of course as a Dvandva compound. The *bāṇa* and *asana* flowers are mentioned in the *Śiśupālavadha*, VI. 46 and 47, both as blossoming in autumn. With the whole passage compare especially *Kdd.* p. 21 of the Calcutta ed. of Samvat 1919, *samarōdyata-patākin-īva bāṇasana-ārōpita-śīlīmukhā*, the Vindhya forest 'where bees are settled on *bāṇa* and *asana* flowers, and which therefore is like an army intent on battle where arrows are placed on bows;' (Prof. Peterson in his ed., p. 19, has adopted the wrong reading *bāṇa-samarōpita*); compare also the similar passage *ibid.* p. 127 of Prof. Peterson's ed., *samaramukhair-īva puṁdga-samākṛishṭa-śīlīmukhaiḥ . . . pādapaḥ*. A passage in which, in addition to the *bāṇa* and *asana* flowers, three others are mentioned in a similar way occurs in the *Nalachampā*, p. 26. In inscriptions, we have the same double meanings of *śīlīmukha* and *bāṇasana* (with special reference to the autumn) in the description of Dhruvasēna III. of Valabhi, e.g. in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 88, ll. 37 and 38 and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 176, l. 36; and in the Kūram plates, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 149, l. 27, we find, instead of *bāṇasana*, *śardasana*, used similarly in a double sense.

and favours the growth of the day-lotus, so the Gûrjara—on seeing how He, who made the lives and wealth of relatives prosper, and was favoured by increase of fortune, and before whom warriors desponded,<sup>1</sup> had come near, quickly placing on his bow the arrows aimed at himself—in fear vanished nobody knew whither, so that even in a dream he might not see battle.

(V. 16.) Seeing that the sole way to preserve his fortune was to bow down at His feet, the lord of Mâlava, versed in policy, bowed to him from afar with folded hands. What wise man, whose power is small, will compete with one powerful? For that is the prime result of the rules of policy, to know the superiority in strength of oneself and one's adversary.

(V. 17.) Having heard through his spies that his camp was pitched on the ridges of the Vindhya mountain, and apprehending that He was moving towards his own country like (the comet) Dhruva,<sup>2</sup> king Mārāsarva, driven by fear, quickly went to conciliate<sup>3</sup> his mind by choice heir-looms, such as He had never received before, and his feet by prostrations.

(V. 18.) Having passed the rainy season, when the sky is densely covered with thick clouds, at Śribhavana, He thence went with his forces to the banks of the Tungabhadra; and staying there, He, strange<sup>4</sup> (to say), even by flinging it away, again completely drew to himself the fortune of the Pallavas though it was already in his hand—his enemies having submitted.

(V. 19.) Thither the lord of Vēngi repaired when (the king's) letter-carrier had only half uttered the command, and longing for his own comfort, steadily like a servant without ceasing did such toil that the enclosure constructed thereby for His camp,<sup>5</sup> touching the summit of the sky, at night seemed to assume a garland of pearls,<sup>6</sup> surrounded as it was by the groups of stars above it.

(V. 20.) With their heads embellished by their hands folded then for the first time<sup>7</sup> to render

<sup>1</sup> The word *sannakshatra* represents both *sam* (i.e. *sat*) + *nakshatra* and *sanna* + *kshatra*; compare *Vās.* p. 28, *Trisankur-iva nakshatrapatha-shhelitah*, where *nakshatrapatha-* is both *nakshatra-patha-* and *na kshatra-patha-*. *San-nakshatra* would of course be equivalent to *vidyamāna-nakshatra*; and *sanna-kshatra* would have to be dissolved by *sannaṁ kshatram yēna*, and might also be translated by 'he by whom warriors were humbled, or destroyed'; compare with it *sanna-satru* in the *Raghuvamśa*, VII. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the *Bṛhat-samhitā*, XI. 42, Prof. Kern's Translation in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. V. p. 71: "But the princes on whose warlike equipments, the countries on whose dwellings, trees, and hills, and the householders on whose implements this luminary (viz. the comet Dhruva) is seen, are doomed to destruction."

<sup>3</sup> In the Sanskrit text the Present Participle is accounted for by Pāṇini, III. 2, 126.

<sup>4</sup> The strangeness in the first place lies in the fact that he drew to himself something by flinging it away (*vikshēpa*); and secondly in the circumstance that this thing which he drew to himself already was in his hand (*kara*). His action ceases to be strange as soon as we take the words *vikshēpa* and *kara* to mean 'raid' and 'tribute':—"He by his raids completely drew to himself the fortune of the Pallavas which was tributary to him" (or, as we should say, who were his tributaries).—On *vikshēpa* see the note on v. 14. The double meaning of *kara* is most common; compare e.g. *Kād.* p. 10, *akaram api hastasthita-sakalabhavanatalam*, 'although he had no hands, the whole extent of the earth was in his hand,' i.e. 'the whole extent of the earth was in his hand and he took no tribute from it.'

<sup>5</sup> For the use of the word *vāhyāt* (or *bāhyāt*) which I have translated by 'camp,' I only can refer the reader to the passages quoted in von Böttlingk's *Dictionary*. The word occurs in the *Rājatarangīnī* (Dr. Stein's edition), VII. 391; 976; 986; and VIII. 46. *Aśva-vāhyāt* we have in line 11 of the *Uttamacharitra-kathānakam* (*Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wiss.* 1884, Part I. p. 276), meaning something like 'stabling for horses,' or 'horse-barracks'; and its synonym (though explained differently by the commentator in the *Nirṇaya-sāgar* Press ed.) *turaṅga-vāhyāt* occurs in *Kād.* p. 75, l. 1, *uparachita-turaṅgavāhyāt-vibhāgam . . . vidyā-mandiram*.

<sup>6</sup> Pearls and stars are frequently compared with each other; but while as a rule the stars are the *upamāna* and pearls the *upamāya*, here the reverse is the case (*viparyaya-upamā*). The stars which the enclosure seemed to wear on its crest were like a pearl-garland. Compare *Vās.* p. 85, *mukta-phala-tāla-līlā-tatikharatayā śirā-lagnāṁ tārā-gaṇam iv-ōdvahāṁ*; *ibid.* p. 220, *śikharagata-muktidjāla-cyūṭṭā . . . tārā-gaṇam iv-ōdvahādḍhiḥ . . . prāśāda-ropasādhitam . . . Vāsavadattā-bhavanam*.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. they never before had rendered obedience to any king. For the use of *atpūrvā* compare—I take this quotation from the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*—*Raghuvamśa*, II. 42, *iśhu-prayūṣṭa atpūrvā-saṅgṣṭa*, 'in the discharge of the arrow which (discharge) then for the first time was checked'; and *Kumārāśāṣṭaka*, V. 10, *atpūrvā-nibaddha*, 'then for the first time tied on.'

obeisance, the kings of hostile realms in their terror approached for protection His feet, which became less adorned by the many exquisite ornaments presented, than by His own words "Do not fear!", the trustworthiness of which guards the stability of his fame.

#### No. 24.—THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE DHARWAR DISTRICT.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

##### A.—AN INSCRIPTION AT DIDGUR.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype (see opposite page 253 below) is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1887.

Didgūr is a village about thirteen miles towards the south-west from Karajgi, the headquarters of the Karajgi tālnka of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews it as 'Dindgoor,' with a nasal in the first syllable for which it is difficult to account; and moreover, as compared with the map that I mention next, it transposes the position of it with the position of a neighbouring village named Timāpur. The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Deergoor.' And the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) shews it as 'Didgur.' Line 3 of the record, taken in connection with the general purport and with its existence at Didgūr, suggests that the earlier name of the place was Mugunda. And the reference to the governor Dosi has the effect of placing Mugunda, and the other village that is mentioned, Sangavūr, in the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. The inscription is on a stone which was found in a field, Survey No. 1 of Didgūr.

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, which shew, in the centre, a seated figure, squatting and facing full-front, on a seat of three tiers, and holding in each hand apparently some weapon which looks like a short spear; on the proper right of this figure, there is a boar, standing to the proper left, i.e. towards the central figure; and on the proper left there is some animal which, in the drawing submitted to me, looks more like a badly sketched horse or donkey than anything else, standing to the proper right, i.e., again, towards the central figure.—The extant portion of the writing covers an area ranging in breadth from about 10" in line 8 to 2' 3" in line 2, by about 1' 9½" high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and is legible with certainty almost throughout. But, owing to parts of the stone having been broken away and lost, letters are missing at the ends of the lines from line 4 onwards, and at the beginning of lines 7 and 8. And there must have been originally at least one more line, containing the usual end of the imprecatory verse of which there is a remnant in line 8.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them<sup>1</sup> ranges from about ⅝" in the *r* of the *re* in *tereya*, line 3, to about 1½" in the *s* of the *sā* in *sāsi[ra]*, line 6; and the *lbi* in line 2, No. 17, is about 4" high, on the slant. The superscript long *i* is used throughout, for the short *i* as well as for the long vowel. The distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is used; and it is very pointedly marked in the *ḍi* of *keḍisi[doṃge]*, line 5, No. 15. There is a final form of the *l* in line 4, No. 12, in *grahana[do]l*. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* and *ni* do not occur.<sup>2</sup> The *j* occurs twice, in lines 1 and 3, and, in both places, is of the old square type, closed; it can be seen best in the *ja* of *mahājanadā*, line 3, the last *akshara* but one. The *b* occurs seven times, and is, throughout, of the old square type, closed; but the actual form of it, being mostly composed of curves rather than of straight lines, must be looked on as a somewhat cursive form of the old square

<sup>1</sup> See page 41 above.

<sup>2</sup> In *kāḍonge*, line 5, where either the guttural nasal or the *anusvāra* would be permissible, the writer mistakenly used the dental nasal.

type : the intended form can be seen best in the upper *b* of the *ribba* in *sāsirbbar*, line 6, No. 5; and a noticeable feature in it, is the marked crook, halfway up the left side of the letter, with which the formation of the character commenced: we can see that the writer began at that point, and formed the rest of the character by one steady sweep of the pen, running along the top, down the right side, along the bottom to the left, and then up to the starting-point; and it is easy to realise that the later cursive type may have been developed almost directly from this particular form of the old square type, by making the downstroke immediately after completing the crook, and then forming the rest of the character to the right instead of to the left. We have the *l* in the *la* of *kālam*, line 4, No. 3; and it, also, is of the old square type: it occurred again in *phalam*, line 5; it is almost entirely destroyed there; but such traces as are discernible in the impression, indicate that there, also, the old square type was used.— We have the remains of a Sanskrit imprecatory verse in line 8. But the language of the body of the record is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In *Mugundaduḷ*, line 3, we have the somewhat exceptional locative ending *uḷ*;¹ but we have the usual ending *oḷ* in [*Vāra*]nāsioḷ in line 6, and apparently also in *grahana[do]ḷ*, line 4.— The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king Kattiyara, under whom a certain Dosi was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. The object of it was to record a general assignment of some tax under the orders of the king, and the special assignment by Dosi of a quarter-share of the tax of the village of Saṅgavūr to the *Mahājanas* of Mugunda,— doubtless for expenditure by them on communal objects.²

Of the two villages mentioned in the record, Saṅgavūr is evidently the modern 'Sungoor' of the maps, about two miles on the north of Didgūr.³ Mugunda seems to be the earlier name of Didgūr itself. The record tacitly, but plainly, places both these villages in the Banavāsi twelve-thousand province. And it seems likely that the Mugunda mentioned here is the town from which there was named a group of villages called the Mugunda twelve, of which mention is made in an inscription of A.D. 1075 at Baḷagāmi. That record registers the grant, for the temple of the god Nārasimha at Baḷligāve, of a town or village (*bāda*) named Kundavige in "the Mugunda twelve which was a *kampana* of the Banavase nād."<sup>4</sup> The maps do not shew any such names as Mugunda and Kundavige in the neighbourhood of Baḷagāmi. Didgūr is only twenty-four miles away towards the north-by-east from Baḷagāmi. And, though there, also, the maps do not shew any such names now, there is no objection, such as on account of excessive distance from the temple to which the grant was made, to locate Kundavige somewhere near Didgūr.<sup>5</sup>

The record is not dated. But the characters of it are fairly referable to closely about A.D. 800. The names of the king and of the local governor are not known as yet from any other records. It seems impossible to explain the existence of this record in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory and in the period to which it must be referred, except on the supposition that Kattiyara was one of the twelve confederate kings and princes, headed by Stambha-Kambayya, who shortly after A.D. 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III.<sup>6</sup> And, in my opinion, that is certainly the explanation of the matter. Further, it seems likely that, of the emblems on the stone, the boar belongs to the king Kattiyara, and the other animal to the

¹ See page 99 f. above.

² Compare page 102 above.

³ There are inscriptions at 'Sungoor' and at the neighbouring village of 'Koolenoor,' which might possibly throw further light on the matter of the present record.

⁴ P. S. O.-C. *Inscr.* No. 161, lines 33, 34; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. pp. 209, 211; and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 143.

⁵ Moreover, there are various indications that the names of places in that neighbourhood have changed very considerably in the course of time,— probably through the splitting up of towns into small villages.

⁶ See page 197 above; also page 249 above, where we have Prof. Kielhorn's translation of the verse, No. 13, in the Rādhampur plates.



Inscription at Didgur.



SCALE ·20

Inscription at Gudigere.



SCALE ·20

Mulgund Inscription of Panchaladeva.—A.D. 975.



governor Dosi. From this it would follow that **Kattiyara** was a **Chalukya**, descended from, or at least connected with, the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, and that we have in him the **Kattiyaradēva** who is mentioned as an ancestor of the later Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇi in the Managōli inscription of A.D. 1161.<sup>1</sup>

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- |   |  |   |                          |              |           |
|---|--|---|--------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1 | Svasti <sup>3</sup>                          | Śrī-Kattiyara                                 | prithivi-rājyam-keye     | Dosi         | Banavāsi- |
| 2 | panniḷchāsiranum <sup>4</sup> =āle           | nū(?) <sup>5</sup> ṇvaka(?ra)lagaḍigaḷ=biḍise |                          |              | Sam-      |
| 3 | gavūrfā]                                     | tereysa                                       | bhāgamān=Mugundaduḷ=Dosi |              | mahājana- |
| 4 | dā kālaṃ kaḷchi biṭṭon=grahana[do]           | chandra-sūrya[ra]m-[baram]                    | [  *]                    | [I]          |           |
| 5 | dān=kādonge <sup>6</sup>                     | aśvamēdhadā                                   | pha[la]m=akkum           | keḍisi[domge | Vāra]-    |
| 6 | nāsiyoḷ=sāsirbbar=ppārbbarum                 | sāsi[ra                                       | kavileyumam              | konda]       |           |
| 7 | [p]āpam=akkum yu . . vūrumān=aḷi . . . [  *] |   | [Sva-dattām para-dattām] |              |           |
| 8 | [vā yō]                                      | harēta vasundharām sha[shṭi]                  |                          |              |           |

## TRANSLATION.

Hail ! While the glorious **Kattiyara** was reigning over the earth ; and while **Dosi** was governing the **Banavāsi** twelve-thousand :— On (**Kattiyara**) causing to be assigned<sup>7</sup> . . .  
 . . . . .<sup>8</sup> **Dosi** laved the feet of the **Mahājanas** at **Mugunda**, and assigned (to them), at the time of an eclipse, a quarter<sup>9</sup> of the tax of **Sanḡavūr**, [to continue as long as] the moon and sun [may last].

(Line 4.) To him who protects this, there shall accrue the reward of an *aśvamēdhā*-sacrifice ; to him who destroys it, there shall attach the guilt of [killing] a thousand **Brāhmaṇas** and a thousand [cows] at **Vāraṇasī** ! . . . . .<sup>10</sup>

(Verse 1 ; line 7) [He who] confiscates land [that has been given, whether by himself or by another], . . . . .

## B.—AN INSCRIPTION AT GUDIGERE.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. It was originally brought to my notice by the then Māmlatdār of Lakshmēshwar, in February, 1883. I edit it, and the accompanying colotype is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1892.

**Gudigere** is the head-quarters town of an outlying tāluka of the same name belonging to the Junior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) shews it as 'Goodagerree,' in lat. 15° 26', long. 75° 6', six miles towards the west of Lakshmēshwar. The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Goodeegeree.' And the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) shews it as 'Gudgiri.' The Railway

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 16, text line 5 ; note 4 below the translation on page 20 may now be cancelled.

<sup>2</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>3</sup> The sign for the superscript long ḥ is used throughout to denote the short ḥ also. It does not seem necessary to encumber the text by shewing the long vowel in each case and entering the corrections.

<sup>4</sup> Read *panniḷchāsiranam*.

<sup>5</sup> This is rather a nondescript *akṣhara*. It looks more like #4 than anything else. But it may possibly be *ku* or *kā*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *kādonge*, or *kēḍonge*.

<sup>7</sup> For the meanings given to *biḍise* here and to *biḍu* in line 4, see page 107 above, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> The word before *biḍise* is unintelligible.

<sup>9</sup> *Bhāga* seems to be used in this specific sense (for which see *Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary*), rather than in the vague meaning of 'a share.'

<sup>10</sup> The original contained some words here,— perhaps introducing the name of another village, or perhaps only deprecating the destruction of the village itself,— of which not enough remains to make the sense intelligible.

Officials have adopted the form 'Gudgeri'.<sup>1</sup> We already know one record from this place,—the inscription of A.D. 1076-77,<sup>2</sup> which gives its name in the Kanarese form of Gudigere and in the Sanskritised form of Dhvajatatāka. An earlier mention of it is found in the Tālgund inscription of A.D. 997,<sup>3</sup> which mentions, as a feudatory of the Western Chālukya king Taila II., a certain Bhīmarasa,<sup>4</sup> with the *biruda* of Tailapanāṅkakāra or "the champion of Tailapa," who was then governing the [Banavā]si twelve-thousand, the Sātālige thousand (the Sātālige thousand of other records),<sup>5</sup> the Ki[sukā]ḍ seventy, and an *agrahāra* the name of which is either Samasi-Gudigere or possibly Savasi-Gudigere.<sup>6</sup> The first component of this name evidently denotes the modern 'Sownshee' of the maps, seven miles north-west-by-north from Gudigere. The two villages thus constituted in ancient times an *agrahāra*, which was named after both of them. And, as the Tālgund record cites, among the witnesses to the matter which it registers, (the people or elders of) the *padinent-agrahāra*, it would appear that the Samasi-Gudigere *agrahāra* was one of the eighteen *agrahāras*. The present inscription is on a stone on the north side in front of a temple of Kalamēśvara at Gudigere.

The sketch submitted to me shews a narrow high stone, with a tall panelled head, probably about four feet high, rounded at the top. At the bottom of the outer panelling, on each side there is a full-blown water-lily; and at the bottom of the middle panel there is a large circle, with a big dot in the centre of it, standing on a square or rectangular pedestal, from each side of which there projects a floral ornamentation. Then comes the writing, immediately below the above, on the bottom part of the panelled head. Below the writing the stone contracts to a square face, probably about one foot square, on which there is the sculpture of an elephant, standing to the proper left, with his trunk hanging down and the tip of it turned up inwards, and, in fact, depicted very similarly to the elephant at the top of the stone at Balagāmi which contains the inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Vinayāditya and the Sēndraka prince Pogilli,<sup>7</sup> and—(except that there is a band or strap round the body of the elephant)—to the elephant at the top of the Peggu-ūr Gaṅga inscription of A.D. 978.<sup>8</sup> Below

<sup>1</sup> It may be remarked that the name-boards exhibited at railway stations, while large enough and clear enough, are anything but a safe guide to the actual forms of place-names, though they are likely to do more than anything else towards perpetuating certain erroneous or imperfect forms. I have seen, more than once, the same name exhibited in three different spellings on the same platform,—in one form in Kanarese characters, in another in Marāṭhī characters, and in still another in English characters,—and not one of them absolutely correct in all details.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 214; and see *Mysore Inscr.* p. 186.—Here, as in various other cases, the details given by me from the photographs of the records are not all presented in *Mysore Inscriptions*. No doubt, more complete and correct accounts of the contents of the records included in that book, will be given when Mr. Rice issues the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* which will deal with the Shimoga and Chitaldroog districts. Meanwhile, his *Mysore Inscriptions* still serves as an index and guide to the use of the photographs from Colonel Dixon's collection which were reproduced in my *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*.

<sup>4</sup> He is probably described as a *Mahāśmanta*; but the last four syllables cannot be read with certainty in the photograph.

<sup>5</sup> The photograph seems to distinctly give the name here as Sātālige,—without any nasal after the *ḍ*.

<sup>6</sup> In the second syllable of the first component of the name, the original has a character, namely, the mediæval form of *m* or of *v* noticed on page 258 below, which in the photograph may be read either as *m* or as *v*. It is probably *m*. But an ink-impression is required, to settle the point definitely.

<sup>7</sup> For a photograph, shewing the elephant, see No. 98 of Colonel Dixon's collection, reproduced as No. 152 in my *P. S. G.-C. Inscr.* For the bearing of the emblem on the Balagāmi inscription, see page 72 above.

<sup>8</sup> See the lithographs in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 101, and *Coorg Inscr.*, opposite p. 5.—There is a very similar elephant on the stone that contains the Gaṅga inscription at Kyātanahalli (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Sr. 147, lithograph); where, however, it is depicted with its head raised and its back sloping.—For another Gaṅga elephant, see the lithograph of the Tāyalūr inscription (*ibid.*, Md. 14); but that one differs from the others, in being represented as walking or running and with the tip of its trunk turned up forwards.—Sir Walter Elliot has given us a representation of the elephant-seal of one or other of the spurious grants of the Gaṅga series, in his *Coins of*

this, the stone widens out again to the same breadth as above the facet containing the elephant; and the sketch indicates that here there was a continuation of the writing, which, however, is now altogether illegible: it also indicates that, after a space representing about ten lines of writing, the remainder of the stone is broken away and lost.—The extant portion of the writing, represented in the collotype, covers an area about 2' 1" broad by 6½" high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and can be read without any uncertainty.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about  $\frac{5}{8}$ " in the *ya* of *hesadeyara*, line 2, to 1½" in the *l* of *āle*, line 3; and the *ṇi* of *mēṇi*, line 2, and the *na* in line 3, are 2" high. The distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is very clear in lines 2 and 3. There is a final form of *n* in line 1, and of *r* in line 2. As regards the palaeography,—the *kā* and *l* do not occur. The *j* occurs twice, in line 1, and, in both places, is of the old square type, closed; in the collotype, it can be seen best in the *jya* of *rājyaṇ*, line 1, No. 17. The *ṇ* occurs in the same word, in the *akshara ṇge*, line 1, No. 18; and, following the *j* in the usual manner,<sup>1</sup> it, also, is of the old square type, closed. The *b* occurs once, subscript, in the *akshara ḷba*, line 1, No. 7; and it, again, is of the old square type, closed.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record presents, in line 2, *mēṇi*, as a variant of *mēti*, 'a big man, a chief, a head, a head servant.' And it includes, in line 2, a word, *gōśāsa*, which is not found in dictionaries, and in respect of which we can only conjecture that it is an amplified form of *gōśa*, the *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *gōśhṭha*, 'a cow-pen, a station of cow-herds.'<sup>2</sup>—The orthography does not present anything calling for comment, except the use of *s* for *ś* in *Subhachandra*, line 1.

The extant portion of the inscription is only the opening passage of a record, introductory to matter which is now lost. It refers itself to the reign of a king named the *Mahārāja*

*Southern India*, Plate iii. No. 120; here, the elephant seems to be "caparisoned." And Dr. Burnell has given us the seal of apparently another grant of the same series, in his *South-Indian Palaeography*, the Plate opposite p. 106, the seal marked Cbēra; here, again, the elephant has a band or strap round apparently the throat. In both these instances, the elephant is standing, and has the tip of its trunk turned up inwards.

<sup>1</sup> See a remark on page 46 above.

<sup>2</sup> As, however, this meaning is not conclusively established yet, the word itself will be used, without translation.—Other cases in which the same word, *gōśāsa*, occurs, are as follows:—(1) The Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of Dhruva; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 125, text line 5. Here, the harlot Bādipoḍḍi or Bālipoḍḍi is mentioned as having given to the temple (of Lōkēśvara) an *uttama-gōśāsa*, "an excellent *gōśāsa*, a *gōśāsa* of the best kind," and a horse-chariot and an elephant-chariot, and as giving some land and an *ubhayaṃmukhī* or pregnant cow.—(2) An inscription of the time of Amoghavarsha I. at Chīñchli in the Gadag tāluks, dated in the Vijaya *samvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Samvat 793 by mistake for 795 (expired), in A.D. 874: not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression. This inscription records that, on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna, someone, whose name is illegible in the ink-impression, fasted and, having laved the feet of the fifty-seven *Mahājanas* of Chīñchli and having given them a thousand cows, gave them a *gōśāsa*; and it further records that a son of one of the village-headmen gave a *gōśāsa*, together with a tank and a garden (*drava*; perhaps here meaning, rather, a pasture-ground). This latter record, in particular, tends to connect *gōśāsa* with cows. And, considering how important a part the cow plays in the private as well as the religious life of the Hindūs, we may easily imagine that in former times the cows at night, instead of being brought home to individual houses inside the villages and towns as is done now, were kept and guarded all together in large communal cow-pens in charge of regularly appointed officials, and that the gift of such a cow-pen, whether to the establishment of a temple or for a whole village, would be a highly meritorious act.—From *gōśāsa* we have, with the affix *iga*,—an affix which forms nouns denoting "makers, changers (dealers), persons in employment," etc. (see Dr. Kittel's edition of the *Śābdamaṇidarpana*, p. 232, sūtra 197).—*gōśāsiḡa*, which seems to mean 'a person in charge of a *gōśāsa*,' and to be equivalent to the *gōśāśada mēṇi* of the present record; it occurs in the Aihole inscription of the time of Vijayāditya (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 285, text line 3), where mention is made of "Maruvarma, of the *Gōśāsiḡas* of Sūravaḷ."—And we also have *gōśāsi*, apparently as a shorter form of *gōśāsiḡa*. This word occurs, qualifying a proper name, in an inscription at Nirālgi, to be published hereafter. And an inscription of A.D. 1060 at Sāḍi in the Rāṇ tāluks—(not yet published; I quote from an ink-impression)—mentions, among the boundaries of a village named Sivunūr, a tank called *gōśāsiya-tēre*, "the tank of the *Gōśāsi* or of the *Gōśāsiḡas*."—It may be added that the Bombay Postal Directory shows a village named 'Gosāsi' in the Khēḡ tāluks of the Poona district.

**Mārassaḷba**, under whom a certain **Daḍigarasa** was governing the district,— meaning, of course, the district that included the village at which the record is ; the name of it is not specified.

The record is not dated. But the characters of it are fairly referable to closely about **A.D. 800**. And there can be no doubt that the person whom it mentions as **Mārassaḷba** is to be identified with the **Mārāśarva** of a verse, used in the account of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Gōvinda III.** in the **Wanī** and **Rādhapur** grants of **A.D. 807**,<sup>1</sup> which runs:—“ Having heard, through his own spies, that he (**Gōvinda III.**) was encamped on a slope of the **Vindhya** mountains, and recognising that (*though so far away*) he had (*practically*) arrived at his own territory just as if it were **Dhruva** (*on a previous occasion*), king **Mārāśarva**, impelled by fear, quickly went to satisfy his (**Gōvinda**’s) desires by (*giving up*) his choicest heir-looms, such as had never been amassed before, as well as to propitiate his feet by doing obeisance to them.” Further, we may safely take it that **Mārassaḷba-Mārāśarva** was, like the **Kattiyara** of the **Diḍgūr** inscription, one of the twelve confederate kings and princes headed by **Stambha-Kambayya**, who shortly after **A.D. 794** sought to dispute the sovereignty of **Gōvinda III.**<sup>2</sup> And, as the elephant, depicted so prominently on the stone, can hardly be taken as the emblem of the **Daḍigarasa** of the record, who was plainly a person of very minor rank and importance, we can only understand that it stamps **Mārassaḷba-Mārāśarva** as belonging to the family of the **Western Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ.**<sup>3</sup> We shall have to consider hereafter who, exactly, **Mārassaḷba** may have been. He may be some member of the **Gaṅga** family whose existence the **Mysore** records have not yet disclosed. Or the name may possibly be another appellation of **Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa**, who in the course of his career did unquestionably find an opportunity to assume the paramount power and titles. Or it is possible that it may be the name from which, first by substituting the synonymous *śiva* for the *śarva* of its Sanskritised form, and then by metathesis, the persons who fabricated the spurious records of the **Western Gaṅga** series may have obtained the name of **Śivamāra II.** as an alleged son of **Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa**.

In connection with the general history of the period, it is convenient to make here a note regarding the identification of a place which is mentioned in the verse in the **Wanī** and **Rādhapur** grants which comes next after the verse that mentions **Mārassaḷba-Mārāśarva**. The verse tells us that **Gōvinda III.** spent a rainy season at a place named **Śrībhavana**, and then marched thence, with his army, to the **Tuṅgabhadra**, where he conquered and despoiled the **Pallavas**.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Wathen was told that **Śrībhavana** denotes “**Cowldurga**, in **Mysore**, south of the river ;”<sup>5</sup> that is to say, apparently, **Kavalēdurga**, near the north bank of the **Tuṅgā**, in the **Tīrthahallī** tāluka of the **Shimoga** district, about seven miles on the west of **Tīrthahallī**. Dr. Bühler felt certain that **Śrībhavana** is not ‘**Cowldurga**,’ but could not himself identify the place.<sup>6</sup> Pandit **Bhagwanlal Indraji** proposed to identify **Śrībhavana** with ‘**Sarbhon**’ in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 158, text line 25 ff., and Vol. VI. p. 67, verse 17 ; also page 250 above, Prof. Kielhorn’s rendering. Prof. Kielhorn has detected what I and Dr. Bühler had not recognised, namely, an astrological allusion to the comet **Dhruva**. But I consider that there is certainly also a secondary reference to the king **Dhruva**. I hold that, just as the astrological allusion to the asterism **Jyēṣṭhā**, in verse 5, was suggested, to the composer of the verses, by what **Dhruva** had done to his elder brother, so, also, the allusion here to the comet **Dhruva** was suggested by something that he had done to the territory of **Mārāśarva**, and the verse contains a secondary reference to it.

<sup>2</sup> See page 252 above.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that **Daḍigarasa**, also, was a **Gaṅga**. But, even so, it is very unlikely that a **Gaṅga** should, at that time, be exercising local authority so far to the north of the real **Gaṅga** territory, unless his paramount sovereign also was a **Gaṅga**. And it seems more probable that this **Daḍigarasa** was a member of the **Bālīvarṇa** of the **Daḍigamaṇḍala** country, in **Mysore**, which is mentioned in an inscription of **A.D. 1113** or **1114** at **Sūḍī** in the **Rōṇ** tāluka (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX. p. 111).

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 162, and Vol. VI. p. 71, verse 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Jour. E. As. Soc., F. S.*, Vol. V. p. 352, note.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 63, note.

Âmôd tâluka of the Broach district.<sup>1</sup> But a village in Gujarât, below the Ghauts, is hardly the locality that would be selected for the halt of an army during the rains; especially, as the preliminary to operations on the Tungabhadra. The verse about Mārassaḷba-Mārāsārva, with the light that is thrown on it by the present record from Guḍigere, shews that a sudden and rapid incursion was made by Gōvinda III., from a distant encampment in the Vindhya mountains into the heart of the Dhārwar district. And it seems clear to me that Śribhavana is to be identified with the modern Shiggaon, the head-quarters of the Bānkāpur tāluka of the Dhārwar district, only about thirty miles distant from the Tungabhadra. The ancient forms of the name of Shiggaon would be Sirigāve and Śrigrāma, or in Sanskrit Śrīpura. And the composer of the verse used *bhavana*, 'a place of abode, mansion, home,' etc., instead of any other ending, to suit his metre.

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti Śrī-Māra<sup>3</sup>ssaḷba-mahārājan pr[i]thuvi-rājyaṅ-geye Su(śu)bhachandra-  
paṇḍitarā<sup>4</sup> rā-  
2 he<sup>5</sup>sadeyara Indammaṇa gōsāsada mēṇṭi Daḍig-arasar  
3 nnāḍ<sup>6</sup>.āḷe Ōm<sup>7</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the glorious *Mahārāja Mārassaḷba* was reigning over the earth; and while *Daḍigarasa*, the headman of the *gōsāsa*<sup>8</sup> of Indamma who was of . . . . .<sup>9</sup> of Śubhachandrapaṇḍita, was governing the district. Ōm!

## C.—MULGUND INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PANCHALADEVA; A.D. 975.

This inscription has been brought to notice by me in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 307, and in Vol. V. above, p. 172. It is now published for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype (see opposite page 253 above) is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1883-84 or 1884-85.

Mulgund is a village about twelve miles towards the south-west-by-south from Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tāluka of the Dhārwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 41 (1852) shews it as 'Moolgoond.' The official compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words* (1878) wrongly certifies it as 'Mulgund,' with *l* instead of *ḷ*. The existence of the place is carried back to A.D. 866 by the Nilgund inscription, which mentions it as *Mulgunda* and marks it as the chief town of a circle of villages known as the *Mulgunda twelve*, including *Nirgunda-Nilgund*, and lying in the *Bejvola three-hundred district*.<sup>10</sup> We already know one record from this place,—the inscription of the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king *Kṛishṇa II.*, dated A.D. 902-903;<sup>11</sup> and there are some twenty other records there. The present inscription is on a stone at a temple of Rāmadēva at Mulgund.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Gujarat* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I.), p. 123.—There is also a *Sarbhōṇ* (so certified, with the lingual nasal, in *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*) in the Bārdōll tāluka of the Surat district.

<sup>2</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>3</sup> This syllable, *ra*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather small, below the *d* of the *mā*.

<sup>4</sup> It seems that at first *ra* was written, and then an attempt was made to correct it into *rd*. But it is possible that the *akṣhara* was abandoned, as being badly formed and not clear, and that the following *rd* was then formed as the final *akṣhara* of *paṇḍitarā*. In that case, the next word is *hesadeyara*,—not *rdhesadeyara*.

<sup>5</sup> This is rather an anomalous character. The vowel *e* is quite distinct, before the *ā*. At the bottom of the *ā*, towards the right, there is a loop which seems to be intentional; but, whether it was meant to modify the *e* into some other vowel, or what else may be the purport of it, is not apparent.

<sup>6</sup> Read *nāḍ*; or else *arasar=nāḍ*, instead of *arasar nāḍ*.

<sup>7</sup> Represented by a plain symbol.

<sup>8</sup> See page 255 above, and note 2.

<sup>9</sup> The meaning of the genitive plural *rdhesadeyara* or *hesadeyara* (see note 4 above) is not apparent; except that it seems to give the name of a sect.

<sup>10</sup> See pages 98, 107, above.

<sup>11</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol. X. pp. 167, 190. It will shortly be re-edited in this journal.

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, of which the principal one, in the centre, is a *linga* on its *abhishēka*-stand. On the proper right, there is an image of some god, squatting and facing full-front; beyond this there is a worshipper, kneeling towards the god; and above these there are the sun and moon. On the proper left, there is a cow, standing towards the *linga*, and with a calf sucking at her udder; and above these there is the bull Nandi, recumbent and similarly facing towards the *linga*. These sculptures are all inside a panel, above the centre of which there is some ornamental device, of a circular shape, the exact nature of which is not recognisable.—The writing covers an area about 1' 10½" broad by 8½" high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and can be read without any doubt, except in the first eight or nine letters of line 7, the lower parts of which are broken away. It is, however, only a fragment, the body of the record having been broken away and apparently lost.—The characters are Kanarese, well formed and well executed, of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The size of them ranges from about ⅓" to ⅔". They present nothing calling for comment, except the use of the somewhat rare mediæval forms of *m*, in the upper *m* of *varmma* and *dharma*, line 1, and of *v* in the upper *v* of *pūrvvāpara*, line 4, which have been noticed in Vol. V. above, p. 237.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In line 3, we have *siṃgha* as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *siṃha*, 'a lion,' and *komaraka* as a fuller form of *komara*, = *kuvāra*, a *tadbhava*-corruption of *kumāra*, 'a prince,' and *bīma*, the *tadbhava*-corruption of *bhīma*, 'terrible.' In *peḷḍore*, line 4, we have the somewhat unusual form *peḷ* for *per*, 'great.' In line 5, we have *bidiye*, as a variant of *bidiḡe* which is the more usual *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *dvitīyā*, 'the second *tithi*.'<sup>1</sup> In line 6, we have *baḷa* as a variant of the better known *baṇa*, which is in use to the present day, in the Kanarese country, to denote sometimes the different branches of the families of hereditary Pāṭīla and Kuḷkarnī (especially of Pāṭīla), and sometimes the different families that have shares in the *watan*, as, for instance, when there are both a Jain *baṇa* and a Lingāyat *baṇa* of Pāṭīla;<sup>2</sup> and, in respect of the whole word *baḷanuv*, we may note that, though it is a neuter nominative, it is formed with *n* instead of the more usual *m*, and that, for the final of the copulative ending *uv*, there has been used in *saṃdhi* *v*, instead of the *m* which was more usual in the archaic language. And, in the same line, we have a word *eleya-bhoja[ga]* (apparently equivalent to *eleḡāra*, *tambuliḡa*, 'a seller of betel-leaves'), the second component of which does not seem to be explained in dictionaries.<sup>3</sup>—In respect of orthography, there is nothing to be noticed except the use of *s* for *ś* in *Saka*, line 5.

<sup>1</sup> Under *bidiḡe* in his Kannaḡa-English Dictionary, Dr. Kittel has quoted *vidiye* as the Telugu form, and *vidiyai* as the Tamil form.

<sup>2</sup> *Baḷa* occurs, in the same sense, in line 45 of one of the inscriptions at Naregal in the Rāṇ tāluka, where mention is made of "the two *baḷas* of Narayāṅgal" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 238). And lines 49, 51, and 52 of the same record present it in another sense, namely to denote the rent-free service-lands of certain *Gḍeṇḡas* or Pāṭīla. In the latter sense, it occurs also in line 81 of the Saundatti inscription of A.D. 1228 (*id.* Vol. X. p. 270, and *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 114); and this record uses, in line 70, also the exactly equivalent word *gaṇḡeṇḡa*. The case used in the Saundatti record is formed with *n*, as in the present instance,—*baḷan=ojaga*. The cases used in the Naregal record are formed with the more customary *d*,—*baḷad=ojaga*, *baḷadin*.—The word *baṇa* is also used, I think, in the general meaning of 'a faction.' Dr. Kittel's Dictionary gives *ḡeṇḡa* as the Southern Marāṭha form of *paṇa*, 'any tribe; a sectarian division.'

<sup>3</sup> In this record, the second component of *eleya-bhojaga* is distinctly written with the aspirated ḡ. I am not sure whether the vowel should be taken as the short *o* or as the long *ō*.—With the unaspirated *ḡ*, we have the same word, *eleya-bojaga* in lines 21-22 and 28-29 of the Koḡikop inscription of A.D. 1144, which mentions "the five-hundred-and-four *Eleyabojagas*" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. pp. 254, 257). In this form, *bojaga*, the word is given in Dr. Kittel's Dictionary; but only as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *bhojaga*, *bhojāḡa*, 'a snake.' He also gives *bojagatana* in the sense of 'lechery.' The Abīūr record of A.D. 1104 presents a word which appears as *bojāḡatana* or *bhojāḡatana* in line 82 of one version, and as *bhojagatana* in line 86 of the other version (see Vol. V. above, p. 231, note 9). There can be hardly any reference there to lechery; and the word seems to stand there for *eleya-bhojagatana* or *eleya-bhojagatana*, 'the occupation of a seller of betel-leaves,' or else to denote some import on that trade.

The inscription is a fragment, of which but little more than the introductory passages is extant. It refers itself to the reign of a certain Pañchaladēva, whom, from his appellations of Satyavākya and Koṅguṇivarman and his titles of lord of the town Kuvaḷāḷa and of the mountain Nandagiri, we recognise as a member of the family of the Western Gāṅgas of Talakāḍ.<sup>1</sup> It mentions, by three well known *birudas*, his predecessor, the great Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II. Among the epithets that it applies to Pañchaladēva, it styles him Ohālukyapañchānana, "a very lion to the Ohālukyas;" which, perhaps, involves a play on his name, and indicates Pañchala as a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit Pañchānana.<sup>2</sup> And it represents him as reigning over the whole territory between, on the north, "the great river," that is to say the Kṛishṇā,<sup>3</sup> and on the east, south, and west, the ocean. This assertion is hyperbolic in the latter part, except possibly in respect of the alleged western limit. But, as Muḷgund itself, where this record is, is on the north of the Tuṅgabhadra, there is no objection to accepting it as a fact that Pañchaladēva did hold for a time all the territory from the south of Mysore as far north as the river Kṛishṇā.

The record is dated at the time of the Kanyāsamkrānti, or entrance of the sun into Virgo, on Brihaspativāra or Thursday coupled with the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādrapada (August-September) of the Yuvan *samvatsara*, Śaka-Samvat 897 (expired, according to the southern luni-solar system). And the corresponding English date is Thursday, 26th August, A.D. 975. On this day, the given *tithi* ended at about 15 hours 39 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), and the Kanyāsamkrānti occurred at 16 hours 5 minutes.<sup>4</sup>

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Om<sup>6</sup> Svasti Satyavākya-Koṅguṇivarman-dharmmamahārājād[h]rāja Kuvaḷāḷa-  
puravar-śēva-
- 2 ra Nandagiri-nātham ohaladuttaramga-jagadēkavira-śrīman-Noḷa[m]bakuḷān-  
takadēva-pādapa-
- 3 dm-ōpaḷvi paḍe-nōḍe-gaṇḍam gaṇḍara-siṅghan-asahāya-sāhasam komaraka-bīmam bira-
- 4 da-sejevom Ohālukya-pañchānana[m] śrīmat-Pañchaladēvar-pūrvv-āpara-dakṣiṇ-  
ārpav-śva[dh]i-
- 5 yi[m] peḷḍore maryyāḍey-āge nīrākūlam-āḷutt-ire [||\*] Svasti Sa(śa)ka-varṣham-  
eṭṭu-nūra tombhatti-ē]-
- 6 laneya Yuva-samvatsarada Bhādrapada bahula bīdiye Brihaspativāram Kanyā-  
samkrāntiyu[m]
- 7 . . . . .<sup>7</sup> [nagara]-mahājana-pramukham-ayd[um]-balanuv-  
ild-eleya-bhoja-<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For what is known about Pañchaladēva from other sources, reference may be made to pages 71 f., 83, above, and to Vol. V. above, p. 172 f.

<sup>2</sup> Pañchānana occurs, not exactly as a proper name of Śiva, but as an appellation of him which could be used in the place of his proper name. As a proper name, it occurs in the cases of "an author and other men" (see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, revised edition, under *pañcha*).

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. V. above, p. 169, note 6. The word used here is *peḷḍore*, instead of the more customary *perḍore*.

<sup>4</sup> Probably, more exact calculations would make the *tithi* still current at the moment of the *samkrānti*.

<sup>5</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>6</sup> Represented by a plain symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Eight or nine *akṣaras* are illegible here, the lower parts of them being broken away and lost. As the *nakṣatra* at the time of the *samkrānti* was Rēvati, which the moon entered at about 2 hrs. 23 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), we might suggest *Rēvati-nakṣatramam-āgi*, which would suit both the space and the context. But such remains of the *akṣaras* as are discernible, hardly adapt themselves to that reading.

<sup>8</sup> The fragment ends here. The next line began, of course, with the *ga* of the word *bhojaga* in one or other of its cases, singular or plural.

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! While the *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* Satyavākya-Koṅṣunivarma, the lord of Kuvaḷāla<sup>1</sup> the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri,—he who (*had*) subsisted (*like a bee*) on the water-lilies that were the feet of the lintel of firmness of character,<sup>2</sup> the sole hero of the world, the glorious Nalambakulāntakadēva-(Mārasimha II.),<sup>3</sup>—he who is a hero when he sees an army, he who is a very lion of heroes, he who is daring even without companions, he who is terrible to princes, he who attracts bravery, he who is a very lion to the Chālukyas, the glorious Pañchaladēva, was governing, without any disorder, from the limits of the eastern and the western and the southern oceans with the great river as the boundary (*on the north*):—

(Line 5) Hail! [When it was] Thursday, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādrapada of the Yuvan samvatsara, which was the eight hundred and ninety-seventh Śaka year, and when there was the Kanyāsamkrānti, . . . . .  
 . . . . . the whole of the five divisions,<sup>4</sup> headed by the Mahājanas  
 [of the town], being convened,<sup>5</sup> the sellers of betel-leaves . . . . .

No. 25.—SRIKURMAM INSCRIPTION OF NARAHARITIRTHA;  
 ŚAKA-SAMVAT 1203.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

The subjoined record<sup>6</sup> is in the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam in the Chicacole tāluka of the Gaṇjām district. It is inscribed on the east and north faces of one of the black granite pillars<sup>7</sup> which support the hall enclosing the temple, and is written in clear Telugu characters.

The inscription consists of nine Sanskrit verses in various metres. It mentions first an ascetic Purushōttama-mahātīrtha, who is represented to have been an incarnation of the god Viṣṇu (v. 1) and to have composed a commentary (v. 2) which is not known from other sources. His pupil was Ānandatīrtha, who explained the *Vyāsaśūtras* in accordance with the principles of the Dvaita school (v. 3) and who bore the title *Bhagavatpādāchārya* (v. 5). His pupil Naraharitīrtha (v. 8) seems to have been the governor of the Kāliṅga country (v. 6) and to have defended Śrīkūrmam against an attack of the Śabaras<sup>8</sup> (v. 7). On Wednesday, the eighth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māsha in Śaka-Samvat 1203, he built a shrine of Yōgānanda-Nṛsiṃha in front of the temple at Śrīkūrmam (v. 9).

<sup>1</sup> This name is usually found with *l* in the last syllable; see, for instance, page 43 above, text line 2, Kovāḷāla, and page 54, line 5, Kōḷāla. Here, however, we distinctly have *ḷ*. The vowel of the first syllable, when the name is written in four syllables, is sometimes *u* and sometimes *o*.

<sup>2</sup> This and the following two *śīrṣas* were appellations of the Western Gaṅga prince Mārasimha II.; see Vol. V. above, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> From *chāladuttarāṅga* to *śpaṭṭi* is one word, a compound. The *anuvāda* of *adīkṣaṇ*, which seems to be quite distinct, separates the preceding matter (also really a compound) from that compound, and makes it apply to Pañchaladēva, not to Nalambakulāntakadēva.—As regards my supplying the word “had” before “subsisted,” it is to be remembered that Mārasimha had either died or abdicated before June-July, A.D. 974 (see Vol. V. above, pp. 152, 168), more than a year before the date of this record. The allusion is to Pañchaladēva having served under him in A.D. 971 and 978 (see *ibid.* pp. 172, 178).

<sup>4</sup> *Baḷa*; see page 258 above.

<sup>5</sup> *ḷḷa* is equivalent to *oḍaṣ-iḷḷa*; see page 68 above, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> No. 290 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

<sup>7</sup> On the west and south faces of the same pillar is another inscription (No. 291 of 1896) of Naraharitīrtha, the pupil of Ānandatīrtha, which is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1215 and records the setting up of images of Rāma, Śiṣā and Lakṣmaṇa in the Kūrmēśvara temple.

<sup>8</sup> The Śabaras are the savage inhabitants of the forests of the Gaṇjām district.

Among the three Vaishnava teachers named in the inscription, Purushōttama-mahātīrtha is not mentioned in the lists of the Mādhva teachers preserved in the *Maṭhas*,<sup>1</sup> which begin with Ānandatīrtha. The *Madhvavijaya*,<sup>2</sup> a *kāvya* by Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita, the son of Trivikramapaṇḍita, which describes in detail the life of Ānandatīrtha and his dialectical victories over the *Māyāvādins* or followers of Śaṅkarāchārya, mentions as the spiritual *Guru* of Ānandatīrtha a certain Achyutaprēkshāchārya, who had the surname of Purushōttamatīrtha,<sup>3</sup> by which he is referred to in verse 1 of the subjoined inscription.

Ānandatīrtha, the second of the teachers mentioned in the inscription, is the famous founder of the Dvaita school of philosophy and occupies in the history of Indian religion a position not in any way unequal to those of the great Śaṅkarāchārya and of Rāmānujāchārya. Vaishnavism, the most characteristic feature of which is *bhakti*, or love for god, that may be freely practised by one and all, irrespective of creed and caste, was first started by Rāmānujāchārya in the 11th century, was eagerly spread by Ānandatīrtha in the 13th century, and eventually assumed large proportions in the 16th century under Kṛṣṇa-Chaitanya, the celebrated Vaishnava teacher of Bengal. Ānandatīrtha is known by three other names, viz. Pūrṇaprajña, Madhvāchārya and Madhyamandāra. His system has been explained in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* of Sāyaṇāchārya under the heading *Pūrṇaprajña-darśana*. Ānandatīrtha's direct disciples were Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharītīrtha, Mādhvatīrtha and Akshōbhyaīrtha, who succeeded one after the other to the pontifical seat after the death of Ānandatīrtha.<sup>4</sup>

Several interesting facts regarding the life of Naraharītīrtha, the third teacher mentioned in the inscription, are recorded in a *stōtra* entitled *Narahariyatistōtra*, which is included in the *Stōtramahādadhī*, Part I.<sup>5</sup> It states that, before conversion to the Mādhva faith, the *Tīrtha* was called Śāmasāstrin,<sup>6</sup> and that he was styled Naraharītīrtha after receiving initiation from Pūrṇaprajña. The latter ordered his pupil to go at once to the capital of the Gajapati king and to be a ruler there. Naraharītīrtha, who had learnt the true import of the *Bhāṣya*<sup>7</sup> from his teacher, would have preferred to become a *sannyāsin* and said:—"Lord! what do I gain by ruling a kingdom?" The master replied:—"There in the Gajapati kingdom are the images of Rāma and Sītā, which you must try to acquire with great skill, in order that I may worship them." Accordingly Naraharītīrtha went to the country of the Gajapati king and was hailed there by the people and the infant king as a fit ruler for their country. The *stōtra* continues to say that the teacher ruled the Kalinga country for twelve years. When the prince attained his majority, he handed back the kingdom to him and, as a present and compensation for the services rendered, requested the king to give him the images of Rāma and Sītā, which were in the royal treasury. These being secured, Naraharītīrtha returned and gave them to his master Ānandatīrtha. The latter worshipped the images for 80 days and made them over to his first pupil, Padmanābhatīrtha, who in his turn worshipped them for six years and handed over the charge of

<sup>1</sup> Several *Maṭhas* or schools of the Mādhvas are known to exist. The Karṇāṭaka and Dēśastha Brāhmanas follow three of them, viz. the Uttarādimaṭha, Vyāsarāyamaṭha and Rāghavēndrasvāmimaṭha. Most of the Śivalī, Kōṭa and Kōṭāśvara Brāhmanas of South Canara are adherents of nine other *Maṭhas*, viz. eight *Maṭhas* at Udipi and one at Subrahmanya (with a branch at Bhagdarākēri near Bārakūr). Lists of Mādhva *Gurus* are preserved in each of the three chief *Maṭhas* and are available for inspection. A similar list has been published by Dr. Bhandarkar in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1892-93*, appendix II. p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> The chief incidents in the life of Madhvāchārya as related in the *Madhvavijaya* have been put together in a pamphlet entitled "Madhvacharya.—A short historic sketch," by Mr. C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.A., of the Coimbatore College.

<sup>3</sup> *Madhvavijaya*, vi. verse 83.

<sup>4</sup> The nine *Maṭhas* of South Canara recognise only Padmanābhatīrtha and their nine founders as direct disciples of Ānandatīrtha.

<sup>5</sup> Printed at Bombay by the Nirṇayasāgara Press in 1897.

<sup>6</sup> The lists (see note 1 above) give the name Rāmasāstrin.

<sup>7</sup> This probably refers to the commentary of Ānandatīrtha on the *Prasthānatraya*; see below, p. 265, note 5.

them to Naraharītīrtha in the *Raktākṣhi-saṃvatsara*. Having thus acquired the images and having become the preceptor of the world,<sup>1</sup> Naraharītīrtha went about touring and preaching. While resting for the night in a certain town, he dreamt of an image of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) merged in a tank near that town. The next day he had the image taken out, consecrated it, and called the town in consequence of that incident Nārāyaṇadēvarkere (i.e. 'the tank of the god Nārāyaṇa'). This place still exists under the same name in the Hospēṭ taluka of the Bellary district. Having made over the charge of the images to Mādhavatīrtha, the third pupil of Ānandatīrtha, Naraharītīrtha retired to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra and died there in the cyclic year *Śrīmukha*. To this the lists of the *Maṭhas* add that, at Chakratīrtha<sup>2</sup> on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra, Naraharītīrtha established a *Maṭha*, occupied the *sthānādhipatya* or pontifical seat for a period of nine years, and wrote a commentary on the *Bhāṣya*, probably that of his teacher Ānandatīrtha.<sup>3</sup>

This traditional history of Naraharītīrtha's life agrees with the statement made about him in verse 6 of the inscription and fully accounts for the existence in the Kalinga country of several inscriptions which record his gifts to temples.<sup>4</sup> It will be seen from the sequel that Naraharītīrtha succeeded to the pontifical seat in A.D. 1324 and died in A.D. 1333. His governorship in the Kalinga country, which took place before his becoming a *Guru*, must therefore be placed in the period before A.D. 1324. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that Naraharītīrtha's inscriptions in the Kalinga country range between Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 and 1215 (= A.D. 1264 and A.D. 1294).<sup>5</sup>

Before discussing the dates of Ānandatīrtha and his successors, I have to draw attention to the fact that the Śaka dates, which are assigned to the pontificate of each teacher in the lists of the *Maṭhas*, are to be accepted with caution. Dr. Bhandarkar<sup>6</sup> says that "in the older lists the year of the cycle of sixty years in which each high-priest died was alone given, and from this was determined the Śaka year. But this method is uncertain and liable to error if in any case the pontificate of any one of these extended over more than sixty years." It will be seen from what follows that such an error has actually been committed and that the dates given in the lists for each *Guru* will have to be pushed forward by two full cycles, i.e. one hundred and twenty years. According to the traditional lists preserved in the three chief *Maṭhas*, Ānandatīrtha was born on the 4th *tithi* of the dark half of Āṣāḍha in Śaka-Saṃvat 1040, the *Vilambi-saṃvatsara* (= A.D. 1118) and died on the 9th *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha in Śaka-Saṃvat 1119, the *Piṅgala-saṃvatsara* (= A.D. 1197).<sup>7</sup> In his *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya*<sup>8</sup> Ānandatīrtha is

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that this transmission of the images from teacher to pupil is still going on in the existing Mādhva *Maṭhas*. The installation of a new *Guru* means, among other things, the receiving over of the charge of the images to be regularly worshipped. The same custom obtains among the Smārta (Advaita) *Maṭhas* as well. There arises often a dispute among the *Maṭhas* as to whether the images worshipped therein are the same as those which were worshipped by the first teacher, the founder of the *Maṭha*, or are imitations acquired second or third hand.

<sup>2</sup> This place is said to have been situated at Hampi between the temples of Virūpākṣa and Viṭṭhala.

<sup>3</sup> At Uḍipi I was told that Naraharītīrtha's *Tippaṇi* on Ānandatīrtha's *Bhāṣya* is still in existence.

<sup>4</sup> An inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1214 at Sīmbāchalām (No. 305 of 1900) shows the great influence that Naraharītīrtha exercised on the people of that country; for it records a grant to the Lakṣmī-Narasimhasvāmin temple at Sīmbāchalām, made by the Mataya chief Jayanta of Oḍḍavādi at the instance of Naraharītīrtha. Another inscription at Śrīkūrmam (No. 367 of 1896), which records a gift of gold by Naraharītīrtha, is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1215 and in the 18th year of the reign of Vīra-śrī-Naraṇasimhadēva, i.e. the Gaṅga king Narasiṃha II.

<sup>5</sup> The *Narahariyatiśāstra* quoted above says that the *Tīrtha* ruled the Kalinga country for 12 years, while his inscriptions in that part of the country range over 30 years.

<sup>6</sup> See his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1892-93*, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> See Dr. Bhandarkar, *ibid.* p. 202.

<sup>8</sup> Chapter xxii. verse 181, which runs as follows:—

चतुष्टयं विप्रतोषरे नते संवत्सराणां तु कवी पुण्डितान्  
जायः पुनर्विप्रतनुषः लीली देवेर्निर्गुणं हरितसमाहः

supposed to have given the date of his own birth as Kali 4300 (= A.D. 1198).<sup>1</sup> Thus a difference of 80 years exists between the date found in the lists and the date contained in the *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya*. Even the second date cannot be reconciled with the dates of the inscriptions of Ānandatīrtha's pupil Naraharītīrtha and is perhaps due to an interpolation. As regards the dates given in the lists, I am inclined to adopt Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion that the Jovian years may be perfectly reliable while their Śaka equivalents are later inventions, and to accept the statement of the lists that Ānandatīrtha was born in the year *Vilambin*, lived for 79 years, and died in the year *Piṅgala*. The lists further state that he was succeeded by his pupil Padmanābhatīrtha, who occupied the seat for seven years and was followed by Naraharītīrtha in the cyclic year *Raktākṣin*. This teacher occupied the seat for nine years and died in the year *Śrīmukha*. He was succeeded by Mādhavatīrtha, who in his turn occupied the seat for seventeen years and was followed by Akshōbhyatīrtha, who occupied the *sthānādhipatya* for another seventeen years. With the help of these statements the actual time of Ānandatīrtha can be easily determined by calculating backwards from the dates of Naraharītīrtha's inscriptions. Two other facts derived from different sources are also of some value in this direction, viz. the statement in the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*<sup>2</sup> that Akshōbhyatīrtha was a contemporary of Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāranya, and the statement in the *Madhvavijaya*<sup>3</sup> that a certain king Īśvaradēva in Mahārāshṭra tried in vain to take Ānandatīrtha into his service. Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāranya was the minister of the Vijayanagara king Bukka I. whose inscriptions range between A.D. 1353 and A.D. 1371.<sup>4</sup> Roughly, therefore, Akshōbhyatīrtha, a contemporary of Mādhavāchārya, will have to be assigned to this period. To get to the time of Ānandatīrtha, the total period of the *sthānādhipatya* of the intervening teachers, Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharītīrtha and Mādhavatīrtha, viz. 33 years, will have to be deducted, say, from A.D. 1362; and this brings us to A.D. 1329. Now the nearest year to A.D. 1329 which corresponded to *Piṅgala*, the traditional date of the death of Ānandatīrtha, was A.D. 1317. As noted above, Ānandatīrtha is supposed to have lived for 79 years, and consequently the date of his birth, the cyclic year *Vilambin*, would correspond to A.D. 1238. The statement of the *Madhvavijaya* confirms this date; for Īśvaradēva of Mahārāshṭra has been identified by Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar<sup>5</sup> with the Yādava king Mahādēva of Dēvagiri, who reigned from A.D. 1260—1271.<sup>6</sup> Ānandatīrtha's date being thus fixed, the dates of his successors can be easily determined with the help of the lists which give the traditional Jovian years for each teacher's succession to the pontifical seat and for his death. Thus Naraharītīrtha, the second in succession, must have ascended the pontifical seat in A.D. 1324, the year *Raktākṣin*, and died in A.D. 1333, the year *Śrīmukha*.

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

## East Face.

1 देव[\*] श्रीकमलाविद्यासलहरीपात्रं कलिप्रो[न्नि]लत्क्षेत्रलिङ्गजनेखिलसि[ति]-  
तले 'संज्ञीलबो[धो].<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With this agrees a statement of the Mādva Svāmin at Phalmāru near Mulki in South Canara, who told me that, according to the tradition of his Maṭha, Ānandatīrtha was born in Śaka-Samvat 1119, *Piṅgala*, *Māgha-suddha* 7, and died in Śaka-Samvat 1199, *Īśvara*, *Māgha-kṛishṇa* 9.

<sup>2</sup> Madras edition, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter x. verse 3 f. Two other names mentioned in the *Madhvavijaya*, if identified, may also help in fixing the date of Ānandatīrtha, viz. a king Jayasīnha who restored the library to the teacher, and a *Guru* of the Śaṅkarāchārya-Maṭha at Śrīngēri who had a dispute with Ānandatīrtha at Trivandrum. The former has not been identified; but Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar of the Coimbatore College identifies the latter with a certain Vidyāśaṅkara, who is supposed to have occupied the Śrīngēri seat from A.D. 1228—1333, i.e. for no less than 105 years (!).

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. III. p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> See his pamphlet "Madhwaacharya.—A short historic sketch," p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> See Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 519. <sup>7</sup> From two inked estampages prepared in 1896.

<sup>8</sup> Read संज्ञील.

<sup>8</sup> The *ekāṅka* पी of बोधी has both an *au* and an *o* attached to it.

- 2 'दये [1\*] स्वीयश्रीपदपङ्कजैकशरणान्<sup>2</sup> [सं]रक्षितुं सम्मुनिर्जात[:\*] श्री-  
पुरुषोत्तमाभिध[म](r)-<sup>3</sup>
- 3 हा[ती]र्त्यसुमत्यप्रणीः । [१\*] यन्मुनिभाषितभाष्यं बाध्यं<sup>4</sup> किल तीर्थिक-  
प्रवरसंग्रहैः [1\*] उ-
- 4 अदवादिद्विरदप्रतिबुद्धमङ्कुशं भवति<sup>5</sup> ॥ [२\*] तस्य ज्ञानकलाकलोदय-  
कलो वैय्य[र]-
- 5 सीक<sup>6</sup> गोगणं (i) मन्दै[र्भि]न्नपथप्रधारितमलं<sup>7</sup> सुव्यक्तमेदे पथि । नेतुं  
संघृतदंड-
- 6 मंडितकरो यः प्रादुरासीन्मुनिव्रातैस्त्र्यपदारविहयुगळादानंदती[र्त्य] सु]-
- 7 निः । [३\*] यन्मुखनि[:\*]सृतभाषा ललिता ललितप्रकारपदविन्यासा [1\*]  
कमलाप[ति]पदकमलं भ-
- 8 जते भजमानभवभयारा[ति] । [४\*] आनन्दतीर्थभगवत्पादाचार्यसरस्वती [1\*]  
लोकेश
- 9 हरिपादाक्षयुगळप्राप्तये न<sup>8</sup> सा । [५\*] तस्मात्प्रोक्तसुरक्षणातिनिपुणाक्षप्राप्तक-
- 10 र्त्तव्यधीद्वेधामुच<sup>9</sup> तथाच<sup>10</sup> योवति जनान्<sup>11</sup> क[1\*]लिंगभूसंभ[व]ान् [1\*]  
पितृव्याचारमुपैति
- 11 स्र[त्]रिति सन्नोतिस्थिती धर्मतश्चबुद्धापतिवर्गदुर्गनिवहान् भीतानभीत[:\*]  
स्वयं । [६\*] यश्च
- 12 <sup>12</sup>श्रीकमठाधिनायकमहाकाव्यैकवद्धप्रतस्तस्य प्र[च्यु]तिवारणाय शबरानीक-

*North Face.*

- 13 क्षितीप्राशनं [1\*] धत्ते [स]त्करवालमस्य त[टि]ता<sup>13</sup> संत्यक्तजीवे रिपौ  
हंतव्यानवशेषणा-
- 14 विजविधिवी<sup>14</sup> यस्य बोध्यस्तरां । [७\*] तेनाग्नेन श्रीमन्नरहरितीर्त्तास्थमुनि-  
वरेण्येन<sup>15</sup> [1\*] क-
- 15 लिसमयप्रज्ञादप्रवावपरितोष्यनृहरिरूपेण<sup>16</sup> ॥ [८\*] स्वस्ति श्रीशकवत्सरे हृतवह-

<sup>1</sup> Lines 2, 3, 4 and 5 are written between parallel lines.

<sup>2</sup> The final न् is inserted below the line.

<sup>3</sup> The *akshara* सा at the end of the line appears to be corrected from घ. <sup>4</sup> Read भाष्यं.

<sup>5</sup> In the second half of this verse the metre requires one or more additional syllables which are missing in the original.

<sup>6</sup> Read वैयसिकं.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'प्रतारित'.

<sup>8</sup> Read नु.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'धीर्द्वेध'.

<sup>10</sup> Read तथाच.

<sup>11</sup> The syllables कलिंगभूसंभवा are written on an erasure.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'कार्यैक'.

<sup>13</sup> Read तडिता.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'विधिवी'.

<sup>15</sup> Read 'तीर्त्तास्थ'.

<sup>16</sup> Read 'प्रभाव'.

- 16 व्योमज्जयन्नायुते मेवे <sup>1</sup>युक्तययांक्षेत्र[दि]ने वारे [च\*] सौम्ये वरे [\*]  
 प्रासादं कमठा[धि]-  
 17 पक्ष पुरतो निर्माय शर्मप्रदो योगानन्दसिंह<sup>2</sup> ए[च\*] भगवान् प्रीत्या  
 प्रतिष्ठापि-  
 18 तः । [८\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) The god (Vishṇu), (who is) the recipient of the abundant dalliance of the goddess Kamalā (Lakṣmī),—in order to protect those whose only refuge are his divine lotus-feet on the whole surface of the earth where men were oppressed by the suffering produced by the Kali (age), (and) where the rise of knowledge had ceased,<sup>3</sup>—took birth (in the person of) a great saint (mahātīrtha) named the holy Purushōttama, a pious ascetic (and) a leader of the wise.<sup>4</sup>

(V. 2.) The commentary (bhāṣya)<sup>5</sup> pronounced by this sage is, indeed, worthy of being repeated by crowds of chiefs of saints (tīrthika), (and) a goad on every frontal globe of the furious elephants—proud disputants.<sup>6</sup>

(V. 3.) From the pair of lotus-feet of this (Purushōttama), which is worthy to be worshipped by crowds of sages, was produced<sup>7</sup> the ascetic Ānandatīrtha, who caused the rising of the moon of wisdom,<sup>8</sup> (and) whose hand was adorned with a staff<sup>9</sup> held (in it), (and who was therefore) able to lead on the easily distinguishable path<sup>10</sup> the cows of Vyāsa,<sup>11</sup> which had been enticed on the wrong path by ignorant men.<sup>12</sup>

(V. 4.) The charming speech proceeding from his mouth (and) consisting of words arranged in a charming manner resorts to the lotus-foot of (Vishṇu) the lord of Kamalā, which destroys the fear of rebirth of (its) devotees.

(V. 5.) The speech of the holy preceptor (Bhagavatpāddachārya) Ānandatīrtha (leads) indeed (already) in this life to the attainment of the pair of lotus-feet of Hari (Vishṇu).

<sup>1</sup> The rest of the inscription after यया is engraved very faintly. The letters can however be read from the back of the stampage.

<sup>2</sup> Read °सिंह.

<sup>3</sup> The reason assigned in this verse for the *avatāra* of Vishṇu agrees with what Kṛishṇa says in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, chapter iv. verse 7 f. :—

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य वक्षान्मिर्वसि भारत । चतुर्थयामसधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सज्जाम्यहम् ।  
 परिधापयामि साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृतान् । धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ।

<sup>4</sup> The word *sumati*, 'the wise,' seems to have been a standing designation of the followers of the Dvaita doctrine, just as *bhāgya* is applied to the Jainas; for the Rāghavāndrasvāmimāṭha at Nāṅjangūd, one of the three chief *Māṭhas* of the Mādhyas, is otherwise called *Sumatindramāṭha*.

<sup>5</sup> The commentary referred to may be assumed to have been one on the *Brahmasūtras*, the ten important *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgītā*—collectively known by the name *Prasthānatraya*; see Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1882-83*, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> The 'proud disputants' are the followers of the Advaita system of Śaṅkarāchārya.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. 'his pupil was.'

<sup>8</sup> *Kaldhala* may be taken in the sense of *kaldhāra*. The rising moon assists the cows which are mentioned afterwards in finding their way, and the wisdom is required for the explanation of the *Vyāsasūtras*.

<sup>9</sup> The staff is one of the attributes of an ascetic; but the cowherd's stick is also implied here.

<sup>10</sup> Or, 'on the path where the distinction (*bhēda*) (between *Jñātman* and *Paramātman*) is quite clear,' i.e. the Dvaita system.

<sup>11</sup> Or, 'the words of Vyāsa,' i.e. the *Vyāsasūtras*, on which the Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita systems are based.

<sup>12</sup> These negligent cowherds are the followers of Śaṅkarāchārya.

(V. 6.) From him (*vis.* Ānandatīrtha), who was very experienced in well protecting men, has obtained the knowledge of duty he (*vis.* Naraharītīrtha), who protects the people born in the Kālinga country both in the next (*world*) and in this; who as a (*dutiful*) son follows the profession of (*his*) father,<sup>1</sup> practising high politics in a righteous manner (*and*) himself facing the frightened garrisons (?) of the fortresses of crowds of hostile kings;

(V. 7.) And who, being devoted exclusively to the great service of the lord of Śrikamāṭha,<sup>2</sup> holds, in order to prevent the ruin of this (*temple*), an excellent sword (*which is*) a thunderbolt to the mountains—the bands of Śābaras,—(*but*) the proper action of which was totally imperceptible because no victim was left, the enemy having lost his life through its (*mere*) flashing.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 8.) This best of sages, called the holy Naraharītīrtha, a man-lion incarnate, who is to be worshipped by those who possess the power of Prahlāda<sup>4</sup> in the Kali age,—

(V. 9.) Hail! in the prosperous Śaka year joined with the fires (3), the sky (0), the pair (2), and the earth (1),—(*i.e.* 1203),—in (*the month of*) Mēsha, on the day of the moon-crested (Śiva),<sup>5</sup> in the bright (*fortnight*), and on an excellent Wednesday,—having built a temple in front of the lord of Kamāṭha, consecrated (*therein*) with pleasure this god Yōgānanda-Nṛsiṃha, the bestower of bliss.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remark on the date of the preceding inscription:—

"In Śaka-Saṃvat 1203 expired the 8th *tīthi* of the bright half in the month of Mēsha ended 6 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 29th March A.D. 1281; and in Śaka-Saṃvat 1203 current the same *tīthi* ended 3 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 9th April A.D. 1280. As all the other inscriptions of Naraharītīrtha (see below) quote expired Śaka years, the day intended by the date would be expected to be Saturday, the 29th March A.D. 1281; but if it were so, the word *Saumya* of the date would have to be altered to *Saurēra* (*i.e.* 'of Saturn')."

Besides this inscription, the Vaiṣṇava temples at Śrikūrmam and Siṃhāchalam (in the Vizagapatam district) contain five other inscriptions recording gifts by Naraharītīrtha. I subjoin their dates, which Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to calculate as well.

#### 1.—In the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrikūrmam.<sup>6</sup>

- |    |                          |                      |                   |
|----|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 5  | U(ḍ)na-ohaturdaśa-varshē | dvādaśa-śata-vatsarē | [[*]              |
| 6  | Kanyā-māsē-sitē          | pakshē trayōdaśyām   | Kavér-ddinē [![*] |
| 9  | Svasti                   | śrī-Śaka-varuṣaṃbulu | 1186 n=śmṛtti     |
| 10 | Kanya-kri(kṛ)ṣṇa         | 13 Śukravāramuna     | . . . . .         |

"In the (*Śaka*) year twelve hundred less fourteen years, in the month of Kanyā, in the dark fortnight, on the thirteenth *tīthi*, on Friday."

"On Friday, the 13th (*tīthi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of Kanyā in the Śaka year 1186."

For Śaka-Saṃvat 1186 expired the date corresponds to Friday, the 16th September A.D. 1264, when the 13th *tīthi* of the dark half ended 20 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise. The day by the Ārya-siddhānta was the 23rd day of the month of Kanyā.—F. K.

<sup>1</sup> It follows from this statement that both Naraharītīrtha and his father were ministers of the king of Kālinga.

<sup>2</sup> *Z.e.* Śrikūrmam; compare above, Vol. V. p. 85, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> By this the poet means to say that Naraharītīrtha, though he wore a sword, was not put to the necessity of using it and thereby avoided incurring the sin of destroying life.

<sup>4</sup> Prahlāda was the son of the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu who was killed by Viṣṇu in his Nṛsiṃha *avatāra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Z.e.* the eighth *tīthi*; see above, Vol. V. p. 168, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> No. 369 of 1896.

2.—In the Lakshmi-Narasimhasvāmin temple at Sindhāchalam.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti [l\*] Śāk-ābdē Rāma-dhātri-nayana-śāsi-mitē Paushya-māsi prasiddhē . s[ā]pāt-<sup>2</sup>  
 Ārkavāra-  
 2 Śravaṇa-paripatē śaśvad=Arddhoday-ākhyē | bhūya[h\*] <sup>3</sup>Svarbbhāma-bhānugrahaṇa-  
 ja-samayē  
 3 tat-ti[thau] Sōmavārē punyē kāla-dvayē=pi . . . . .  
 7 . . Svasti śrī-Śāka-varuṣaṁbulu 1213 guṇ-ēmtti Paushya māsamuna Śravaṇa-  
 Vyatipāt-Ārkavāra-sa-  
 8 hitam=aina Arddhodayam=anu pēraṁ gala [a]māvāsya nāṁḍunu i(i) divasamuna  
 sūryyagrahaṇa-sa-  
 9 hitam=aina Sōmavāramu nāṁḍ[n]nu . . . . .

"In the Śāka year measured by the Rāmas (3), the earth (1), the eyes (2), and the moon (1),—(i.e. 1213),—in the well-known month of Paushya, on (the occasion) called Arddhodaya, ever brought about by (the union of the yōga) Vyatipāta, a Sunday and (the nakshatra) Śravaṇa,—again on the occasion arising at the sun's eclipse by Rāhu, on the tithi of this (eclipse), on Monday,—at both of these auspicious times."

"In the month of Paushya of the Śāka year 1213, on the day of the new-moon tithi bearing the name Arddhodaya, combined with Śravaṇa, Vyatipāta and Sunday, and on Monday combined with an eclipse of the sun on this day."

For Śāka-Samvat 1213 expired the two days quoted by the original date correspond to Sunday, the 30th January, and Monday, the 21st January, A.D. 1292. On the Sunday, the new-moon tithi of Paushya commenced 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise, and the nakshatra was Śravaṇa for 22 h. 20 m., and the yōga Vyatipāta for 18 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise. As therefore during the new-moon tithi of Paushya, on a Sunday in day-time, the nakshatra was Śravaṇa, and the yōga Vyatipāta, the coincidence is correctly described as Arddhodaya (compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 186, Paushya-kṛishṇapaksha XV.).—On the Monday, at 3 h. 39 m. after sunrise, there was an annular eclipse of the sun which was visible in India. For a place in Southern India of longitude 77° and latitude 15° the magnitude of the greatest phase was about six digits.—F. K.

3.—In the Lakshmi-Narasimhasvāmin temple at Sindhāchalam.<sup>4</sup>

- 7 . . . . Śāk-ā[bdē] Vēda-chandra-dyumaṇ[i]-sugapitē Śrāvapē māsi śu-  
 8 klē Viṣṇōr=ahny-[ā\*]rkkivārē . . . . .  
 11 . . . . Svasti śrī-Śāka-varuṣaṁbulu 1214 gu-  
 12 n-ēmtti Śrāvapa-śukla ākāśāsiyun Śanaishcharavāramu nāṁḍu . . . . .

"In the Śāka year well reckoned by the Vēdas (4), the moon (1), and the suns (12),—(i.e. 1214),—in the month Śrāvapa, in the bright (fortnight), on the day of Viṣṇu,<sup>5</sup> on Saturday."

"On Saturday, the eleventh tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Śrāvapa in the Śāka year 1214."

For Śāka-Samvat 1214 expired the date corresponds to Saturday, the 26th July A.D. 1292, when the 11th tithi of the bright half ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.—F. K.

4.—In the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrikūrmam.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī-Śāka-varuṣaṁbulu 1215 guṇ-ēmttu Vīra-śrī-Na-  
 2 ranārasimhya(ha)dēvaru(rā) vijaya-rājya-sa[rāvva]tsarambula-<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No. 311 of 1900.<sup>2</sup> Read *Vyātipāt*.<sup>3</sup> Read *Svarbbhāma*.<sup>4</sup> No. 305 of 1900.<sup>5</sup> I.e. the eleventh tithi.<sup>6</sup> No. 267 of 1896.<sup>7</sup> Cancel the syllable *le* at the end of the line.

3 lu 18 gu śrāhi Rī(ri)shabha-śukla-paurṇa(mṇa)miyu Guruvā-  
4 ramuna . . . . .

"In the Śaka year 1215 (*and*) in the 18th year of the victorious reign of the glorious Vīra-Naranārasimhadēva,—on Thursday, the full-moon *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Rishabha."

For Śaka-Samvat 1215 expired the date corresponds to Thursday, the 21st May A.D. 1293, when the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise. The day by the Ārya-siddhānta was the 27th day of the month of Rishabha.—F. K.

5.—In the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrikūrmam.<sup>1</sup>

1 Svasti śrī-Śaka-vatsarē śara-dharā-tigmāṁśu-śa(sa)mkhy-ānvitē . . . . .  
4 . . . . . Svasti śrī-Śaka-varuṣāmbulu 1215 guṇ-ēnti Mā-  
5 [gha]-śukla-pañchamiyu Raviv[ā\*]ramunay-amddu . . . . .

"In the Śaka year joined with the number of the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the suns (12),—(*i.e.* 1215)."

"On Sunday, the fifth *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha in the Śaka year 1215."

For Śaka-Samvat 1215 expired the date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd January A.D. 1294, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.—F. K.

No. 26.—TSANDAVOLU INSCRIPTION OF BUDDHARAJA;  
SAKA-SAMVAT 1093.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

This inscription (No. 249 of 1897) is engraved on three faces of a pillar opposite the Liṅgodbhavasvāmin temple at Tsandavōlu in the Rēpalle tāluka of the Kistna district. The alphabet is Telugu. The inscription consists of 13 Sanskrit verses, a passage in Telugu prose (ll. 56 to 81), and two Sanskrit verses at the end.

The inscription is dated at the winter-solstice (*Saunvadyana*, v. 13, or *Uttarayana*, l. 70 f.) in Śaka-Samvat 1093 (in numerical words, v. 13, and in figures, l. 70) and records the grant of a field at Nādiṇḍla (v. 13 and l. 72) and of a lamp to the Śiva temple of Paṇḍīśa (v. 13) or Paṇḍīśvara (ll. 69 and 79) at Dhanadapura (v. 13), Dhanadaprōlu (l. 69) or Dhanadavōlu (l. 78 f.) in Velanāṇḍu (v. 13). Nādiṇḍla is the modern Nādeṇḍla in the Narasārāyapēṭa tāluka of the Kistna district.<sup>2</sup> As stated before,<sup>3</sup> Dhanadapura or Dhanadaprōlu is the modern Tsandavōlu, which was the capital of the chiefs of Velanāṇḍu.<sup>4</sup> According to an inscription which is now built into the roof of the Liṅgodbhavasvāmin temple, the temple of Paṇḍīśvara was named after one of the chiefs of Velanāṇḍu.<sup>5</sup>

The donor of this inscription was Buddhārāja (vv. 9, 12 and 13) or, in Telugu, the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Buddarāja (l. 67 f.), who bore the surnames Aniyāṅka-Bhīma (l. 60 f.), Eladāyasimha (l. 61 f.), and 'the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family'<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No. 291 of 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 87, and Vol. VI. pp. 111 and 115.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV. Additions and Corrections, p. v.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 83.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. V. p. 151.

<sup>6</sup> This was also a surname of the chief Nambaya; see page 227 above. And the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati traced his descent to an ancestor named Durjaya; above, Vol. V. p. 142. Though Gaṇapati claims to be a descendant of the Sun, Manu and Raghu (*Jad. Ac.* Vol. XXI. p. 201, and above, Vol. V. p. 142), the Kākatiyas must have belonged to the Śūdra caste, because they intermarried with Śūdra chiefs (above, Vol. III. p. 94, and Vol. VI. p. 147). In the Yenamadala inscription, which chronicles the marriage of Gaṇapāmbā to Bēta, both parties preserve a discreet silence regarding their Śūdra descent.

(l. 59). As he calls himself a 'worshipper of the feet of Kulottunga-Chôḍadêva' (l. 57 f.), it may be assumed that he or his predecessors had been vassals of the Châlukya-Chôḍa king Kulottunga-Chôḍa II. Among his remaining *birudas* we find *Giripâśchimaśāsana*, 'the ruler (of the country) west of the hill' (l. 64), and *Śailapâśchâtyadipa*, 'the light (of the country) west of the hill' (v. 12). These are Sanskrit equivalents of the Telugu term *Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi*, '(the ruler of the country) west of the hill,' which is prefixed to his name in line 68. When editing the Amarâvati inscription of Kêta II., I pointed out that the district of *Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi* corresponds to the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli tâluka.<sup>1</sup> Hence the expression 'west of the hill' must refer to the *Koṇḍavîḍu* hills, which form part of the eastern boundary of that district.

Buddharāja's ancestor Buddhavarman belonged to the *Chaturthâbhijana* (v. 2), i.e. to the Śûdra caste, and was a servant (v. 3) of king *Kubja-Vishpu* of the lunar race (v. 1), i.e. of the Eastern Châlukya king *Kubja-Vishpuvardhana I.*, who conferred on him 'the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages' (v. 4). The immediate descendants of Buddhavarman are not mentioned by name in the inscription, which passes on to the *Maṇḍalêśvara Maṇḍa I.* or *Maṇḍana*, who "was born from that family," his son *Gaṇḍa*, (v. 5), and his grandson *Maṇḍa II.* (v. 6). *Buddharāja* was the son of *Maṇḍa II.* and *Kundâmbikâ* (v. 8), and the brother of *Aṅkama* (v. 12), who became the wife of *Rājendra-Chôḍa*, the son of *Goṅka* (v. 11). This chief has to be identified with *Rājendra-Chôḍa*, the son of *Goṅka II.* of *Velanâṇḍu*, and his wife *Aṅkama* with *Akkâmbikâ* or *Akkama*, whose name occurs in verse 49 of the *Piṭhâpuram* pillar inscription of *Prithviśvara*<sup>2</sup> and in a fragmentary inscription at *Bâpaṭla*.<sup>3</sup> The son of *Rājendra-Chôḍa*, *Goṅka III.*, followed the example of his father in marrying *Jâyâmbikâ*, who belonged to the family of the chiefs of 'the country west of the hill.'<sup>4</sup>

In the foot-notes on the text I have quoted the various readings of two *Nâḍendia* inscriptions of *Buddharāja*, of which the first (No. 233 of 1892) contains verses 1-10 of the subjoined inscription, and the second (No. 228 of 1892) the list of *birudas* (ll. 56 to 68).

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>West Face.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 श्री [॥\*] चस्ति श्रीस्तनकुङ्कुमांकितविराज[ब्जु]-<sup>9</sup>
- 2 उदयस्वलो देवशीतमयूख-
- 3 वंशतिलक[:\*] श्री[कु]मविष्णुर्निपः<sup>9</sup> । य-<sup>10</sup>
- 4 स्यारातिनरेंद्रहर्म्यविलस[द्भु]वर्वा-

<sup>1</sup> Page 148 above.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV. pp. 85 and 51. I avail myself of this opportunity for issuing a collotype plate of the four *Piṭhâpuram* pillar inscriptions between pages 270 and 371.

<sup>3</sup> This inscription (No. 181 of 1897) refers itself to the reign of "Chôḍa-Goṅka-mahârāja, the son of *Akkama-mahâdêvi*, the younger sister of [Budda]-mahârāja."

<sup>4</sup> *Parvat-apara-mahâ*; above, Vol. IV. p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> From an inked estampage prepared by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A.

<sup>6</sup> The symbols of the sun and the moon—implying that the grant is to continue *4-chandr-ârka*—are engraved at the top of this face.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

No. 233 of 1892 reads "वृपः".

<sup>8</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads "विराजि"; read "वृड".

<sup>10</sup> Read स्याराति (?)

- 5 [भि]लापौततचीभीळंभाकुरंभाशीत-<sup>1</sup>  
 6 किरणस्वाप्ते[यशीभा]<sup>2</sup> दधी । [१\*] चासीचतु-  
 7 त्याभिजनाव[तंस][ः\*] [त्री]बुधवर्मा[१]<sup>3</sup> कृत-  
 8 पुष्पकर्मा [१\*] [सं]ग्रामरंगे निजनाथवर्मा  
 9 संपादिताशेषक[वी]द्वयर्मा । [२\*] भृत्यकृत्य-  
 10 विनयेन रंजयन्ननेय<sup>4</sup> इव राव-  
 11 णच्छिदं [१\*] वैनतेय इव चक्रिणं च तं सार्वभौ-  
 12 मतिलकं स [शोभते]<sup>5</sup> । [३\*] चिसमतिग्रामवतीम्-  
 13 हीम्हीपतिप्रसादीपनताम्रताहितः [१\*]  
 14 गिरिप्रतीचीजिराजसांछनैस्स पालयामा-  
 15 स विलासवासवः । [४\*] वंशकर्तृषु<sup>6</sup> गवेषु केषुचि-  
 16 तत्कुलादजनि [मं]डभूपतिः [१\*] मंडलीम्-  
 17 रसिखंडमंडनो<sup>7</sup> मंडनादजनि गंडभू-  
 18 पतिः । [५\*] अथ रविरिव <sup>8</sup>पूज्यशैलत्रिंमा[सुहि]न-  
 19 मरोचिरिवांबुधेः कुमारः [१\*] <sup>9</sup>शरवन[वन]-  
 20 [जा]दिवीक्ष्यवार्थं समजनि मंडविभुर्वि-  
 21 मोरसुभात् । [६\*] अस्व<sup>10</sup> खड्गसत्तिकात्रि-  
 22 ता जय(१)त्रीर्भुजात्रितभुवादिराज-<sup>11</sup>  
 23 <sup>12</sup>भिर्भुक्तवत्यपि पतिव्रता कृता तन<sup>13</sup> राज-  
 24 तनयेन मानिना ॥ [७\*] पुरंहरक्षेव<sup>14</sup> पु-  
 25 लोमपुत्री सीतेव रामस्य रमेव श्रीरः [१\*]  
 26 दधुव<sup>15</sup> देवी जनपत्य तस्य कुंदाभिका<sup>16</sup>  
 27 राजभृतोभिकेव<sup>17</sup> । [८\*] ताभ्यामुभाभ्यां ज-  
 28 गदुक्षवाय <sup>18</sup>त्रीबुद्धराजोजनि  
 29 कीर्त्तिदानी<sup>19</sup> [१\*] तेनैव जातास्यह वहुमा-<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °चीपो°.

<sup>2</sup> Read °बुध°.

<sup>3</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads सेवते.

<sup>4</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °विखंड°.

<sup>5</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads शरवण°.

<sup>6</sup> Read °त्रीर्भुजा°.

<sup>7</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads तेन.

<sup>8</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads दधुव.

<sup>9</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °विक्षेप°.

<sup>10</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °जनि[ः\*]°.

<sup>11</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °साप्तेयशीभा°.

<sup>12</sup> Read °यवाननेय°.

<sup>13</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °कपुंषु°.

<sup>14</sup> Read पूज्यशैलत्रिंमा°.

<sup>15</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads यक्ष.

<sup>16</sup> Read °भिः । सुहृ°.

<sup>17</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °रक्षेव°.

<sup>18</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads कुंदाभिका°.

<sup>19</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads श्रीबुध°.

<sup>20</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads वहुमा°.

- 30 न[र\*]स्यत्वाज्जित(र)त्यागपराक्रमाच्च<sup>1</sup> [॥ ८\*]  
 31 येस्यासीत्यविदारितारिकरटिप्रस्यो-<sup>2</sup>  
 32 तकुंभस्यलस्यालोख्यूलविमुक्तसुक्त-  
 33 निकरास्यूर्वा<sup>3</sup> विकीर्वा र[र्ण] [॥\*] वार्ह<sup>4</sup>.  
 34 लोखरविंखलेखनद[ल\*]द्रक्तप्रसिकचि-<sup>5</sup>  
 35 तौ (i) प्रत्युपा<sup>6</sup> इ[व] कोर्त्तिवोजम[ण]यो भां-<sup>7</sup>  
 36 [त्ति] अ<sup>10</sup> [षो]मांकुराः । [१०\*] शोमसंघामवो-  
 37 [र]क्षितपतिरभवद्भौकभू[प]ाल[पु]व[ः\*]

South Face.

- 38 <sup>11</sup>श्रीमान्द्विचारिभोगः <sup>12</sup>प्रभलरिपु-  
 39 <sup>13</sup>द्विपांभोजपुंजाधितांशु[ः\*]<sup>14</sup> [॥\*] शशच्छो-  
 40 कं[र]तभक्तो गुणनिधिरमलो वाक्पतिः  
 41 पुण्यमूर्त्तिधोमद्देवद्वयस्य-<sup>15</sup>  
 42 कलजननुतो भाति <sup>16</sup>राजद्रचोडः [॥ ११\*]  
 43 तस्योर्व्विवक्तभस्य प्रियवरललना  
 44 <sup>17</sup>[व]ध्वपहांकमाख्या भाति श्रीसन्नि[भा]-  
 45 <sup>18</sup>तिस्फुरितनिखिलदिक्पूर्वसत्कीर्त्ति-<sup>19</sup>  
 46 वक्तो [॥\*] तद्वाता बुद्धूपो<sup>20</sup> नरपतिति-  
 47 लकशैलपाचात्यदीपः सन्मानो[द्य]-  
 48 [दि]कीर्त्तिर्गुणमणिनिकरो राजते  
 49 [पु]ण्यमूर्त्ति[ः\*] । [१२\*] शाकाब्दे शक्तिनंदा-  
 50 वरशशिगणिते [भू]रिसौम्यायने  
 51 वा चैवकादिङ्कु[पु]र्व्वी धनधनु-<sup>21</sup>  
 52 रेमधिस्थाय पंडोमनाब्दे [॥\*] नैवेद्या-  
 53 त्वंमर्हता<sup>22</sup> भिरतरमनिशं खंडु[कं]

<sup>1</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °लोर्जित°.

<sup>2</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °प्रस्योत°.

<sup>3</sup> Read °रासूर्व° विकीर्वा रवे.

<sup>4</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °प्रसिक°.

<sup>5</sup> The *answara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>6</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads अ वामांकुराः.

<sup>7</sup> Read प्रस्य°.

<sup>8</sup> Read °मूर्त्तिर्दीप्त°.

<sup>9</sup> Read °स्फुरित°.

<sup>10</sup> Read धनदपुरमधिष्ठाय.

<sup>11</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads यस्यासिम°.

<sup>12</sup> Read कुंभ.

<sup>13</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads वाक्पती°.

<sup>14</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads प्रस्युता.

<sup>15</sup> Read श्रीमान्द्विचारि°.

<sup>16</sup> Read °द्वपा°.

<sup>17</sup> Read राजेद्र°.

<sup>18</sup> Read °दिक्पूर्व°.

<sup>19</sup> Read °चकात्मा चिर°.

<sup>20</sup> Read °शामतायः°.

<sup>21</sup> Read वड°.

<sup>22</sup> Read बुद्धूपो.

- 54 बाहुसंख्यं दीप<sup>1</sup> प्रादादखंडं [ख]-  
 55 यमपि वेलनांडभूतले बुद्ध[भू]पः  
 56 ॥ [१३\*] स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दम-  
 57 [हा]मंड[ले]श्वर<sup>2</sup> कुलीकुंगची[ड]देवर<sup>3</sup>  
 58 दिव्यश्रीपादपद्माराधक परबलसाध-  
 59 क दुर्जयकुलाचलमर्गेद्र सत्यह-  
 60 रिचंद्र प्रतिज्ञापकसराम<sup>4</sup> अनियं-  
 61 कभीम सत्यराधेय श्रीचंगांभेय<sup>5</sup> ए-  
 62 लदायसिंह विक्रमत्रिसिंह<sup>6</sup> सुज-  
 63 नजनवनवसंत कांताजयंत वि-  
 64 वेकपद्मासन गिरिपद्मिमासन वित-  
 65 रणरणविनोद<sup>7</sup> कस्तुरिकामोद ह-  
 66 यवत्तराज राजमनोज नामादि-  
 67 समस्तप्रशस्तसहित<sup>8</sup> श्रीमन्महामं<sup>9</sup>  
 68 डलेश्वर कोडपड्मटिबुह्राजुलु  
 69 धनदप्रोहि श्रीपंडीश्वरमहा[१\*][देव-  
 70 रकु शकवर्षबुलु १०८३ नेटि [ड]त्त(१)-  
 71 रायणनिमित्तमुन निवेद्यार्थमु-  
 72 नकु मादिङ्गु बेटिन<sup>10</sup> भूमि ख २ [॥\*]  
 73 ह<sup>11</sup> देवरक अखंडवर्त्तिदीपबुनकु<sup>12</sup>

## East Face.

- 74 बेटिन गोठियलु ५५ [१\*] वीनिं जिको-  
 75 नि चामेनबोयुनि कोडकु सूर्य-  
 76 बोयिनि पंटु कोमनबोयिनि कोडकु  
 77 भीमनबोयुंडु तन पुचानु-  
 78 पौत्रिकमु आचंद्रार्कमु धनदप्रो-  
 79 लि श्रीपंडीश्वरमहादेवरकुनखं-  
 80 डवर्त्तिदीपबुनकु नित्य मा[नि]डु

<sup>1</sup> Read दीप.<sup>2</sup> No. 228 of 1892 inserts श्रीरमेश्वर.<sup>3</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads "देवदिव्यश्रीपादाराधक.<sup>4</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads "परशुराम.<sup>5</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads श्रीचंगुनेय (!).<sup>6</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads "वृषिंह.<sup>7</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads कस्तुरिका.<sup>8</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads "प्रशस्ति.<sup>9</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>10</sup> Read बेटिन.<sup>11</sup> Read ह देवरकु.<sup>12</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 81 नेयि पोयंगलवांडु ॥ स्वदत्तां प-  
 82 र[द]त्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरां [1\*] षष्टि<sup>1</sup>  
 83 वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्षमिः [॥ १४\*]  
 84 बहुविधसुधा दत्ता बहुभिन्ना[न]-<sup>2</sup>  
 85 पालिता [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त-  
 86 स तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [१५\*]

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 praises king Kubja-Vishnu, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was Buddhavarman, the ornament of the Chaturthābhijana, i.e. of a family belonging to the fourth (Śādra) caste (v. 2 f.).

(V. 4.) "He to whom enemies bowed, (and who resembled) Vāsava (Indra) in happiness, protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of the king along with his royal emblems."

(V. 5.) "After some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king Maṇḍa [I.], the crest-ornament of rulers of provinces (*maṇḍalēvara*); (and) from Maṇḍana was born king Gaṇḍa."

His son was Maṇḍa [II.] (v. 6), who married Kundāmbikā (v. 8). Their son was Buddhārāja (v. 9). His sister Aṅkama was the wife of Rājendra-Chōḍa, the son of Goṅka (v. 11 f.).

(V. 13.) "In the Śāka year counted by the powers (3), the Nandas (9), the sky (0), and the moon (1),— (i.e. 1093),—and at the great Saumyāyana,<sup>4</sup> the high-minded king Buddha himself gave to (the god) named Paṇḍīśa, who resides at Dhanadapura in the country of Velanāṇḍa[n], a field (of) two *khaṇḍukas*<sup>5</sup> in the town of Nāḍiṇḍa for (providing) offerings uninterruptedly for a very long time, and a perpetual lamp."

(Line 56.) "Hail! The glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēvara* Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Buddarāja, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the worshipper of the divine lotus-feet of Kulōttunga-Chōḍaḍeva; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family; a Harischandra in truthfulness; a Parāśurāma in (keeping) vows; Aniyāṅka-Bhīma; a Rādhēya (Karpa) in truthfulness; a Gāṅgēya (Bhīshma) in purity; Eladāyasinha; a Nṛsiṃha in valour; the season of spring to the forest—virtuous men; a Jayanta to (the eyes of) women; a Brahmā in wisdom; the ruler (of the country) west of the hill; he who delights in making gifts and in (fighting) battles; he who is fond of musk;<sup>6</sup> a Vatsarāja in (the management of) horses; and a Cupid among kings,—in the Śāka year 1093, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana,—gave to the god Paṇḍīśvara-Mahāḍeva at Dhanadaprōlu 2 *kha[nḍi]* of land at Nāḍiṇḍa for (providing) offerings."

(L. 73.) "To the same god (he) gave 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp. Having received these (sheep),—Sūrya-Bōya, the son of Chāmena-Bōya, standing security,<sup>7</sup>—Bhīmana-Bōya, the son of

<sup>1</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>2</sup> Read वसुभिः.

<sup>3</sup> Read भिन्ना.

<sup>4</sup> This term is synonymous with Uttarāyana (l. 70 f.).

<sup>5</sup> Literally, 'the *khaṇḍuka* whose number were the (two) arms.'

<sup>6</sup> The *śīrṣa* Kāstūrikāmōḍa makes me suspect that Kāstūrikāmōḍini, one of the queens of Anantavarman alias Chōḍagaṅga of Kālīnga (Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 53, No. 367), was the daughter of one of the Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi chiefs.

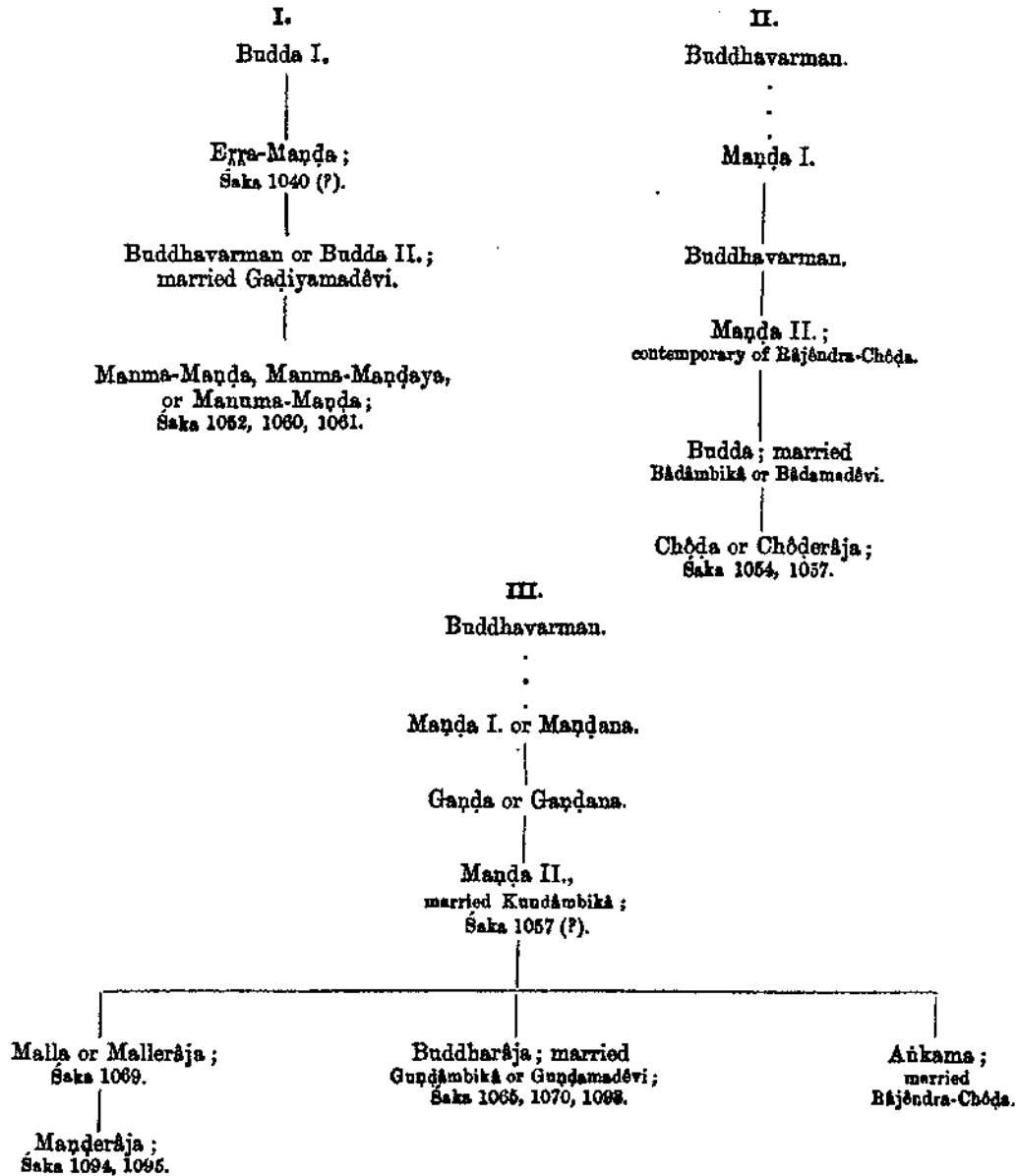
<sup>7</sup> *Pāṇḍya* is the same as *pāṇḍya*, on which see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*.

Kommana-Bôya, with his sons and further descendants has to supply one *mâna* of ghee daily for a perpetual lamp to the god Paṇḍisvara-Mahādêva at Dhanadavrôlu as long as the moon and the sun shall last."

The inscription ends with two of the customary verses.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

The two temples of Śiva and Vishnu at Nâdenḍla contain 12 inscriptions of the Koṇḍapaḍmaṣṭi chiefs, and there are two others at the Sômêśvara temple at Irlapâḍu near Nâdenḍla. I subjoin abstracts of these records, which, along with the Tsandavrôlu inscription of Buddharâja, establish the following three pedigrees.



1.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 227 of 1892).

Language: Telugu prose and verse. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1052,<sup>1</sup> Mēsha-siti-pañchami,<sup>2</sup> Thursday.<sup>3</sup> The son of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Buddha—"who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara who has obtained the five great sounds; Vīra-Mahēśvara; the worshipper of the divine feet of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva; the destroyer of hostile armies; Eladāyasimha; Sāhasōttuṅga; a Rāma on the battle-field; Anasānka-Bhīma (!); a Rādhēya in truthfulness; a Gāṅgēya in purity; a moon to the water-lily and the milk-ocean—the Durjaya family; a mine of very bright virtues; he whose delight is the sport of valour; he whose delight is poetry; the mango-tree to the parrots—excellent poets; the support of virtuous men; a Rēvanta in (the management of) horses; the death to enemies; a Brahmā in wisdom; and Giripaśchimaśāsana"—was Erṇa-Maṇḍa.<sup>4</sup> His son was Buddhavarman; and his son Manma-Maṇḍa, who gave two lamps and land at Nofichinipāḍu to the Mūlasthāna temple at Nādiḍḍla.

2.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 217 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1060. Gift of certain taxes levied at Nofichinipāḍu, for the maintenance of two lamps in the temple of Mūlasthāna-Mahādēva at Nādiḍḍla, by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Manma-Maṇḍaya.

3.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 222 of 1892).

Language: Telugu verse and prose. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1061,<sup>5</sup> Māgha-sita-pañchami, Friday.<sup>6</sup> Manma-Maṇḍa, the eldest son of the Maṇḍalika Buddha and of Gaḍiyamadēvi, built a temple (*guḍi*) of Śiva at Nādeṇḍla and gave to it the village Noficheḍlapūḍi. His mother Gaḍiyamadēvi, the daughter of Mēḍa and Mēḍamāmba, gave a lamp to the Mūlasthāna temple at Nādiḍḍla. Further Manma-Maṇḍa gave many ornaments to Śiva. Finally the inhabitants of Nofichinipāḍu had to pay a tax to the temple.

4.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 214 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1054 or 1057.<sup>7</sup> The two first verses praise king Kubja-Vishnu; the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was Buddhavarman, the lion of the mountain—the Chaturthakula (v. 3 f.), who "protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of (his) master along with the royal emblems"<sup>8</sup> (v. 5). After some princes of his family had passed away, Buddhavarman, surnamed Eladāyasimha, was born from Maṇḍa [I.] (v. 6). His son was Maṇḍa [II.], surnamed Aniyānka-Bhīma (v. 7).

<sup>1</sup> *Ambaka-syāka-āmbara-mṛgaśaka.*

<sup>2</sup> The word *siti* or *śiti* means both 'white' and 'black' and may refer either to the bright or to the dark fortnight. Prof. Kielhorn states that, for the dark half of Mēsha in Śaka-Saṃvat 1052 current, the date corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1129.

<sup>3</sup> *Nirjaraṇḍika-maṇḍi-śara.*

<sup>4</sup> He is styled *Chaturthakula-nisthaka* and his son *Chaturthadwaja-dādhi-chandra*. A damaged Telugu inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1040 (in figures and in numerical words: *gagan-dādhi-si[ya]d-in[di]*), the Vilambin year, at Chēbrōlu (No. 167 of 1897) mentions Śūra, the minister of the Giripaśchima king Erṇa-Maṇḍa.

<sup>5</sup> *Uḍuallabha-larka-[kḥ-d]ndu.*

<sup>6</sup> *Kavi-śara.* Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that "the date regularly corresponds, for Śaka-Saṃvat 1061 expired, to Friday, the 26th January A.D. 1140, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise."

<sup>7</sup> *Jalandhi-mṛgaya-viyat-tārdhikindika.* Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 228 and note 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Mahim . . . . . giri-pratishṭhānaka-rāja-lakṣmīnāmaśrisaptati-grāmaśatām.*

(V. 8.) "Having torn up, like a mound, the army of the Gaṅga (*king*) of Kalinga,<sup>1</sup> having consumed, like straw, the warriors of the bold enemy, and having cut off, (*like*) lotuses, their heads, the mighty rutting elephant—the *Maṇḍalika Maṇḍa* [II.] is roaring."<sup>2</sup>

(V. 9.) "[Having defeated] the army of the enemy, he gave to Rājendra-Chōḍa<sup>3</sup> mighty elephants which had been captured there, (*and*) whose temples were bright with rut."<sup>4</sup>

His son was Buddha (v. 10), whose wife was Bādāmbikā (v. 12). His son Chōḍa (v. 13) gave a lamp, ornaments, a bell, a trumpet and a conch to the Mūlasthāna temple at Nādiṇḍla, and land to Brāhmaṇas.

5.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādiṇḍla (No. 215 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Undated. Gift of a lamp and of land at Noñchinipāḍu to the temple of Mūlasthāna-Mahādēva at Nādiṇḍla by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chōḍerāja*, "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vira-Mahēśvara; the lion of the principal mountain—the *Durjaya* family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; he whose hair is covered by the dust of the divine feet of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva, as bees are covered by the pollen of the lotus; a Shaṇmukha at the head of battles; Aniyanka-Bhima; a Paraśurāma in (keeping) vows; he whose wife is (the goddess) Vijaya-Lakshmi; a son to the wives of others; a Nṛsiṁha to the demons—heroes; and Eladāyasimha." Also gift of a lamp by the same chief for the merit of his mother Bādamadēvi.

6.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādiṇḍla (No. 219 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Samvat 1054. Gift of land at Nādiṇḍla to some Mahājanas by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chōḍerāja*.

7.—On a pillar in front of the Sōmēśvara temple at Irlapāḍu (No. 111 of 1893).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Samvat 1057.<sup>5</sup> Gift of land and of a lamp to the temple of Sōmēśvara-Mahādēva at Irlapāḍu by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chōḍerāja*,<sup>6</sup> "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vira-Mahēśvara; the lion of the principal mountain—the *Durjaya* family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; a bee at the divine lotus-feet of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva; a Shaṇmukha at the head of battles; a Paraśurāma in (keeping) vows; Aniyanka-Bhima; he whose wife is (the goddess) Vijaya-Lakshmi; a son to the wives of others; Eladāyasimha; and Sāhasōttuṅga."

8.—On a pillar in front of the Sōmēśvara temple at Irlapāḍu (No. 109-10 of 1893).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Samvat 1057.<sup>7</sup> Sōmana-Peggada, an officer of the *Maṇḍalika Maṇḍa* who belonged to the family of the *Durjayas* and was the lord

<sup>1</sup> Evidently Anantavarman *alias* Chōḍagaṅga of Kalinga, who reigned from Śaka-Samvat 999 to 1064; Vol. V. above, Appendix, p. 51, No. 358, and p. 52, No. 368.

<sup>2</sup> कालिंगगणकटकं तटव[विप]ाज्यं जग्वा कट[क]करवदारमटारिवीराज् [१\*]  
उच्छिद्य [ग]र्जति शिरस्तरसौदहायि तेषां च संशलिकमंडमदह[म]द्रः ॥

<sup>3</sup> This statement refers to Rājendra-Chōḍa of Velanāḍu, the husband of Ankama or Akkāmbikā, the daughter of Maṇḍa II.; see above, p. 269 and notes 2, 3.

<sup>4</sup> The first half of this verse is only partially preserved; . . . वैरिसेनां [१\*] तत्र गृहीतामह-  
धीतमंजावज्जिह्वाय ददौ गजेंद्राज् ॥

<sup>5</sup> *Saila-bāṇa-ghanamār[ga]-śītakṛit*.

<sup>6</sup> In the Sanskrit portion he is called Chōḍa and 'the lord of the country west of the hill' (*saila-paśchima-  
rasumdhār-dhīpa*).

<sup>7</sup> In figures and in numerical words: *giri-śara-viyad-inda*.

of the country west of the hill,<sup>1</sup> built a temple of Śiva, named Sōmēśvara-Mahādēva, at Irralū-ru<sup>2</sup> and gave to it a tank, which he had constructed on the north of the village, and a lamp.

9.— On a pillar in the Gōvardhanasvāmin temple at Nādeṇḍla (Nos. 239-241 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1060.<sup>3</sup> Verse 1 praises king Kubja-Vishṇu, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was Buddhavarman, the founder of the race of kings of the fourth (caste)<sup>4</sup> (v. 2 f.), who "protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of (his) master along with his royal emblems"<sup>5</sup> (v. 4). "After some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king Maṇḍa [I.] " or Maṇḍana, whose son was Gaṇḍa or Gaṇḍana, whose son was Maṇḍa [II.] (v. 5).

Here some lines are lost. Then the inscription refers to the birth of Malla. This *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Mallerāja— "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; Vira-Mahēśvara; the worshipper of the divine feet of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva; the destroyer of hostile armies; the lion of the principal mountain—the Durjaya family; a Hariśchandra in truthfulness; a Paraśurāma in (keeping) vows; Aniyāṅka-Bhīma; a Rādhēya in truthfulness; an Āñjanēya in purity; Eladāyasimha; a Nṛsimha in valour; the season of spring to the lotus—virtuous men; a Jayanta to (the eyes of) women; a Brahmā in wisdom; Giripaśchimaśāsana; he who delights in making gifts and in (fighting) battles; he who is fond of musk; a Vatsarāja in (the management of) horses; a Cupid among kings; the son of Kundāmbikā; and a Saṃkrandana in happiness— gave a lamp to the temple of Kēśavadēva at Nādiṇḍla, and another lamp to the temple of Mūlasthāna-Mahādēva at Nādiṇḍla.

10.— On a pillar in the Gōvardhanasvāmin temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 237 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1064. Gift of a lamp to the temple of Kēśavadēva at Nādiṇḍla by an officer of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Ko[ṇ\*]ḍapaḍmaṭi-Maṇḍ[e\*]-rāja.

11.— On a pillar in the Gōvardhanasvāmin temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 234 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1095. Records that the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Maṇḍarāja, the son of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Mallerāja, gave to the temple of Kēśavadēva a lamp, and some land below the Mallasamudra tank which he had constructed on the north-west of Nādiṇḍla.

12.— On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 233 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṃvat 1065.<sup>6</sup> Gift of a lamp to the Mūlasthāna temple at Nādiṇḍla by Buddarāja. Guṇḍamadēvi, the wife of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Buddarāja, gave to the temple of Mūlasthāna-Mahādēva a tank named Guṇḍasa[mu\*]dra which she had constructed on the south of Nādiṇḍla.

<sup>1</sup> *Kutkila-pratyag-uro-viḍhu*.

<sup>2</sup> This village is stated to have been situated 'on the west of the hill' (*girdh paschimatah*) and to have been granted by the mythical king Triṇayana-Pallava to an ancestor of the donor, Vennayabhaṭṭa-Sōmayājīn, when he had defeated in disputation a certain Gaṇḍabhaṭṭa who had hung up a challenge in public (*kṛita-pattra-lamba*; compare above, Vol. III. p. 201 and note 3).

<sup>3</sup> In figures and in numerical words: *Jalaḍḍasambhava-rar-dkḍ-ṇḍu*.

<sup>4</sup> *Chaturth-ādhipa-samā-karṭa*.

<sup>5</sup> *Giri-pratichhena-ṛāja-lāchcha(chha)na-ṛisaptati-grāma-attim-mahān, etc.*

<sup>6</sup> In figures and in numerical words: *ṣara-tarka-tḍrakapatha-ṣeṭṭṭhān*.

13.— On a pillar in the Mūlasthanēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 228 of 1892).

Language: Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṁvat 1070. Gift of two lamps to the temple of Mūlasthanā-Mahādēva at Nādeṇḍla by the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi-Buddarāja.

14.— On a pillar in the Mūlasthanēśvara temple at Nādeṇḍla (No. 230 of 1892).

Languages: Sanskrit and Telugu. Date: Śaka-Saṁvat 1093.<sup>1</sup> Gift of a lamp to the temple of Mūlasthanā-[Mahādēva] at Nādeṇḍla by Guṇḍāmbikā or Guṇḍamadēvi, the chief queen (*agramahisikā*) of the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Buddarāja.

### No. 27.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 24.)

#### A.— KULOṬṬUNGA-CHOLA I.

39.— Near the Nāgēśvara temple at Chēbrōlu.<sup>2</sup>

1	Svasti	Śakha(ka)-varshaṁblu	998	n=ēṁṭi	Nala-śam(sam)vatsa-
2	ra	śrāhi	avasti		Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-
3	Vishnu(śhṇu)varddhana-mahārājula				pravarddhamā-
4	na-vijaya-rājya-śam(sam)vatsara[mblu]		7	n=ēṁḍu	. . .
6	.	.	.	.	Māgha-māsamuna
7	punnamayū	Su(śu)kravāramuna			sōmagrahaṇa-
8	nimittamunan=.				

"In the Śaka year 998, in the year<sup>3</sup> (*which was*) the Nala year, (*and*) in the 7th year of the increasing reign of victory of the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Vishṇu-wardhana-mahārāja,— on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on Friday, the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Māgha."

As the reign of Kulōṭṭunga-Chōla I. commenced<sup>4</sup> between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070, a date in the month of Māgha of his 7th year must fall about the commencement of A.D. 1077, in Śaka-Saṁvat 998 expired which was the Jovian year Nala (Anala). In this year the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended 23 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 11th January A.D. 1077, when there was no eclipse. But there was an eclipse of the moon, visible in India, from 17 h. 9 m. to 20 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077, which was the full-moon day of Phālguna. I have no doubt that this is the day intended by the inscription, and that in the original date the month of Māgha has been quoted erroneously<sup>5</sup> instead of Phālguna.

<sup>1</sup> In figures and in numerical words: *guṇa-Nanda-kāśada*.

<sup>2</sup> No. 161 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897; see p. 220 above.

<sup>3</sup> For the word *tithi* compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 285.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> The case is different with the date of the Nausāri plates of Suvārṇavaraha Karkarāja of Gujārāt, edited in *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XX. p. 135 ff., which quotes a lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha of Śaka-Saṁvat 738 expired. The eclipse undoubtedly is the one of the 5th February A.D. 817, which by the rules now in force would be the full-moon day of Phālguna. The original date is nevertheless correct, because by the rules of mean intercalation Māgha in Śaka-Saṁvat 738 was an intercalary month, so that the month which we now should call Phālguna, in accordance with those rules would have been called the second (or proper) Māgha, or simply Māgha, as it is actually called in the inscription. In Śaka-Saṁvat 998 expired there was no intercalation of either description.

40.— In the Bhimēśvara temple at Drākshārāma.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [Sva]sti Śaka-va[r\*]ahambulu 1036 svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-  
mā(ma)hārājula  
2 [pra]varddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-divya-sainvata 45 Dhanu-māsamuna śukla-  
pa[kshamu]na śkāda-  
3 [ś]iṇa Budhavāramu nāṇḍu uttarāyana-vyatipāta-nimittamuna.

"In the Śaka year 1036 (and) the 45th heavenly year of the increasing reign of victory of the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja,— on Wednesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Dhanu,— on the occasion of the *vyatipāta* of the Uttarāyana."

A date in the month of Dhanu of the 45th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall near the end of A.D. 1114, in Śaka-Samvat 1036 expired. In this year the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Dhanu commenced 7 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114 (when the *nakshatras* were Āśvini and Bharanī, and the *yogas* Śiva and Siddha, Nos. 20 and 21, not Vyatipāta, No. 17), and ended 5 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of the following day.— The sidereal Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place, by the Ārya-siddhānta, 20 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114, which was the last day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended 14 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise. The *nakshatra* on the same day was Anurādhā, and the *yogas* were Gaṇḍa and Vṛiddhi, Nos. 10 and 11.— Lastly, the tropical Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place on Wednesday, the 16th December A.D. 1114, on which ended the 3rd *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Dhanu.

Having considered these results of my calculations, I have come to the conclusion that the choice of the proper equivalent of the original date can only lie between Wednesday, the 9th, and Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114; and the following reasons make me decide in favour of Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114. If we were to accept Thursday, the 24th December A.D. 1114, as the equivalent of the date, the writer would have been guilty of quoting, not only a wrong weekday, but also a wrong lunar fortnight. On the other hand, accepting Wednesday, the 9th December, as the equivalent, we indeed have to admit that the words *uttarāyana-vyatipāta-nimittamuna*— supposing them to be intended for 'on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti,'— have been wrongly added; but similar statements are added, apparently wrongly, in many other dates where the word *vyatipāta* is made use of.<sup>4</sup> In the date under discussion and in a number of other dates this term can neither denote the *yōga* Vyatipāta nor convey any of the three other meanings of *vyatipāta* which I have given in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 292 f. What it means exactly, I do not know; but it may be suggested that e.g. in the present date the writer by *uttarāyana-vyatipāta* wishes to say, not that the donation— for such I suppose to be spoken of— was actually made at the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, but that it shall be regarded as equivalent in merit to one which may be made on the occasion of an Uttarāyana-samkrānti.

## B.— VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

41.— In the Kailāsanātha temple at Śevillimēḍu.<sup>5</sup>

- 2 . . . . . Śrīmad-Vikra[ma]-Chōlādēva-nṛipatēr=vva[rshē] śubhē  
shōḍaśē grāmē śrī-Nṛipasundar-iti viditē Vaiśākha-māsē=parē [1<sup>o</sup>] pakahē  
a-Ōttara-Chandravāra-viditē kālē.

<sup>1</sup> No. 374 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1898; see above, p. 220 f.

<sup>2</sup> Read *-vyatipāta*.

<sup>3</sup> *Uttarāyana-vyatipāta* undoubtedly is equivalent to *uttarāyana-samkrānti-vyatipāta* which occurs in at least eight other dates.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 292, note 52. The dates referred to in that note are all in Kaurāṣṭra, and I have not found yet any Sanskrit date in which the word *vyatipāta* is similarly employed.

<sup>5</sup> No. 43 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900; see above, pp. 223 and 229.

"In the auspicious sixteenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Vikrama-Chôladêva, . . . . in the month of Vaisâkha, in the second fortnight, at the time known as Monday combined with an Uttarâ (nakshatra)."

The term *Uttarâ* of the date might denote any one of the three *nakshatras* Uttarâ Phalgunî, Uttarâ Ashâdjhâ, and Uttarâ Bhâdrapadâ. As it occurs here in connection with the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha, it must denote either Uttarâ Ashâdjhâ which is generally joined with the 5th *tithi*, or Uttarâ Bhâdrapadâ which is generally joined with the 11th *tithi* of that dark fortnight. The calculation of the date shows that the *nakshatra* intended is really Uttarâshâdjhâ, and that the *tithi* of the date would be the 5th of the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha.

I have previously<sup>1</sup> arrived at the conclusion that the reign of Vikrama-Chôla commenced 'most probably' on the 18th July A.D. 1108. There remained just the possibility<sup>2</sup> that it might have commenced on the 15th July A.D. 1111. If it commenced on the earlier date, the present date, of the month of Vaisâkha of the 16th year of the king's reign, ought to fall in A.D. 1124, in Śaka-Samvat 1046 expired; and if it commenced on the later date, the present date ought to fall in A.D. 1127, in Śaka-Samvat 1049 expired. It so happens that the date would be quite correct for either Śaka year.

In Śaka-Samvat 1046 expired the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha ended 14 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 5th May A.D. 1124, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâdjhâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

And in Śaka-Samvat 1049 expired the same *tithi* ended 19 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 2nd May A.D. 1127, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâdjhâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

There is absolutely nothing which could make us prefer one of these possible equivalents to the other, and it is only the following date, No. 42, which in my opinion definitely shows that the king's reign commenced in A.D. 1108, and that the true equivalent of the present date therefore is Monday, the 5th May A.D. 1124.

42.—In the Késavasvâmin temple at Chêbrôlu.<sup>3</sup>

10	.	.	.	.	.	śrîma[t*]-Tribh[û]-
11	vanachakravartti					Vikrama-Chô-
12	ladêvara					pravardda(rddha)mâna-vi-
13	jaya-râjya-samvatsarambu-					
14	la	9	agun=â[ñti]			Sa(śa)ka-[va]-
15	rushambulu			1049		a-
16	gu	Shla(pla)va-samvatsara				Jêshtha. <sup>4</sup>
17	mâsa					sômagrahana(ṇa)-nimitya-
18	muna.					

"In the 9th year of the increasing reign of victory of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chôladêva, (and) in the Plava year which was the Śaka year 1049,—on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month of Jyâishṭha."

In Śaka-Samvat 1049 expired which was the year *Plavaṅga*—not *Plava*, which would be Śaka-Samvat 1043 expired—there was a lunar eclipse, visible in India just after sunset on the 27th May A.D. 1127, which was the full-moon day of Jyâishṭha. If the king commenced to reign on the 18th July A.D. 1108, this day would fall in the 19th, not the 9th year of his reign.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. IV. pp. 73 and 264.

<sup>3</sup> No. 163 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897; see above, pp. 224, 226, and 227.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Jyâishṭha*—or, more correctly, *Jyâishṭha*.

I have no doubt that the 27th May A.D. 1127 is the proper equivalent of this date, and believe that the writer erroneously has quoted the 9th instead of the 19th regnal year, and the year Plava instead of Plavaṅga. And, as intimated already, this date, faulty as it is, in my opinion would definitely prove that Vikrama-Chôla commenced to reign on the 18th July A.D. 1108.

43.—In front of the Chôlêśvara temple at Niḍubrôlu.<sup>1</sup>

62 Svasti śrīmat-Tribhuvanachakravartī  
63 śrī-Vikrama-Chôḍadêvara vijaya-  
64 rājya-saṁvatsarambulu pa[d]iyêḍ-a-  
65 gun-êṁḍu Śaka-varshambulu 1054  
66 gun-êṁṭṭi Vaiśākha-śuddha-tṛitīya-  
67 yu<sup>2</sup> Guruvāramu nāḍu ||

"In the seventeenth year of the reign of victory of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôḍadêva, (and) in the Śaka year 1054,— on Thursday, the third *tithi* of the bright (fortnight) of Vaiśākha."

The date is correct for Śaka-Saṁvat 1054 current, when the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha ended 6 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 2nd April A.D. 1131.

According to what we have found before, this day would fall in the 23rd, not the 17th, year of Vikrama-Chôla's reign. A date in the month Vaiśākha of his 17th year would fall in A.D. 1125, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1048 current; but for that year the date would be incorrect. I can only assume that the writer has quoted the regnal year erroneously.

C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

44.—In the Êkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram.<sup>3</sup>

1 . . . . . Tribhuvanachchakravartīgaḥ Maduraiyum Pāṇḍiya[n] mūḍi-  
ttalai[yu]n-gonḍ-aru[li]ya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaḥ ku yāḍu 27 āvadu . . . . .  
2 . . . . . ivv-āṇḍai Vaigāśi-māsattu-p[pa]ḍiṇṇān-diyadiyum Vi[yā]la-  
kila]mai peṇṇa Aṇḷamum-āṇav-aṇṇu.

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chôḷadêva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eleventh day of the month of Vaigāśi in this year."

As we have found<sup>4</sup> that Kulōttuṅga-Chôla III. commenced to reign between the 8th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178, a date in the month of Vaigāśi, i.e. the solar month Jyāishṭha, of his 27th year must fall in A.D. 1205, in Śaka-Saṁvat 1127 expired. In this year the Vṛishabha-saṁkrānti by the Ārya-siddhānta took place 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 24th April A.D. 1205, and the 11th day of Vaigāśi therefore was Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205. The *nakṣatra* on this day was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

D.—RAJARAJA III.

45.—In the Jambukêśvara temple near Śrirangam.<sup>5</sup>

1 Svasti śrīḥ [||\*] [Śī]r maṇṇi . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> No. 163 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Read *-tṛitīya*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 10 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1933; compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 122 and note 9.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> No. 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1891.

- 3 . . . . . kô Irâsakêsariparmar-âpa Tiribu[va]nâchchakkaravatti[ga] śrī-  
Râjarâjadêvarku yâṇḍu 16 vadip  
4 edir-âm-âṇḍu Kaṇṇi-nâyaggu-ppûrvva-pakshattu daṣamiyum Śaṇi-kkilamaiyu[m]  
perra Tiruvôṇattu nâ.

"In the year which was opposite the 16th year (*of the reign*) of king Râjakêsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanya."

To simplify matters, I may state here at once that this date and the following dates 46-54 work out well on the supposition that the reign of Râjarâja III. commenced between (approximately) the 17th March and the 13th August A.D. 1216.

The year opposite the 16th was the 17th year of the king's reign. A date in the month of Kanyâ of this year must fall in A.D. 1232, in Śaka-Samvat 1154 expired. In this year the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Kanyâ ended 13 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th September A.D. 1232, when the *nakshatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise.

46.—In the Êkâmranâtha temple at Conjeeveram.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svast[i] śr[ī]h [a-] Tr[i]bhuvanaścha(cha)kravattiga! śr[ī]-Râjarâjadêvarkku  
yâṇḍu 17 vadu . . . . .  
2 . . . . . Magara-nâyaggu pûrvva-pakshattu=Tâe(chohe)vvây-kkilamaiyum  
Aṣvatiyum-â[ṇa]v-ayru.

"In the 17th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Aṣvini and a Tuesday in the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

This date, in the month of Makara of the 17th year of the king's reign, must fall in Śaka-Samvat 1154 expired. In this year the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Makara ended 8 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 18th January A.D. 1233, when the *nakshatra* was Aṣvini for 20 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

47.—In the Dharmêśvara temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 . . . . . Tribhuvanaśchakkarava[t]tiga! śrī-Râjarâjadêvarkku yâṇḍu 18  
vadu Simha-nâ.  
2 [ya]ṇṇu apara-pakshattu dvit[i]yaiyuñ-Jevvây-kkilamaiyum perra Rêvati-nâ[ī].

"In the 18th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Râjarâjadêva,—on the day of Rêvati, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

This date, in the month of Simha of the 18th year of the king's reign, may be expected to fall in A.D. 1233, in Śaka-Samvat 1155 expired. In this year the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Simha ended 8 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1233, when the *nakshatra* was Rêvati from 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

48.—In the Râjagôpâla-Perumâḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 . . . . . T[i]ribhuvanaśchakkaravatt[i]ga[ī] śrī-Râjarâjadêvar-

<sup>1</sup> No. 6 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

<sup>2</sup> South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. III, No. 41.

<sup>3</sup> South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. III, No. 39.

- 2 ku yāṇḍu 18 vadu Dhanu-nāya[r]u pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Budan-  
kiḷamaiyum pe-  
3 rra Aṇṇiṭṭi-nā[?].

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Dhanishṭhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanu."

This date, in the month of Dhanu of the 18th year of the king's reign, must fall in the same year as the last, Śaka-Samvat 1155 expired. In this year the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Dhanu ended 17 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 7th December A.D. 1233, when the *nakṣatra* was Dhanishṭhā for 8 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

49.—In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇimaṅgalam.<sup>1</sup>

- 2 . . . . . Tribhuvanaśobakrava[r]tṭiga[?] śri-Rājārājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 18  
āva[d]u  
3 Magara-nāyaṅgu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kiḷamaiyum peṅga  
Tiruvō[ṇat]tu nāḷ.

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

This date, in the month of Makara of the 18th year of the king's reign, also must fall in Śaka-Samvat 1155 expired. In this year the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Makara ended 11 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 2nd January A.D. 1234, when the *nakṣatra* was Śravaṇa for 17 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise.

50.—In the Ādhīpurīśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr.<sup>2</sup>

- 2 . . . Tribhuvanaśoba[k\*]karavattigaḷ śri-Rājārāja-  
3 d[ē]vaṅku yāṇḍu 19 vadu Si[m\*]ha-nāyaṅgu-p-  
4 pū[r]va-pakshattu tritīyaiyum Uttirattādiyum pe-  
5 rra Nāyaṅgu-kkiḷamai-nāḷ.

"In the 19th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on a Sunday which corresponded to (the day of) Uttara-Bhādrapadā and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Śimha."

This date, in the month of Śimha of the 19th year of the king's reign, ought to fall in A.D. 1234, in Śaka-Samvat 1156 expired. This it undoubtedly does, but the date is not quite correct. In Śaka-Samvat 1156 expired the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Śimha ended 16 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 30th July A.D. 1234, when the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī for 21 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise; and the third *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the same month ended 14 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234, when the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Bhādrapadā for 5 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise. This shows that either the *nakṣatra* Uttirattādi has been wrongly quoted for Uttiram (Uttara-Phalgunī), or that instead of pūrvva-pakshattu we must read apara-pakshattu. I am inclined to adopt the latter alternative,<sup>3</sup> and to regard Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234, as the proper equivalent of the date.

<sup>1</sup> South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. III. No. 40.

<sup>2</sup> No. 110 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893.

<sup>3</sup> At the same time, I may state that in one of the Vijayanagar inscriptions (P.S.O.C.I. No. 25) Uttarabhadrapadā has really been wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Phalgunī. The mistake made in the present inscription has also been made in the Kadamba plates in Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 35.

51.— In the Śvētāranyśvara temple at Tiruvengāḍu.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrīh [||\*] Tribuvanachchakkaravattiga| śrī-Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu 22 vadu Mīna-nāyaṛru apara-pakkattu śa[d]u[r\*]ttinīy[u]m Śe[v\*]v[āy]-kkilamaiy[u]m peṛra Uttiratīādi-nā.

In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna."

This date, in the month of Mīna of the 22nd year of the king's reign, would be expected to fall in A.D. 1238, in Śaka-Samvat 1159 expired, and it undoubtedly does so; but the wording of the date is intrinsically wrong because, in the month of Mīna, the *nakshatra* can never be Uttara-Bhadrapadā on the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight. What suggests itself at once is that the fourth *tithi* has been quoted wrongly instead of the fourteenth; and for this *tithi* the date is correct. In Śaka-Samvat 1159 expired the 14th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Mīna ended 21 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole of the day, and by the equal space system from 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise. I feel certain that this is the proper equivalent of the date.

52.— In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrīh [||\*] Tribhuvaṇa[chcha]k[karava]ttiga| [śrī]-Rājarājadēvar[kku yāṇ]ḍu [i]rubattiraṇ[ā]vadi[n] edir-ām=āṇḍu \*Mīna-nāyaṛru [a]para-paksha[t]tu navam[i]yum Tiṅga-kiḷamaiyum peṛra Pār[āda]ttu [nā].

"In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pūrvāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The year opposite the 22nd year of this date and of the two following dates was the 23rd year of the king's reign, and the three dates, being all of the month of Mīna, will therefore be expected to fall in A.D. 1239, in Śaka-Samvat 1160 expired. In this year the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Mīna entirely occupied Monday, the 26th February A.D. 1239, when the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshāḍhā, by the equal space system the whole day, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 10 m., and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

53.— In the Kailāsanātha temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||\*] Tr[i]bhuvā[ṇa]chchakkaravattiga| śrī-Rājarā[ja]dēvarkku yāṇḍu i[rubatt\*]tiraṇāva[di]n edir-ām=āṇḍu Mi(mi)ṇa-nāya[r]ru apara-pa[kshatt]u da[sam]i[yum] Budan-kiḷa[mai]yum p[e]ṛra Uttirāḍa[t\*]tu nā.

"In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Uttarāshāḍhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna."

<sup>1</sup> No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

<sup>2</sup> No. 104 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Mīna*.

<sup>4</sup> It commenced 38 m. before mean sunrise of the Monday and ended 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of the following Tuesday, and would therefore be properly described (for the Monday) as *prathamā-navamī*.

<sup>5</sup> No. 99 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

In Śaka-Samvat 1160 expired<sup>1</sup> the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of *Mina* ended 2 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 2nd March A.D. 1239, when the *nakṣatra* was Uttarāśādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

54.— In the Kailāsanātha temple at Maṇṇārgudi.<sup>2</sup>

1 Svasti [śrī] [i\*] Tribhuvanaśchakkaravatti[ga] śr[ī]-Rājarajadēvarkku [y]āp[du]  
irubattiraṇḍāvadi[n ed]i[r]-ām=[āp]du M[i]ṇa-nā[yaṅ]u a . . . .<sup>3</sup>  
[tray]ē[d]i[ś]iyu[m<sup>4</sup> Vell]i-kk[i]am[ai]yum] p[ē]ṅga A[viṭṭat]tu nā].

"In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarajadēva,—on the day of Dhanishṭhā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Mina*."

In Śaka-Samvat 1160 expired<sup>5</sup> the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of *Mina* commenced 5 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 4th March A.D. 1239, when the *nakṣatra* was Dhanishṭhā for 13 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

No. 28.— PLATES OF DANTIVARMAN OF GUJARAT;  
SAKA-SAMVAT 789.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

These copper plates were brought to my father, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, from Gujarāt; but he does not know the name of the village where they were found. The plates are three in number, each measuring about 1' 1" by 9¼". Their edges are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, the remaining two being engraved on both sides. They are strung on a copper ring which measures about 3¼" in diameter and is about ⅝" thick. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates were sent to Dr. Hultzsch. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a circular seal, measuring about 1½" in diameter and bearing, in high relief on a countersunk surface, a much corroded figure of Garuḍa, squatting and facing to the full front. The engraving is clear, bold and deep, but not well executed. Very often the letters are not fully engraved, and in a good many places they are drawn carelessly.—The language is Sanskrit throughout. There can be no doubt that the *kāśīśr* has engraved the original document without understanding it, as will be seen from the numerous mistakes pointed out in the footnotes. Allowing for the misspellings and inaccuracies due to an unskilled engraver, there are certain solecisms for which the official who drew up the grant must be held responsible. There is one compound in line 55, which cannot be justified by the rules of grammar. Other grammatical mistakes may be noticed in such instances as *Sarṭhātāḍṭakiya-dvichatodrimṣaty-āntarggata*<sup>6</sup> in line 59, *-mahāparvata=udditya* in line 66, and so forth.—As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn (1) to the word *vāśāpaka*<sup>7</sup> (l. 58) which occurs in the list of the officials and functionaries to whom the royal grantor addresses himself, and (2) to the term *Talāprahṛi* (l. 57) which appears to have been an appellation of Dantivarman.<sup>8</sup>—In respect of orthography, it deserves to be noted (1) that the rules of *sandhi*

<sup>1</sup> See date No. 52.

<sup>2</sup> No. 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

<sup>3</sup> Restore *apara-pakṣatta*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *trayōdaśam*.

<sup>5</sup> See date No. 52.

<sup>6</sup> [Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 69, note 21.—E. H.]

<sup>7</sup> [Note also *sāśādhika* (l. 81), which is an older form of *sāśādhika*, *sāśādhā*, etc., 'the clerk of a village or of some village.' (Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*).—E. H.]

are often disregarded; (2) that there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*; (3) that the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; (4) that *ḍḥ* is doubled (by *ḍ*) in conjunction with a following *y* or *r* in ll. 42 and 82; (5) that the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *bhāpas=trivishṭapa*<sup>o</sup> (l. 6) and *-Kanakādrir=iv=Emdrarājah* (l. 7), and (6) *gh* instead of *h* in *rāja-singhaḥ* (l. 3); (7) that the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhānīya* are used in *bhṛityaḥ=kiśa(ya)dbhir=* (l. 9) and in *udyataḥ=pranātḥ* (l. 49); (8) that the *visarga* followed by *s* has been twice changed to that letter, in *manastas=samam=eva* (l. 4) and *tanayas=samabhūt* (l. 41); (9) that the final *m* of a word, instead of being changed to an *anusvāra*, is joined to a following *p*, *bh* or *v* in ll. 9, 25, 40, 45, 46 and 78; (10) that the *anusvāra* before *y*, *v* and *s* is sometimes represented by *n* (ll. 3, 21, 25, 26, 58); and (11) that the sign of *avagraha* is employed once in l. 51.—The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and in general agree with those of the grants of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa princes; but the sign for *d* in the words *yadd* and *āra(da)dīta* in ll. 76 and 78 and the sign for the conjunct *nn* in the words *dhvastin=nayann=abhimukhḥ* (l. 2), *prabhinna* (l. 6), etc. are worthy of note. Another point that calls for special notice is that most of the letters of the sign-manual of Dhruvarāja and one letter of that of Dantivarman at the end, and a few in the benedictory verse at the beginning, are engraved with their tops nail-headed.

The inscription is one of Dantivarman, of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, or, as he is described in line 56 f., 'the *Talaprahāri śrī-Dantivarmadēva*, who has the *virūḍa* of *Aparimitavarsha*, who is the lord of great feudal chiefs (*mahāsāmanta*), and who has obtained the five great sounds (*mahāśabda*).' The inscription opens with the salutation *ōm śm namō Buddhāya*, which furnishes an indication, at the very outset, of the grant being Buddhist. It then gives one verse (which is well known from other Rāshtrakūṭa grants) invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and Śiva. Then in lines 1-49 the genealogy of Dantivarman is set forth, exactly in the same verses (with a few unimportant variants) as in the Bagumrā plates of Dhruvarāja II. Then follow three verses (ll. 49-52) which are peculiar to this grant, and which tell us that Dantivarman was a younger brother of Dhruvarāja II. After this there is another well known verse on the vanity of this life. The proper object of the inscription is stated in prose, in ll. 53-67. Dantivarman informs all the officials called *rāshtrapati*, *viśayapati*, *grāmakūṭa*, *niyukta*, *ādhyakṣika*, *vāsāpaka*, *mahattara*, etc. that, having bathed in the great river *Pūrāvi*, on the ninth *tithi* of the dark half of *Pauṣa* in *Śaka-Samvat 799* (in words and in figures), on the great occasion of the *Uttarāyana*, he granted to the *viḥḍra* at the sacred place (*tīrtha*) of *Kāmpilya* the village of *Ohokkhakuti*, situated in the north-west of, and included in, the forty-two (villages) named after *Sarthātallāta*, to be enjoyed by the succession of the pupils of the holy *Āryasaṃgha*, for defraying the expenses of perfumes, flowers, frankincense, lamps and ointments, and of the repairs of the temple broken in parts. The boundaries of the village granted were, in the east the village of *Da[n]tjellamka*, in the south the village of *Apasundara*, in the west the village of *Kālūpallikā*, and in the north the river *Mandākinī* (*Gaṅgā*). Lines 67-72 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might resume it. Lines 73-80 quote seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the inscription then (from line 80) concludes thus:— "The *dātaka* of this (charter) is the great minister *śrī-Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa*. And this has been written by the *sēnabhōḡika* *Golla*, the son of *Rānappa*. (This is) the pleasure of me, the glorious Dantivarman, the son of the glorious *Akālavarahadēva*. Also, (this is) the pleasure of me, the glorious Dhruvarājadēva, the son of the glorious *Akālavarahadēva*."

The gain from this inscription for the social and political history of Gujarāt is considerable. In the first place, this grant, as will be seen from the above summary of the contents, was made to the *Āryasaṃgha*, or Buddhist community, settled at *Kāmpilya*. This shows that Buddhism was still in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era a living religion, favoured by kings in Western India. Secondly, the inscription adds to the list of the Gujarāt

Rāshtrakūṭa princes the name of Dantivarman, who, as stated above, is styled a *mahāsāmantā-dhipati* who had obtained the *pañcha-mahāsabha*. This indicates that he was ruling over some province as a minor chief. Further, as we have seen, the sign-manual of Dantivarman is followed by that of his elder brother Dhruvarāja II. From this it is plain that both Dhruvarāja II. and Dantivarman were alive when the charter was issued, and that Dantivarman was wielding power under Dhruvarāja II. This enables us to settle another point of importance, connected with the history of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Bagumrā plates of Śaka-Saṃvat 810<sup>1</sup> mention Kṛishṇarāja-Akālavarsha (II.) as their donor. And to judge from their contents, which are full of misspellings and omissions, he appears to be the son of Dantivarman. Dr. Hultzsch, who edited the grant, held that this Dantivarman must be placed between Dhruvarāja II. and Kṛishṇarāja II. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, was of opinion that this Dantivarman, the father of Kṛishṇarāja II., was identical with Dantivarman, the *dātaka* of the Baroda plates of Karka.<sup>2</sup> Now, the date of the Baroda plates is Śaka-Saṃvat 734, and that of the plates of Kṛishṇarāja II. is Śaka-Saṃvat 810, so that if, according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's supposition, we hold that Dantivarman, the *dātaka* of the Baroda charter dated Śaka-Saṃvat 734, was the father of Kṛishṇarāja II. whose grant bears the date Śaka-Saṃvat 810, the son is separated from the father by no less than seventy-six years. This is highly improbable, though not altogether impossible. But our grant mentions another Dantivarman as brother of Dhruvarāja II., and its date is Śaka-Saṃvat 789, whereas that of Kṛishṇarāja II., as has been just stated, is Śaka-Saṃvat 810. Thus the Dantivarman of our grant is brought close to Kṛishṇarāja II., and there can be little doubt that Dantivarman, the father of Kṛishṇarāja II., is no other than Dantivarman, the younger brother of Dhruvarāja II., the donor of our grant. The new plates therefore show that the view of Dr. Hultzsch is correct.

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription, the *Kāmpilya tīrtha* is, in my opinion, to be identified with *Kampil* in the *Kaimganj tahsil* of the *Farukhābād district* in the North-West Provinces. This *Kampil*, whose ancient name was *Kāmpilya*, was for long the capital of Southern *Pañchāla* and was once a sacred place of the *Jainas*. The river *Pūrāvi* is perhaps identical with the modern *Pūrṇā*, in the *Surat collectorate*. For, in an unpublished grant belonging to the *Bombay Branch* of the *Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Pūrāvi* is spoken of as being in the vicinity of *Nāgasārikā*, which is evidently the modern *Nausāri*, and the river which is close by *Nausāri* is the *Pūrṇā*. The river *Mandākinī*, which is mentioned in defining the boundaries of the village granted, cannot be identified with the *Ganges*, as we have no grounds whatever to suppose that the *Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas* extended their dominions as far as the *Ganges*. And since the name *Mandākinī* is used also to designate other rivers than the *Ganges*, the river *Mandākinī* mentioned in these plates may have been some river in *Gujarāt*, and the village granted was probably situated in that province. Instances of grants made to religious establishments remote from the village granted are not wanting in modern times, and there can therefore be nothing improbable in the supposition that the *Buddhist vihāra* at *Kampil* in the North-West Provinces enjoyed the income accruing from a village in *Gujarāt*.

## TEXT.

## First Plate.

1 श्रीं श्रीं न[मो] बुधाय\* ॥ स वीर्यवैभवा धाम य(र)जाभिकमलं  
कृतं । इत्य यच\* कामोदककया कमलकृतं ॥ [१\*] चासीद्विषदि-<sup>†</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 65 E.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Gujarāt in the Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 127 f.

<sup>3</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Read बुधाय.

<sup>6</sup> Read इत्य.

<sup>7</sup> Read चासीद्विषदि.

- 2 मिरसु[य]तमंललाप्रो ध्वस्तिययमभिमुखो रणशर्वरोष । भूपः शुचि[र्वि]-  
धुरिवास्तदिगन्तकीर्त्तिर्गीविदराज<sup>1</sup> इति र[ज]<sup>2</sup>
- 3 राजसिंहः<sup>3</sup> ॥ [२\*] दृष्टा<sup>4</sup> चमूमभिमुखो<sup>5</sup> सुमटाहृष्टासामुत्तमि[त्त]पदि<sup>6</sup>  
ये[न] रणेयु नित्यं । दष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटीं
- 4 ललाटे खड्गं कल<sup>7</sup> च हृदयश्च निजं च सत्वं<sup>8</sup> ॥ [३\*] खड्गं करा-  
ग्राम्भुस्तस्य शोभा मानो म[न]स्तस्यममेव यस्य । महाहवे ना-
- 5 [म] निग्र[त]स्य स[य]ल्लय[य]<sup>9</sup> रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥ [४\*] तस्या-  
त्मजो जगति<sup>10</sup> विभ्रुतश्रमकोर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधा-
- 6 मधारो ।<sup>11</sup> भूपस्तुविष्टपत्नपातुक्तिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इति गोचमभिर्व्य-  
भूव<sup>12</sup> ॥ [५\*] तस्य प्रभिसकरटच्युतदानद[न्ति]-
- 7 दन्तप्रहाररुचिरीजिखितासपोठः । [ज्जा]पः क्षितौ क्षपितशचुरभूतनूजः  
सद्राष्टकूटकनकादुरिवेद्राजः<sup>13</sup> ॥ [६\*]
- 8 तस्वोपार्जितमहसस्तन[य]चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्धाः । भोज्ञा<sup>14</sup> भुवः शतक्रतु-  
सदृशः<sup>15</sup> श्रीदन्विदुर्भाराजोभूत् ॥ [७\*] कांची-
- 9 [श]केरलनराधिपधीलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवप्यटविमेदविधा[न]दत्तं ।<sup>16</sup> कर्णाटक[स्य]-  
क्षमचिंत्वमजियमन्येर्ध्वैक्षिध्विरभि<sup>17</sup>
- 10 यः सहसा जिगाथ<sup>18</sup> ॥ [८\*] आ सेतोर्विपुलोपलावलिलसङ्गोक्षोर्मिमा-  
लाजलादा प्रालेयकलंकिवाम[ल]गिलाज[ग]ला-<sup>19</sup>
- 11 सुपाराचलात् । आ पूर्वोपर[वा]रिरागिपुलिनग्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधेयेने[य]ज्जगती<sup>20</sup>  
<sup>21</sup>स्वविक्रमवसेनैकातपचीकृता ॥ [९\*] न[क्षि]<sup>22</sup>
- 12 दिवं [प्र]पाते<sup>23</sup> वज्रभराजेकतप्रजावाधः<sup>24</sup> । श्रीकर्कराजस्तुर्महीपतिः कृष्णराजो-  
भूत् ॥ [१०\*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशे-
- 13 धोक्षादितारि[दि]क्षकं । कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं श्रीकृष्णराज[स्य] ॥ [११\*]  
शुभतुंगवंगतुरगप्र[वृ]हरेणू[र्]हृद्वर[वि]करणः<sup>25</sup> । श्रीशे-
- 14 पि नभो निखि[ल] प्रावृट्कालायने<sup>26</sup> [स्य]ष्टं ॥ [१२\*] राष्ट्रप्यमा[त्मभु]-  
जजातव[ला]वलेपमाजौ<sup>27</sup> विजित्य निशिता[सि]लताप्रहारैः । पालि-

<sup>1</sup> Read °गीविन्द°.<sup>2</sup> Read °दृष्टा°.<sup>3</sup> Read °कुल°.<sup>4</sup> Read °क्षीर्त्ति°.<sup>5</sup> Read °क्षमकादि°.<sup>6</sup> Read °कर्णाटकं दत्त°.<sup>7</sup> Read °कलंकिता°.<sup>8</sup> Read °क्षिध्व°.<sup>9</sup> Read °वृक्ष° and °किरण°.<sup>10</sup> Read °राजसु°.<sup>11</sup> Read °सुचौ°.<sup>12</sup> Read °सर्व°.<sup>13</sup> Read °क्षिष्टप°.<sup>14</sup> Read °भोज्ञा°.<sup>15</sup> Read °मन्ये° and °वहिरपि°.<sup>16</sup> Read °धेयेने°.<sup>17</sup> Read °प्रयाते°.<sup>18</sup> Read °यते°.<sup>19</sup> Read °सिंह°.<sup>20</sup> Read °तं सपदि°.<sup>21</sup> Read °क्षय°.<sup>22</sup> Read °क्षमस्य°.<sup>23</sup> Read °दत्ति°.<sup>24</sup> Read °जिगाथ°.<sup>25</sup> Read °वले°.<sup>26</sup> Read °वाध°.<sup>27</sup> Read °वला°.

- 15 ध्वजावलिशुभामचिरेण यी हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामस्तान ॥ [१३\*]  
पाता 'यश्चतुरम्यराधिरसनालंकारभाजो भुवः' [त्र]प्याचा-  
16 पि कृत[हि]कामरगुरु[प्रा]न्वाज्यपूजादरो<sup>१</sup> [i] दाता मानभू[द्व]चीर्णवतां  
योसौ श्रिये<sup>२</sup> वक्ष[भो] (i) भोज<sup>३</sup> [स्व]र्मफलानि भूरितपसा  
17 स्थानच्छगामामरे<sup>४</sup> ॥ [१४\*] येन श्वेता[त]पत्रप्रहतरविकरचातवापात्स-  
लील<sup>५</sup> जग्मे<sup>६</sup> [ना]सीरधूलीधवलित[त]धिरसा वक्ष[ना]खाः<sup>७</sup> स-  
18 राजी<sup>८</sup> । धीमन्नोवि[न्]राजो<sup>९</sup> ११जितज[ष]दहितःप्रेणवैधव्यदक्षः<sup>१०</sup> तस्याभीसू-  
नुरेकः<sup>११</sup> क्षणरथदलितारातिम[से]भक्तुं-  
19 भः ॥ [१५\*] तस्यानुजः श्रीधुवराज[ना]मा महानुभावः<sup>१२</sup> प्रह[तः]  
प्रतापः । प्रसाधिताशेषन[रेन्द्रचक्र]ः क्रमेण (i)

## Second Plate; First Side.

- 20 १५वालाक्षवपुर्वभूव<sup>१३</sup> ॥ [१६\*] जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सङ्गुपचूडा-  
मणौ (i) गुर्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुखा-  
21 मिनि प्रत्यक्षं । सत्य[न्]त्यमति<sup>१४</sup> प्रशासति सति १९[क्षामा]मसुद्रा-  
न्तिका[मा]सीदन्मपरे [गु]णामृत[नि]धी सत्यव्रताधि[ष्टि]-<sup>१५</sup>  
22 ते ॥ [१७\*] रक्षता येन निःशेषं चतुरंभोधिसंयुतं । राज्यं ध[र्मे]ण  
लोकानां कृता<sup>१६</sup> तुष्टिः परा हृदि ॥ [१८\*] तस्याक्षजो [ज]गति  
23 सप्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इति गोत्रललामभूतः । त्यागी पराक्रम-  
धन[ः] प्रकटप्रताप(i)सन्तापिताहित-  
24 जनो जनवक्षभोभूत् ॥ [१९\*] दृष्टीवक्षभ इ[ति] च प्रथितं यस्यापरं  
जगति नाम । यश्चतुरदधिसुसीमामेको वसु-  
25 धाम्स्वये<sup>१७</sup> चक्रे ॥ [२०\*] २०एकेनेकनरेन्द्रवृन्दसहितान्यस्तान्मस्तानपि  
श्रोत्वखातासिलताप्रहारविधरा<sup>१८</sup> वध्वा महासन्धु-<sup>१९</sup>  
26 गे [i] सक्षी[म]प्यचलां चकार विलसत्क्षामरग्राहिणी<sup>२०</sup> सन्धी[दु]हुव-  
विप्रसन्न[न]सुहृदन्धूपभोग्या<sup>२१</sup> भुवि ॥ [२१\*] तत्पुत्री-

<sup>१</sup> Read °रन्धु°.<sup>२</sup> Read श्रियो.<sup>३</sup> Read °नाततापा°.<sup>४</sup> Read °दाजी°.<sup>५</sup> Read °भावीप्रहतर°.<sup>६</sup> Above the letter *ksha* of *kshama* and *ya* of *rama*, what looks like the sign of the vowel *i* is engraved.<sup>७</sup> Read सत्वं सत्यमिति.<sup>८</sup> Read क्षता.<sup>९</sup> Read °विधरावधु°.<sup>१०</sup> Read °दन्धु°.<sup>१</sup> Read भुवप्याचापि.<sup>२</sup> Read भोजं.<sup>३</sup> Read जग्मे.<sup>४</sup> Read °जगदहितक्षेत्र°.<sup>५</sup> Read वाखा°.<sup>६</sup> Read °क्षामासमुद्रा°.<sup>७</sup> Read °धां वधे°.<sup>८</sup> Read °संयु°.<sup>९</sup> Read °दरः.<sup>१०</sup> Read °मानरं.<sup>११</sup> Read वक्षभाष्यः.<sup>१२</sup> Read °दक्षसखासीत्यु°.<sup>१३</sup> Read °क्षभूव°.<sup>१४</sup> Read °क्षि°.<sup>१५</sup> Read एकी°.<sup>१६</sup> Read °ग्राहिणीं संसीद°.

- 27 च गते नाकमाकम्भितरिपुत्रजे । श्रीमहाराजमर्षाभ्यः स्थातो<sup>1</sup> राजाम-  
वहुषेः ॥ [२२\*] अर्षिषु ययार्थतां यः
- 28 समभ्रीष्टफलावाप्तिलब्धतेषु<sup>2</sup> । वृद्धिनिनाय धरमाभमीधवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥  
[२३\*] राजाभूतत्पि[त]व्यी रिपुभषवि-
- 29 भवोद्भूतभाषैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीमानिन्द्रराजो गुणनृपनिकरान्तसत्कारकारी<sup>3</sup> । [रा]-  
गाद[व्या]म्बुदस्य प्रकटितविष-
- 30 या<sup>4</sup> यं नृपाः<sup>5</sup> सवमाना राजनीरेव [च]की सकलकविजगीतीततय-  
सभावः<sup>6</sup> ॥ [२४\*] निर्वाणावाप्तिवाप्यासहितहितज-
- 31 ना यस्य मानाः सुहृत्तं वृत्तं जित्वाभ्यराक्षां चरितमुदयवाप्त्यर्थतो  
[हित]केभ्यः<sup>7</sup> । एकाकी दृप्तवैरिसत्त्वजनकतिगह[पा]<sup>8</sup>
- 32 तिरो[ज्ययागं]कुर्वाटीयं मङ्गलं<sup>9</sup> प[स्तन]य इव निजस्वामिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥  
[२५\*] सनुर्वभूव<sup>10</sup> खलु तस्य महानुभावः<sup>11</sup> मास्त्रार्थवीधसुखला-
- 33 क्षितरित्वाहसिरी<sup>12</sup> गीष्[ना]मपरिवारमुदाह पूर्व श्रीकर्णराजसुभ[ग]व्यप-  
देम[सु]षेः<sup>13</sup> ॥ [२६\*] श्रीकर्णराज इति रचितरा-
- 34 ज्यभारः सारं कुल[स्य] तनयी नवग्रालिगौर्यः । तस्माभवं[हि]भवमदि-  
तवन्मुसार्यः<sup>14</sup> (i) पार्थः सदेव धनुषि प्रथमः शु[ची]-
- 35 नां ॥ [२७\*] दानेन मानेन सदाश्रया वा वीर्येण शौर्येण च  
कीपि भूपः । एतेन तुल्योद्धि न वेत्ति<sup>15</sup> कीर्तिः सकीवका<sup>16</sup>  
आम्यति य[स्य] लोके ॥ [२८\*]
- 36 [स्त्रि]ष्टागृहीतविषया[न\*] दठसंभोजः<sup>17</sup> प्रोदृत्तदृष्टरयशुस्तिकराद्रूटा<sup>18</sup> ।  
उत्स्थातख[त्र]निजवाहवलीन<sup>19</sup> जित्वा यीमोघव-
- 37 यं इति राज्यपदे<sup>20</sup> व्यधत्त ॥ [२९\*] पुत्रीयतस्तस्य महानुभावः क्षतो  
क्षतघ्नः क्षतवीर्यवीर्यः । वशीकृताशेषनरैर्दृष्टन्दो वभूव<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read स्थातो.<sup>2</sup> Read 'अभ्यतीषिषु.<sup>3</sup> Read 'समत्कार'.<sup>4</sup> To this letter, yd a superfluous sign of the vowel d is conjoined.<sup>5</sup> Read नृपाः.<sup>6</sup> Read 'सभाव'.<sup>7</sup> The reading intended is probably 'हितकेभ्यः' as in the Nausari plates of Karka (J. B. E. B. A. S. Vol. XX. p. 182).<sup>8</sup> Read 'क्षितिसप्तमातिराज्यमयं'.<sup>9</sup> Read मङ्गलं य'.<sup>10</sup> Read 'वभूव'.<sup>11</sup> Read 'मास्त्रार्थवीध'.<sup>12</sup> Read 'क्षितचित्तवृत्तिः । यो गीष्'.<sup>13</sup> Read 'सुषेः'.<sup>14</sup> Read 'वन्मु'.<sup>15</sup> Read 'वेति'.<sup>16</sup> Read 'सकीवका'.<sup>17</sup> Read 'दृष्टरय'.<sup>18</sup> Read 'द्रूटा'.<sup>19</sup> Read 'वाहवलीन'.<sup>20</sup> Read 'राज्यपदे' in accordance with the Baroda plates of Dhruva I.<sup>21</sup> Read 'वभूव'.

[illegible][illegible]

38

[illegible]

38

40

40

42

42

44

46

48

50

52

54

56

[illegible]

56

58

59

60

60

62

62

64

66

ca

2

## Second Plate; Second Side.

- 38 सनुर्द्धुवराजनामा ॥ [३०\*] चंद्री जडो हिसजिरिः सहिमः प्रकृत्वा  
घातयच्छ तपनस्तपनस्तभावः । शारः व-
- 39 योधिरिति तैः सममस्य नास्ति येनोपमा निदयस्य(१)स्तत एव  
गीतः ॥ [३१\*] रणसरसि<sup>१</sup> खड्गघातैर्व्यक्त-
- 40 भदण्डम्पराङ्मुखीकृत्य । शङ्कगतशुद्धदेह[ः\*] स्वर्गमगादेक ए[वा]-  
सौ ॥ [३२\*] तस्याशेषवराधिपञ्चतय-
- 41 शसः स्वर्गलोकगतकीर्तिः । श्रीमानकालवर्षस्तन[य]स्वमभूत्कुशलंवः<sup>२</sup> ॥  
[३३\*] वज्रभभाराक्रान्तं विव-
- 42 <sup>३</sup>[टि]तदुष्टान्वजी[वि]वर्गेण<sup>४</sup> । पितृपर्यागतमचिरात्स्वस्वमभ्यासितं ये-  
[न] ॥ [३४\*] प्रियवादी सत्यध[न]ः श्री-
- 43 माननुजीविवत्सलो मानी । प्रतिपद्यन्मोभकरः शुभतुंगः शुभकरः सुहृ-  
दां ॥ [३५\*] तस्मिन्स्वर्गीभूते गुण-
- 44 वति गुणवा<sup>५</sup> गुणाधिकप्रीतिः । समभूर्द्धुवराजसमो<sup>६</sup> ध्रुवराजसुष्टिक-  
लोके ॥ [३६\*] इतोभिमुख-
- 45 'माप[त\*]अवलगौर्जराणाम्बल<sup>७</sup> इतोभिमुखवक्त्रो विक्रतिमागता वा-  
न्धवा<sup>८</sup> । इतोनुजविकु-
- 46 र्वितं सममगात्समस्तभयादहो स्फुरणमद्भुतं(१) निरुपमेन्द्र खड्गस्य ते ॥  
[३७\*] <sup>१०</sup>गूर्जरवलमतवत्त्व-<sup>११</sup>
- 47 असुद्यतं वृद्धितं<sup>१२</sup> च कुस्येन । एकाकिनैव विहितं पराङ्मुखं लीलया  
येन ॥ [३८\*] यन्नाभिपित्तलाभः<sup>१३</sup>
- 48 परं यशः(१)स्थागशौर्यसंपन्नः<sup>१४</sup> । शुभतुंगयोनिर्तुंग<sup>१५</sup> पदं पदासेति<sup>१६</sup> ना-  
चिचं<sup>१७</sup> ॥ [३९\*] यस्य स्वभुजवलार्जि-<sup>१८</sup>
- 49 तज[य]लक्ष्मीन्दातुमुद्यतं प्रणते । भयमपि विदेविजने रम्यंदा[व]र्धितं<sup>१९</sup>  
कामं ॥ [४०\*] रामस्येव<sup>२०</sup> सौमिचिर्दग्ध-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'गिरसि.<sup>२</sup> Read 'लंवः.<sup>३</sup> The lower end of f is prolonged into a curve turning to the left.<sup>४</sup> Read 'दुष्टान्वजी'.<sup>५</sup> Read युष्मान्.<sup>६</sup> Read 'मृदुव'.<sup>७</sup> Read 'समवल'.<sup>८</sup> Read 'वा' वलमिते.<sup>९</sup> Read वाधवाः.<sup>१०</sup> Read 'नल'.<sup>११</sup> Read 'नलव'.<sup>१२</sup> Read वृद्धितं.<sup>१३</sup> Read 'माभः.<sup>१४</sup> Read 'शौर्यसीवाप in accordance with the Bagumra plates of Dhruvarāja II.<sup>१५</sup> Read 'तुंगजीतिर्तुंग'.<sup>१६</sup> Read पदाप्रीति.<sup>१७</sup> Read नी चिचं.<sup>१८</sup> Read 'नला'.<sup>१९</sup> Read वचं दग्धवर्जिने.<sup>२०</sup> Insert हि or some such short syllable after रामस्येव.

- 50 स्वेव धनंजयः । अस्य भ्राताभवद्भव्यो दन्तिवर्म्मेति वीर्यवान् ॥ [४१\*]  
यस्य निशितासि[धारा]मरिकरिणः संग-  
51 रे सदाऽवर्त्ताः । स(ः) दन्तिवर्म्मा नामा ख्यातोऽस्मैवानुजः प्रसभं ॥ [४२\*]  
प्रभुरकरिकुम्भदारितविगलि[त\*]मुक्ता-  
52 फलैरहितकरणा<sup>१</sup> । रंजितदोर्दण्डयुगः<sup>२</sup> विजयति<sup>३</sup> समरे रिपू<sup>४</sup> खड्गे ॥  
[४३\*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युसंचलमव-<sup>५</sup>  
53 लोक्य जी[वि\*]तमसारं(१) । क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तिती<sup>६</sup> धर्मदायी-  
यं ॥ [४४\*] स [च] हरि[णै]व<sup>७</sup> विक्रमाक्रान्तसम-  
54 स्तभूमण्डलः<sup>८</sup> दोर्दण्डस[मा]कृष्टकोदण्डकोण्डलितशत्रुमहासामन्तः<sup>९</sup> लक्ष्मीस-  
माध्यासितवचः[\*]स्थलः

## Third Plate; First Side.

- 55 पवनसुतुरिण<sup>१०</sup> मित्रभुजवलविनिर्जिताशे[ष]वरवैरिभृपतिप्रजमितजगविविख्यात-  
प्रतापः<sup>११</sup>  
56 <sup>१२</sup>स्थासिलतांमहारदलितरिपुकभिकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफलप्रकरंरंजितदोर्दण्डयुगः स-  
मधिगतपंचमहा-  
57 <sup>१३</sup>शब्दमहासामन्ताधिपत्यपरिमितवर्षविरुदतलप्रहारित्रीदन्तिवर्म्मादेवः<sup>१४</sup> सर्वानिव  
यथासम्बन्धमानकां-<sup>१५</sup>  
58 <sup>१६</sup>ब्राह्मपेतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटनियुक्ताधिकारिकयासायकमहत्तरादीन्समनुबोधयत्य-  
स्तु<sup>१७</sup> वः सन्विदितं<sup>१८</sup> य-  
59 था [मा]तापिचोरात्मन्यैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्यय[ग्री]भिवृषये सूर्यातैलाटकीयद्विच-  
त्वारिंशत्यान्तर्गतवाय<sup>१९</sup>-  
60 व्यदिग्भागावस्थितचोक्ककुटिनामग्रामः कांपिष्यतीर्थकीयविहाराय यत<sup>२०</sup> चाघा-  
टनानि पूर्वतो द[न्ते]क्ष-  
61 क[ग्राम]सीमा दक्षिणतो(ष)पसुंदरग्रामसीमा पश्चिमतो<sup>२१</sup> कालूपक्षिकाग्राम-  
सीमा उत्तरतो मंदाकिनी

<sup>१</sup> Read °करिणा.<sup>२</sup> Read °युगी.<sup>३</sup> This ought to be विजयते according to the rules of grammar; but this will not suit the metre.<sup>४</sup> Read रिपुखड्गे.<sup>५</sup> Read °विद्युच्च°.<sup>६</sup> Read प्रवर्तिती.<sup>७</sup> Read हरिरिव.<sup>८</sup> Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed.<sup>९</sup> Read °काण्डदलित°.<sup>१०</sup> Read °वच°.<sup>११</sup> Read °जगद्विख्यात°.<sup>१२</sup> Read °सता° and °करिकुम्भ°.<sup>१३</sup> Read °शब्द°.<sup>१४</sup> Read °विरुद°.<sup>१५</sup> Read °संबन्धमानका°.<sup>१६</sup> Read °ब्राह्मपति° and °ग्रामकूट°.<sup>१७</sup> Read °बोध°.<sup>१८</sup> Read सन्विदितं.<sup>१९</sup> Read °मदन्तर्गत°.<sup>२०</sup> Read यस्य.<sup>२१</sup> Read पश्चिमतः.

- 62 नदी [१\*] एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः सपरिकरः सकृच्चमालाकुलः ससो-  
मापयन्तः<sup>१</sup> सीत्यद्यमानवेष्टिक-
- 63 <sup>२</sup>धाण्यहिरण्यादेयो(अ)चाटभटप्रवेशः सर्वराजकीया[ना\*]महस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आ-  
चंद्राक्षीर्णवावनिस-
- 64 रित्यर्व्वंतसमकालीनः श्रीआ[यं]संघस्य<sup>३</sup> शिष्यानुशिष्यक्रमोपभुंजतो<sup>४</sup> [पू]र्व्व-  
प्रदत्तब्रेह्मदायदे-<sup>५</sup>
- 65 [व]दायरहितोभ्यंतरसिद्धा<sup>६</sup> शकटपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु स[म]सु नवाशी-  
त्यधिकेर्व्वंकतोपि सं-
- 66 वत्सरशते ७८८ <sup>७</sup>पौषवहुलनवम्यामुत्तरायणमहापर्व्वसुहृश्य<sup>८</sup> पूरावीमहानद्यां  
आत्वोदका-
- 67 तिसर्गमेंण गंधपुष्पधूपदीपोपलेपनार्थं ~~खण्डकुटिमासादपुनः~~[\*]संस्करणार्थं  
प्रतिपादितः [१\*] यतोस्त्रो[चि\*]-
- 68 [त]या देवदा[य]स्थित्या भुंजतो भोजापयतो ~~कषपतो~~<sup>९</sup> कर्षापयतो  
वा प्रतिदिशतो न केनचित्परिपंथ-
- 69 नीयस्तथागामिनृपतिभिः अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वा स ~~दानफलमवेत्य~~ (म)  
विद्युक्षोलाभ्यनित्यैश्चर्या-
- 70 णि ठणा[ग्र]जलविंदुचंचलं<sup>१०</sup> च जीवितमाकलय्य<sup>११</sup> स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोमस्महा-  
योनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयित-
- 71 व्यस्य ॥ यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराष्ट्रिंदादाष्ट्रिंदामानकं<sup>१२</sup> [वा]नु[मो]-  
दकं<sup>१३</sup> स पंचभिर्भ्राजापात-
- 72 [कै]रुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः[\*] स्यादित्युक्त[म]

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 73 भगवता वेदव्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि [स्व]र्णं तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।  
आच्छेत्ता<sup>१४</sup> चानुम[न्ता] च तान्येव (न)
- 74 नरके वसेत् ॥ [४५\*] विंध्याट[वी]षतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । <sup>१५</sup>क्षपा-  
हयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदान<sup>१६</sup> हरति

<sup>१</sup> Read °पर्यन्तः.

<sup>२</sup> After श्रीआयंसंघस्य the letter अः was originally engraved, but was afterwards cancelled.

<sup>३</sup> Read °भीम्यः.

<sup>४</sup> Read °ब्रह्म°.

<sup>५</sup> Read °सिद्धा.

<sup>६</sup> Read °वहुलनवम्यासुत°.

<sup>७</sup> Read °पर्व्वोहृश्य.

<sup>८</sup> Read °क्षपतः.

<sup>१०</sup> Read °विंदु°.

<sup>११</sup> Read °विषो°.

<sup>१२</sup> Read °दाष्ट्रिंदा°.

<sup>१३</sup> Read °मोदित.

<sup>१४</sup> Read आच्छेत्ता.

<sup>१५</sup> Read °क्षपा°.

<sup>१६</sup> Read °दानं.

- 75 ये ॥ [४६\*] चम्पेरपत्तं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्ध्वशी सूर्य[ह]ताच नावः ।  
लोकचयं तेन भवेहि दत्तं यः [का]-
- 76 [च]नं गां च महीं च दद्यात्\* ॥ [४७\*] बहु[भि]र्बुधा द[त्ता]  
राजभिः [स]गरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
- 77 तस्य तदा\* फलं ॥ [४८\*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्हानानि धर्मा-  
र्वियसस्कराणि [१] निर्मायमानप्रतिमा-<sup>१</sup>
- 78 नि तानि को ना[म] साधुः पुनरादत्त\* ॥ [४९\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्त-  
स्वा\* य[द्वा]द्रक्ष नराधिप ॥ मही\* म[हि]मता श्रेष्ठ
- 79 रा . [५०\*] च पालनं ॥ [५०\*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविंदलोला<sup>१०</sup>  
त्रियमनुचिंत्य <sup>११</sup>मन्यजोवितं च । अतिवि[म]ल-
- 80 म[नो]भि[रा]जनेर्न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [५१\*] दूत-  
कोच महामाल्यश्लेषभट्टः [१\*] लिखितं
- 81 चैतस्तेनभोगिकराजराण्यसुतेनेति ॥ मतं मम श्रीदन्तिवर्माणः श्रीम-  
दकालवर्षदेव
- 82 नोः । तथा मम श्रीद्वाराजदेवस्य श्रीमदकालवर्षदेवसुनोः ॥ ॐ ॥

## No. 29.— SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA;

[KALACHURI]-SAMVAT 361.

By F. KIELHORN, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

These plates are in the possession of Patel Karsan Daji at Sarsavni (Sarasavati), a village four and a half miles south of Pâdra, in the Pâdra subdivision of the Baroda State. Through Mr. Keshavlal Ranchhod Kirtania they were brought to the notice of Mr. Withal Nagar of Baroda, who kindly informed Dr. Hultzsch of their existence; and at the latter's request Lieutenant-Colonel C. W. Ravenshaw, Officiating Resident at Baroda, was good enough to send the plates to him for examination. I edit the inscription which they contain from excellent impressions, furnished to me by Dr. Hultzsch.

These are two copper-plates, either of which measures 10½" broad by 7½" high, and is inscribed on one side only. Their margins are raised into rims. Through two holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate are passed two unsoldered plain rings, measuring 2½" and 2¼" in diameter. There is no seal, and no indication of one having been attached to the plates.— The writing is well done and carefully engraved, and throughout in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ⅓". The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from Valabhi inscriptions and from the inscriptions

<sup>१</sup> Read दत्तं.<sup>२</sup> Read धर्मार्वियसं.<sup>३</sup> Read दत्ता वा.<sup>४</sup> Read दत्तानुविंदुं.<sup>५</sup> Read बहु.<sup>६</sup> Read बालप्रति.<sup>७</sup> Read मही.<sup>८</sup> Read मनुष्यं.<sup>९</sup> Read तदा.<sup>१०</sup> Read राददीनः.<sup>११</sup> Read दानाज्येयीमुपायनं.

iii b.



SCALE · 46

Nadagam Plates of Vajrahasta (Vol. IV. No. 24).

ivb.



SCALE TWO THIRDS.

Mayidavolu Plates  
(Vol. VI. No. 8).

Plates of the time  
of Sasankaraja.

SEALS.

FULL-SIZE.

E. HULTZSCH.

Collotype by Römmler & Jonas, Dresden.



of the Gujarāt Chalukyas. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the following signs: the initial *ē*, e.g. in *ēsha*, and the initial *ō* in *Kumārivaḍaḥ*, both in l. 20; the *kḥ* in *likhitam*, l. 34, and *askhalita*, l. 6; the *q*, e.g. in *piḍita* and *maṇḍalaḥ*, l. 10; the subscript *ṇ* in *arṇava*, l. 21; the *th*,<sup>2</sup> e.g. in *prithivyām*=*apratiratha*, l. 9, and *dharmamārtha*, l. 32; the *ph*, e.g. in *phalaṁ*, l. 31; the two forms of *l*, e.g. in *phalaṁ* and *°pālanam*, l. 31, *salilā*<sup>3</sup> and *balāpā*, l. 9; the final *m* and *t* in *prajānām*, l. 17, and *vasēt*, l. 29; the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya*, e.g. in *paraḥ-kalanika*, l. 4, and *vigrahaḥ=parā*, l. 7. The writing, in line 35, also contains numerical symbols<sup>4</sup> for 300, 60, 10, 5, and 1.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 28-32, the text is in prose. The orthography calls for few remarks. Instead of *anusvāra* the guttural and dental nasals are employed in the words *vaṇṣa*, ll. 6 and 12, *vaṇṣya*, l. 24, and *pradhvansa*, l. 16; final *visarga* is changed to the *jihvāmūliya* in *paraḥ-kalanika* and *rahitak-kula*, l. 4, and to the *upadhmanīya* in *vigrahaḥ=parā*, l. 7, *°patibhiḥ=prabala*, l. 24, *°mantavyaḥ=pāla*<sup>5</sup>, l. 27, and *sādhuh=punar*, l. 32; *sh* is (wrongly<sup>6</sup>) doubled after *r* in *varshsha*, l. 28, and *dh* (correctly) before *y* in the word *anuddhyāta*, twice in line 14. Besides, the word *prithivi* is written *prithivī* in line 9, and a few times the rules of *saṁdhi* have been neglected.

The inscription is one of Buddhārāja, the son of Śaṁkaragana who was the son of Kṛṣṇarāja, of the family of the Kaṭachohuris.<sup>7</sup> It records an order of Buddhārāja's, issued from the royal residence or camp at Ānandapura, to the effect that he granted the village of Kumārivaḍaḥ, which was near to Bṛhannārikā, in the Gōrajā-bhōga of the Bharukachohha-vishaya, to the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, an inhabitant of Dēbhaka. It is dated, in words and numerical symbols, on the 15th of the dark half of Kārttika of the year 361.

The names of the three kings or chiefs—the inscription does not furnish any titles for them—who are mentioned in the preceding paragraph, are not new to us. As the date of the inscription must undoubtedly be referred to the Kalachuri era, it would fall in either A.D. 609 or A.D. 610,<sup>8</sup> and it is therefore certain that the donor of the grant, Śaṁkaragana's son Buddhārāja, is identical with that Buddhārāja, the son of Śaṁkaragana, who according to the Nerūr plates (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 161) was put to flight by the Western Chalukya Maṅgalarāja (Maṅgalēsa), and to whom the Bādāmi (Mahākūṭa) pillar-inscription (of A.D. 602 (?), *ibid.* Vol. XIX. p. 16) refers when it states that Maṅgalēsa, having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, conquered [the Kalatsūri] king Buddha and took away his wealth. Śaṁkaragana, again, clearly is that 'Śaṁkaragana,' the son of Kṛṣṇarāja, whose feet according to the Sāṅkhēḍā plate of Śāntilla (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 23) were meditated on by the Bhōgikapāla Mahāpīlupati Nirihullaka,<sup>9</sup> and our grant proves the correctness of Prof. Bühler's suggestion (*ibid.* p. 22) that the reading *Śaṁkaraganaḥ* of the Sāṅkhēḍā plate should be altered to *Śaṁkaraganah*.

Though the eulogy of the three kings, which fills just one half of the inscription, does not contain any historical allusions, it is not void of interest. Some of the epithets applied to the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the same letter in the word *Śumbhala*, in the Surat plates of the Gujarāt Chalukya Yuvardja Śrīkṛṣṇa-Śilāditya, *Vienna Or. Congress*, Arian section, p. 226, l. 21, Plate. The initial *ai* occurs in the word *atāika*, above, Vol. III. p. 55, l. 21, Plate; the initial *au* in *Andamghayā*, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 155, l. 24, Plate.

<sup>2</sup> The same form of *th* we have in the Sātārā plates of Vishnuvardhana I., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309, Plate.

<sup>3</sup> The symbols agree with those given by Prof. Bühler from Valabhi plates.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Pāṇini, VIII. 4. 49. For other instances where sibilants are wrongly doubled, compare *gasya*, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 73, and *pañchadattya* and *śrītyā*, *ibid.* p. 253.

<sup>5</sup> So this word is written also in the Aihole inscription, above, p. 5, l. 6 of the text.

<sup>6</sup> With my epoch for the later Kalachuri dates, the date (for the *pārṇimāsa* Kārttika) would correspond to the 3rd October A.D. 609; but in agreement with the dates of the Nansāri and Kāvi plates of the Gujara Jayabhata III. (Nos. 402 and 403 of my *List of Northern Inscr.*) it would correspond to either the 22nd September or the 22nd October A.D. 610. The date, of course, does not admit of verification.

<sup>7</sup> See my *List of Northern Inscr.* No. 427.

second king, Śaṅkaragana, shew that the author was acquainted with, and borrowed or imitated, certain epithets which are found only in some of the Gupta inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it is clear that the eulogistic part of this inscription or of some similar Kāṭachchuri grant was known to, and made use of by, the authors of the corresponding portions of the grants<sup>2</sup> of the Gurjara Dadda [II.] Praśāntarāga of the [Kalachuri] years 380 and 385, and of the [Gujarāt] Chalukya Vijayarāja<sup>3</sup> of the [Kalachuri] year 394. Of the last named grant the first two lines may be said to be identical with the same lines of the present grant, and the description of Vijayarāja in lines 5-8 to a great extent literally agrees with the description of Śaṅkaragana in lines 8-14 of the present inscription.<sup>4</sup> In the case of the Gurjara grants the agreement is not so close, but about the fact that their author knew and made use of some such Kāṭachchuri grant as the one here edited, there cannot be the slightest doubt. In his opening sentence he too compares the family of the Gurjara kings with the great ocean (*mahōdadhi*), and in describing that ocean he employs the words *vividha*, *vimala*, *gunaratna*, *udbhāsita*, *avilāṅghitāvadhī*, *gāmbhīrya*, and the phrase *mahāsattvayātiduravagāhā*, which to the reader of the present grant will surely betray their origin. Then, as in the present inscription Kṛishṇarāja is described as from his very birth (*ājanmana ēva*) devoted to the service of Śiva, so the eulogist of Dadda makes that chief from his very birth (*utpatitā ēva*) worship the sun. He moreover, just as is the case in the present grant, continues the description of his chief in a series of relative sentences (*yāna . . . yaṁ cha . . . yasya cha*, etc.); and in the clause commencing with *yasya cha* in line 7 and ending with *Vindhyānag-ōpatyakāh* in line 10, he imitates,<sup>5</sup> and labours to improve on, the relative sentence beginning with *yāna cha* in line 6 and ending with *dīśō* in line 7 of the present grant. So far as I can judge, his plagiarism, if I may call it so, is not without some importance for the history of the Gurjaras. In my opinion, it tends to indicate that the family of these chiefs rose to independence only after the time of the Kāṭachchuri Buddharāja.<sup>6</sup> If Dadda Praśāntarāga had been preceded by other Gurjara kings, a eulogist of his, in drawing up his *prāśasti*, most probably would have taken for his model some older Gurjara grant, and would not have allowed himself to be inspired by a Kāṭachchuri grant.

<sup>1</sup> See my notes on the translation.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. pp. 82 and 88.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> The present inscription shews that in line 7 of Vijayarāja's grant the intended reading is *-niśēvā*, not *-nirmōchā*.

<sup>5</sup> In both inscriptions the king is compared with an elephant (*vanavādrana-yūthapa* and *bhadra-matāṅga*). Instead of the epithet *ruchira-vamśa-sōbhin* of the present grant, the author of the Gurjara grant puts *sadvamśa-dhīta-sōbhā-gaurava*, where also the word *vamśa* has the double meaning of 'backbone' and 'lineage.' The word *ruchira*, which the imitator here discards, he employs in the same line in *ruchira-kīrti-vaid-sahāya*, 'accompanied by his bright fame' as the elephant is 'by his charming mate.' In a similar way he treats the following epithet of the present inscription, *aikhalita-dāna-prasara*. The first and last word of this compound suggest to him his *aikhalita-padaṁ prasaratāh*, and the sense of the whole compound he expresses, in a more elaborate manner, by the compound commencing with *asirata-dāna-pravāha*. Of his own he adds, that his chief took delight in the lands lying at the foot of the Vindhya mountain.—As it concerns a point of history, I may perhaps state here that I differ from those scholars who understand the epithet *ākṛishṭa-śatru-nāga-kula-samtatī* in lines 3 and 4 of the Gurjara grant (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 82) to mean that Dadda I. conquered some hostile tribe or family of the Nāgas. In my opinion, *nāga* here means nothing but 'snake,' and the author simply says that Dadda uprooted his enemies as the bird Garuda destroys the snakes. The compound is exactly like *prāpit-ārthi-madhukara-kula* in line 8 of the same inscription, which everybody would admit to mean that the king (by his liberality) delighted the suppliants as the elephant (by his rutting-juice) does the bees. If the eulogy of Dadda I. does contain any historical allusion, it is furnished, in my opinion, by the epithet *Kṛishṇa-hṛiday-dhīdaspadaḥ* in lines 2 and 3, the word *Kṛishṇa* of which, in addition to denoting the god Kṛishṇa, may perhaps denote the Kāṭachchuri Kṛishṇarāja, and which therefore may represent Dadda I. as a favourite (or feudatory) of that Kāṭachchuri king; as the *Kaustubha* gem is placed on Kṛishṇa's breast, so Dadda found a place in Kṛishṇarāja's heart. That the epithet *Kṛishṇa-hṛiday-dhīdaspadaḥ*, just like the *Śrī-sahajanmā* by which it is preceded, does convey a double meaning, is not at all doubtful; the only question is whether it might not be taken to mean 'he whose actions (*daspada = kṛitya*) were hostile to the evil-minded.'

<sup>6</sup> Compare Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 315.

I may further point out that in the wording of the formal part of the grants also the two inscriptions of Dadda Prasāntarāga referred to above agree most closely with the inscription here edited. We find in them exactly the same list of officials to whom the order is addressed (*sarvān=ēva rāja-sāmanta-bhōgika-vishayapati-rāshṭragrāmamahattar-ādīkārīk-ādīn*); the same technical and other terms applied to the village granted (from *ēsha grāmaḥ* to *putra-putr-ānvaya-bhōgyaḥ* in lines 20-22 of the present inscription); with the exception of a single word, the same form of appeal to future rulers to preserve the grant, and, with the omission of one verse, the same benedictive and imprecatory verses, given in the same order. And one cannot help asking oneself how very different all this might have been, if the existing Gurjara grants of Śaka-Samvat 400, 415 and 417<sup>1</sup> were really genuine documents.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, *Ānandapura*, from where the grant was issued, probably is the same *Ānandapura* from where the *Alinā* grant of Śilāditya VII. Dhrūbhata of Valabhi of the year 447 was issued, and which has been identified by Dr. Fleet<sup>2</sup> with the modern *Ānand*, the chief town of the *Ānand* subdivision of the *Kaira* district. And *Bharukachchha*, so often mentioned elsewhere, is the modern *Broach*. *Pēbhaka*, the place of residence of the donee, apparently is *Dabka*,<sup>3</sup> a village in the *Baroda* State, about 8 miles west of *Pādra* and 40 miles north of *Broach*. On the remaining localities Dr. Fleet, who at my request has kindly searched the sheets No. 22, S. E. (1883) and No. 36, S. W. (1897) of the *Indian Atlas*, of which copies were not accessible to me, has sent me the following note:—“The *Gōrajā* of this grant must be the ‘*Goraj*’ of sheet No. 36, in lat. 22° 20', long. 73° 32', in the *Hālōl* subdivision of the *Pañch Mahāls*: it is shewn as a town or large village 11 miles on the south of *Hālōl*, and is about 54 miles towards the north-east-by-north from *Broach*. *Kumārivaḍaō* must be the ‘*Kawarwara*’ of sheet No. 22, about 11 miles towards the west-south-west from ‘*Goraj*,’ and about 8 miles east-south-east from *Baroda*; it is about 24 miles almost due east of ‘*Dabka*.’ And *Brihannārikā* must be the ‘*Banaiya*’ of the same sheet, 4½ miles on the south of ‘*Kawarwara*.’”

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

## First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 Om<sup>5</sup> svasti [!]\* Vijaya-skandhāvarād=Ānandapura-vāsakāch=chharad-upagama-prasanna-gaganatala-vimala-vipulē vividha-purusharatna-guṇa-
- 2 kirāṇa-nikar-āvabhāsītē mahāsa[t\*]tv-āpāsraya-durilaṅghē gāmbhīryavati sthity-anupālana-parē mahōdadhāv=iva Kāṭa[chch]u.<sup>6</sup>
- 3 riṇām=anvayē sakala-jana-manōharayā chandrikay=ēva kīrti[ā] bhuvanam=avabhāsayann=ā janmana ēva Paśupati-samāśra-
- 4 ya-parah=kalāṅka-dōsha-rahitaḥ=kula-kumudavana-lakṣmī-vibōdhanaś=chandramā iva śrī-Krishṇarājō yas=samēraya-viśō.
- 5 sha-lōbbhād=iva sakalair=ābhigāmikair=itaraiś=cha guṇair=upētaḥ sampanna-prakṛiti-maṇḍalō yathāvad=ātmany=āhita-śakti-
- 6 siddhir=yyēna cha ruchira-vanśa-śōbhinā niyatam=askhalita-dāna-prasarēṇa prathita-bala-garimṇā vanavāraṇa-yūtha-
- 7 pēn=ēv=āviśaṅkam vicharatā vana-rājaya iv=āvanamitā diśō yasya cha śāstram=āpanna-trāṇāya vighrahaḥ=par-ā-
- 8 bhīmāna-bhaṅgāya śikṣitam vinayāya vibhav-ārjjanam pradānāya pradānam dharmmāya dharmmaś=śrēyō-vāptayē tasya putrah

<sup>1</sup> See my *List of Northern Inscr.* Nos. 347-349.<sup>2</sup> See *Gupta Inscr.* p. 173.<sup>3</sup> See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres.* Vol. VII. p. 542.<sup>4</sup> From impressions supplied by Dr. Hultsch.<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>6</sup> The consonants of the *akṣara cāchus* are not clear in the impressions, but I do not think that the *akṣara* can be read differently.<sup>7</sup> Read *-śāśita-*.

- 9 pri(pri)thivyaṁ=apratirathas=chatur-ndadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśā Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ēndr-  
Āntaka-sama-prabhāvaḥ sva-bāhu-bal-ōpā-  
10 tt-ōrjjita-rāja-srīḥ pratāp-ātīśay-ōpanata-samagra-sāmanta-maṇḍalaḥ paraspar-āpīdita-  
dharim-ārttha-kāma-nishēvi  
11 prapatimātra-superitōsha-gambhīr-ōnnata-hṛdayaḥ samyak-prajāpālan-ādihigata-bhūri-  
draviṇa-viśrāṇan-ā-  
12 vāpta-dharmmakriyāś=chir-ōtsannānām nripati-vanśānām<sup>1</sup> pratishthāpayit=  
ābhychchhritānām=unmālayitā dīn-āndha-kṛipapa-sa-  
13 mabhilashita-manōrath-ādika-nikāma-phala-pradaḥ pūrvv-āpara-samudr-ānt-ādi-dēśa-  
svāmī mātāpitṛi-pādā-  
14 nuddhyātaḥ parama-Mā[h]ēśvaraḥ śrī-Śaṅkaragaṇaḥ<sup>2</sup> tasya putras=tat-  
pādānuddhyātaḥ sakala-mahimaṇḍal-aika-tīlakaḥ  
15 sātīśaya-prathita-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshya-dākshinya-dhairya-śaurya-sthairyy-ādy-  
asēśha-guṇa-samanvitaḥ praba-  
16 la-ripu-bal-ōdbhūta-darppa-vibhava-pradhvansa-<sup>3</sup>hētuh sētuh sthitiṇām-āyatanaṁ  
siddhēr=apratihata-chakraś=Chakradha-  
17 ra iv=ārtti-prasamana-karaḥ prajānām parama-Māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Buddharājaḥ

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 18 sarvvān=ēva rāja-sāmanta-bhōgika-vishayapati-rāshṭragrāmamahattar-ādihikārik-ādi<sup>4</sup>  
samājñā-  
19 payaty=astu<sup>5</sup> vō viditam=asmābhiḥ Bharukachchha-vishay-āntarggata-Gōrajā-<sup>6</sup>  
bhōgē Brīhannārikā-pratyāsanna-  
20 Kumārivaśaḥ<sup>7</sup> ōsha grāmaḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ sarvv-ādāna-saṁgrāhyaḥ  
sarvva-ditya-viṣṭi-prātibhēdikā-  
21 pariḥiṇō bhūmichchhidra-nyāyēna<sup>8</sup> a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇava-  
kshiti-sthiti-samakālinaḥ putra-pau-  
22 tr-ānvaya-bhōgya<sup>9</sup> Dēbhakavāstavya-Pārāśarasagōtra-VājasaneyāKaṇvasabrahmachāri-  
brāhmaṇa-Bhaṭṭu-putra-  
23 Bappasvāminē bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ādi-kriy-ōtsarppa-ārttham mātāpitṛōr=  
ātmanāś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhayē<sup>10</sup>  
24 ndak-ātisarggēn=ātisrīṣṭō<sup>11</sup> yatō=smad-vanśayair=<sup>12</sup>anyair=vv=āgāmi-nripati-bhōgapatībhiḥ=  
prabala-pavana-prērit-ō-  
25 dadhi-jala-taraṅga-chañchalam jīva-lōkam=abhāv-ānugatān=asārān=vibhāvān=dīrggha-  
kāla-sthēyasaś=cha guṇā-  
26 n=ākalayya sāmānya-bhōga-bhū-pradāna-phal-ēpsubhiś=śaśi-kara-ruchiram chirāya  
yaśaś=cha chishubhir=<sup>13</sup>ayam=asmad-dāyō=nu-  
27 mantavyaḥ=pālayitavyaś=cha [!]<sup>14</sup> Yō v=ājñāna-timira-paṭal-āvṛita-matir=āchchhindyāś=  
āchchhidyamānām v=ānumōdēta sa pañchabhi-  
28 r=mmahā-pātakais=samyukta<sup>15</sup> syād=ity=uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna ||  
Shashṭim<sup>16</sup> varshsha-sahasrāpi svarggē mōdati bhūmi-daḥ [!]<sup>17</sup>  
29 āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || Vindhy-ātavishv=atōyāsu  
śushka-kōṭara-vāsināḥ [!]<sup>18</sup> kṛishṇāhayō hi jāya-

<sup>1</sup> Read -vanśānām.

<sup>2</sup> Read -gṛāma-.

<sup>3</sup> Read -pradhvansa-.

<sup>4</sup> Read -dēśa-.

<sup>5</sup> Read payati | Astu vō viditam | Asmābhiḥ.

<sup>6</sup> It is just possible that the name engraved is Gōrajā-.

<sup>7</sup> Read -nyāyēna=d-ōhāṭa-.

<sup>8</sup> This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>9</sup> Read -sṛīṣṭōh |.

<sup>10</sup> Read -bhōgyō.

<sup>11</sup> Read -dāyō.

<sup>12</sup> Read -kṛishṇāhayō | Uktam.

<sup>13</sup> Read -vanśayair=.

<sup>14</sup> Read yaśaś=chishubhir=.

<sup>15</sup> Metre of this and the next three verses: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).— Read varshsha-.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 १ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 २ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 ३ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 ४ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 ५ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 ६ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 ७ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 ८ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 ९ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 १० ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 ११ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 १२ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 १३ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 १४ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 १५ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥  
 १६ ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥ यथा कालचुरीय राजा ॥

E. HULTZSCH.

SCALE '8

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

[illegible]

- 30 ntê bhûmi-dâyam haranti yê || Bahubhir-vvasandhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-  
 âdibhih [1\*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya  
 31 tadâ phalam || Pûrvva-dattâm divjâtibhyô yatnâd=raksha Yudhishtîra [1\*]  
 mahi[m\*] mahimatâ[m] śrêshṭha dānâch=chhrêyô=nnpālanam || 1Yân=tha da-  
 32 ttāni purâ narêndrain=ddānāni dharm-ârttha-yâsas-karâni [1\*] nirbbhukta-mālya-  
 pratimāni tāni kô nāma sādhuḥ=punar=âdadi(ta)[||]  
 33 Samvatsara-âsta-trayê<sup>1</sup> êkashasṭy-adhikê Kârttika-bahula-pañchadaśyām  
 Gôkulasvâmi-vijñāpanayâ mahâbalâ-  
 34 dhikṛita-śrī-Prasahyavigraha-dûtakam likhitam=idam mahâsandhivigrahâdhikaran-  
 âdhikṛita-Śivarâjên=êti ||  
 35 Sam 300 60 1 Kârttika-ba 10 5 ||

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ôm. Hail ! From the royal residence <sup>3</sup> of victory, fixed at Ânandapura :—<sup>4</sup>

In the lineage of the Kaṭachchuris— which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the vault of the sky clear on the advent of autumn ; illumined by the mass of the rays of the manifold excellences of jewels of men (as the ocean is by those of its gems) ; difficult to be crossed because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals) ; endowed with profundity (and) intent on observing the limits of what is right (as the ocean is on keeping within its proper limits)— (there was) the glorious Krishnarâja, who illumined the world with his fame that charmed all mankind, who from his very birth was devoted to the service of Paśupati (Śiva), who promoted the fortune of his family (and who thus, though) free from blemish,<sup>5</sup> was like the moon which illumines the earth with its light pleasing to all mankind, which is ever resting on Śiva, (and) which causes the groups of night-lotuses to expand. From a desire, as it were, of securing a choice resting-place, he was resorted to by all the qualities that make a king the object of attachment,<sup>6</sup> as well as by every other excellence. He was fully endowed with all the constituent elements of royalty, and duly reaped the beneficial results (of his management) of the regal powers.<sup>7</sup> As the chief elephant of the herd, distinguished by its splendid backbone, with the flow of its rutting-juice never ceasing, displaying the might of its strength, fearlessly roams about and breaks down rows of forest-trees, so he, who was illustrious by his splendid lineage, and the stream of whose liberality was never failing, and the might of whose power was well-known, marched about without apprehension and brought to subjection the regions. He wielded the sword to protect people in distress,<sup>8</sup> made war to break the conceit of adversaries, engaged in study to learn propriety of conduct, gathered wealth to make donations, made donations for the sake of religious merit, and acquired religious merit to obtain the bliss of final emancipation.

(L. 8.) His son, who meditated on his parents' feet, (was) the devout worshipper of Mahâśvara (Śiva), the glorious Saṅkaragana, the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western seas and of other lands ; who<sup>9</sup> on the earth had no antagonist equal to him ; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans ; whose might was like that of Dhanada,

<sup>1</sup> Metre : Indravajrâ.

<sup>2</sup> Read -traya.

<sup>3</sup> Or 'from the camp . . . pitched at.'

<sup>4</sup> The sentence is continued below, in the words 'the glorious Buddhârâja.'

<sup>5</sup> The beauty of the moon is marred by a dark spot.

<sup>6</sup> On the passage containing the word *abhiḡâmiḡa* compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 166, l. 16, and p. 169, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> Viz. the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy.

<sup>8</sup> Compare the *Sakuntala*, in the first act, *drta-trāṇḍya saḡ sastram*.

<sup>9</sup> This epithet and the two next— one with a slightly different reading— are well known from Gupta inscriptions ; compare e.g. *Gupta Inscr.* p. 26, l. 1 of the text ; and D. Fleet's note, *ibid.* p. 14, note 4.

Varuṇa, Indra, and Antaka;<sup>1</sup> who by the strength of his arms<sup>2</sup> acquired the fortune of powerful kings; before whose pre-eminent prowess there bowed down the circle of all the neighbouring princes; who engaged in the pursuit of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, without allowing them to encroach upon one another; whose profound and elevated mind was well pleased only by submission;<sup>3</sup> who accomplished acts of religion by distributing in charity the ample wealth acquired by properly protecting his people; who reinstated families of princes long subverted,<sup>4</sup> and uprooted the exalted; and who to the afflicted, the blind and the poor granted the object of their desire, more fully even than their hearts longed for.

(L. 14.) His son, who meditates on his feet, who is the unique frontal ornament of the whole circle of the earth; who is endowed with all the most celebrated qualities, such as prudence, good conduct, compassion, liberality, cleverness, dexterity, fortitude, heroism, firmness and the rest; who causes the destruction of the might of conceit, arising from power, of powerful enemies; who is a dam to safeguard all ordinances, and a resting-place of success; and who, like the Discus-bearer (Viṣṇu) with his irresistible disc, with his irresistible army relieves the distress of the people—he, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the glorious Buddharāja, issues this order to all Rājās, Sāmāntas, Bhōgikas, Viśayapatis, Rāṣṭra- and Grāma-mahattaras, Adhikārikas and others:—

(L. 19.) Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents and ourselves we have granted, with pouring out of water, the village of Kumārivaḍaḥ which is close to Brihannārikā, in the Gōrajā-bhōga that lies within the Bharukachchha-vishaya,—with the udraṅga, with the uparikara, with all imposts and taxes,<sup>5</sup> exempt from all ditya, forced labour and prātibhēdikā, according to the maxim of bhūmichchhidra, not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers, for as long as the moon, the sun, the sea and the earth endure, to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons—to the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhaṭṭu, who is an inhabitant of Dēbhaka, a member of the Pārāsara gōtra, and a student of the Kaṇva śākhā of the Vājasanīya Vēda, for the maintenance of the bali, charu, vaiśvadeva, agnihōtra and other rites. Wherefore, let future kings and Bhōgapatis, whether of our own family or others—bearing in mind that the world of living beings is unsteady like a wave of water of the sea raised by a fierce wind, that wealth is liable to perish and void of substance, and that virtue endures for a long time—desirous of sharing in the reward of (this) donation of land, and anxious to accumulate for a long time fame as bright as the rays of the moon, consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whosoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, should take it away or permit it to be taken away, he shall be guilty of the five great sins! And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—[Here follow five imprecatory verses.]

(L. 33.) In three hundred years increased by sixty-one, on the fifteenth tithi of the dark half of Kārttika, at the request of Gōkulasvāmin,<sup>6</sup> this (edict)—the dātaka of which is the Mahābalādādhikṛita,<sup>7</sup> the illustrious Prasahyavigraha—was written by the Mahāsādhivigrahādādhikarādhikṛita<sup>8</sup> Śivarāja.

The year 300 60 1 Kārttika-badi 10 5.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the guardian deities of the northern, western, eastern and southern quarters.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Gupta Inscr. p. 8, l. 26, where the compound Dhanada-Varuṇ-Indr-Antaka-sama is followed by another, commencing with sea-bhūja-bala-.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *ibid.* p. 8, l. 25, bhaktyavanatimātra-grāhya-mridu-hridayasya.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *ibid.* p. 8, l. 23, anka-bhrashtardjy-śtanna-rājavamsa-pratishthāpana.

<sup>5</sup> The original has sarva-dāna-saṃgrāhya, which may have some more specific meaning.

<sup>6</sup> I am unable to state the position of this personage with regard to either the donor or the donee.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. 'the great Balādādhikṛita (or general)'; see my *List of Northern Inscr.* No. 427.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. 'the great Sādhivigrahādādhikṛita (or officer charged with the ministry of peace and war)'; compare e.g. the Gujara grants, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 84, l. 50, and p. 90, l. 50.

## No. 30.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Dr. Hultsch has sent me for examination the texts and English translations of fifty-four **Pāṇḍya dates**.<sup>1</sup> Of this number I now publish, with the results of my calculations, twenty-six dates, together with four others (Nos. 1, 5, 14 and 16 of my list), which have been published by Dr. Hultsch in the *Indian Antiquary*, and for two of which (Nos. 14 and 16) the European equivalents have been already ascertained by the late Mr. S. B. Dikshit. All these dates quote only regnal years, not years of any era; and in a number of cases it was uncertain whether the dates connected with a particular name belonged to the reign of one king or to the reigns of two or more kings bearing the same name. How my results will fit into the history of the time to which the dates refer, others may decide; I have been solely guided by the dates, and have not allowed myself to be influenced by other considerations. Though the dates do not quote years of any era, the fact that some of them, in addition to the weekday, the *tithi* and the *nakshatra*, also give the corresponding solar day, has helped me greatly in ascertaining what I consider to be the proper European equivalents, and makes me place great confidence in the results which I now put forward. The reader will understand this when he sees, that e.g. for the date No. 1 there is only a single day in 500 years that would fully satisfy all the requirements of the original date. To Dr. Hultsch I owe sincere thanks for having enabled me to do this work.

## A.—JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

1.—Date in the larger Tiruppāvanam grant.<sup>2</sup>

Plate i. a, line 4 f.

Nijē vatsarē pañchavimsā chaṇḍāmsāv=āṭṭa-Chāpē Kanakapati-tithau krishṇapaksh-  
Ārkivāra-Svāti-yōgē;

“in his twenty-fifth year, while the sun was in Chāpa, on the *tithi* of Kanakapati, at the union of Saturday and Svāti in the dark fortnight.”

Plate v. b, line 2 f.

Padiṇṁṁṇāvadīṇ=edir paṇṇirandām=āṇḍu Dhaṇu-nāyaru nālān=diyadiyum apara-  
pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Śaṇi-kkīlamaiyum peṇṇa Śōḍi-nāl;

“the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday, and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the fourth solar day of the month of Dhanus, in the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth.”

Between A.D. 1000 and 1500 there is only a single year for which this date would be absolutely correct, viz. the year 1214. In this year the Dhanu-samkrānti took place 8 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 26th November, which was the first day of the month of Dhanus. The 4th day of the month of Dhanus therefore was Saturday, the 29th November. And on this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrsha) ended 9 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 19 h. 3 m., according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise. Accordingly, if the date does fall between A.D. 1000 and 1500 and has been correctly recorded, Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214, must be its proper equivalent.

<sup>1</sup> [It is but right to state that these dates were looked up, transcribed and translated by my First Assistant, Mr. V. Venkayya, and that I have done nothing but checking his transcripts and renderings.—E. H.]

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. Hultsch in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 288.

2.—In the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||\*] [Pāvi]ṇ kiḷatti<sup>2</sup> . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . śrī-kō-Chchadaiypan[ma]-  
 6 r=[ā]ṇa Tri[bhuvana]chchakravarttigaḷ śrī-Kulaśēgarad[ē]vaṅku yāṇḍu  
 paḍimmu(mā)ṇṇā[vadi]ṇ edirām=āṇḍu Mīna-nāyayru nālān=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu  
 daśa-  
 7 [miyum] Viyāla-kkiḷamai[yum] peṇra Pār[ā]dattu nāl.

"In the year opposite to the thirteenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Pūrvāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Thursday, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the fourth solar day of the month of Mīna."

Under No. 1 we found that a date of the 12th opposite to the 13th year, i.e. of the 25th year, of the king's reign fell in November A.D. 1214. If such was really the case, this date No. 2, of the month of Mīna of the year opposite to the 13th, i.e. of the 14th year, of the same reign, must fall in February-March of either A.D. 1203 or 1204. As a matter of fact, the date is correct for Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1204. In A.D. 1204 the Mīna-samkrānti took place 3 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 23rd February, which was the first day of the month of Mīna. The fourth day of the month of Mīna therefore was Thursday, the 26th February; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Phālguna) commenced 3 h. 33 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Pūrvāśāḍhā, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

The way in which this date works out proves that the equivalent found for the date No. 1 undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of that date; and the two dates together shew that the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara commenced between (approximately) the 27th February and the 28th November A.D. 1190.

B.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.<sup>3</sup>3.—In the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Śrī-kō Mārapanmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigaḷ Śōpāḍu  
 koṇḍu Muḍikoṇḍaśō-  
 2 lapurattu vi(vi)rābhishēkam panni-yaruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pā[p]ḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu  
 paḍiṇḍā[vadi]ṇ\*  
 3 edirām=āṇḍiṇ\* edi[r]ām=āṇḍu . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . yivv-ā[t].  
 6 ṭai=Ppurattādi-māsattu ēlān=diyadiyum deśa[m]jiyum T[i]ṇ[ga]t-k[i]ḷamaiyu[m]  
 peṇra Uttarāḍattu nāl[ī].

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the seventeenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Paṇḍyadēva who was pleased to take the Chōla country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Muḍikoṇḍaśōlapuram,— on the day of Uttarāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday, and to the tenth *tithi*, and to the seventh solar day of the month of Puraṭṭādi in this year."

Between A.D. 1200 and 1300 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1234. In this year the Kanyā-samkrānti took place 16 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 28th

<sup>1</sup> No. 123 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

<sup>2</sup> See the larger Tiruppūvanam grant.

<sup>3</sup> I add the numbers 'I.' and 'II.' here and below merely for convenience of reference so far as this list is concerned. There may have been other kings of the same names before those here numbered as I.

<sup>4</sup> No. 155 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

August. The 7th day of the month of Kanyā (or Purattādi) therefore was **Monday, the 4th September A.D. 1234**; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Bhādra-pada) ended 13 h. 6 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarāshādhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

4.—In the Nelliayappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . . . Śrī-kō [M]āra[va]nmar-āṇa Tribhu[va]nachechakra[va]rttigal  
Śōṇāḍuṇ-gonḍu Muḍikoṇḍa-
- 2 . . . . . [v]irābhishékam pappiy-aruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarku  
yāṇḍu 17vadin=edirām=āṇḍin=edirām=āṇ-
- 3 . . . . . ru iruba[t]tē[l]ān=diyadiyu[m] pūrvva-[pa]ksha[t]tu prathamaiyūn=  
Dingal-[k]iḷamaiyum peṇṇa Pūrā(ra)tt[ā]ḍi-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva who was pleased to take the Chōḷa country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Muḍikoṇḍa[śōḷapuram],—on the day of **Pūrva-Bhādrapadā**, which corresponded to a **Monday**, and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight, and to the twenty-seventh solar day of . . ."

Although the name of the solar month of this date is broken away or quite illegible, the fact that during that month the first *tithi* of the bright half was joined with the *nakshatra* Pūrva-Bhādrapadā, at once suggests the conjecture that the month was that of **Kumbha**; and this conjecture is shewn to be correct by the calculation of the date. The date, which is of the same regnal year as No. 3, corresponds to **Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1235**. In A.D. 1235 the Kumbha-sankrānti took place 8 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 24th January, which was the first day of the month of Kumbha. The 27th day of the month of Kumbha therefore was **Monday, the 19th February**; and on this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phālguna) commenced 0 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Bhādrapadā**, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

5.—In the Raṅganātha temple at Śrirāṅgam.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 . . . . . Śrī-kō Māraṇmar-āṇa Tiribuvanachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ Śōṇāḍu  
vaḷaṅgi aruliya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvar[k\*]ku yāṇḍu oṇḍadāvadu
- 2 Mēsha-nāyaṇṇu apara-pakshattu tṛitaiyūm Velli-kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Viśāgattu  
nāḷ.

"In the ninth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva who was pleased to present the Chōḷa country,<sup>3</sup>—on the day of **Viśākhā**, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mēsha**."

As the two preceding dates Nos. 3 and 4, of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year, i.e. of the 19th year, of the king's reign fell in A.D. 1234 and 1235, this date No. 5, of the 9th year of the same reign, will be expected to fall in A.D. 1224 or 1225. The date actually corresponds to **Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1225**, which was the 4th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Chaitra) ended 22 h. 45 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Viśākhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> No. 133 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 344.

<sup>3</sup> See the smaller Tiruppāvānam grant.

6.—In the Agniśvara temple at Tirukkāṭṭuppalī.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō Māraparṇa[r-ā]na Tiribuvanachchakkaravattiga! Śōpāḍu  
 vaḷaṅgiya Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rku yāḍu 7āvaḍu Mīna-nāyaṅṅu=ppūrvva-  
 pakshattu navamiyu[m] . . . . . [yu]m [pe]ṅṅa Pūṣattu nā!
- 2 Rishabham muhārttattu.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva who presented the Chōla country,— on the auspicious occasion of the Rishabha (*lagna*) on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to . . . . . and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The three preceding dates Nos. 3-5 shew that a date of the month of Mīna of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A.D. 1223, and in my opinion this date No. 6 undoubtedly corresponds to [Monday,] the 13th March A.D. 1223, which was the 19th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. There is the difficulty that by our Tables the 9th *tithi* of the bright half had ended 0 h. 21 m. *before* mean sunrise of the 13th March, but it may be reasonably supposed that by other Tables it ended shortly *after* mean sunrise. The name of the weekday which would have removed all doubt unfortunately is illegible or broken away.— On the day found Rishabha was *lagna* from 2 h. 28 m. to about 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise.

The four dates Nos. 3-6 together prove that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216.

## C.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

7.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Śrī-kō Māraparṇa[ma]r-āṇa Tiribuvanachchakkarava[t]t[i]ga! śrī-  
 Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāḍu paḍiṅ-ṇāṇḍad[iṅ]=edir[ā]m-āṇḍiṅ=edirām=āṇḍu  
 Magara-nāyaṅṅu [i]rubattunālān=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu daśamiyu[m] Buḍaṅ-  
 kiḷamaiyum perṅa Aṇḷattu nā-
- 2 1.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara."

Between A.D. 1150 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1251. The Makara-saṁkrānti took place 0 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 26th December A.D. 1250, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the month of Makara therefore was Wednesday, the 18th January A.D. 1251; and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Pausha) ended 17 h., and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

8.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō Māraparṇa[r-ā]na Tiribuvanachchakkaravattiga! śrī-[Śunda]ra-  
 [P]ā[ṇ]ḍiya[d]ē[va]rku yāḍu [11]va[d]iṅ edirām=āṇ[ḍi]-
- 2 ṇ edirām=āṇḍu Magara-nāyaṅṅu irubat[t]unālān=diyadiyum a[pa]ra-paksha[t]tu da-  
 śamiyum Bu[ḍaṅ]-kiḷamai[um] perṅa Aṇḷa[t]tu nā!

<sup>1</sup> No. 52 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

<sup>2</sup> No. 148 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

<sup>3</sup> No. 146 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the [11]th year (of the reign) of king *Māravarman* *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva*,— on the day of *Anurādhā*, which corresponded to a *Wednesday*, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of *Makara*."

This date is the same as No. 7, except that in the expression 'opposite to the 11th year' numeral figures are used by the writer.

9.—In the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>1</sup>

1 . . . . . Śrī-kō Mārapaṇmar=āṇa Tribh[u]va[ṇa]chchakkaravattiga[ī] śr[ī]-  
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu paḍiṇ-onṇāvadiṇ-edirām=[ā\*]ṇḍiṇ-e[di]rām=ā[n]ḍu  
M[ī]ṇa-nāyaru=ppat[t]on[baḍ]ān-di[ya]diyudiyum<sup>2</sup> a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu navamiyum  
Budaṇ-kkiḷamaiyum perṇa Aśvati-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year (of the reign) of the glorious king *Māravarman* *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva*,— on the day of *Aśvini*, which corresponded to a *Wednesday*, and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the nineteenth solar day of the month of *Mina*."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of *Mina* a 9th *tithi* of the dark half can never be joined with the *nakṣatra* *Aśvini*. The probability is that the month intended was that of *Mithuna*, and calculation proves that it was that month. The date, which is of the same year as No. 7, corresponds to *Wednesday*, the 14th June A.D. 1251. In A.D. 1251 the *Mithuna-samkrānti* took place 22 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May. The 19th day of the month of *Mithuna* therefore was *Wednesday*, the 14th June; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month *Jyāishṭha*) ended 5 h. 19 m., and the *nakṣatra* was *Aśvini* for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

10.—In the Nelloiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>3</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [ī\*] Kō Mārapaṇ[ma]r=āṇa Tribhu[vaṇa]chchakra[vaṭ]t[ī]gaḷ śr[ī]-  
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu paḍ[i]ṇo-  
2 ṇṇāvadu Vaigāśi-[m]āsattu madaṇ-tiyadi Nāyaru-kkiḷamai perṇa Attattu nā[ī].

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king *Māravarman* *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious *Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva*,— on the day of *Hasta*, which corresponded to *Sunday*, the first solar day of the month of *Vaigāśi*."

As the dates Nos. 7-9, which are of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 11th year, *i.e.* of the 13th year, of the king's reign, have been found to fall in A.D. 1251, this date No. 10, which is of the 11th year of the same reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1249. It actually corresponds to *Sunday*, the 25th April A.D. 1249, which was the first day of the month of *Vaigāśi*—the *Vṛishabha-samkrānti* having taken place 0 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise—and on which the *nakṣatra* was *Hasta*, by the equal space system and according to *Garga* for 15 h. 6 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.

The dates Nos. 7-10 together prove that the reign of *Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.* commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239.

<sup>1</sup> No. 147 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Read =diyadiyum.

<sup>3</sup> No. 143 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

## D.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

11.—In the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śri [||\*] Kō=Chchadapaṇmar=āṇa Ti[r]ibuvāṇachchakkaravattiga| śri-  
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 2āvadu Mēsha-nāyaru apara-pakshattu  
ēkādasīyūm Viyāḷa-kkīlāmaiyaṇ peṇṇa Śad[ai]yat[tu nā].

“In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

To shorten my remarks, I may state here at once that the six dates Nos. 11-16 work out correctly on the assumption (and prove thus) that the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 26th April A.D. 1251.

This date, No. 11, corresponds to Thursday, the 27th March A.D. 1253, which was the third day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Chaitra) ended 2 h. 20 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 13 h. 47 m., according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

To ascertain whether this date could possibly be one of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., I have calculated it also for the years A.D. 1277, 1278, and 1279, and have found that it would be incorrect for any one of these years. The same remark applies to the dates Nos. 12 and 13.

12.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavāḍi.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śri [||\*] Kō=Chchadāiva[r\*]mmar=āṇa Tribhuvāṇachchakravattiga| śri-  
[Su]ndara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu 2vadu Mēsha-nāyaru apara-pakshattu  
śadu[r]tthiyūm Śaṇi-kk[i]lāmaiyaṇ peṇṇa Mu(mū)lattu nā.

“In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 19th April A.D. 1253, which was the 26th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 2 h. 59 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Mūla by the equal space system for 5 h. 16 m., after mean sunrise.

13.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavāḍi.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śri [||\*] Kō=Chchadapa[ṇmar=āṇa] Tiru(ri)bu[va]ṇachchakkaravattiga| śri-  
Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yā[ṇ]ḍu 3vadu Vṛiśchika-nāyaru pūrva-pakshattu  
[sha]ṣṭhiyūm Budaṇ-kīlāmaiyaṇ peṇṇa Uttirāḍattu nā.

“In the 3rd year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttarāśāḍhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1253, which was the second day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Kārttika) ended 18 h. 4 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Uttarāśāḍhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> No. 254 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

<sup>2</sup> No. 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

<sup>3</sup> No. 99 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

14.—In the Vēdagiriśvara temple at Tirukkaḷukkunṇam.<sup>1</sup>

- 2 . . . . . Tribhuvanachakra[r]ttiga[?] śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yā[ṇ]ḍu  
 9āvaḍu Ishava-nā[ya]ṅṅu pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m Śe[v\*]vāy-kkiḷa-  
 3 maiyum peṅṅa Pūnarpuśattu nāl.

“In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Pūnarvasu, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 29th April A.D. 1259, which was the 4th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 6 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pūnarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

15.—In the Vēdagiriśvara temple at Tirukkaḷukkunṇam.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Śrī-kôṅ-Chaḍaipanmar=āṇa Tiru(ri)buvaṇachohakkaravattigaḷ emma-  
 2 ṇḍalamuṇ=goṇḍ=aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍi[ya]dēvaṅku y[ā]-  
 3 ṇḍu 9āvaḍu Miduna-nāyaṅṅu apara-pakshattu navamiyum Nāyaṅṅu-[k]kiḷamai-  
 4 yum peṅṅa Irēba(va)di-nāl.

“In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna.”

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 15th June A.D. 1259, which was the 20th day of the month of Mithuna, and was entirely occupied by the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Jyaiṣṭha), and on which the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī for 9 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise.

16.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Śrīraṅgam.<sup>3</sup>

- 2 . . . . . Kō=Chchaḍaipanmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachohakravarttigaḷ emmaṇḍalamuṇ=  
 goṇḍ=aruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅ[ku] yāṇḍu 10vaḍu pattāvaḍu Rishabha-  
 nāyaṅṅu apara-[pa]kshattu Budaṅ-kiḷamaiyum prathamaiyum peṅṅa A[ṇi]-  
 3 ḷattu nāl.

“In the 10th—tenth—year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 28th April A.D. 1260, which was the 4th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 0 h. 4 m.,<sup>4</sup> and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

17.—In the Pushpavanēśvara temple at Tiruppandurutti.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] [||\*] Pū-[ma]ḷar [va]ḷar . . . . .  
 16 . . . . . śrī-[k]ō=Chcha[ḍa]panmar=āṇa Tiribuvanachcha[k]karavattigaḷ śrī-  
 Śu[n]dara-Pāṇḍiya[d]ē[va]ṅku yāṇḍu

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 343, and Vol. XXII. p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> No. 186 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 121, and Vol. XXII. p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> The *tithi* ended later after true sunrise.

<sup>5</sup> No. 186 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894. The king took Kaṇṇaṭṭr from the Hoysala king and covered the temple at Śrīraṅgam with gold.

17 7āvadu Kanni-nāyaṟṟu [a]gha(pa)ra-gha(pa)kshattu trayōdasiyum Nāyaṟṟu-  
kk[i]lamaiyum [p]eṟṟa Atta[t]tu nāl.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The wording of this date, so far as I can see, is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Kanyā a 13th *tithi* of the dark half can never be actually joined with the *nakshatra* Hasta. Judging by the preceding dates Nos. 11-16, a date of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A.D. 1257 or 1258; and during these two years the date would be correct only for the month of Tūlā, which follows immediately upon the month of Kanyā. For the month of Tūlā it regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th October A.D. 1257, which was the 10th day of the month of Tūlā, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Āsvina) ended 7 h. 31 m., and the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise.

18.—In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavāḍi.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō-Chcha[ḍapa]ṇmar Tiribuvānachchakkaravattiga! śrī-Śundara-Pāṇḍiya-
- 2 dēvaṟku yāṇḍu llāvadu Kaṟkaḍaga-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu sha-
- 3 shṭhiyum Viyāḷa-kkilamaiyum peṟṟa Āsvati-nāl.

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Āsvini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

As this date is of the month of Karkāṭaka of the 11th year, it should fall in A.D. 1261, if it is a date of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.; but for that year it does not work out properly. In A.D. 1261 the 6th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Karkāṭaka ended 7 h. 22 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 19th July, which was the 23rd day of the month of Karkāṭaka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Āsvini from 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise. As I obtain no really better result for other years of the same reign, and no satisfactory result at all for the 11th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., I would take Tuesday, the 19th July A.D. 1261, to be the intended day, and assume that in the original date the weekday has been given incorrectly.

E.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

19.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>2</sup>

- 2 Śrī-[k]ō Māraṇṇmar-ā[ṇa] Tribhuvānachcha-
- 3 kravart[t]iga! e[m\*]maṇḍalamuṇ-gon-
- 4 ḍ-aruliya śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṟku [y]ā[ṇ\*]-
- 5 ḍu 27va[d]u Dhanu-nā[ya]ṟṟu 14 tiyadiyu[m]
- 6 Velli-kkilamaiyum apara-paksha[t]tu
- 7 saptamiyum peṟṟa U[t]tira-nāl.

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to a Friday, and to the 14th solar day of the month of Dhanu."

<sup>1</sup> No. 71 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

<sup>2</sup> No. 187 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

Between A.D. 1200 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1294. In this year the Dhanuṣ-saṁkrānti took place 1 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November, which was the first day of the month of Dhanuṣ. The 14th day of the month of Dhanuṣ therefore was **Friday, the 10th December A.D. 1294**; and on this day the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrṣa) commenced 4 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was **Uttara-Phaḷgunī**, by the equal space system from 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day.

20.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Śrirāṅgam.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||\*] Tēri pōl . . . . .  
 4 . . . . . śr[i]-kō Māra[pa]ṇmā(ma)r-āṇa Tiribuva[na]chechakkaravattiga| śrī-  
 Ku[la]śēgaradēvarkku yāṇḍu pāttāvadu [Ma]gara-nā[ya\*]rṇu pō[r]vva-pakshattu  
 daśamiyum  
 5 yuṁ<sup>2</sup> Budaṇ-kiḷamaiy[u]m perṛa [U]rōṣaṇi-nāḷ.

“ In the tenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara**.”

If the equivalent obtained under No. 19 for the date of the 27th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No. 20, of the 10th year of the king's reign, will be expected to fall in about A.D. 1277. It actually corresponds to **Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1278**. This day was the 11th of the month of **Makara**; and on it the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Māgha) ended 7 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was **Rōhiṇī** by the equal space system from 7 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day.

21.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 [Sva\*]sti śrī [||] Śrī-kō Mārapaṇmar-āṇa Tribhuvanachchakra-  
 2 [va\*]rttigal emmaṇḍalamu[n]=go[u]ḍa-aruliya śrī-Kula-  
 3 śēgaradēvarkku [y]āṇḍu [2]ḍvadu Vṛīschika-nā[ya]rṇu  
 4 irubatt[i]ra[n]ḍā[n]=diyadiyum [a]para-[pa]kshattu [dv]iti-  
 5 yaiyu[m] B[u]daṇ-kiḷamaiyum p[er]ṛa Puṇa[r]pūsa-n-  
 6 [ā]ḷ.

“ In the [2]ḍḍth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday**, and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-second solar day of the month of **Vṛīschika**.”

The results obtained under Nos. 19 and 20 shew that this date, of the month of Vṛīschika of the 2ḍḍth year of the king's reign, must fall in about A.D. 1293. The date, in my opinion, actually corresponds to **Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1293**. In A.D. 1293 the Vṛīschika-saṁkrānti took place 6 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October, which was the first day of the month of Vṛīschika. The 22nd day of the month of Vṛīschika therefore was **Wednesday, the 18th November**; and on this day the *nakṣatra* was **Punarvasu** by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise of the same day was the third (not the second) *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrṣa).— I have no doubt that in the original date the second *tithi* (*dvitīyaiyum*) has been wrongly quoted instead of the third (*trītiyaiyum*).

<sup>1</sup> No. 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1891.

<sup>2</sup> No. 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

<sup>3</sup> Cancel *yuṁ*.

22.—In the Śvêtâranyêśvara temple at Kadappêri.<sup>1</sup>

1 . . . . . Kô Mâru(ṛa)paṇmar Tiru(ri)[buva]ṇachchakravattika(ga)ḥ śrī-  
Kulaśēgaradēvar[k\*][k]u [y]āṇḍu 40 Mi(mi)ṇa-nāyaṇ pûrvva-pakshattu  
dvitīyayum Śaṇi-kk[i]lam[ai]yum peṇṇa Rêvati-nâl.

"In the 40th year (of the reign) of king Mâravarmān (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Rêvati, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mîna."

The results obtained under the three preceding dates shew that this date, of the month of Mîna of the 40th year of the king's reign, must fall in either A.D. 1307 or A.D. 1308. It actually corresponds to Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308. On this day the Mîna-saṃkrânti took place 8 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise, and the day therefore was the first of the month of Mîna; the second *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phâlguna) ended 12 h. 32 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rêvati for 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.

The four dates Nos. 19-22 together prove that the reign of Mâravarmān Kulaśēkhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 25th February and the 18th November A.D. 1288.

## F.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

23.—In the Îlamiśvara temple at Târamangalam.<sup>2</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kôṛ=Chadapaṇmar=âṇa Tribhuvanachchakravattigaḥ śrī-Śundara-  
Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu pad[i]mu(mû)ṇṇâvadu Simha-nāyaṇ[u]  
pûrvva-pakshattu trayôdasiyum Tiṅgal-kilamaiyum peṇṇa Uttarâdattu nâl.

"In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of king Jatavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttarâshâḍhâ, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

24.—In the Âdhipuriśvara temple at Tiruvorriyûr.<sup>3</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kôṛ=Chadapaṇmar=âṇa Tribhuvanachchakravattigaḥ śrī-  
2 Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu padinmu(mû)ṇṇâvadu Simha-nāyaṇ[u]  
3 a[pa]ra-pakshattu tritīyayum Vêḷi-kk[i]lamaiyum peṇṇa Uttirâ-  
4 tād[i]-nâl.

"In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of king Jatavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadâ, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

The two dates Nos. 23 and 24 are both stated to be of the month of Simha of the 13th year of the king's reign. In No. 23 the 13th *tithi* of the bright half is combined with a Monday and the *nakshatra* Uttarâshâḍhâ, in No. 24 the third *tithi* of the dark half with a Friday and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrapadâ. Of all the years between A.D. 1236 and 1325 there is only a single year that satisfies all the requirements of both dates, viz. the year 1289. For that year the date—

No. 23 corresponds to Monday, the 1st August A.D. 1289, which was the 4th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrâvâṇa) ended 5 h. 23 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâḍhâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise; and the date—

<sup>1</sup> No. 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

<sup>2</sup> No. 24 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

<sup>3</sup> No. 400 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

No. 24 corresponds to Friday, the 5th August A.D. 1289, which was the 8th day of the month of *Simha*, and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month *Śrāvaṇa*) ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was *Uttara-Bhadrpadā*, according to Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

I may add that, if these were dates of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., they would fall in A.D. 1263, but that either of them would be incorrect both for that year and for A.D. 1264. For A.D. 1262 No. 24 would be correct, but not No. 23.

25.—In the Iḷamiśvara temple at Tāramaṅgalam.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śriḥ [||\*] Kōṛ=Chchadapaṇmar=āṇa Tribhuvanaachchakkaravatt[i]ga[||] śr[i]-  
 Śutta(mda)ra-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu ḡāvadu āṇāvadu Kaṛkadaga-nāyaru[u]  
 2 pūrvva-pakshattu chat[u]rtthiyum Tiṅgaṭ-ki[la]maiym peṇṇa Uttirattu nāl.

"In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkātaka."

Considering that the two preceding dates Nos. 23 and 24, which are said to be of the 13th year of the king's reign, fall in A.D. 1289, this date, which is of the 6th year of the reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1282. But the date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 21st July A.D. 1281, which was the 25th day of the month of Karkātaka, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month *Śrāvaṇa*) ended 9 h. 30 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

Here again, if this date belonged to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1256; but for that year it would be incorrect.

26.—In the Jayaṅgaṇḍanātha temple at Maṇṇārguḍi.<sup>2</sup>

- 14 [Ś]ri-kō=Chchadapaṇmar=āṇa Tiribhuvanaachchak-  
 15 karavattiga[||] śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē-  
 16 varkku yāṇḍu paṇṇirandāvadu Kaṇ-  
 17 ṇi-[n]āyaru pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyu[m]  
 18 [V]eḷi-[kk]iḷamaiym peṇṇa Śōdi-nāl.

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Friday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Kanyā a 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be joined with the *nakshatra* Svāti. Supposing the *nakshatra* to have been given correctly, the *tithi* in the month of Kanyā would in all probability be the third of the bright half. And for this *tithi* the date regularly corresponds to Friday, the 12th September A.D. 1287, which was the 15th day of the month of Kanyā, and on which the third *tithi* of the bright half (of the month *Āśvina*) ended 4 h. 7 m., and the *nakshatra* was Svāti by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

Here too, if the date belonged to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1262; but for that year it would be incorrect (also for the third *tithi* of the bright half).

<sup>1</sup> No. 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

<sup>2</sup> No. 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

27.—In the Ilamiśvara temple at Tāramaṅgalam.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kōṭ=Chaḍapaṇmar=āṇa Tiribuvanaachchakkaravattiga| śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu paḍiṇālāvaduk=edirāvu Rishabha-nāyaru [pū] . . . . . [Tiṇ]gaṭ-kilamaiyum peṇṇa Pūsattu nāl.

“(In the year) opposite to the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday, . . . . . [of the first fortnight] of the month of Rishabha.”

Judging by the dates Nos. 25 and 26, this date, which is of the year opposite to the 14th, i.e. of the 15th year, of the king's reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1290. Though the number of the *tithi* is broken away or illegible, the fact that on the *tithi* in question during the month of Rishabha the *nakshatra* was Pushya, permits us to conjecture that the *tithi* was approximately the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of the month Jyāishṭha, or perhaps the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of the month Vaiśākha. Now the year A.D. 1290 does contain a day which satisfies all the requirements of the date, and which I therefore take to be its proper equivalent. It is Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290, which was the 20th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which [the 5th *tithi*] of the bright half (of the month Jyāishṭha) ended 4 h. 24 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya by the equal space system and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise (and somewhat longer after true sunrise).

If this date were one of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1265 or 1266. In A.D. 1265 the month of Rishabha contained no Monday on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya. In A.D. 1266, during the month of Rishabha, the *nakshatra* was Pushya from 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 10th May; but the 10th May A.D. 1266 would have belonged to the 16th, not the 15th, year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

The difficulty presented by the five dates Nos. 23-27 is this that, while according to the three dates Nos. 25-27 the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. would have commenced between approximately the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, by the two dates Nos. 23 and 24, which are both of the 13th year, it could not have commenced before approximately the 6th August A.D. 1276. I can reconcile this discrepancy only by the assumption that in the dates Nos. 23 and 24 the 13th year has been wrongly quoted instead of ‘the year opposite to the 13th,’ i.e. the 14th year, an assumption which would make the king's reign commence between (approximately) the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, as suggested by the dates Nos. 25-27.

## G.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

28.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 . . . . . Śrī-kō M[ā]rapaṇmar=āṇa [Tr]ibhuvanaachchakravattiga| śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvarkku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvu Vriśchika-nāyaru=ppaḍiṇālān=
- 2 [diyadiyu]m [apara]-cha(pa)kshatta(ttu) navamiyum [Śa]ṇ[i]-kilaṇaiyum peṇṇa Uttirattu nāl.

“In the eighth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Saturday, and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the seventeenth solar day of the month of Vriśchika.”

<sup>1</sup> No. 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900.

<sup>2</sup> No. 122 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

Between A.D. 1200 and 1400 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1321. In this year the Vṛiśchika-samkrānti took place 12 h. 48 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October. The 17th day of the month of Vṛiśchika therefore was **Saturday, the 14th November A.D. 1321**; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Kārttika) ended 19 h. 50 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttara-Phalguni**, by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m., according to Garga from 8 h. 32 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta from 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

If this date were one of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I., it would fall in either A.D. 1275 or 1276; I need hardly say that for both these years it would be incorrect.

**29.—In the Brihadiśvara temple at Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram.<sup>1</sup>**

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||\*] Kō Mā . . . . . vaṇachchakkaravattiga! śrīḥ(śrī)-  
Kulaśē[gara]dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 4vadu Katka(rka)ṭaka-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-pakshattu  
chatu[r]ddasīyum Śaṇi-[k]kilamaiyum [p]eṇṇa
- 2 Uttirāḍattu nā].

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of king Mā[ravarman alias] the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of **Uttarāshāḍhā**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Karkāṭaka**."

If the equivalent obtained under No. 28 for the date of the 8th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No. 29, of the 4th year of the king's reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1317. It actually corresponds to **Saturday, the 23rd July A.D. 1317**. This day was the 26th of the month of **Karkāṭaka**; and on it the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrāvaṇa) ended 22 h. 22 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Uttarāshāḍhā**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 6 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise.

I may add that, if this were a date of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I., it would fall in either A.D. 1271 or 1272, but that for both these years it would be incorrect.

**30.—In the Brihadiśvara temple at Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram.<sup>2</sup>**

- 1 . . . . . [Kō] Mārappaṇmar Tribhuvanachchakravattiga! śr[ī]-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku  
yā[ṇḍu] 5āvadu S[i]mṇa-nāyaṅṅu
- 2 pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśīyum Tiṅga . . . . . yum peṇṇa Pūsattu nā].

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of **Pushya**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Simha**."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of **Simha** the *nakshatra* on the 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be **Pushya** or any *nakshatra* near **Pushya**. The probability is that the month of the date was **Mina**; and actual calculation shews, not only that it was **Mina**, but also that the word *Pūsattu* of the text should be altered to *Pūrattu*, i.e. that the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Phalguni**, not **Pushya**.

I have no doubt that the proper equivalent of the date is **Monday, the 5th March A.D. 1319**. This was the 10th day of the month of **Mina**; and on it the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phālguna) ended 3 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Phalguni**, by the equal space system during the whole day, according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

<sup>2</sup> No. 78 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

The three dates Nos. 28-30 together prove that the reign of **Māravarman Kulāśekhara II.** commenced between (approximately) the 6th March and the 23rd July A.D. 1314.

For convenience of reference I now give a list of the above thirty dates, in the order of the results obtained, with the approximate commencement of the reign of each king put in brackets after his name.

**A.—Jaṭavarman Kulāśekhara (February 27—November 29, A.D. 1190).**

No. 2. Year opp.<sup>1</sup> to 13 (i.e. 14th year) : February 26, A.D. 1204.

No. 1. Year 12 opp. to 13, or 25th year : November 29, A.D. 1214.

**B.—Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (March 29—September 4, A.D. 1216).**

No. 6. 7th year : March 13, A.D. 1223.

No. 5. 9th year : March 28, A.D. 1225.

No. 3. Year opp. to year opp. to 17 (i.e. 19th year) : September 4, A.D. 1234.

No. 4. Year opp. to year opp. to 17 (i.e. 19th year) : February 19, A.D. 1235.

**C.—Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. (June 15, A.D. 1238—January 18, A.D. 1239).**

No. 10. 11th year : April 25, A.D. 1249.

Nos. 7 and 8. Year opp. to year opp. to 11 (i.e. 13th year) : January 18, A.D. 1251.

No. 9. Year opp. to year opp. to 11 (i.e. 13th year) : June 14, A.D. 1251.

**D.—Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (April 20—28, A.D. 1251).**

No. 11. 2nd year : March 27, A.D. 1253.

No. 12. 2nd year : April 19, A.D. 1253.

No. 13. 3rd year : October 29, A.D. 1253.

No. 17. 7th year : October 7, A.D. 1257.

No. 14. 9th year : April 29, A.D. 1259.

No. 15. 9th year : June 15, A.D. 1259.

No. 16. 10th year : April 28, A.D. 1260.

No. 18. 11th year : July 19, A.D. 1261.

**E.—Māravarman Kulāśekhara I. (February 25—November 18, A.D. 1269).**

No. 20. 10th year : January 5, A.D. 1278.

No. 21. 26th year : November 18, A.D. 1293.

No. 19. 27th year : December 10, A.D. 1294.

No. 22. 40th year : February 24, A.D. 1308.

**F.—Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. (September 13, A.D. 1275—May 15, A.D. 1276).**

No. 25. 6th year : July 21, A.D. 1281.

No. 26. 12th year : September 12, A.D. 1287.

No. 23. 13th [for 14th] year : August 1, A.D. 1289.

No. 24. 13th [for 14th] year : August 5, A.D. 1289.

No. 27. [Year] opp. to 14 (i.e. 15th year) : May 15, A.D. 1290.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. 'opposite.'

## G.—Māvarman Kulāśekhara II. (March 6—July 23, A.D. 1314).

No. 29. 4th year: July 23, A.D. 1317.

No. 30. 5th year: March 5, A.D. 1319.

No. 28. 8th year: November 14, A.D. 1321.

(To be continued.)

## No. 31.—KONDAMUDI PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

The copper plates which bear the subjoined inscription were received in June 1901 from Mr. R. Morris, I.C.S., Collector of the Kistna district, along with an abstract of their contents by Mr. J. Ramayya, B.A., B.L. They had been recently discovered in a mound in the village of Kondamudi in the Tenāli tāluka of the Kistna district and will be deposited in the Madras Museum.

The copper plates are eight in number, and measure about 7" in breadth and about 3½" in height. Their edges are not raised into rims. In the upper left corner of the first side of each plate is cut a hole for the ring on which they were strung. The ring measures about 3½" in diameter and about ¼" in thickness, and its ends are soldered into the base of a circular seal of about 1½" diameter. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates came into my hands. In the centre of the seal is, in relief, a trident the handle of which seems to end in an arrow, a bow (?), the crescent of the moon, and an indistinct symbol of roughly triangular shape. Round the margin of the seal runs a Sanskrit legend in archaic characters which differ totally from those employed on the plates.<sup>1</sup> The preservation of the plates is tolerably good; but the first side of the first plate is so much corroded that it can be read only with great difficulty. Besides, two corners of the first plate are broken off, and it has in this way become detached from the ring.

The alphabet of this inscription closely resembles that of the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman (No. 8 above). It shows the same peculiar *s*, *m*, *j*, and *e*. The group *jā* (ll. 5, 11 and 34) has a different shape, the vowel-mark being attached on the right, and not at the top of the letter as in the Mayidavōlu plates (ll. 18 and 24). The *n* (or *ṇ*) is identical in shape with the lingual *ṇ*, but the dental *ṇ* is represented by a separate character, while in the Mayidavōlu plates no distinction is made between all the four letters. Initial *o* occurs twice (ll. 19 and 27), and *ph* (l. 4), *qh* (l. 17), *gh* (l. 19), *th* (l. 37) and initial *t* (l. 18) once.

The language is Prākṛit, with the exception of the two Sanskrit words *Mahēśvara* (l. 3) and *Bṛihatphalāyana* (l. 4) and the Telugu village name *Pāmṭāra* (ll. 24 and 29). As in the Mayidavōlu plates, the orthography follows the practice of the cave inscriptions, where a single consonant does duty for a double letter.<sup>2</sup> Double *n* and double *m* are expressed by *anusvāra* and *n* (ll. 15 and 19) and *m* (ll. 5 and 44), respectively; a superfluous *anusvāra* occurs before the groups *mh* and *nh* (ll. 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 24, 26 and 29). The instrumental *etehi nam* (l. 35) is known from the Andhra inscriptions and from the Jaina Prākṛit.<sup>3</sup> The curious phrases *etasa chasa* (l. 28) and *etam chasim* (l. 36) also have their parallels in the Andhra inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> A peculiar word is *asi* (ll. 13, 14, 15 and 18), *amsi* (ll. 17, 20 and 22) or *amsikā* (l. 21), 'a share,' which seems to be derived from the Sanskrit *amśa*. *Divadha* (l. 17) represents the Ardhamāgadhī *divaḍḍha*, 'one and a half.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Just as here two different alphabets are employed for Sanskrit and Prākṛit, the inscriptions of the Tamil country use the Vatteluttu and the Tamil alphabets for Tamil words and the Grantha alphabet for Sanskrit words.

<sup>2</sup> The only exception would be *amsik-dddhā* (l. 21), if this reading is correct.

<sup>3</sup> *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 104, note 9. Prof. Pischel (*Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, p. 114) derives the particle *nam* or *ṇam* from the Sanskrit *nāman*.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.* text line 3; p. 106, text line 5; p. 106, text line 11; and p. 112, text line 3.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, p. 320.

The eight copper plates are marked with the numerical symbols '1' to '8' on the left of the second line of each plate. On plates ii. to viii. the figure occupies the first side, but the figure '1' stands on the *second* side of the first plate. The reason of this is that the writing on the first side of the first plate does not form part of the inscription itself (which begins on the second side of the first plate), but is a kind of docket which was probably added after the remaining 15 pages had been engraved. In ll. 12 to 15, 20, 22 and 41 occur further instances of numerical symbols, among them '10' (l. 41) and '20' (l. 22). A dash resembling the symbol '1' is used as a mark of punctuation at the end of 12 lines, and after 3 words in the middle of lines.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king (*rājan*, l. 5) or, as he is styled on the seal, the *Mahārāja Jayavarman*, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the *Bṛihatphalāyanas* and was a worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). From his camp (or capital), the town *Kūdūra*, he informs his executive officer at *Kūdūra* that he has granted the village *Pāṇṭūra* in the district of *Kūdūra* (*Kūdūrahāra*, l. 23) to eight *Brāhmaṇas*. The royal order was copied on copper plates by a military officer on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of winter of the 10th year (of the king's reign, l. 41).

Neither Jayavarman nor his *gōtra* are known from other records. The alphabet of his inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava prince *Śivaskandavarman* who issued the *Mayidavōlu* plates. Further, the language and phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the *Nāsik* inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of *Gautamiṣṭha Sātākarnī* (Nos. 4 and 5)<sup>2</sup> and *Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāyī* (No. 3) that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two Andhra kings. The archaic Sanskrit alphabet of the seal of the new plates is corroborative evidence in the same direction.

As suggested by Mr. Ramayya, *Kūdūrahāra* may be a more ancient form of *Gudrahāra*, *Gudravāra*, *Gudrāvāra* or *Gudrāra*.<sup>3</sup> The same district is probably mentioned in the plates of *Vijayanandivarman* (l. 3), where I propose to read from the photo-lithograph *Kudrāhāra* instead of *Kuduhāra*, the reading of the printed texts.<sup>4</sup> *Kūdūra*, which was the head-quarters of this district and the residence of king Jayavarman, and the village *Pāṇṭūra* I am unable to identify.

#### TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

##### *First Plate; Second Side.*

- 1 S . [v] . pato<sup>6</sup> vijaya-khaṁdhāvārā
- 2 nagarā Kūdūrāto
- 3 Mahēśvara-pāda-parigahito

##### *Second Plate; First Side.*

- 4 Bṛihatphalāyana-sagoto
- 5 rājā siri-Jayavarmmo
- 6 ānapayati Kūdūre

<sup>1</sup> A still closer resemblance exists between Jayavarman's plates and the *Kārlē* inscription No. 19, at the beginning of which the king's name is lost; see below, p. 319, notes 1 and 7.

<sup>2</sup> I am quoting the Andhra inscriptions according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's numbering in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI. (*Nāsik*), and *Inscriptions from the Caves-temples of Western India* (*Kārlē*).

<sup>3</sup> See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 47, note 1; above, Vol. IV. p. 34, and Vol. V. p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 176, and Dr. Burnell's *South-Ind. Pal.*, second ed., p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> From the original plates.

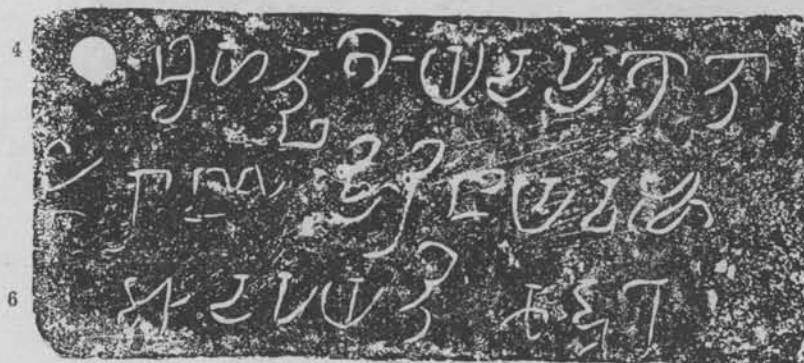
<sup>6</sup> The two first letters are broken away at the top. The lower portion of the letter *v* is preserved on a separate piece of the plate, which is broken off and therefore could not be shown on the accompanying photo-zincograph. Of the two possible restorations, *sava* (*sarva*) and *siva* (*śiva*), the second appears preferable, because documents generally open with a word of auspicious import.

*Kondamudi Plates of Jayavarman.*

i b.



ii a.



ii b.



iii a.



iii b.

ḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ  
ḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ  
● ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ

14

iv a.

● ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ  
ḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ  
ḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ

16

18

iv b.

ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ  
ḡḡ - ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ  
● ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ

20

v a.

● ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ  
ḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ  
ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ

22

24

*Second Plate; Second Side.*

- 7 vâpatam [\*] am̐mhe dāni  
 8 am̐mha-vejayike —  
 9 âyu-vadhanike cha —

*Third Plate; First Side.*

- 10 baṁmhanānam Gotamā-sagota-  
 11 jāyāparasa Savagutajasa  
 12 8 Tānavasa Savigijasa —

*Third Plate; Second Side.*

- 13 asiyo 3 Goginajasa  
 14 asiyo 3 Koḍina-sagotasa  
 15 Bhavam̐najasasiyo be 2

*Fourth Plate; First Side.*

- 16 Bhāradāyasa Rudavem̐nhujasa —  
 17 am̐si divadhā — Kam̐nhāyanasa  
 18 Īsaradatajasa asi diva[dā<sup>1</sup>] —

*Fourth Plate; Second Side.*

- 19 Opam̐m̐navasa Rudaghosajasa  
 20 am̐si 1 Kosika-sagotasa  
 21 Kham̐darudajasa am̐sikā[ddhā] cham<sup>2</sup>

*Fifth Plate; First Side.*

- 22 janānam 8 am̐siyo 20 4  
 23 kātuna<sup>3</sup> Kūdūrahāre gāman̐  
 24 Pām̐tūram — baṁmhadeyam̐ da[d]āma [\*]

*Fifth Plate; Second Side.*

- 25 etam̐si tam̐ gāma —  
 26 Pām̐tūra — baṁmhadeyam̐  
 27 kātuna oyapāpehi [\*]

*Sixth Plate; First Side.*

- 28 etasa chasa gāmasa  
 29 Pām̐tūrasa baṁmhadeyam̐  
 30 kātuna<sup>3</sup> parihāre vitarāma [\*]

*Sixth Plate; Second Side.*

- 31 apāpeam̐ anomasam̐  
 32 alonakhādakam̐ —  
 33 arāṭhasadivinayikam̐ —

<sup>1</sup> Read 'dāḍ.<sup>2</sup> Read ota.<sup>3</sup> Read kātūna.

*Seventh Plate; First Side.*

- 34 savajātapārihārikam cha [!\*]  
 35 etehi nam parihārehi  
 36 pariharāhi [!\*] etam chasim gāma[m]

*Seventh Plate; Second Side.*

- 37 Pāṭūra[m] ba[m]mhadeya[m kâ]tuna<sup>1</sup> etha  
 38 nibamdhāpehi [!\*] aviyena ānataṃ [!\*]  
 39 sayam chhato [!\*] siri-aṭṭha-satā-

*Eighth Plate; First Side.*

- 40 vijayo dato [!\*] patikā —  
 41 samva 10 he pa 1 diva 1  
 42 Mahātagi-varena —

*Eighth Plate; Second Side.*

- 43 mahādāṇḍanāyakena  
 44 Bhāpahānavammena —  
 45 kaṭati —

*First Plate; First Side.<sup>2</sup>*

- 1 Bamhanānam Savagutaja-mahā-  
 2 janānam janānam 8 Kūdūrahāre  
 3 Pāṇṭūrasa bamhadeyasa [!\*]

*Seal.*

Bṛihatphalāyana-sagōtrasya mahārāja-sri-Jayavarmmaṇaḥ [!\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) From the camp of victory, the town Kūdūra,— the fortunate<sup>3</sup> king, the glorious Jayavarman, who is favoured by the feet of Mahāśvara (and) who belongs to the gōtra of the Bṛihatphalāyanas, orders (his) official (vyāpṛā) at Kūdūra (as follows) :—

(L. 7.) “For conferring on ourselves victory (in war) and for increasing (our) length of life, we have now given the village Pāṇṭūra in the district of Kūdūra (Kūdūrahāra) (as) a brahmādēya, assigning 24 shares<sup>4</sup> to 8 people, (viz.) to (the following) Brāhmaṇas :— to Savagutaja (Śarvagutārya), a householder<sup>5</sup> of the Gaṇtama gōtra, 8 (shares); to Savigija of the Tānavya (gōtra) 3 shares; to Goginaja 3 shares; to Bhavannaja of the Kaupḍinya gōtra two—2— shares; to Rudavennhaja (Rudravishṇvārya) of the Bhāradvāja (gōtra) one and a half share; to Īsaradataja (Īśvaradattārya) of the Kārshṇāyana (gōtra) one and a half share; to Rudaghosaja (Rudraghōshārya) of the Aupamanyava (gōtra) 1 share; and to Khandarudaja (Skandarudrārya) of the Kauśika gōtra half a share.

<sup>1</sup> Read *kāṭina*.

<sup>2</sup> This side of the plate is much corroded, and most of the letters are indistinct.

<sup>3</sup> With *sivapato* compare *sukhappatto*, ‘happy,’ which Childers (s. v. *patto*) quotes from the *Dhammapada*.

<sup>4</sup> If the shares assigned to each donee are added up, the result is only 20½. Perhaps the remaining 3½ shares were set aside for communal purposes or for the village temple.

<sup>5</sup> *Jdyāpara* is perhaps synonymous with *grīhastha*.

*Kondamudi Plates of Jayavarman.*

v b.



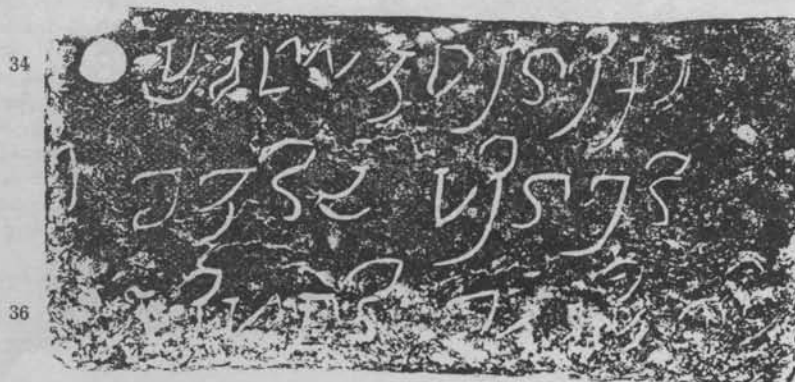
vi a.



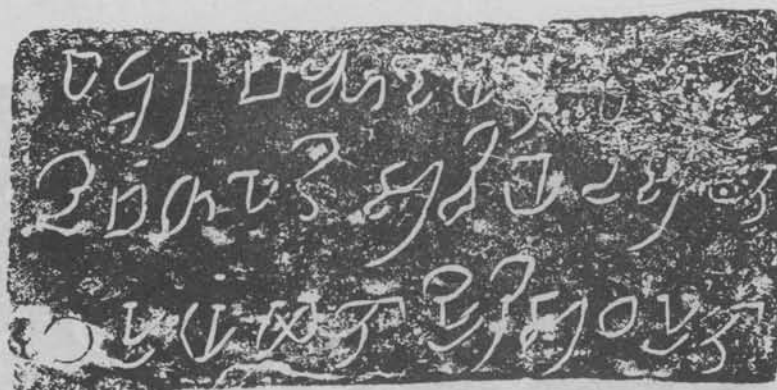
vi b.



vii a.

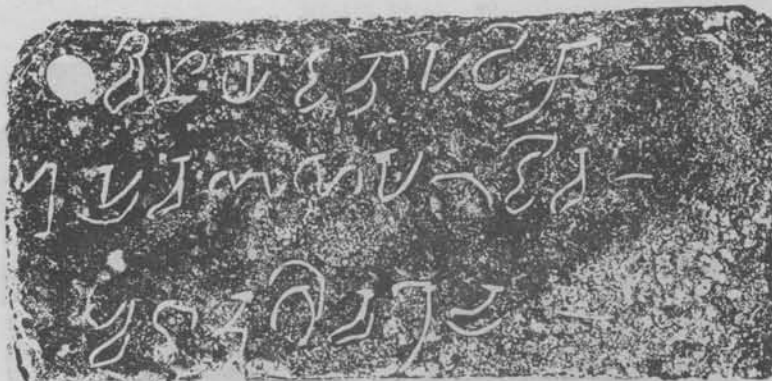


vii b.



38

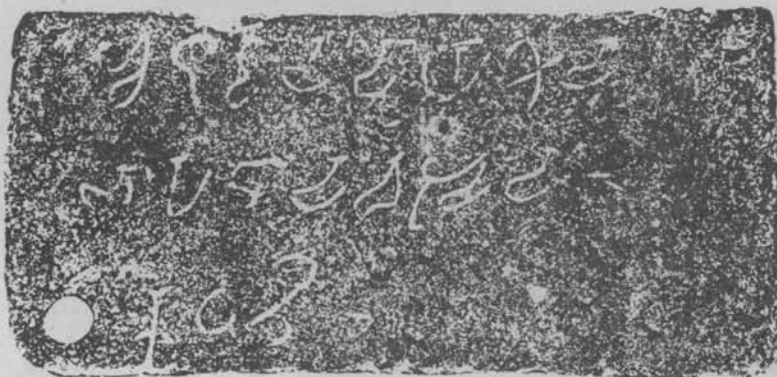
viii a.



40

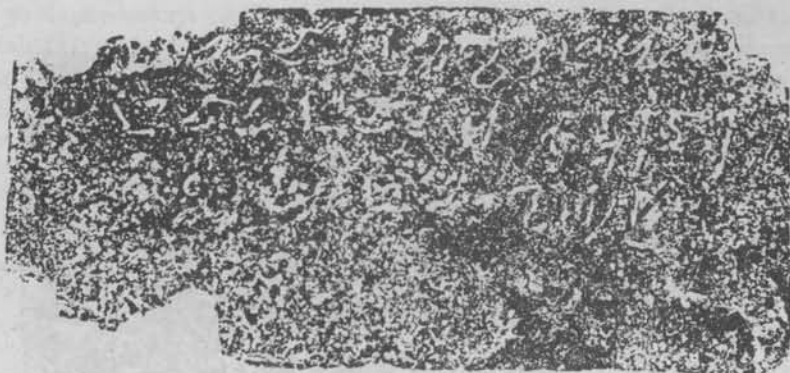
42

viii b.



44

i a.



2

(L. 25.) "Parcel off<sup>1</sup> that village Pā[n]tūra from this (*district*), having made (*it*) a *brahmadēya*.

(L. 28.) "And to this village Pāntūra we grant (*all*) immunities, having made (*it*) a *brahmadēya*.

(L. 31.) "(*Let it be*) free from being entered, free from being meddled with, free from diggings for salt, *arāṭṭhaśāstrinayika*, and endowed with immunities of all kinds.

(L. 35.) "Exempt<sup>2</sup> (*it*) with (*all*) these immunities.

(L. 36.) "And having made this village Pā[n]tūra a *brahmadēya*, cause a charter to be drawn up<sup>3</sup> to this effect."

(L. 38.) The order was issued by word of mouth.<sup>4</sup>

(L. 39.) (*The charter*) was signed<sup>5</sup> by (*the king*) himself. Fortune, wealth, power<sup>6</sup> and victory<sup>7</sup> were given (*by the donees to the king as a reward for the grant*).

(L. 40.) (*This*) set of plates was prepared on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of winter of the 10th year by the *Mahādāṇḍānyaka Bhāpahānavarman*, the best of the *Mahātagi* (*family*?).

(First plate, first side.) (*Order referring*) to the *brahmadēya* Pāntūra in Kūḍūrahāra, (*granted*) to 8 people, to Brāhmaṇas, to the *Mahājanas* (headed by) Savagutaja.<sup>8</sup>

(On the seal.) (*The seal*) of the *Mahārāja*, the glorious Jayavarman, who belongs to the *gōtra* of the *Bṛihatphalāyanas*.

#### No. 32.—TWO CAVE INSCRIPTIONS AT SIYAMANGALAM.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

The village of Siyamangalam near Dēśūr in the Wandiwash (Vandavāśi) tāluka of the North Arcot district contains a Siva temple named Stambhēśvara or (in Tamil) Tāṇ-Āṇḍār,<sup>9</sup> which consists of a rock-cut shrine, two *maṇḍapas* in front of it, and a stone enclosure.<sup>10</sup> The two rock-cut pillars of the gate by which the shrine is entered bear the two subjoined inscriptions. Besides, there are several Chōla inscriptions on the walls of the enclosure and on the rock in the

<sup>1</sup> The second singular imperative is addressed to the official at Kūḍūra. The verb *oyapḍepi* is probably derived from *acayava*, the *v* having been hardened into *p* as in *apḍessa* (l. 31). In the Kārlē inscription No. 19 read also *oyapḍepi* instead of *deya papahi* (*A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 112, text line 3).

<sup>2</sup> See note 1 above. I believe that the second singular imperative is also intended in *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 112, text line 4 (*parihariha*), p. 104, text line 4, and p. 111, text line 14 (*pariharthi*); and the second plural imperative *ibid.* p. 106, text line 11 (*pariharetha*).

<sup>3</sup> The second singular imperative *niḥaṇḍāpēhi*, which is quite clear on the copper plate, has been misread in various ways in *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 105, text line 5, p. 111, text line 14, and p. 112, text line 5. The second plural imperative (*niḥaṇḍāpētha*) is meant *ibid.* p. 106, text line 11.

<sup>4</sup> On *aciyena* see *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV. p. 106, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> In his valuable paper on the Kārlē inscriptions, which will appear in Vol. VII. of this journal, Dr. Senart derives *cāhata* from *kāḥay*, 'to hurt' and hence 'to write.' The king cannot have written the order himself, because the inscription expressly states that he issued it by word of mouth. Hence I propose to translate *cāhata* by 'signed.' The king's signature may have been affixed to the original document, which was deposited in the royal secretariat, and from which the copper-plates were copied. In the latter the royal signature is represented by the seal on which they are strung.

<sup>6</sup> On *saṭṭa* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 332.

<sup>7</sup> Compare the Kārlē inscription No. 19, where Dr. Senart (see note 5 above) reads *vijayathasatṭra* or *satṭkhe*. If the second alternative is accepted, the compound would mean "victory, wealth, power and fame."

<sup>8</sup> This passage is a kind of docket, stating the contents of the whole document.

<sup>9</sup> *I.e.*, 'the lord of pillars.' This name seems to refer to the two pillars in front of the cave.

<sup>10</sup> Compare Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 179, and the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, new edition, Vol. II. p. 446.

north-east corner of the temple, from which we learn that Śīyamaṅgalam belonged to *Tēṇṇārrūr-nāḍu*,<sup>1</sup> a subdivision of *Palagunra-kōṭṭam*,<sup>2</sup> a district of *Jayaṅgonḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍalam*. The temple itself was then called *Tirukkappali*, i.e. 'the sacred stone temple' (Nos. 60 and 69 of 1900), and *Tūṇ-Āṇḍār* (Nos. 61, 62, 63 and 65 of 1900).

#### A.—Inscription of Lalitāṅkura.

This inscription (No. 67 of 1900) is engraved on the right pillar of the gate. It consists of a single Sanskrit verse in the Āryā metre and is written in the same archaic alphabet as the cave inscriptions at Trichinopoly<sup>3</sup> and Mahēndravāḍi.<sup>4</sup> It records that "this (temple) named *Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara*" was caused to be made by king *Lalitāṅkura*. From the cave inscription at Vallam<sup>5</sup> we know that *Lalitāṅkura* was a surname of *Mahēndrapōṭarāja*, who, according to Mr. Venkayya's researches,<sup>6</sup> is probably identical with the Pallava king *Mahēndravarman I.* Two other surnames of the same king were *Satrumalla* and *Guṇabhara*, of which the first occurs at Trichinopoly and Vallam, and the second at Trichinopoly, Vallam and Mahēndravāḍi. Thus the Pallava king *Mahēndravarman I.*, who reigned about the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era, is now known to have excavated four rock-cut shrines, of which that at Mahēndravāḍi was dedicated to Viṣṇu, and the three others to Śiva. The name of the Śīyamaṅgalam cave, *Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara*, means 'the Īśvara (i.e. Śiva temple) of the Pallava (king) *Avanibhājana*.' Hence *Avanibhājana*,<sup>7</sup> i.e. 'the possessor of the earth,' must have been another surname of *Mahēndravarman I.*

#### TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

- 1 Lalitā[m]kurēṇa rājñ-Āva-
- 2 nibhāja[na]-Pallavēśvaran-nāma [I\*]
- 3 kārītam=ētat=svē[dh]ā(chchhā)-karaṇḍa-
- 4 m=iva puṇya-ratnānām [I\*]

#### TRANSLATION.

By king *Lalitāṅkura* was caused to be made this (temple) named *Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara*—a casket, as it were, (worked at) his will (and enclosing) jewels, (viz.) good deeds.<sup>9</sup>

#### B.—Inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman.

This inscription (No. 68 of 1900) is engraved on the left pillar of the gate. Its alphabet is Tamil, with the exception of the Grantha words *svastī śrī* at the beginning and *śrī* in line 10, and resembles that of the Tiruvallam rock inscription of *Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman*; but the letter *ṇ* has throughout its archaic form, while in the Tiruvallam inscription the modern form with fully developed central loop occurs twice.<sup>10</sup> The language is Tamil. As in the Madras Museum plates of *Jatīlavarman*,<sup>11</sup> the rules of *sandhi* are not observed in *Perumbālatūr* (l. 7 f.)

<sup>1</sup> This subdivision was named after *Tēṇṇāttūr*, No. 127 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Wandiwash taluka.

<sup>2</sup> The same district is mentioned in two inscriptions at Tirumalai near Pōṭūr (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 72 and 74), in a Tiruvallam inscription (*ibid.* Vol. III. No. 58), and in the Ālampūṇḍi plate (above, Vol. III. p. 226).

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 83 and 84, and Vol. II. Plate x.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV. No. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 72.

<sup>6</sup> *Madras Christian College Magazine* of November 1893, and above, Vol. III. p. 278.

<sup>7</sup> The synonymous *śrīrūḍa Bhuvanabhājana* occurs in the inscriptions of the Pallava kings *Narasimha* and *Rājasiṃha* at Māmallapuram and Kāñchi; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 3, 7, and 25, 23rd niche.

<sup>8</sup> From inked estampages prepared by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao in 1900 and 1901.

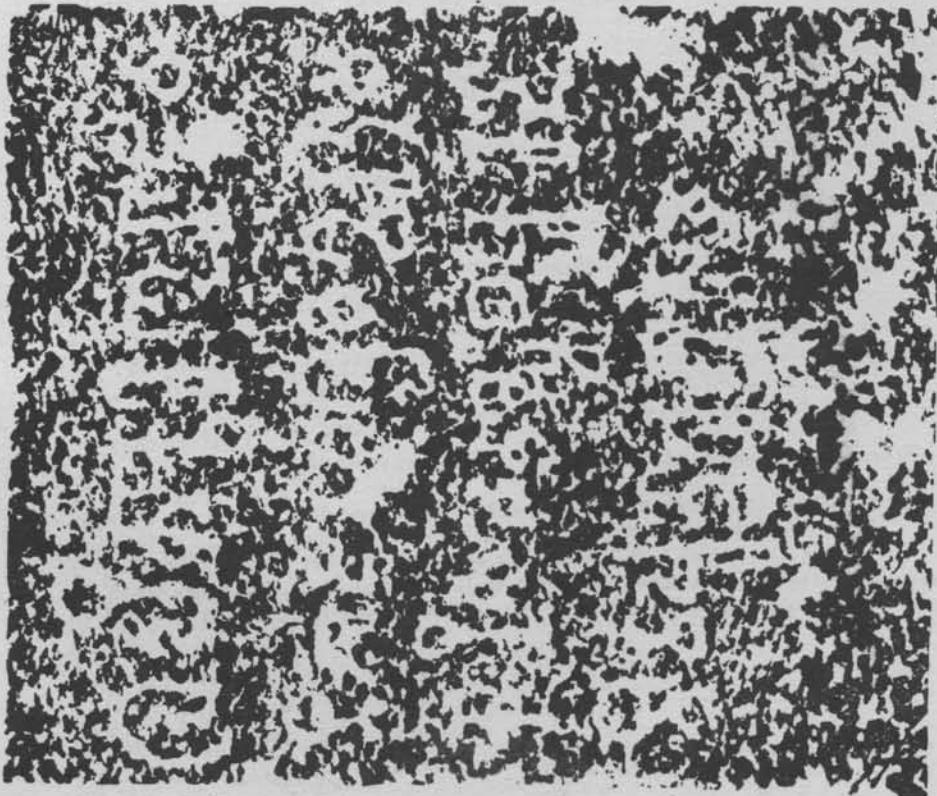
<sup>9</sup> By this simile the king suggests that he built the temple in order to obtain merit in the future life.

<sup>10</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 90 and note 6.

<sup>11</sup> See Mr. Venkayya's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 68 f.

*Siyamangalam Cave Inscriptions.*

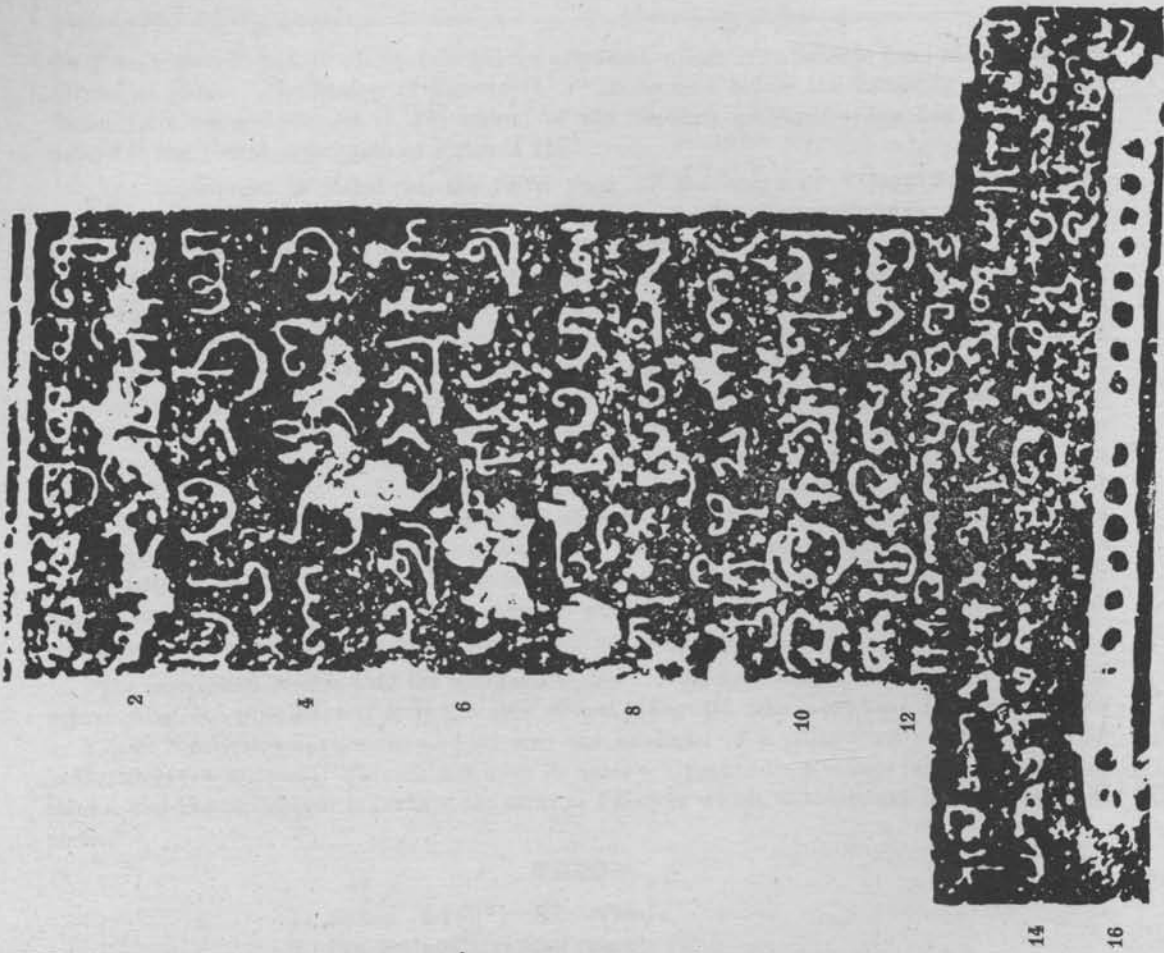
A.



SCALE ONE-THIRD.

E. HULTZSCH.

B.



SCALE ONE-FIFTH.

WIELE & KLEIN, PHOTO-ZINCO.



for *Perumbālaiyūr* and in *aḷiḍmai* (l. 14) for *aḷiyḍmai*, which is an archaic form of the negative gerund *aḷiyāmai*. The final *ṃ* of *kiḷavaṇ* (l. 9) is doubled before the following vowel. The Tamil form *mugamaṇḍagam* (l. 14) instead of the Sanskrit *mukhamanḍapa* has been already noticed in the Ukkal inscription of Kṛishṇa III.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription is dated in the third year of the reign of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, whom I have identified with the father of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nripatūṅgavikramavarman and placed in the ninth century of the Christian era.<sup>2</sup> This is the earliest known inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Five other records of his at Śaduppēri, Viriñchipuram and Tiruvallam are dated between his 9th and 62nd years.<sup>3</sup> Since the publication of the two Āmbūr inscriptions of Vijaya-Nripatūṅgavikramavarman,<sup>4</sup> two inscriptions of his grandfather Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman<sup>5</sup> and four inscriptions of his own reign<sup>6</sup> were copied at Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district. The Śaḍaiyar temple at Tiruchcheṇṇambāṇḍi near Kōvilāḍi (between Tanjore and Trichinopoly) contains three inscriptions of the same king.<sup>7</sup> Two of these mention Mārambāvai, "who was the great queen of Nandippōttaraiyar of the Pallavatila[ka?] family."<sup>8</sup> The same queen is referred to in an inscription at Niyamam in the Tanjore tāluka (No. 16 of 1899), which is unfortunately mutilated, but seems to belong to the reign of the early Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman. One feels tempted to conclude from this that Rājakēsarivarman put an end to the rule of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, and that certain chiefs who claimed connection with the Pallava dynasty were first subordinate to Vijaya-Nripatūṅgavikramavarman and afterwards to his conqueror, the Chōḷa king.

The inscription records that the *maṇḍapa* in front of the cave temple was built by a certain Aḍavi with the permission of a Gaṅga chief named Nērguṭṭi, who must have been subordinate to Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Aḍavi was the headman of a village near Perumbālaiyūr in Ūṟrukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam. This district owes its name to Ūṟrukkāḍu, a village in the Conjeeveram tāluka, and Perumbālaiyūr is perhaps the same as Pālaiyūr which is mentioned in the Kaṭākūḍi plates.<sup>9</sup>

TEXT.<sup>10</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō Viśai-
- 2 [ya-Na]n[d]i[vi]kki[rama]-
- 3 parumaṇku yā-
- 4 nḍu m[ū]ṇṇā-
- 5 vadu [Ū]ṟrukkā-
- 6 t[ṭ]u-k[kōṭṭa[t]tu-
- 7 [Pp]erumbālai-
- 8 ūr-<sup>11</sup>Ttiruppālai-
- 9 yūr kiḷavaṇṇ-Aḍa-
- 10 vi śrī-Gaṅgaraiyar
- 11 Nērguṭṭi Perumaṇṇā-
- 12 rkku viṇṇappaṇ-jeydu

<sup>1</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 12, note 15; *maṇḍagam* occurs twice in the Kūram plates, *ibid.* Vol. I. No. 151, text lines 61 and 74.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 181 f.

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 108, 124 and 125, and Vol. III. Nos. 42 and 43.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV. No. 28.

<sup>5</sup> No. 51 of 1898: 10th year; and No. 61: [2]1st year. An inscription at Kūram (No. 85 of 1900) is dated in the 12th year.

<sup>6</sup> No. 63 of 1898: 16th year; No. 81: 25th year; No. 83: 26th year; and No. 82: date lost. Two inscriptions at Kūram (Nos. 33 and 37 of 1900) are dated in the 17th and [21]st years.

<sup>7</sup> No. 303 of 1901: 18th year; and Nos. 300 and 301: 22nd year.

<sup>8</sup> *Pallavatila-kulattu Nandippōttaraiyar mahādēviyār-āṇa aḍigal Kaṇḍaṇ Mārambāvaiyār.*

See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 346.

<sup>10</sup> From two inked stampages.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'bālaiyār'.

- 13 Aḍavi taṇṇāyār Naṅga[n]i Naṅgaiyārkk-āga-chche-  
 14 yda mugamaṇḍagam [1\*] id-aḷiāmai=kkāttāṇ-a-  
 15 ḍi eṇ muḍi mē-  
 16 la [11\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! In the third year (of the reign) of king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman,—Aḍavi, the headman of Tiruppālaiyūr (near) Perumbālaiyūr in Ūṟṟukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, having made a request to (i.e. having obtained the sanction of) the glorious Gaṅga king Nērguṭṭi Perumāṇ,—(this) Aḍavi made the maṇḍapa in front (of the shrine) for (the merit of) his mother Naṅga[n]i Naṅgai.

(L. 14.) The feet of him who protects this (gift) without destroying (it), (shall be) on my head.<sup>2</sup>

No. 33.—RANGANATHA INSCRIPTION OF GOPPANA;  
 SAKA-SAMVAT 1293.

By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.

In the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*, a modern Tamil work which professes to be based on a Sanskrit poem in 3,000 verses by Tṛitīya-Brahmatantrasvatantṛasvāmin, we are told that, when the Musalmāns<sup>3</sup> had captured Tiruchohirāppallī (Trichinopoly), the authorities of the Rāṅganātha temple on the island of Śrīraṅgam near Trichinopoly secretly removed the image of Aḷagiyamaṇavālaṇ (Viṣṇu) to Tirumalai (Tirupati).<sup>4</sup> Subsequently a certain Gōpaṇarāyar is stated to have brought the image from Tirumalai to Śiṅgapuram near Śeṇji, and thence back to Śrīraṅgam, where he reconsecrated the god and his two wives (Lakshmi and the Earth).<sup>5</sup> On this occasion he was praised by the Vaiṣṇava preceptor Vēdāntadēśika in the following verse:—

आनीयानीलशुद्धितरचितजगद्रक्षणादक्षनाद्रे-

सञ्जगामाराध्य कंचित्समयमथ निहत्विहनुष्कान्<sup>6</sup> तुरष्कान् ।

लक्ष्मीक्षाम्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयन्नङ्गनाथं<sup>7</sup>

सम्यक्कर्तुं सपर्यामकृतं भुवि यशःप्रापसी गोपणार्थः ॥

Mr. Venkayya has drawn my attention to another Tamil work, entitled *Kōyiloḷugu*, i.e. "Benefactions to the Temple," which registers the donations made to the Rāṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam from the earliest times. The authorities on which the statements of this book are based are not mentioned by the author. Among other facts it chronicles the same events which have been quoted from the *Guruparamparā*, with fuller details. It states that in Śaka-Samvat 1149 expired,<sup>8</sup> the Akshaya-samvatsara, the Muḥammadans (*Tulukkar*) occupied the Tondai-maṇḍalam. When news reached the temple authorities at Śrīraṅgam that the enemies had passed Samayapuram (9 miles north-north-east of Trichinopoly), they removed the image of Aḷagiyamaṇavāla-Perumāḷ to Tirunārāyapuram (Mēlukōṭe in the Mysore State)

<sup>1</sup> Read =aḷiyāmai=.

<sup>2</sup> *Turushka-Yavan-ādigaḷ*.

<sup>3</sup> Madras edition of Kaliyuga 4990, the Virōdhi-samvatsara, p. 124 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 127 f.

<sup>5</sup> Read °नाथं.

<sup>6</sup> See *South-Ind. Ascer.* Vol. III. p. 92 and note 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 129.

<sup>8</sup> This must be an error for 1249.

<sup>9</sup> Read °गुष्कांशुः.

by way of Jōtishkuḍi, Tirumālirūñjōlai, Kōlikkūḍu (Calicut) and Puṇṇaṇūr (in the North Arcot district). The image was kept for "many days" at Mēlukōṭe and then removed to Tirumalai (Tirupati in the North Arcot district), where it was worshipped for "a long time." In the meanwhile the Muhammadans had conquered the Pāṇḍya country and, through the influence of Vidyāranya, the kingdom of Āṇaikkondi (Vijayanagara) had been established. Its king, Harihararāyar (II.), reconquered the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. One of his officers, Gōpaṇa-Uḍaiyār, who resided at Śēñji, took the above-mentioned image from Tirumalai to Śiāgapuram (near Śēñji),<sup>1</sup> where it was duly worshipped. He advanced with a strong force and defeated the Muhammadans completely. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1203, the Paridhāvi-saṁvatsara, on the 17th solar day of the month Vaigāsi, he brought back the image of Perumāl to Śrīraṅgam and reconsecrated the god and his two consorts. He engraved on the outer portion of the east side of the temple wall (built by) Dharmavarman<sup>2</sup> the same verse which has been quoted from the *Guruparamparā*, and which reads here as follows:—

अनीयानीलशङ्खदुतिरचितजगद्रक्षणादक्षनादे-

शेखरामाराध्य कंचित्समयमय निहत्वीदनुष्कांस्तुलुष्कान् ।

लक्ष्मीक्षमाभ्यासुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयन्ननाथं

सम्यन्वयं सपर्यां<sup>3</sup> कुरुत निजयमोदर्पणो गोपणार्थः ॥

The *Kōyilōḷugu* further states that Gōpaṇa-Uḍaiyār granted fifty-two villages to the Raṅga-nātha temple, and that both his sovereign, Harihararāyar (II.), and Viruppaṇa-Uḍaiyār, the son of the latter, performed the *tulāpurusha* ceremony at the same temple.<sup>4</sup>

The verse quoted above and another, similar verse make up the subjoined Grantha inscription (No. 55 of 1892), which is engraved on the east wall of the second *prākāra* of the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. The two verses are preceded by a chronogram representing Śaka-Saṁvat 1203<sup>5</sup> (= A.D. 1371-72). This date implies that the *Guruparamparāprabhāva* either must be wrong in making Gōpaṇarāyar a contemporary of Vēdāntadēśika, or— what is more probable—that the alleged birthday of Vēdāntadēśika in Kaliyuga 4370, the Śukla-saṁvatsara<sup>6</sup> (= A.D. 1269-70), is a pure invention. Gōpaṇarāyar is referred to in the inscription as Goppa-nārya (verse 1) and Gōpaṇa (v. 2). His residence (*rājadhānī*, v. 2) was Cheñchi (v. 1), which is the Sanskrit form of the Tamil Śēñji, *vulgo* Gingee, in the South Arcot district.<sup>7</sup> Añjanādri<sup>8</sup> (v. 1) and Vṛishabhagiri (v. 2) are two names of Tirumalai, the hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot district.

Goppaṇa or Goppaṇa is known as an officer of Kampapaṇa-Uḍaiyar or Kampappaṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Bokkaṇa-Uḍaiyar, from an inscription at Achcharapākkam (No. 250 of 1901)

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. III. p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> This mythical king is reported to have built large portions of the Raṅganātha temple round the central shrine, which existed from times immemorial.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'सम्यन्वयः'.

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that this Tamil work refers to the donations of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, which are described in one of the Raṅganātha inscriptions (above, Vol. III. p. 7 ff.). The king is said to have defeated the Chēra, the Chōla and Vallā[is]dēva (i.e. the Hoysala king) and to have assumed the title *Emmaṇḍalan-gōṇḍa-Perumāl*, i.e. "the king who conquered every country." Having covered a large portion of the temple with gold, he assumed the further title *Pon-mēynda-Perumāl*, i.e. "the king who covered (the temple) with gold," and set up an image of Viṣṇu called after this surname. His gifts of gold and jewels are also enumerated. He is said to have spent altogether 18 *lakṣhas* of gold coins (*pon*) in covering the temple with gold, and the same amount in gifts.

<sup>5</sup> The same year is quoted in the *Kōyilōḷugu*; see above.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s. v.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 226.

and from three inscriptions at Kāñchi.<sup>1</sup> Aiyappa, the son of Appa Goppappa, is mentioned in another Kāñchi inscription of Vīra-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Bukka-Uḍaiyar (No. 33 of 1890). The same inscription shows that Goppapa was a Brāhmaṇa, as it states that he belonged to the *Āpastamba-sūtra* and *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*.

It appears from the last paragraph that Goppapa's sovereign, Kampapa-Uḍaiyar, was the son of Bukka-Uḍaiyar or Vīra-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar. I feel no hesitation in identifying this Bukka-Uḍaiyar with king Bukka I. of Vijayanagara, whose name appears as 'Vīra-Bukkappa-Oḍeyaru of Vijayanagara' in a Kanarese inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1293, the Virōdhikṛit year, at Bhatkal,<sup>2</sup> and in identifying Kampapa-Uḍaiyar with Chikka-Kampappa-Oḍeyaru, the son of Bukka I.<sup>3</sup> The word *Chikka* or *Kumāra*, which is prefixed to the name of Kampapa-Uḍaiyar in some of his inscriptions, is evidently employed to distinguish him from his uncle Kampapa.<sup>4</sup> In the pedigree of the first Vijayanagara dynasty Kampapa-Uḍaiyar will henceforth appear as Kampapa II., and his uncle as Kampapa I. Mr. Taylor<sup>5</sup> calls Kampapa-Uḍaiyar the "general or agent" of Bukkarāya of Vijayanagara and states that he repaired the temple at Śrīraṅgam in Śaka-Saṃvat 1293—the date of the subjoined inscription—and that he expelled the Muḥammadan invaders from the Pāṇḍya country. Here we have a grain of truth among heaps of chaff. The existence, in the fourteenth century, of a dynasty of Musalmān chiefs of Madhurā is testified to by chronicles and coins,<sup>6</sup> and Kampapa-Uḍaiyar's conquest of the Pāṇḍya country is corroborated by an inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1287, the Viśvāvasu year, at Tirupukkuli (No. 18 of 1899), which states that, "having taken possession of the kingdom of Rājagambhira, he was pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne."<sup>7</sup> Rājagambhira is known to have been a surname of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarman *alias* Kulasēkhara,<sup>8</sup> whose Tiruppūvaṇam plates are dated, according to Professor Kielhorn, in A.D. 1214.<sup>9</sup> Hence 'the kingdom of Rājagambhira' seems to denote the Pāṇḍya kingdom, and it may be accepted as a historical fact that Kampapa II., the son of Bukka I. of Vijayanagara, expelled the Muḥammadans from Madhurā. Two inscriptions at Tirupullāṇi<sup>10</sup> show him in possession of a portion of the Rāmnād Zamindārī in Śaka-Saṃvat 1293 and 1296. The fact that he claimed to be 'conducting the rule of the earth' proves that he did not remain a subordinate of his father, but considered himself an independent ruler. His prime-minister (*mahāpradhāni*) Sōmappa is mentioned in two of his inscriptions at Mēlpāḍi (No. 89 of 1889) and Achcharapākkam (No. 250 of 1901). To return to Goppapa, he seems to have taken part

<sup>1</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. Nos. 86-88. When publishing these three inscriptions (*op. cit.* p. 117 f.), I represented Kampapa-Uḍaiyar as the son of Vīra-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar on the strength of a Tirumalai inscription (*ibid.* No. 72). But, in the light of other records, I believe now that, in l. 2 f. of this record, *īrt-Vīra-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar Kumāra-īrt-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar kumārār īrt-Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar* has to be translated by "Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vīra-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar (*alias*) Kumāra-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar."

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 36, note 1. An inscription of Vīra-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar at Vēppūr (No. 20 of 1890) is dated in the Rīkshasa year (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1297); another at Tirukkalukkunṅam (*Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892) in the Nala year (i.e. Śaka-Saṃvat 1298); and one at Achcharapākkam (No. 255 of 1901) in Śaka-Saṃvat 1298, the Nala year. See also Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 90, Ml. 23 and 76; Vol. IV., Ch. 113 and 117.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; Vol. IV., Yl. 64 and Gu. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III. p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Catalogue*, Vol. III. p. 438 f.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 42; Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 222 f.; Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin-collectors in Southern India*, p. 32 f. and p. 66 ff.; and the late Mr. Rodgers' valuable paper in *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXIV. Part I. p. 49 ff. No complete reading has yet been published of a silver coin which was figured on Tufnell's Plate vi. No. 2, and of which I possess a specimen; the obverse reads *Aḥsan Shāh 788* (of the Hijra, i.e. A.D. 1337-38), and the reverse *Al-Ḥusainiyya*.

<sup>7</sup> *Irdiyagambhira-irdiyam kai-kkondū sti(ethi)ra-sinhāsanattil pr[i](pri)thivi-irdiyam paṇṇi aruḍa n[i]ra*. This passage and its bearing were first pointed out by Mr. Venkayya in one of the two *Annual Reports* which he drew up during my absence on furlough.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 289.

<sup>9</sup> See page 301 above.

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 301 f.

in his master's wars against the Musalmān chiefs of Madhurā, as the Rāṅganātha inscription alludes to his conquest of the Tulushkas.

The subjoined list of inscriptions of Kampapa II. shows that his influence extended from Mysore in the north to Rāmnād in the south, and that he was in power between A.D. 1361-62 and A.D. 1374. The Tirumalai inscription of his son Ommaṇa-Uḍaiyar<sup>1</sup> is dated on the 11th December A.D. 1374.<sup>2</sup> Of his father Bukka I. we have inscriptions of still later date, viz. A.D. 1375-76 and 1376-77.<sup>3</sup> To Professor Kielhorn my best thanks are due for the calculation of those among the following dates which contain astronomical details.

1.—No. 250 of 1901; at Achcharapākkam. Kampappa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 12[83], Plava.

2.—No. 89 of 1889; at Mēlpādi. Vira-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar. Plava.

3.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 86; at Kāñchi. Kampapa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvāvasu.

4.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 87; at Kāñchi. Vira-Kumāra-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 1286 (for 1287), Viśvādi (i.e. Viśvāvasu).

5.—No. 18 of 1899; at Tiruppukkuḷi. Kampapa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Bukkapa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 1287, Viśvāvasu. *Śakābdam āyirattu-irunārru-eṇbattu-ēḷiṇ mēl tellāninra varttamā[na]-Viśvāvasu-saṃvatsarattu Vriśchika-nā[ya]ru pūrva-pakshattu shashṭi(shṭhi)yum Aṇṭṭamum perra Budaṇ-kiḷamai-nāl.*

"For Śaka-Saṃvat 1287 expired = Viśvāvasu the date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1365, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 38 m., and the *nakshatra* was Dhanishṭhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

6.—No. 163 of 1892; at Bhussanahalli. Vira-Kumāra-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Buk[k]aṇṇ-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 12[8]8, Parābhava.

7.—No. 21 of 1890; at Vēppūr. Vira-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar. *Parāba[va]-varusham Aṇṭika-nāyarru pūrva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Nā[ya]rru-kkiḷamaiyum perra Pāsattu nāl.*

"For Śaka-Saṃvat 1288 expired = Parābhava the date, as recorded above, is quite irregular. All that I can suggest regarding it is, that the [in Tamil] strange word for the solar month, *Aṇṭika*, may be intended for *Āṇi*, and that *Pāsattu* may be a mistake for *Pārattu* (Pūrva-Phalguni). If these two alterations were adopted, the date would regularly correspond to Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 1366, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 19 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the equal space system for 22 h. 20 m., according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

8.—No. 33 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Vī[ra]-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Bukkapa-Uḍaiya[r]. *Śakābdam 12[8]8 l mēl Parābha[va]-saṃvatsarattu Kumbha-nā[ya]rru pūrva-pakshattu śhādasiyum V[i]yāḷa-kk[i]lamaiyum perra Pu[na]rpāsattu [nāl].*

"For Śaka-Saṃvat 1288 expired = Parābhava the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 11th February A.D. 1367, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h. 44 m., and the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h. 47 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 324, note 1. In a local chronicle this name has been misspelt or misread 'Embana Uḍaiyar'; see Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III. p. 82. Another son of Vira-Kampapa-Uḍaiyar, named Nāṇjappa-Uḍaiyar, is mentioned in an inscription at Dodḍa-Kaulande (Mr. Rice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Nj. 108), which is dated *Śaka-varuṣa saṃda 1296 neya Ananda-saṃvatsarada Vaiśāka-eṣu 15 Gu[rudra\*] sōmagrahaṇadalli*. Professor Kielhorn considers this date worthless, because "in Śaka-Saṃvat 1296 expired = Ananda the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśāka ended 23 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 26th April A. D. 1374, and there was no lunar eclipse on that day."

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 3, No. 135.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 324, note 2.

9.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Kampana-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar. Plavaṅga.

10.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Nj. 117; at Tagadūru. Chikka-Kampana-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkapa-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-Saṁvat 1290, Kīlaka.

11.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 88; at Kāñchi. Vira-Kampana-Uḍaiyar. *Kīlaka-varushattu Makara-nāyaru apara-pashakshattu<sup>1</sup> saptamiyu[m\*] Śevvāy-kkīlalaṁaiyum<sup>2</sup> perra [T]ēr-nāḷ.<sup>3</sup>*

"This date is in every respect irregular, and intrinsically wrong, because the moon cannot be in the nakshatra Rōhiṇī on a 7th *tīthi* of the dark half in the month of Makara."—F. K.

12.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Yl. 64; at Māmbaḷḷi. Kampana-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkapa-Oḍeyaru. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4470, Saumya.

13.—No. 293 of 1895; from Kāraṇai near Kaḍambattūr, now in the Madras Museum. Vira-Kampana-[U][ḍaiyar\*], the son of Vi . . . . Uḍaiyar. Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 447[2\*], Śaka-Saṁvat 1293, Virōdhakṛit. [*Kali\**]yuga-varusham nāḷayirattu-n[ā]nūrru-[e]lu[ba]ttu . . . . . ṅiya Śakābdam āyirattu-irunūrru-t[on]nūrr[u]-mān . . . . . sellāṇi[n\*]ra Virōdhakṛit-varushattu [M]ithuna . . . . . apara-pakshattu [pañcha]miyum Budan-kīlamai . . . . . ra Avittattu nāḷ.

"For Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4472 expired = Śaka-Saṁvat 1293 expired = Virōdhakṛit the date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 4th June A.D. 1371, when the 5th *tīthi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 13 m., and the nakshatra was Dhanishṭhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

14.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 301; at Tiruppullāṇi. Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1293.

15.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Gn. 32; at Guṇḍlupēte. Chikka-Kampana-Oḍeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkapa-Oḍeyaru. Śaka-varusha 1294 saṁda varttamāna-Paridhāvi-saṁvatsarada Chaitra-śu 2 Ā.<sup>4</sup>

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1294 expired = Paridhāvin the second *tīthi* of the bright half of the month Chaitra commenced 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 7th March A.D. 1372."—F. K.

16.—Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p. 302; at Tiruppullāṇi. Kampana-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1296.

17.—No. 28 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Kampana-Uḍaiyar, the son of Vira-Bokkapa-Uḍaiyar. *Ānanda-va[r\*]sham Āḍi-māda[m] 10 [tēdi] Āshāḍa-bagula-chatu[r\*]ddasi Śukravāramum perra n[āḷ].*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the Karkāṭa-saṁkrānti took place 9 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th June A.D. 1374, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṭa or Āḍi. The 10th day of the month of Āḍi therefore was Friday, the 7th July A.D. 1374; but the *tīthi* which ended on this day, 6 h. 23 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th (not the 14th) *tīthi* of the dark half of the month of Āshāḍha. In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the number of the *tīthi* has been wrongly quoted in the original date."—F. K.

18.—No. 185 of 1894; at Tirukkaḷukkunṅam. Vira-Kumāra-Kampana-Uḍaiyar. *Ānanda-[va]rushattu Kan[ni]nāyarru a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu [da]śa[miyu]m [V]eḷ[li]-kkīlalaṁaiyum perra [Punar]pū[śa]ttu n[āḷ].*

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the 10th *tīthi* of the dark half in the month of Kanyā commenced 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 1st September A.D. 1374, when

<sup>1</sup> Read *-pakshattu*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 138, No. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-kkīlalaṁaiyum*.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. *Āḍityāradaḷu*.

the *nakshatra* was *Punarvasu*, by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* and according to *Garga* during the whole day.— Since on Saturday, the 2nd September A.D. 1374, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h. 1 m., and the *nakshatra* was *Punarvasu* for 7 h. 13 m. or 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise, I have some doubts whether that day is not really the intended day, and whether therefore Friday has not been wrongly quoted in the original date instead of Saturday. Supposing the weekday to have been given correctly, I should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*.— F. K.

From a Kanarese inscription at *Penakonda* (No. 339 of 1901), which was first noticed by Mr. Sewell,<sup>1</sup> we learn that *Vira-Bukkanna-Odeyaru* (i.e. *Bukka I.*) had another son, named *Vira-Virupanna-Odeyaru* (I.), by his queen *Jommādēvi*. While *Bukka I.* was ruling the territory of the *Hoysala* kings at *Hosapattana*, and while his son *Virupanna I.* was governing the province (*rājya*) of *Penugonda*, which had been entrusted to him by his father,<sup>2</sup>— the minister (*mahāpradhāna*) *Ananta[ra]sa-Odeyaru* built the fort of *Penugonda* in *Śaka-Samvat* 1276, the *Jaya-samvatsara*, on Tuesday, the 1st (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of *Chaitra*,<sup>3</sup> i.e. on the 25th March A.D. 1354.

A copper-plate grant at *Narasipura* mentions a third son of *Bukka I.*, named *Mallinātha* or *Mallappa-Odeyaru*, whose son was *Nārāyaṇadēv-Odeyaru*.<sup>4</sup> It is dated on Sunday, the 29th July A.D. 1397.<sup>5</sup>

The successor of *Bukka I.* on the throne of *Vijayanagara* was his son by *Gauri*,<sup>6</sup> *Harihara II.*, whose name is given as *Vira-Hariyappa-Odeyaru* in Kanarese inscriptions (Nos. 3, 4, 6-8 of the following list). As will appear from Nos. 2, 5 and 9 of the same list, the Tamil form of his name was *Hariyappa* or *Ariyappa-Udaiyar*.

1.—No. 57 of 1900; at *Puttūr* near *Āraṇi*. *Harihara-Udaiya[r\*]*. *Śakābdam* 1299 *ṇ mēl tellāṇinra Piṅgala-varuṣham Ādi-mādam* [30] *tēdi Tiṅgaḷ-kīḷamai*.

"In *Śaka-Samvat* 1299 expired = *Piṅgala* the *Karkata-samkrānti* took place 3 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 28th June A.D. 1377, which was the first day of the month of *Karkata* or *Ādi*. The 30th day of the month of *Ādi* therefore was Monday, the 27th July A.D. 1377."— F. K.

2.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at *Tiruvannāmalai*. *Ariyappa-Udaiyar*. *Śaka* 1299, *Piṅgala*.

3.—No. 126 of 1901; at *Bārūkūr*. *Vira-Hariyappa-Odeyaru*. *Samvaruṣa* 1301 *nye(ne)ya K[ā\*]layukta-samvatsarada* [d] *vitiya-Jy[ē\*]shṭu-su 15 Śukravāradalu* . . . . . *sōmōparāga-puṁṇ[y]akālādulu*.

"*Śaka-Samvat* 1301 current = *Kālayukta*: Friday, the 11th June A.D. 1378 (the full-moon day of the second *Jyāishṭha*); a total eclipse of the moon from 12 h. 1 m. to 15 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India."— F. K.

4.—No. 155 of 1901; at *Bārūkūr*. *Vira-Hariyappa-Odeyaru*, the son of *Vira-Bukkanna-Odeyaru*. *Śaka-varuṣa* 130[1] *nēya ma(va)rttamāna-Kālayuktākshi-samvachhṣa(tsa)rada Mārggasira-su 1 Sōmavārad-aṁdu*.

<sup>1</sup> *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Śrīman-mahāmāṇḍalēvara ari-ndya-vibhāḍa bhāḥegentappava-ndyara-gaṇḍa Himavāda-sarātrāna pūrva-paśchima-samudr-dāhipati* *śrī-Vira-Bukkanna-Odeyaru Hoṣaḷ-dnēya-mahāpālara mēdint-māṇḍalavanu ni[ja]bhūja-māṇḍanav-ḍgi pālisu[ta]* *Hosapattanaḍali sukha-samkalha-vināḍadim raygam geyyutta tanna paṭṭad-arasi Jomṇ[ā]dēviyara kēṇḍra śrī-Vira-Virupanna-Odeyariḡ[e]* *Penugōṇ-ḍeya* *rājyavanu kōṭṭu ḍ paṭṭanaḍali sukhaḍim rājyava pālisutta*.

<sup>3</sup> *Śaka-varuṣa* 1276 *nēya Jaya-samvachhṣa(tsa)rada Chaitra-su* [1] *Māṇ[galavāradalu\*]*. Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that "in *Śaka-Samvat* 1276 expired = *Jaya* the first *tithi* of the bright half of *Chaitra* commenced 7 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th March A. D. 1354."

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Bice's *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., TN. 64.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 331, No. 10.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. III. p. 115 and note 12.

<sup>7</sup> Read *Śaka-varuṣa*.

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1301 *current* = Kālayukta. The date is incorrect; it would correspond to Sunday, the 21st November A.D. 1378, when the first *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīra ended 21 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure for the *tithi* were 2, the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 22nd November A.D. 1378."—F. K.

5.—No. 32 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Vira-Hariyapa-Uḍaiyar. *Śakābdam 1300 ṇ mēl sellāniṇṇa K[ā]layukta-varshattu Mārga[ḷ]-mā[sa]m 2 tēdi pūrvva(rva)-pakshattu sapta-[miyu]=Nāyarru-kkīlamaiyum perṛa Śadayattu nāḷ.*

"This date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1300 expired = Kālayukta the Dhanuḥ-saṃkrānti took place 18 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November A.D. 1378. The second day of the month of Dhanuḥ or Mārgaḷi therefore was Monday, the 29th November A.D. 1378, and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatras* were Uttara-Bhādrapadā and Rēvatī. The 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 5 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 12 m., and according to Garga for 0 h. 39 m., after mean sunrise of the 27th November A.D. 1378, but that day, as stated already, was a Saturday, and was the last day of the month of Vṛiścika (Kārttigai)."—F. K.

6.—No. 59 of 1901; at Kāntāvara. Vira-Hariyappa-O[ḍe]yaru. *Sa(śa)ka-varuṣa(sha) 1301 nevi(ya) Siddhādhā(ddhā)rtthi-saṃvatsarada Vayisākha-su 1 Sōmavā[ra\*]da[lu].*

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1301 expired = Siddhārthin: Monday, the 18th April A.D. 1379; the first *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha ended 6 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

7.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV., Ch. 64; at Homma. Harihara II. or Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru of Vijayāṅgara. *Saka-varuṣa 1302 neya Raudri-saṃvatsarada Śrāvaṇa-su 5 Ādicāradaḷu.*

"The date is irregular. In Śaka-Saṃvat 1302 expired = Raudra the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa ended 14 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 7th July A.D. 1380."—F. K.

8.—No. 174 of 1901; at Bārakūr. Vira-Hariyappa-Oḍeyaru. *Śaka-varuṣa(sha) 1304 Duṃdubhi-saṃ[va]tsarada Vayisākha-su 15 Sō.<sup>2</sup>*

"Śaka-Saṃvat 1304 expired = Duṃdubhi: Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1382; the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha ended 9 h. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

9.—No. 31 of 1890; at Kāñchi. Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. *Śakābdam 1307 mēl te[ḷ]\*lān[ḷ]ṇa Krōdhana-varsham Āni-mādam [12 tēdi] amāvāsaiyum Guru[v]āram Mṛigaśīrṣhattu<sup>3</sup> nāḷ.*

"In Śaka-Saṃvat 1307 expired = Krōdhana the Mithuna-saṃkrānti took place 14 h. 51 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th May A.D. 1385. The 12th day of the month of Mithuna or Āṇi therefore was Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1385; and on this day the new-moon *tithi* (of the month Jyāishṭha) ended 9 h. 55 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

Harihara II. had three sons: Virūpāksha I., Bukka II. and Dēvarāya I. The first of them is known from the Ālampūṇḍi plate (No. 2 below) and from the *Nārāyaṇīvilāsa*<sup>4</sup> and has to be identified with Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar (II.), the son of Hariyappa- or Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar (Nos. 1 and 3-5 below).<sup>5</sup>

1.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvappāmalai. Vira-Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṃvat 1301.

2.—*Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 225; Ālampūṇḍi plate. Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. Śaka-Saṃvat 1305, Raktākshin.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Vaiśākha*.

<sup>2</sup> *I. e. Sōmavāradalu.*

<sup>3</sup> Read *śīrṣhattu*.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. V. Add. and Corr. p. v.

<sup>5</sup> The *Kōyilōḷu* also mentions "Viruppaṇṇa-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariharāyār;" see page 323 above.

3.—Mr. Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892; at Tiruvannāmalai. Vīra-Viruppanna-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1310, Vibhava.

4.—No. 114 of 1897; at Kōliyaṇḍr. Vi[ra]ppanna-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śaka-Saṁvat 1 . . . , Vi[bha]va.

5.—No. 112 of 1900; at Śengama. Viruppanna-Uḍaiyar, the son of Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar. Śakābdam 131[8] n mēṛ-che[llā\*]niṇṇa [Dh]ātu-saṁvatsarattu Mēsha-nāgaru pūruva-pakshattu paṇḍhamiyum Tiruvādiraiyum perṛa Guruvāra-nāl.

"For Śaka-Saṁvat 1318 expired = Dhātu (Dhātṛi) the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 13th April A.D. 1396, which was the 19th day of the month of Mēsha and when the 5th tithi of the bright half ended 7 h. 35 m., and the nakshatra was Ārdra, by the equal space system for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

To the time of Bukka II., the second son of Harihara II., belong the following six inscriptions.

1.—No. 41 of 1890; at Tirupparattikkunṇu. Bukkarāja, the son of Arihararāja. Dundubhi-varsham Kāt[tig]ai-[m]āḍatt[i]l pūruva-pakshattu-Ti[i]ṇḡaṭ-kiḷamaiyum paurṇaiyum perṛa Tā[kā]tt[i]ṇḡai-nāl.

"This date is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1304 expired = Dundubhi it would correspond to Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1382, with the nakshatra Rōhiṇi. It would be incorrect also for the lunar month Kārttika of the same year, and for the Śaka years 1303 and 1305 expired."—F. K.

2.—No. 11 of 1900; at Kaṁbayanallūr. Immaḍi-Bukkarāja (i.e. 'Bukka the second'), the son of Hararāja (i.e. Harihara II.) and grandson of Bukkanna-Uḍaiyar (i.e. Bukka I.). Kaṣaya-varushattu Paṇḡuṇ[i]-mādam mudal t[i]yadi pūruva-pakshattu Uttirattāḍ[i]yum perṛa nāl.

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1308 expired = Kaṣaya the first day of the month of Paṇḡuṇi (or Mīna) would correspond to either the 24th or the 25th February A.D. 1387, but on the former of these two days (which both fell in the bright half) the nakshatras were Kṛittikā and Rōhiṇi (Nos. 3 and 4) and on the latter Rōhiṇi and Mrigaśīraha (Nos. 4 and 5), not Uttara-Bhādrapadā (No. 26)."—F. K.

3.—No. 12 of 1893; at Kāñchi. Vīra-Pratāpa-Bukkarāja-mah[ā]rāj[ya]. Śakābdam 1328 n mēl sellā[n]iṇṇa Vēya-saṁvatsarattu Mēsha-nāgaru pūruva-pakshattu satṭa[m]iyum Sukkīravādrānum perṛa Tiruvādirai-nāl.

"This date for Śaka-Saṁvat 1328 expired = Vyaya clearly corresponds to Friday, the 26th March A.D. 1406, which was the day of the Mēsha-saṁkrānti (that took place 17 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise<sup>1</sup>), and on which the 7th tithi of the bright half ended 16 h. 30 m., and the nakshatra was Ārdra, by the equal space system for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise."—F. K.

4.—*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III., Md. 28; at Vaidyanāthapura. Bukkarāja, the son of Harihara mahārāja. Śaka-varusha 132[8] neya Bya(vya)ya-saṁvatsarada Jēshṭha-tu 5 Gu.<sup>2</sup>

"This date is irregular. For Śaka-Saṁvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1406, when the 5th tithi of the bright half of Jyāishṭha ended 13 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise."—F. K.

5.—*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 55; at Vēppambattu. Vīra-Pratāpa-Bukkamahārāja. Śakābdam 132[8] n mēl sellāniṇṇa Pārttīva-saṁvatsarattukku-chchellum Vīya-saṁvatsarat Jēshṭha-bahula-amāvāsyaikum Viyāḷa-kkiḷamaiyum perṛa nāl.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the date was the last day of the month of Mīna of the solar Śaka year 1327 expired.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. *Guruvāradāsa*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 203, note 50.

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṃvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Wednesday, the 16th June A.D. 1406, when the new-moon *tithi* of Jyāishṭha ended 6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise." —F. K.

6.—No. 41 of 1901; at Mādabidure. Vira-Bukkarāya, the son of Harihararāya. Śaka-varsha 13[2]9 *neya Vyaya-saṃvatsarada Bhādrapada-sudhāha(dāha) 10 Budhavāradoḷu.*

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Saṃvat 1329 *current* = Vyaya it would correspond to Tuesday, the 24th August A.D. 1406, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Bhādrapada ended 13 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure of the *tithi* were 11, the date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 25th August A.D. 1406." —F. K.

From manuscripts and coins<sup>1</sup> we know a son of Bukka II. by Tipp[ā]mbā, named Vira-Bhūpati, to whom we have to assign two inscriptions of Vira-Bhūpati-Uḍaiyar, which are noticed by Mr. Venkayya, *viz.* one of Śaka-Saṃvat 1331 at Śrīraṅgam,<sup>2</sup> and one of Śaka-Saṃvat 1336, the Manmatha year, at Tirupanduruttī.<sup>3</sup>

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीः । बन्धुप्रिये शकाब्दे । आनीयानीलशृंगद्युतिरचितजगद्र[ञ्ज]ना-  
दक्षनाद्रेषे[ञ्ज]माराध्य कश्चित् समयमथ निहत्वीक्षुष्कास्तुलुष्कान् [1]  
लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनगरे स्था[प]यन्
- 2 रंगनाथं सम्यग्व्या<sup>5</sup> स[प]र्याम् पुनरकृत [य]शोदर्पणो गोपणार्थः ॥ [१\*]  
विश्वेशं रंगराजं वृषभगिरितटात्<sup>6</sup> गो[प]णः (1) चो[णि]देवी नीत्वा स्वां  
राजधानीमिजयलनिहतोत्सिक्ततौलुष्कसैन्यः [1] कृत्वा
- 3 [श्री]रंग[भू]मिम्<sup>7</sup> [कृत]युग[संहितान्त]न्तु ल[क्ष्मी]महीभ्यां संस्थाप्यास्यां सरो-  
जोत्भव<sup>8</sup> इव कुरुते साधु च[र्य]ं सपर्याम् ॥ [२\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Śaka year (expressed by the chronogram) bandhupriya (*i.e.* Śaka-Saṃvat 1293).

(Verse 1.) Having brought (*the god*) from the Añjanādrī (*mountain*), the splendour of whose darkish peaks gives delight to the world, having worshipped (*him*) at Cheñchi for some time, then having slain the Tulushkas whose bows were raised,—Goppaṇārya, the mirror of fame, placing Raṅganātha together with both Lakshmi and the Earth in his own town,<sup>9</sup> again duly performed excellent worship.

(V. 2.) Having carried Raṅgarāja, the lord of the world, from the slope of the Vṛishabhagiri (*mountain*) to his capital,<sup>10</sup> having slain by his army the proud Taulushka soldiers, having made the site of Śrīraṅga united with the golden age (*Kṛitayuga*), and having placed there this (*god*) together with Lakshmi and the Earth,—the Brāhmaṇa<sup>11</sup> Gōpaṇa duly performs, like the lotus-born (Brahmā), the worship which has to be practised.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 818, No. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *The same* of August 1890.

<sup>3</sup> Read °र्य्यां.

<sup>4</sup> Read °जोत्भव.

<sup>5</sup> *Kṛitayuga*. Compare p. 324 above.

<sup>6</sup> *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892.

<sup>7</sup> From an inked estampage prepared in 1892.

<sup>8</sup> Read °तटादी°.

<sup>9</sup> *I.e.* in Śrīraṅgam.

<sup>10</sup> Read °भूमिं.

<sup>11</sup> *I.e.* to Cheñchi; see verse 1.

## No. 34.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIDUGADALAGIYA-PERUMAL.

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

## A.—INSCRIPTION AT TIRUMALAI NEAR POLUR.

The first volume of my *South-Indian Inscriptions* contains some records, the full bearing of which could not be made out at the time of their publication through want of experience and in the absence of copies of cognate inscriptions. Several of them have been already republished in this journal.<sup>1</sup> I now re-edit another, which was imperfectly read and rendered before,<sup>2</sup> from a fresh inked estampage.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the outer wall of the doorway which leads to the painted cave at Tirumalai near Pôlûr in the North Arcot district. It is somewhat worn and not very easy to read. The alphabet is Tamil and Grantha. The inscription consists of three portions:—a sentence in Tamil prose, a Sanskrit verse in the Śārdûla metre, and a Tamil verse. Each of these three passages records in different words the same fact, viz. the restoration of the images of a Yaksha and a Yakshî, which were set up on the Tirumalai hill. In this connection the names of three kings are mentioned:—(1) Elîni (ll. 1 and 7) or Yavanikâ<sup>3</sup> (l. 4); (2) Râjarâja (l. 6) or Vagaṇ<sup>4</sup> (l. 9); and (3) Viḍugādalagiya-Perumâl (l. 10) or Vyāmukta-śravaṇôjjvala<sup>5</sup> (l. 6). Elîni is stated to have belonged to the family of the kings of Chêra (l. 1) or Kêraḷa (l. 3), i.e. Malabar, or of Vañji (l. 7), the traditional capital of the Chêra kingdom, which is perhaps identical with the modern village of Chêramân-Perumâl-Kôyilûr near Tiruvañjikulam in the Cochin State.<sup>6</sup> Both Elîni and Râjarâja receive the title Adigaimân (l. 1), Adhikanripa (l. 5 f.) or Adigaṇ<sup>7</sup> (l. 9), i.e. 'the lord of Adigai,' the modern Tiruvadi near Cuddalore.<sup>8</sup> The third king is called the lord of Takatâ (l. 6) or Tagadai (l. 10). As noted by Mr. Venkayya, this place is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Puranâṇûru* as Tagadûr, and Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified it with Dharmapuri, the head-quarters of a taluka in the Salem district.<sup>9</sup> This statement is corroborated by two Chôla inscriptions (Nos. 307 and 308 of 1901) in the Mallikârkjuna temple at Dharmapuri, according to which Tagadûr, the modern Dharmapuri, was the chief town of Tagadûr-nâḍu, a subdivision of the Gaṅga country (*Gaṅga-nâḍu*), a district of Nigarili-Śôla-maṇḍalam.<sup>10</sup> Viḍugādalagiya-Perumâl was the son of Vagaṇ (l. 9) or Râjarâja (l. 6), who seems to have been a remote descendant (ll. 5 and 9) of Elîni. Both he and his ancestor Elîni must have been adherents of the Jaina religion, because

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV. Nos. 9, 22 and 52, and Vol. V. No. 13, A.

<sup>2</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Yavanikâ* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *elîni*, 'a curtain.'

<sup>4</sup> According to the dictionaries, the Tamil Vagaṇ and the Sanskrit Baka are names of Kubêra, who is also called Râjarâja.

<sup>5</sup> The Tamil words *viḍu*, *kâḍu* and *aḷagiya* correspond to the Sanskrit *mûḥ*, *śravaṇa* and *ôjjvala*. The word looks like a nickname. Perhaps the king had protruding ears.

<sup>6</sup> See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 31, and my *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 4.

<sup>7</sup> For references to Adigaṇ, Adigaimân and Elîni in Tamil literature see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 66 and 143. Adiyama, who was a feudatory of the Chôla king and was defeated by Gaṅgarâja, a general of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II. Index), may have been one of the chiefs of Adigai.

<sup>8</sup> The *Kalingattu-Parani* (x. verse 68 f.) mentions 'the great city of Adigai,' which Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified with Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore taluka of the South Arcot district; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 339 f. In the time of the Vijayanagara kingdom this town was the head-quarters of the province (*râjya*) of Tiruvadi; *ibid.* Vol. XIII. p. 153. This province is distinct from Tiruvadi-râjya (with the lingual *ḍ*), which was situated in the Tinnevely district; above, Vol. III. p. 240, and Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> See the two pages of the *Ind. Ant.* quoted in note 7 above.

<sup>10</sup> There is another village named Tagadûru in the Nanjanagûdu taluka of the Mysore district, which was included in Hiriya-nâḍu; Mr. Rice's *Ep. Cars.* Vol. III., Nj. 117 and 118.

they made grants at Tirumalai, which is referred to in the subjoined inscription as 'the holy mountain of Enguṇaviṇai' (l. 8) and 'the holy mountain of the Arhat in the Tuṇḍira-maṇḍala'<sup>1</sup> (l. 4 f.).

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Śēra-vaṇṣattu<sup>3</sup> Adigaimā[ṇ] Eḷiṇi śeyda dha[r]mma-  
 2 Yaksha[r]aiyum Yakshiyārayum eḷund-a[ru\*]ḷuvittu eṇimaṇiyum i-  
 3 tṭu=Kkaḍappēri-kkā[ḷu]ṇ-gaṇḍu kuḍutt[ā]ṇ || 'Śrīmat-Kēraḷa-bhūbhṛi-  
 4 tā Yavanikā-nāmnā su-dha[r]mma-ātmanā Tuṇḍir-āhvaya-maṇḍal-Ā[r]ha-su-<sup>4</sup>  
 5 girau Yakshēśvaraṇ kalpitaṇ [||\*] paśchāt-tat-kula-bhūṣhaṇ-Ādhika-  
 6 nripa-śrī-Rājarāja-ātmaja-Vyāmuktaśravaṇḍ[ī\*]jvalē[na] Takatā-nā[thēna] jirṇ-ō-  
 7 [d]dhritau || Vañji[ī]yar<sup>5</sup> kula-pa[ti]y=[E]ḷiṇ[ī] vaguttav=Iyakkar=Iyakk[ī]yarō-  
 8 d-e[ḷ]jiyav-aḷivu<sup>6</sup> tiruttiiy-av-Enguṇaviṇai-tiru-malai vai[t]ṭāṇ-ṇu-  
 9 ṇji taṇ [va]ḷi [va]rumavaṇ vaḷi-mudali kaḷi Adigaṇ Vagaṇ nūl v[ī]ḷjaiyar  
 10 [ta]ḷai puṇai Tagaḍaiyar kāvalaṇ Viḍuḡaḍaḷagiya-[P]erumāḷēy [||\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity! He<sup>6</sup> set up (again) (the images of) a Yaksha and a Yakshī,—meritorious gifts (formerly) made by Eḷiṇi, an Adigaimāṇ of the Chēra family,—presented a gong, and granted a chaunel (which he) had constructed to (or from ?) the Kkaḍappēri (tank).<sup>9</sup>

(L. 3.) (The images of) two lords of the Yakshas, which had been set up by the glorious (and) very pious-minded Kēraḷa king named Yavanikā on the holy mountain of the Arhat in the province (maṇḍala) called Tuṇḍira, were later on saved from ruin by Vyāmuktaśravaṇḍijvala, the lord of Takatā (and) the son of the glorious Rājarāja—an Adhika prince (who was) the ornament of his (Yavanikā's) race.

(L. 7.) The ruins which remained (of the images) of a Yaksha together with a Yakshī, that had been set up by Eḷiṇi, the chief of the family (ruling over) the Vañjiyar,<sup>10</sup> were repaired and placed (on) this holy mountain of the god who possesses the eight qualities<sup>11</sup> by Viḍuḡaḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ, the protector of the Tagaḍaiyar,<sup>12</sup> the ornament of the heads of those learned in the sciences, (and the son of)<sup>13</sup> the brave Adigaṇ Vagaṇ—the foremost on the (right) path, who came from his (Eḷiṇi's) family after (the latter) had died.

## B.—INSCRIPTION AT KAMBAYANALLUR.

This inscription (No. 8 of 1900) is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Dēśināthēśvara temple at Kambayanallūr in the Ūttaṇḡarai tāḷuka of the Salem district. The alphabet and language are Tamil.

The inscription consists of a Tamil verse, which opens with the date—the 22nd year (in words) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva. A short prose passage which is prefixed to the verse gives the same date in figures. This is another record of Viḍuḡaḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ, the

<sup>1</sup> This is a Sanskritised form of Tuṇḍai-maṇḍalam.

<sup>2</sup> From an inked estampage.

<sup>3</sup> Read -vaṇṣattu.

<sup>4</sup> South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. I. No. 76 contains another copy of the same verse.

<sup>5</sup> For the sake of the metre Arha is used instead of Arhat.

<sup>6</sup> In this verse Vañjiyar rhymes with d-eṇjiya, -ṇuṇji and viñjaiyar.

<sup>7</sup> Read tiruttiiy=iev.

<sup>8</sup> The subject is Viḍuḡaḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ (l. 10).

<sup>9</sup> The same tank is mentioned in another Tirumalai inscription; South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. I. No. 77.

<sup>10</sup> I. e. 'the citizens of Vañji.'

<sup>11</sup> See South-Ind. Inscr. Vol. I. p. 107, note 1.

<sup>12</sup> I. e. 'the citizens of Tagaḍai.'

<sup>13</sup> The words in brackets can be supplied with certainty on the strength of the Sanskrit portion (l. 8) and in accordance with the Tamil habit of omitting the word 'son' between the names of the father and the son.

king of Tagadai and (son of) Rājarāja-Adigaṇ. He is said to have ruled over the three rivers Pāli, Pennai and Ponṇi. The inscription records that he granted a place named Śiruk-kōṭṭai on the bank of the Pennai river to Nāgai-Nāyaka of Kuḷaṇ, and that he built a temple.

The Pāli must be identical with the Pālāṇ river; the Pennai is the Southern Pennāṇ; and the Ponṇi is the Kāvēri. It may be assumed that the Pālāṇ formed the northern boundary of the king's territories and the Kāvēri the western one, while the Southern Pennāṇ passes not far north-east from his capital Tagadūr, the modern Dharmapuri.<sup>1</sup> Kuḷaṇ, where the donee came from, is another form of Kuḷam or Kuḷanūr, the modern Ellore.<sup>2</sup> He may have been related to the Nāyakas of Ellore, who are mentioned in inscriptions of the Telugu country.<sup>3</sup> His name, Nāgai-Nāyaka, is perhaps connected with Nāgaiyappalli, an ancient name of Kambayanallūr, which occurs in two inscriptions of the Hoysala king Vira-Viśvanāthadēva (Nos. 9 and 10 of 1900).

The donor is mentioned in two inscriptions at Śēṅgama in the Tiruvannāmalai tāluḱa of the South Arcot district,— in the first of them (No. 115 of 1900), which is dated in the 20th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin śri-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, as “the born Perumāl, alias the son of Rājarāja-Adigaṇ,”<sup>4</sup> and in the second (No. 107 of 1900), the beginning of which is lost, but which quotes the twenty-first (year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva?), as “Rājarājadēva<sup>5</sup> Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl, alias the son of Rājarāja-Adigaṇ.”<sup>6</sup> In both inscriptions he is stated to have been a contemporary of Śēṅgēni Ammaiappan Attimallaṇ,<sup>7</sup> alias Vikrama-Chōḷa-Śambuvarāyaṇ, a chief who seems to have been a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.<sup>8</sup> Besides, No. 107 of 1900 mentions as his contemporary a certain Śeyyagangar, who is probably identical with Śiyagaṅgaṇ, a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, the king during whose reign the subjoined inscription of Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl is dated must be Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III., who ascended the throne in A.D. 1178,<sup>10</sup> and the date of the inscription, the 22nd year, corresponds to A.D. 1199-1200.

#### TEXT.<sup>11</sup>

- 1 Svasti śri [i] T[i]ribuva[na]chchakkaravattiga[1] śri-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 22 āvadu ௨. Urai<sup>12</sup> maru[vu]ḷ-Gulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṅk-uraitta yāṇḍ-irubadiṇ mēl-iraṇḍiṇ-Pennai-kkarai maruvu[ū]-Jirukkōṭṭai Ku[ḷa]ṇ Nā[gai]-Nāyagaṅk-aḷittu-kkaṅ-yali taṅ pēr-i-
- 2 tṭa kār-aṇaiya-kaiyā[ṇ] tirai-maruvun-daḍaṅ-gamala-Ttagadai maṇṇaṅ śelum Pāli [P]ennai Ponṇi-ttiru-nadi mūṅṅ-uḍaiya virai-maruvun-dār-mārvaṅ Rāja-r[ā]ja[v-A]digaṇ vilāṅgā-moḷi Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāḷēy 11<sup>13</sup> ௨.

#### TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēva.

<sup>1</sup> See page 331 above.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> This portion of the title has to be taken as the name of a Chōḷa king to whom Viḍugādalagiya-Perumāl or his ancestors had been tributary. Compare the similar name “Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa-Takadāhirāja, alias Māra-sinhadēva,” in an inscription at Rāyakōṭa in the Krishnagiri tāluḱa of the Salem district (No. 3 of 1900).

<sup>4</sup> The original reads *Irdja[r]dja-Adigaṇ*, which I correct to *Irdjardja-Adiga-magaṇ* in accordance with No. 115 of 1900; see note 4 above.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *Attimallaṇ* (i.e. Hastimalla) two other inscriptions (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 132, and Vol. III. No. 61) have the title *Kaṇṇuḍaipperumāṇ*.

<sup>6</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 121.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* page 122.

<sup>8</sup> See Professor Kielhorn's Table on p. 24 above.

<sup>9</sup> From an inked estampage.

<sup>10</sup> In this Tamil verse *urai maruvu* rhymes with *karai maruvu*, *tirai-maruvu* and *virai-maruvu*.

<sup>11</sup> In the original this sign of punctuation is represented by a *visarga*.

In the year called two after twenty of the eminent Kulottunga-Śōladēva,—Viṭṭagādajagiya-Perumāḷ, who never breaks his word, (*who is the son of*)<sup>1</sup> Rājarāja-Adigaṇ, whose chest wears a fragrant garland, the lord of three sacred rivers, (*viz.*) the Pāli (*whose banks are*) fertile, the Pennai (*and*) the Ponṇi, the king of Tagaḍai where large lotus-flowers are surrounded by the ripples (*of tanks*), he whose hand resembles a cloud (*in showering gifts*), granted (*the village of*) Śirukkōṭṭai on the bank of the Pennai (*river*) to Nā[gai]-Nāyaka of Ku[la]ṇ and gave his own name (*to*) a stone temple.

No. 35.—TEKI PLATES OF RAJARAJA-CHODAGANGA;

DATED IN THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR (OF KULOTTUNGA I.).

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

These copper plates were sent to me through the Government of Madras by the Collector of Gōdāvari, who in his letter of 30th April 1901 states that they were "found about two months ago by one Kodī Dosigadu of Teki<sup>2</sup> in the Rāmachandrapuram tāluka, while working in his field."

The plates are five in number and measure about 11½" in breadth and about 6" in height. The first and last plates bear writing only on the inner side, and the three middle ones on both sides. The edges of the inscribed sides are raised into rims for the protection of the writing, which is in a state of very good preservation. On the left of each inscribed side is bored a circular hole, through which passes a copper ring measuring about 6" in diameter and about ⅝" in thickness. The ring had not yet been cut when I received the plates. Its ends are secured in the base of a four-petalled flower, which is surmounted by a circular seal measuring 4" in diameter. This seal bears the following emblems in high relief on a countersunk surface:—across the centre the legend *śrī-Tribhuvānāśhka*; at the top a boar, standing, facing the proper left, flanked by two *chauris*, and surmounted by a crescent, an elephant-goad and the sun; and at the bottom a conch, a drum, a four-petalled flower, a flower-bud and a throne.

The alphabet is Telugu and the language Sanskrit verse and prose. The Telugu letters *r* and *ḷ* occur in a number of Telugu names which are quoted in l. 90 f. Of graphical peculiarities I would note that in *yū* (ll. 54 and 90) and *mū* (l. 95) the vowel *ū* is represented by the marks for *u* and *ā*.

The inscription opens with the same genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukya family as the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates of Vira-Chōḍa,<sup>3</sup> but begins to differ in the description of the reign of Kulottunga I. It does not mention his queen Madhurāntakī, but states that he had several queens (v. 11), who bore him several sons<sup>4</sup> (v. 12). On one of these, Mummaḍi-Chōḍa,—whose name is given as Rājarāja in the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates,—he conferred the governorship of Vēṅgi after the death of his own paternal uncle Vijayāditya (VII.) (vv. 13-16). One year later (v. 17) he bestowed the same appointment on Mummaḍi-Chōḍa's younger brother, Vira-Chōḍa (v. 18), who held it for six years (v. 19), when he was recalled (v. 20). Then the eldest son, Chōḍagaṅga, surnamed Rājarāja (vv. 21-26), ascended the throne of Vēṅgi (v. 33) in Śaka-Saṁvat 1006 (in numerical words), on Thursday, the full-moon *tithi* of Jyāishṭha, in the *nakshatra* Jyēshṭhā and in the *lagna* Simha (v. 34). This date

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are supplied on the strength of the Sanskrit portion of the Tirumalai inscription (A. above).

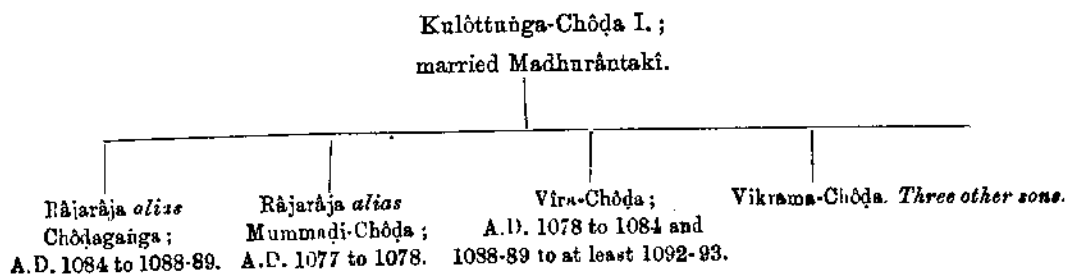
<sup>2</sup> No. 122 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Rāmachandrapuram tāluka of the Gōdāvari district.

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39, and above, Vol. V. No. 10, respectively.

<sup>4</sup> According to v. 13 of the Chellūr plates and v. 12 of the Piṭhāpuram plates Kulottunga I. had seven sons by Madhurāntakī.

probably corresponds to the 22nd May A.D. 1084. At the end of the inscription (l. 108) another date is given, *viz.* the seventeenth year of the reign.

The above statements involve a few important changes in the pedigree and the chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas. As regards the former, the order of the sons of Kulōttuṅga I. in my Table of this dynasty<sup>1</sup> has to be altered; for the Teki plates inform us that the eldest son was not, as I thought, Vikrama-Chōḍa, Kulōttuṅga's successor on the Chōḍa throne, but Chōḍagaṅga. As the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates (v. 19) state that Vira-Chōḍa had only two elder brothers, it is now clear that these were Chōḍagaṅga and Mummadi-Chōḍa, and that Vikrama-Chōḍa was a younger brother of Vira-Chōḍa. Secondly, the dates at the end of the Chellūr and Piṭhāpuram plates, *viz.* the twenty-first and twenty-third years of the reign, respectively, cannot be referred, as was done hitherto, to the reign of Vira-Chōḍa. For, taking the date at the end of the Teki plates in the same manner as the seventeenth year of Chōḍagaṅga, it would correspond to A.D. 1084 + 16-17 = 1100-01, while the Chellūr plates would fall in A.D. 1078 + 20-21 = 1098-99, and Vira-Chōḍa would thus have issued an edict during the governorship of his brother Chōḍagaṅga. The only way in which the dates of the three inscriptions can be reconciled is to refer them to the accession of Kulōttuṅga I. in A.D. 1070. They would then fall in A.D. 1086-87, 1090-91 and 1092-93. The two last dates would imply that Vira-Chōḍa administrated the Vēṅgi province a second time in succession of Chōḍagaṅga. That this was actually the case is explicitly stated in his Piṭhāpuram plates. We are there told that Vira-Chōḍa was recalled by Kulōttuṅga I. (v. 25), but sent to Vēṅgi again in the fifth year (v. 26). The occasion when he was recalled was evidently the appointment of Chōḍagaṅga in A.D. 1084, and "the fifth year" must mean the fifth year after Vira-Chōḍa's recall, *i.e.* A.D. 1088-89. This explanation is in perfect accordance with the fact that the Teki plates are dated two years earlier, *viz.* in the seventeenth year of Kulōttuṅga I. = A.D. 1086-87. The fact that the Chellūr plates are silent regarding the intervening governorship of Chōḍagaṅga, and that the Piṭhāpuram plates allude to it without mentioning his name, suggests that he had discredited himself with his father and had been on bad terms with his brother Vira-Chōḍa. The subjoined Table shows the relationship and the dates of the three successive governors of Vēṅgi.



Chōḍagaṅgadēva (l. 80), surnamed Rājarāja (l. 78), bore the traditional titles *Sarvalōkāśraya*, *Vishṇuvardhana*, *etc.* (ll. 76-78), and (like his younger brother Vira-Chōḍa) resided at Jananāthanagarī (l. 81), which Mr. Krishna Sastri proposes to identify with the modern Rājamahēndri.<sup>2</sup> He addresses the edict contained in this inscription to the inhabitants of the country between the Mannēru (river) and the Mahēndra (mountain) (l. 83). These must have been the northern and southern boundaries of the Vēṅgi province. The Mahēndra mountain is in the Gaṇjām district near the Mandasa Railway Station, and the Mannēru river passes Siṅgarāyakonda, now a Railway Station in the Kandukūr tāluka of the Nellore district. The king's edict does not, as usual, refer to a grant of land; it confers certain honorary privileges on the

descendants of the Teliki family (l. 92). These were subdivided into a thousand families, ten of which are mentioned by name (l. 90 f.), and were hereditary servants of the Eastern Chālukya family (v. 38 f.). They were believed to have immigrated with the mythical king Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā<sup>1</sup> (v. 40) and to have settled at Vijayavāṭā<sup>2</sup> (the modern Bezvāḍa), which seems to have been the former capital of the Eastern Chālukyas (v. 41).

The Bhāvanārāyaṇa temple at Bāpaṭla bears two inscriptions (Nos. 189 and 192 of 1897), dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1076 and recording gifts by two merchants who were members of the Teliki thousand (Teliki-vēvuru). The first of these merchants belonged to the subdivision (gōtra) of the Musunūllu, and the second to that of the Velandunūllu, who are perhaps identical with the Velumanūllu of the Tēki plates (l. 90). I subjoin the beginning of the second inscription; that of the first is identical with it. It will be seen from the following transcript that this caste claims to have ruled over the towns of Ayōdhyā and Bejavāḷa, with both of which it is associated also in the Tēki plates (v. 40 f.).

Svasti [||\*] Y[a]ma-niyama-[dharma]-pā(pa)rā[ya\*]ṇa-[B]rahma-sambhva(bha)va-Manu-  
varṇa-[ā]di-śa(sa)kala-[śāstra]-viśārādulūṇa Ganakāpuray-Ayōdhyāpura-Ga[ḥ]pur-ādhi-  
nāyakulū[ḥ] satya-śaucha-ābhimānulu [g]uru-dēva-pād-ārādhakulu Paulastī-bhagavatī-sthāna-  
pra[ti]ṣṭhī[ti]śhī[ti]tulu si(sa)hasra-śākh-ānvaya-gōtrul-aina śrīma[d\*]-Bejavāḷa-sā(śā)sanul-  
aina Teliki-vēvurayamdu Velandunūlla gōtrul-aina Sūri[se]ṭṭi, etc.

The composer and the writer of the Tēki plates (l. 108 f.) were the same persons as in the case of the Chellūr plates (l. 114) and the Piṭhāpuram plates (l. 280) of Vīra-Chōḍa.

#### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

##### First Plate.

- 1 श्रीमा[न]४ जगत्त्रयमिदं हरिरादिदेव[ः]५ सद्यु६ विरिचिमसृजन्निजनाभि-  
पद्मात् [॥\*] तस्मादभूत् किल महासुनिरचिरस्मा-
- 2 ब्रह्ममणिः पुररिपोरदितस्सुधांशुः६ [॥ १\*] तस्मादबुधः७ ततश्चक्रवर्त्ती  
पुरुरवा(ः)स्तस्मादायुस्ततो नहु[व]ः ततो ययातिः त-
- 3 [त]ः पूरुः ततो जनमेजयः ततः प्राचीशः ततश्चैव्ययातिः ततो हय-  
पतिः ततस्सार्वाभौमः ततो जयसेन[स्ततो] महाभौ-
- 4 मः तस्मादेशानकः ततः श्रीधाननः ततो देवकिः तस्मादृषुकः तस्मादृ-  
षुकः ततो मतिवरः ततः कात्यायनः ततो नीलः [त]तो
- 5 दुष्मंतः ततो भरतस्ततो भूमन्युस्ततो हस्ती ततो विरोचनः तस्मादज-  
मीलस्तत(त)श्चवरणस्ततस्सुधन्वा ततः परिचित् ततो
- 6 भीमसेनः ततः प्रदीपनः ततश्चतुर्वर्गः ततो विचित्रवीर्यः ततः८ पाण्डुराजः  
ततः पाण्डवाः तेषु वंशकरादर्जुनादभिमन्युः९

<sup>1</sup> Compare l. 8 of this inscription, and the translation in *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. I. p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> In l. 93 the same town is mentioned as Vijayavāṭa.

<sup>3</sup> From the original copper plates.

<sup>4</sup> This word is preceded by a symbol, for which see the accompanying Plate; read श्रीमाञ्जमय.

<sup>5</sup> Read सद्यु विरिचि.

<sup>6</sup> In the letter यु the vowel-sign u is attached to either s.

<sup>7</sup> The rules of *saṃdhi* are not always observed in the following prose passage up to तस्मादबुधः (l. 7).

<sup>8</sup> The two *vīśargas* before पाण्डुराजः and पाण्डवाः have been entered subsequently.

<sup>9</sup> Read °दर्जुना.

- 7 ततः परिचित् ततो जनमेजयः ततः जेमुकः ततो नरवाहनस्ततश्च-  
तानीकः तस्मादुदयनः [1\*] ततः प्रभृत्यविच्छिन्न[सं]ता[ने]-  
8 ष्वयोध्यासिंहास[न]ासी[ने]ष्वेकाक्षषष्टिचक्रवर्त्तिषु गतेषु तदंशो विजयादित्यो  
नाम राजा विजिगीषया दक्षिणापथं गत्वा  
9 त्रिलोचनपञ्चवमधिक्षिप्य दैवदुरीहया लोकांतरमगमत् [1\*] तस्मिन्  
संकुले पुरोहितेन वृद्धामाल्यैश्च  
10 सार्धमंतर्ष्वग्नी तस्य महादेवी <sup>1</sup>मुडिवेम[न]ामाग्रहारमुपगम्य तद्व[र]स्तव्येन  
विष्णुभट्टसीमयाजिना दुहि-  
11 तुनिर्विशेषमभिरक्षिता <sup>2</sup>विष्णुवर्धनं नंदनमसूत [1\*] सा च तस्य  
कुमारकस्य कुलक्रमोचितानि कर्मा[र]णि कारयित्वा  
12 तमवर्षयस[त्]<sup>3</sup> च माचा विदितवृत्तांतो निर्गत्य चलुक्यगिरौ नंदाभगवतीं  
गौरीमाराद्ध्य कुमारनारायणमातृगण[ि] सं-  
13 तप्यं खेतातपत्रैकग्रंथपंचमहाशब्दादीनि कु[ल]क्रमागतानि निक्षिप्तानीव  
साम्राज्यचिह्नानि समादाय कडंबगंगादिभूमि-  
14 पार्श्विजित्य <sup>4</sup>[सि]तुनर्मदामध्यं दक्षिणा[प]थं पालयामास [1\*] तस्यासी-  
द्विजयादित्यो विष्णुवर्धनचूपतेः <sup>5</sup>[1\*] पञ्चवान्वयज[र]िताया  
15 म[ह]ादेव्याश्च नंदनं <sup>6</sup>[॥ २\*] तत्सुतः पुलकेशिवल्लभः [1\*] तत्पुत्रः  
कीर्त्तिवर्मा <sup>7</sup>[1\*] [त]स्य तनयः श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्य-  
16 सगोत्रोणां <sup>8</sup>हारीतिपुत्रोणां <sup>9</sup>कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानामश्वमेधाव[र]-  
य[र]ानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां <sup>10</sup>कुलम-  
17 (लम)लंकरिणीस्त्रित्याश्रयवत्सभेद्रस्य <sup>11</sup>भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्धनोष्टादश वर्षाणि  
वेंगीदेशमपालयत् [1\*] तत्सुतो जयसिंह[व]- <sup>12</sup>  
18 ज[भ\*]स्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्तम् [1\*] [त]दनुज इंद्रभट्टारकस्त्रय दिनानि [1\*] तत्सुतो  
वि[ष्णु]वर्धनो नव वर्षाणि [1\*] तत्सुतुर्मगियुवराजः पंचविंशतिं <sup>13</sup> [1\*]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 19 तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश [1\*] तदध्वरजः कीकिलिष्यत्मासान् [1\*]  
तस्य भ्राता विष्णुवर्धनस्तमुच्च[र]ित्य सप्तत्रिंशत्तं [1\*] तत्पुत्रो

<sup>1</sup> The four other published inscriptions which contain this passage read मुडिवेमु°.

<sup>2</sup> Read विष्णु°.

<sup>3</sup> Read °यत् । स च.

<sup>4</sup> Read °पार्श्विजित्य.

<sup>5</sup> Read °चूपतेः.

<sup>6</sup> Read नंदनः.

<sup>7</sup> Read °वर्मा.

<sup>8</sup> Read °सगोत्राणां.

<sup>9</sup> Read °पुत्राणां.

<sup>10</sup> Read °नां.

<sup>11</sup> Cancel the *anusudra* after श्री.

<sup>12</sup> The ४ at the end of this line and the ॥ at the beginning of the next were added subsequently.

<sup>13</sup> The *anusudra* of त्रिं is repeated at the beginning of the next plate.

- 20 विजयादित्योष्टादश [1\*] तत्तनयो <sup>1</sup>विष्णु[व]र्द्धन[ष्य]ट्त्रिंशतम् [1\*]  
तत्सुतो नरेन्द्रमृगराजोष्टाचत्वारिंशतं<sup>2</sup> [1\*] तत्सुतः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनो-
- 21 धर्द्धवर्ष [1\*] तत्सुतो गुणगविजयादित्यश्चतुस्रत्वारिंश[श\*]तम्<sup>3</sup> [1\*] तद्भ्रा-  
तुर्विक्रमादित्यस्य तनयश्चालुक्यभीमस्त्रिंशतं [1\*] तत्सुतः को-
- 22 क्ष[वि]गण्डविजयादित्यष्यमासान् [1\*] तत्सुतोऽम्भराजस्त्रय [1\*] तत्तनय  
बालमुच्चाय्य ताडपो मासमेकं [1\*] तं जित्वा विक्रमादित्य [ए]कादश
- 23 मासान् [1\*] ततस्ताडपराजसुतो युद्धमल्लस्त्रय [1\*] तसु[च]ाय्य देशादम्भ-  
राजानुजो राजभीमो [द]ादश [1\*] तत्सुनूरम्भराजः पंचविंशतिं [1\*]  
तस्य
- 24 हैमातुरो दानवृपस्त्रीणि [1\*] ततस्त्रयविंशतिवर्षाणि<sup>4</sup> दैवदुरीहया  
वेंगीमहिरनायिका[भू]त् [1\*] ततो <sup>5</sup>दानार्णवसुतश्शक्ति-
- 25 वर्धनवृपो द्वादश ॥ ततस्तदनुजस्त्रय वत्सरान् भूतवत्सलः [1\*] विमला-  
दित्यभूपालः पालयामास मेदि[नीं] । [३\*] तत्तनयो न-
- 26 यशालो जयलक्ष्मीधाम <sup>6</sup>राजराजनरेन्द्रश्चत्वारिंशतमब्दा(न्)नेकं च पुनर्वर्धनी-  
मपालयदखिलां । [४\*] यो रूपेण म[नीभ]-
- 27 वं विशदया कात्य[र]ि<sup>7</sup> कलाना[त्रिधिं] भोगेनापि पुरंदरं विपुलया<sup>8</sup>  
लक्ष्म्या च लक्ष्मीधरं [1\*] भीमं भीमपराक्रमेण विहसन्
- 28 भाति स्म भास्वद्यशा[ः\*] श्रीमत्सीमकुलैकभूषणम[शि]र्हीनैकचिंतामणिः ।  
[५\*] राजासावनुरूपरूपविभवाममंगना-
- 29 न्ना भुवि प्रस्थातामुपयच्छति स्म विधिवद्देवीं जगत्पावनीं [1\*] या  
जङ्गीरिव ज[र]िवी हिमवतो गौरीव लक्ष्मीरिव क्षी-
- 30 रीदाद्विवसेशवंशतिलकाद्राजेंद्रचोडादभूत् । [६\*] पुत्रस्तथोरभवदप्रति[घा]व-  
शक्तिं<sup>9</sup> निशेषितारिनिवहो महनीयकीर्तिः [1\*]
- 31 गंगाधराद्रिसुतयोरिव कार्त्तिकेयो राजेंद्र[चो]ड इति राजकुलप्रदीपः ।  
[७\*] भासामुन्नतिहेतुं प्रथमं<sup>10</sup> वेंगीश्वरत्वम-
- 32 ध्यास्य [1\*] यस्तेजसा दिगंतानाक्रमत सहस्रभानुरुदयमिव । [८\*]  
उद्यच्चण्डतरप्रतापदहनप्लुष्टाखिलदेहिणा सर्वान् के-
- 33 रलपा[ण्ड्य]कुंतलमुखाभिर्जित्य देशान् बलादात्र[र]ि<sup>10</sup> मौलिषु भूभृतां  
भयरुजा चित्तेषु दुर्मे[ध]सां प्रीतिस्सत्सु [दि]शा[सु]

<sup>1</sup> The u of ण is expressed twice.

<sup>2</sup> The त्वा is entered below the line.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'नरेन्द्रः । चत्वारि'.

<sup>7</sup> The syllables पु and या are written on erasures.

<sup>8</sup> Read प्रथमं.

<sup>2</sup> The त of 'शतं' is entered below the line.

<sup>4</sup> Read दानार्णव°.

<sup>5</sup> Read कात्या.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'शक्तिनि'.

<sup>10</sup> Read बलात् । आशा.

9

38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52

[illegible]

- 34 की[र्त्ति]रतुला येनार्पितोज्ज्वले । [८\*] भोगीशाभिलभोगप्रतिमनिजभुज[र्त्ति]-  
भर्त्सितात्यंत[वि]भ्यक्तानाभूपाललो-  
35 कप्रहितवहुविधा[न]र्घरक्षाभिरामं [१\*] धत्ते भौलिं पराङ्गीं [म]-  
इति नृप[कु]ले यः कुलोत्तुंगदेवो<sup>१</sup> देवेन्द्रत्वाद-  
36 नूने सुरपतिमहिमा चीडराज्येभिषिक्तः । [१०\*] प्र[ख्य]ातभूभृत्कुल-  
जन्मभाजस्यदाभिमुख्यस्सरसाः प्र[स]न्नाः [१\*] त-

*Second Plate; Second Side.*

- 37 स्याभवन्<sup>२</sup> पालिवपुंभवस्य देव्यशुभा नद्य इवांबुराशिः । [११\*]  
आत्मानुरुपैर[य] त[र्त्ति]सु लब्धेदेवीषु<sup>३</sup> देवप्रति[म]ः  
38 कुमारैस्स<sup>४</sup> नद्यमानो नरदेववन्द्यैर्ननं<sup>५</sup> हसत्योक्तकुमारमीशं । [१२\*]  
आलोवेन्द्रियवर्ग्य<sup>६</sup> सुतवर्ग्यं तेषु  
39 तेषु वि[ध]येषु [१\*] क्रमशस्स नियुंजानी मुम्भडिचोडं कुमारमित्यवदत्  
[॥ १३\*] वत्स वेगीमहोराज्यमया [दि]-  
40 विजयैषिणा [१\*] मत्पितृव्ये पुरा न्वस्त्वं विजयादित्यभूभुजि [॥ १४\*]  
स च<sup>७</sup> पंचदशैवाब्द[१\*]न् पंचाननपराक्रमः [१\*] महीं रक्षन् म-  
41 हीनाथो दिवं देवोपमो गतं<sup>८</sup> [॥ १५\*] इत्युक्त्वा तां धुरं दत्तां  
गुरुणा चक्रवर्त्तिना [१\*] असह्यतद्वियोगीपि विनयाद्वहति [स्म]  
42 सः । [१६\*] श्रीपादसेवासुखतो गुरुणा<sup>९</sup> जातु राज्यं सुखमित्यवेक्ष्य  
[१\*] संरक्ष्य वेगीभुवमेकमब्दं भूयस्स पित्रोरग-  
43 मत्समीपं । [१७\*] ततस्तदनुजो धीरो वीरचोडकुमारकः [१\*] आदिष्टो  
गुरुणा जातुं वेगीभुवमुपागमत् । [१८\*] तेन भ्रातृषु पू-  
44 र्वजस्य चरणांभोज[प्र]णामार्थिना भक्त्यानम्रनिजोत्तमांगमनुजं तृणाव  
तालिंगितुं [१\*] श्रुश्रूषाविधिलंपटेन च गुरोः  
45 पादांबुजध्यायिना नीतास्तातनियोगसंघनमिया वत्सेन<sup>१०</sup> षड्वत्सराः । [१९\*]  
इत्थं गुरुभ्रातृसमागमैकमनोरथं तं<sup>११</sup> तनय-  
46 नयन्नः [१\*] निजांतिकां निर्जितभूमिपालस्समानयन्मानवदेवदेवः ॥ [२०\*]  
<sup>१२</sup>अथाभ्रजं गु[णो]दयं शास्त्रज्ञं शस्त्रकोविदं<sup>१३</sup> [१\*] नयन्नं<sup>१४</sup>

<sup>१</sup> The word देवो is entered below the line.

<sup>२</sup> Read लब्धेदेवीषु.

<sup>३</sup> Read वेन्द्रियं.

<sup>४</sup> Read गतः.

<sup>५</sup> तं is entered below the line. <sup>१३</sup> Read अथा.

<sup>१४</sup> The *anuvada* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>६</sup> Read कुमारैः । स.

<sup>७</sup> Read स च; the च of पंच is entered below the line.

<sup>८</sup> Read गुरुणा न.

<sup>९</sup> Read पालिवं.

<sup>१०</sup> Read हसत्येकं.

<sup>११</sup> The न is entered below the line.

<sup>१२</sup> Read कोविदं.

- 47 विनयाधारसुदारमुदितोदित<sup>1</sup> । [२१\*] <sup>2</sup>शंभोऽशुचत्पदांभीजभमरीभूतचेतसं  
[1\*] धार्मिकविर्मलाचारं<sup>3</sup> चालुक्यकुलभूषणं [॥ २२\*]  
48 वाचां वाचस्पतिं <sup>4</sup>लक्ष्या विक्रमेण त्रिविक्रमं [1\*] प्रज्ञातृतीयनेत्रेण  
निर्मलेन विलोचनं । [२३\*] गार्भीर्येण<sup>5</sup> महांभीधिं <sup>6</sup>महोन्नत्य[१]  
49 महीधरं [1\*] लोकानंदितया <sup>7</sup>चंद्रं तेजसा <sup>8</sup>तिम्नतेजसं [॥ २४\*]  
भूभारभरणक्षांत्वा भुजगानामधीश्वरं [1\*] तुलयतं कल[१]-  
50 भिन्नं चीडगंगं प्रियात्मजं [॥ २५\*] राजीवलोचनो राज्ञामयं रा[जा]  
भवेदिति [1\*] राजराज[१]भिधानेन सार्वेनाङ्गय सादरं<sup>9</sup> [॥ २६\*]  
क-  
51 तप्रणाममा[स्त्रि]ष्य कृत्यवेदी कृतांजलिं [1\*] विक्रमाक्रांतभूचक्रचक्रवर्त्तीदम-  
ब्रवीत् । [२७\*] अस्ति प्रशस्तज[१]तीनां रत्नानामिव  
52 वारिधिः [1\*] जम्भभूमिचलुक्कानां देशो वेंगीति वि[श्रु]तः [॥ २८\*]  
तत्रोदय इवासाय य[द्वा] इव महोन्नतिं [1\*] अधःकुर्वति<sup>10</sup> म-  
53 [द्वा]श्चास्तुंगानपि महीचृतः<sup>11</sup> । [२९\*] सर्व्वसुर्व्वीमचतं<sup>12</sup> रक्षितुं ते वेंगी-  
देशे सिंहपी[ठ]ासनस्य [1\*] नानाभूषणैर्लिरत्नालि-<sup>13</sup>

*Third Plate; First Side.*

- 54 चक्रैः पादाभ्यधीर्भाजतां राजराज । [३०\*] पाताळं पाति यावत्त्वमिव<sup>14</sup>  
पण्डितपतिर्वाग्युधै-  
55 कनाधो<sup>15</sup> यावत्सःसेव्यमानो विबुधगणशतैर्वाकनाधोपि<sup>16</sup> नाकं [1\*] तावत्सः<sup>17</sup>  
रक्ष धार्मीं निशि-  
56 <sup>18</sup>तनिजभूजस्फारकौक्षेयधारावारिप्रक्षालितारिच्छलमलविमलीभूतदिकचक्रवा-<sup>19</sup>  
57 लः [॥ ३१\*] इत्याशिषं नृपसुतस्य नृपादवाप्य सत्त्वाशिषस्तदनु<sup>20</sup>  
मातुर्भौ प्रणम्य [1\*] देशविजं जिग-  
58 मिषोरगमहिगंतान् प्रस्थानशंखपटुमंगलतूर्यघोषः ॥ [३२\*] ध्वस्ता वैरि-  
दशानिशा प्र-

<sup>1</sup> The *anusvāra* is expressed twice.

<sup>2</sup> Read °कर्मि°.

<sup>3</sup> Read मही°.

<sup>4</sup> Read तिग्म°.

<sup>5</sup> Read °कुर्वति°.

<sup>6</sup> Read °भृन्मौलि°.

<sup>7</sup> Read °नाधोपि°.

<sup>8</sup> Read °दिक्चक्र°.

<sup>9</sup> The च is entered below the line.

<sup>10</sup> The *anusvāra* of च is expressed twice.

<sup>11</sup> The *anusvāra* is corrected from a *visarga*.

<sup>12</sup> Read °मृतः°.

<sup>13</sup> Read यावत्त्वमिव फलि°.

<sup>14</sup> Read तावत्सः°.

<sup>15</sup> The *aksharas* तदनु are entered below the line.

<sup>16</sup> Read °शुभ°.

<sup>17</sup> Read गार्भीर्येण.

<sup>18</sup> Read °मचतं°.

<sup>19</sup> Read °नाधो यावत्ससे°.

<sup>20</sup> Read °शुभ°.

- 59 तिहत्तं ध्वातं द्विषच्छत्रकं<sup>1</sup> वैरिस्त्रीककुभांगणादपगता हारच्छलास्सारकाः  
[1\*] ताप-  
60 व्याजहुताशनी रिपुवधूहसूर्यकांतैष्वभूहेगीदेशमहोदयोन्न-  
61 तिमति श्रीराजराजे रवौ । [३३\*] शाकाब्दे रसखांबरेदुगणिते ज्येष्ठे च  
मासे सिते पक्षे पूर्वतिथौ<sup>2</sup>  
62 दिने सुरगुरोर्ज्येष्ठां शशांके गते [1\*] सिंह<sup>3</sup> लग्नवरे समस्तजगतीराज्या-  
भिषिक्तो मुदे लोक-  
63 स्योद्धति स्म पट्टमनघः[1\*] श्रीराजराजो विभुः । [३४\*] भूलोकादुदिता  
महोन्नतिमती दिक्षु-  
64 लब्धापिनी संक्रांताखिलसत्पथा<sup>4</sup> परिगता लोकानधीर्ध्वानपि<sup>5</sup> [1\*] सन्मार्गा-  
च्चलितां भुवीह पतितां<sup>7</sup>  
65 पश्चादधीगामिनीं गंगां कीर्त्तिरमंगलप्रमधनी<sup>8</sup> यस्यातिशेतेतरां ॥ ३५\*]  
कोदण्डे रामभद्राद्रिपुकुलद-  
66 लने भार्गवान्दंरादेस्सारे शास्त्राबुराशौ कलशभवसुनेर्विक्रमे वायुसुनोः  
[1\*] यस्माद्वन्धा-

*Third Plate; Second Side.*

- 67 पसर्पप्रमथनगिलनीकं[ध]नावृत्तिशंकी नूनं रत्नाकरोय<sup>9</sup> प्रदिशति बहुशो  
रत्नराशौ विचित्रान् ॥ ३६\*] यः पुन-  
68 रिद्धतेजोधिकतया मध्यमलोकपालोयमिति<sup>10</sup> लोकोन लोकपालैस्सह बहुमतोपि  
गोत्रवर्ध-  
69 <sup>11</sup>नतया वर्धितविशाल[की]र्त्तिर्गोत्रभेदनप्रवादिनी ह्यत्रशचीस्त्रयमस्तभुवनाश्रयः[1\*]  
स्वाश्रयप्रदा-  
70 द्विनी दहनात् [1\*] वदान्यकुलमान्यपुण्यचरितो दक्षिणाशावलंबनशीलपरि-  
पालिनः कालात् । सकलविबुधसम[1]ज-  
71 <sup>12</sup>[सं]सेव्यमानो विबुधविपक्षतो राक्ष[सा]धी[स्त्र]रात् । विक्रमाक्रांत-  
निखिलभूभुवनो लुप्तकादिव वन[मात्र]गोच-  
72 रा[ह]रणात् [1\*] <sup>13</sup>भुवनभवरक्षणा[स्थित]स्त्री<sup>14</sup>र्थकोटिस्तंतचपलस्वभावात्  
प्रमंजनात् [1\*] सकललोकोपभोगसपलीकृतघ-<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read °च्छत्रकं.

<sup>2</sup> Read जीहेय.

<sup>3</sup> Read पूषर्षतिथौ.

<sup>4</sup> Read सिंह.

<sup>5</sup> Read °सत्पथा.

<sup>6</sup> Read °नधीर्ध्वान्.

<sup>7</sup> The *ansudra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>8</sup> Read °प्रमधनी.

<sup>9</sup> Read रौयं.

<sup>10</sup> The *aksāras* लोके are written on an erasure.

<sup>11</sup> A second न is written above the न at the beginning of the line.

<sup>12</sup> The स of सं is corrected from ख.

<sup>13</sup> The upper stroke of the अ of स्त्री is missing.

<sup>14</sup> Read °सफली°.

- 73 नसंचयो निष्कल(ल)धनसंग्रहादनेश्वरात्<sup>1</sup> [i\*] निखिललोकनिर्व्याजबान्धवी  
<sup>2</sup>दनदैकमिवाहिरिधन्व-
- 74 नः [i\*] यस्य बहु(अ)श्रुतिरखिलभूभुवनभारभरणलीलातुलितादपि श्रुतिविही-  
नाश्चक्षुः[\*]-
- 75 अयसामघोश्वरात्<sup>3</sup> [i\*] अ[ख\*]ण्डितसदृत्तम[ण्ड]ली जगदाह्लादनवि[धि]स-  
धर्मणोपि खण्डितसदृत्ताश्च<sup>4</sup> शंखलक्ष्म-
- 76 णी गुणविशेषाभिन्न[r]नमहनीयमतिमहिम्ना महाजनेन नूनं बहुमन्यते ।  
स सर्वलोकाय-
- 77 यश्रीविष्णुवर्धनमहाराज[r]धिराजो राजपरमेश्वरः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टा-  
रकः परमन्न-
- 78 क्षण्यो राजराज इत्यन्वितापरनामधेयानंदितसकलदिग्गणलो मंडलेश्वर-  
भौलिविलसितचरणा-
- 79 रविदरेणुसकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानविशदविशालयशोराशिविशदीकृताशेषदिक्चक्रवा-  
लस्यक्रव-
- 80 त्तिलक्षणाभिराम[\*]<sup>5</sup> श्रीचोडगंगदेवः सकलधरातलसाम्राज्यलीलासुखमनुभवन्  
कदाचित् कुलराज-

*Fourth Plate; First Side.*

- 81 धान्या<sup>6</sup> जननाधनामनगर्यामशेषभुवनाभ्यंतरापूर्णातिरिक्तनिजयशोराशिशंकां  
जनय-
- 82 तः कैलासशैलविलासिनस्समुत्तुंग[शि]खरस्य<sup>7</sup> सौधस्यास्थानभूमौ सकलसामंत-  
चक्रप्रमुखे-
- 83 न<sup>8</sup> परिवारेण परितस्त्रेव्यमानः म[न्त्रे]टिमहेंद्रमध्यवर्तिनो राट्टकूटप्रमुखान्  
<sup>9</sup>कुटिंबिनस्स-
- 84 र्वान् समाह्वय मंत्रिपुरीहितसेनापतियुवराजदौवारिकप्रधानसमञ्जमित्यमात्र[r]-  
पय-
- 85 ति । यथा [i\*] सन्ति मङ्गशभूपालपादपञ्चोपजीविनः [i\*] भृत्याः  
कृत्यविधौ दक्षाः<sup>10</sup> शौर्यादिगुणशालिनः । [३७\*] तन्मध्ये
- 86 परया भक्त्या शक्त्या च प्रपन्नया सदा [i\*] मदीयान्वयभूपालचित्तारा-  
धनतत्पराः [॥ ३८\*] निजैरत्यैर्विजैः<sup>11</sup> प्राप्ते-

<sup>1</sup> Read °श्वरात्.

<sup>2</sup> Read शश°.

<sup>3</sup> Read °धान्या जननाय°.

<sup>4</sup> Read °अ.

<sup>5</sup> The श्री is entered below the line.

<sup>6</sup> Read धन°.

<sup>7</sup> The aksharas भिरा are entered below the line.

<sup>8</sup> The aksharas शिखर are written on an erasure.

<sup>9</sup> Read कुटुंबि°.

<sup>10</sup> Read °श्वरात्.

<sup>11</sup> Read °रक्षै°.

iii.

68  
70  
72  
74  
76  
78  
80

68  
 70  
 72  
 74  
 76  
 78  
 80

iv.

82  
84  
86  
88  
90  
92

82  
 84  
 86  
 88  
 90  
 92

94    తెలుగునాడు సుదీర్ఘమైనది ప్రకటనలవల్ల మనకు మునుపటి విధిగా తెలియ  
 96    గానది నామమైనది నామమైనది నామమైనది నామమైనది నామమైనది నామమైనది  
 98    సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది  
 100    సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది  
 102    సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది

104    సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది  
 106    సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది  
 108    సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది సుదీర్ఘమైనది

- 87 विष्णुमाद्यैर्गुणैर्विजै<sup>1</sup> [1\*] ये चालुक्यचित्तीशानां प्रस्तावप्रतिपालिनः  
[॥ ३८\*] अयो[ध्य]ाधीश्वरेणा-  
88 दौ दक्षिणाशाजयैषिणा [1\*] ये सहैव समायाताः(ः) विजयादित्यभू-  
89 भुज[1] [॥ ४०\*] रा[ज]वंशावतंसाना<sup>2</sup> राजधान्या महीभुज[1] [1\*]  
पुरी विजयवाटेया<sup>3</sup>  
90 ये वास्तव्यकुटुंबिनः । [४१\*] ये च वेलुमनू७७लु पत्तिपालु नरियू-  
७७लु<sup>4</sup> कुमुडा७७लु म-  
91 ७७७७७७लु पोवण्डलु सावकुलु उण्ड७७लु अनुमगीण्डलु अण्डनू७७लु  
इत्यादि[कु]-  
92 [ल]सहस्रमेदप्रसिद्धाः तेलि[कि]कुललव्यजन्मा[नः\*]<sup>5</sup> स्वधर्मकर्मनिष्ठितमनस-  
[स्ते]षाम-  
93 मीषां विजयवाटप्रसुखनिखिलपुरनगरग्रामपट्टनप्रभ-

## Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 94 तिष्ठ स्थानेषु सर्वेषु विवाहोत्सवेषु प्रवर्त्तमानेषु मिथुनस्य<sup>6</sup> धी[धी]षु  
तुरगा-  
95 रोहणेन पर्यटनमध<sup>7</sup> विवाहोत्सवावसाने राजश्रीपादमूले महारघे-  
96 वासीयुगलु<sup>8</sup> निधाय प्रणतानामेषां कनकपात्रेण तांबूलप्रदानं च पू-  
97 र्वमर्यादा[स]मागतमधुना<sup>9</sup> परमभक्तिपरितोषितैरस्त्र[1\*]भिराक्षद्वारै<sup>10</sup>  
98 शासनोक्त्य दत्तमिति विदितमस्तु यः [1\*] धर्मायमस्मदंशजैः पा-  
99 र्थिवैः प्रयत्नेन पालनीय<sup>11</sup> [1\*] शत्रुणापि कृत्तो धर्मः पालनीयो  
100 मनीषिणां [1\*] शत्रुरेव हि शत्रुः[1\*]<sup>12</sup> स्यादमीश्वर्यं कस्यचित्  
[॥ ४२\*] धर्मात् पैज-  
101 वनो राज[1] चिराय बुभुजे भुवं<sup>13</sup> [1\*]<sup>14</sup> अधम्याच्चैव नहुषः प्रतिपेदे  
रसातल<sup>15</sup> [॥ ४३\*]  
102 य[1\*] स्वयं कुरु[ति] धर्मं यद्य पाति कृतं [प]रैः [1\*] तथा<sup>16</sup>  
पालयिता श्रेष्ठ इति

<sup>1</sup> Read °द्यैर्गुणैर्विजैः.<sup>2</sup> Read °शानां.<sup>3</sup> Read °वाटेया.<sup>4</sup> The रि is entered below the line.<sup>5</sup> The कु of कुल is entered below the line.<sup>6</sup> Read मिथुनस्य.<sup>7</sup> Read °मध.<sup>8</sup> Read °युगलं निधाय.<sup>9</sup> Read °भक्ति°.<sup>10</sup> The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.<sup>11</sup> Read °नीयः.<sup>12</sup> Read साह°.<sup>13</sup> The anusvāra is corrected from a visarga.<sup>14</sup> Read अधम्या°.<sup>15</sup> Read °तलं.<sup>16</sup> Read तथा°.

- 103 प्राङ्मनीषिणः [॥ ४४\*] [ध]र्माद्विवर्तते राज्य<sup>1</sup> धर्मात् कीर्त्तिश्च  
श्राव्यते । धर्मा[त्\*] तृ-

## Fifth Plate.

- 104 प्यति [पित]रो धर्मास्तुभंति देवता[ः] । [४५\*] तस्माधर्माः<sup>2</sup> प्रयत्नेन  
रक्षणीयो म[ही]-  
105 क्षितो<sup>3</sup> [१\*] स्वस्तोन्यस्ततो वापि लोकद्वयहितैषिणा ॥ [४६\*] स्वदत्तां  
परदत्तां वा यो  
106 हरेत वसुधरां [१\*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्षमिः  
[॥ ४७\*] बहुभिर्व्य-  
107 सु[ध]ा दत्ता बहुभिश्चालुपासिता [१\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य  
तदा फ-  
108 लं ॥ [४८\*] श्रीविजयरज्य[सं]वत्सर<sup>4</sup> सप्तदशे दत्तस्यास्य शासन[स्य][१\*]-  
अभिः कटकाधिपः कर्त्ता  
109 विद्म्य(भं)भट्टः लिखक[ः\*] पेक्षाचार्यः ॥<sup>5</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

[As far as line 36 the text is identical with that of the Pithāpuram plates of Vira-Chōḍa, ll. 1-43; above, Vol. V. pp. 74-77.]

(Verse 11.) There were to this chief of kings (*viz.* Kulōttuṅga I.) (*many*) virtuous queens, born in the families of renowned princes, always devoted to (*him*), full of love, (*and*) gracious,—as to the ocean (*many*) holy rivers, sprung from the ranges of lofty mountains, always running towards (*it*), full of water, (*and*) limpid.

(V. 12.) Rejoicing in the sons (*kumāra*) who were born (*to him*) in due course by these queens, who resembled him, (*and*) who were worthy to be worshipped by princes, this godlike (*king*) surely laughs at Īśa (Śiva) who has (*only*) a single Kumāra (Skanda).

(V. 13.) Appointing (*his*) sons in due order to different districts (*viśhaya*), as the soul (*directs*) the senses to different objects (*viśhaya*), he spake as follows to prince Mummaḍi-Chōḍa :—

(V. 14.) “Dear child! Being desirous of conquering the world, I formerly conferred the kingdom of the country of Vēṅgi on my paternal uncle, prince Vijayāditya.”<sup>6</sup>

(V. 15.) “And, ruling the earth for only fifteen years, this godlike prince, who resembled the five-faced (Śiva) in power, has (*now*) gone to heaven.”<sup>7</sup>

(V. 16.) Out of obedience he (Mummaḍi-Chōḍa) took up that burden (*viz.* the kingdom of Vēṅgi) which (*his*) father, the emperor, had given him with these words, though he could not bear the separation from him.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read राज्य.

<sup>2</sup> Read तस्माद्धर्माः.

<sup>3</sup> Read °क्षिता.

<sup>4</sup> Read °वत्सर.

<sup>5</sup> Here follow three symbols, for which see the accompanying Plate.

<sup>6</sup> This verse is identical with v. 13 of the Pithāpuram plates, and nearly identical with v. 14 of the Chellūr plates of Vira-Chōḍa.

<sup>7</sup> This verse is nearly the same as v. 14 of the Pithāpuram plates and v. 15 of the Chellūr plates. After it v. 15 of the Pithāpuram plates is omitted, though required by the context; see above, Vol. V. p. 95, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> Verses 16 and 17 bear the same numbers in the Pithāpuram and Chellūr plates.

(V. 17.) "The kingdom (*is*) no pleasure at all (*compared*) with the pleasure of worshipping the holy feet of the elders;" having considered thus, he returned to (*his*) parents after having ruled the country of **Vēṅgi** for one year.

(V. 18.) Then his younger brother, the brave prince **Vira-Chôḍa**, was ordered by (*his*) father to protect the country of **Vēṅgi** (*and*) proceeded (*there*).

(V. 19.) Desirous of prostrating himself at the lotus-feet of the elder one among (*his*) brothers, thirsting to embrace the younger one whose head was bent in devotion (*to him*), longing to do obeisance to (*his*) father and meditating on (*his*) lotus-feet, this poor boy spent **six years** in fear of transgressing the command of (*his*) father.

(V. 20.) The politic king of kings, who had subdued (*all*) rulers of the earth, recalled to himself that son whose only wish was thus to be united with (*his*) father and brothers.

(V. 21-27.) Then the emperor, who knew (*his*) duty (*and*) who had conquered the circle of the earth by valour, spake as follows to (*his*) first-born dear son! **Chôḍaganga**, having affectionately addressed (*him*) by the name **Râjarâja** (*i.e.* 'king of kings'), which was full of meaning because (*he thought that*) this lotus-eyed one would become a king of kings, (*and*) having embraced (*him*) who had prostrated himself (*and*) had folded his hands:—

(V. 28.) "There is a country famed by the name of **Vēṅgi**, (*which is*) the birth-place of the noble **Chalukyas**, as the ocean (*is*) of precious pearls.

(V. 29.) "Having reached high eminence there, the members of my family overcome even mighty kings,<sup>2</sup> as the planets, having risen in the east, surmount even lofty mountains.

(V. 30.) "While thou, **Râjarâja**, art seated on the lion-throne in the **Vēṅgi** country in order to protect the whole earth unopposed, may the lustre of (*thy*) feet be enhanced by clusters of gems in the diadems of many kings, as the beauty of the lotus by swarms of bees!

(V. 31.) "As long as the king of serpents (**Śēsha**), (*who is*) the only lord of the snake-tribe, as thou (*art*) the only lord of a troop of elephants, is ruling the lower world, and as long as the lord of heaven (**Indra**), being worshipped by hundreds of gods and demi-gods, (*is ruling*) heaven, so long protect thou the earth, purifying the horizon as the impurity in the shape of enemies is washed away by the water of the edge<sup>3</sup> of the sharp, large sword in thy hand!"

(V. 32.) When the prince, having thus obtained the blessing of the king (*and*) afterwards the true blessings of (*his*) mother, (*and*) having bowed to both, was about to start for his country, the sound of the conches (*announcing his*) departure and of shrill auspicious bugles reached the ends of the quarters.

(V. 33.) When the glorious **Râjarâja** had ascended (*the throne of*) the **Vēṅgi** country, (*as*) the sun the eastern mountain, the night of enmity was dispelled; darkness in the disguise of foes was driven away; the stars in the semblance of necklaces disappeared from the firmament—the wives of the enemies; (*and*) fire in the shape of sorrow sprang up in the sun-crystals—the hearts of the wives of foes.

(V. 34.) In the **Śaka year** reckoned by the tastes (6), the sky (0), the atmosphere (0), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* 1006)—in the month **Jyāishṭha**, in the bright fortnight, on the full-moon **tīthi**, on a **Thursday**, when the moon had joined **Jyēshṭhā**, in the excellent **lagna** **Sinhā**,—the sinless lord, the glorious **Râjarâja**, having been anointed to the kingdom of the whole earth, put on the tiara to the joy of the world.

<sup>1</sup> The word *agrajam* occurs in l. 46 and *priyâtmajam* in l. 50. I omit the intervening epithets of **Chôḍaganga**, from which we learn little more than that he was a worshipper of **Śiva** and "an ornament of the **Chalukya** family" (v. 22).

<sup>2</sup> The words *tuṅgaṁ=api mahābhṛitāḥ* may also contain an allusion to the **Râshṭrakûṭas**, who had the surname **Tuṅga**; see above, Vol. IV. No. 40, verse 6, and Vol. V. No. 20, verse 6.

<sup>3</sup> The word *dāḍṛā* has to be taken also in the sense of 'a stream.'

[V. 35 is identical with v. 23 of the Pithāpuram plates.]

(V. 36.) This ocean plentifully supplies heaps of wonderful gems,—surely<sup>1</sup> (*because it*) fears a repetition of (*its*) bridging, retreating, stirring, swallowing and overleaping<sup>2</sup> from him (*who is*) a Rāmabhadra in archery, a Bhārgava in splitting hosts of enemies, a Mandara mountain in firmness, a pitcher-born sage in (*absorbing*) the ocean of sciences, (*and*) a son of the wind in prowess.

[Ll. 67-76 illustrate by a series of *vyatirēkālāṁkāras* that the king as regent of the middle sphere was superior to the regents of the ten directions. The pun (*ślēsha*) in the word *dakṣhiṇāśā* (l. 70) is particularly amusing.]

(L. 76.) While this asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalōkāśraya*), the glorious Viṣṇu-*vardhana-Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Rājaparamēśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the very pious one, who delights all regions of the world by (*his*) second name *Rājarāja*, the dust of whose lotus-feet adorns the diadems of lords of provinces (*maṇḍalēśvara*), who purifies the whole horizon by the great mass of (*his*) pure fame that is being praised by the whole world, who is distinguished by the marks of an emperor, the glorious Chōḍagaṅgaḍēva, was enjoying the pleasure of the sport of ruling the whole earth,—once, being attended on all sides by the retinue consisting of the troop of all vassals, *etc.*, in the *darbār* hall of the palace, which had very lofty pinnacles, which possessed the splendour of the Kailāsa mountain, (*and*) which produced the impression of a lump of his fame that remained after the interior of the whole world had been filled (*with it*), at the capital of (*his*) family, the city (*nagara*) named (*after*) Jananātha,—called together all the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* and other ryots living between the *Mannēru*<sup>3</sup> (*river*) and the *Mahēndra* (*mountain*) and ordered as follows in the presence of the councillors, the family priest, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent, the door-keepers and the ministers:—

(V. 37.) “There are (*many*) servants, dependent on the lotus-feet of the kings of my family, clever in service, (*and*) possessing courage and other virtues.

(Vv. 38-41.) “Among them (*are those who have been*) always intent on pleasing the minds of the kings of my family by great devotion, strength and intelligence; who have protected the Chālukya kings at the beginning with their riches, with their lives, (*and*) with their courage and other virtues; who have come already at the beginning with king Vijayāditya, the lord of Ayōdhya, who was desirous of conquering the southern region; the ryots dwelling in the town Vijayavāṭa, the capital of the kings (*who were*) ornaments of the race of the Moon (*Rāja-vamśa*);<sup>4</sup>

(L. 90.) “And who are born in the Teliki family, whose minds are intent on the performance of their duties, (*and*) who are known to be divided into a thousand families such as Velumanūllu, Pattipālu, Nariyūllu, Kumudāllu, Marrūllu, Povandlu, Srāvakulu, Undrūllu, Anumagopḍalu and Aḍḍanūllu.

(L. 92.) “Be it known to you that, being pleased by (*their*) great devotion, we have now granted to these people by an edict (*śāsana*), as long as the moon and the sun shall last, that when marriage festivals are celebrated at all places such as Vijayavāṭa and all other towns, cities,

<sup>1</sup> The particle *śūnam*, ‘surely,’ introduces the figure (*ālāṁkāra*) of ‘poetical fancy’ (*utprākāśa*), which in the present case pertains to a cause (*hetuśā*), viz. the fear felt by the ocean, and is founded on a series of metaphors (*rūpaka*), viz. the identity of the king with Rāma, *etc.*

<sup>2</sup> These humiliating experiences the ocean had undergone successively at the hands of Rāma, Paraśurāma, the Mandara, Agastya and Hanumat.

<sup>3</sup> *Mannēru* is the Telugu genitive of *Mannēru*.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Rāja-kula-pradīpa* in verse 7 of this inscription, which seems to mean ‘the light of the race of the Moon,’ rather than ‘the light of the warrior-caste,’ as I had translated it in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 59, verba 8.

villages and hamlets (?), the married couple may proceed on the roads on horse-back, and that afterwards when, at the end of the marriage festival, they place a pair of valuable cloths at the feet of the king and prostrate themselves, betel will be given (*to them*) in a golden vessel, (*as*) handed down by old custom.

(L. 98.) "This gift must be assiduously protected by the kings descended from our family."

[Vv. 42-48 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 108.) The *ājñapti* of this edict, which was given in the seventeenth year of the prosperous and victorious reign, (*was*) the commander of the camp;<sup>1</sup> the composer Viddayabhaṭṭa; (*and*) the writer Pennāchārya.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date of the accession of Rājārāja-Chōḍagaṅga (above, p. 345, verse 34).

"The date is irregular for Śaka-Saṁvat 1006, both expired and current. In Śaka-Saṁvat 1006 expired the full-moon *tīthi* of Jyāishṭha ended 15 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 22nd May A.D. 1084, when the *nakshatra* was Jyēshṭhā, by the equal space system for 19 h. 3 m., by the Brahma-Siddhānta for 1 h. 58 m., and according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m., after mean sunrise. *Simha* was *lagna* from 4 h. 32 m. to 6 h. 41 m. after true sunrise.

"In Śaka-Saṁvat 1006 current the same *tīthi* ended 20 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 2nd June A.D. 1083, when the *nakshatra* by the equal space system only was Jyēshṭhā, for 8 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise (while it was Mūla by the Brahma-Siddhānta and according to Garga). *Simha* was *lagna* from 3 h. 51 m. to 6 h. 0 m. after true sunrise.

"The date would be irregular also for Śaka-Saṁvat 1005 current and 1007 expired."

#### No. 36.—RANASTIPUNDI GRANT OF VIMALADITYA; DATED IN THE EIGHTH YEAR.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M.A.

The copper-plates on which the subjoined inscription is engraved were discovered about 70 years ago while quarrying earth for bricks in the fields of the ancestors of a ryot in the Amalāpuram tāluka of the Gōḍāvari district, and are now in the possession of Valavala Jagganna who lives at Amalāpuram. They were received from the Collector of Gōḍāvari through the Government of Madras in 1899 and will have to be returned to the owner. Dr. Hultzsch has kindly permitted me to publish them.

The plates are five in number and were strung on a ring, which had not yet been cut when they were received. The ring measures about 6½" in diameter and about ¾" in thickness. Its ends are secured in a four-petalled flower, which forms the base of a circular seal of about 3¼" diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Trībhuvanāṁkuta*. Below the legend is an eight-petalled flower, and above it a running boar facing the proper left. In front of the boar is an elephant-goat; behind it the crescent of the moon; and above it the sun flanked by two *chauris*. The breadth of the plates is 10¼", and their height 5¼". Their edges are raised into rims for protecting the writing, with the exception of the first side of the first plate, which is blank, and of the second side of the fifth plate, which bears only two lines of writing. The writing is on the whole in a state of good preservation, but a number of places are damaged by verdigris.

<sup>1</sup> With *kaṭakddhīpa* compare *kaṭakddhirdja*, etc.; above, Vol. IV. p. 309, note 1, and Vol. V. p. 181, last line.

The alphabet is ancient Telugu, while the language is mostly Sanskrit verse and prose. The description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 87-94) is in a mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu prose. I would draw attention to the following points in the alphabet of the inscription. The long *ā* after consonants is marked in different ways; compare *dhā*, *nā*, *rā* and *hā* in line 1 with the *smā* of the first *tasmād*= in line 3, and with the *smā* of the second *tasmād*= in the same line. The long *ā* added to conjunct consonants of which the *rēpha* is a member is generally omitted, except in *rttā* of *varṣa-karttā* (l. 4) and *rshā* of *varshāni* (l. 29). The syllable *jā* occurs eight times in the inscription; but it is written correctly only once (in *mahārājādhirāja*, l. 61), while in the remaining seven cases the long *ā* is not marked at all. Initial *i* occurs in ll. 55, 66 (twice), 70, 85, 87 and 97. In a large number of cases the *rēpha* is added to the *i*-symbol above consonants, the addition being denoted by a slight indenture at the base of the latter, e.g. in *rtti* (ll. 4, 16, 60) and *rvi* (ll. 19, 33, 34, 41). Initial *ī* occurs in l. 91. The secondary form of the long *ī* is rarely distinguished from that of the short *i*; but in *śrī* (ll. 1, 2), *sī* (l. 3) and *chī* (l. 5) an attempt is made to mark the length. Initial *u* occurs in l. 94. In combination with consonants this vowel is denoted in three different ways; compare *ru* (ll. 1, 2, 3, 4), *su* (l. 2) and *pu* (l. 3) with *nmu* (l. 2) and *tsu* (l. 3), and with *yu* (ll. 3, 4, 8). The secondary form of the long *ū* is also denoted in three different ways; compare *bhū* (l. 1) with *sū* (ll. 2, 3) and *chū* (l. 2), and with *tsū* (ll. 8, 30, 33), *trū* (l. 41) and *ssū* (l. 70). Initial *ē* occurs in ll. 36, 75, 91. Combined with consonants, this vowel is denoted in two ways; compare *tē* (l. 3), *mē* (l. 4) and *kē* (l. 7) with *jñē* and *nē* (l. 2). Initial *ai* is found in l. 6, and initial *ri* in l. 7. Final *k* occurs in l. 68; final *m* in ll. 3, 37, 41, 46; final *n* in ll. 31, 35, 36, 41 (twice), 53, 62; and final *t* in ll. 17, 20, 29, 38, 52, 64, 67. In the majority of cases no distinction is made between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*; compare *chūḍāmaṇi* (l. 81) with *°vāraṇ-ādis*= (l. 83) and *mad=alābhi* (l. 84); but in *pratiḍakkā* (l. 22), *Kaḍamba* (l. 23), *Kāramachēḍu* (l. 84) and *Peggaḍa* (l. 85) the loop of the *ḍ* is quite distinct. The aspirate *chha* occurs twice in the inscription (ll. 14, 59), and in both cases in conjunction with *cha*. In all other cases its place is taken by the unaspirated *cha*. Double *shsha* is written as if it consisted of *sha* and *va*; see ll. 32, 35 and 43. The *upadhānāniya* occurs in ll. 1, 4, 5 (twice), 11 (twice), 14, 15, 38, 46, 70, 73.

Of orthographical peculiarities the following deserve to be noted:— The syllable *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in *Richuka* for *Riḥhuka* (twice in l. 7), *kritvā* for *krītā* (l. 9), *°veritāntas*= for *°veritāntas*= (l. 21) and *°kritya* for *°kritya* (l. 86). The syllable *yi* is used for initial *i* in *yiti* (l. 9) and *yiva* (ll. 45, 47, 55, 56 (twice), 57, 68). *G* is doubled after an *anusvāra* in *Gaṁgg-ādi* (l. 23) and *°saṁggatir*= (l. 81) and before *r* in *°ggrāhinas*= (l. 12), and *t* before *r* in *Ttrilōchana* (l. 17). After *r* consonants are generally doubled, except in *-Bhīm-Ārjuna*- (l. 12) and *nirjitya* (l. 23). *Sāmbrājya* occurs for *sāmbrājya* in l. 23.

The inscription opens with the Paurāṇik genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya kings (ll. 1-15) and with a legendary account of their ancestors (ll. 15-25). Ll. 25-42 furnish the historical genealogy of the donor Vimalāditya. The date of his coronation is given in verse 13. He is praised in general terms in vv. 14-20 and in the subsequent prose passage (ll. 54-61). L. 61 f. contains the king's titles *Sarvalōkāśraya*, *Vishnuvardhana*, etc. Vv. 21-34 describe the donee and his ancestors. Then follows the grant itself, the description of the boundaries of the village granted, and of a field which belonged to it. The inscription closes with the date of the grant, and the names of the executor, the composer and the writer.

The Paurāṇik, legendary and historical portion of the genealogy agree almost literally with the corresponding passage of the Nandamapūṇḍi grant of Rājārāja I.<sup>1</sup> as far as the description of the reign of Vimalāditya's predecessor Śaktivarman (v. 11). The Korumelli plates of Rājārāja I.,<sup>2</sup> the Tēki plates of Chōḍagaṅga,<sup>3</sup> the Chellūr plates of Vira-Chōḍa,<sup>4</sup> and the Piṭhāpuram plates

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV. No. 43.

<sup>2</sup> No. 35 above.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 48 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. No. 39.

of the same king<sup>1</sup> also agree with the Ranastipūṇḍi grant to a great extent, while the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadēva<sup>2</sup> furnishes substantially the same facts regarding the early Eastern Chālukyas and their ancestors. The historical portion commencing with the reign of Kūbja-Vishnuvardhana is known from grants earlier than the time of Vimalāditya. But the Ranastipūṇḍi grant is the earliest inscription hitherto discovered, which contains the Paurāṇik and legendary portions (ll. 1-25).

This is the first inscription which has been found of king Vimalāditya, the son of Dāna or Dānārṇava by his wife Āryamahādēvi<sup>3</sup> (v. 12) and younger brother of that king Śaktivarman who ruled immediately after the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country. An important item of information furnished by our grant is the date of Vimalāditya's accession, which until now had to be obtained by deducting the duration of his reign as given in the copper-plate grants from the date of the accession of his son and successor Rājārāja I. as found in the Korumelli plates<sup>4</sup> and in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant.<sup>5</sup> According to verse 13 of the subjoined inscription, Vimalāditya's coronation took place in the *Simha lagna* and the *Pushya nakshatra*, on Thursday, the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month *Vṛishabha* in *Śaka-Saṃvat 933*. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on this date:— "In line 43 read *pañchamyām*, 'on the fifth *tithi*,' instead of *yash-shashthyām*. With this alteration the date corresponds, for Śaka-Saṃvat 933 expired, to Thursday, the 10th May A.D. 1011. The fifth *tithi* of the bright half (of the lunar month *Jyāishṭha*) in the solar month *Vṛishabha* ended at 20 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was *Pushya*, by the equal space system and according to Garga, for 21 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. For a place situated at 16° Northern Latitude, the *Simha lagna* on that day lasted from 5 h. 14 m. to 7 h. 24 m. after true sunrise."

The above date removes a discrepancy in the duration of the interregnum between Dānārṇava and Śaktivarman. All the grants assign 27 years to this interregnum. The interval between the accession of Amma II. (Śaka-Saṃvat 867) and that of Rājārāja I. (Śaka-Saṃvat 944) is 77 years, while the total duration of the intervening reigns is only  $25 + 3 + 12 + 7 = 47$  years. It had therefore to be inferred that the interregnum lasted  $77 - 47 = 30$  years. This discrepancy has already been pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch.<sup>6</sup> As we know now that Vimalāditya's reign commenced in Śaka-Saṃvat 933, the interregnum is reduced to roughly 27 years, the period actually mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions.

If we subtract from A.D. 1011 the period of the reign of Vimalāditya's predecessor Śaktivarman (12 years), we get the approximate date of the accession of Śaktivarman himself, *vis.* A.D. 999. The interregnum which preceded Śaktivarman's reign and which lasted 27 years has thus to be placed roughly between A.D. 972 and 999. Hitherto it has been supposed that the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country was caused by a Chōla invasion.<sup>7</sup> The earliest Chōla king who claims to have conquered Vēṅgī is Rājārāja I., who ascended the throne in A.D. 985. The conquest of Vēṅgī is first mentioned in inscriptions dated in the 14th year of his reign=A.D. 998-99.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, the interregnum could not have been caused by the invasion of the Chōlas, but was probably put an end to by that event. If this conclusion is correct, the Chōla king Rājārāja I. must have restored order in Vēṅgī by placing Śaktivarman on the throne, and the interregnum must have been due to causes other than the Chōla invasion during the time of Rājārāja I. There is also reason to believe that no Chōla invasion could have taken place before the time of Rājārāja I.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. V. No. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV. No. 33.

<sup>3</sup> This queen is mentioned as Ā[r]yadēvi in the Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva; above, Vol. IV. No. 83, verse 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 50 and p. 53, text lines 65-67.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV. p. 302.

<sup>7</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 32, note 1A.

<sup>8</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 5.

The later Eastern Chālukya inscriptions, beginning with the Nandamapūṇḍi grant, report that Vimalāditya reigned 7 years, while the subjoined inscription is dated in his 8th year (l. 97). His accession took place in A.D. 1011, and that of his successor Rājarāja I. in A.D. 1022. Thus the duration of Vimalāditya's reign was 11 years, i.e. 4 years in excess of the period assigned to him. The explanation of this difference has perhaps to be sought for in the following facts. Two inscriptions on the Mahendragiri hill in the Gañjām district (Nos. 396 and 397 of 1896) record that (the Chōla king) Rājendra-Chōla defeated Vimalāditya and set up a pillar of victory on the hill. The date when this event took place is not known. But as this fact is not recorded in the usual historical introduction of Rājendra-Chōla's Tamil inscriptions, it may be presumed that it happened during the early part of his military career, when his father Rājarāja I. was still living. Again, there is an inscription in the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru near Tanjore (No. 215 of 1894), dated in the 20th year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājarāja I., which records certain gifts to the temple by Vishṇuvardhana-Vimalāditya, who is no doubt identical with the Eastern Chālukya king of the same name. There is thus reason to believe that Vimalāditya was at or near Tanjore in A.D. 1013-14. This fact, coupled with the defeat recorded in the Mahendragiri inscriptions, appears to show that Vimalāditya was taken prisoner to Tanjore by Rājendra-Chōla. While in the Chōla country, he must have married Kundavā, the daughter of the Chōla king Rājarāja I. and younger sister of Rājendra-Chōla I.<sup>1</sup> After this marriage Vimalāditya may have been sent back to his dominions about A.D. 1015. Taking these inferences for granted, it may be assumed that, though the period counting from his accession in A.D. 1011 to the date of his death in A.D. 1022 is 11 years, the later Eastern Chālukya records recognise neither his original accession in A.D. 1011 nor the period of his stay in the Chōla country, but reckon his reign from the time when he began to rule after his return from the Chōla country, and thus give only 7 years as the duration of his reign.

The inscription attributes several surnames to Vimalāditya, viz. *Birudaṅka-Bhīma* (ll. 44 and 73 f.), *Tribhuvanāṅkuśa* (l. 47), *Mummaḍi-Bhīma* (l. 51) and *Bhūpa-Mahēndra* (l. 74). *Birudaṅka-Bhīma* occurs also in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant (l. 52). The surname *Mummaḍi-Bhīma* means 'the third Bhīma' and is appropriate for Vimalāditya, as there were only two among his ancestors who bore the name Bhīma. Before introducing the surname *Mummaḍi-Bhīma* (v. 19), the composer of the subjoined inscription refers to certain predecessors of the king who were looked upon as founders of the family, and states that *Mummaḍi-Bhīma* was also one of those founders. Again, in two different places the king is spoken of as 'the rescuer of (his) family' (l. 57 f.) and as 'the only rescuer of (his) family' (l. 75). If any significance is to be attached to these statements, they must imply that Vimalāditya took proper care to ensure the succession in his family and to strengthen its position. It is not impossible that there is a remote reference in these passages to Vimalāditya's alliance with the powerful Chōlas by his marriage with the Chōla princess Kundavā, and perhaps also to the actual birth of an heir to the throne, viz. Rājarāja I. The disastrous effects of the anarchy which prevailed in Vēṅgi immediately before the accession of Vimalāditya's predecessor could not have been altogether forgotten at the time when the subjoined grant was issued, and the king's attempts to render the position of his family firm and stable were apparently appreciated by the composer, if not by all the people in Vēṅgi.

The donee was a minister of the king, called *Vajra* (vv. 24, 26, 28, 30) or, in Telugu, *Vajjiya-Peggaḍa* (l. 85). He belonged to the *Kaundinya gōtra* (v. 22), was a resident of the village of *Kāramachēḍu* (l. 84), and bore the surnames *Budhavajraprākāra* (v. 31 and l. 85), *Amātyasikhāmaṇi* and *Saujanyaśatnākara* (v. 33 and l. 85). The composer was *Bhimana-bhaṭṭa*, son of *Rāchiya-Peddēri*. This person must have been the father of the composer of

<sup>1</sup> *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III. p. 126.

the Korumelli plates, Chetanabhatta, who calls himself the son of Rāchiya-Peddāri-Bhima. The writer of the subjoined grant was Jontāchārya, who may have belonged to the same family as his namesake, the writer of a grant of Amma II.<sup>1</sup>

Ranastipūṇḍi, the village granted, belonged to the Guddavādi-vishaya<sup>2</sup> (l. 62). I am unable to identify either Ranastipūṇḍi or the other villages which are mentioned in the description of its boundaries. As regards Kāramachēḍu, where the donee is stated to have come from, it may be mentioned that there is a village named Kārimchēḍu, 9 miles west of Bāpatla in the Kistna district.<sup>3</sup>

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

## First. Plate.

- 1 \* श्रीधाम्पुत्रोत्तमस्य महती नारायणस्य प्रभोर्भाभीपंकवहाभूव  
जगतस्मृष्टा स्वयंभूस्त-
- 2 तः [1\*] जज्ञे मानससुनुरचिरिति यस्तस्मान्मुनेरचितस्त्रोमी वंश[क]रसुधांश-  
रुदित[1\*] श्रीकण्ठवृडामणिः । [1\*]
- 3 तस्मादासीत्सु[धा\*]सूतेर्बुधो बु[ध]नुतस्ततः [1\*] ज[1\*]तः पुर्ववा<sup>5</sup>  
नाम चक्रवर्त्ती म[म]विक्रमः । [2\*] गद्यम् । तस्मादायुरा-
- 4 युषो नहुषः नहुषाद्ययातिचक्रवर्त्ती वंशकर्त्ता तत[पुर्वव]र्त्ति चक्रवर्त्ती  
ततो जनमेजयाश्चमेधवितय-<sup>6</sup>
- 5 स्य कर्त्त[1\*]<sup>7</sup> । तत[प्राचीश]प्राचीशाब्देन्य<sup>8</sup>यातिस्त्रैययातेर्हयपतिर्हयपते-  
स्त्वार्वभौमस्त्वार्वभौ-
- 6 माज्जयसेनः जयसेनास्त्राभौमः महाभौमादेयानकः ऐशानकात्क्रीधाननः  
क्रीधाननादेवकिः
- 7 देवकेरिचक्रुः<sup>9</sup> रिचुकादृचक्रुः ऋच[का]तिनरस्ययामयाजी<sup>10</sup> सरस्वतीनदीनाथः  
ततः कात्या-
- 8 यनः कात्यायनाद्रीलः नीलाद्युथन्त[स्त्र]तः<sup>11</sup> । आर्य[1\*] । मंगा-  
यसुनातीरे यदविश्विन्निखाय<sup>12</sup> यु-
- 9 प[1\*]न्क्रमशः [1\*] क्रित्वा<sup>13</sup> तथाश्चमेधावाम महाकर्म्मभरत यिति<sup>14</sup>  
योलमत[स्त्र] । [3\*] ततो भरताङ्गमन्युर्भूमन्योस्सुहोवस्सुहोवा-
- 10 हस्ती हस्ति[नो विरोच\*]नः विरोचनादजमीलः अजमीलाक्षंवरणः संवर-  
णस्य तपनसुतायास्तपत्याश्च सुधन्वा सुधन्व-

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant. Vol. VII. p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> On Guddavādi see above, Vol. V. p. 123 and note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> From the original copper-plates.

<sup>5</sup> Read पुर्ववा.

<sup>6</sup> Read जयोवमेध<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. IV. p. 304, note 3.

<sup>8</sup> Read प्राचीन्य<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Read केशुचक्रुः चक्रुका<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Read न्यातिवरस्य<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Read नीलाद्युथनस्यसुतः.

<sup>12</sup> Read विश्विन्निखाय य<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Read कृत्वा.

<sup>14</sup> Read इति.

11. न॰परिचित्परिचितो भीमसेनः भीमसेनाग्रदीपन॰प्रदीपनाञ्चत्त[नुश]-<sup>1</sup>  
 त्तनोर्विचित्रवीर्यः विचित्रवीर्य[1\*]त्पाण्डुराजः । आ-  
 12. र्य[1\*] । पुत्रास्तस्य च धर्मजभोमार्जुननकुलसहदेवाः [1\*] पंचेन्द्रियवत्पंच  
 स्युर्विषयग्राहिणस्तत्र(ः) । [४\*] वृत्तं । येना-

*Second Plate; First Side.*

13. दाहि विजित्य 'काण्डवमथो [ग]ा[ण्डो]विना वज्रिणं युद्धे 'पाशुपतास्त्रव-  
 [न्धक]रिषोद्यालाभि दैत्यान्वह्निन्द्रार्ह[1\*]सनमध्यरोहि<sup>2</sup> ज-  
 14. यिना यत्कालिकेयादिकान्त्वा खैरमकारि [व]शविपिनच्छेदः [कुरुणां वि]-  
 भोः । [५\*] 'ततोऽनुनादभिमन्युरभिमन्यो॰परिचित् परिचि\*]तो जन-  
 15. मेजयः जनमेजयात्केमुकः<sup>3</sup> चेमुकाक्षरवाहनः नरवा[हन]ग[ञ]तानीकः<sup>4</sup> शता-  
 नोकादुदयनः तत॰परं तत्रभृ-  
 16. 'तिस्त्रविचित्रसन्तानेव्ययोध्यासिंहासनासीनेष्वेकाम्रषष्टिचक्रवर्त्तिषु गतेषु तंद्दश्यो<sup>5</sup>  
 विजयादित्यो नाम राज[1\*] विजिगीष-  
 17. या दक्षिणापथं गत्वा स्त्रिलोचनपद्मवमधिद्विष्य दैवदुरीहया लोकान्तरमग-  
 मत् । तस्मिन्कुले  
 18. पुरोहितेन सार्धमस्तर्क्यो तस्य महादेवी सुडिवे[सु]नामाग्रहारमुपगम्य  
 तद्वास्तव्येन विष्णुभट्ट-  
 19. सोमयाजिना दुहितुनिर्विशेषमभिरक्षिता स[तो]<sup>10</sup> विष्णुवर्धनमसूत [1\*]  
 सा तस्य च कुमारकस्य मा-  
 20. <sup>11</sup>नव्यसगोत्रहारितपुत्रादिस्त्रक्षत्रगोत्रक्रमो[चि]तानि कर्म[1\*]णि कारयित्वा  
 तमवर्धयत् । स च मा-  
 21. चा <sup>12</sup>विदितव्रितांतस्त्रभिर्नत्त्व [च]लुक्वगिरौ न[न्द]i भगवतीं गौ[री]मारा-  
 ध्य कुमार[न]ारायणमातृगणांश्च संतर्प्य खेता-<sup>13</sup>  
 22. <sup>14</sup>तपचैकगंधपंचमहाशब्दपालिकेतनप्रतिडक्कावराह[लाञ्छन]पिंश[कंतसि]हासन-  
 मकरतोरणकन[क\*]दण्डगंगा-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'नाञ्चत्त'.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'खाञ्च'.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'स्त्रमन्धकरिपो'.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'वहन् । इन्द्रा'.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'ततोऽनुना'.

<sup>6</sup> The क. of 'यात्केमुकः' is corrected from का ; read 'यात्केमुकः'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'नाञ्चतानीकः'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'तिस्त्रविचित्र'.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'तंद्दश्यो'.

<sup>10</sup> After सती the original has some letter which seems to have been erased by the engraver.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'हारितौपुत्रा'. The other published versions of this passage (with the exception of the Tēki and Pithāpuram plates) read 'पुत्रदिपक्षमोष'.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'वृत्तान्त'.

<sup>13</sup> The 'वे' of 'वेता' looks like 'वे'.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'गंध', 'प्रतिडक्का' and 'पिंश'.

- 23 यमुनादीनि स्वकुलक्रमागतानि निक्षिप्तानीव 'सांभ्राज्यचि[ह्नानि] समादाय  
[क]ड्वगंगादिभूमिपान्निर्जित्य सेतुन-  
24 र्मदामध्यं सार्धसप्तलक्षं [द]क्षिणापथं<sup>१</sup> पालयामास । [श्ले]क<sup>२</sup> । तस्यासीद्दि-  
ज[या]दित्यो विष्णुवर्धनभूपतेः [१\*] पञ्चवान्वयज[१\*]-

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 25 त[१\*]या महादेव्याश्च नन्दनः [॥ ६\*] [तत्सुत]: 'बोलकेशिवल्लभः तत्पुत्रः  
कीर्तिवर्ध[१\*] तस्य तनयः । स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकलभु-  
26 'वनसंस्तुयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितीपुत्राणां कौशि[कीवर]प्रसादलब्धरा-  
ज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालितानां  
27 स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातान[१] भगवन्[१]रायणप्रसादस[१]सादितवरवराह-  
लाञ्छनेक्षणक्षयवशीकृतारा-<sup>३</sup>  
28 तिभण्डलानामश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुखानां कुलमलंकरि-  
णीस्त्वयान्नयवल्लभेन्द्रस्य  
29 भ्राता कुञ्जविष्णुवर्धनोष्टादश वर्षाणि वेङ्गोदेशमपालयत् । तदात्मजो जय-  
सिंहवल्लभस्त्वयस्त्रिं-  
30 शतं । तदनुजेन्द्रराजस्यस्य दिनानि [१\*] तत्सुतो विष्णुवर्धनो नव ।  
तत्सुनुर्नर्मगियुवराजः पञ्चविंश-  
31 ति । तत्पुत्री 'जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवरजः कोकिलिष्यत्मासान् ।  
तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धन-  
32 स्तमुच्चाव्य सप्तत्रिंशतं । तत्पु[त्री] विजयादित्यभट्टारकोष्टादश । तत्तनुजो  
विष्णुवर्धनप्यष्टत्रिंश-  
33 तं । तत्सुनुर्विजयादित्यनरेन्द्रमृगराजश्चाष्टचत्वारिंशतं । तत्सूतः<sup>४</sup> कलि-  
विष्णुवर्धनोध्यर्धवर्ष । तत्सुतो गुणगविज-  
34 यादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंश<sup>५</sup> । तद्भातुर्विक्रमादित्यभूपतेस्तनयश्चालुख्यभीमस्त्रिंशतं ।  
तत्सुतः कीर्तिविगण्डविजयादि-  
35 त्यप्यत्मासान् । तत्सुनुरम्भराजस्यस्य वर्षाणि । [तत्सुतं वि]जयादित्य  
बाह्यमुच्चाव्य ताडपो म[१\*]समेकं । तं जित्वा चालु-  
36 ख्यभीमतनयो विक्रम[१\*]दित्य एकादश मासान् । तत्ताडपराजसुतो  
युद्धमजस्यस्य वर्षाणि । तं युद्धमजं परिहृ-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'सांभ्राज्य'.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'पथं'.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'श्रीक'.

<sup>४</sup> Read 'पोल'.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'संस्तुय'.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'लाङ्घने'.

<sup>७</sup> Read 'जयसिंह'.

<sup>८</sup> Read 'तत्सुत'.

<sup>९</sup> Read 'रिशतं'.

## Third Plate; First Side.

- 37 त्व देशात्पिष्टेतरेषामपि शाश्वतानाम्<sup>1</sup> [1\*] क्षामम्भराज[1\*]नुजराजभीमो  
भीमस्समा द्वादश रक्षति स्म । [७\*] <sup>2</sup>तत्सुनुरानतारा-  
38 तिरम्भराजो <sup>3</sup>नृपाश्रयीः पंचविंशतिवर्षाणि (1) वैगीभुवमपालयत् । [८\*]  
द्वैम[1\*]तुरोम्भनृपतेर्ह[1]नृपो<sup>4</sup> राजभीमनृ-  
39 पतनयः [1\*] विद्याकलापचतुरश्रतुरंतधरामपाल्यमा[स्त्व]स्त्रः<sup>5</sup> । [९\*] अनु  
<sup>6</sup>दाना[1\*]र्नवादासीदैवदु[स्त्रे]ष्टया ततस्त्रस-<sup>7</sup>  
40 <sup>8</sup>विंशतिवर्षाणि वैगीमहिरण्यिका<sup>9</sup> । [१०\*] अत्रान्त(1)रे दाननरेन्द्र-  
स्त्रु[1\*] श्रीशक्तिवर्मा[1\*] सुरराट्सधर्मा[1\*] यशौर्यशक्त्या वि-  
41 निहृत्य शत्रू(न्)श्च द्वादशाब्दा(न्)श्चमरक्षदुर्वीम् । [११\*] तस्यैव दाननृ-  
पतेस्त्राध्याश्वार्थ[1\*]महादेव्याः [1\*] स्त्र-  
42 <sup>10</sup>नुव्विमलादित्यस्त्याश्रयवशवर्द्धनो देवः । [१२\*] अनलानलरन्ध्रगति शक-  
वर्धे वृषभमासि  
43 सितपत्ने [1\*] यष्वष्टां गुरुष्वथे सिंहे लग्ने प्रसिद्धमभिषिक्तः । [१३\*]  
शशिविशदयशोव्याख्या स्त्र-  
44 शरीरविबोधनार्थमवहत्कण्ठे [1\*] शशलक्ष्मलक्ष्मलक्ष्मीं शंभुर्विरुदंकभीमनृ-  
पतेर्यस्य । [१४\*]  
45 अरिहरिचक्रं भविदलनमुक्तसमासुक्तचरिमुक्तानिकरः [1\*] हार यिव<sup>11</sup> यस्य  
दोरसिर(1)ध्यासितजयश्रियो  
46 भाति चिरम् । [१५\*] यत्तेजः प्रपलायितरिपुपुरगृहशालभंजिकामुख-  
रोधो [1\*] लूतापटस्तु परजनविलोकना-  
47 सङ्गनवदपट यि[व]<sup>12</sup> भाति । [१६\*] दुस्त्राधनाधिकविरोधिगजे[न्द्र]संघ-  
निर्भेदतस्त्रिभुवनाकुशनाम युहे [1\*] अन्वर्त्य-  
48 त[1\*]त्रिजमजीगमदुद्धतं यो वं[हि]ष्ठसिंहपरिहासिपराक्रमश्रीः । [१७\*]  
यस्मात्त्वभीमधरणीश्वरनीतकल्प-

## Third Plate; Second Side.

- 49 <sup>13</sup>प्राघूर्वकेभमदसिक्तमङ्गीविभागः [1\*] यस्तर्जितानिलजवाश्वसहस्रसंघधाव्या-  
[ह]ताहितशिरोकित-

<sup>1</sup> Read °वाणाम्.<sup>4</sup> Read °ह्रीनृपी.<sup>7</sup> Read ततः । सप्त°.<sup>10</sup> Read °नुव्वि°.<sup>14</sup> Read °प्राघूर्व°.<sup>2</sup> Read तत्सुनु°.<sup>5</sup> Read °सास्त्रिस्त्रः.<sup>8</sup> Read °विंशति°.<sup>11</sup> Read इव.<sup>3</sup> Read °श्रयीः । पंच°.<sup>6</sup> Read दानाश्रयवा°.<sup>9</sup> Read °रनायका.<sup>12</sup> Read इव.

ii a.

izb.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

38	<p>         38          40          42          44          46          48       </p>	<p>         38          40          42          44          46          48       </p>
----	---	---

iii b.

[illegible]

62	<p>         62          64          66          68          70          72       </p>	<p>         62          64          66          68          70          72       </p>
----	---	---

- 50 शूलकोटिः । [१८\*] आदौ शंभुशिरोमणिस्र च सुधासूतिस्रुधांशस्ततस्तद्व-  
[श्रो] भरत[स्त\*]तश्च विजयादित्य-  
51 स्रुक्कांकितः [१\*] श्रीसत्याश्रयवत्सभस्तदपि च श्रीसर्वलोकाश्रयो [देवो]  
सुस्रुद्धि[भी]मनामनृपतिर्यो व-<sup>1</sup>  
52 शक्त[र्त्त]भवत् । [१९\*] सौराष्ट्रान्दारयन्ती निशितपरशुधारायमाना  
शकानां ला[टा]नां गु[र्ज]राणामथ भवति मनो-  
53 हारिणी वल्लभा वा । शूरान्स्त्र[ः\*]स्थान्विधत्ते सुकृतिवदखिला[न्स्त्रै]र-  
[मन्यान्वि]भोतान् काष्ठान्तन्त-  
54 प[ः\*]श्रीरिषो<sup>2</sup> नयति रणे शौर्यसम्पद्यदीया । [२०\*] स वीरमकर-  
ध्वजः मकरध्वज यिव<sup>3</sup> ध्वस्तविग्र-  
55 हः ग्रहपतिरिवाह्वितान्वतमसापहरः हर इव राजकलाधरः धरणीधर यिव<sup>3</sup>  
56 रमारामाभिरामः राम यिव<sup>3</sup> परशुक्रियासहः [सह]देव यिव<sup>3</sup> देव[१\*]-  
ध्वर्यनन्दनः  
57 नन्दनविशेष 'यिवाभिलषितफलसमुत्कविसहस्रः सहस्राक्षोपमानः मानव्यस-  
गोत्रः गोत्रनि-  
58 स्तारकः तारकाधिपान्वयवर्धी वृद्धिनिशाकरः करदीकृतारातिपर[म्प]रः  
परनरपतिनिकरमुकुट-  
59 तटघटितमणिगणकिरणपरिकरितसमरुणितचर[णे]न्दो[व]र[ः] वरवराहलाञ्छ-  
नालोकनम[१\*]-  
60 च[१]वित्रासिताखिलधराधीशचक्रः चक्रवर्त्तिपदवीसमुचितानेकधवलश्चक्राया-  
श्चादितसर्व-<sup>4</sup>

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 61 लोक[ः]स्त्वर्ल्लोकाश्रयश्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्ट[१]रकपरम-  
ब्रह्मण्यपरम-  
62 माहेश्वरः । 'गुहवादिवि[ष\*]यनिवासिनो 'राष्ट्रकुटप्रमुखान् कुटुंबि[न]-  
स्त्वर्ल्ल[१]समाह्वय मन्त्रिपुरोहि-  
63 तसेनापतिशुवराजदीवारिकाध्यक्षमित्यमाज्ञापयति यथा । आद्यो य[ः\*]  
स्वयमुद्भूव परमत्र-  
64 ह्ना निरुज्यान्वपो वीर्यन्तास्त्रवसृष्टमण्डमभवद्भैमस्त्रहत्तेन<sup>5</sup> यत् । तस्मात्तो-  
कपितामहो विधिरभूत्त-

<sup>1</sup> Read वंश°.<sup>2</sup> Read रवा°.<sup>3</sup> Read राष्ट्रकुट°.<sup>4</sup> Read °श्रीरिव.<sup>5</sup> Read °पुच्छायाश्चादित°.<sup>6</sup> Read °ममह°.<sup>7</sup> Read इव.<sup>8</sup> Read गुहवादि°.

- 65 आश्वरोत्थादयः<sup>1</sup> पुत्रा ये दश जज्ञिरे श्रुतिमय[१\*] वर्षस्विनी म[१\*]-  
नसाः । [२१\*] तेषां श्रेष्ठत(१)-
- 66 भी वसिष्ठ इति यस्मादन्वतीकी मुनिस्तस्मात्कण्डिन<sup>2</sup> इत्यभूदध<sup>3</sup> च तत्कौ-  
ण्डिन्यगोत्रे क-
- 67 म[१\*]त् [१\*] यो विद्वानुदितोदितद्विजवरो द्रोणः प्रमाणीभर[हु]त्त[ः\*]  
स्तुत्यमतिर्नित्योदय-<sup>4</sup>
- 68 सत्यवाक् । [२२\*] दत्ताभिधानसचिवो हरदत्तवरप्रसाद यिव<sup>5</sup> तस्य  
सुतः [१\*] शुभकप्रभा-
- 69 वमहितः प्रभुमन्त्रोत्साहशक्ति(य)संयुक्तः । [२३\*] तस्य च सङ्गुषधानः  
पतिव्रतायाश्च चीडमं[१\*]वाय[१\*]: [१\*] व-
- 70 आभिधान इति यस्मिन्सूनुतवचासुमेधासुमणः<sup>7</sup> । [२४\*] नित्याकर्षणया<sup>8</sup>  
शश्वदुभिपटुभिर्मृहे [१\*] वेद-
- 71 शास्त्राणि यज्ञानि पधन्ति<sup>9</sup> शु[क]शारिकाः । [२५\*] भीमेश्वरसमो देवो  
वेगेश्वरस[मो] नृपः [१\*] वक्षामात्यसमोमा-
- 72 त्यो न भूतो न भविष्यति । [२६\*] <sup>10</sup>नागेन्द्रेर्द्विगिभैश्च षोडशनृपैराद्ये-  
र्द्वितां<sup>11</sup> क्षमा[धु]र[१] वीरैरप्यति[शू]द्रकप्रभृति-

*Fourth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 73 भिस्वाजेर्धुरं दुस्वहां [१\*] विभ्रद्यपथि[तं]<sup>12</sup> क्रमाश्रयवलाहाहावलात्प्राप्त-  
वान्स[१\*]हाय्यं विबुदं<sup>13</sup>
- 74 भीमनृपतेः कार्त्त्येण खड्गेन च । [२७\*] <sup>14</sup>गो[त्रं]चेत्तुररिचमाधरकुलोद्दे-  
दाक्ष[हेन्द्रात्म]ः<sup>15</sup> [श्री]माश्रूपमहेन्द्र
- 75 एव नितरां गोत्रैकनिस्तारकः [१\*] तद्व्यादतिरिभ्यते<sup>16</sup> लघुतराद्व्याभिधीयं  
गुरुर्ध्वनाथोपि च यज्ञ-
- 76 टश्च विबुधव्रातैरिति<sup>17</sup> स्तूयते । [२८\*] <sup>18</sup>[य]त्रेधानलधूमधूमघटितैरभै-  
र्ब्रिजेहाहितक्षीणीभृत्पुरदाहधूमजनि-
- 77 तांभीभृत्सहस्रैस्सम<sup>17</sup> । व्याप्तं व्योम तदीयशत्रुललनादृक्पायसा[मा] च[मा]  
सिक्ता यत्परिपा-

<sup>1</sup> Read °रीयादयः.

<sup>4</sup> Read °भवद्.

<sup>5</sup> Read इव.

<sup>6</sup> Read पटवि.

<sup>13</sup> Read प्रयित.

<sup>14</sup> Read °रिभ्यते.

<sup>2</sup> Read °कण्डिन.

<sup>3</sup> Between य and म the engraver has omitted five aksharas.

<sup>7</sup> Read °सुमणः.

<sup>10</sup> Read नागेन्द्रे.

<sup>15</sup> Read विबुदं.

<sup>16</sup> Read यत्रेधा.

<sup>8</sup> Read °दय.

<sup>12</sup> Read °कचणनया.

<sup>15</sup> Read °रायैवता.

<sup>16</sup> Read गोत्रैर्ध्वना.

<sup>17</sup> Read °सम.

- 78 वनातिथिपदप्रज्ञा[ल\*]नाञ्चांभसा<sup>1</sup> । [२६\*] य[:\*] श्रीवज्रामात्यो धन-  
सन्तप्तिजगज्जनस्तुत्यः [1\*] भूसुर[वं]गा-<sup>2</sup>
- 79 दित्यशुचिरतिचतुरो वचोनिरत्ययसत्यः । [३०\*] बुधवज्रप्राकारा<sup>3</sup> गृहनि-  
यमितारिसेनिकचक्र[:\*] 1\*]
- 80 चक्रभृदुहश्रीक[:\*] श्रीकण्ठपदारविन्दपटभरणः<sup>4</sup> । [३१\*] सदा स्ववाचा  
मनसा च कर्मणान्वकारि ये-
- 81 नाधिगुणेन कुण्डिनः [1\*] प्रवृत्तवैतानिक(व)धर्मसंनतिर्हिज[1\*]धिनाधो-  
ययदारतानिधिः<sup>5</sup> । [३२\*] चालुक्चूडामणिपा-
- 82 दभक्तो भक्तैकचूडामणिरीश[मृ]र्त्तिः [1\*] कीर्त्यन्वि[तोम]ात्यशिश्रामणि[:\*]  
श्रीसौजन्यरत्नाकरनामधेयः<sup>6</sup> । [३३\*] समांगके वृ-
- 83 पपदे प्रभुता प्रधाना तादृश्यमात्यपदवी खलु तद्वितीय<sup>7</sup> । <sup>10</sup>श्रीद्वारपिञ्च-  
करक्तातपवारणादिस्तस्यां वि-
- 84 शेषमहिमा मदलाभि येन । [३४\*] तस्मै मङ्गलाय कृतकेशाय  
कारमचेडुवास्तव्याय कौण्डिन्यगोत्रा-

*Fifth Plate ; First Side.*

- 85 य[1\*]मात्यशिश्रामणये बुधवज्रप्राकाराय सौजन्यरत्नाकराय वज्रियपेमाड  
इति प्रसिद्धाभिधा-
- 86 नाय भवद्विषय<sup>11</sup> (i) पा०७७७नामग्रामेणं सार्धं रणस्ति[पू]ण्डिनामग्रा-  
मीश्वरीक्रित्य<sup>12</sup> मत्संवर्द्ध-
- 87 तत्व(r)निमित्ते मय[1\*] दत्त इति विदि[त]मस्तु व[:] । अस्यावधयः  
पूर्व[र्ज]तः कौत नडिपिय [चे]०७७ प०७७मटि क-
- 88 इ । आम्नेयतः स्त्रीतुक०७७तियुं वा[लूरियु] र[ण]स्तिपूण्डियु मुख्यलिङ्ग-  
ट्०७७न वेलंगगुण्ड<sup>13</sup> प०७७मटि कट्ट । दक्षि-
- 89 णतः पेंजे०७७ कट्ट डिम्पु[ना]लि चोव । नैरित्यतः<sup>14</sup> पालूरियुं गो०७७-  
केटियु रणस्तिपूण्डियु
- 90 मुख्यलिङ्गट्०७७न चिन्तगुण्ड<sup>15</sup> । पश्चिमतः को०७७केटि पोद०७७ । व[1\*]-  
यव्यतः ०७७सीमेव सीमा ।

<sup>1</sup> Read °नाञ्चांभसा.

<sup>2</sup> Read °प्राकारो.

<sup>3</sup> Read °गट्टवरणः.

<sup>4</sup> Read तद्वितीयः.

<sup>5</sup> Read °रीकृत्य.

<sup>6</sup> Read °गुण्ड.

<sup>7</sup> Read °सन्तर्पित°.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of से the metre (Udgiti) requires a short syllable.

<sup>9</sup> Read °नाथीयमुदारा°.

<sup>10</sup> Read °पिञ्च°.

<sup>11</sup> Read °गुण्ड.

<sup>12</sup> Read °वंश°.

<sup>13</sup> Read °रत्नाकर°.

<sup>14</sup> Read °विषय°.

<sup>15</sup> Read °नैरित्यतः°.

- 91 उत्तरतः क००प००तियुने००ट्यु सीमैव [सी]मा । ईशानतः<sup>१</sup> ए००ट्यु  
मोन्तुक००तियु रणस्तिपूण्डि-
- 92 यु मुख्यकुट०० । एतद्रण(र)स्तिपूण्डिनाम[र\*]ग्रहारसंबन्धिनः तांक००-  
पोलसुनामसंघनचे-
- 93 अस्यावधयः पूर्वतो दक्षि[णत]श्च [ग]ंगले०० । पश्चिमतः सिरि[पोदि]-  
पूण्डियु गोगनत्रोलियु ००कयं बोत्तुन कोत्तिकु०० ।
- 94 उत्तरतः सिरिपोदिपूण्डि[सीमैव] सीमा । अस्योपरि न केनचिद्वाधा  
कर्त्तव्या [र\*] यः करोति स पञ्च[मह]त्पात(र)को भव-
- 95 ति । तथा चोक्तं भगव[ता] व्यासभट्ट[र]केनापि<sup>२</sup> । बहुभिर्व्यसुधा  
दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपा[लिता] [र\*] [यस्य यस्य] [य\*]दा
- 96 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तद[र फ]लं । [३५\*] [स्व]दत्तां प[रदत्तां] व[र\*]  
यो हरेत्<sup>३</sup> वसुन्धरां [र\*] षष्टिं वर्ष(र)सह[स्र][र\*][णि विष्टायां  
ज][र\*]यते क्रि-

*Fifth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 97 मिः । [३६\*] अष्टमवर्षवर्द्धने सिंहम[र\*]से दत्तस्यास्य शासनस्य श्री-  
दण्डनायक इति द्विज[र\*]धिनायकः । आश्रमिर्नृ[प\*]का-
- 98 मो राक्षियपेहेरितनयभीमनभट्टः [र\*] कर्त्तव्यां काव्यानामध<sup>४</sup> शासनले-  
खकश्च जीताचार्यः [॥ ३७\*] ✽

#### TRANSLATION.<sup>5</sup>

[Up to line 36 the text is nearly identical with that of the Chellūr plates (II. 1-42)].<sup>6</sup>  
(Verse 7.) Having expelled this Yuddhamalla from the country and having crushed the other enemies, the terrible Rājabhīma, the younger brother of Ammarāja (I.), protected the earth for twelve years.

(V. 8.) His son Ammarāja (II.), the foremost of princes, before whom enemies prostrated themselves, ruled the country of Vēṅgi for twenty-five years.

(V. 9.) The son of king Rājabhīma (and) brother of king Amma (II.) by a second mother, king Dāna, (who was) skilled in all sciences, ruled for three years the earth to (its) four ends.

(V. 10.) Then after (the reign of) Dānārjuna, through the evil action of fate, the country of Vēṅgi was without a ruler for twenty-seven years.

<sup>१</sup> Read ईशानतः.

<sup>२</sup> Read ०केनापि.

<sup>३</sup> Read हरेत्.

<sup>४</sup> Read ०मय.

<sup>५</sup> It is my duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Hultzsch for the translation of a number of verses, the meaning of which I could not make out.

<sup>६</sup> See the translation in *South-Ind. Insor.* Vol. I. p. 57 f.

ivb.

74 74  
76 76  
78 78  
80 80  
82 82  
84 84

va.

86 86  
88 88  
90 90  
92 92  
94 94  
96 96

vb.

98 98



(V. 11.) At this point the son of king **Dāna**, that glorious **Śaktivarman**, who resembled (Indra) the king of the gods, having overcome the enemies by the force of (*his*) valour, protected the earth for twelve years.

(V. 12.) The son of this same king **Dāna** and of (*his*) virtuous great queen **Āryā** (*was*) king **Vimalāditya**, who made the family of **Satyāśraya** (*i.e.* of Polakēsin II.) prosper.

(V. 13.) In the **Śaka** year contained in the fires (3), the fires (3) and the openings of the body (9),— (*i.e.* **Śaka-Samvat 933**),—in the month **Vṛishabha**, in the bright fortnight, on the sixth *tithi*, in (the *nakshatra*) **Pushya** (combined with) **Thursday**, in the *lagna* **Simha**, he was publicly anointed.

(V. 14.) As (*the whole world*) was filled by the fame— white as the moon— of this king **Birudāṅka-Bhima**, (*the god*) **Śaṁbhu** (**Śiva**), in order to make his (*white*) body recognizable, wore on (*his*) throat (*a black spot possessing*) the splendour of the spot in the moon.

(V. 15.) The sword in his arm, to which were sticking a mass of glittering pearls which had dropped at the splitting of the temples of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, is resplendent for a long time, as if it were the necklace of the goddess of victory who rested (*on his arm*).

(V. 16.) The cobwebs, which cover the faces of the statues in the houses of the towns of the enemies routed by his valour, appear as if they were veils put on (*because they*) could not endure the sight of strangers.

(V. 17.) He, the glory of whose valour laughed at the strongest lions, made significant in battle his proud name **Tribhuvanāṅkuśa** (*i.e.* 'the elephant-goad of the three worlds') by splitting (*the temples of*) a crowd of numerous mighty elephants of the enemy, which were hard to overcome.

(V. 18.) The ground (*in front of*) his (*palace*) was sprinkled with the rut of strong foreign<sup>1</sup> elephants, brought by the rulers of the country of **Sārvabhauma**.<sup>2</sup> Crores of stakes were surmounted by the heads of enemies, which had been brought (*back*) from raids (*undertaken by*) his troops of thousands of horses which rivalled the wind in swiftness.

(V. 19.) In the beginning the founder of the race was (*the Moon*), the jewel on the head of **Śaṁbhu** (**Śiva**), the nectar-producer, the nectar-rayed; then his descendant **Bharata**; then **Vijayāditya** surnamed **Chalukya**; (*then*) the glorious **Satyāśrayavallabha**; and then the glorious king **Sarvalōkāśraya**, the prince named **Mummaḍi-Bhima**.<sup>3</sup>

(V. 20.) At its free will his great valour in battle, like the edge of a sharp axe, cuts up the **Saurāshtras**; like a wife who captivates the mind, deprives the **Śakas**, **Lāṭas** (*and*) **Gurjaras** of (*their*) courage; like good deeds, causes all heroes to reside in heaven; (*and*) drives others who are afraid to the ends of the quarters, as if the fervency of their austerities led (*them*) to the highest goal.

(L. 54.) This Cupid among heroes, who has put an end to war (*viśraha*), as Cupid has lost his body (*viśraha*); who destroys (*his*) enemies, as the sun dense darkness; who is skilled in royal sciences (*rāja-kalā*), as Hara (**Śiva**) wears the crescent of the moon (*rāja-kalā*); who is beloved by the goddess **Lakṣmī** (*Ramā-rāmā*), as a mountain is adorned with pleasure-gardens (*ram-ārāma*); who is skilled in the use of the axe, like **Rāma**; who pleases gods and priests, as **Sahadēva** is the son of the *Adhvaryus* of the gods (*i.e.* the **Āsvins**); who gladdens thousands of poets (*samut-kavi-sahasra*) (by granting) the fruit of (*their*) desires, as a kind of **Nandana**

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'guests.' The kings of the North had come on their elephants to visit Vimalāditya.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* by the kings of the North. **Sārvabhauma** is the name of the elephant of the god **Kubēra**, the regent of the Northern direction.

<sup>3</sup> This verse implies that Vimalāditya, to whom the titles **Sarvalōkāśraya** and **Mummaḍi-Bhima** refer apparently, was considered equal in importance to his ancestors: the Moon, **Bharata**, **Vijayāditya** (of **Ayōdhya**) and **Polakēsin II.**

(tree) (bears) desirable fruits coveted by thousands of birds (*samutka-vi-sahasra*); who resembles the thousand-eyed (Indra); who belongs to the *gôtra* of the *Mânavyas*; (who is) the rescuer of (his) family; who increases the race of the Moon; (who resembles) the moon in waxing; who has made crowds of enemies tributary; whose lotus-feet are surrounded and reddened by the rays of clusters of jewels set into the diadems of crowds of (bowing) hostile kings; by the mere sight of whose excellent **boar-crest** the circle of all the rulers of the earth is terrified; the shade of whose many white parasols, worthy of the dignity of an emperor, overspreads the whole world; the asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalôkâsraya*), the glorious **Vishnuvardhana-Mahârâja-dhirâja**, *Paramêsvara*, *Paramabhâṣṭraka*, the very pious one, the devout worshipper of **Mahêsvara** (*Śiva*), having called together the *Râdhakûṭas* and all other *ryots* residing in the district (*vishaya*) of **Guddavâdi**, orders as follows in the presence of the ministers, the family-priest, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent, and the door-keepers:—

(V. 21.) The primeval supreme Brahman, who was born spontaneously, subsequently created the waters. The seed emitted by him into these became a great golden egg. Out of this was produced the Creator, the progenitor of the world. From him were born ten learned (and) brilliant sons of the mind, commencing with *Marichi*.

(V. 22.) The best of them was the sage called *Vasishṭha* whose (wife) was *Arundhati*. To him was born *Kuṇḍina*. And then in due course in that *Kaṇḍinya gôtra* (appeared) *Drôṇa*, a learned *Brâhmaṇa* conversant with the tradition, whose conduct became authoritative, whose mind . . . . . was praiseworthy, who was continually rising (and) truthful.

(V. 23.) His son (was) the minister called *Datta*, who, like an excellent boon granted by *Hara* (*Śiva*), performed good deeds, was honoured on account of (his) greatness, (and) possessed the (*regal*) powers, (*viz.*) majesty, counsel and energy.

(V. 24.) The son of this abode of good qualities and of (his) devoted wife *Chidamâmbâ* is named **Vajra**, whose speech is true and pleasant, (who is) wise (and) benevolent.

(V. 25.) In his residence parrots and *mainds* recite the *Vêdas* and *Śâstras*, as they hear (them) continually every day in the house from clever students.

(V. 26.) There never was nor will there be a god like **Bhimêsvara**,<sup>1</sup> a king like the lord of **Vêṅgi** (*viz.* *Vimalâditya*), (and) a minister like the minister **Vajra**.

(V. 27.) He obtained in due course the high position of companion of king **Birudaṅka-Bhima**,—carrying by means of (his) administration through the power of (his) policy the heavy burden of the earth, which had been supported by the lords of serpents, the elephants of the quarters, and the sixteen first kings, and (holding) by (his) sword through the power of (his) arm the front of the battle, (which had been held) also by heroes like *Atiśûdraka* (?).

(V. 28.) Hosts of wise men praise both the master and the servant, because the glorious **Bhûpa-Mahêndra** (*i.e.* *Vimalâditya*) alone is much more able than (the god) *Mahêndra*, who destroyed the mass of hostile mountains (as the former) hostile kings, (but) split families<sup>2</sup> (while the former is) the only rescuer of (his) family, (and) because the weighty man named **Vajra** is superior to his (*viz.* *Indra's*) very light thunderbolt (*vajra*).

(V. 29.) The sky is filled with the clouds formed by the dark smoke of his triple fire, together with the thousands of clouds produced by the smoke of the conflagration of the cities of (all) kings on this earth hostile to him, (while) the earth is sprinkled by the pure water (used in) washing the feet of his holy guests, together with the tears of the wives of his enemies.

(V. 30.) This glorious minister **Vajra** is to be praised by (all) the people of the world whom (he) has gratified by (gifts of) money, the sun of the *Brâhmaṇa* caste, pure, very clever (and) of faultless truth in (his) speech.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the temple at *Drâkshârâms* is meant; see above, Vol. IV. p. 37, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> The author here attributes this meaning to *Indra's* surname *Gôtrachôḥṭṭri* or *Gôtrabâid*, which properly means 'the mountain-splitter.'

(V. 31.) (*This*) **Budhavajraprākāra**<sup>1</sup> keeps the troop of the soldiers of the enemy at home,<sup>2</sup> possesses the happiness and prosperity of the discus-bearer (*Vishṇu*), (*and is*) a bee at the lotus-feet of Śrīkaṇṭha (*Śiva*).

(V. 32.) This very virtuous lord of the twice-born, who always equalled Kuṇḍina<sup>3</sup> in his speech, thoughts and actions, has performed a mass of sacrificial rites (*and is*) a treasury of liberality.

(V. 33.) (*This*) **Amātyasikhāmaṇi**<sup>4</sup> is devoted to the feet of the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas (*viz.* Vimalāditya), (*is*) the only crest-jewel among devotees, resembles Īśa (*Śiva*), has acquired fame, (*and*) bears the glorious name **Saujanyaṛatnākara**.<sup>5</sup>

(V. 34.) Among the seven constituent parts of a kingdom the foremost is sovereignty, (*and*) second to it (*is*) a suitable ministry. Special distinctions, such as *śrīdvāra*,<sup>6</sup> a peacock's tail, a water-pot and a parasol, he (*viz.* Vajra) received from me in that (*office*).

(L. 84.) "Be it known to you that, for the sake of my prosperity, I have granted the village named **Ranastipūṇḍi** in your district, having made (*it*) an *agrahāra*, together with the village named **Pāruvaḷa**, to this **Amātyasikhāmaṇi Budhavajraprākāra Saujanyaṛatnākara**, who is known by the name **Vajjiya-Peggada**, is devoted to me, has taken pains (*in my service*) resides at **Kāramachēḍu**, (*and*) belongs to the *Kauṇḍinya gōtra*."

(L. 87.) The boundaries of this (*village are*):— In the east, the western bank of the tank in the middle of **Kauta**; in the south-east, the western bank of the Wood-apple pond (*Velaṅga-guṇṭa*) at the spot where the three boundaries of **Mrontukarṛu**, **Pālūru** and **Ranastipūṇḍi** meet;<sup>7</sup> in the south, the road on the ridge (*ālī*) sloping to the bank of the Big tank (*Peñjeruvu*); in the south-west, the Tamarind pond (*Chinta-guṇṭa*) at the spot where the three boundaries of **Pālūru**, **Korukēru** and **Ranastipūṇḍi** meet; in the west, a bush in **Korukēru**; in the north-west the boundary (*is*) the boundary of **Lulla**; in the north the boundary (*is*) the boundary of **Kaḷaparru** and **Elṭa**; in the north-east, the spot where the three boundaries of **Elṭa**, **Mrontukarṛu** and **Ranastipūṇḍi** meet.

(L. 92.) The boundaries of the *Amallaṅghana* (?) field in the fields of **Tāṅkaḷa**, which belongs to this *agrahāra* named **Ranastipūṇḍi**, (*are*):— In the east and south, the **[G]āṅgalēru** (*river*); in the west, **Kollikurru** near (?) **Siripodipūṇḍi**, **Gōṅganavrōlu** and **Lulla**; in the north the boundary (*is*) the boundary of **Siripodipūṇḍi**.

(L. 94.) Nobody shall cause trouble to this (*grant*); he who does (*it*) becomes possessed of the five great sins.

(L. 95.) And the venerable lord **Vyāsa** has also said:— [Verses 35 and 36 contain admonitions to future rulers.]

(L. 97 and v. 37.) The executor (*ājñapti*) of this grant, which was given in the prosperous eighth year, in the month **Simha**, (*was*) **Nṛi[pā]kāma**, the lord of the twice-born, entitled the glorious **Danḍanāyaka**. The author of these verses (*was*) **Bhīmanabhaṭṭa**, son of **Rāchiya-Peddēri**. And the writer of the edict (*was*) **Jontāchārya**.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* 'the wall of adamant (in protecting) wise men.'

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* they are afraid to leave their houses.

<sup>3</sup> According to verse 22, Vajra belonged to the *gōtra* of Kuṇḍina.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* 'the crest-jewel of ministers.'

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* 'the ocean of gentleness.'

<sup>6</sup> Compare *makarātōraṅga* which, as well as the peacock's tail, was one of the emblems of the Eastern Chālukyas. Compare also above, Vol. III. p. 92, verse 38, and Vol. IV. p. 48, verse 3.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding *muyyalikurru* see above, Vol. IV. p. 96, note 4.



# INDEX.<sup>1</sup>

A		PAGE
Abhimanyu, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i> , . . . . .	188	
Ablūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	258n	
Achalapuri, <i>s. a.</i> Koṇḍaviḍu, . . . . .	112, 131	
Āchārasāra, <i>Jaina work</i> , . . . . .	25	
Āchāri, <i>an artificer</i> , . . . . .	219	
Āchcharapākkam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	323, 324, 325	
Achyutaprēkshāchārya, <i>teacher</i> , . . . . .	261	
Achyutarāya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	231n	
Ādaraguñchi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	82, 180, 185	
Āḍavi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	321, 322	
Āḍakatte-hola, <i>field</i> , . . . . .	213	
Āḍanūllu, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	346	
Ādhika, <i>s. a.</i> Adigaimān, . . . . .	331, 332	
Ādhikārika, . . . . .	35, 286, 297, 300	
Ādhipurīśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	283, 310	
Ādhōra, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	27, 35	
Ādidēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	203	
Adigai, <i>s. a.</i> Tiruvadi, . . . . .	331	
Adigaimān, . . . . .	331, 332	
Adigan, <i>s. a.</i> Adigaimān, . . . . .	331, 332, 333, 334	
Ādityavarman, <i>Kādamba ch.</i> , . . . . .	83	
Ādityavarman, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	191	
Ādivārāha, <i>sur. of Bhōjadēva</i> , . . . . .	196n	
Adiyama, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	331n	
Āḍūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	89n	
Ādvaita, <i>doctrine</i> , . . . . .	262n, 265n	
Āgarayya, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	41, 43, 44, 45	
Agastya, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	109n	
Agastya, <i>riśāi</i> , . . . . .	10n, 204, 346n	
Agastya-Mahēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	114	
Agastyēśa, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	117	
agnihōtra, . . . . .	300	
Agnisarman, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	94, 97	
Āgulēvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	304	
agrahāra, . . . . .	114, 115, 157, 230, 254, 361	
Āhavamalla, <i>Kalachurya k.</i> , . . . . .	92	
Āhavamalla, <i>sur. of Sōmēśvara I.</i> , . . . . .	23n, 169n	
Āhavamalla, <i>sur. of Taila II.</i> , . . . . .	71, 191n	
Āhavamalla-Bhōteyadēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	83, 191n	
Āhirama, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	199	
Ahitamārtanḍa, <i>sur. of Kakka II.</i> , . . . . .	181	
Ahitarajava, <i>sur. of Indra IV.</i> , . . . . .	182	
Aḥsan Shāh, <i>Musalman ch.</i> , . . . . .	324n	
Aihoje, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	1, 99n, 100n, 164, 169n, 171, 175, 185, 191, 255n, 295n	
Aitarāya-Brahmana, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	9n	
Aiyappa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	324	
aja=9, . . . . .	114n	
Ajitatirthakara-purāṇa, . . . . .	72	
Ājñapti, . . . . .	89, 347, 361	
Akalanka, <i>sur. of Vikrama-Chōla</i> , . . . . .	228, 229	
Akalavarsha, <i>sur. of Rāshtrakūṭa kings</i> , . . . . .	27, 34, 161, 162, 169, 175, 176, 178, 180, 186, 187, 188, 193, 208, 312, 213	
Akalavarsha-Krishnarāja, <i>Gujarāt Rāshtra-</i> <i>kūṭa ch.</i> , . . . . .	168n, 176n, 184, 287	
Akalavarsha-Subhatunga, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	189, 190n, 286	
Akkama or Akkambikā, <i>queen of Rājendra-</i> <i>Chōla</i> , . . . . .	269, 276n	
Akkara, <i>metre</i> , . . . . .	213, 314	
akshaya-tritīyā, <i>tithi</i> , . . . . .	39n	
Akshōbbhyatīrtha, <i>Mādhva teacher</i> , . . . . .	261, 263	
Alagiyamanavāḷan, <i>s. a.</i> Viśhṇu, . . . . .	322	
Alakṣhā-vishaya, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	209, 213	
Ālampūṇḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	320n, 328	
Ālās, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	208, 209	
Ālatā, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	209	
Al-Idrisi, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	190n	
Alinā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	297	
Alābābād, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	3n	
Alūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	230	
alphabets:—		
box-headed, . . . . .	12	
Grantha, . . . . .	79, 83, 228, 315n, 320, 323, 331	
Kanarese, . . . . .	25, 41, 43n, 46, 50, 74, 78, 90, 98, 160, 161, 162, 164, 213, 251, 255, 258	
Nāgarī, . . . . .	58, 74, 198	
Telugu, . . . . .	38, 78, 108, 116, 146, 223, 230, 260, 268, 334, 348	
Vatṭeluttu, . . . . .	315n	

<sup>1</sup> The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add.' to the additions on pp. v. to vii. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.* = chief; *co.* = country; *di.* = district or division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *f.* = female; *k.* = king; *m.* = male; *mo.* = mountain; *ri.* = river; *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *vi.* = village or town; *W.* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Ālūgu, vi., . . . . .	29, 37	Aphilwād, vi., . . . . .	190n
Ālupa, family, . . . . .	10	Aniyāka-Bhīma, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	268, 273, 275, 276, 277
Āmalāpuram, vi., . . . . .	347	Aniyākabhīma, s. a. Anāgabhīma I., . . . . .	198, 199, 200
Āmallanḡhana, <i>field</i> , . . . . .	361	Āñjanādri, s. a. Tirumalai, . . . . .	323, 330
Āmarakōṣa, . . . . .	128n, 203n	Āñjanēya, s. a. Hanumat, . . . . .	277
Āmarāvati, vi., . . . . .	85, 112, 130n, 146, 147, 148, 167, 224, 233n, 269	aṅkakāra, a <i>champion</i> , . . . . .	56n, 57n, 83, 132n, 179n, 182n
Āmarēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	146, 147, 148, 155	Ānkama, s. a. Akkama, . . . . .	269, 273, 274, 276n
Āmātyasīkhāmaṇi, <i>sur. of</i> Vajra, . . . . .	350, 361	Ānkanāthapura, vi., . . . . .	21
Āmbūr, vi., . . . . .	321	Ānkatrinētra, <i>sur. of</i> Kṛishṇa III., . . . . .	51n, 53n, 54n, 83, 178, 179n
Āmma I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	47, 358	Āṇṇa Goppaṇṇa, s. a. Goppaṇṇa, . . . . .	324
Āmma II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	47, 349, 351, 358	Āṇṇavara, vi., . . . . .	116
Āmmalapūṇḍi, vi., . . . . .	147, 148n, 156	Āṇṇa-Vāma, <i>Redḍi k.</i> , . . . . .	108, 129n, 130n
Āmōghavarsha I., <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	25, 26, 27, 28, 34n, 35, 59, 64n, 100, 102, 106, 107, 166n, 167, 168n, 173n, 174, 175, 183, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 209, 255n	Āṇṇigere, vi., . . . . .	71, 74n, 100, 101, 107
Āmōghavarsha II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	172n, 176, 189	Āṇṇitāṭaka, s. a. Āṇṇigere, . . . . .	100n
Āmōghavarsha, <i>sur. of</i> Kakka II., . . . . .	26n, 181, 182	antaḡkara-vishṭika, . . . . .	13n, 15n
Āmōghavarsha, <i>sur. of</i> Vaddiga, . . . . .	52n, 55, 70, 71, 176n, 178, 186, 187, 188, 189	antarāṅga, . . . . .	135, 141
Āmōghavarsha-Vākpātirāja, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . . .	186n	Ānumagōḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	346
amṛitapaḍi, . . . . .	232n	Ānumakoṇḡa, s. a. Ānamkoṇḡ, . . . . .	91
Āṇṇikkondi, vi., . . . . .	323	anupravara:—	
Ānamkoṇḡ, vi., . . . . .	39n, 91, 183n	Āudala, . . . . .	136
Ānand, vi., . . . . .	297	Āparājita, <i>sur. of</i> Prithivipati I., . . . . .	59
Ānandapura, s. a. Ānand, . . . . .	295, 297, 299	Āparimitavarsha, <i>sur. of</i> Dantivarman of Guja-	
Ānandatīrttha, <i>Mādhva teacher</i> , . . . . .	260, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266	rāt, . . . . .	236
Anāgabhīma I., <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	198, 200	Āpasundara, s. a. Āsunder, . . . . .	286 and add.
Ananta, <i>serpent</i> , . . . . .	34, 204	Āppa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 129, 130, 131, 132, 231
Ananta-Gōpinātha, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	113, 116	Āppa, s. a. Varuṇa, . . . . .	129
Anantarasa-Oḡeya, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	327	Āppāpura, vi., . . . . .	113, 115, 132
Anantavarman, <i>Maukhari k.</i> , . . . . .	3	Āppāyika, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	2, 9
Anantavarman, <i>sur. of</i> Chōḡagaṅga, . . . . .	273n, 276n	apṛastutapṛasāṇṇā, <i>alamkāra</i> , . . . . .	9n
Ananta-Vāsudēva, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	198	Apratidāḡhōṣa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	136
Anantaviṣṇubhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	241	Arasiyavāḡa, vi., . . . . .	209, 213
Āndhra, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	85, 203n, 315, 316	araṭṭhasāṇṇvināyika, . . . . .	88, 319
Āndhra-maṇḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, s. a. Āndhrapatha, . . . . .	85n	ardhōḡaya, . . . . .	267
Āndhrāpatha or Āndhrapatha, <i>the Telugu country</i> , . . . . .	85, 88	Argalāḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	214
Āneveḡeṅga, <i>sur. of</i> Kṛishṇa III., . . . . .	51n, 55n, 178, 179	Arhat, . . . . .	332
aṅga=7, . . . . .	128n	Arihararāja, s. a. Harihara II., . . . . .	329
Āṅga, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	92, 106, 203n	ari-samāsa or viruddha-samāsa, . . . . .	106n, 179n
Āṅgaḡi, vi., . . . . .	90	Ariyāṇṇa-Uḡaiyar, s. a. Harihara II., . . . . .	327
Āṅgaḡi-Gōpinātha-Hari, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	113, 115	Arkēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	21
aṅgarāṅgabhōḡa, . . . . .	39, 93	Arttani-vishaya, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	141
aṅgarāṅgavaiḡbhava, . . . . .	232n	Ārulāḡa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	230
		Āryadēvi or Āryāmahādēvi, <i>queen of</i> Dānār-	
		nava, . . . . .	349, 359
		Āryasamḡha, <i>the Buddhist community</i> , . . . . .	286
		Ārya-siddhānta, . . . . .	21n, 84, 266, 268, 279, 281

	PAGE		PAGE
Āryāvarta, . . . . .	203	Bālabhārata, <i>chamṛā</i> , . . . . .	109n
aṣṭabhōga, . . . . .	93	Baḷagāmi or Baḷagāhve, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	51n, 53n, 57n,
Aska, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	137	72, 91, 92, 93, 94, 99n, 100n, 107n, 165n,	
Assam. <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	134		252, 254
Asundar, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	236 add.	Bālavālabhībhujaṅga, <i>sur.</i> of Bhavadēva-	
Āśvins, <i>gods</i> , . . . . .	359	Bhaṭṭa, . . . . .	193, 203, 204, 205
Ātakūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	42n, 48, 50, 53, 70, 80,	Balavarman, <i>Prāgyōtishā k.</i> , . . . . .	134
	178, 185, 187, 188	bālgachchu, . . . . .	45n, 52, 53n, 57
Atharvaveda, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	9n	Balharā, <i>s. a.</i> Vallabharāja, . . . . .	169, 190
Atisayadhavala, <i>sur.</i> of Amoghavarsha I., 100,		balī, . . . . .	300
	106, 107, 175, 186, 188	Bālivamśa, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	256n
Atisūdraka, <i>k. (P)</i> , . . . . .	360	Baillāla I., <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . . . .	90, 91, 95
Atṭahāsa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	203	Baillāla II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	92, 94, 97
Āttan-Kōmbura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	229	Baillāvi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	17
Ātuka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	88n	Bailligāve, <i>s. a.</i> Baḷagāmi, . . . . .	262
Ātukūr, <i>s. a.</i> Ātakūr, . . . . .	50, 52, 53, 56	Bāmanghātī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	134, 185
Ātukūr twelve, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	50, 52, 57	Bāpa, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	143, 240
Ātukūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	115, 132	Banaiya, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	297
Ātyaṅga, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	203	Banavase, <i>s. a.</i> Banavāsi, . . . . .	53, 57, 252
Aubhaja-Nārasimha-Hari, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	116	Banavāsi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	13
Avacha, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	214, 217, 218	Banavāsi twelve-thousand, <i>di.</i> , 27, 52, 162, 163,	
avagraha, . . . . .	199, 203, 286		251 and add., 252, 253, 254
Avanibhājana, <i>sur.</i> of Mahēndravarmān I., . . . . .	320	Baṇḍuladēvi or Bhaṇḍuladēvi, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	39
Avanibhājana-Pallavēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	320	Bāṇḍēvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	20, 21
Avanijanāśraya-Pulakēśirāja, <i>Gujarāt Chalu-</i>		Bāṇḍāḷkōṭe, <i>s. a.</i> Bāḡalkōṭ, . . . . .	101n
<i>kya ch.</i> , . . . . .	191, 192	Bangalore, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	41, 45, 50, 67n, 73
Avanti, <i>s. a.</i> Ujjain, . . . . .	195	Baṅkapura or Baṅkāpura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	26n, 28
Avaravādi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	23, 37	Baṅkōṭa or Baṅkōṭya, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	23, 27, 28, 35, 36, 37
Ayōdhyā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	131, 336, 346, 359n	Bannahalli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	16
Āyuktaka, . . . . .	35	Bāpaṭla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	269, 336
Ayya, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	39	Bappa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	192
Ayyapadēva, <i>Nolamba k.</i> , . . . . .	47, 48, 49, 65, 70	Bappasvāmin, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	295, 300
		Bappūra or Batpūra, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	72
		Bappuvarasa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	189 add.
		Baragūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	47, 66
		Bārapāsi, <i>s. a.</i> Vārapāsi, . . . . .	167
		Barma, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	83
		Baroda, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106n, 168n, 170, 172n, 173, 181n,
			183, 186, 187, 190n, 194, 209, 287, 290n
		Bārūkūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	261n, 327, 328
		Basavayya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	70n
		Batgere, Baṭṭagēri, or Baṭṭakere, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	101n, 162n, 175
		Bauddha, . . . . .	165n, 204
		Bayal-nāḍ, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	63, 71
		Bayyalamahādēvi or Bayyamāmbā, <i>queen of</i>	
		Manma-Gēta, . . . . .	157, 158, 159
		Bēgūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	42, 45, 48, 68, 69n, 70, 71n, 82, 103n
		Behuru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29, 37
		Bejavāda or Bejavāḷa, <i>s. a.</i> Bezvāḍa, . . . . .	160, 336
		Belatūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	52, 53, 56

## B

	PAGE		PAGE
Belatūru, vi., . . . . .	20, 21, 23, 213, 214, 215, 218	Bhīmarasa, ch., . . . . .	254
Belgali three-hundred, di., . . . . .	27	Bhīmarathi, vi., . . . . .	2
Belleru, vi., . . . . .	28, 37	Bhīmavaram, vi., . . . . .	219, 220
Bēlūr, vi., . . . . .	90n, 91, 99n	Bhīmāvuram, vi., . . . . .	147, 158
Bēlūru, vi., . . . . .	57n	Bhīmésvara, te., . . . . .	93, 220, 224, 279, 360
Belvola three-hundred, di., . . . . .	52, 53, 57, 70, 91, 93, 95, 97, 98, 101, 107, 257	Bhōgaḍa, m., . . . . .	141
Bempūr, s. a. Bēgār, . . . . .	45, 48, 50	bhōgapati, . . . . .	141n, 300
Bempūr twelve, di., . . . . .	45, 47, 48n, 49	bhōgika, . . . . .	37, 297, 300
Beṇḍanūru, vi., . . . . .	28, 36, 37	bhōgikapāla, . . . . .	295
Beṇḍigeri, vi., . . . . .	101n	Bhōja, co., . . . . .	218
Bērūni, author, . . . . .	114n	Bhōja I., <i>Kanaui ch.</i> , . . . . .	198
Bēta, <i>Amarāvatī ch.</i> , . . . . .	147, 288n	Bhōjadēva, <i>Kanaui k.</i> , . . . . .	196n
Bezvaḍa, vi., . . . . .	159, 336	Bhujabala, <i>sur. of Ballāla II.</i> , . . . . .	92n
Bhādāna, vi., . . . . .	168, 172n, 175, 176, 178, 181, 192, 193	Bhujagendra, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	73n
Bhadrabāhu, <i>Jaina saint</i> , . . . . .	68n	bhukti, . . . . .	28, 36, 37
Bhagavadgītā, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	265n	bhūmicohhidra, . . . . .	136, 141, 300
bhagavatpādāchārya, . . . . .	260, 265	Bhundarkowteh, vi., . . . . .	add.
Bhagtratha, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . . . .	56	Bhūpa-Mahēndra, <i>sur. of Vimalāditya</i> , . . . . .	350, 360
Bhairamarathi, s. a. Bhīmarathi, . . . . .	2, 9	Bhussanahalli, vi., . . . . .	325
Bhairanmaṭṭi, vi., . . . . .	161	Bhūtārya, s. a. Būtuga II., . . . . .	70
Bhāka, <i>sur. of Mahēndrapāla</i> , . . . . .	198	Bhuvanabhājana, <i>viruda</i> , . . . . .	320n
Bhaṇḍāragaviṭṭage, s. a. Bhundarkowteh, . . . . .	add.	Bhuvanāditya, s. a. Būtuga II., . . . . .	71
Bhaṇḍārakēri, vi., . . . . .	261n	Bhuvanēśvar, vi., . . . . .	198
Bhāpabhānavarman, m., . . . . .	319	Bijabbe, <i>queen of Maruḍadēva</i> , . . . . .	59
Bharata, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . . . .	359	Bilūtr, vi., . . . . .	50n, 61, 65, 68, 73, 82
Bhāratatātparyanirpaya, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	262, 263	Binakalamma, te., . . . . .	23
Bhārata war, . . . . .	3, 11	Bīrarabīra, <i>sur. of Indra IV.</i> , . . . . .	182
Bhāravi, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	3, 7n, 12, 105 add.	Birudānka-Bhīma, <i>sur. of Vimalāditya</i> , 350, 359, 360	
Bhārgava, s. a. Paraśurāma, . . . . .	346	Birudarājabhayamkara-valanāpḍu, di., . . . . .	223
Bhartapūṇḍi, vi., . . . . .	116	Bissēnhalli, vi., . . . . .	64
Bharukachchha, s. a. Broach, . . . . .	297	Biṭraguṇṭa, vi., . . . . .	108, 130n, 230
Bharukachchha-vishaya, di., . . . . .	295, 300	boar crest, . . . . .	251, 252, 334, 347, 360
bhaṭāra, . . . . .	162, 194	Bōdh-Gayā, vi., . . . . .	3, 189
Bhaṭkal, vi., . . . . .	324	brahmādēya, . . . . .	83, 318, 319
Bhaṭṭa, s. a. Kumārila, . . . . .	204	Brahmagupta, <i>astronomer</i> , . . . . .	21n
bhaṭṭaputra, . . . . .	141	brahman - 9, . . . . .	114, 115
bhaṭṭāraka, . . . . .	106, 213	Brahman, ch., . . . . .	92, 96
Bhaṭṭu, m., . . . . .	300	Brahman, <i>god</i> , 105, 128n, 165n, 204, 246, 273, 275, 277, 330, 336, 360	
Bhavadēva, m., . . . . .	203	brahmapura, . . . . .	199
Bhavadēva-Bhaṭṭa, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	198, 203, 204, 205	Brahma-siddhānta, 20, 21, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 301, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 313, 325, 326, 327, 347	
Bhāvanārāyana, te., . . . . .	336	Brahmasūtra, . . . . .	265n
Bhavannaja, m., . . . . .	318	brihadbhōgin, . . . . .	141
Bhillama, <i>Yādava k.</i> , . . . . .	92, 98	Brihadīśvara, te., . . . . .	313
Bhīma I., <i>Amarāvatī ch.</i> , . . . . .	147, 155	Brihannārikā, s. a. Banaiya, . . . . .	295, 297, 300
Bhīma II., do., . . . . .	147, 155, 156	Brihaspati, <i>Jupiter</i> , . . . . .	98, 247n, 248n
Bhīma II., s. a. Chālukya-Bhīma II., . . . . .	70	Brihatphalāyana, <i>gōtra</i> , . . . . .	316, 318, 319
Bhīmanabhāṭṭa, m., . . . . .	350, 361	Brihatsamhitā, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	9n, 250n
Bhīmana-Bōya, m., . . . . .	273		

	PAGE		PAGE
British Museum plates, . . . . .	231n	Chalukya, Eastern, <i>dy.</i> , 3, 47, 64n, 70, 76, 77,	
Broach, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	297	82, 141n, 148, 170n, 190n, 191, 196n,	
Budda, <i>Konḍapaḍmaṭi ch.</i> , . . . . .	274, 276	209, 223n, 269, 334, 335, 336, 348, 349,	
Budda, <i>Nāṭavāḍi ch.</i> , . . . . .	157, 158, 159, 160	350, 361n	
Budda I., <i>Konḍapaḍmaṭi ch.</i> , . . . . .	274, 275	Chalukya, Western, <i>dy.</i> , 1, 2, 4, 64n, 71, 72,	
Budda II. or Buddhavarman, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	274, 275	74, 81, 91, 92, 169n, 181, 182, 187n, 189,	
Buddha, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	146, 147, 148, 155, 156, 157, 159	190, 191, 192, 193, 208, 224, 251 add.,	
Buddharāja, <i>Kalackuri k.</i> , . . . . .	295, 296, 299n, 300	253, 254, 295, 296	
Buddharāja or Buddarāja, <i>Konḍapaḍmaṭi ch.</i> ,		Chālukya-Bhīma I., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	220n
268, 269, 273, 274, 277, 278		Chālukya-Bhīma II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	47
Buddhavarman, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	269, 273, 274, 275, 277	Chālukyabhīmāpura, <i>s. a.</i> Bhimavaram, . . . . .	220, 223
Buddhist, . . . . .	112, 148, 286, 287	Chālukyachakravartin, <i>sur. of</i> Taila III., . . . . .	91n
Budha, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	203	Chālukya-Chōla, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	220, 269
Budhavajraprakāra, <i>sur. of</i> Vajra, . . . . .	350, 361	Chālukyapañchānana, <i>sur. of</i> Pañchalādēva, . . . . .	269
Buguḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	134, 144, 146n	Chambā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	188n
Bukka I., <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	129n, 263, 324,	Chāmena-Bōya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	273
325, 327, 329		Champāhīṭṭi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	205n
Bukka II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	328, 329, 330	Chāmuṇḍarāja, <i>Chaulukya k.</i> , . . . . .	190n
Bukkapa or Bukkappa, <i>s. a.</i> Bukka I., 324,		Chāpakyachaturmukha, <i>sur. of</i> Gōvinda IV., . . . . .	177
325, 329		Chaudaḍibhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	241
Bulandshahr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	196n	Chandēlla, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	203n
bull crest, . . . . .	84, 133, 140, 143	Chandiyamma, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	241
Būtabbe, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	218	Chandrabhūṣaṇa, <i>s. a.</i> Siddhāntichandra-	
Būtara, <i>s. a.</i> Būtuga, . . . . .	61, 62, 63, 68, 69	bhūṣaṇa, . . . . .	94
Būtuga I., <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , 42, 48, 50n, 57, 59,		Chandradhava, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	199
61, 62, 69, 70, 71		Chandrāditya, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	191
Būtuga II., <i>do.</i> , 48, 51, 52, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62,		Chandragupta, <i>Jaina saint</i> , . . . . .	68n
63, 69n, 70, 71, 83, 180		Chandraprabhapurāṇa, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	214
		Channa-Kēśava-Ramānātha, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	114
		Chappaka, <i>s. a.</i> Chambā, . . . . .	188n
		Chāpa, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	196n, 197
		Chāpa, <i>s. a.</i> Dhanna, . . . . .	301
		Charamāḍel (Coromandel), . . . . .	110
		charu, . . . . .	300
		Chaturānana, <i>sur. of</i> Śālva-Timma, . . . . .	128
		Chaturbhūja, <i>s. a.</i> Vishnu, . . . . .	128n
		Chaturthābhijana, <i>s. a.</i> Chaturthakula, . . . . .	269, 273
		Chaturthakula, <i>the Śūdra caste</i> , . . . . .	157, 158, 276
		Chaubattamalla, <i>sur. of</i> Śālva-Timma, . . . . .	128
		Chaulukya, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	190n
		chavela or chavala, <i>coin</i> , . . . . .	233
		Chēbrōlu, <i>vi.</i> , 38, 39, 220, 223, 224, 275n, 276, 280	
		Chelladhva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	28
		Chellakēṭana, <i>sur. of</i> Bankēśa, . . . . .	28
		Chellapatāka, <i>sur. of</i> Lōkāditya, . . . . .	28
		Chellūr, <i>vi.</i> , 3, 334, 335, 336, 344n, 349, 358	
		Chembarṭi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	156
		Chembrōlu, <i>s. a.</i> Chēbrōlu, . . . . .	224, 227
		Chēṭiobi, <i>s. a.</i> Śēṭiji, . . . . .	323, 330
		Chēra, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	51n, 255n, 323n, 331, 332

## C

Cambodian inscription, . . . . .	1n, 4
Catur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	110
Ceylon, <i>island</i> , . . . . .	214
chaitya, <i>a stūpa</i> , . . . . .	146, 147, 155
Chākirāja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	61
Chakratīrtha, . . . . .	262
Chakrāyudha, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	197
Chaladaggali, <i>sur. of</i> Indra IV., . . . . .	182
Chaladāṅkakāra, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	83, 182
Chaladāṅkarāma, <i>sur. of</i> Śāntivarman, . . . . .	179n
Chalakenallāta, <i>sur. of</i> Krishṇa III., 176, 179, 180	
Challagarā, <i>s. a.</i> Challagaregi, . . . . .	147, 148, 156
Challagaregi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	148
Challēvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	50, 52, 56
Chalukya, <i>family</i> , 2, 7, 8, 12n, 191, 192, 345, 359	
Chālukya, <i>do.</i> , 34, 155, 160, 220, 223, 224, 225,	
247, 259, 260, 345n, 346, 361	

	PAGE		PAGE
Chéramān-Perumāl-Kōyilūr, vi., . . . . .	331	Dakshināpatha, <i>the Dekkhan</i> , . . . . .	173n
Chétanabhaṭṭa, m., . . . . .	351	Dāmaka-Amare-Bōya, m., . . . . .	155
Chharampasvāmin, m., . . . . .	146	Dambal, vi., . . . . .	98, 101n
Chhavalakkhaya, vi., . . . . .	144, 146	damma or dhamma, coin, . . . . .	233
Chicacole, vi., . . . . .	42	Dāmōdaradatta, m., . . . . .	13, 16
Chidamāmbā, f., . . . . .	360	Dāna or Dānārava, E. Chalukya k., 349, 358, 359	
Chikka-Kampanna, s. a. Kampana II., . . . . .	324, 326	Dāndāva, m., . . . . .	136
Chik-Kāṭi, vi., . . . . .	61	daṇḍanātha, . . . . .	109n
Chikkulla, vi., . . . . .	16, 18n, 84, 135n, 159	daṇḍanāyaka, . . . . .	54n, 92, 106, 111 add., 361
Chiñchila, s. a. Chiñchli, . . . . .	255n	dāṇḍapāsika, . . . . .	135, 141
Chiñchli, vi., . . . . .	83, 105n, 106n, 179n, 180, 255n	Dandapur, vi., . . . . .	177
Chintagunṭa, pond, . . . . .	361	Dandimahādēvi, queen, . . . . .	133, 135, 136, 140, 144
Chintapalli, vi., . . . . .	147, 148, 156	Dantidurga, Rāshtrakūṭa k., 26, 27, 34, 161,	
Chitpāvan Brāhmaṇas, . . . . .	241n	167, 168, 169, 170, 172n, 174n, 182,	
Chitrakūṭa, hill-fort, . . . . .	106	183, 187n, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193,	
Chitravedanga, sur. of Khoṭṭiga, . . . . .	180	197n, 209	
Chōḍa, s. a. Chōla, . . . . .	155	Dantivarman, ch., . . . . .	208, 213, 287
Chōḍa or Chōḍerāja, Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi ch., . . . . .	274, 276	Dantivarman, Gujardt Rāshtrakūṭa ch., . . . . .	168n, 285, 286, 287
Chōḍagaṅga, E. Chalukya ch., 334, 335, 345,			
346, 347, 348		Dantivarman I. Rāshtrakūṭa k., . . . . .	168, 183
Chōḍagaṅga, E. Gaṅga k., . . . . .	199, 200, 273n, 276n	Dantivarman II., do., . . . . .	168, 192, 209, 212
Chōḍa-Gonka, s. a. Gonka III., . . . . .	269n	Daquem (Dekkhan), . . . . .	110
Chōḍakulaśekhara, sur. of Kulōttunga I., . . . . .	221	Dasakumāracharita, quoted, . . . . .	103n, 245n
Chōḍa-maṇḍala, co., . . . . .	223	Dāsamma, m., . . . . .	161, 162
Chōḍāvuram, sur. of Ammalapūndi, . . . . .	147, 156	Dasavatāra, cave te., 27n, 168, 174, 181n, 183, 193	
Chōḍerāja, Amaravati ch., . . . . .	147, 156	dates :—	
Chōḍēvara, te., . . . . .	39	recorded by a chronogram, 112, 129, 131,	
Chokhad, vi., . . . . .	286 add.	323, 330	
Chokkhakuṭi, s. a. Chokhad, . . . . .	286 and add.	recorded in numerical symbols, 85, 86, 134, 135,	
Chōla, co., 11, 20, 23, 24, 44n, 51, 52, 53n, 56,		136, 295, 316	
57, 74, 75, 76, 81, 82, 92, 169n, 212,		recorded in numerical words, 39, 112, 113,	
214, 217, 218, 220, 227, 302, 303, 304,		114, 115, 116, 117, 128, 155, 156, 159,	
319, 321, 323n, 331, 333n, 335, 349, 350		221, 231, 266, 267, 268, 273, 275n,	
Chōlatripētra, biruda, . . . . .	53n	276n, 277n, 278n, 334, 345, 359	
Chōlēsvara, te., . . . . .	281	Datta, m., . . . . .	360
		David, m., . . . . .	89
		days, lunar :—	
		bright fortnight :—	
		first, . . . . .	21, 25n, 283, 303, 327, 328
		second, . . . . .	180n, 310, 326
		third, . . . . .	39, 281, 283
		fourth, . . . . .	311
		fifth, 17, 18, 19, 268, 275, 283, 307, 312,	
		325, 328, 329	
		sixth, . . . . .	282, 306, 325, 349, 359
		seventh, . . . . .	208, 213, 263n, 328, 329
		eighth, . . . . .	260, 266
		ninth, . . . . .	262, 304
		tenth, 147, 155, 156, 176n, 282, 302, 303,	
		309, 330	
Dabbhellanka, s. a. Dabhel, . . . . .	286 and add.		
Dabhel, vi., . . . . .	286 add.		
Dabka, vi., . . . . .	307		
Dadda I., Gurjara k., . . . . .	296n		
Dadda II., do., . . . . .	296, 297		
Daderkop, vi., . . . . .	29n		
Dadhēre, vi., . . . . .	29, 37		
Dadiga-maṇḍala, di., . . . . .	256n		
Dadigarasa, ch., . . . . .	256, 257		
Dakshina-Kēdārēsvara, te., . . . . .	51n, 94		
Dakshina-Kōsalā, co., . . . . .	136n, 141		
Dakshipāmūrti-Bhaṭṭa, m., . . . . .	230		

	PAGE		PAGE
eleventh, 111n, 157, 159n, 221, 267, 279, 325		Tuesday, . . . . .	282, 284, 307, 326, 327
twelfth, . . . . .	111, 129, 255n	Wednesday, 221, 232, 233, 260, 266, 279,	
thirteenth, . . . . .	23, 180n, 310, 311, 313	283, 284, 285, 304, 305, 306, 307, 309,	
fourteenth, . . . . .	313	325, 326, 330	
fifteenth, . . . . .	159, 160, 232, 325n, 327, 328	Thursday, . . . . .	20, 21, 24, 147, 155, 156,
full-moon, 13, 15, 20, 24, 25, 26, 36, 93, 97,		157, 159, 160, 259, 260, 263, 275, 281,	
112, 114, 115, 116, 220, 225, 263, 278,		303, 306, 308, 325, 328, 329, 334, 345,	
280, 329, 334, 345, 347		349, 359	
dark fortnight :—		Friday, 220, 266, 275, 278, 285, 303, 308,	
first, . . . . .	21n, 307	309, 310, 311, 326, 327, 329	
second, . . . . .	259, 260, 282, 309	Saturday, . . . . .	39, 83, 84, 93, 94, 97, 111,
third, . . . . .	303, 310, 311	129, 225, 266, 267, 282, 301, 306, 310,	
fourth, . . . . .	282, 284, 306	312, 313	
fifth, . . . . .	136, 275, 280, 326	Dēbhaka, s. a. Dabka, . . . . .	295, 297, 300
sixth, . . . . .	308	Dēbūr, vi., . . . . .	66
seventh, . . . . .	308, 309, 326	Dēcha, m., . . . . .	116
eighth, . . . . .	22, 24, 225	Dēkabbe or Dēkale, f., . . . . .	214, 215, 218, 219
ninth, 268n, 284, 286 and add., 305, 307,		Dendulāru, vi., . . . . .	159
312, 313		Dēōli, vi., 26n, 64n, 70, 71, 170, 172n, 176,	
tenth, 18n, 284, 285, 302, 304, 305, 326, 327		178, 179, 183, 184, 186, 187, 189n, 190,	
eleventh, . . . . .	111n, 301, 306	192, 193	
twelfth, . . . . .	23, 217	Dēśināthēśvara, te., . . . . .	332
thirteenth, . . . . .	286, 285, 308	Dēśiya-gaṇa, . . . . .	26, 36
fourteenth, . . . . .	326	Dēvagere, vi., . . . . .	13, 17, 18n
fifteenth, . . . . .	267, 295, 300	Dēvagēri, vi., . . . . .	101n, 102n
new-moon, . . . . .	102, 107, 242, 267, 328, 329, 330	Dēvagiri, vi., . . . . .	82, 263
days, solar :—		Dēvaki, f., . . . . .	203n
first, . . . . .	305, 329	Dēvapaiyyabhaṭṭa, m., . . . . .	241
second, . . . . .	328	Dēvappayya, ch., . . . . .	100, 101, 107
fourth, . . . . .	301, 302	Dēvarāya I., Vijayanagara k., . . . . .	18n, 328
seventh, . . . . .	302, 303	Dēvarhalli, vi., . . . . .	60, 77, 79
tenth, . . . . .	326	Dēvaśarman, m., . . . . .	13, 15
eleventh, . . . . .	281	Dēvaśarman, Kadamba k., . . . . .	17
twelfth, . . . . .	328	Dēvēndra, Jaina teacher, . . . . .	26, 36
fourteenth, . . . . .	308, 309	Dēvēndravarma, E. Gaṅga k., . . . . .	42
seventeenth, . . . . .	312, 313, 323	Dēvi-Hosūr, vi., . . . . .	180
nineteenth, . . . . .	305	Dhammapada, quoted, . . . . .	318n
twenty-first, . . . . .	84	Dhanadapura, Dhanadaprōlu or Dhanadavrōlu,	
twenty-second, . . . . .	309	s. a. Tsandavrōlu, . . . . .	268, 273, 274
twenty-fourth, . . . . .	304, 305	Dhatgādēva, Chandēlla k., . . . . .	203n
twenty-seventh, . . . . .	303	Dhaññakaṇḍa, s. a. Amarāvati, . . . . .	85, 88
thirtieth, . . . . .	327	Dhānyaghāṭi, do., . . . . .	157, 159
days of the week :—		Dhānyakaṭaka, do., . . . . .	146, 147, 155
Sunday, 21, 23, 102, 176n, 177n, 180n, 267,		Dharanikōṭa, vi., . . . . .	147
268, 283, 305, 307, 308, 325, 326, 327, 328		Dharanivārāha, biruda, . . . . .	196n
Monday, 22, 23, 25, 112, 114, 115n, 180n,		Dharanivārāha, Chāpa ch., . . . . .	196n
214, 217, 225, 228, 239, 267, 280, 283,		Dhārāvarsha, Paramāra ch., . . . . .	188n
284, 302, 303, 304, 310, 311, 312, 313,		Dhārāvarsha, sur. of Dhruva, 27, 34, 172, 186,	
327, 328, 329		187, 188, 195, 240	
		Dhārāvarsha, sur. of Dhruvārāja I., . . . . .	183, 190n

	PAGE		PAGE
Dhāravarsha, <i>sur. of Dhruvarāja II.</i> , 183, 184,	187, 190n	Dugmonelmalli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	50
dharmamahārāja, . . . . .	18, 15, 17, 19	Durga, <i>Nāṭavḍi ch.</i> , . . . . .	157, 158
dharmamahārājādhirāja, . . . . .	15n, 44, 55, 260	Durgasakti, <i>Sēndra ch.</i> , . . . . .	81
Dharmapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	197	Durjaya, <i>family</i> , 224, 225, 227, 268, 273, 275,	276, 277
Dharmapuri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	331, 333	Durjaya, <i>Kākatya k.</i> , . . . . .	268n
Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa, . . . . .	78	Durlabha, <i>sur. of Amoghavarsha I.</i> , . . . . .	175, 193
Dharmasindhu, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	111n	Durlabhadēvi, <i>queen of Pulakēsin I.</i> , . . . . .	72
Dharmavalōka-Tuṅga, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i> , . . . . .	189	Durvinita, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	73
Dharmavarman, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . . . .	523	dūtaka, . . . . .	136, 192, 286, 297, 300
dharmayuvamahārāja, . . . . .	15n	Dvaita, <i>doctrine</i> , . . . . .	260, 261, 265n
Dharmēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	282	Dvārādēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	199
Dhavaḷa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	136	Dvārakā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	3
Dhavaḷa, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i> , . . . . .	196n	Dvāravati, <i>s. a. Dvārakā</i> , . . . . .	93
Dhōra, <i>s. a. Dhruva</i> , 105n, 163, 172, 185, 195,	240, 241, 247	Dvādai-Kōmburam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	230n
Dhrūbhata, <i>sur. of Śīlāditya VII.</i> , . . . . .	297	diviḍḍin, . . . . .	241n
Dhruva, <i>comet</i> , . . . . .	250, 256n		
Dhruva, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , 27, 42, 65, 72, 105,	163, 165, 166, 170, 171, 172, 173, 183,		
185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 192, 194, 195,	196, 197, 240, 255n, 256		
Dhruvarāja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	208, 213		
Dhruvarāja I., <i>Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i> , . . . . .	183, 190n, 290n		
Dhruvarāja II., <i>do.</i> , 183, 184, 187, 190n, 286,	287, 291n		
Dhruvasēna III., <i>Valabhī k.</i> , . . . . .	249n		
Dhvajataṭṭaka, <i>s. a. Guḍigere</i> , . . . . .	254		
Diḍḍūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	251 and add., 252, 256		
Disīdhavaḷa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	199		
diṭṭham (driṣṭam), . . . . .	88n		
ditya, . . . . .	300		
Doḍḍahundi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	41, 42, 66, 69n, 107n		
Doḍḍa-Kaulande, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	325n		
Doḍḍikaṇḍravāḍi, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	147, 148, 157		
Dokiparru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	148		
Ḍomba or Ḍomma, <i>a Ḍōm or Gipsy</i> , 161, 162, 163n			
Ḍombara-Mattūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	161		
Ḍommara-Kāḍava, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	163		
Donepāṇḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	220n		
Ḍoṅkiparru, <i>s. a. Dokiparru</i> , . . . . .	147, 148, 156		
Dōra, <i>s. a. Dhruva</i> , . . . . .	163, 172, 185		
Dōrasamudra, <i>s. a. Halēbīd</i> , . . . . .	90n, 91		
Dōrayya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	163n		
Dosi, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	251 and add., 252, 253		
Doṣirāja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	251 add.		
Drākshārāma, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	220, 224, 279, 360n		
Drōpa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	360		
Dudḍā, <i>Valabhī princess</i> , . . . . .	166n		
		E	
		Ēcha, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	214, 215, 217, 218
		Ēchaladēvi, <i>queen of Narasimha I.</i> , . . . . .	92, 95
		eclipse, . . . . .	253
		eclipses, lunar, 25, 26, 36, 93, 94, 97, 229, 224,	227, 232, 233, 278, 280, 325n, 327
		eclipses, solar, . . . . .	102, 107, 144, 148, 241, 242, 267
		Ēḍenāḍu, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	214, 219
		Ēḍenāḍu seventy, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	67n
		Ēkāmranātha, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	281, 282
		Eladāyasimha, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	268, 273, 275, 276, 277
		elephant crest, . . . . .	72, 73n, 254, 255, 256
		Elavabedēnga, <i>sur. of Indra IV.</i> , . . . . .	182
		elava-bhojaga, . . . . .	258
		Eliṇi, <i>Chēra ch.</i> , . . . . .	331, 332
		Elkuppe, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	50
		Elkūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	57
		Ellōrā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	27n, 168, 174, 181n, 183, 193
		Ellore, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	159, 333
		Elta, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	361
		Emmaṇḍalan-gōḍa-Perumāl, <i>sur. of Sundara-</i>	
		Pāṇḍya, . . . . .	323n
		Enguṇavirai, <i>s. a. Arhat</i> , . . . . .	332
		Erakōri, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	27, 35
		eras :—	
		Armenian, . . . . .	89
		Gaṇpta or Gupta, . . . . .	143, 146
		Gupta-Valabhī, . . . . .	297
		Hijra, . . . . .	324n
		Kalachuri-Chēdi, . . . . .	295, 296, 300
		Kaliyuga, . . . . .	3, 263, 322n, 323, 326

	PAGE		PAGE
Śaka or Śāka, 3, 12, 13n, 18n, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25n, 26, 27n, 36, 39, 51, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 73n, 83n, 84, 90, 91n, 92, 93, 97, 102, 106, 107n, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 128, 129, 131, 134, 147, 148, 155, 156, 157, 159, 160, 176n, 177n, 178, 180n, 195, 200, 208, 209, 213, 214, 217, 220, 221, 223, 224, 225, 227, 231, 232, 233, 242, 255n, 259, 260, 262, 263, 266, 267, 268, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286 and add., 287, 297, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 334, 336, 345, 347, 349, 359		Gaṅga, Western, <i>dy.</i> , 23, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44n, 47, 51, 52n, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 65, 66, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 176, 178, 179, 180, 182, 185, 214, 215, 254, 256, 259, 260n, 321, 322	
Erōgaṅga, <i>Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . . 57n		Gaṅgā, <i>the Ganges</i> , 21, 56, 132n, 146, 203n, 221, 227, 233, 287	
Erōya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . . 161, 162		Gaṅga-Bāṇa, <i>family</i> , . . . . . 65, 75, 82, 191n	
Erōyaṅga, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . . 217		Gaṅgagāṅgēya, <i>sur. of Būtuga II.</i> , . . . . . 51n	
Erōyaṅga, <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . . . . 90, 95		Gaṅgaikondaśālapuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 313	
Erōyappa, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53n, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 82		Gaṅgakandarpa, <i>sur. of Mārasimha II.</i> , . . . . . 81	
Erragunṭa, <i>s. a. Yerraguntapadu</i> , . . . . . 147, 148, 156		Gāṅgalēru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 361	
Erra-Maṇḍa, <i>Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi ch.</i> , . . . . . 274, 275		Gāṅga-nāḍu, <i>di.</i> , . . . . . 331	
		Gāṅganārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Būtuga II.</i> , . . . . . 51n	
		Gaṅga-Pallava, <i>family</i> , . . . . . 321	
		Gaṅgapāṭi, <i>s. a. Gaṅgavādi</i> , . . . . . 28n, 70	
		Gaṅga-Permanāḍi, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . . 57n	
		Gaṅgarāja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . . 331n	
		Gaṅgavādi ninety-six-thousand, <i>di.</i> , 28, 35, 47, 48, 49, 52, 57n, 70, 180, 195	
		Gaṅgegonḍa, <i>s. a. of Rājendra-Chōla I.</i> , . . . . . 22	
		Gāṅgēya, <i>s. a. Bhishma</i> , . . . . . 56, 273, 275	
		Gaṅjām, <i>di.</i> , . . . . . 133, 134, 137, 140n, 143	
		Gaṅjām, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 53n, 61, 73n	
		Garasāmbhā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 141	
		Garga, <i>astronomer</i> , 20, 21, 111n, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 325, 326, 327, 328, 347, 349	
		Garuḍa crest, . . . . . 35, 106, 130n, 131 and add., 208, 285	
		Gasavi-Sūramadēvi, <i>f.</i> , . . . . . 147, 156	
		Gaṭṭavādi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 62, 70	
		Gauḍa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . . 105, 143, 197, 203, 248	
		Gauḍabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . . 277n	
		gauṇa names, . . . . . 186	
		Gauri, <i>queen of Bukka I.</i> , . . . . . 327	
		Gautama, <i>rishi</i> , . . . . . 199	
		Gautama, <i>Saiva teacher</i> , . . . . . 94	
		Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, <i>Andhra k.</i> , . . . . . 316	
		Gavadivāda, <i>s. a. Gāwarawāḍi</i> , . . . . . 107n	
		Gāwarawāḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 71, 74, 107n	
		Ghaṭṭasā, . . . . . 241n	
		Gingee, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 323	
		Giṅjipāḍu, <i>s. a. Gunjapalli</i> , . . . . . 147, 148, 156	
		Girijā-tithi, . . . . . 39	
		Giripaśchima, <i>s. a. Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi</i> , . . . . . 275n	
		Giripaśchimaśāsana, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . . 269, 275, 277	
		Giripidālu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . . 29, 37	
			322
			323
			324
			325
			326
			327
			328
			329
			330
			331
			332
			333
			334
			335
			336
			337
			338
			339
			340
			341
			342
			343
			344
			345
			346
			347
			348
			349
			350
			351
			352
			353
			354
			355
			356
			357
			358
			359
			360
			361
			362
			363
			364
			365
			366
			367
			368
			369
			370
			371
			372
			373
			374
			375
			376
			377
			378
			379
			380
			381
			382
			383
			384
			385
			386
			387
			388
			389
			390
			391
			392
			393
			394
			395
			396
			397
			398
			399
			400
			401
			402
			403
			404
			405
			406
			407
			408
			409
			410
			411
			412
			413
			414
			415
			416
			417
			418
			419
			420
			421
			422
			423
			424
			425
			426
			427
			428
			429
			430
			431
			432
			433
			434
			435
			436
			437
			438
			439
			440
			441
			442
			443
			444
			445
			446
			447
			448
			449
			450
			451
			452
			453
			454
			455
			456
			457
			458
			459
			460
			461
			462
			463
			464
			465
			466
			467
			468
			469
			470
			471
			472
			473
			474
			475
			476
			477
			478
			479
			480
			481
			482
			483
			484
			485
			486
			487
			488
			489
			490
			491
			492
			493
			494
			495
			496
			497
			498
			499
			500

	PAGE		PAGE
Goa, vi., . . . . .	13n, 16n, 72, 191n	Gövinda I., <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , 27, 34, 167, 168,	
Gōdāvari, vi., . . . . .	3, 132n		171, 212
Goginaja, m., . . . . .	318	Gövinda II., <i>do.</i> , 27, 170, 171, 172, 189, 190,	
Gōindamma, m., . . . . .	241		192, 196, 197n, 208, 209, 213
Gojjiga, s. a. Gövinda IV., . . . . .	177, 185, 186	Gövinda III., <i>do.</i> , 26, 27, 41, 64, 65, 72, 105,	
Gōkulasvāmin, m., . . . . .	300		106n, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 171, 172,
gōkuṭa, . . . . .	136, 141		173, 174, 175, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187,
Golla, m., . . . . .	286		188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196,
Gonandija (Gōnandyaṛya), m., . . . . .	88		197, 208, 209, 240, 241, 249, 252, 256, 257
Gonḍanātavāḍi, s. a. Konṇātavāḍi-vishaya, 147,		Gövinda IV., <i>do.</i> , 26n, 53n, 71, 170n, 173n,	
	148, 156		174n, 176, 177, 178, 184, 185, 190, 191, 209
Gongānavrōlu, vi., . . . . .	361	Gövindarāja, <i>Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i> , . . . . .	183
Gonka II., <i>Velanāṇḍu ch.</i> , . . . . .	269, 273	Göyinda, s. a. Gövinda III., . . . . .	173, 185
Gonka III., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	148, 269	grāmagrāsa, . . . . .	213n
Gōpa, ch., . . 111 and add., 112, 113, 129, 180,		grāmakūṭa, . . . . .	35, 286
	131, 231, 232, 233	Guḍavāḍi-vishaya, di., . . . . .	351, 380
Gōpāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	169n	Guḍigere, vi., . . . . .	189n, 253, 254, 257
Gōpālasvāmin, te., . . . . .	113n	Guḍrahāra, Guḍravāra, Guḍrāvāra or Guḍrāra,	
Gōpaṇa, s. a. Goppaṇa, . . . . .	322, 323, 330	s. a. Kōḍrahāra, . . . . .	316
Gōpapuram, vi., . . . . .	116	Guḥśavarapāṭaka, vi., . . . . .	135, 186, 140
Gōpavara, vi., . . . . .	113, 116	Gujarāt, co., 167, 170, 173n, 174, 181n, 182,	
Gōpināthasvāmin, te., . . . . .	111		183, 187, 188, 189, 190n, 191, 192, 208,
Goppaṇa, ch., . . . . .	323, 324, 330		257, 278n, 285, 286, 287, 295, 296
Goraj, vi., . . . . .	297	Gujjappanahūṇḍi, vi., . . . . .	23
Gōrajā, s. a. Goraj, . . . . .	297	Gūḍapāḍi, vi., . . . . .	41, 43, 45
Gōrajjā-bhōga, di., . . . . .	295, 300	Gūlgānpode, vi., . . . . .	100n
gorava, . . . . .	56	Guṇabhara, sur. of Mahēndravarmān I., . . . . .	320
Gōsana-Bōya, m., . . . . .	223	Guṇaga or Guṇaka, sur. of Vijayāditya III., . . . . .	179n
gōsāsa, . . . . .	255, 257	Guṇakenalla, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	179n
Gōsāsi, vi., . . . . .	255n	Guṇāvalōka-Nanna, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i> , . . . . .	149
gōtras :—		Guṇḍamadēvi or Guṇḍāmbikā, queen of Bud-	
Āgnivēśya, . . . . .	88	dharāja, . . . . .	274, 277, 278
Anpamanyava, . . . . .	318	Guṇḍasamudra, tank, . . . . .	277
Bhāradvāja, 76, 85, 88, 146, 208, 213, 241,		Guṇḍiya-Bōya, m., . . . . .	223
	318, 324	Guṇḍlakamma, vi., . . . . .	113, 114
Gautama, . . . . .	318	Guṇḍlupēṭe, vi., . . . . .	326
Kārahṇāyana, . . . . .	318	Guṇḍūr, vi., . . . . .	27n, 82, 181, 182, 185
Kāśyapa, . . . . .	141	Gunjapalli, vi., . . . . .	148
Kauṇḍinya, 15, 109, 116, 128, 318, 350, 360, 361		Guṇṭi-Anē-Bōya, m., . . . . .	159
Kausika, . . 17, 19, 111, 129, 141, 232, 318		Gupta, dy., . . . . .	296, 299n
Mānavya, . . . . .	15, 19, 360	Gurjara, family, 173n, 190n, 295n, 296, 297, 300n, 359	
Pārāsara, . . . . .	300	Gārjara, co., . . . . .	2, 10, 92, 106, 250
Tānavya, . . . . .	318	Guruparamparāprabhāva, quoted, . . . . .	263, 322, 323
Tuṭhiyalla, . . . . .	17, 19	Gutti (Gooty), vi., . . . . .	112, 130
Vasishṭha, . . . . .	116	Guttīyagaṅga, sur. of Mārasimha II., . . . . .	62
Viśvāmītra, . . . . .	136	Gwalior, vi., . . . . .	196n
Gōva, co., . . . . .	218		
Gōvardhana, m., . . . . .	203		
Gōvardhanasvāmin, te., . . . . .	277		
Gövinda, k., . . . . .	2, 9		

## H

Haḍḍālā, vi., . . . . .	196n
Hagandru, vi., . . . . .	29, 37

	PAGE		PAGE
Halēbīd, vi., . . . . .	16, 90n	Hiuen Tsiang. . . . .	136, 137, 143, 144
Hallegere, vi., . . . . .	60, 73n	holegēri, . . . . .	165n
Halsī, vi., . . . . .	13, 15n, 16, 17, 19n	Hombal, vi., . . . . .	94
Hampe, vi., . . . . .	231n, 262n	Hombājalū, s. a. Hombal, . . . . .	93, 94, 97
Hāngal, vi., . . . . .	16n, 82	Homma, vi., . . . . .	328
Hāṇṇikeri, vi., . . . . .	100n, 101n	Hōṇḍala, vi., . . . . .	136
Hanumat, god, . . . . .	127, 131, 346n	Honnāli, vi., . . . . .	64n
Hara, s. a. Śiva, . . . . .	105, 165n, 246, 359, 360	Honnāyakanhalli, vi., . . . . .	62, 67
Haradutta, author, . . . . .	15n	bōrā-sāstra, . . . . .	204
Hararāya, s. a. Harihara II., . . . . .	329	Hosakōṭe, vi., . . . . .	91
Hari, s. a. Viṣṇu, 17, 19, 56, 108, 115, 127, . . . . .	165n, 203, 212, 265	Hosāḍjalū, vi., . . . . .	29, 37
Haridatta, m., . . . . .	17, 19	Hosapaṭṭana, vi., . . . . .	327
Hari-dina, the 11th tithi, . . . . .	111n	Hosūr, vi., . . . . .	15n, 73
Harihar, vi., . . . . .	74, 92	Hoysala, dy., add., 63, 90, 91, 94, 307n, 323n, . . . . .	327, 331n, 338
Harihara II., Vijayanagara k., . . . . .	323, 327, . . . . .	Hāgli, vi., . . . . .	203n
	328, 329, 330	Hūli, vi., . . . . .	71
Hariśchandra, mythical k., 225, 227, 273, 276, 277		Hulimaṅgala, vi., . . . . .	48
Hārith, . . . . .	15, 19	Huliyamarasa, cā., . . . . .	25, 88
Harivaṁśa, Jaina work, . . . . .	195	Hulla or Hullaya, cā., . . . . .	add.
Harivarmadēva, k., . . . . .	208, 205	Humecha, vi., . . . . .	76, 88
Harivarman, Kadamba k., . . . . .	13n, 15n, 16, 17n, 19n	Husukūru, vi., . . . . .	61, 65, 66, 68, 100n
Harivarman, W. Gaṅga k., . . . . .	81		
Hari-vāsara, . . . . .	111, 129	Iddhatējas, sur. of Dhruva, . . . . .	173, 192
Hariyagiri, mo., . . . . .	213	Iggali, vi., . . . . .	62, 67, 68, 69, 70
Hariyapa-, Hariyappa- or Hariyappa-Uḍaiyar, . . . . .	327, 328, 329	Iggālūr, vi., . . . . .	48, 50
Harsha, Kanauj k., . . . . .	10, 143, 144, 245n	Ilamiśvara, te., . . . . .	310, 311, 312
Harsha, sur. of Vināyakapāla, . . . . .	198	Immadi-Bukkarāya, s. a. Bukka II., . . . . .	329
Harshacharita, quoted, 143, 240, 245n, 247n, . . . . .	248n, 249n	Immadi-Noḷambādhirāja, Noḷamba k., . . . . .	51n
Hāsan, vi., . . . . .	18n	Indagere, vi., . . . . .	29, 37
Hastimalla, sur. of Prithivīpati II., 59, 60, 65, . . . . .	75, 82, 191n	Indamma, m., . . . . .	257
Hastinbhiṭṭa, vi., . . . . .	203, 205	Indra, god, 10, 19, 92, 105 and add., 127, 128n, . . . . .	180n, 155, 178n, 212, 273, 300, 345, 359, 360
Hatōṇḍi, vi., . . . . .	196n	Indra I., Rāshtrakūṭa k., . . . . .	27n, 168, 171
Hattī-Mattūr, vi., . . . . .	161, 162, 176, 187	Indra II., do., . . . . .	27, 34, 212
Hayapati, k., . . . . .	218	Indra III., do., 26, 168n, 170, 172n, 176, 177, . . . . .	178n, 183, 184, 189, 194
Hebbāl, vi., . . . . .	52n, 71n, 82, 176, 178, 185	Indra IV., do., . . . . .	83, 180, 182, 189
Hebbālū, vi., . . . . .	52n	Indrakṭa, hūli, . . . . .	159
Heggaḍadēvankōṭe, vi., . . . . .	20	Indrapālavarman, Prāgyōtīśa k., . . . . .	134
Hēmachandra, author, . . . . .	3n	Indrarāja, Gujardī Rāshtrakūṭa cā., . . . . .	178n, 174n
Hēmavati, vi., . . . . .	47, 66	Indrarāja, k., . . . . .	167
Hindurāya-suratrāpa, biruda, . . . . .	327n	Indravarman I., E. Gaṅga k., . . . . .	72
Hirabaḍagalli, vi., . . . . .	17n, 85, 86, 88n	Indrāyudha, k., . . . . .	195, 196, 197
Hiranandi, vi., . . . . .	62, 63, 71	Indugalu, vi., . . . . .	29, 37
Hirē-Handigōl, vi., . . . . .	180, 185	Irēru, vi., . . . . .	39
Hiri-Bidanūr, vi., . . . . .	45n, 47, 65	Iṇvabodāṅga-Satyāśraya, W. Chālukya k., . . . . .	71n
Hiriya-nāḍu, di., . . . . .	831n	Irlapāḍu, vi., . . . . .	274, 276
Hiṭṭahebbāgilū, vi., . . . . .	13n, 15n, 16n		

	PAGE		PAGE
Irmadi-Vira-Manalera, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	52n	Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōla, <i>sur. of</i> Rājādhiraṇḍa I.,	214, 218n
Iṣṭalūru, <i>s. a.</i> Iṣṭapāḍu, . . . . .	276, 277	Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōla-maṇḍalam, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	228, 320
Iṣṭa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	46, 47, 49	Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōla-Permāḍi-gaṇḍa, <i>sur. of</i>	
Iṣṭa, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, . . . . .	37, 344, 361	Raviga, . . . . .	214, 218
Iṣṭaradātāja (Iṣṭaradattārya), <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	818	Jayaṅgaṇḍanātha, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	311
Iṣṭaradēva, <i>s. a.</i> Mahādēva, . . . . .	263	Jayanta, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	105n, 273, 277
<b>J</b>		Jayanta, <i>Matsya ch.</i> , . . . . .	262n
Jagaḍavāḍu, . . . . .	add.	Jayasimha, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	263
Jagaddēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	91, 95	Jayasimha I., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	8, 182n, 189, 190
Jagadēkamalla II., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	91, 191n	Jayasimha II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	224
Jagadēkamalla-Permāḍi I., <i>Sinda ch.</i> , . . . . .	191n	Jayasimha I. Vallabha, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	190n
Jagamechobuganḍa, <i>sur. of</i> Kōta II., . . . . .	156, 157n	Jayātman, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	136
Jagamechobuganḍapuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	147, 157	Jayatungasimha, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	189n
Jagannātha (Puri), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	144	Jayavarman, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	316, 318, 319
Jagattunga, <i>sur. of</i> Gōvinda III., 26, 27, 34,		jihvāmūliya, . . . . .	1, 2, 17, 25, 286, 295
85, 103, 174, 175, 186, 187, 188, 189,		Jina, . . . . .	12, 26, 34, 36, 37
193, 194		Jinasēna, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	195
Jagattunga II., <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k.</i> , 169, 170,		Jinendra, <i>prophet</i> , . . . . .	2, 7, 12, 26, 34n
176, 177n, 178n, 186		Jinuhalli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	52n, 62
Jaggu, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	208, 213	Jommādēvi, <i>queen of</i> Bukka I., . . . . .	327
Jaina, <i>add.</i> , 2, 7n, 25, 26, 28n, 34n, 75, 81, 195,		Jontāchārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	851, 861
199, 258, 265n, 287, 315, 331		Jōtishkuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	323
Jaitasimha or Jaitrasimha, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	92, 96	Junāgaḍh, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	19n, 166n
Jaitugi I. or Jaitrapāla, <i>Yādava k.</i> , . . . . .	92	Jupiter, <i>planet</i> , . . . . .	84
Jākabbe, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	217	<b>K</b>	
Jakkivāḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	162n	Kachchega, <i>sur. of</i> Kṛishṇa III., . . . . .	51n, 55n, 178
Jambhala, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	136	Kachcheyā-Gaḍga, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	55n
Jambukēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	281, 307, 309	Kaḍaba, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	26, 27n, 28, 61, 103n, 169, 172,
Jammana-Uḍaiyar, <i>Vijayanagara ch.</i> , 324n, 325 add.		174, 190	
Jananāthanagari, <i>s. a.</i> Rājamaḥendri, . . . . .	335, 346	Kaḍabūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	65
Janavallabha, <i>sur. of</i> Gōvinda III., . . . . .	174, 186, 192	Kadamba, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	7n, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17,
janmāshṭami, <i>tithi</i> , . . . . .	24	18n, 19, 101n, 283n	
Jannaya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	230	Kādamba, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	16n, 82
Jātaka, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	15n	Kaḍambanguḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	223
Jatāvarman Kulasēkhara, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	83n,	Kādambari, <i>quoted</i> , 28n, 240, 241, 245n, 247n,	
301, 302, 314, 324		248n, 249n, 250n	
Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	306,	Kadanatrinētra, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	54n, 179n
307, 308, 314		Kaḍappēri, <i>tank</i> , . . . . .	332
Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	310,	Kaḍappēri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	310
311, 312, 314		Kaḍāram, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	21
Jatilavarman, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	320	Kāḍiyār, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	52, 58, 57
Javanayya or Javanīyarma, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	217	Kaikēya, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	17, 19
Jāya or Jāyana, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	89	Kailāsanātha, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	79, 227, 228, 279, 284, 285
Jāyabbe, <i>queen of</i> Nōlambādhiraṇḍa, . . . . .	66	Kaingōḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	136n, 144
Jayabhata III., <i>Gurjara k.</i> , . . . . .	295n	Kakatiya, Kakatiya or Kakatya, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	39,
Jayadāhṭakāra, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	57	91, 147, 159, 160, 163n, 268	
Jayaduttaramga, <i>sur. of</i> Bātuga II., . . . . .	51n, 180	Kākeyanāru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28, 37
Jāyāmbikā, <i>queen of</i> Gonka III., . . . . .	269		

	PAGE		PAGE
Kakka I., <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	27, 181n, 212	kampapa, . . . . .	252
Kakka II., <i>do.</i> , add., 26n, 53n, 173n, 174n, 181,	182, 184, 186, 190, 191	Kampapa I., <i>Vijayanagara ch.</i> , . . . . .	324
Kakkala, Kakkara, Karka or Karkara, <i>s. a.</i>		Kampapa II. or Kampapna, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	323, 324, 325, 326
Kakka, . . . . . add., 27, 34, 181, 182, 185, 186		Kampil, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	287
Kakkarāja I., <i>Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa ch.</i> , . . . . .	181n	Kāmpilya-tirtha, <i>s. a.</i> Kaphleta, . . . . .	286 and add., 287
Kakkarāja II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	170, 181n, 188, 190n	Kanakadurgā-maṇḍapa, . . . . .	159
Kākula, <i>s. a.</i> Śrīkākuḷam, . . . . .	109, 127	Kanakapati-tithi, . . . . .	301
Kākusthavarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , . . . . .	7n, 17	Kanakāpura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	336
Kalachuri, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	92, 96, 178n, 188n, 189n	Kananj, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	196n, 198
Kalachurya, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	92, 181	Kāñchi or Kāñchīpura (Conjeeveram), <i>vi.</i> ,	
Kalamēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	254	3, 11, 53n, 72, 82, 85, 88, 106, 171, 179,	
Kālamukha, <i>Saiva teacher</i> , . . . . .	93	203n, 212, 227, 231, 282, 320n, 324,	
Kālanjar, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105n	325, 326, 328, 329	
Kalapattu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	361	Kādarba, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	72, 107n
Kālapriya, <i>sur. of</i> Kṛishṇa III., . . . . .	179n	Kandēruvādi-vishaya, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	143
Kālapriyanātha, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	179n	Kandravādi, <i>s. a.</i> Kandēruvādi-vishaya, . . . . .	147,
Kālapriyēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	55n, 179	148, 156	
Kalas, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	177, 185	kanduga, <i>measure</i> , . . . . .	56
Kalasāpur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	177	Kanheri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	174, 175, 187, 188, 189, 193
Kālāshṭami, <i>tithi</i> , . . . . .	22	Kanpānūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	307n
Kalatsūri, <i>s. a.</i> Kalachuri, . . . . .	295	Kannara, <i>s. a.</i> Kṛishṇa II., . . . . .	175, 185
Kalbappu, <i>hill</i> , . . . . .	187n	Kannara, <i>s. a.</i> Kṛishṇa III., . . . . .	61, 55, 57, 178,
Kalbāvi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	65	180, 185	
Kālēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	93	Kannasipperumān, <i>sur. of</i> Vikrama-Chōla-	
Kāli, <i>hound</i> , . . . . .	52, 56	Śambuvārāyan, . . . . .	333n
Kali age, . . . . .	11, 12, 35, 105, 248, 265, 266	Kannūra-Basappa, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	180n, 185
Kaliballaha, <i>s. a.</i> Kalivallabha, . . . . .	172	Kāntāvara, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	323
Kālidāsa, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	3, 4n, 7n, 9n, 11n, 12, 168n	Kanṭhakaka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141
Kaligolgaṇḍa, <i>sur. of</i> Indra IV., . . . . .	182	kanṭhikā, <i>a necklet</i> , . . . . .	171, 249n
Kalinga or Kālinga, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	2, 11, 72, 92, 109,	Kanvād, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	101n
128, 260, 281, 282, 286, 273n, 276		Kāpādwana, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	172n, 175, 186, 187n, 190
Kalinganagara, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	76, 77, 82	Kaphleta, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	286 add.
Kalingattu-Parāṇi, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	76, 77, 223n, 331n	Kapila, <i>Gajapati k.</i> , . . . . .	110
Kalivallabha, <i>sur. of</i> Dhruva, . . . . .	105, 172, 186,	Kāramachēdu, <i>s. a.</i> Kārimchēdu, . . . . .	350, 351, 361
187, 192, 195, 240, 248		Kāraṇai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	326
Kāliyār-kōṭṭam, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	228	karapika, <i>a village accountant</i> , . . . . .	114
Kallabbarasi, <i>queen of</i> Bātuga II., . . . . .	59	Kardā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	23n, 27n, 170, 172n, 178, 180, 181,
Kallur Gudda, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	83	183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 192, 193, 209	
kal-nādu, . . . . .	43, 45n	Kargudari, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	83
Kālōpallikā, <i>s. a.</i> Karoli, . . . . .	286 and add.	Karhād, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	55n, 170n, 172n, 176, 178, 179,
Kalyāci, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	81, 253	180, 183, 184, 186, 187, 190, 192, 193	
Kamā, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	189n	Kārimchēdu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	351
Kāma or Kāvapa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	92	Karivarsha-Sāhillādēva, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	188n
Kāmārpava, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	200	Kārlē, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	316n, 319n
Kamanli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	198n	Karṇa, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . . . .	218, 219, 243
Kambayanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	329, 332, 333	Karṇasuvārṇa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	143
Kambayya, Kambhādēva or Kambharasa,		Karṇāṭa or Karṇāṭaka, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	57n, 58n, 131n, 212
<i>Rāshtrakūṭa prince</i> , . . . . .	65, 195, 197, 252, 256	Karoli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	286 add.
Kammatti, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	229	Kāsākūḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	321 and add.
		Kastūrikāmōḍa, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	273n

	PAGE		PAGE
Kastûrikâmôdini, <i>queen of Chôdaganga</i> , . . . . .	273n	Kirâñji, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	230
Katâchchuri, <i>s. a. Kalachuri</i> , . . . . .	8, 295, 296, 299	Kirâtârjunîya, <i>quoted</i> , 4, 7n, 8n, 9n, 11n, 105 add.	
Katak (Cuttack), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	134, 137	Kiriya-Râchamalla, <i>s. a. Râchamalla I.</i> , . . . . .	71
katakâdhipa or katakâdhirâja, . . . . .	347n	Kirtinârâyana, <i>sur. of Gôvinda III.</i> , 26n, 106,	
Kâtama-Nâyaka, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	3		173, 186, 194
Kâta-Vêma, <i>Reddî k.</i> , . . . . .	110	Kirtinârâyana, <i>sur. of Indra III.</i> , . . . . .	26n, 176
Kathâsaritsâgara, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	96n	Kirtinârâyana, <i>sur. of Indra IV.</i> , . . . . .	182
Kattageri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	101n	Kirtipurusha, <i>sur. of Gôvinda III.</i> , . . . . .	106n, 173
Kattēmanuganahalli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	69, 71n, 100n	Kirtivarman I., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , 8, 64n, 72,	
Kattiyara, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , 251 add., 262, 253, 256			189, 191
Kaujgere, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	177	Kirtivarman II., <i>do.</i> , 18n, 164, 190, 191, 193,	
Kaunâla, <i>s. a. Kunâla</i> , . . . . .	2, 3n		251 add.
Kaurâlaka, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	3n	Kisukâd seventy, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	52, 53, 57, 70, 254
Kauta, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	361	Kittaivole, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29, 37
Kanṭhēm, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	add., 8n, 27n, 181, 182n	Kôḍaṇḍarâmasvâmin, <i>to.</i> , . . . . .	116
Kavalêdurga, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	256	Kodî, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	229
Kâvêri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	3, 11, 28, 36, 67, 221, 227, 333	Koḍikop, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	258n
Kâvi, <i>vi.</i> , 170, 172n, 175n, 181n, 183, 212n, 295n		Kôkallu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	147, 148n, 156
Kavirâjamârga, <i>name of a work</i> , . . . . .	197n	kola or kolaga, <i>measure</i> , . . . . .	219
kavyaliṅga, <i>alamkāra</i> , . . . . .	248n	Kolagâla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	22
Kawarwara, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	297	Kolâla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	13, 14, 15
Kâzâ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	114, 116, 133, 231	Kôlâlâpura, <i>s. a. Kôlâr</i> , . . . . .	55, 260n
Kêḍala, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28, 35	Kola-Nallûra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	17, 19
Kêḍâra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	51n	Kolanu, <i>s. a. Ellore</i> , . . . . .	3, 11n
Kêḍarâsakti, <i>Saiva teacher</i> , . . . . .	94	Kolanûra, <i>s. a. Konnûr</i> , 25, 26, 27, 23, 35, 36,	
Kelale, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	52, 56		37, 38
Kêraja, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	11, 92, 105, 212, 218, 331, 332	Kôlâr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	44n, 72
Kêsaripâḍu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	116n	Kôlikkûḍu, <i>s. a. Calicut</i> , . . . . .	323
Kêṣava, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	208, 213	Kôliyanûr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	329
Kêṣavadêva, <i>s. a. Gôvardhanasvâmin</i> , . . . . .	277	Kollâpuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	23n
Kêṣavasvâmin, <i>to.</i> , . . . . .	223, 224, 280	Kolleru lake, . . . . .	3, 11n
Kêsimayya, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	54n	Kollikurru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	361
Kêṣirâja, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	43n, 179n	Kollipâka, Kollipâke or Kollippâkkai, <i>vi.</i> , 224,	
Kêta I., <i>Amardavati ch.</i> , . . . . .	147, 155, 157		225, 227
Kêta II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	147, 148, 155, 156, 157, 269	Komaraveḍēnga, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	57
Kête Bôya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	156	Kommana-Bôya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	156, 274
Kêtepalli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	147, 148n, 156	Kommaya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	227
Kâyûravarsaha-Yuvarâja I., <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	188n, 189n	Koṇḍakâvûri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	116
Khaḍṛâvalôka, <i>sur. of Dantidurga</i> , . . . . .	168, 188	Koṇḍakunda, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	38
Khaîrapâṭa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	136	Koṇḍamudi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	315
Khajurâhō, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	203n	Koṇḍanûr, <i>s. a. Konnûr</i> , . . . . .	25n
Khandarudaja (Skandarudrâya), <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	318	Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi or Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	147,
khaṇḍî, <i>measure</i> , . . . . .	39n, 273		148, 156, 157, 268, 269, 273, 274, 277, 278
khaṇḍuka, <i>s. a. khaṇḍî</i> , . . . . .	273	Koṇḍapalle, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	110
Khârêpâṭaṇ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	178, 181, 182, 193	Koṇḍa-Sâre-Bôya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	160
khoja, <i>a merchant</i> , . . . . .	89	Koṇḍaviḍu, <i>vi.</i> , 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114n,	
Khottiga or Khôṭika, <i>Râshtrakûṭa k.</i> , 180,			115, 129n, 130n, 132n, 230, 231, 232,
	181, 185, 189		233, 269
Kilavâḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28, 36	Koṇḍavîṭi, <i>s. a. Koṇḍaviḍu</i> , 109, 110, 112, 124,	
			129, 131, 132, 231

	PAGE		PAGE
Kongal-nāḍ eight-thousand, <i>di.</i> , 61, 66, 67, 68, 69, 73		Krishnarāja, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	295, 296, 299
Koṅganivarman, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	73	Krishnarāya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , 109, 110, 111	
Kōṅgēda, <i>s. a. Kaiṅgōda</i> , . . . . .	144, 146	and add, 112, 128, 129, 130, 131, 231, 233n	
Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala, <i>di.</i> , 135, 136, 137, 141, 144		Krishnāśbāmi, <i>tikki</i> , . . . . .	24
Koṅgunivarman, <i>sur. of W. Gaṅga kings</i> , 44, 55, 59, 73, 180, 259, 260		Krishnavarman I., <i>Kadamba k.</i> , . . . . .	17, 19
Kong-u-t'o, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	136, 137, 144	Krishnavarman II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	17, 19
Koṅkapa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	10, 168, 169n	Krishnavarman, <i>s. a. Krishnā</i> , 132n, 147, 155, 224, 227	
Konnātavāḍi-vishaya, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	148	Krishnavarman, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	91, 95, 208, 209, 213, 225
Konnūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	25, 28, 29n, 166n, 175n	Krishnēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	55n, 179
Koppūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	25n	Kṛita age, . . . . .	105, 248n, 330
Koolenoor, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	252n	Kṛōyūru or Kroyyūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	39
Koppam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	23n	Kubēra, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	331n, 359n
Korukēru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	361	Kubja, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	7n
Korumelli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	76, 82, 348, 349, 351	Kubja, <i>sur. of Vishnupardhana I.</i> , 190n, 269, 273, 275, 277, 349	
Kōsala, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	2, 11	Kudakūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	162n, 163n
Kōṭa, <i>sur. of Amarāvati chiefs</i> , 147, 155, 156, 157, 159		Kūdal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	48, 50
Koṭṭamaṅgala, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	71n	Kūdgere, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	12
Koṭṭase, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29, 37	Kuḍiya, <i>s. a. Śūdra</i> , . . . . .	214, 218, 219
Kōṭṭayam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	83	Kūḍlāpura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	73n
Koṭṭiga, <i>s. a. Khoṭṭiga</i> , . . . . .	180, 185	Kudopali, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	134
Kōtūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	49n, 82	Kudrahāra, <i>s. a. Kūdūrahāra</i> , . . . . .	316
Kovalālapura, <i>s. a. Kōlār</i> , . . . . .	44, 260n	Kūḍēra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	316, 318, 319n
Kōvilādi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	321	Kūḍūrahāra, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	316, 318, 319
Kovujagere, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	101n	Kūlagere, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	52n, 62, 68, 69
Kōyilolugu, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	322, 323, 328n	Kuḷam, Kuḷaṇ or Kuḷaṇūr, <i>s. a. Ellore</i> , . . . . .	333, 334
Krāñjā, <i>s. a. Kāzā</i> , . . . . .	114	Kulappayya, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	101, 107
Kranteru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	147, 156	Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa or -Chōḍa I., <i>Chālukya- Chōḍa k.</i> , . . . . .	24, 76, 77, 196n, 220, 221, 223n, 224, 226n, 278, 334, 335, 344
Kratuka, <i>s. a. Gadag</i> , . . . . .	93, 94, 96	Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa or -Chōḍa II., <i>do.</i> , 3, 228, 269, 273, 275, 276, 277	
Krishna, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	37, 128n, 130n, 212, 243, 247n, 249, 265n, 296n	Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa III., <i>Chōḍa k.</i> , 24, 281, 332, 333, 334	
Krishna I., <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , 27, 161, 162, 163, 169, 170, 171, 172, 174n, 181n, 183n, 187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 194, 196, 197n, 208, 209, 212, 240, 246, 247n		Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa-Takaṭādhirāja, <i>sur. of Mārasimhadēva</i> , . . . . .	333n
Krishna II., <i>do.</i> , 175, 176, 178n, 183, 184, 185, 190, 191, 193, 209, 257		Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷaṇ-Uḷā, <i>name of a work</i> , . . . . .	228
Krishna III., <i>do.</i> , 51, 52, 53, 55, 70, 71, 83, 173n, 176, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 194, 321		Kumāra, <i>s. a. Skanda</i> , . . . . .	344
Krishnā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	3, 64n, 85, 110, 115, 132n, 209, 259	Kumāra-Kampapa, <i>s. a. Kampapa II.</i> , . . . . .	324
Krishnabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	229, 286	kumārāmātya, . . . . .	135, 141
Krishna-Chaitanya, <i>Vaiṣṇava teacher</i> , . . . . .	261	Kumārasmbhava, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	8n, 9n, 250n
Krishnadēva-mahārāja, <i>s. a. Krishnarāja</i> , . . . . .	232	Kumārasmāmin, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	224, 227
Krishna-Dvaipāyana, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	230	Kumārila, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	204, 205
Krishnagiri-vishaya, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	144, 146	Kumārivaḍaḍ, <i>s. a. Kavarwara</i> , . . . . .	295, 297, 300
Krishnamāmbā or Krishnāmbā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	111, 129	Kumudāḷlu, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	346
Krishnamisra, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	111 add.	Kunāḷa, <i>s. a. Kollern lake</i> , . . . . .	2, 3, 11
Krishnapuradēva Arulālaka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	229	Kundāmbikā, <i>queen of Maṇḍa II.</i> , 269, 273, 274, 277	
		Kundarage seventy, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	27

	PAGE		PAGE
Kundavā, <i>queen of Vimalāditya</i> , . . . . .	360	Pāli, . . . . .	67n, 85, 86, 97n
Kundavige, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	252	Prākṛit, . . . . .	3n, 85, 184, 185, 186, 315
Kuṇḍina, <i>śiśū</i> , . . . . .	360, 361	Sanskrit, 2, 13, 17, 25, 39, 90, 99, 109, 135,	
Kuṇḍūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	229	140, 143, 146, 147, 157, 199, 203, 208,	
Kundūr five-hundred, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	27	219, 223, 228, 230, 231, 233, 240, 252,	
Kuntala, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	92, 96	260, 268, 275, 276, 277, 278, 285, 295,	
Kuntamaddi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	148	315, 316, 320, 331, 334, 348	
Kuṇṭhanāgaibhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	241	Tamil, 61n, 52n, 223n, 228, 315n, 320, 322,	
Kunti, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	113	331, 332	
Kuṇṭimaddi, <i>s. a. Kuntamaddi</i> , . . . . .	147, 148, 156	Telugu, 39, 109, 146, 147, 157, 159, 219, 223,	
Kuppeyarasa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	107n	230, 231, 232, 268, 275, 276, 277, 278,	
Kāragallu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	57, 66, 67, 69, 161n	315, 334, 346n, 348	
Kāram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	82, 190n, 191n, 249n, 321n	Lāṭa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	2, 10, 173n, 174n, 359
Kārmēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	260, 263, 267, 268	Lattalūra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106
Karuvanda, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	214, 218	Lemballe, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	231, 232, 233
Kusumabhāra, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	135	ḷendulūra, <i>s. a. Dendulūrn</i> , . . . . .	159
Kūtanidu-Nallūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	48n, 50	Leyden grant, . . . . .	82, 220
Kutvād, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	101n	linga, . . . . .	39, 90, 93, 161, 258
Kuvalālapura, <i>s. a. Kōlār</i> , . . . . .	259, 260	Lingavanta, <i>sect.</i> , . . . . .	215
Kyātanahalli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	42, 63, 68, 69, 73, 254n	Lingodbhavasvāmin, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	268
L		lion crest, . . . . .	16
Languages :—		Little Mount, . . . . .	89
Rishabha, . . . . .	304	Lōkāditya, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	28
Simha, . . . . .	334, 345, 347, 349, 359	Lōkāpura twelve, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	83
Lakkunḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	94	Lōkatripētra, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	53n, 61
Lakshamma, <i>s. a. Lakshmi</i> , . . . . .	232, 233	Lōkavallabha, <i>sur. of Pulakēsin I.</i> , . . . . .	192
Lakshmaṇa, . . . . .	260n	Lōkēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	255n
Lakshmēśwar, <i>vi.</i> , 75, 76, 80, 81, 164, 165,		Lokkigunḍi, <i>s. a. Lakkunḍi</i> , . . . . .	93, 94, 96
167, 176, 193, 195		Lōlla-grantha, . . . . .	232n
Lakshmi, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	109, 114, 115, 231	Lōlla-kula, . . . . .	232n
Lakshmi, <i>goddess</i> , 58, 98, 127, 128n, 165n,		Lōlla-Lakshmidhara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	232
170n, 223, 246n, 247, 265, 276, 322, 330, 359		Lōpabhāra, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	135
Lakshmidhara-Dēśika, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	232n	Lulla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	361
Lakshmi-Narasimhasvāmin, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	262n, 267	M	
Lakshmi Vallabha, <i>sur. of Amōghavarsha I.</i> , 100,		Māchena-Bōya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	156
106, 173n, 175, 187, 188, 192, 194		Māchiga, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	49n
Lāla, <i>s. a. Lāṭa</i> , . . . . .	218	Madagajamalla, <i>sur. of Kṛishṇa III.</i> , . . . . .	55n, 179
Lālanakere, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	91	Madagajārūḍhamātanga, <i>sur. of Gōvinda IV.</i> , . . . . .	177
Lalitabhāra, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	135	Madanapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	205n
Lalitānkura, <i>sur. of Mahēndravarmān I.</i> , . . . . .	320	Maḍapalla or Maḍapalli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	157, 158, 159, 160
Lalitapada or Lalitavṛitta, <i>metre</i> , . . . . .	213, 214	Madarmeluquo, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	110
Languages :—		Madderāla or Madderēla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	113, 115
Ardhamāgadhī, . . . . .	315	Mādhava, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	220, 223
Armenian, . . . . .	89	Mādhava, <i>s. a. Vaiśākha</i> , . . . . .	39
Kanarese, 25, 42, 47, 51, 90, 99, 147n, 161,		Mādhavāchārya, <i>s. a. Vidyāranya</i> , . . . . .	263
162, 165, 213, 282n, 252, 255, 258		Mādhavairiyappu, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	241
Māgadhī, . . . . .	85	Mādhavarāja I., <i>Śilōdbhava ch.</i> , . . . . .	144, 146
		Mādhavarāja II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	144, 146

	PAGE		PAGE
Mādhavatīrtha, <i>Mādhva teacher</i> , .	261, 262, 263	Mahārājashanḍa, <i>sur. of Amoghavarsha I.</i> , .	175, 186
Mādhavarman, <i>Śailābhava ch.</i> , .	134, 144	Mahārāshṭra or Mahārāshṭraka, <i>co.</i> , .	10, 263
Mādhavidēvi, <i>te.</i> , .	113, 115	mahārāya, .	111 add., 329
Madhurā (Madura), <i>vi.</i> , .	324, 325	mahāsāmanta, 107n, 135, 141, 144, 146, 173n,	
Madhurāntaki, <i>queen of Kulōttunga-Chōda I.</i> , .	334, 335	189 add., 254n, 286, 287	
Mādhva, <i>school</i> , .	261, 262n, 263n, 265n	mahāsambhivigrahādbikarapādhikṛita, .	300
Madhvāchārya, <i>s. a. Ānandatīrtha</i> , .	261	mahāsambhivigrahin, .	136
Madhvaviṣṇu, <i>quoted</i> , .	261, 263	Mahāsēna, <i>s. a. Skanda</i> , .	224, 227
Madhyamandāra, <i>sur. of Ānandatīrtha</i> , .	261	Mahātagi, <i>family</i> , .	319
madhyastha, <i>an arbitrator</i> , .	229	mahattara, .	26, 35, 37, 206
Mādivarma-paṭṭa, .	49n	Mahāvīracharita, <i>drama</i> , .	179n
Madras, <i>city</i> , .	89	Mahendra, <i>mo.</i> , .	132n, 335, 346, 350
Madras Museum plates, .	320	Mahendra, <i>s. a. Indra</i> , .	47, 369
Madurai (Madura), <i>vi.</i> , .	281	Mahendrādhirāja, <i>Noḷamba k.</i> , .	47, 66
Magadha, <i>co.</i> , .	92, 106	Mahendrapāla, <i>Kanauj ch.</i> , .	193
Māgunḍi, <i>vi.</i> , .	71	Mahendrapōtarāja, <i>s. a. Mahendrarvarman I.</i> , .	320
mahābalādhikṛita, .	300	Mahendravāḍi, <i>vi.</i> , .	320
Mahābhārata, <i>quoted</i> , .	180n, 214n	Mahendrarvarman I., <i>Pallava k.</i> , .	320
Mahābhāshya, <i>do.</i> , .	15n	Mahēśvara, <i>s. a. Śiva</i> , 135, 299, 300, 316, 318,	
Mahābhavagupta I., <i>Trikalinga k.</i> , .	134	346, 350	
Mahābhavagupta II., <i>do.</i> , .	134	Mahōdaya, <i>s. a. Kanauj</i> , .	193
mahādanḍanāyaka, .	319	mahōpādhyāya, .	231, 232n
Mahādēva, <i>m.</i> , .	203	Mālamāmbā, <i>queen of Rudra</i> , .	153
Mahādēva, <i>s. a. Śiva</i> , 160, 219, 273, 274, 275,		Maindavōlu, <i>s. a. Mayidavōlu</i> , .	231, 232, 233
276, 277, 278		Maitraka, <i>family</i> , .	166n
Mahādēva, <i>Yādava k.</i> , .	263	Majjantiya seventy, <i>di.</i> , .	28, 36, 37n
Mahādēvāchārya, <i>author</i> , .	232	Majjhima, <i>vi.</i> , .	213
mahājana, 99n, 102, 107, 163, 166n, 241, 252,		makarātōraṇa, .	361n
253, 255n, 260, 276, 319		Malapa, .	93
Mahākāla, <i>te.</i> , .	179n	Mālatīmādhava, <i>drama</i> , .	179n
mahākṣhapatalika, .	136, 141	Mālava, <i>co.</i> , .	2, 10, 91, 92, 105, 106, 171, 197, 250
Mahākūṭa, <i>vi.</i> , .	4, 100n, 189 add., 295	Mālavikāgnimitra, <i>drama</i> , .	10n
mahāmabattara, .	141	Mālkheḍ, <i>vi.</i> , .	64n, 82, 160, 167, 169, 182, 188,
mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, 83, 91, 147, 155, 156, 157,		189, 190, 192	
159, 160, 224, 225, 227, 263, 273, 275,		Malla, <i>cl.</i> , .	224, 225, 227
276, 277, 278, 327		Malla, <i>m.</i> , .	214, 215, 219
Mahānāman, <i>Buddhist teacher</i> , .	3	Malla or Mallerāja, <i>Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi ch.</i> , .	274, 277
mahāpīlupati, .	295	Mallapādēva, <i>E. Chalukya ch.</i> , .	228, 349
mahāprabhu, .	25, 38	Mallapp-Oḍeya, <i>Vijayanagara ch.</i> , .	327
mahāpradhāna or mahāpradhāni, .	92, 324, 327	Mallasamudra, <i>tank</i> , .	277
mahāpratihāra, .	136	Mallavara, <i>vi.</i> , .	114, 115
mahārāja, 13, 15n, 16, 17, 18n, 19, 135, 141,		Mallēśvara, <i>te.</i> , .	169, 160
144, 146, 157, 159, 160, 191, 195, 198,		Malligere, <i>vi.</i> , .	62, 63, 67, 68, 69n
220, 223, 255, 257, 269, 278, 279, 316, 319		Mallikārjuna, <i>te.</i> , .	331
mahārājādhirāja, 35, 93, 106, 135, 140, 143,		Mallinātha, <i>commentator</i> , .	7n, 11n
144, 146, 168n, 172, 173, 194, 195, 213,		Mallinātha, <i>s. a. Mallapp-Oḍeya</i> , .	327
221, 227, 240, 346, 360		Malparbhā, <i>vi.</i> , .	25
Mahārājasarva, <i>sur. of Amoghavarsha I.</i> , .	174,	Maṭṭavur, <i>s. a. Maṭṭūr</i> , .	161, 162
175n, 186		Māmallapuram, <i>vi.</i> , .	73, 320n
		Māmbaḷli, <i>vi.</i> , .	326

	PAGE		PAGE
māna, <i>measure</i> , . . . . .	156, 159, 180, 227, 274	Māravarman Kulasēkhara I., <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	308,
Managōli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	add., 181, 253		809, 310, 314
Manahali, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	205n	Māravarman Kulasēkhara II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	312, 313,
Maṇalera, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	51n, 52, 54n, 56, 57		314, 315
Māṇvalōka, <i>sur. of Vijayāditya</i> , . . . . .	208, 213	Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	302, 303,
Maṇḍa I., <i>Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi ch.</i> , . . . . .	269, 273, 274,		304, 314
	275, 277	Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	304,
Maṇḍa II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	269, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277		305, 314
Mandākinī, <i>s. a. Mindhola</i> , . . . . .	286 and add., 287	Margarē, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	89
maṇḍalēśvara, . . . . .	269, 273, 346	Māri, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	22
maṇḍalika or maṇḍalika, . . . . .	213, 275, 276	Marrūllu, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	346
Maṇḍalikatripētra, <i>sur. of Mārasimha II.</i> , . . . . .	53n	Maru (Mārvar), <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	197, 248n
Mandara, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	247, 346	Maruḷadēva, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	59, 69n
Maṇḍaya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	220, 223	Marūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70
Maṇḍe-Nārāyaṇa, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	220n	Maruvarman, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	255n
Maṇḍerāja, <i>Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi ch.</i> , . . . . .	274, 277	Maṭakere, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	100n, 194
Māndhātṭivarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , . . . . .	13	maṭha, . . . . .	38, 165n, 166n, 261, 262, 263n, 265n
Maṅgal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	100n	Matsya, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	262n
Maṅgalagiri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	103, 116, 116, 117, 230, 231	Mattikatte, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28, 37
Maṅgalarāja, <i>s. a. Maṅgalēśa</i> , . . . . .	295	Mattūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	161
Maṅgalasāila, <i>s. a. Maṅgalagiri</i> , . . . . .	115	Maukhari, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	3
Maṅgalēśa, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	4, 8, 9, 72, 189n,	Maurya, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	8, 10
	191, 192, 295	Māvinūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28, 37
Maṅgapāḍa, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	135	Māyāvādin, <i>s. a. Vādāntin</i> , . . . . .	261
Maṇimaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	24, 190n, 229n, 230n,	Mayidavōlu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	84, 233, 315, 316
	282, 283	Mayūtrakhaṇḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	241, 242
Manma-Gēta, <i>s. a. Kēta II.</i> , . . . . .	157, 159	Mayūravarmān I., <i>Kadamba ch.</i> , . . . . .	82
Manma-Maṇḍa, <i>Koṇḍapaḍmaṭi ch.</i> , . . . . .	274, 275	Mēḍa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	275
Maṇṇārguḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	284, 285, 311	Mēḍamāmba, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	275
Maṇṇe, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	61, 62, 64n, 65, 195, 240, 243n,	Medikondur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	148
	244n, 245n	Mēḍokopḍūru, <i>s. a. Medikondur</i> , . . . . .	147, 148, 156
Mannebeṭṭa or Mannibēḍu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	71	Mēḍūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	110n
Mannēru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	335, 346	Meerujgaon, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	242
Maṇṇi-nāḍu, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	223n	Mēghachandra, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	25, 37
Manni-nāḍu, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	223	Mēghadūta, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	247n
Mantena-Guṇḍa or Manthēna-Guṇḍa, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	39	Mēghēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	198, 199
Mantrapāṭha, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	131n	Mēguṭi, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	1
Manu, <i>riśhi</i> , . . . . .	17, 20, 146n, 178n, 204n, 217,	Mēlāgāni, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	64
	218, 241n, 268n, 336	Mēlpāḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	179, 324, 325
Mānyakhēta, <i>s. a. Mālkhēḍ</i> , . . . . .	26, 36, 64n	Mēlpāṭi, <i>s. a. Mēlpāḍi</i> , . . . . .	179
Māragāmunḍa or Māragavunḍa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	70n	Mēlnkōṭe, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	322, 323
Mārakkarasa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	163	mēra, <i>a fee</i> , . . . . .	114
Mārambāvai, <i>queen of Nandippōttaraiyar</i> , . . . . .	321	Merhara, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	42, 58, 66n, 75, 77
Mārāśarva, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	250, 256, 267	Mēru, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	130, 212, 247n
Mārasimha I., <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	59, 60	Mimāṇṣā, . . . . .	204
Mārasimha II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	40, 49n, 50n, 52n, 53n,	Mindhola, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	286 add.
	55n, 59, 60, 62, 63, 69n, 75, 76, 80, 81,	Miriyaṭhāṇa, <i>s. a. Meerujgaon</i> , . . . . .	241, 242
	82, 179, 182, 259, 260	Modakarani, <i>field</i> , . . . . .	15
Mārasimhadēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	333n	Modukur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	39
Mārassa]ba, <i>s. a. Mārāśarva</i> , . . . . .	256, 257	Mokkara, <i>s. a. Mushkara</i> , . . . . .	81n

	PAGE
Mūlasaṅgha, . . . . .	26, 36
Mūlasthāna or Mūlasthānāśvara, <i>tc.</i> , . . . . .	228,
	275, 276, 277, 278
mūlavīsa, . . . . .	231n, 232, 233
Mulgund, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	98, 175, 184, 190, 257, 259
Mulgunda twelve, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	98, 101, 107, 267
Mulki, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	283n
Mummaḍi-Bhīma, <i>sur. of Vimalāditya</i> , . . . . .	350, 359
Mummaḍi-Chōḍa, <i>E. Chalukya ch.</i> , . . . . .	334, 335, 344
Mummaḍi- or Mummaḍi-Chōḍa, <i>sur. of Rāja-</i>	
<i>rāja I.</i> , . . . . .	51n
Munivalli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29, 37
Muppamāmbā, <i>queen of Budda</i> , . . . . .	158
mūṛumkēri, . . . . .	165, 166
mūṛampura, . . . . .	165n, 166n
Musa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29, 37
Mushkara, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	74, 81n
Musi, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	208, 209, 213
Musunūḷu, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	336
Muttalageṛe, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28, 37
Muttarasa, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	42, 43, 52n, 59,
	60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 73, 82, 256
Muttatti, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	52n
Mūvaḍi-Chōḍa, <i>sur. of Rājāditya</i> , . . . . .	51, 55
muyyalikutru, . . . . .	361n
Mysoor, <i>State</i> , . . . . .	40, 42, 44n, 47, 48, 58, 60,
	63, 64, 72, 74, 75, 76, 82, 83, 194, 197,
	256, 259, 325
N	
Naḍagām, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	134
Nāḍeṇḍla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	111n, 115, 268, 269, 274,
	275, 276, 277, 278
Nāḍiṇḍla, <i>s. a. Nāḍeṇḍla</i> , . . . . .	111 and add., 112,
	113, 115, 116, 129, 130, 131, 132, 231,
	232, 233, 268, 273, 275, 276, 277, 278
Nāḍiṇḍla, <i>sur. of Ātukūru</i> , . . . . .	115
Nāḍupūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	129n
Nāga, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	73n, 296n
Nāgadēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	72
Nāgai-Nāyaka, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	333, 334
Nāgaiyappalli, <i>s. a. Kambayanallūr</i> , . . . . .	333
Nāgaiyyabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	241
Nāgamaṅgala, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	58, 60, 77
Nāgamuḍḍa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	108
Nagarisvara-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>sur. of</i>	
<i>Sevilimēḍu</i> , . . . . .	228
Nāgarjuni, <i>hill</i> , . . . . .	3

	PAGE		PAGE
Nāgasārikā, s. a. Nausāri, . . . . .	287	Nāṅgaṇi Nāṅgai, f., . . . . .	322
Nāgattara, family (?), . . . . .	46, 47, 49, 50, 71n	Nāṅjangūḍ, vi., . . . . .	265n
Nāgavarman, author, . . . . .	213, 214	Nāṅjanna-Oḍeya, Vijayanagara ch., . . . . .	325n
Nāgavarman, m., . . . . .	37	Nanniya-Gaṅga, sur. of Bātuga II., . . . . .	51n
Nāgavi, vi., . . . . .	180, 185	Nanniya-Gaṅga, W. Gaṅga k., . . . . .	65
Nāgēśvara, te, . . . . .	38, 220, 224, 278	Naraharitirtha, Mādhva teacher, . . . . .	260, 261, 262, 263, 266
nakshatras :—		Narahariyatistōtra, quoted, . . . . .	261, 262n
Anurādhā, . . . . .	111n, 331, 304, 305, 307	Narapati, k., . . . . .	218
Ārdrā, . . . . .	329	Narasimha, Pallava k., . . . . .	320n
Āśvinī, . . . . .	282, 305, 308	Narasimha I., Hoysala k., . . . . .	add., 92, 95
Dhanishṭhā, . . . . .	283, 285, 325, 326	Narasimha II., E. Gaṅga k., . . . . .	262n
Hastā, . . . . .	305, 309	Nārasimha, te., . . . . .	252
Jyēṣṭhā, . . . . .	17, 19, 240, 247, 248n, 256n, 334, 345, 347	Narasimharāya, Vijayanagara k., . . . . .	131n
Kṛittikā, . . . . .	329	Narasimhavarman I., Pallava k., . . . . .	190n
Mrigāsīras or Mrigāsīrsha, . . . . .	180n, 323	Narasīpura, vi., . . . . .	327
Mūla, . . . . .	21, 306	Nārāyaṇa, author, . . . . .	131n
Punarvasu, . . . . .	307, 309, 325, 327	Nārāyaṇa, s. a. Vishnu, . . . . .	26, 34, 56, 100, 106n, 174n, 204, 220, 223, 262
Pūrvabhadrapadā, . . . . .	303	Nārāyaṇadēvarkere, vi., . . . . .	262
Pūrvaphalgunī, . . . . .	313, 325	Nārāyaṇadēv-Oḍeya, Vijayanagara ch., . . . . .	327
Pūrvāṣāḍhā, . . . . .	284, 302	Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita, author, . . . . .	231
Pushya, . . . . .	304, 312, 313, 349, 359	Nārāyaṇasvāmin, te., . . . . .	219
Rēvatī, . . . . .	111n, 259n, 282, 307, 310	Nārāyaṇivilāsa, name of a work, . . . . .	323
Rōhīṇī, . . . . .	24, 84, 309, 323	Naregal, vi., . . . . .	161n, 162, 164, 172, 185, 258n
Śatabhishaj, . . . . .	306, 328	Narēndragupta, Gauda k., . . . . .	143
Śravaṇa, . . . . .	111n, 267, 282, 283	Nareyaṅgal or Narayaṅgal, s. a. Naregal, 162, 163, 258n	
Svāti, . . . . .	22, 301, 311	Nariyāllu, family, . . . . .	346
Uttara, . . . . .	228, 229, 280	Nāsik, vi., . . . . .	85, 88n, 316
Uttarabhadrapadā, . . . . .	18n, 283, 284, 310, 311, 329	Nātavāḍi, di., . . . . .	159, 160
Uttaraphalgunī, . . . . .	308, 309, 311, 312, 313	Nāthavāḍi or Nāthavāḍi, s. a. Nātavāḍi, . . . . .	157, 158, 159
Uttarāṣāḍhā, . . . . .	20, 21, 240, 284, 285, 302, 303, 306, 310, 313	Natripāṭi, do., . . . . .	159
Viśākhā, . . . . .	111n, 303	Nausāri, vi., . . . . .	26, 27n, 82, 168n, 169 and add., 172n, 173n, 174, 175, 176, 181n, 183, 184, 186, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 278n, 287, 290n, 295n
Nala, dy., . . . . .	8	Navale-nāḍu, di., . . . . .	69, 214, 215, 318
Nalachampū, quoted, . . . . .	249n	Nawalgund, vi., . . . . .	25
Nālgōḍu, vi., . . . . .	214, 218	Nellaiyappar, te., . . . . .	302, 303, 304, 305, 308, 309, 312
Nallapāṭi, vi., . . . . .	117	Nērguṭṭi, W. Gaṅga ch., . . . . .	321, 322
Nallūru-Komaraṅgundu, vi., . . . . .	48n, 50	Nēzilage, s. a. Niralgi, . . . . .	28, 37
nalvamu, a furlong, . . . . .	39n	Nerūr, vi., . . . . .	on, 189n, 192, 295
Nambaya, Nambirāja, Nambha or Nambhirāja, ch., . . . . .	224, 225, 227, 268n	Niḍagundi, vi., . . . . .	27
Nandagiri, mo., . . . . .	44, 55, 259, 260	Niḍubrōlu, vi., . . . . .	281
Nandamapūḍi, vi., . . . . .	348, 349, 350	Nigarili-Śōḷa-maṇḍalam, co., . . . . .	331
Nandigunda, vi., . . . . .	100n	Nikumbhallaśakti, Sēndraka ch., . . . . .	191, 192
Nandija (Nandyārya), m., . . . . .	88n	Nilabbe, f., . . . . .	44n
Nandin, Śiva's bull, . . . . .	90, 146, 160, 161, 258		
Nandipāṭi, vi., . . . . .	114		
Nandippōttaraiyar, Pallava k., . . . . .	321		
Nandivarman, do., . . . . .	190n		
Nandwāḍige, vi., . . . . .	166n, 175		

	PAGE
Nilagiri, <i>s. a.</i> Jagannātha, . . . . .	144
Nilagunda, <i>s. a.</i> Nilgund, . . . . .	98
Nilagundage, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28, 37
Nilgund, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	98, 173, 174, 175, 186, 187, 189n, 193, 194, 257
Nindiya-Korantiyarasa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	71
Nirāgi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28, 255n
Nirgunda, <i>s. a.</i> Nilgund, . . . . .	98, 102, 107, 257
Nirihullaka, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	295
Nirmapamāṭi, <i>tanḥ</i> , . . . . .	219
Nirukta, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	241n, 247n
Nirupama, <i>sur. of</i> Dhruva, 27, 105, 170, 172, 173, 186, 192, 195, 240, 248	
Nirupama, <i>sur. of</i> Dhruvarāja I., . . . .	190n
Nirupama, <i>sur. of</i> Dhruvarāja II., . . . .	187, 190n
Nitimarga, <i>sur. of</i> W. Gaṅga kings, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 52n, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70	
Nityakandarpa, <i>sur. of</i> Gōvinda IV., . . . .	177
Nityavarsha, <i>sur. of</i> Indra III., 163n, 169 add., 176, 177, 178n, 184	
Nityavarsha, <i>sur. of</i> Khotṭiga, . . . . .	180
nivartana, <i>land measure</i> , . . . . .	15, 28, 37
Nivāḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	213
Niyamam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	321
niyōga, . . . . .	113, 231
niyukta or niyuktaka, . . . . .	35, 286
Noḷamba, <i>s. a.</i> Pallava, . . . . .	47, 66, 68, 70
Noḷambādhirāja, . . . . .	47, 51n, 66
Noḷambakulāntaka, <i>sur. of</i> Mārasimha II., . . . .	260
Noḷambāntaka, <i>do.</i> , 40, 49n, 52n, 53n, 55n, 60, 62, 63, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 179, 182, 259	
Noḷambavāḍi, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	47, 48, 66
Noṭchedlapāṇḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	275
Noṭchinipāḍu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	275, 276
Nripakāma, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	361
Nripasandari, <i>s. a.</i> Rājasundari, . . . . .	228, 229
Nripatitripētra, <i>sur. of</i> Gōvinda IV., . . . .	53n, 174n, 177
Nripatunga, <i>sur. of</i> Amoghavarsha I., 100, 106, 107, 175, 186, 193	
Nripatunga, <i>sur. of</i> Gōvinda IV., . . . . .	177
Nripatunga, <i>sur. of</i> Kakka II., . . . . .	181
Nṛsimha, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	115, 204, 249n, 266n, 273, 276, 277
Nṛsimha, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	136
Nugu, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	69, 214
Nugu-nāḍu, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	69, 214, 215, 217, 218, 219
Nunes, Fernão, . . . . .	110
Nāntulapāṭi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	114

	PAGE
Nūrmaḍi-Taila, <i>s. a.</i> Taila II., . . . . .	51n, 83
Nūtanapārtha, <i>sur. of</i> Kakka II., . . . . .	181

## O

Odda, <i>s. a.</i> Orissa, . . . . .	233
Oddavāḍi, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	262n
Oddittage, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29, 37
Ōdimākki, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	229
Ōrukāra, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	113n, 114
Oṅgērumārga, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	224, 225
Ohkadona, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	147, 156, 157
Orissa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	110, 112, 134, 140, 144, 233n
ottu, . . . . .	108, 109

## P

Paḍilagere, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28, 36
Padmanābhatīrtha, <i>Mādhva teacher</i> , . . . . .	261, 263
Pādra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	294, 297
Paes, Domingos, . . . . .	110
paikamu, <i>coin</i> , . . . . .	232
Paipimarṇi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	113
Paishṭapuraka, . . . . .	3n
Paithap, <i>vi.</i> , 166, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174n, 181n, 184, 186, 187, 188, 190, 194, 197, 208, 209, 212n	
Pāla, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	169n, 205n
Palagunṇa-kōṭṭam, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	320
Pālaiyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	321
Pālāru, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	227, 333
Pāli, <i>s. a.</i> Pālāru, . . . . .	333, 334
pālīdhvaja, . . . . .	34, 106, 170
Pallava, <i>dy.</i> , 3, 11, 13n, 15n, 16, 17, 18n, 47, 64n, 72, 73n, 75, 76, 77, 78, 82, 85, 88, 190, 191, 218, 248, 250, 256, 316, 320, 321	
Pallavādhirāja, <i>Noḷamba k.</i> , . . . . .	66
Pallavamalla, <i>sur. of</i> Nandivarman, . . . . .	190n
Pallavatila[ka?], <i>family</i> , . . . . .	321
Pālōru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	361
Pampabhārata, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	214
Pañchāla, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	287
Pañchaladēva, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , 59, 69n, 71, 72, 83, 182, 259, 260	
Pañchanadēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	306, 350
Pañḍīa or Pañḍīśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	268, 273, 274
Pāṇḍya, <i>co.</i> , 11, 51n, 83n, 92, 212, 218, 227, 281, 301, 323, 324	

	PAGE		PAGE
Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, <i>sur. of</i> Kulōttunga I., . . .	221	Perumāḷ, <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu, . . .	322, 323
Pāṇini, <i>quoted</i> , 7n, 10n, 11n, 39n, 154n, 250n, . . .	295n	Perumbālaiyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	321, 322
Pāṇḍra, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	316, 318, 319	Peruvalanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	190n
Pāṇṇūgal-vishaya, <i>di.</i> , . . .	251 add.	Pervayal, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	214, 215, 218
Pāṇana-Bōya, <i>m.</i> , . . .	223	Phalmāru, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	283n
Parachurage, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	313	Pilḍuvipati, <i>s. a.</i> Prithivipati II., . . .	65
Parakēsarivarma, <i>sur. of</i> Chōḷa kings, 21, . . .	24, 169n, 224	Pinna-Chōḍi, <i>ch.</i> , . . .	39
Paramabbe, <i>queen of</i> Bātuga I., . . .	57, 59, 69	Pirisiōgi, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	29, 37
paramabhaṭṭāraka, 35, 55, 93, 168n, 172, 178, . . .	195, 221, 227, 240, 346, 360	Piriyakkara, <i>metre</i> , . . .	213, 314
paramabhaṭṭārikā, . . .	135, 140	Pisṭapura, <i>s. a.</i> Piṭhāpuram, . . .	2, 3n, 11
Paramāra, <i>dy.</i> , . . .	188n	Piṭhāpuram, <i>vi.</i> , 2, 3, 127n, 191, 228, 269, . . .	334, 335, 336, 344, 346, 348, 349, 352n
Paramardidēva, <i>s. a.</i> Vikramāditya VI., 91, 92, 95 . . .		Pogilli, <i>Sēndraka sh.</i> , . . .	72, 107n, 254
paramēśvara, 35, 55, 93, 106, 168n, 172, 178, . . .	193, 194, 195, 213, 240, 360	Polakēsin or Polekēsin, <i>s. a.</i> Pulakēsin, 2, 4, 8, . . .	9, 11n, 359
Paramēśvara, <i>s. a.</i> Śiva, . . .	25, 243	Poṇ-mēynda-Perumāḷ, <i>sur. of</i> Sundara- Pāṇḍya, . . .	323n
Paramēśvarabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . .	241	Ponnakka, <i>f.</i> , . . .	214, 218
Paramēśvaravarma I., <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . .	190n	Ponnambi, <i>m.</i> , . . .	229
paramēśvari, . . .	135, 140	Poṇṇi, <i>s. a.</i> Kāvērī, . . .	333, 334
Parāntaka, <i>sur. of</i> Kulōttunga I., . . .	220, 223	Povaṇḍlu, <i>family</i> , . . .	346
Parāntaka I., <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , . . .	59, 82	Prabhākara, <i>m.</i> , . . .	241n
Parasurāma, <i>ṛishi</i> , . . .	273, 276, 277, 346n	Prabhākara, <i>sur. of</i> Bhōja I., . . .	248n
Paravūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	50	Prabhāsa, <i>sur. of</i> Bhōja I., . . .	198
Pariyala, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	190n	Prabhūtavaraḥa, <i>sur. of</i> Rāshtrakūṭa kings, 26, 27, 34, 105, 170n, 172, 173, 174, 177, . . .	186, 188, 193, 194, 195, 203, 213, 240, 241
Pāruvala, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	361	Prabhūtavaraḥa-Gōvindarāja, <i>Gujarāt Rāsh-</i> <i>trakūṭa ch.</i> , . . .	183
Pārvaṇagere, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	29, 37	Prabōdhachandrōdaya, <i>drama</i> , . . .	111 add.
Pārvatī, <i>goddess</i> , . . .	39, 105, 179n, 218	Prabhāsa, <i>m.</i> , . . .	136
Paṭṇā, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	134	Prahlāda, <i>ṛishi</i> , . . .	266
Paṭṭadakal, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	42, 72n, 164, 172, 187, 255n	Pramādīcha, <i>s. a.</i> Pramādin, . . .	22n
paṭṭikā, <i>a charter</i> , . . .	13, 89	pramāṇa, <i>a document</i> , . . .	229
Pattipālu, <i>family</i> , . . .	818	Pramōḍita, <i>s. a.</i> Pramōda, . . .	22n
Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura, <i>s. a.</i> Humcha, . . .	91	Prasādinī, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	213
Pattiya-Mattāūra, <i>s. a.</i> Hatti-Mattūr, . . .	161	Prasahyavigraha, <i>m.</i> , . . .	300
Paulasti, <i>goddess</i> , . . .	336	Prasāntarāga, <i>sur. of</i> Dadda II., . . .	296, 297
Peddacherukūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	148	praśasti, 2, 3, 4, 135, 136, 199, 203, 205, 241, 296 . . .	
Peggu-ūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	73, 82, 254	Prasiddhadhavalā, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . .	189n
Pēṭiyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	162n	Prasthānatraya, . . .	261n, 265n
Pemmāṇāḍi, <i>s. a.</i> Permaṇāḍi, . . .	44, 45	Pratāpachakravartin, <i>sur. of</i> Jagadēkamalla II., . . .	91n
Penakoṇḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	327	Pratāpachakravartin, <i>sur. of</i> Vira-Ballāḷa II., . . .	93
Pēñjeruva, <i>tank</i> , . . .	361	prātibhēdikā, . . .	300
Pennāchārya, <i>m.</i> , . . .	347	Pratipati, <i>s. a.</i> Prithivipati I., . . .	65
Peṇṇai, <i>vi.</i> , . . .	333, 334	prātirāja, . . .	99
Penugōṇḍa, <i>s. a.</i> Penakoṇḍa, . . .	327	pravara :—	
pergāḍe, . . .	71	Āṅgīrasa, . . .	146
Permāḍi, <i>sur. of</i> Vikramāditya VI., . . .	92	Audalya, . . .	141
Permaḍi-paṭṭa, . . .	49n		
Permaṇāḍi or Permāṇāḍi, <i>title</i> , 44, 45, 55, 59, . . .	65, 67n, 68, 69, 180, 221, 227		

	PAGE		PAGE
Avatsāra, . . . . .	141		
Bārhaspatya, . . . . .	146		
Dēvarāta, . . . . .	136, 141		
Kāśyapa, . . . . .	141		
Naidhruva, . . . . .	141		
Tuṭhiyalla, . . . . .	17, 19		
Viśvāmitra, . . . . .	141		
Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa, name of a work, . . . . .	204		
Prichchhakarāja, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	27, 84		
Prithivīballava, <i>s. a. Prithivīvallabha</i> , . . . . .	190n		
Prithivī-Konguṇi, <i>sur. of Muttarasa</i> , . . . . .	59		
Prithivīpati I., <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	59, 65		
Prithivīpati II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	59, 60, 65, 75, 82, 191n		
Prithivīvallabha or Prithivīvallabha, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	168, 169n, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 182, 186, 188, 191, 192, 194, 195, 240		
Prithivīvarman, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	134		
Prithivīrāma, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	37		
Prithivīvara, <i>Velanāṇḍu ch.</i> , . . . . .	127n, 269		
Prōlamadēvi, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	147, 166		
Pūjyapāda, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	81		
Pulakēśin I., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , 64n, 72, 169n, . . . . .	189, 191, 192		
Pulakēśin II., <i>do.</i> , 2, 3, 7n, 72, 81, 164, 171, . . . . .	189, 190, 191		
Pūnāḍu six-thousand, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	61, 66, 67, 68		
Puṅgaṇḍr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	323		
pura = 3, . . . . .	128n, 129n		
Purale, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	83		
Puranāṇḍu, name of a work, . . . . .	331		
Pūrāvi, <i>s. a. Pūrṇā</i> , . . . . .	286, 287		
Purī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	10		
Purigere, <i>s. a. Lakshmēshwar</i> , . . . . .	164, 165, 166		
Purigere-nāḍ, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	107n		
Purigere three-hundred, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	27, 62, 53, 57, 70		
Pūrṇā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	287		
Pūrpaprajña, <i>sur. of Ānandatīrtha</i> , . . . . .	261		
Purushōttama, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141		
Purushōttama-mahātīrtha or Purushōttama-tīrtha, <i>sur. of Achyutaprēkahāchārya</i> , 260, . . . . .	261, 265		
Pushabhūti or Pushyabhūti, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	247n		
Pushpavanēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	307		
Pustaka-gachohba, . . . . .	26, 36		
pustakapāla, . . . . .	141		
putṭi, <i>measure</i> , . . . . .	116		
Puttār, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	327		
Puvakoṭṭaja, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	88		
Pāvina-Pullimatāgala, <i>s. a. Hulimatāgala</i> , . . . . .	48, 50		
		R	
		Rācha, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	109, 128
		Rāchamalla I., <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , 48, 52, 57, 59, . . . . .	62, 63, 70, 71
		Rāchamalla II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	57, 59, 69n
		Rāchamma, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	44n
		Rachcha-Gaṅga, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	52, 69n
		Rachchhyāmalla, <i>s. a. Rāchamalla I.</i> , . . . . .	71
		Rācheya-Gaṅga, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	68, 70, 71
		Rāchiya-Peddēri, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	350, 361
		Rāchiya-Peddēri-Bhima, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	351
		Rādā, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	203, 204
		Rādhanpur, <i>vi.</i> , 64n, 165n, 171, 172n, 173, 183, . . . . .	184, 185, 186, 193, 194, 197, 209, 239, 252n, 256
		Rādībēya, <i>s. a. Karpa</i> , . . . . .	273, 275, 277
		Rādhiya, . . . . .	203n
		Rāghava, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	200
		Rāghava, <i>s. a. Rāma</i> , . . . . .	217n, 219
		Rāghava or Raghunāyaka, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	112, 131, 231, 232
		Rāghavēndrasvāmī-maṭha, . . . . .	261n, 265n
		Raghu, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . . . .	4, 11n, 268n
		Raghuvamśa, <i>quoted</i> , 3, 4, 7n, 8n, 9n, 10n, 11n, . . . . .	168n, 247n, 250n
		Rāhappa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	170
		rahasya, <i>s. a. rahasyādhikṛita</i> , . . . . .	13n
		rahasyādhikṛita, a private secretary, . . . . .	13
		Rājabhīma II., <i>s. a. Chālukya-Bhīma II.</i> , . . . . .	358
		rājadhāni, . . . . .	323
		rājādhirāja, . . . . .	111 add., 193
		Rājādhirāja I., <i>Chōla k.</i> , 22, 23, 24, 169n, 214, . . . . .	216n, 224
		Rājāditya, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	51, 52, 53, 55, 57
		Rājagambhīra, <i>sur. of Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara</i> , . . . . .	324
		Rājagōpāla-Perumāl, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	24, 282, 283, 284
		Rājaguru, <i>sur. of Vāmaśakti</i> , . . . . .	94
		Rājakesarivarman, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	321
		Rājakesarivarman, <i>sur. of Chōla kings</i> , . . . . .	24, 169n, 221, 224, 227, 282
		Rājamahēndra, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	169n
		Rājamahēndra, <i>sur. of Amma I.</i> , . . . . .	47
		Rājamahēndra, <i>sur. of Amma II.</i> , . . . . .	47
		Rājamahēndri (Rajahmundry), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	110n, 335
		Rājamalla, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , 43, 47, 59, 60, 61, . . . . .	63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 82
		Rājamārtanḍa, <i>sur. of Indra III.</i> , . . . . .	176
		Rājamārtanḍa, <i>sur. of Indra IV.</i> , . . . . .	182
		Rājamārtanḍa, <i>sur. of Khoṭṭiga</i> , . . . . .	180
		Rājanārāyaṇa-Vinnagara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	220n

	PAGE		PAGE
rājaparamēśvara, . . . . .	111 add., 221, 227, 346	Rāpakambha, s. a. Rāṇastambha, . . . . .	add.
rājaputra, . . . . .	135, 141, 168n, 199	Rāṇappa, m., . . . . .	286
Rājarāja, <i>Chōla ch.</i> , . . . . .	331, 332, 333, 334	Rāṇarāja, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	8
Rājarāja, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	223n, 348,	Rāṇastambha, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	add.
	349, 350	Rāṇastambhapura, s. a. Ranthambhor, . . . . .	add.
Rājarāja, <i>sur. of Chōḍagaṅga</i> , . . . . .	334, 335, 345,	Rāṇastipūṇḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	349, 351, 361
	346, 347	Rāṇavāḷōka, <i>sur. of Kambayya</i> , . . . . .	65, 188, 195, 197
Rājarāja, <i>sur. of Mummaḍi-Chōḍa</i> , . . . . .	334, 335	Rāṇavikrama, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	43, 59, 63, 65, 66, 69n
Rājarāja I., <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	20, 24, 349, 350	Rāṇavikramayya, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	61, 62
Rājarāja III., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	282, 283, 284, 285	Rāṇavikrānta-Buddhavarmanarāja, <i>Gujarāt Cha-</i>	
Rājarāja II., <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	199, 200	<i>lukya ch.</i> , . . . . .	189
Rājarājendra, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga I.</i> , . . . . .	221	Rāṅganātha, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	51n, 303, 322, 323, 325, 330
Rājarājendra, <i>sur. of Vikrama-Chōla</i> , . . . . .	227	Rāṅgarāja, s. a. Rāṅganātha, . . . . .	330
Rājasimha, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	79, 320n	Ranna, <i>Kanarese poet</i> , . . . . .	71
Rājasimha, <i>sur. of Amōghavarsha I.</i> , . . . . .	174	Ranthambhor, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	add.
Rājasimha, <i>sur. of Dantidurga</i> , . . . . .	168	rāshṭragrāmamahattara, . . . . .	297, 300
Rājasimha, <i>sur. of Gōvinda I.</i> , . . . . .	168	rāshṭrakūṭa, a headman, . . . . .	346, 360
Rājasimha, <i>sur. of Indravarman I.</i> , . . . . .	72	Rāshṭrakūṭa, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	add., 25, 26, 27, 28n, 34,
rājaśrāvita, a royal decree, . . . . .	99, 102, 107n		35n, 47, 48, 51, 61, 64, 70, 72, 74, 75,
Rājasundari, s. a. Śevilimēdu, . . . . .	228, 229		76, 82, 83, 100, 160, 161, 163, 165, 167,
Rājatarāṅgiṇī, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	250n		168, 169, 170, 172n, 173, 174n, 181n,
Rājatrinētra, <i>sur. of Kakka II.</i> , . . . . .	53n, 174n, 182		182, 184n, 187n, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192,
rājavallabha, . . . . .	135n		193, 194, 196, 208, 209, 212, 240, 249,
Rājavallabha or Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyan,			252, 256, 257, 258, 287, 345n
<i>sur. of Mādhaḥa</i> , . . . . .	220, 223	rāshṭrapati, . . . . .	35, 241, 286
Rājendra-Chōḍa, <i>Velanāṇḍu ch.</i> , . . . . .	269, 273, 274, 276	Rāsin, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	242
Rājendra-Chōḍa I., <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	20, 21, 22, 24,	Rāsiyana, s. a. Rāsin, . . . . .	242
	169n, 224, 350	Rāsiyana-bhukti, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	241, 242
Rājendra-Chōḍa II., s. a. Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I., . . . . .	220	Rātājan, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	242
Rājendradēva, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	23, 24, 169n, 214,	Rathāṅga, m., . . . . .	203
	217, 218n	Ratnapālavarman, <i>Prāgyōtisha k.</i> , . . . . .	134
Rājyavardhana, <i>Kanauj k.</i> , . . . . .	143, 144	Ratnāvalōka, <i>sur. of Bappuvarasa</i> , . . . . .	189 add.
Rāma, m., . . . . .	230	Ratnavarsha, <i>sur. of Vijayāditya</i> , . . . . .	208, 213
Rāma, <i>saint</i> , . . . . .	93, 106, 109, 112, 113, 127, 129n,	Ratṭa, s. a. Rāshṭrakūṭa, . . . . .	53n, 106, 179n, 189n
	131, 179n, 217n, 218, 231, 260n, 261,	Rattajūṇa or Rattajūṇa, s. a. Rātājan, . . . . .	241, 242
	275, 346n	Ratṭakandarpa, <i>sur. of Gōvinda IV.</i> , . . . . .	177
Rāma, s. a. Paraśurāma, . . . . .	359	Ratṭakandarpa, <i>sur. of Indra III.</i> , . . . . .	176, 186
Rāmabhadra, s. a. Rāma, . . . . .	108, 231, 346	Ratṭakandarpa, <i>sur. of Indra IV.</i> , . . . . .	182
Rāmadēva, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	257	Ratṭakandarpa, <i>sur. of Khoṭṭiga</i> , . . . . .	180
Rāmānujāchārya, <i>Vaiṣṇava teacher</i> , . . . . .	261	Ratṭavidyādhara, <i>sur. of Gōvinda IV.</i> , . . . . .	177
Rāmapūrvatāpanīya-Upanishad, . . . . .	131n	Rāvapa, <i>demon</i> , . . . . .	127, 156
Rāmatāpanīya-Upanishad, . . . . .	127n	Raviga, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	214, 215, 217, 218, 219n
Rāmāyana, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	19n, 20n	Ravika, m., . . . . .	141
Rāmāyana Bhāskara, m., . . . . .	111	Ravikīrti, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	2, 3, 4, 7n, 11n, 12
Rāmēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	114	Ravikulatilaka, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga I.</i> , . . . . .	221
Rāmēśvara, <i>tīrtha</i> , . . . . .	64n	Rāyakōṭa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	333n
Rāmuṇḍ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	324, 325	Rāyapa-Bhāskara, m., . . . . .	116
Rāmpura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	67, 68	Redḍi, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	110, 233
Rāṇabhaṇḍa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	134, 136	Rēṭūri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	115
rāṇaka, . . . . .	136	Rēvā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	10

	PAGE		PAGE
Rāvakanimmaḍi, <i>queen of Bātuga II.</i> , . . . . .	51n, 52n, 59, 70, 71	Sāluva-Sāluva, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	131n
Rāvanta, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . . . .	275	Sāluva-Timmaṇṇa, <i>s. a. Sālva-Timma</i> , . . . . .	109n
Rāvati, <i>island</i> , . . . . .	8	Sālva or Sālva, <i>tribe</i> , . . . . .	131n
Rāyaiyyabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	241	Sālva or Sālva-Timma, <i>ch.</i> , 109, 110, 111 and	
Rompicharla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	113, 116	add., 112, 114, 115, 116, 128, 129, 130,	
Rudaghosaja (Rudraghōshārya), <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	318	131, 132, 231, 232, 233	
Rudavennhuja (Rudraviśhpārya), <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	318	Sāmāṅga, <i>vi.</i> , 26, 167, 168, 181n, 182, 183,	
Rudra, <i>Amarāvatt ch.</i> , . . . . .	147	187n, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 208, 209, 212n	
Rudra, <i>Nātavāḍi ch.</i> , . . . . .	157, 158, 159, 160	sāmanta, . . . . .	71, 135, 155, 297, 300
Rudrabhaṭṭa, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	132n	Sāmasāstrin or Rāmasāstrin, <i>s. a. Naraharitīrtha</i> , 261	
Rudradāman, <i>Kṣhatrapa k.</i> , . . . . .	19n, 20n, 165n	Samasi-Guḍigere, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	254
Rudradēva, <i>Kākatīya k.</i> , . . . . .	39n, 163n	Samastabhuvanāśraya, <i>sur. of E. Chalukya</i>	
rūpaka, <i>alamkāra</i> , . . . . .	346n	<i>kinge</i> , . . . . .	221
		Samastarājāśraya, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga I.</i> , . . . . .	221
		sāmavājika or sāmavājika, <i>s. a. sāmavājīn</i> , . . . . .	135n
		sāmavājīn, . . . . .	125
		Samayapuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	322
		Sambhaka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	136
		saindhivigrahin, . . . . .	208, 220
		Saṅgama, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29, 37
		Saṅgama II., <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	108, 130n
		Saṅgannēr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	82
		Saṁhitā, . . . . .	204
		Saṁkarāchārya, . . . . .	232n, 261, 265n
		Saṁkarāchārya-māṭha, . . . . .	263n
		Saṁkaragana, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	295, 296, 299
		Saṁkrandana, <i>s. a. Indra</i> , . . . . .	277
		samkrānti:— . . . . .	135, 136
		Kanyā-samkrānti, . . . . .	259, 260
		Uttarāyana-samkrānti, 141, 177n, 180n, 221,	
		268, 273, 279, 286 and add.	
		Vishuva-samkrānti, . . . . .	221, 223
		saṁtāna, saṁtānaka or saṁtati, the seven, 129, 130	
		Samudragupta, <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	3n
		saṅgaḍirakṣhapālaka, . . . . .	233n
		Saṅgavār, <i>s. a. Sungoor</i> , . . . . .	251, 252, 253
		Sāṅgli, <i>vi.</i> , 26n, 76, 172, 176, 177, 183, 184,	
		186, 190, 192, 193	
		Sāṅgokā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	203
		Saṅkalāpura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	281n
		Saṅkama, <i>Kalachurya k.</i> , . . . . .	92
		Sāṅkhōḍā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	295
		Sāntara, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	9
		Sāntikara, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	135
		Sāntilla, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	295
		Sāntivarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , . . . . .	13
		Sāntivarman, <i>Raṭṭa ch.</i> , . . . . .	179n
		Saragūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	66n, 73n
		Sāravhu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	50
		Sarasipuri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	2

	PAGE		PAGE
Sarasvatī, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	203n	Sellakētana, <i>s. a.</i> Chellakētana, . . . . .	27, 28n, 35
Sarasvatī, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	128n, 218	Sellavidēga, <i>biruda</i> , . . . . .	28n
Saraṭavura, <i>s. a.</i> Soraṭūr, . . . . .	107n	Sellavidyādhara, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	28n
Sarbhon, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	256	Śembiyaṇ-Māvalivānarāyaṇ, <i>sur. of</i> Prithivi-	
Sarbhōp, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257n	pati II., . . . . .	191n
Sarsavni, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	294	śenabbōgika, <i>a village clerk</i> , . . . . .	285n, 286
Sarthātāilāṭa forty-two, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	286	śenādhipati, . . . . .	92
Sārvabhauma, <i>the elephant of Kuberā</i> , . . . . .	359	Sēnānandarāja, <i>Sēndraka ch.</i> , . . . . .	191
Sarvadarśanasamgraha, . . . . .	261	Sēndra, <i>s. a.</i> Sēndraka, . . . . .	73n, 81
Sarvajñachakravartin, <i>sur. of</i> Sōmēśvara III., . . . .	91n	Sēndraka, <i>family</i> , 72, 73n, 107n, 191, 192, 254	
Sarvalōkāśraya, <i>sur. of E. Chalukya kings</i> , 220, 223, 335, 346, 348, 359, 360		Sēngama, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	329, 333
śarvamānya, . . . . .	114	Sēngēpi Ammaiyaṇṇ Attimallaṇ, <i>sur. of</i> Vikrama-Chōla-Sambuvarāyaṇ, . . . . .	333
śarvanamasya, . . . . .	93	Śeñji, <i>s. a.</i> Gingee, . . . . .	322, 323
Sarvānanda, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	203n	Sētuvinaḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	91
Śāśakapura or Śāśapura, <i>s. a.</i> Śosavāru, . . . . .	90, 94	Sēupa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	82
Śāśānka, <i>Karṇasuvārṇa k.</i> , . . . . .	143	Śevāṇamēdu, <i>s. a.</i> Śevilimēdu, . . . . .	228
Śāśānkarāja, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	143, 144, 146	Śevilimēdu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	227, 228, 279
Śāsaverādu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	28, 36	Śeyyagaṅgar, <i>s. a.</i> Śiyagaṅgar, . . . . .	333
Sātālige or Sāntālige thousand, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	254	śaḍaṅgavid, . . . . .	241
Sātanūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	67	Shamukha, <i>s. a.</i> Kumāra, . . . . .	276
Sātārā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	296n	Shatsahasra, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	147, 155, 224, 225, 227
sati ( <i>suttee</i> ), . . . . .	215	Shiggaon, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	257
Śatrumalla, <i>sur. of</i> Mahēndravarmān I., . . . . .	320	Shirhatti, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	101n
Sattenapalli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	147, 148, 156, 269	Shisuvinhāl, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	194
Satyā, <i>s. a.</i> Satyabhāmā, . . . . .	246	Sholinghur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	65n
Satyāśraya, <i>sur. of W. Chalukya kings</i> , 2, 4, 7, 11, 12, 81		Siddhala, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	203, 205
Satyāśraya or Satyāśraya-Vallabha, <i>s. a.</i> Pula-		Siddhāntichandrabhūṣaṇa, <i>Śaiva teacher</i> , . . . . .	93
kēśin II., . . . . .	190n, 369	Sidhitunga, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	189n
Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarmān, <i>ch.</i> , 72, 73, 191n		Sikimabri (P), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29, 37
Satyavākya, <i>sur. of</i> Siddhāntichandrabhū-		Śilāditya VII., <i>Valabhi k.</i> , . . . . .	297
ṣaṇa, . . . . .	93	Śilāhāra, <i>family</i> , 168, 169n, 172n, 175, 176, 178, 181, 192	
Satyavākya, <i>sur. of W. Gaṅga kings</i> , 41, 43, 44, 45n, 49n, 50n, 51, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70n, 71, 180, 259, 260		Śilāmēgha, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	214, 218
Saujanyaśatnākara, <i>sur. of</i> Vajra, . . . . .	350, 361	Śilodbhava, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	144, 146
Saumyāyana, <i>s. a.</i> Uttarāyana, . . . . .	268, 273	śīman, . . . . .	113, 114, 115, 116
Saundaryalahari, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	232n	Simhāchalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	262n, 266, 267
Saundatti, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	179n, 258n	Simhādri, <i>s. a.</i> Simhāchalam, . . . . .	110 add.
Saurāśhṭra, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	197, 359	Simhanandin, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	75
Saurya, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	196, 197	Simhavarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , . . . . .	17, 19
Savagutaja (Śarvaguptāya), <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	318, 319	Simhavarman II., <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	17, 18n, 191
Sāvarga, <i>risht</i> , . . . . .	203	Śinā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	242
Sāvidēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	165n	Sinda, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	72n, 73n, 191n
Savigija, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	318	Śingapuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	322, 323
Savvaibhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	241	Singarāyakonda, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	335
Sāyanāchārya, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	261	Sinhā, <i>s. a.</i> Śinā, . . . . .	241, 242
		Siripodipūḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	361
		Śirukkōṭṭai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	333, 334
		Sirūr, <i>vi.</i> , 26, 98, 100n, 101n, 102, 103n, 104n, 106n, 107n, 175n, 209, 240	

	PAGE		PAGE
Śisupālavadhā, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	249n	Śrīharsha, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	37
Sitā, <i>queen</i> , . . . . .	218, 219, 260n, 261	Śrīkākulam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	109
Śiva, <i>god</i> , 7n, 10n, 37n, 93, 94n, 114, 123n, 131n, 132n, 144, 146, 148, 155, 158, 169 add., 174, 179, 198, 199, 204n, 214, 215, 219, 228, 229, 230, 246n, 248n, 259n, 268, 274, 275, 277, 286, 298, 299, 319, 320, 344, 345n, 359, 361		Śrīkamāṭha or Kamāṭha, <i>s. a.</i> Śrīkūrmam, . . . . .	268
Śiva-dina, . . . . .	236	Śrīkaṇṭha, <i>Śaiva teacher</i> , . . . . .	94
Śivakara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	199	Śrīkūrmam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	260, 262n, 266, 267, 268
Śivamahārāja, <i>s. a.</i> Śivamāra II., . . . .	65	Śrīngēri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	263n
Śivamāra I., <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , 59, 60, 63, 64, 72, 73, 74, 81n, 82		Śrīpārvata, <i>s. a.</i> Śrīsailam, . . . . .	51n
Śivamāra II., <i>do.</i> , 53n, 58, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 69n, 256		Śrīprithivīvallabha or Śrīprithivīvallabha, <i>biruda</i> , 168n, 169n, 187n, 203, 221	
Śivarāja, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	300	Śrīpuruṣa, <i>sur. of</i> Muttarasa, 42, 43, 52n, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 73, 82, 256	
Śivapaṭṭa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	65	Śrīraṅgam, <i>vi.</i> , 51n, 281, 303, 307, 309, 322, 323, 324, 330	
Śivaskandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , 17n, 85, 88, 315, 316		Śrīraṅpur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	162n
Sivunḍr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	255n	Śrīsailam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	93
Śiyagaṅga, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	333	Śrīsēna, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	213
Śiyamaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	319, 320	Śrī-Tribhuvanaṁkusa, <i>legend on seal</i> , . . . . .	334, 347
Si-yu-ki, . . . . .	136, 143	Śrīvallabha, <i>biruda</i> , 163, 165, 167, 188n, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 240	
Skandagupta, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	243n	Śrīvāra, <i>s. a.</i> Sirūr, . . . . .	107n
ślēṣha, <i>alamkāra</i> , . . . . .	241, 346	Śrīśāraya-Śilāditya, <i>Gujarāt Chalukya ch.</i> , . . . . .	295n
Smārta, <i>sect</i> , . . . . .	262n	Stambha, <i>s. a.</i> Kambayya, 174n, 183, 188, 197, 252, 256	
Smṛiti, . . . . .	146, 204	Stambhēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	319
Sōmana-Peggaḍa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	276	sthānāchārya, <i>a chief priest</i> , . . . . .	93
Sōmappa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	324	sthānādhikarapika, . . . . .	135n
Sōmēśvara, <i>Śaiva teacher</i> , . . . . .	93, 94	sthānādhikṛita, . . . . .	135n
Sōmēśvara, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	274, 276, 277	sthānāntarika, . . . . .	135, 141
Sōmēśvara I., <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	169n	St. Thomas' Mount, . . . . .	89
Sōmēśvara III., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	91n	St. Thomé, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	89
Sōmēśvara IV., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	83, 92	Subandhu, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	240
Sōraṭa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	218	Subhachandrapaṇḍita, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	257
Soraṭūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	55n, 107n, 179, 185, 190n	Subhākara, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	135
Sosavāru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	90	Subbatuṅga, <i>sur. of</i> Krishna I., 27, 34, 161, 169, 174n, 186, 208, 212	
Sōvidēva, <i>Kaṭachurya k.</i> , . . . . .	92	Subbatuṅga, <i>sur. of</i> Krishna II., . . . . .	175, 186
Sownshee, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	254	Subrahmanya, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	261n
Sphurita, <i>sur. of</i> Budha, . . . . .	203	Suchindram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	20
śrāhi, . . . . .	220, 221, 278n	Sādī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	57n, 60, 73, 82, 255n, 256n
Śrāvakulu, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	346	Śūdra, <i>caste</i> , . . . . .	147, 157, 214, 215, 268n, 269, 273
Śravaṇa-Belgola, <i>vi.</i> , 25, 40, 55n, 65, 82, 91, 179, 180, 184, 187n, 195		Śūdraka, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . . . .	56
śrēṣṭhīn, . . . . .	17, 19	Sugata, <i>s. a.</i> Buddha, . . . . .	155
Śrīballabha, <i>s. a.</i> Śrīvallabha, . . . . .	165, 166	Sulja, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	23, 37
Śrībhavana, <i>s. a.</i> Shiggaon, . . . . .	250, 256, 267	Suljīyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	251 add.
Śrīdhara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	203, 213	Sumatindramāṭha, <i>s. a.</i> Rāghavēndrasvāmimāṭha, 265n	
śrīdvāra, . . . . .	361	summer, . . . . .	85, 89
Śrīharsha, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	212	Suu, race of the, . . . . .	227, 268n

	PAGE		PAGE
Sundara-Pāṇḍya, s. a. Jaṭavarman	Sundara-	talavargin, . . . . .	106n
Pāṇḍya I., . . . . .	51n, 323n	Talakāḍu, s. a. Talakāḍ, . . . . .	214, 215, 218
Sungoor, vi., . . . . .	252	Taleyūra, vi., . . . . .	26, 28, 86
Sūra, m., . . . . .	275n	Tālgund, vi., . . . . .	7n, 8n, 15n, 254
Sūra-Bōya, m., . . . . .	227	Tālikhēda, vi., . . . . .	28, 37
Surabhēnupura, vi., . . . . .	58, 60n, 61, 64, 74	Tāmrapura, s. a. Chēbrōlu, . . . . .	39
Surageyur, vi., . . . . .	162	Tānaka, vi., . . . . .	230
Suramādevi, queen of Rājārāja II., . . . . .	199	Tanjore, vi., . . . . .	53n, 179, 232n, 350
Sūramāra, vi., . . . . .	190n	Tānkala, field, . . . . .	361
Surangi, vi., . . . . .	162n	Tantra, . . . . .	204
Surat, vi., . . . . .	181n, 295n	Tantravārttika, name of a work, . . . . .	204n, 205
Sūraṇa, vi., . . . . .	255n	Tapadāṇkakāra, viruda, . . . . .	57n
Sūriseṭṭi, m., . . . . .	336	Tapti, vi., . . . . .	170
Sūrya-Bōya, m., . . . . .	273	Tāramangalam, vi., . . . . .	310, 311, 312
sūtra :—		Tautātimatatilaka, name of a work, . . . . .	205
Āpastamba, . . . . .	232, 324	Tāyalūr, vi., . . . . .	70, 73, 254n
sūtradhāra, . . . . .	199	Tēkal or Tyākal, vi., . . . . .	52n
Suvarṇavaraha, sur. of Gōvinda IV., . . . . .	170n, 177	Tēki, vi., . . . . .	334, 335, 336, 348, 352n
Suvarṇavaraha-Karkarāja, Gujarāt Rāshṭra-		Teliki thousand, family, . . . . .	336, 346
kūja ch., 168n, 170, 174, 181n, 183, 180n,	278n, 287, 290n	Telugu, s. a. Telugu co., . . . . .	253
Svāmidēva or Sāvidēva, Śaiva teacher, . . . . .	94n	Tēppārūr-nāḍu, di., . . . . .	320
Svāmi-Mahāsēna, s. a. Skanda, . . . . .	15, 19	Tēppāttūr, vi., . . . . .	320n
Svapnāśvara, ch., . . . . .	198, 199, 200	Thāpēsar, vi., . . . . .	143
Śvētāranyāśvara, te., . . . . .	284, 310	Tigavi, s. a. Tugson, . . . . .	241, 242
syādvāda, . . . . .	37	tiger crest, . . . . .	73n, 80
Syamadary, s. a. Simhādri, . . . . .	110 and add.	Timma, ch., . . . . .	111, 129, 131n, 232
		Timma, s. a. Sāṣya-Timma, . . . . .	130
		Timmaya, do., . . . . .	109n
		Tinnevely, vi., . . . . .	302, 303, 304, 305, 308, 309, 312
		Tippāmbā, queen of Bukka II., . . . . .	330
		Tīrthamkara, . . . . .	25
		Tiruchcheṇṇambūndi, vi., . . . . .	321
		Tiruchchirāppalli, s. a. Trichinopoly, . . . . .	322
		tiruchchurumāligai, . . . . .	232n
		Tirukkālukkunram, vi., . . . . .	185, 230n, 307, 324n, 326
		Tirukkāṇṇali, s. a. Stambhēśvara, . . . . .	320
		Tirukkāṭṭupalli, vi., . . . . .	304
		Tirumala or Tirumalai, the Tirupati hill, . . . . .	232, 322, 323
		Tirumalai near Pōḷūr, vi., . . . . .	320n, 324n, 325, 331, 332, 334n
		Tirumalavāḍi, vi., . . . . .	306, 308
		Tirumālirūṇjōlai, vi., . . . . .	323
		Tirunārāyaṇapuram, s. a. Mēlukōṭe, . . . . .	322
		Tiruppālaiyār, vi., . . . . .	322
		Tiruppanḍurutti, vi., . . . . .	307, 330
		Tirupparuttikkunru, vi., . . . . .	329
		Tiruppukkālī, vi., . . . . .	324, 325
		Tiruppullāni, vi., . . . . .	324, 326
		Tiruppāvāṇam, vi., . . . . .	83n, 301, 302n, 303n, 324
tadāyuktaka, . . . . .	135, 141		
Tādivāya, s. a. Tadvaya, . . . . .	147, 148, 156		
Tadvaya, vi., . . . . .	148		
Tagadai, s. a. Tagadūr, . . . . .	331, 332, 333, 334		
Tagadūr, s. a. Dharmapuri, . . . . .	331, 333		
Tagadūr-nāḍu, di., . . . . .	331		
Tagadūru, vi., . . . . .	73n, 326, 331n		
Taggalūru, vi., . . . . .	52n		
Taila II., W. Chālukya k., . . . . .	51n, 71, 72, 162, 191n, 254		
Taila III., do., . . . . .	91		
Tailapanāṇkakāra, sur. of Bhimarasa, . . . . .	254		
Takāṭā, s. a. Tagadūr, . . . . .	331, 332		
Takkōlam, vi., . . . . .	51, 53, 55		
Talakāḍ, vi., . . . . .	28, 42, 57, 59, 83, 256, 259		
talakāṭṭu, . . . . .	108, 109		
talaprahārin, . . . . .	285, 286		
Talavanapura, s. a. Talakāḍ, . . . . .	28, 36		

[illegible]

	PAGE		PAGE
<b>V</b>		Vaṇji, vi., . . . . .	331, 332
Vāchaspati, m., . . . . .	203	Varadā, vi., . . . . .	9
Vaddiga, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	52n, 55, 70, 71, 176n, 178, 187, 189	Varadākhaṇḍa-vishaya, di., . . . . .	135
Vaḍuga-vali, s. a. Āndhrapatha, . . . . .	85n	Varāha, s. a. Varāhamihira, . . . . .	204
Vagaṇ, s. a. Rājārāja, . . . . .	331, 332	Varāha or Jayavarāha, k., . . . . .	196, 197
vāhyāli, a camp, . . . . .	250n	Varahagrāma, s. a. Wurgaon, . . . . .	241, 242
Vaidyadēva, ch., . . . . .	198n	Varāhamihira, astronomer, . . . . .	9n, 204n
Vaidyajivana, name of a work, . . . . .	132n	Vārāpāsi or Vārāpāsi (Benares), vi., . . . . .	45, 51n, 107, 156, 253
Vaidyanātha, te., . . . . .	306, 308	Vardhamāna, s. a. Wadhvān, . . . . .	195, 196n
Vaidyanāthapura, vi., . . . . .	329	Varēśvara, m., . . . . .	57n
Vaijayanti, s. a. Banavāsi, . . . . .	13, 15	Varuṇa, god, . . . . .	8, 129n, 300
Vairamēgha, sur. of Dantidurga, . . . . .	169	Varuṇa, vi., . . . . .	100n
Vaishṇava, . . . . .	64n, 232n, 261, 266, 322	vasanṭagaruvu, . . . . .	232
Vaishṇava-tīthi, s. a. Hari-vāsara, . . . . .	111n	vāsāpaka, . . . . .	285, 286
vaiśvadēva, . . . . .	300	Vāṣavadattā, quoted, . . . . .	240, 247n, 248n, 249n, 250n
Vaiśya, caste, . . . . .	220, 223	Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi, <i>Andhra k.</i> , . . . . .	316
Vājivamēsa, family, . . . . .	add.	Vāsiyana, m., . . . . .	241n
Vajjiya-Peggaḍa, s. a. Vajra, . . . . .	350, 361	Vāsudēva, s. a. Kṛishṇa, . . . . .	203
Vajra, m., . . . . .	350, 360, 361	Vātāpi, vi., . . . . .	8, 11, 169n, 191
Vajrabasta, <i>E. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	134	Vatsarāja, <i>Avanti k.</i> , . . . . .	195, 196n, 197, 248
Vajraṭa, k., . . . . .	212	Vatsarāja, m., . . . . .	26, 37
Vajrēśvara, te., . . . . .	92	Vatsarāja, mythical k., . . . . .	19, 273, 277
Vakkalēri, vi., . . . . .	18n, 164, 251 add.	Vavulālā, s. a. Baboolgaon, . . . . .	241, 242
Vālabha-Kāyastha, . . . . .	37	Vāyupurāṇa, quoted, . . . . .	132n
Valabhi, vi., . . . . .	52, 56, 78, 166n, 249n, 294, 295n, 297, 35, 36, 169, 170, 172, 173n, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 196, 197n, 212, 247	Vēdagiriśvara, te., . . . . .	307
Vallabha, sur. of <i>Rāshtrakūṭa kings</i> , 27; 34, 35, 36, 169, 170, 172, 173n, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 196, 197n, 212, 247		Vēda-Kōmbura, vi., . . . . .	230
Vallabha, sur. of <i>W. Chalukya kings</i> , 8, 189, 190, 192, 193, 212		Vēdānta, . . . . .	127
Vallabhadēva, ch., . . . . .	134n	Vēdāntadēsika, <i>Vaishṇava teacher</i> , . . . . .	322, 323
Vallabharāja, <i>Chaulukya k.</i> , . . . . .	190n	Vēdas and śākhās :—	
Vallāladēva, <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . . . .	323n	Yajus, . . . . .	232
Vallam, vi., . . . . .	320	Kaṇva or Kāṇva, . . . . .	136, 141, 300
Vallarāja, s. a. Vallabharāja, . . . . .	190n	Taittiriya, . . . . .	15, 241
Vallāvi-vishaya, di., . . . . .	17, 19	Vājanāya, . . . . .	141, 300
Vallimalai, vi., . . . . .	60, 63, 65, 82	Vēla, s. a. Skanda, . . . . .	218
Vāmaśakti, <i>Śaiva teacher</i> , . . . . .	94	Velanāṇḍu, di., . . . . .	39, 148, 268, 269, 273, 276n
Vanagajamalla, sur. of Kṛishṇa III., 51n, 55n, 178, 179		Velandunūllu, family, . . . . .	336
Vānapalli, vi., . . . . .	108, 129n, 130n, 230	Velaṅgagunṭa, pond, . . . . .	361
Vanavāsa, s. a. Banavāsi, . . . . .	28	Vēlaṅ Mādhavaṇ, s. a. Mādhava, . . . . .	220, 223
Vanavāsi, do., . . . . .	9, 27, 35	Vēlāpura, s. a. Bēlūr, . . . . .	80n
Vandyaghaṭiya, . . . . .	203	Vellore, vi., . . . . .	185
Vaṅga, co., . . . . .	92, 106, 203	Velumanūllu, family, . . . . .	336, 346
		Vēma, ch., . . . . .	109, 128
		Vēngi, co., . . . . .	3, 64n, 106, 171, 208, 209, 213, 224, 225, 250, 334, 335, 344, 345, 349, 350, 358, 380
		Venkaṭa, m., . . . . .	229
		Venkaṭa I., <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	181n
		Vennayabhaṭṭa-Sōmayājīn, m., . . . . .	277n

	PAGE		PAGE
Véppambattu, vi., . . . . .	329	Vikramārka, <i>Chōpa ch.</i> , . . . . .	196n
Véppūr, vi., . . . . .	324n, 325	Vikramāvalōka, <i>sur. of Gōvinda II.</i> , . . . . .	203, 213
Viddayabhatta, m., . . . . .	347	Vikramēndravarman II., <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	16, 18n
Vidugādalagiya-Perumāl, <i>Chēra ch.</i> , 331, 332,	333, 334	Vikrāntanārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Gōvinda IV.</i> , . . . . .	26n, 177
Vidyābharapa, <i>Saiva teacher</i> , . . . . .	93, 94	Villa, vi., . . . . .	136
Vidyādharaḥṣaṇja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	134, 140, 141n	Vimalāditya, <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , 348, 349, 350,	359, 360, 361
Vidyāranya, <i>Advaita teacher</i> , . . . . .	263, 323	Vinayāditya, <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . . . .	90, 95
Vidyāsankara, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	263n	Vinayāditya, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , 72, 81, 107n, 254	
vihāra, . . . . .	166n, 286, 287	Vināyakapāla, <i>Kanauj ch.</i> , . . . . .	198
Vijayābharapa, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga I.</i> , . . . . .	221	Vindhya, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	10, 249n, 250, 256, 257, 296n
Vijaya-Buddhavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	85n	Vingipātaka, vi., . . . . .	136
Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman, <i>Gaṅga-Pallava</i>		Vinikonda, <i>s. a. Vinukonda</i> , 112, 113, 114, 115,	116, 130
<i>k.</i> , . . . . .	321	Vinukonda, vi., . . . . .	112, 113, 114, 116
Vijayāditya, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	208, 213	Vipparla, vi., . . . . .	147n
Vijayāditya, <i>Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	336, 346, 359	Vippēdu, vi., . . . . .	228n
Vijayāditya, <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	81, 189n, 255n	Vira-Ballāla II., <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . . . .	90, 92, 93, 95, 96
Vijayāditya, <i>W. Gaṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	61, 63	Vira-Bhūpati, <i>Vijayanagara ch.</i> , . . . . .	330
Vijayāditya II., <i>E. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	64n	Vira-Bokkapa, <i>Vira-Bukkapa or Vira-</i>	
Vijayāditya III., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	179n	<i>Bukkapa, s. a. Bukka I.</i> , 323, 324, 325,	326, 327
Vijayāditya VII., <i>E. Chalukya ch.</i> , . . . . .	334, 344	Vira-Bukkarāya, <i>s. a. Bukka II.</i> , . . . . .	330
Vijayanagara, vi., 18n, 58, 109, 110, 112,	131n, 196n, 231, 233, 263, 283n, 323,	Vira-Chōḍa, <i>E. Chalukya ch.</i> , 334, 335, 336,	344, 345, 348
	324, 327, 331n	Vira-Chōḷa, <i>sur. of Prithivīpati II.</i> , . . . . .	82
Vijayanagara, <i>s. a. Vijayanagara</i> , . . . . .	324, 328	Vira-Hariyapa, <i>Vira-Hariyapa or Vira-Hari-</i>	
Vijaya-Nandivarman, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	316	<i>yappa, s. a. Harihara II.</i> , . . . . .	327, 328
Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, <i>Gaṅga-Pallava</i>		Vira-Kampapa or Vira-Kampapa, <i>s. a.</i>	
<i>k.</i> , . . . . .	320, 321, 322	<i>Kampapa II.</i> , . . . . .	324, 325, 326
Vijaya-Narasimhavarman, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	72, 73	Vira-Kumāra-Kampapa or -Kampapa, <i>do.</i> ,	325, 326
Vijaya-Nārāyaṇa, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	92	virāma, . . . . .	41, 46, 51, 161, 199
Vijayāṅkā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	27, 35	Vīramahēndra, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	46, 47, 49, 70
Vijaya-Nripatūṅgavikramavarman, <i>Gaṅga-</i>		Vīramahēndra, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga I.</i> , . . . . .	221
<i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	321	Vīramahēndra, <i>sur. of Vikrama-Chōḷa</i> , . . . . .	227
Vijayarāja, <i>Gujarāt Chalukya ch.</i> , . . . . .	296	Vira-Mahēśvara, <i>biruda</i> , 224, 225, 275, 276, 277	
Vijayaschaiva, <i>s. a. Vijaya</i> , . . . . .	23n	Vīrenandin, <i>Jaina teacher</i> , . . . . .	25, 37, 38
Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman, <i>s. a. Māndhā-</i>		Vira-Naranārasimhadēva, <i>s. a. Narasimha II.</i> ,	262n, 268
<i>tṛivarman</i> , . . . . .	13, 15	Vīranārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Amoghavarsha I.</i> , 26, 34,	36, 175, 193
Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśavarman, <i>s. a. Mṛigēśavar-</i>		Vīranārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Gōvinda IV.</i> , . . . . .	177
<i>man</i> , . . . . .	13	Vīranārāyaṇa, <i>sur. of Kakka II.</i> , . . . . .	26n, 181
Vijaya-Skandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	85	Vira-Nolamba, <i>Nolamba k.</i> , . . . . .	65
Vijayavāta or Vijayavātā, <i>s. a. Bezvāḍa</i> , 336, 346		Vīrapratāpa, <i>sur. of Vijayanagara kings</i> ,	111 add., 329
Vikkirama-Śōḷa-Ūḷa, <i>name of a work</i> , . . . . .	223	Vira-Rāghava, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	83, 84
Vikrama-Chōḍa, <i>sur. of Kulōttuṅga I.</i> , . . . . .	221, 224	Vira-Śalāmēgaṇ, <i>Ceylon k.</i> , . . . . .	214
Vikrama-Chōḷa, <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , 24, 224, 227, 228,	229, 230, 281, 335	Viravali, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	229
Vikrama-Chōḷa-Śambuvarāyaṇa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	333		
Vikramāditya I., <i>W. Chalukya k.</i> , . . . . .	190, 191		
Vikramāditya II., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	81, 164, 192		
Vikramāditya VI., <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	91, 92		
Vikramāṅkadēvacharita, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	11n		

	PAGE
Vyāsaśūtra, s. a. Brahmasūtra, . . . . .	260, 265n
vyatipāta, . . . . .	279
vyatirēka, <i>alaukika</i> , . . . . .	247n, 346
vyāvahārika names, . . . . .	185n

**W**

Wadgaon, vi.,	.	.	.	.	.	176n
Wadhwan, vi.,	.	.	.	.	.	195, 196n
Wani, vi.,	27n, 105n, 163, 170, 171, 172, 173,					
	183, 185, 186, 189n, 190, 193, 194, 197,					
	240, 243n, 244n, 246n, 256					
winter,	.	.	.	.	.	316, 319
Wurgaon, vi.,	.	.	.	.	.	243

## Y

Yādava, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	27, 34, 82, 92, 93, 249, 263
Yadu, <i>mythical k.</i> , . . . . .	90, 94, 180n, 231
Yājñavalkya, <i>quoted</i> , . . . . .	241n
Yajñavāṭi or Yajñavāṭikā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	231, 232, 233
Yaksha, . . . . .	331, 332
Yakshi, . . . . .	331, 332
yamaka, <i>alamkāra</i> , . . . . .	12n
Yasakenallāta, <i>sur. of Khoṭṭiga</i> , . . . . .	180
Yasōbhita, <i>Śailōdbhava ch.</i> , . . . . .	144
Yasōbhita, <i>Śilōdbhava ch.</i> , . . . . .	144, 146
Yavana, <i>a Musalmān</i> , . . . . .	322n
Yavanikā, <i>s. a. Elini</i> , . . . . .	331, 332
years of the cycle :—	
Ākshaya, . . . . .	322
Ānanda, . . . . .	180n, 325n, 326
Bahudhānya, . . . . .	114
Dhātṛi or Dhātu, . . . . .	114, 115, 116, 176n, 329
Dandubhi, . . . . .	180n, 328, 329n
Durmati, . . . . .	159
Durmukha or Durmukhin, . . . . .	21n, 58n, 159, 160
Hēmalambin, . . . . .	23, 214, 217
Īśvara, . . . . .	22, 113, 114, 115, 116, 263n
Jaya, . . . . .	157, 159, 327
Kālayukta or Kālayuktākshi, . . . . .	327, 328
Kilaka, . . . . .	326
Krōdhana, . . . . .	328
Kshaya, . . . . .	329
Manmatha, . . . . .	330
Nala, . . . . .	220, 278, 324n
Parābhava, . . . . .	325
Paridhāvin, . . . . .	92, 97, 323, 326
Pārthiva, . . . . .	329
Pingāla, . . . . .	262, 263, 327

	PAGE		PAGE
Plava, . . . . .	224, 227, 230, 281, 325	Yelburga, vi., . . . . .	72n
Plavaṅga, . . . . .	224, 230, 281, 325	Yenamadala, vi., . . . . .	147, 148, 268n
Pramātibin, . . . . .	177n	Yērchūri, vi., . . . . .	115, 116
Rākshasa, . . . . .	324n	Yerraguntapadu, vi., . . . . .	148
Raktākshin, . . . . .	262, 263, 328	yōga :—	
Raudra, . . . . .	20, 328	Vyatipāta, . . . . .	225, 267
Sarvajit, . . . . .	58, 242	Yōgāanda Nṛsimha, te., . . . . .	260, 266
Saumya, . . . . .	51, 55, 208, 213, 324	Yuddhamalla, E. Chalukya k., . . . . .	358
Siddhārthin, . . . . .	328	Yuddhāsura-Nandakāja, E. Chalukya k., . . . . .	188
Śrīmukha, . . . . .	21, 25n, 262, 263	yuvamahārāja, . . . . .	16, 18n, 85, 88
Śukla, . . . . .	323	yuvārāja, an heir-apparent, 9n, 17, 61, 63,	
Vibhaya, . . . . .	329	66, 68, 70, 171, 188, 208, 224, 295n	
Vijaya, . . . . .	22n, 23, 178, 255n		
Vikārin, . . . . .	57		
Vikrama, . . . . .	26, 36, 231, 232, 238		
Vilambin, . . . . .	262, 263, 275n		
Virōdhikrit, . . . . .	324, 326		
Virōdhin, . . . . .	322n		
Viśvāvasu, . . . . .	324, 325		
Vṛista, . . . . .	112		
Vyaya, . . . . .	102, 106, 107n, 329, 330		
Yuvan, . . . . .	110, 112, 131, 259, 260		
years of the reign, 13, 15, 17, 18n, 19, 20,			
21, 22, 23, 24, 50n, 58, 60, 61, 62,			
64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 73, 82, 85, 89, 102,			
107, 169n, 179, 185, 214, 217, 220,			
221, 223, 224, 227, 228, 229, 262n, 268,			
278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 294, 295,			
301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308,			
309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315,			
316, 319, 321, 322, 332, 333, 334, 335,			
347, 349, 350, 361			

## Z

Zodiac, signs of the :—

Dhanus, . . . . .	221, 279, 283, 301, 308, 309
Kanyā, . . . . .	266, 282, 303, 311, 326
Karkātaka, . . . . .	20, 308, 311, 313
Kumbha, . . . . .	303, 325
Makara, 20, 31, 84, 262, 283, 304, 305,	
309, 326	
Mēsha, . . . . .	260, 266, 275, 303, 308, 329
Mina, . . . . .	84, 284, 285, 302, 304, 305, 310, 313
Mithuna, . . . . .	305, 307, 326
Rishabha or Vṛishabha, . . . . .	268, 307, 312,
349, 359	
Simha, . . . . .	24, 282, 283, 310, 311, 313, 361
Tulā, . . . . .	308
Vṛiśchika, . . . . .	306, 309, 312, 313, 325



