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Vol. XIX. 1927-28.

EDITED BY

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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Page 149, l. 10 from bottom.—For 'who, one after another, were crowned on their thrones by Āryavarman,' read 'who, one after another, crowned on their thrones Āryavarman'.

Plate between pp. 248 and 249.—The legend on the seal reproduced here does not read *Śrīmad-Amoghavarshadēvaya*. We can read it as: *Ś[r]ī[ma]ta(t)-Harī [4] chandradēva [aya]*.

Page 321, ll. 13-14 from bottom.—For 'Tailapa's successor, Vikramāditya V', read 'Vikramāditya V, grandson of Tailapa and successor of Iṣṭvabodhanga Satyāśraya'.



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Page 5, l. 29.—For *finale* read *final*.

„ 5, l. 41.—For *murada* read *muraḍa*.

„ 8, l. 5.—For *bending a read* bending at.

„ 15, para. 2, l. 6.—For (i. e.) 9083 read (i. e., 8) 903.

„ 15, para. 2, l. 8.—For  read 

„ 17, last para., l. 2.—For *Udum (vb) ara* read *Udumv(b)ara*.

„ 18, text l. 7.—For *उदु(म)रविपवस(म)°* read *उदुम(म)रविपवसम(म)°*.

„ 18, text l. 16.—For (—८.०.) read (—८.०.)

„ 19, l. 1.—For *Valākā* (or *Balākā*) read *Valākā* or *Valāka* (*Balākā* or *Bālāka*).

„ 28, translation (V. 20), l. 1.—For *Lakkhā-dēvi* read *Lakṣhā-dēvi*.

„ 35, translation (ll. 28-32), l. 4.—For *panam* read *paṇam*.

„ 38, l. 31.—Mr. N. L. Rao would read *hāga marana bhāṇḍi* and translate it into 'on each sale of a cart of wood.' In l. 37 of this page he prefers to read *moṇamu* which he translates as 'one winnow'.

„ 40, l. 23.—Mr. N. L. Rao explains *saṇḍage*-wick as 'a wick of the shape of a condiment called *saṇḍage*' which has a flat rounded bottom and a tapering head and is in use even in these days.

„ 40, f. n. 1.—For *ank* read *rank*.

„ 42, ll. 21, 25 and 26.—For *Khiṇḍajalyagaḍa-vishaya* read of *Khiṇḍajalyagaḍa*.

„ 42, l. 48.—For *ni* read *in*.

„ 44, f. n. 8.—For *°gitea* read *°gitoḍ*.

„ 45, text l. 26.—For *°vassu dhā* read *°vasudhā*.

„ 45, text l. 30.—For *Asārēpi* read *Asārē-pi*.

„ 45, text l. 34.—For *Sambhōḥ* read *Sambhōḥ*.

„ 45, text l. 37.—For *°Gaṇḍ[e] varēṇa* read *Gaṇḍī[v] atēṇa*.

„ 46, l. 16.—For *सुदीय* read *सु(५)दीय*.

„ 46, l. 42.—For *Purāna-* read *Purāṇa-*

„ 46, l. 43.—For *Sutrādhara* read *sūtradhāra*.

„ 47, l. 7.—For *Prithvirāja* read *Prithvirāja*.

Page 54, para. 3, l. 5.—For Kañchanadēvi read Kañchanasrīdēvi.

„ 59, text l. 7.—For त[च]स(य) read तच(य).

„ 59, f. n. 3.—For °बिखि read बिखितो.

„ 60, f. n. 2.—For °बिखल read बिखल°.

„ 61, text l. 23.—For सखी° read सखी°.

„ 63, text.—Mark 1, 2 and 3 for the first 3 lines.

„ 64, f. n. 1.—For Kaed read Read.

„ 65, text l. 28.—For -ayur- read -āyur-.

„ 66, Inscription No. II, text ll. 1 and 2.—For sa-bhikunīyē read cha bhikunīyē.

„ 67, Inscription No. IV, text ll. 1 and 2.—Perhaps we have to read Ōkhārikāyē as in the other inscription of the year 299 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 33).

„ 70, l. 5.—For Pramvāra read Pravāmra.

„ 70, l. 19, and p. 71, l. 15.—For Śvētapāda read Śvētapada as in the plate.

„ 72, l. 21.—For Saṅgāma read Saṅgama.

„ 73, text l. 34.—For ch-ānumantā one might read v-ānumantā also.

„ 73, text ll. 37 and 38.—Correct Agnishtōma-sahasra (sra)ś-cha | Vājapēya-śata(tē)shu cha [into Agnishtōma-sahasrēna Vājapēya-śatēna cha |.

„ 73, text l. 40.—Correct śushati into śushyati and read sarit-sarā (ō) for sarisarā (ō).

„ 74, l. 13.—For Āudrahādi read Āudrahādi as on p. 71.

„ 74, l. 20.—For amāvāsyā read amāvāsyā.

„ 74, l. 38.—For pavitraka read pavitraka.

„ 74, l. 39.—For Dēśilaka read Dēśi.

„ 77, para. 2, l. 1.—For Vaṅkēśvara add the following as a foot-note :—

[Vaṅka is the Prakrit form of Skt. Vakra, a name of Śiva.—N. P. C. The Hindustani bāṅkā meaning a beau or crooked is also allied to it and is applied to Kṛishṇa (as in Bāṅkā-Bihāri) also.—H. S.]

„ 80, text l. 26.—For व(व) व read व(व) व

„ 82, f. n. 10.—For Svasti read Svasti.

„ 84, para. 4, l. 4.—For Vatrāguṇa read Varāguṇa.

„ 91, l. 2.—For Penner read Pennar.

„ 91, l. 3.—For Kṛishṇa read Kṛishṇā.

„ 95, l. 28.—For Tonḍavādī read °vādī.

„ 95, l. 30.—For Gollapalli read °palli.

„ 98, text l. 3.—For vikyātaḥ read vikhyātaḥ.

„ 99, text l. 32.—For svarṇṇam=ēkaṁ read svarṇṇam=ēkaṁ.

„ 102, text l. 5.—For प्रयाग° read प्रयाग°.

„ 102, text l. 10.—For चातनवसाय read चातनवसाय ना°

„ 103, text l. 18.—For कच° read कच°

„ 104, f. n. 3.—Add [Are not these the names of trees?—Ed.]

„ 106, l. 4.—For Unnatarāga read Unnatarāma.

„ 108, translation of v. 1.—For unequelled read unequalled.

Pages 109 to 115.—In names like Rājasimha, Narasimhavarman, Kshattriyasimha and Narēndrasimha, for °simha read °simha.

Page 112, f. n. 4.—For Mahāvamsa read Mahāvamsa.

„ 114, translation of v. 2.—For moon 12 read moon 12

„ 114, f. n. 17.—For samhita read samhita and for forete lling read foretelling.

„ 115 f n 7, l. 3.—For Kaliage read Kali age.

- Page 116, l. 4.—For Chandrapurī read Chandrapuri as in the plate and pp. 118-21.
- „ 117, para. 2, l. 2.—For Gāṅgiṇī read Gaṅgiṇī as in the text and translation.
- „ 118, f. n. 6.—For unamended read unemended.
- „ 119, f. n. 3.—For incisedi n read incised in.
- „ 124, serial no. 71.—For Vāsanēyin read Vājasanēyin.
- „ 124, serial no. 73.—For Nandēśvara read Nandēśvara.
- „ 124, serial nos. 75, 76.—For Prakāśavara read Prakāśavara.
- „ 124, serial no. 84.—For Vārhaspatya read Bārhaspatya.
- „ 124, serial no. 97.—For Saunaka read Śaunaka.
- „ 128, para 2, l. 10.—For Dūkata read Dūtaka.
- „ 128, f. n. 8.—For c. 337 read c. 389, 390.
- „ 130, f. n. 9.—For सपुत्र; read सपुत्रः.
- „ 131, article no. 22, para. 1, l. 4.—For prates read plates.
- „ 133, text l. 81.—For पलेयं read पलेयं°.
- „ 134, l. 2.—Omit i.e
- „ 134, l. 9.—For theeight read the eight.
- Pages 134 to 137.—For Chandapāka read Chāndapāka.
- Page 135, para. 4, ll. 2 and 7.—For Ganga read Gaṅga.
- „ 136, text l. 34.—For °vighrāḥī (hi) kah° read °vighrāḥī (hi) kah°.
- „ 136, text l. 35.—For °pākēnah read °pākēnah.
- „ 137, translation of ll. 32 to 35.—For Kamsāraka read Kamsāraka.
- „ 139, para. 3, l. 12.—For dāyās read dāyas.
- „ 139, f. n. 3.—For Marāthā read Marāthā.
- „ 140, para. 3, l. 2.—For tālukā read tāluke.
- „ 141, f. n. 5.—For °अप्रातः read° अप्रातः.
- „ 142, text l. 11.—For? दिव° read° दिव°.
- „ 148, f. n. 2.—For 3 read 2.
- „ 151, para. 2, l. 12.—For bounariēs read boundaries.
- „ 151, last line.—For Paramēs- read Paramēs-.
- „ 155, para. 2, l. 7.—For limggas- read limggas-.
- „ 157, para. 2, l. 4.—For Sulṭā nof read Sulṭān of.
- „ 157, para. 5, l. 2 and page 163, translation (v. 16).—For Shaṭkōṇa read Shaṭkōṇa.
- „ 157, para. 6, l. 3.—For Since read Since.
- „ 159, f. n. 4.—For Sargdharā read Srāgdharā.
- „ 162, f. n. 6.—For Chūdara read Bhūdharā.
- „ 163, translation (v. 12), l. 2.—For Chōḍa read Chōḍa.
- „ 163, f. n. 2.—For Vaidyajivana read Vaidyajivana.
- „ 173, translation of v. 25.—For Kubērawith read Kubēra with.
- „ 175, para. 2, l. 4.—For Rāshṭrakūṭā read °kūṭa.
- „ 181, f. n. 3.—For ānusvāra read anu°.
- „ 182, f. n. 7.—For bhāginah read bhāvinah.
- „ 184, l. 7, page 187, 1st para. l. 6, and page 189, 2nd para. of article D, l. 5.—For Bāsavura read Bāsavūra or correct Bāsavūra of p. 185, l. 22.
- „ 194, f. n. 4.—Supply 4 in this foot-note.
- „ 198, l. 14.—Add “Lord of” at the end of the line.
- „ 199, text.—Add note “For revised text see C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 16.”
- „ 203, text.—Add note “For revised reading by Sten Konow, see C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 79.”

Page 205, text.—Add note “For revised reading by Sten Konow, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 113.”

- „ 205, Remarks, l. 11.—For *Prākṛit-Sprachen* read *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*.
- „ 206.—To the heading of article No. 33 add the following note. “For author’s remarks see also *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. i, p. 161 f.”
- „ 206, article No. 33, para. 5, l. 2.—For *Kharoṣṭhi* read *Kharoṣṭhī*.
- „ 208, text l. 3.—For *droṇivadrāṇa* read *droṇivadrāṇa*.
- „ 210, f. n., l. 7.—For *Siva* read *Śiva*.
- „ 212, text l. 13.—For °द्वी° read द्वी°.
- „ 212, text l. 15.—For व[र]टकः read व[र]टकः.
- „ 212, text l. 18.—For सि(वि)(द)द(द)नो and जनचयवीरः read सि(वि)द(द)द(द)नो and जनचयवीरः.
- „ 212, l. 21.—Add note: Reading of four letters after *gōtrē* is not certain.
- „ 212.—For the second foot-note 3 read 4.
- „ 214, article No. 35, para. 2, l. 3.—For *vanda-śaikkum* read *vand-śaikkum*.
- „ 220, f. n. 2.—For *krimiḥ* read *krimiḥ*.
- „ 228, f. n. 1.—For *J. A.* read *Ind. Ant.*
- „ 233, translation of v. 6.—For *stone-pieces* read *stone-palaces*.
- „ 239, l. 27.—For *Vākpati* read *Vākpati*.
- „ 239, f. n. 6.—For *geneology* read *genealogy*.
- „ 241, text of Grant B, l. 1.—For *-kēsara-* read *-kēsara-*
- „ Grant B, l. 6.—For *V (B) appai-* read *V (B) appai-*
- „ 242, Grant B, l. 7.—For *-āvadatayā* read *-āvadātayā*.
- „ l. 8.—After *-nāyakaḥ* insert |
- „ l. 10.—After *-trukti?* insert |
- at the end of the line replace = by .
- „ l. 14, sub-line 2.—Insert = at the end.
- „ l. 14, sub-line 3.—Separate *astuvaḥ* into *astu vaḥ*.
- Grant A, l. 8.—For *sa* after [4 ||*] have *Sa*.
- „ l. 15.—For *-āvadhārya* read *-avadhārya*.
- „ 242, f. n. 6.—For *triṇ-* have *triṇ-*.
- „ 243, Grant A, l. 24.—For *narēn-drair-* read *narēndrair-* and for *yasaska-rāṇi* read *yasas-*
karāṇi.
- Grant B, l. 18.—Delete - at the end of the line.
- l. 22, end: Replace = by-.
- l. 28.—For *Vishṇuḥ* [*] *rāj-* have *Vishṇuḥ* [*] *Rāj-*.
- „ 243, f. n. 9.—For *bhōktribhiḥ* read *bhōktribhiḥ*.
- „ 244 (v. 3).—Insert - between ‘moon’ and ‘like’.
- „ 244, line last but 2.—For *Monday* read *Wednesday*.
- „ 245, last line.—For *plate* read *plates*.
- „ 247, l. 11 beginning: Insert [h*] between °rtha *bhāga*
- Second side*, l. 7.—For *Bhāradvāja=Chhāndogō* read *Bhāradvāja=śChhāndo°*.
- Second side*, l. 8.—For *Gārgya-* read *Gārgya-*.
- „ 248, f. n. 3, l. 1.—After foot-note change 6 p. into 2, p. 122, above.
- „ 250, against No. 62.—For *Jātū ernna* read *Jātūkarṇa*.
- „ 250, against No. 71.—For *Bāhvricha* read *Bāhvrichya*.

- Page 253, l. 3.—For “bahuvrihi” *have* “bahuvrihi.”
- „ 254, *Enter* 2 at the beginning of the last foot-note commencing with “*Ep. Ind.*”.
- „ 255, l. 9, and para. 2, l. 5.—For Pulibūmra read Pulibūmra.
- „ 256, text-line 2.—For चारिनि read चारिनी as in the plate.
- „ 256, f. n. 5.—Correct चारिनि into चारोति.
- „ 256, text l. 3.—For युजन्^० read युजन्.
- „ 257, f. n. 8.—For f. n. 2 read f. n. 1.
- „ 258, l. 3.—For Mātris read Mātris.
- „ 258, article No. 43, l. 3.—Omit hyphen after Madras.
- „ 259, para. 3, l. 3.—For Sōmaśaraman read Sōmaśarman.
- „ 260, l. 13.—Correct कश्चिद् and चिच्छेत् by a note into कश्चिद् and चिच्छेत्.
- „ 260, f. n. 7.—Commence this note with “Read कश्चिन्वति.”
- „ 263, article No. 45, para. 2, l. 8.—For Śubhākara read Śubhākara.
- „ 263, f. n. 2.—For jīhvāmūliya read jīhvāmūliya.
- „ 264, ll. 4, 8, 11.—For Kumuraṅga read Kumuraṅgī and for Mahādēvi read Mahādēvi.
- „ 265, para. 3, l. 2.—For guṇai read guṇaiḥ.
- „ 265, para. 3, l. 13.—For yath-arhan(m) read yath-ārhan(m).
- „ 266, l. 13.—For as under read asunder.
- „ 267, text l. 2.—For प्रमासाङ्ग read प्रमासाङ्ग(सीङ्ग).
- „ 267, text l. 5.—For तेनेलंगुणि read तेनेलं गुणि.
- „ 267, f. n. 6.—For p. 267 read p. 266.
- „ 268, text l. 15.—After चष्ट insert [ः].
- „ 268, text l. 23.—Join व(स)का and कर्षं.
- „ 268, text l. 28.—For पादा read पादौ
- „ 269, text l. 45, end.—For “गुहनि[ः] read” गुहान[ः].
- „ 270, text l. 51.—For बीजकुं read बीजकुं.
- „ 270, text l. 60.—For बीद read [बीद].
- „ 270, text l. 61.—Remove the two dots after उत्तरीयं.
- „ 270, f. n. 3.—For protty read pretty.
- „ 271, translation ll. 42-61, l. 13 beginning.—For dēdḍa read dēdḍa.
- „ 272, para. 4, l. 7.—For Yaddhamalla read Yuddhamalla.
- „ 272, line last but one.—before oppaga insert “.
- „ 274, para. 2, l. 4.—For Yatribhuvanāṅkuśa read ya Tribhuvaṅ.
- „ 275, translation (Verse 1), l. 3.—For koṭṭāms read koṭṭams.
- „ 275, last para. l. 4.—For (foot note 4) read (foot-note 5 on p. 274 ante).
- „ 275, last para. ll. 5 and 7.—For ch varga and ṭ varga read cha-varga and ṭa-varga.
- „ 277, last line.—For of the plate read found elsewhere in the plate.
- „ 278, para. 2, line last but one.—For Itā read Itā.
- „ 278, l. 13 from bottom.—For Baḍagāma (l. 30) read Va(Ba)ḍagāma (l. 30).
- „ 278, l. 10 from bottom.—For Baḍapañcala read Varapañchāla (l. 30 f.).
- „ 278, l. 5 from bottom.—For Bhāskara or Bhāsara-teṅgarī (31 and 37) read Bhāsana- (l. 31)
or Bhāskara-ṭeṅgarī (l. 37).
- „ 279, l. 9.—For Kāliyāni read Kāliyāṇī.
- „ 279, l. 10.—For Phōmpātipā read Phōmphāṇiyā as in the text.
- „ 279, l. 20.—For Bōbāchaḍā (44) read Vōvātuḍā (44).

- Page 279, f. n. 2.—*For strokes read strokes and for dear read clear.*
- „ 280, text l. 4.—*For katite read kati tē.*
- „ 280, text l. 10.—*For gōpī- read Gōpī.*
- „ 280, f. n. 9.—*For nā-nyādhi° read n-āny-ādhi°.*
- „ 281, text l. 25.—*Omit hyphen after kritanā.*
- „ 281, text l. 32, and page 282, text line 35.—*For Bhū- read bhū.*
- „ 281, text line 33.—*For Vālū=sigāmē read Vālūsīgāmē.*
- „ 281, f. n. 8.—*For p. 281 read p. 280.*
- „ 282, text l. 39.—*For Bhōgāubhūvāi read Bhōgāu-Bhuvāi.*
- „ 282, text l. 40.—*For vaḍasō read Vaḍasō.*
- „ 282, text l. 42 beginning.—*For ka read kē and for Paṁsivo- read Paṁsivō.*
- „ 282, text l. 46.—*For ārupā- read Ārupā.*
- „ 282, text l. 48.—*For [ai] mivā° read [Śi]mivā°.*
- „ 283, translation, v. 1.—*For Brahma read Brahman.*
- „ 284, line 1.—*For -Gōpī- read -Gōpī.*
- „ 284, f. n. 1.—*For Bhātērā read Bhātēra.*
- „ 284, f. n. 3.—*For f. n. 7 on p. 283 read f. n. 8 on p. 280.*
- „ 285, translation ll. 29-51, l. 8f.—*For Bhōtilahāṭika read Bhōthilahāṭāka.*
- „ 285, ll. 29-51, l. 15.—*For Bhāskarātēngari read °tēngari.*
- „ 285, ll. 29-51, l. 18.—*For Vāmāyi read Dhāmāyi.*
- „ 285, ll. 29-51, l. 19.—*For Bhuvāi read Bhūvāi.*
- „ 285, ll. 29-51, l. 23.—*For Naḍakuṭigāma read Naḍakuṭi°.*
- „ 285, ll. 29-51, l. 25.—*For Vanaṅgajōṭṭi read Vanaṅgajōṭṭi.*
- „ 285, line last but one.—*For Itākhālā read Hayēkhālā.*
- „ 286, l. 2.—*For Simivāka read Śimivāka.*
- „ 286, l. 2.—*In After Bhāṭapaḍā enter “1 house belonging to the barber Gōvindā (and)”.*
- „ 286, l. 7.—*Omit note 1 above ivory-worker.*
- „ 287, para. last but one, l. 8.—*Remove the word ‘see’ and ‘by’ after (1), (2) and (3).*
- „ 287, last para., l. 3.—*For vedaṅgaṁ read veḍe°.*
- „ 288, l. 5.—*For Atakur, the Solapuram read Ātakūr, the Śōlapuram.*
- „ 288, l. 7.—*For Malkhed read Mālkhēḍ.*
- „ 288, ll. 12, 24 and 30.—*For Karhad read Karhāḍ.*
- „ 288, l. 22.—*For Kāñchi read Kāñchī.*
- „ 292, text l. 3.—*Put hyphen after वृ.*
- „ 294, text l. 16.—*Omit : after °ṭr.*

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XIX.

No. 1.—THE ZEDA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 11.

By STEN KONOW.

Zeda is a village near Und (Ohind) in the North-West Frontier Province, situated in 34° 3' N. and 72° 32' E. Here I. Loewenthal noticed "an unshapen piece of rock lying at the entrance of the village", on which there was an inscription in Kharōṣṭhī characters.¹

The stone, which is now in the Lahore Museum, is, according to Cunningham, a rough block of quartz, 4 feet long and 1 foot broad. The inscription has been edited by Messrs. Cunningham,² Senart,³ and Boyer,⁴ and some remarks concerning its date and interpretation have been published by Messrs. E. Thomas,⁵ G. Bühler,⁶ R. D. Banerji,⁷ H. Lüders⁸ and myself.⁹

I now edit it from estampages kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. F. W. Thomas.

The inscription consists of three lines and covers a space 2 feet long and about 8 inches broad. The size of individual letters varies from almost 4 inches in the beginning to 1 to 1½ inches towards the end. M. Senart thought that ll. 1 and 2 are perhaps incomplete, but such does not seem to be the case.

The stone is very rough and the inscribed portion is damaged in several places. The reading and interpretation are therefore beset with considerable difficulty, and this difficulty is increased because the shape of individual characters is not consistent. In spite of all the care and ingenuity which has been bestowed on the record, it has not, therefore, been possible to read and explain every passage with certainty, and I have not been able to arrive at satisfactory results throughout, and I sincerely hope that the new plate may induce other scholars to examine the record and publish their remarks so that they can be utilized for the final edition in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

The characters are of the same kind as in contemporary inscriptions. I may mention some details with regard to individual letters.

¹ Cf. his remarks, *J. A. S. B.*, XXXII, 1863, p. 5.

² *Archaeological Survey of India*, V, pp. 57 ff. and Plate XVI, 1.

³ *Journal Asiatique*, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 135 ff. and Plate opposite p. 138.

⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, X, iii, 1904, pp. 465 ff.

⁵ *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., IX, 1877, p. 91.

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 535.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 46, 72.

⁸ *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (henceforth quoted as *S. B. A. W.*), 1912, p. 826.

⁹ *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, pp. 801, 806; *Orientalische Zeitschrift*, VIII, p. 230; above Vol. XIV, p. 132.

Ka is usually angular, thus in *Kaṇishkasa*, l. 2; occasionally, however, it is rounded, as in *kue*, l. 2. Similarly *kha* has an angular top, as in the Pālātū Dhērī and Jauliā inscriptions, in *khade*, l. 2, but the same rounded shape as in the Āra record in *daṇamukhe*, l. 2. *Ja* has the regular shape with a straight upright in *rajami*, l. 2. In *pujane* in the same line it has been bent so as to avoid running up into the *u-mātrā* of *kshu*, l. 1, and in *-rajasa*, l. 3, the upper right-hand termination has been bent backwards.

Only the cerebral *ṇ* is used throughout.¹ The *e-mātrā* has been added at the top in *-phagune*, l. 1, but projects from the middle of the vertical in *pujane*, l. 2.

De in *khade*, l. 2, has the same shape as in the Āra inscription, with the *e-mātrā* at the bottom and the top resembling that of *ṇa*.

The rare *pha* occurs in *-phagune*, l. 1, and has the regular shape.

Ya is narrow and angular as in the Sue Vihār inscription, and *ṣe*, with the *e-mātrā* in the left corner, in *iṣe*, l. 1, has almost the same shape as in that record.

Sa has different forms. The very last letter of the inscription has a strong backward bend, evidently in order to avoid its running into the *ja* standing above it; the first *akshara* is *saṁ*, where the *sa* looks almost like *ra*. Similar forms, without any break or bending of the vertical, are also found elsewhere, thus the second *sa* of *masasa*, l. 1. A more regular form is found in *Kaṇishkasa*, l. 2; the *sa* which opens l. 3 is a semi-circle opening towards the left and provided with a short top-stroke, etc.

The compound *rjh* in *marjhaṇasa*, l. 2, shows the loop-shape of *r*. In the compound *shk* in *Kaṇishkasa*, l. 2, the verticals of *sha* and *ka* form one unbroken line as in *Vajreshka* in the Āra record.

There are several flaws and accidental strokes, which resemble letters and considerably add to the difficulties of interpretation. The easiest portion of the whole record is l. 1, which contains the date, and which has been written in very large letters. Abstracting from insignificant details such as the transliteration of the nasal and the addition of an *e* in *-phagune* I accept the reading of M. Boyer, who again agrees with M. Senart except in the reading of the numeral figure after *di*, which the latter read 10: *saṁ 10 1 aśaḍasa masasa di 20 utaraphagune iṣe kshunamī*.² There cannot, I think, be any doubt with regard to the figure 20. There is a distinct indenture in the middle, and it is quite distinct from the figure for 10 which occurs after *saṁ*. I also think that the *ṇe* of *utaraphagune* is certain. The restoration of that word is due to M. Senart; Cunningham and Thomas read *udeyana gu 1*. The *e* of *iṣe* was recognised by Professor Bühler.

It will be seen that the date contains one detail which is not usually met with in Kharōshthī records, viz., the mentioning of the nakshatra current on the particular day when the inscription was engraved. There is only one other Kharōshthī epigraph where the same arrangement is found, viz., the Und inscription, where I read *saṁ 20 20 20 1 chetrasa masasa divase aṭhami di 4 4 iṣa kshunamī sa viranakha (?) purvashade*. Und and Zeda belong to the same neighbourhood, and it is probable that the addition of the constellation was customary in that region. It should be borne in mind that both inscriptions are essentially private records. I shall have something to say about the conclusions which can possibly be drawn from these dates later on.

L. 2. The first four *aksharas* were read *chonan uspa* by Cunningham, *bhanam uka* by M. Senart and *khanam uspha* by M. Boyer, who is the only one who has attempted to give a continuous translation of the whole record. He was of opinion that three different donations are recorded in the inscription, the first one being a *khanam*. This word he took to be a synonym

¹ See my remarks above, Vol. XIV, p. 131 f.

² For the transliteration *ksh* cf. my remarks, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1924, pp. 1899 ff.

of Sanskrit *khāta*, a ditch, a fosse, a well, and he connected it with the following six letters, which he read *usphamu. .cha*, and the word *danamukha* which follows later on, the meaning of the whole being, according to him: the donation of *Usphamu. .cha*, a well. I may state at once that an interpretation which reckons with three different donations, by different persons, recorded in one and the same epigraph, is not in accordance with the practice in Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions and *a priori* very unlikely to be right. The supposed personal name *Usphamu. .cha* has, moreover, a rather suspicious look, and, finally, this reading is almost certainly wrong.

Professor Lüders¹ saw that the second *akshara* has an *e*-mātrā and read *khane*, and he rightly read the next two letters *kue*, corresponding to *kaue* in the Āra inscription, explaining *khane kue* as a dug well, as distinguished from a natural one. He also pointed out that the form *kue* is used in the Pāja and Muchal inscriptions. A similar form *kuo* also occurs in the Mount Banj epigraph. This analysis shows the way to the correct interpretation of our record, and there is only one point where I think it necessary to deviate from him. The second *akshara* cannot be *ne*, because the *e*-stroke is never added at the bottom of the vertical of *na*. We find it above the top in *Kaṇeshkasa* in the Māṇikiālā inscription, and, as I have already remarked, it sometimes occupies the same place in our record. Our *akshara* is in reality identical with the *de* of *devaputra* in the Āra inscription and we must certainly read *khade*, corresponding to Sanskrit *khāta*, dug.

Then follow four *aksharas*, which were read *kharaḍasa* by Cunningham. The first one was left untransliterated by M. Senart, while M. Boyer read *mu* and Professor Lüders *ve*. Cunningham's *kha* is out of the question, and so far as I can see M. Boyer was right in reading *mu*. Professor Lüders states that *ve* is fairly clear in an estampage in his possession. A comparison of the estampage before me and M. Senart's plate seems, however, to show that the apparent *va* is in reality the continuation of the long fissure running below the ensuing seven *aksharas*. The next letter was read as *ra* by Cunningham, but Professor Lüders is no doubt right in stating that it may be *ro*. I fail to understand how Messrs. Senart and Boyer arrive at their reading *cha* of the third *akshara*. It is certainly *ḍa* as read by Cunningham.

Muraḍasa, or probably *muraḍasa*, is the genitive of a word *muraḍa* or *muroḍa*, which has a distinctly un-Indian appearance. It is tempting to compare it with the words *murta*, *murṇaga* and *murunḍa*, which seem to be different attempts at rendering a Śaka word which the Indians sometimes translated with *svāmin*,² and I think that we must accept that explanation. We know that the title *murunḍa* was used by Śaka chieftains and Indo-Skythian rulers in India down to the 4th century A.D., when the *Śakamurunḍas* are mentioned in Samudragupta's *Allaḥābād prakāśti*, and I do not think that it can reasonably be doubted that it was this same *Śakamurunḍa* or an older indigenous form of the word which the Chinese rendered with their *Sai-wang*, the designation of the tribe which was expelled by the Yü-chi after the latter had been conquered by the Hiung-nu.³ I am aware of the fact that *wang* has been considered to be part of the name of the tribe, and not the usual word for "king", "ruler", and that Professor A. Herrmann,⁴ on the authority of the late Professor de Groot, wanted to change *Sai-wang* to *Sai-yü*, i.e., *sak-yü* or, according to the Nankin pronunciation, *sak-giok*, which he identified with *Sacaraucae*. The difficulty, however, which has puzzled some Sinologists in the designation *Sai-wang*, Saka lords, or, Saka kings, and caused them to try to find another explanation of the word *wang*, seems to me to disappear in the face of the corresponding designation *Śakamurunḍa*. The Indian translation of this term by *Śakanripati* is an exact parallel to the Chinese word.

¹ *L.c.*

² Cf. Lüders, *S. B. A. W.*, 1913, pp. 422 f.; Konow, *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, pp. 790 ff.; *Das indische Drama*, § 58.

³ Cf. e.g., O. Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen*. *Zentralasiens*. Berlin, 1907, pp. 46 ff.

⁴ Pauly's *Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, sub voce *Sacaraucae*.

The designation *Sakamurūḍa*, *Sai-wang* is not exactly synonymous with *Saka*, *Śaka*. Not all the Śakas were Śakamurūḍas. We now know that the Kushāṇas, who followed up the Yüeh-chi conquest of the Tokhara country by an invasion of India, acted as the successors of the Śakas. We also know that the home-tongue of the Kushāṇas was the language which we know from numerous documents recovered in the southern oases of Chinese Turkistan, and especially in and about Khotan. I have myself called this language Khotanī and thought that it was related to, but not perhaps quite identical with the tongue of the Śakas. The prevalent opinion is, however, that Khotanī is simply the speech of the Śakas. In reality there is only a difference in the terms chosen to designate the language. The necessary inference from all that we know at the present moment is that Khotanī is a Śaka dialect or, according to most scholars, the Śaka language, in other words, that the Kushāṇas, and consequently the Yüeh-chi, were Śakas, not however exactly the same tribe as the Sai-wang. The difference was not of an ethnic nature but, if we may judge from the designation *Sai-wang*, it had some reference to the system of government or to the title used by the rulers of that particular tribe. The title *murūḍa* was not used in the country where we find the Śaka language or dialect used in literature and administration. We there find other designations, *rre*, genitive *rrundi*, king, and *shshau*.¹ Though *rrundi* later on also occurs in the form *rrunḍi*, there can be no question about identifying it with *murūḍa*, where *mu* evidently belongs to the base. *Shshau*, on the other hand, is the title which was used in the coin-legends of Kanishka and his successors, *shaonano*, *shao Kaneshki Koshano* written in Greek letters, with the same representation of a short *u* through *o* as in *koxoulo* for *kujūla*. The title *shaunānu shau* is not met with in Eastern Turkistan. We can, however, infer that it was known from the fact that the designation of the Buddha as *gyastānu gyasti*, i.e., the god of gods, is evidently framed in imitation of this title. There can be no doubt that it is an adaptation of the imperial Persian title, and we have no reason for thinking that it was originally in use among the Śakas of Eastern Turkistan. We know from the *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka* that the Śakas who invaded India before Vikramāditya used a slightly different form, *shahānu shāhi*, which is evidently borrowed from Middle Persian, and this form was adopted by the Kushāṇas in their Brāhmī inscriptions and also occurs in the Allahābād *prastāti*. *Shaunānu shau* is the same title, but it is not simply borrowed, but translated, the Middle Persian *shāhi* being replaced by the indigenous word *shau*, formed with another suffix *van* from the base *kshāi*. We must necessarily infer that the Śaka chiefs of Eastern Turkistan, the ancient Yüeh-chi, used this title, in addition perhaps to *rre*, before they introduced the imperial Persian titulature. Their rulers were accordingly called *rre* or *shau*, while the chiefs of the *Sakamurūḍas* were designated as *murūḍa* or some older form of this word.

Now if *muraḍa*, *muroḍa* of the Zeda inscription is the same word as *murūḍa*, it would be of interest if we could settle the question about its exact meaning. An etymological explanation of the word, which is perhaps possible, has been given by Professor Hermann Jacobsohn.² He thinks that it is formed from the same base as the Greek words (*epi*)*melētēs*, *meletōr*, *meledōnos*, caretaker, supervisor, and is about synonymous with *kshatrapa*. If such be the case, it becomes probable that the title *kshatrapa* used by the Śaka rulers in India is merely a translation of the old term, so that the *Sakamurūḍas* of the Allahābād *prastāti* are the Western Kshatrapas.³

The meaning care-taker, office-bearer and ruler seems to suit the context in the Zeda inscription. *Muroḍasa*, i.e., probably *muroḍasa*, is followed by a word which was read *marḍukasa*

¹ Cf. *Orientalische Zeitschrift* VIII, pp. 220 ff.

² *Arier und Ugrofinnen*, Göttingen, 1922, pp. 106¹, 200.

³ Is it conceivable that the title *meridarkhes*, which is used in Greek inscriptions of the Seleucid age and sphere and in Egypt, is an adaptation of the Iranian title based on a popular etymology of the word? Cf. about this title Dr. F. W. Thomas, *Zeitschrift Hindisch*, pp. 362 ff.

by Cunningham and *marḍakasa* by Messrs. Boyer and Lüders, while M. Senart states that he cannot understand how Cunningham arrived at his reading of the second *akshara*. The *r*-loop is, however, quite distinct, and the upper part of the compound only differs from *ḍa* in having a short stroke to the left of the *op*. M. Boyer derives *marḍaka* from the base *mṛiḍ*, to be gracious, and takes it to be a designation of the following word *Kaṇishka*. He admits that we should rather expect an honorific title of a different kind, but thinks that the designation "compassionate" is well suited in the case of the famous protector of Buddhism. He also mentions, however, the possibility of explaining *marḍaka* as a patronymic.

So far as I can see, however, the reading *marḍaka* cannot be maintained. The short stroke at the top of the *akshara* is the characteristic which distinguishes *jha* from *ḍa*, and I have, therefore, thought¹ it necessary to read *marjha* and explained² *marjha* as an older form of the Khotani word *malysaki*, which occurs in the *Maitreyasamiti*,³ where it is used to render Sanskrit *grihapati*, the sixth of the *ratnas* of a *chakravartin*. The *grihapati* is characterized⁴ by the divine eye, through which he discerns hidden treasures and secures them for his master. *Marjha*, *malysaki* is derived from the Iranian base *marz*, corresponding to Sanskrit *mṛij*, to touch, to clean, to rub, and evidently means an official who has to examine treasure, a tutor of treasure and coin.

If *marjha* is the same word as Khotani *malysaki*, we must draw the conclusion that the *l* of the latter is derived from an older *r* and that the change of *r* to *l* in this and in similar cases is subsequent to the date of the Zeda inscription. That the Iranian tongue of the Khotan country underwent certain changes between the first centuries of the Christian era and the oldest texts in which it is found has been shown by Professor Lüders,⁵ and I can now add an example, which seems to be absolutely certain. The Khotani postposition *bendī*, on, near, concerning, is found as *vamti*, i.e., *vāndi*, in the Kharoshthi documents from Niya. We learn from this fact that the development of *ā* to *e* in this word took place after the second century, and also that the language to which *bendī* belongs was spoken in the southern oases at the time when the Niya documents were written.

The words following after *muroḍasa marjha* are certainly *Kaṇishka* *rajami*, as seen by M. Senart, while Cunningham read the finale *mi* as *gam*. *Kaṇishka* is of course the well-known Kushāna emperor, and it seems necessary to infer that the preceding words *muroḍasa marjha* are titles used to characterize him, for we know that there is not a single Kharoshthi inscription where the name of a ruler is used without any title being added. We should, of course, expect to find some of the usual designations, as in the contemporaneous Sue Vihār inscription, where Kanishka is styled *mahārāja*, *rājātirāja*, *devaputra*. But then it should be remembered that we have not before us an official record, but a private document, so that we need not expect to find the official titles. And we know that the title *murūḍa*, which I identify with *muro[n]ḍa*, was used in India long after Kanishka's days, and Kanishka's accession meant a considerable strengthening of the power of the Indo-Skythian rulers. The result would naturally be a strengthening of the national feeling of the Śakas, and it would be intelligible if national titles were used, at least in records drawn up at the request of Śaka individuals, as may have been the case with the Zeda inscription. There is, accordingly, nothing extraordinary in the use of the designation *murada* or *muroḍa*.

¹ S. B. A. W., 1916, p. 801.

² *Ostasiat.ische Zeitschrift* VIII, p. 230.

³ Ed. Lepmann, Strassburg, 1919, p. 87.

⁴ Cf. Senart, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*. 2^{ed}, Paris, 1892, p. 29.

⁵ S. B. A. W., 1919, pp. 768 ff.

The explanation of the second title *marjhaka* is more difficult. If my analysis of the word is right, it might characterize Kanishka as a ruler rich in treasure. Now we know that there was an Indian tradition¹ about four "sons of heaven", the rulers of India, China, the Yü-chi and the Roman empire, and the country of the Roman emperor was considered to abound in treasure. The title *marjhaka* might accordingly be used in order to convey the idea that Kanishka had won the wealth of the Roman empire, and as we know that the Roman title *Cæsar* itself is used, in addition to the common titles *mahārāja*, *rājātirāja*, *devaputra*, in the Āra inscription of Kanishka II, the use of *marjhaka* might be considered as the first step in that direction. We should, of course, like to know the reason for such a reference to the Roman empire in the two records, and expect it to be the result of a victorious war with the Roman armies. We do not, however, hear about any such thing having happened.

We know, on the other hand, that the Roman power in Asia was waning during the reign of Hadrianus (A.D. 117-138), who withdrew from Mesopotamia, which was then occupied by the Parthians. Buddhist texts preserved in Chinese translation² further state that the king of the Parthians tried to close the West to Kanishka, who then defeated him. If Kanishka's date coincided with the reign of Hadrianus and if the tradition about a victorious war with Parthia is based on fact, it would be conceivable that the idea of a ruler of a country abounding in treasure was transferred from the Roman to the Parthian emperor, and further, after Kanishka's triumph over the latter, to him, and that might be the reason for the use of the title *marjhaka* in our record and of the designation *kaisara* in the Āra inscription. It is at present impossible to make any definite statement. But, at all events, it seems to me that the terms *muroḍa* and *marjhaka* must be considered as titles characterizing King Kanishka.

What follows after *rajami* is the most difficult passage of the whole record. Cunningham read *dharya dadabhasa Idamukhastrape a de asa...*; M. Senart *..dadabhai da[na]mukha.[pe adhia] sa [daadaasa] ti [dha]..*, and M. Boyer *[to]yadalabhai danamukha sapeadhia sasasushe sati vudhe*. He explained *sapeadhia* as a compound of *sapea*, which he identified with Pāli *sappāya*, and *dhia*, Sanskrit *dhiyā*, and saw in *sasasushe* a Sanskrit *sasyasosha*. He thus arrived at the translation: the gift of Uspama...cha, a well for the obtainment of rain-clouds in the kingdom of the compassionate Kanishka, with the intention of making something salutary, after a drying up of the crops had set in.

I am unable to follow the French scholar in this interpretation. I have already remarked that the preceding portion of the inscription cannot be explained as done by him. And I do not know of any instances where a well was dug in order to obtain rain-clouds, in other words as a kind of magic. Moreover, it would be more natural to aim at producing rain than at attracting rain-clouds, and, finally, it may reasonably be doubted whether the word *lābha* would be used with *tōyada*, a cloud.

If we now turn to the plates, it seems to me that M. Boyer's reading is wrong in several places.

The first letter after *mi* runs up into a fissure in the stone, but seems indeed to be a *ta*. The lower part, it is true, seems to end in a curve opening towards the left, which evidently led Cunningham to read *dha*. There is, further, apparently a stroke projecting from the lower part towards the left and running into the next *akshara*. It may be the *o*-mātrā, and, with every reserve, I accept M. Boyer's reading *to*.

Then follows *ya*, but the right-hand stroke is clearly broken and then bent downwards, so that we must apparently read *yam*. The following *akshara* is certainly *da*, and the whole word, therefore, seems to be *toyamda*. I do not know what to make out of this word. It may perhaps

¹ Cf. Peilliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1923, pp. 97 ff.

² Cf. Sylvain Lévi, J. A., IX, viii, 1896, pp. 444 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, pp. 381 ff.

mean some appliance for drawing water or some channel or feeder for conducting water to the well, but as long as even the reading is not certain, it is useless to try to fix the meaning.

The ensuing *akshara* cannot be *lā*. It consists of an upper curve, continued downwards in a line which first projects towards the right, then ends in a knee with a vertical running down to the bottom. There is a faint cross-bar in the middle, which, however, seems to be accidental. So far as I can see, the only possibility is to read *cha*. If the cross-bar were not accidental, we might think of the shape of *chha* which is used in the Aśoka inscriptions and in Central Asian documents to denote the old Sanskrit *chh*, which is always carefully distinguished from the Prakrit *chh* derived from *ksh*, etc.¹ But there does not seem to be any reason for thinking that the thin stroke visible through the middle of the vertical really belongs to the *akshara*.

After this *cha* M. Boyer read *bhai*, but there is a distinct *u*-loop at the bottom of *bha*, and we must read *bhui*. This *bhui* cannot be anything else than Sanskrit *bhūyah*, and *toyavida* (?) *cha* *bhui* seems to be one of those parenthetical sentences which are sometimes met with in Kharoṣṭhī records.²

Then comes *danamukha*, the only word in the whole passage about which there cannot be any doubt.

The ensuing *akshara* was read *stra* by Cunningham, while M. Boyer saw in it a *sa*. It seems to me that the cross-bar is far too distinct to be accidental. On the other hand, I cannot follow Cunningham in reading *stra*, for the compound letter *sta* always has a straight vertical, while the main portion of our letter is a rounded line ending in a rounded bend to the left at the top, and another one to the right at the bottom. So far as I can see, it is exactly the same letter which stands at the beginning of l. 4 of the Sui Vihār inscription, where it is certainly *hi*. I therefore read *hi*, and I follow M. Boyer in taking the ensuing *akshara* as *pea*, reading accordingly *hipea* instead of his *sapea*.

I am not certain about the ensuing *aksharas*, which M. Boyer read *dhia*. There seems to have been a good deal of peeling off, and the result are some curious strokes at the top of the apparent *dhi* and at the bottom of the second letter. They seem, however, to be accidental and I accept M. Boyer's *dhia*, but I take the following *sa* to belong to the preceding letters and read the whole as *hipeadhiasa*.

Now if we compare other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions mentioning the digging of wells,³ it will be seen that the person or persons at whose request the well was dug, are always mentioned. We must therefore, I think, necessarily infer that *hipeadhiasa* is the name of a person. I cannot analyse this word or words. *Hipea* reminds us of Greek names such as Hippeos, Hippias and *Dhia* might be an adaptation of some Greek name. Cf. *Diya* in the Beshnagar column inscription. It would not, however, be safe to make any definite statement about the etymology of the name. The only thing which seems to be certain is that *Hipeadhiasa* is the name of the donor, perhaps a double name, *Hipea Dhiasa*, in which case *Hipea* should probably be considered as the genitive of a base *Hipe* or *Hipei*.

¹ This sign is only met with twice in later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, viz., in an unpublished Mansehra inscription of the year 68 and on the Mathurā Lion Capital, where it has not, however, been recognized but been treated as a compound *sh* so that the word *paṭicchīna*, Sanskrit *paricāchhīna*, has been read *palishṭana*. There is no other instance where it could possibly have been used, all the other occurrences of *chh* representing the derived Prakrit sound, which was no doubt different from old *chh* and which I now transliterate as *ksh*.

² Cf. Lüders, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 350; *S. B. A. W.*, 1918, p. 763¹.

³ Muchai: *sahayaraya kue vashitugaya*; Mount Banj: *makaḍakaputrasa...kue danamoko*; Pāja: *Aṇaṇḍa-putreya Saṅghamitrena kue karite*; Shakardarra: *kuvo khadao Traṇivad[r]anasa...danamukho*; Āra: *khadao kupa Drahafotena Poshapuris pait[e]sa*; Kala Sang: *[saha*]yaraya Pipolakhana kue*; Margu: *kue qahaya [raqa*...] darasa*.

The next letter is again *sa*, and then follows, so far as I can see, a *rea*, though it may be *ka* as read by Cunningham. In M. Senart's plate the right-hand hook of the letter has disappeared and the *akshara* runs into the following one, so as to produce the appearance of a *su*, and the apparent *e*-stroke, which clearly belongs to the *akshara* following after *rea*, looks as if it belonged to the second one. The letter following after what I read as *rea* consists of a vertical bending at the top towards the left and provided with a cross-bar. The apparent *e*-mātrā protrudes below the upper bar and seems in reality to be an *i*. With every reserve I therefore read *sti*.

Then follows an unmistakable *va*. In M. Senart's plate it runs into the preceding *akshara*, and thus M. Boyer arrived at his reading *she*, without taking any notice of the unusual place of the *e*-mātrā. This *va* I take together with the next *akshara*, which I read *da*; cf. the shape of *ḍ* in *ḍi*, l. 1.

Then follows *ti*, and then two letters which M. Boyer read *vudhe*. The *u* of *vu* is not certain, and I prefer to read *va*. The stroke at the right-hand corner of *dhe* seems to me to be a flaw in the stone. I therefore read *vadha* and connect *vadha* with the ensuing *akshara*, which is certainly *sa* or *se*. I accordingly read *sarvastivadativadhase*.

Messrs. Senart and Boyer took the last *akshara* *sa* together with the two following ones, which they read as *putra*. The *pu* is certain, but the *tra* does not, so far as I can see, exist. If we compare the fourth *akshara* from the end in l. 3, which is certainly *tra*, it will be found to be quite different. It seems to me that a portion of the stone has peeled off in this place, to the right of the *u*-loop of *kshu* in l. 1. It was therefore left open, and the context goes on to the left of the *u*-loop, with an *akshara* which M. Boyer took to be *ba*, but which seems to me to be *ja*. The vertical has been bent to the right, so as to cover a portion of the open space, but the *ja* is, I think, easily recognizable.

Then follows *na*, with a sloping line running downwards from the middle of the vertical. M. Senart read the whole as *na*, while M. Boyer thought it necessary to read *npa*, a compound which is in itself very unlikely, and which would, at all events, scarcely look like our *akshara* but be provided with an angular *pa*-hook. I take the letter to be *ne*, with the *e*-mātrā placed as in *Sakyamune* in the Wardak vase inscription. *Pujane* corresponds to Sanskrit *pūjanē*, in the honouring of, and is synonymous with the common *pujae*.

The last three *aksharas* of l. 2 were read by M. Senart as *Liaka* and this, taken together with the letter *sa* at the beginning of l. 3, makes up the genitive *Liakasa*, which M. Boyer connected with his *soputrabanpa* into a compound *soputrabanpaliakasa*, to which he assigned the meaning "together with his sons Banpa and Liaka". Even if we were to accept the reading *banpa*, it seems to me that it would not be quite easy to follow M. Boyer in his analysis of the compound.

The name *Liaka* is also known from the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, the son of the Kshatrapa *Liaka Kusuluka*, and we should naturally infer that the *Liaka* of our inscription was a descendant of *Liaka Kusuluka*, the more so because he is evidently designated as a Kshatrapa. The reading of the word following after the first letter of l. 3 is not, it is true, certain, but there can be little doubt that it means "of the Kshatrapa". M. Senart read *chhaharasa* and M. Boyer *chhala-pasa*. The former was partly influenced by the Patika plate where *Kusuluka Liaka* is usually supposed to be designated as *Chhaharasa Chukhsasa cha chhatrapa*, Kshatrapa of Chhahara and Chukhsa. In my opinion, however, there cannot be any doubt that we must read *kshaharajasa*, there being room for two *aksharas* in the damaged portion at the end of l. 1. Moreover, M. Boyer was certainly right in reading the third *akshara* as *pa*. The second one is scarcely *ha*, and it is also different from *la*, the upper vertical standing more to the left than the lower one. There is, moreover, a stroke towards the right at the bottom. One might think of reading *tra*, but such a compound is scarcely possible. It is perhaps possible to assume that the engraver has misunder-

stood his draft and placed the upper vertical too far to the right, while *tra* was in reality intended. As there cannot well be any doubt about the meaning I would, therefore, with every reserve, read *ksha[tra]pasa*.

We are not in a position to decide the question about the nationality of the family of the Kshatrapa Liaka. If he was descended from the Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka of the Patika plate, we should be inclined to think that he was a Śaka, because the date of the Patika plate is referred to the reign of the King Moga. The designation *Kusuluka* seems to indicate relationship with the Kushāṇas, for *Kusuluka* is probably connected with the designation *Kujūla* used about the first Kadphises. We know from the coin-legend of Liaka Kusuluka that the second *u* of *Kusuluka* was long and that the *s* was pronounced with voice, for the Greek legend is *Kozoulo*, as on the coins or *Kujūla* Kadphises.

If the Kshatrapa Liaka was a descendant of Liaka Kusuluka, we should think that he ruled in the neighbourhood of Taxila, in which case his province may very well have included the present Zeda.

After *ksha[tra]pasa* M. Senart read *.pa..a.da.ta dana* and M. Boyer *thupa dhola unamita dana*. The latter translated the whole passage as follows: the gift of Chhalapa together with his sons Banpa and Liaka, a stūpa resplendent in whiteness and of great height. We should accordingly here have the record of the second donation mentioned in the inscription. Abstracting from the general objection to such an interpretation which I have already mentioned, I may draw attention to the curious arrangement which M. Boyer supposes to be followed in the enumeration of the gifts: first a well, then a resplendent stūpa, and thirdly, as we shall see, a temple servant. It would be difficult to find any logical reason for such an arrangement, and I agree with M. Sylvain Lévi¹ that we should expect the state of things to be different.

An examination of the plate will, moreover, so far as I can see, lead us to other results than those arrived at by M. Boyer, also in the passage following after *ksha[tra]pasa*.

The first *akshara* cannot possibly be *thu*. It consists of a rounded top, continued to the right in a vertical ending in a loop, which I follow M. Boyer in considering as an *u-mātrā*. There cannot, in my opinion, be any reasonable doubt about the nature of the letter: it is *u*, of the same kind as the *u* of *utaraphagune*, l. 1, only shorter, and the *u*-loop has not been continued up to the vertical. Then follows *pa*, as given both by M. Senart and by M. Boyer. The third *akshara*, on the other hand, cannot be *dho*. It consists of a broken vertical, bent towards the left at the top, and provided with the hook which we know from the usual *ka*. A similar break in the vertical is also found in one of the *kas* of the Māṇikīāla silver disk, and similar forms occur in the Āra and Māṇikīāla inscriptions and on the Kanishka casket. I think it necessary to read *ka*.

Then follows an *akshara* consisting of an upper curve connected with the lower part by a vertical. It is impossible for me to understand how it can be read otherwise than as *cha*. The next letter is clearly *a* and not *u*, there being no trace of an *u*-loop at the bottom, and I am unable to see how M. Boyer arrived at his reading *unamita*. The *a* is followed by a distinct *ma*, which M. Boyer leaves out of consideration. With regard to the next *akshara* M. Senart's reading *da* is clearly preferable to M. Boyer's *na*, even if we were to admit that the dental *na* were used in this place. The lower portion of *da* is, however, bent towards the left and I think that I can see traces of a complete *u*-loop. I therefore read *du*, and the following *akshara* cannot possibly be *mī*. It seems to me to be an unmistakable *ka*. Then follows *ta* as read by Messrs. Senart and Boyer. The whole passage accordingly runs: *upakachaamadū kata*. I analyse it as follows. In *upakachaa* I see the dative of *upakacha*, which consists of *upa* and the Prakrit word *kachcha*, which is given as a Dēśī word for *kārya* in the *Dēśināmāṇī* ii. 2, and which corresponds to a

¹ Cinquantenaire de l'école pratique des hautes études. Mélanges publiés par les directeurs d'études de la section des sciences historiques et philologiques. Paris, 1921, pp. 91 ff.

Sanskrit *kritya*.¹ *Upakachaa* accordingly means "for the benefit of", and it should be connected with the ensuing *madu*, Sanskrit *mātuḥ*, of his mother.

Kata I take together with the following word, for which I unhesitatingly accept the reading *daṇa*.

The concluding portion of the inscription was read by M. Boyer as follows: *anuga punavar-dhase Saṅghamitrāsa dana*, the gift of Saṅghamitra: a servant, in order to increase his merit. I have the same objections against this reading and interpretation which I have mentioned above: the improbability of a registering of many gifts in one and the same inscription, the absence of any intelligible reason for the arrangement of the three entries, and my inability to accept the suggested reading. It might also be questioned whether Sanskrit *punya* could become *puna* or *puṇa* in the dialect of the inscription. We should certainly expect *puṇa* as in the Kharōṣṭhī manuscript of the *Dhammapada*.

The two first *aksharas* are certainly *anu*. M. Boyer draws attention to the shape of the ensuing *akshara ga*, which is turned towards the left and provided with a curve towards the right. He thinks that we are here faced with fissures in the stone. It seems to me, however, that such cannot be the case, and that we must read *gra*. *Anugra* might stand for *anuga*, with a spirantic pronunciation of *g*, but I have my doubts about the possibility of translating *anuga*, standing alone as it does, by "servant". Moreover, I think it necessary to connect *anugra* with what follows and here I cannot accept M. Boyer's reading *puna*, or, in my transliteration *puṇa*. There is no trace of an *u-mātrā*, and, so far as I see, the first *akshara* cannot be *pa*, but only *he*. The *akshara na* next seems to have an *e-mātrā*, but I think that *na* is intended. I therefore read *anagraheṇa*.

The following word seems to be *vardhase* as read by M. Boyer. M. Senart's plate favours this reading, while the *r* before *dh* is not distinguishable in my estampage. As stated by M. Boyer *vardhase* or *vadhase* may be an infinitive or the dative of a base *vardhas*.

The reading *Saṅghamitrāsa dana* was established by Cunningham and accepted by his successors. I do not think it possible to read the letter after *tra* as *sa*. It is the same *ra* which we find in *rajami*, l. 2. Nor can I see how the two last *aksharas* can be read *dana*. The first one cannot, I think, be anything else than *ja*, with a backward turn of the top, and the last one is evidently *sa*, turned back so as to avoid its running up into the *akshara* standing above it. A similar distorted *sa* is found before *Mira Boyaṇasa* in l. 4 of the Gudufara record, where its shape likewise seems to be due to considerations of space.

Who the *Saṅghamitrārāja* was, we cannot say. *Saṅghamitra* seems to be used as a title in the Jauliā inscription *b*, and it is conceivable that it is here used as an honorific designation of *Kanishka*. It is, however, more likely that *Saṅghamitrārāja* was some person connected with the place where the well was dug.

The date of the Zeda inscription is about one month later than that of the Sue Viḥār epigraph of the 28th Daisios Sam 11, the Macedonian month Daisios roughly corresponding to the Indian Jyāishṭha, the month preceding Āshāḍha. I have already drawn attention to the fact that the dating is fuller than is usually the case in Kharōṣṭhī records, the name of the nakshatra Uttara-phalgunā being mentioned as current on the 20th Āshāḍha. Professor Jacobi has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that we can infer, from this statement, that the months were *pūrṇimānta* just as I have shown it to be the case in the calendar used in the Gudafara record.² The nakshatra Uttara-phalgunā belongs to the sukla paksha where it may occur between the 5th and 8th day.

¹ Cf. Fischei, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, § 284.

² See above Vol. XVIII, p. 272 f.

The *pūrṇimānta* reckoning was no doubt an ancient Indian one, while the counting of all the days of the month as a continuous series seems to be of foreign origin, as stated in my edition of the Gudufara record.

With regard to the era used in our inscription, it has never been doubted that it is the so-called Kanishka era, but there is no consensus of opinion about the nature and the initial point of that reckoning. I do not think that anybody would now be prepared to maintain, as was consistently done by the late Dr. Fleet, that Kanishka was the founder of the Vikrama era, after Sir John Marshall has succeeded in analysing the different strata of archaeological finds in ancient Taxila. He has conclusively proved that Kanishka succeeded the Kadphises kings.¹ Most scholars seem to be of opinion that Kanishka's accession marked the beginning of the Śaka era. Professor Rapson, the latest authority who has dealt more fully with the question, says:² "The evidence obtained by Sir John Marshall from his excavations of the ancient sites of Takhaśīlā proves conclusively that the period of Kanishka's reign must have been somewhere about the end of the first century A.D., and a comparison of this evidence with the statements of Chinese historians and with the dates supplied by inscriptions makes it seem almost certain that Kanishka was the founder of the well-known era which began in 78 A.D."³

I fail to see how Sir John's description of his excavations can be explained as done by Professor Rapson. I may quote his own words:⁴ "The chronology of this period is very uncertain, but it seems probable that it was about 50 or 60 A.D. that Kujūla Kadphises and Hermaeus wrested the Kābul valley and Taxila from the Parthians, and a few years later that Kujūla was succeeded by Wima Kadphises, who consolidated and enlarged the empire which his predecessor had won. To about this period belong the coins of the nameless ruler commonly known as Soter Megas, who may have been a successor of Wima Kadphises—there seems to have been a break between the reigns of Kadphises II and Kanishka.—Then followed, in the second century of our era, the great and powerful Kanishka, the most famous of all the Kushāns, and after him Huviṣhka and Vāsudeva. Kanishka made his winter capital at Purushapura, the modern Peshawar, and extended his conquests over a wide area, from Central Asia to the borders of Bengal, and it is probable that this empire was maintained intact by his immediate successors. The death of Vāsudeva probably occurred in the first half of the third century A.D."

I do not think that this statement can be reconciled with the assignation of the establishment of the Śaka era to Kanishka. On the other hand, it is in thorough agreement with what Professor Lüders remarks:⁵ "The exact determination of the era depends before all on the question whether we should identify the king of the Ta-Yüeh-chi Po-t'iao, who sent in the year 229 A.D. an embassy to China, with Vāsudeva, the successor of Huviṣhka."⁶ In that case the era would start at the earliest with 130 and at the latest with 168 A.D. None of the grounds which Oldenberg⁷ has

¹ According to M. Sylvain Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.* XII, ii, 1923, p. 52, Kadphises is not a personal name, but derived from the name of the country which is variously called *Kapīśā*, *Kamboja*, etc.

² *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 583.

³ I shall not in this place enter into a discussion of M. Foucher's theory that the Śaka era is not originally a separate era but simply a continuation of the "Maurya" era, with omitted hundreds, because I have done so in my edition of the Gudufara record above, where I also hope to have shown that it is impossible to follow Professor Rapson in the conclusions he draws from the statements contained in Chinese historical tradition.

⁴ See *A Guide to Taxila*, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1921, pp. 16 f., Sir John's latest account of his explorations.

⁵ *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, p. 830.—*Ind. Ant.*, XLII, 1913, p. 137.

⁶ Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, v, pp. 489 f.

⁷ *Neurichten der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1911, pp. 487 ff. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1910-12, pp. 1 ff., especially pp. 17 f.

adduced against this supposition is decisive. On the other hand, the identification of Po-t'iao with Vāsudeva is, as observed by Chavannes, merely permissible and not necessary; besides there still remains the possibility that a later and another Vāsudeva is meant."

And, as a matter of fact, Sir John's statement agrees with everything that we know from Chinese sources.

It is a curious fact, which has often been commented on, that Kanishka's name never occurs in the historical books of the Chinese. It is difficult to think that such would have been the case, if he had ruled at a time when China was in contact with the Western Countries and received regular accounts of what was happening there, and it seems probable, therefore, that his time was subsequent to A.D. 125, when China was cut off from Eastern Turkistan,¹ where Kanishka's power, according to Hiuen-Tsang, made itself felt.

Buddhist texts preserved in Chinese translations, on the other hand, more than once speak of Kanishka as a great and powerful ruler. Hiuen-Tsang, who tells us about his conquests, also quotes what pretends to be a prophecy of the Buddha, according to which Kanishka's accession was to take place in the year 400 of the Nirvāṇa. M. Sylvain Lévi has made it probable² that Hiuen-Tsang's source was the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. According to M. Foucher³ Kanishka reigned in the fifth century of the Maurya era, which was still in general use at the time of his accession. Later on, when the actual state of things was forgotten, and people no more knew anything about the Maurya era, which had, in the meantime been replaced by other reckonings, the memory of an interval of 400 years was still retained, but now this interval was referred to the era of the Nirvāṇa. I do not think it necessary to make further comments on this theory in this place, because there is not the slightest reason for believing in the existence of the Maurya era. But most scholars will unhesitatingly agree with M. Foucher that the tradition of an interval of 400 years between the Nirvāṇa and Kanishka is due to some sort of misunderstanding.

There are, as is well known, more than one estimate of the interval between the Buddha and Kanishka to be found in the Chinese Buddhist works.⁴ The biography of Vasubandhu places Āśvaghōṣa, who was an older contemporary of Kanishka, in the sixth century of the Nirvāṇa, and, according to the *Saṃyuktaraṭṇapīṭaka*, which was translated into Chinese in A.D. 472, Kanishka was a contemporary of the Arhat K'i-ye-to, of whom we hear that he had left the world in the Buddha's time but reappeared seven hundred years afterwards in the kingdom of Ki-pin.⁵ This tradition, which is certainly older than Hiuen-Tsang, places Kanishka in the second century of our era.

In this connexion the statement found in the same work and quoted above, according to which Kanishka fought the Parthians, receives some additional significance as compared with the use of the title *mañjhaka* in our inscription.

There are, moreover, some indications which seem to point to a considerable increase of the Kushāṇa power and a simultaneous strengthening of the national pride of the Indo-Skythians in the second century of our era. In the first place we find rulers using the same titles as the Kushāṇas in Eastern Turkistan, where even a Kushanasena is mentioned about this time. And secondly, some facts connected with the history of the Western Kshatrapas point to the same conclusion. I am speaking of the coins and inscriptions mentioning the name of Chashtana.

¹ Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, II, p. 133.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 1016.

³ *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, p. 510.

⁴ Cf. F. W. Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 646, 649, 1031, and the literature quoted by him.

⁵ Cf. Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.*, IX, viii, 1896, p. 463; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, p. 386.

According to Professor Rapson,¹ "all that is known as to the duration of Chashtana's reign, both as kshatrapa and mahākshatrapa, is that it must be included, together with the reign of his son Jayadāman as Kshatrapa, in the period limited by the years 46 and 72=A.D. 124 and 150." From the Andhan inscriptions² we know that his grandson Rudradāman was associated with him as rājan in Kāthiāwār in Śaka 52, i.e., A.D. 130. He cannot, accordingly, have been born much later than A.D. 90, and his father Ysamotika must have held sway about the time when the Śaka era was introduced.

Now the names of Chashtana and Ysamotika point to the conclusion that they were of the same nationality as the Śakas and Kushāṇas. Dr. Morgenstierne tells me that, according to Professor Andreas, *Chashtana* is evidently identical with Pashto *chashian*, a master, and the name Seistanhas, up to the present day, preserved the memory of ancient Śaka settlements in Afghānistān.³ And *Ysamotika* is derived from the word *ysama*, earth, which is well known from documents and books written in the Iranian language of the southern oases of Chinese Turkistan.⁴

Now Ysamotika's name only occurs in the inscriptions and coin-legends of his successors. One coin, which has now disappeared, has, it is true, been ascribed to him, but Professor Rapson is no doubt right in thinking⁵ that it was in reality a coin of Chashtana with the name of his father only legible in the inscription. *Ysamotika*, however, is practically synonymous with *Bhūmaka*, and I quite agree with M. Sylvain Lévi⁶ in thinking that the two names designate one and the same person, *Bhūmaka* being only a barbaric Sanskrit translation of the real name.

Now we must recall the state of things prevailing when *Bhūmaka* entered on the stage. Vikramāditya had long ago replaced the Śaka rulers in Central India. A national era had been introduced, which had even been used by the Śaka Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa, and Indian notions had gradually reasserted themselves. If *Bhūmaka* were one of the first governors appointed after the Śaka re-conquest in A.D. 78, it would be natural for him to adopt an Indianized name, though he was a *Kshaharada*, i.e., was, in some way, connected with the line of Liaka Kusuluka.⁷ The use of the title *rājan* by Nahapāna, who is also designated *Kshaharāta*, Chashtana and his successors, may be due to similar considerations.

The state of things became different with or during the rule of Chashtana. He reintroduced the national name of his father, and this fact becomes easily intelligible if we assume that the power of his nation was essentially increased in his days. It is not necessary to assume that this increase began in India itself. If M. Sylvain Lévi was right in explaining⁸ Chen-t'an Ki-ni-ch'a of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* as Kanishka, king of Khotan, it is conceivable that Kanishka started on his career in Eastern Turkistan, after the Chinese had lost their hold on the country, and that these events were rumoured in India and awakened the national pride of the Śakas, this awakening being reflected in the introduction of the name *Ysamotika* instead of the Indianized *Bhūmaka* in the inscriptions and coin-legends of Chashtana.

¹ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty.* London, 1908, pp. cxii ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 19 ff.

³ Cf. The important paper contributed by Dr. F. W. Thomas to the *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, pp. 181 ff.

⁴ Cf. Lüders, *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, pp. 406 ff., where attention is also drawn to the curious use of the compound *ys* in order to denote the voiced *s*.

⁵ *I.e.*, p. 71.

⁶ *Journ. Asiat.*, XI, v, 1915, p. 1919; cf. Konow, *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 814.

⁷ *kshaharada*, *kshaharāta* can of course be a title or the name of a family.

⁸ *Journ. Asiat.*, LX, viii, 1896, pp. 452 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, pp. 354 ff.

Now we know that Chashtana's capital was Ujjayinī and that his name was known to Ptolemy. After Kanishka had consolidated his power in India he would naturally enter into relations with the Śaka rulers of Ujjayinī. Now Ujjayinī was the centre of the scientific study of astronomy after new methods which were taken over from the Greek astronomers. The results of this study are laid down in the Siddhāntas, and if the late Dr. Thibaut was right in thinking¹ that these works may very well be based on some Greek source older than Ptolemy, I do not see any reason against applying their methods to the date of the Zeda inscription, in order to settle the question about the initial point of its era by calculating which year or years fulfil the condition : Āshāḍha 20 coupled with Uttara-phalguṇa.

I have therefore asked my Dutch friend, Dr. W. E. van Wijk, to examine the date in the light of the Siddhāntas. I have taken it for granted that Kanishka's accession cannot be dated earlier than the initial point of the Śaka era and not much later than A.D. 135. I have therefore formulated the question as follows : in which year during the period A.D. 89 to A.D. 150 did the 20th Āshāḍha coincide with Uttara-phalguṇa.

Dr. van Wijk has discussed the question in the *Acta Orientalia*,² and I shall, in this place, only summarize the results of his calculations. If these are made according to the system of the *Sūryasiddhānta* and the equal space system, seven years during the period would answer the conditions, viz., the expired Kaliyuga years 3191, 3216, 3221, 3229, 3240, 3246 and 3248.

This result is not very encouraging. I have, however, already mentioned that we possess a second record, from the same neighbourhood, with the same details regarding the date as in our epigraph, viz., the Und inscription of the year 61, where the 8th Chaitra is coupled with the nakṣatra Pūrvāshāḍha.

Applying the same methods to this date, Dr. van Wijk finds that the choice is, in this case, much more limited. It is, of course, sufficient to examine the state of things in the seven years coming 50 years after those which were found to be possible equivalents to the Zeda date. And among these only three years fulfil the condition : Chaitra 8 coupled with Pūrvāshāḍha, viz., the expired Kaliyuga years 3241, 3279 and 3296.

If it is allowed to calculate the dates of the Kanishka era at the hand of the *Sūryasiddhānta*, its initial date would accordingly fall in one of the years A.D. 79, 117 or 134. Dr. van Wijk has reckoned with current years. If the years were expired, the corresponding years would be 78, 116 and 133 respectively.

Dr. van Wijk has further calculated the two dates according to the system of the first *Āryasiddhānta*. His result is that in that case only the expired Kaliyuga years 3229 and 3279 fulfil the conditions required by the Zeda and the Und inscriptions respectively. He therefore thinks that, according to the equal space system, this latter correspondence is most acceptable.

In his second paper, however, he maintains, that the equal space system is a late and artificial one, and that we must, therefore, reckon with unequal spaces. He arrives at the result that June 19 A.D. 139 is the only date which fulfils the conditions of the Zeda record, and February 26 A.D. 189 those of the Und inscription. The initial date of the Kanishka era would accordingly be A.D. 128-129. Such a dating would explain the absolute silence about Kanishka in Chinese historical sources, which seems to show that his accession cannot be placed before A.D. 125. It would follow that the earliest known date of Vāsudēva corresponds to the rainy season A.D. 202, and the latest one to the rainy season A.D. 226, in which case Vāsudēva can very well be identical with Po-t'iao, whose embassy is stated to have reached China in A.D. 229.

¹ *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, pp. 45 ff.

² Vol. III, pp. 83 ff.; V, pp. 168 ff.

I now give my reading and translation of the record.

TEXT.

1. Sarā 10 ashaḍasa masasa di 20 uttaraphaguṇe iṣe kṣhuṇami
2. khade kue [mu]roḍasa marjhakasa Kapiṣhkasa rajami [to]yaṇda eha bhui
daṇamukha Hipea Dhiasa sarvastivadativadhase pujaṇe Liaka-
3. sa kaha[tra]pasa upakachaa mad[u] kata daṇa aṇugraheṇa va[rḍha]ṣe Sa-
ghamitrarajasa

TRANSLATION.

Anno 10, on the 20 day of the month Āshāḍha, in Uttaraphalgunī, at this instant this well was dug, in the reign of the lord, the master of treasure Kaniṣhka,—and further a “watergiver”—as the gift of Hipe Dhiā for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda, in honouring of the Kshatrapa Liaka, for the benefiting of his mother; the gift was made by the favour and for the increase of Saṃghamitrarāja.

No. 2.—BARAH COPPER-PLATE OF BHOJADEVA; VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 893.

By HIRANANDA SASTRI.

This copper-plate, as the District Magistrate of Cawnpore wrote to the Director General of Archaeology in India, while forwarding it for examination, was discovered on the 17th of March 1925 in the house of one Muhammad Baqar when the foundations of a new house were being dug up in the village of Barah which is said to have been inhabited during the Mughal period and lies on the south side of the main road from Cawnpore to Kalpi at a distance of 23 miles west-south-west from the District Head-Quarters and 4 miles east of Akbarpur with which it is connected by a branch metalled road. It measures 23½" by 16½", being ⅛" thick and weighs 1,250 tolas. The three big holes drilled at the left side of the plate show that there must have been a seal attached to it, though it is not forthcoming now. The plate was thoroughly cleaned under the direction of the Director General of Archaeology in India and is now preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. I edit the record from the original plate as well as from the excellent estampages kindly supplied to me by Sir John Marshall the Director General of Archaeology in India. Only one side of the plate is inscribed, there being 16 lines of writing on it. The size of the letters which are well shaped and deeply cut averages from 1" to ½" in height, and ¾" to ⅝" in breadth. The record is written in the Nāgarī script of the period and in Sanskrit prose, excepting a somewhat defective śloka at the end (ll. 15-16) which gives the name of the Dūtaka.

There are no orthographical peculiarities worth noting excepting the use of the *upadh-māniya* in ll. 7 and 12 and the usual employment of *va* for *ba* as well as the doubling of *t* before *ra* as in *putra* (l. 3). The year when the grant under notice was issued is given in l. 16 where it is expressed by letters or letter numerals and a numerical figure. That it is 893 of the Vikrama era is pretty certain but the way in which it is written does not appear to be so. As put down here it would read *samvatarō hrā* (i.e.) 9083. The *t* in the ligature *tarō* should go with *samvat* and the symbol *arō* be taken as representing hundred like the old symbol ८०. The next symbol undoubtedly represents 8. Thus, I think, the year should be read¹ as *samvat* 100×8 (i.e. 800) 90 3 (i.e., 893).

The object of the inscription is to record that Bhōjadēva granted the *agrahāra* called Valākāgrahāra which lay in the Udumbara-*viṣṭaya* of the Kālāñjara-*maṇḍala* in the Kanyakubja-*bhukti* to the Brāhmaṇas born of the family of Bhaṭṭa-kāchāra-*avāṇin* who

¹ I have read it in consultation with Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha.

belonged to the Bharadvāja-gōtra and was a student of the Vājasaneyā-sākhā, with all its income barring such as had already been granted to gods and Brāhmaṇas. The document would show that the original grant was issued by *śrī-Śarvvavarmmadēva* and sanctioned by *Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadēva*. It would further show that, owing to the incapacity of the controlling officer (*Vyavahārin*) in the reign of *Rāmabhadradēva*, it was disturbed for some time and *Bhōjadēva*, the grandson of *Nāgabhaṭadēva*, revived it on the old terms in the year 893 of the [Vikrama era] on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika which corresponds to Wednesday, 18th October, A.D. 836.

The charter was written by *Rudraṭa*, the *Dūtaka* being *Bālāditya* who was the son of *Rājyabhaṭṭārikā*. I have already stated that the donor of the grant was *Bhōjadēva*, the son of *Rāmabhadradēva* and the grandson of *Nāgabhaṭadēva*. That he was the *Gurjara Pratihāra* king of Kanauj is too clear to require demonstration. The genealogy¹ given in the document is too strong a proof to require further support. The point worth consideration is the identity of the *Śarvvavarmman* spoken of in the document. We are told that the grant made by this chief was confirmed by *Nāgabhaṭadēva*. This statement would make *Śarvvavarmman* to be the contemporary of *Nāgabhaṭa* who flourished *cir.* 816² A.D. The fact that he is described as a *Paramēśvara* would show that he was a subordinate prince. The epithet of *Paramēśvara* reminds us of *Śarvvavarmman*, the *Maukhari* king who is likewise called *Paramēśvara* in the *Asīrgaḍh*³ Seal inscription. But the identification depends on the contemporaneity of the *Pratihāra* king *Nāgabhaṭa*. The *Maukhari Śarvvavarmman*, as I have shown elsewhere,⁴ was the son of *Īśānavarmman*, who flourished about the year 611 of the Vikrama era, that is, *cir.* 554 A.D., and that he ruled about the last quarter of the sixth century of the Christian era or some two hundred years before *Nāgabhaṭa*, the ambitious *Pratihāra* ruler who confirmed the grant. So *Śarvvavarmman* of this inscription cannot be the homonymous prince of the *Maukhari* dynasty; nor can we identify him with the *Śarvvavarmma-Mahārāja* of the *Nirmaṇḍa*⁵ grant of *Samudrasēna* or other rulers of the same name who came long before him. The only prince whose identification will fit in with this chief, as far as I am aware, is the one mentioned in the *Sanjān* plates of *Amōghavarsha* which have recently been published in this journal.⁶ The contents of this valuable document have been fully dealt with by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. It tells us that *Gōvinda III*, perhaps the most remarkable *Rāshtrakūṭa* king who flourished *cir.* 793-815, vanquished *Nāgabhaṭa* of the Imperial *Pratihāra* dynasty, who was the son of *Vatsarāja* or the father of *Rāmabhadradēva* and the grandfather of *Bhōjadēva*, the donor of the grant under notice. Further, it informs us that the same *Rāshtrakūṭa* king after his victorious return from the north came to the *Narmadā* on whose banks, at the foot of the *Vindhyas*, he temporarily settled in the kingdom of a petty ruler called *Mahārāja-Śarvan*. It was here that a son was born to him who was called *Amōghavarsha* *alias* *Mahārāja-Śarvan*. *Māraśarva*, as has been remarked by Prof. Bhandarkar, is the same as *Mahārāja-Śarvan* and the *Śrībhavana* of the *Radhanpur* plates of *Gōvinda III* must have been his capital.⁷ To which dynasty this prince belonged, we are not told in any of these inscriptions. But that he must have been an important ruler seems to be clear. Our charter shows that he must have held sway over the tract around *Kālāñjara* where the *agrahāra* or the *Brāhmaṇa* village *Valāka* (or *Valākā*) lay, otherwise he could not have made a gift of it. That he was a tributary of *Nāgabhaṭa* can safely be surmised from the fact that the grant made by him was confirmed by the latter.

¹ For the genealogy of this dynasty see Kielhorn's *Northern List*, No. 10, and the *A. S. R.* for 1903-04, pp. 277 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 100.

² V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, (4th ed.), p. 393; Konow : *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 290.

³ Fleet : *C. I. I.*, p. 219.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 118-4.

⁵ Fleet : *C. I. I.* p. 290.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

⁷ *Ibid* p. 241, and Vol. VI, p. 250.

Subsequently, when his liege lord, namely Nāgabhaṭa, was routed by the mighty Rāshtrakūṭa king he, 'driven by fear, quickly went to conciliate his mind by choice heirlooms such as the Rāshtrakūṭa king had never received before and feet by prostrations.'¹ About the beginning of the ninth century of the Christian era, the throne of Kanauj passed from one ruler to another very quickly. After Vajrāyudha, came Indrāyudha who was dethroned about 810 A.D. by Dharmapāla king of Bengal and was succeeded by Chakrāyudha who 'was consecrated with the consent of the kings of all the neighbouring states.'² About 816 A.D. he was dethroned by Nāgabhaṭa the Gurjara Pratihāra king. Śarvvavarman, apparently, must have taken advantage of the situation and extended his territories towards the north, but had to submit to Nāgabhaṭa, when that ruler conquered Kanauj. Nāgabhaṭa was worsted by Gōvinda III, but Bhōja, his grandson, was the undisputed master of Kanauj at the time to which our charter belongs. So, in both the cases, that is in the time of Nāgabhaṭadēva as well as Bhōjadēva, confirmation of the grant by the liege lords was necessary. That the grant was impeded, as remarked above, during the reign of Rāmabhadradēva would lead us to surmise that the rule of this king was not free from turmoil.

As stated above, the grant is dated 893 of the [Vikrama]-Samvat i.e. 836 A.D. So this copper-plate carries the long period of the rule of Bhōjadēva back to some four years and becomes the earliest known dated document of his time.

Besides the donor, his ancestors and the donee, the grant mentions Bālāditya, the son of Rājyabhaṭṭārikā, and also Rudraṭa. No details being given about them, their identity remains obscure. Rudraṭa like the names Mammata, Jayyata, Kaiyyata, etc., seems to be a Kashmiri appellation. The word *प्रवृत्त* would show that he acted as a herald in reading out the *śāsana* of Bhōjadēva.

It may be remarked here that this charter also employs the territorial terms *bhukti*, *maṇḍala* and *vishaya* in the same sense in which they are used in charters like the Nālandā copper-plate³ of Dēvapāladēva.

The localities mentioned in this charter are these: Mahōdaya, Kanyakubja, Kālāñjara, Udum(vb)ara and V(B)alākāgrahāra. Of these, Mahōdaya, as herein described, was a *skandhāvāra* or camp only and was not identical with Kanyakubja (or Kānyakubja) for that is mentioned separately. Generally, Mahōdaya is taken to be a synonym of Kanauj or Kanyakubja, but our charter clearly shows that it cannot always be taken as such. Fleet⁴ was perfectly right when he remarked that the epithet of *skandhāvāra* or camp could not have been an appropriate one for a *rājadhāni*, like Kanauj, and that there must have been several Mahōdayas. Kanyakubja and Kālāñjara are the modern Kanauj and Kālāñjara respectively. Valāka, (or Valākā), the *agrahāra* village which was the object of the grant, and Udumbara, the head-quarters of the district (*vishaya*) where it was situated, I have not been able to locate definitely.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति । श्रीमहोदयसमावासितानेकनौहस्तशरपतिसम्यक्स्वस्था-
वाराहपरमवैष्णवी
- 2 महाराजश्रीदेवशक्तिदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादाशुभातः श्रीभूयिकादेव्यामुत्पन्नः
परममाहेचरो

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 350.

² Above, XVII, pp. 310 ff.

³ From the original as well as the impressions.

⁴ Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 393.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 111.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 महाराजश्री[व]त्सराजदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीहृन्दीदेवस्तुतवः परश-
गवतीभक्तो
- 4 महाराजश्री[ना]गभटदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीमदीशदेवस्तुतवः
परमादित्यभक्तो
- 5 महाराजश्रीरामभट्टदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्रीवन्द्यादेवस्तुतवः परश-
गव-
- 6 श्रीभक्तो महाराजश्रीभोजदेवः ॥ श्रीकल्याणभक्तो । श्रीकाकचरमचक्रा-
7 ंपाति उदु(म्)रविजयस(म्)दवकाकाप्रहारे समुपगताम्भानि यथास्मा-
8 न्निमुक्ताम्प्रतिवासिभ्यः समाप्तापयति । उपरिसिद्धिताप्रहारक-
9 र्वायसमेत आचन्द्रार्कचितिकालम्भ्यदत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयवर्जितः परमेश्वरश्री-
10 शर्व्वेश्वरीदेवप्राप्तः । महाराजश्रीनागभट्टदेवानुमतिश्च^१ इहा मानस्य महा-
11 राजश्रीरामभट्टदेवराज्ये व्यवहारिणी त्रेमुपयात्तिष्ठित्वास्तुतिर्जनं ज्ञात्वा स-
12 या पिच्छो ऽ पुण्याभिवृद्धये । शरदाजसगोसवालसनेयसम्राट्चारिभट्टकाच-
13 रत्नाभ्यन्तःप्रसन्नप्राप्तानामन्तरा विच्छेदस्यमासीत्तस्य भाग्यात्मकमेवेति-
14 त्तद्वलित इति विदित्वा भवद्विष्णुमनुमन्तव्यः प्रतिवासिभिरप्याज्ञातव्य-
विधेये[भूत्वा स]र्वा-
- 15 या एवास्समुपनीया^२ इति ॥ रुद्रटेन प्रयुक्तस्य शासनस्य स्थिरायतेः ।
कृतको वासादि-
- 16 लोचन राज्यभट्टारिकासुतः ॥ सन्वत् १०० (X) = (-८००) ८० ३ (i.e. ८८३)
वार्तिक यदि ५ निवृत्तः ।

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail! From the camp furnished with a number of ships, elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers and situated at the prosperous *Mahādāya*—(there was) the illustrious *Mahārāja Dāvaśaktidēva*, a most devout worshipper of God *Vishṇu*; his son born of *Bhūyibhādēvi* was the illustrious *Mahārāja Vatsarāja*, who meditated on his (father's) feet and was a most devout worshipper of God *Mahēśvara*; his son, born of *Sundaridēvi*, was the illustrious *Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭṭadēva* who was greatly devoted to (the goddess) *Bhagavatī* and a meditator on the feet of his (father); his son who meditated on his feet was the illustrious *Mahārāja Rāma-bhadrādēva* born of *Isaṭādēvi* and much devoted to *Āditya* (the Sun-god) and his son born of *Arpādēvi* was the illustrious *Mahārāja Bhōjadēva* who, a meditator on his (father's) feet, was the great worshipper of (the goddess) *Bhagavatī*—(he, i.e., *Bhōjadēva*) (thus) commands all the residents and the officers appointed to their respective posts, that have assembled at the *agrahāra*

^१ We may read परश for the sake of uniformity.

^२ It was first correctly read by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni.

^३ Read एषां स.

^४ See *supra* p. 15.

[illegible]

of **Valākā** (or **Balākā**) attached to the **Udumbāra** district which is included in the subdivision of **Kāhāṣṭara** in the division of **Kanyakubja** :—

Seeing the *sāsana* of the illustrious **Paramēśvara Sarvvavarmanmadēva** and the approval of the illustrious **Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭṭadēva** and finding that the allotment was, for the time being, obstructed through the incapacity of a legal officer during the reign of the illustrious **Mahārāja Rāmabhadradēva**, the above-mentioned *agrahāra* together with all the income, exclusive of all the gifts already granted for gods and **Brāhmaṇas**, has been given away by me to endure as long as the Moon, the Sun and the Earth exist, for the increase of the merit of my parents, to the **Brāhmaṇas** born of the family of **Bhaṭṭa-kāchāra-svāmin** of the **Bhāradvāja-gotra** and the **Vājasaneyā-sākhā**, after having rejected the obstruction (of the grant) which took place for some time, and in accordance with the same old apportionment. Thus understanding, you should assent to it; the residents (of the village) also being obedient on hearing the order should take all the dues to these donees.

Here, **Bālāditya**, the son of **Rājyabhaṭṭārikā**, was the *dūtaka* of the *sāsana* of long duration which was brought into force by **Rudraṭa**.

Composed on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of **Kārtika** in the **Samvatsara 303**.

No. 3.—MAMDAPUR INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF KANHARA : SAKA 1172.

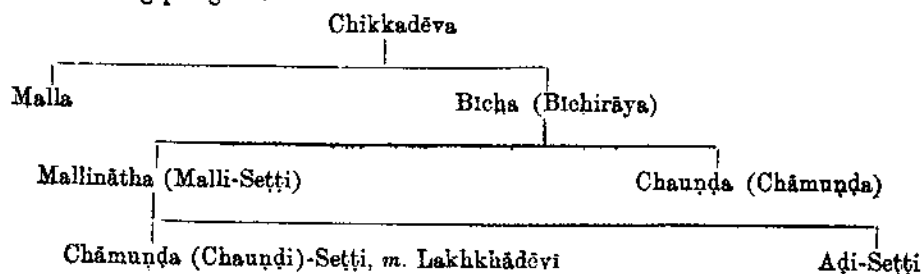
By LIONEL D. BARNETT.

There are several towns or villages bearing the name of **Mamdāpūr** ("Muhammad's Town") in the Bombay Presidency; but the **Mamdāpūr** where the present inscription was found is a village in the **Gōkāk tāluka** of **Belgaum District** lying in lat. $16^{\circ} 6'$ and long. $74^{\circ} 59\frac{1}{2}'$. On the Indian Atlas, sheet 41, the name is spelt "Mumdapeor." The inscription was found on a well-preserved stone tablet built into the wall on the left hand inside the local temple of **Basavēśvara**, and is 3 ft. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by 2 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. There is no information as to sculptures. The text is here edited from an ink-impression prepared for the late Dr. Fleet and now preserved in the British Museum.—The character is a very good and typical Kanarese hand of the period, upright and decorative, but becoming at the end somewhat crabbed as the mason became tired with his long task. The average height of the letters in the first two lines is about $\frac{1}{2}$ in., and then gradually decreases to about $\frac{3}{8}$ in. The cursive forms of *m*, *y*, and *v* are all found. That of *y* occurs only 4 times altogether; the others are much commoner, that of *m* being found 19 times and that of *v* 8 times in lines 1-10 alone. The curious little hook on the top of a letter which seems to denote a short *u*, and to which I have called attention in dealing with the **Mādagihāl** inscription (Vol. XV, p. 316), appears in ll. 51, 54, 55, and 64; it is not certain whether we should read *koṭṭar* or *koṭṭaru* in ll. 52 f. and *Āḍi-seṭṭiyar* or *Āḍi-seṭṭiyaru* in ll. 53 f., where the hook on top of the *r* looks like the ordinary *virāma*.—The language in ll. 1-46, which are mostly in verse, is Sanskrit; ll. 47-66 are in Kanarese prose, of the early medieval dialect. After *r* consonants are usually (but not invariably) doubled, and *v* is changed to *b* (e.g. *varbba*, l. 5). In the Sanskrit we may note the word *jagajjhampa* (l. 19), on which see Dr. Fleet's note above, Vol. XII, p. 251, and in the Kanarese *vajra-baisaniga* (l. 62), *hamḍha*, *baṇaba* (?), and *haraḷ* (l. 65), and *nāle* (l. 66), on which see *in loco*.

The matter of the inscription is as follows. After paying homage to **Śiva-Chandraśekhara** (v. 1), **Viṣṇu** in his **Boar incarnation** (v. 2), and **Śiva-Pārvatī** (v. 3), and describing the ocean, **Mēru**, **Jambū-dvīpa** (v. 4), **Bhārata-varsha**, the kingdom of **Kuntala**, in the latter the province of **Kūṇḍī** (v. 5), a town in the latter, which was the first of a **Thirty** (v. 6)

and in the vernacular was named **Kurumbetṭa** (v. 7), it proceeds to extol the Yadu race and its scion the Yādava king **Bhillama** (v. 8), his son **Jaitugi** [I] and his son **Simhana** (v. 9), of whom the last-named is here said to have been a patron¹ to **Bhōja** and overcome **Arjuna**, the **Gūrjaras**, **Māgadhas**, **Chōlas**, **Gaudas**, the **Turaga-pati** (i.e. the **Aśva-pati**), and **Baliāla** (v. 10), **Simhana's** son **Jaitugi** [II] (v. 11), and the latter's son **Kanhara**, who is now reigning after overthrowing his enemies and restoring the Vedic religion (vv. 12, 13), with his younger brother **Mahādēva** as Heir-Apparent (v. 14). Then comes a prose *prāśasti* of **Kanhara** (ll. 18-20), giving him his usual titles, and stating that he had conquered the **Mājavas** and **Gūrjaras**, that he was suzerain to the **Tailānga** king, and that he was reigning at **Dēvagiri**. Next we are introduced to one of his great officers. The minister **Bicha**, son of **Chikkadēva**, subdued, for his master **Kanhara**, the lands from **Himālaya** to **Sētu** and enjoyed half the kingdom; his eldest son was **Malla** (vv. 15, 16). **Malla's** son **Chāmunda** conquered the **Pāṇḍya** kingdom, the **Koṅkan**, the region around the **Kāvēri**, and other lands (vv. 17, 18). **Chāmunda's** preceptor is **Vaḡiśvara**; his wife is **Lakṣṭhādēvi** (vv. 19, 20); and he has set up many images of **Śiva** (v. 21). Then follows a prose *prāśasti* of **Chāmunda** (ll. 30-38), which states that he suppressed the arrogance of the haughty **Hoysala** emperor **Śōmēśvara** and that besides setting up a "sapphire *līṅga*" in a certain "white temple" he consecrated in the **Trikūṭa-prāsāda** of **Kurumbetṭa** two *līngas* of **Śiva** and an image of **Mādhava**, in the name of his father **Mallinātha** (**Malla**) and his brother **Dēva-Setṭi**, in the **Śaka year** (elapsed) 1172, and determined to give this sanctuary into the charge of an eminent divine. This divine is **Vimalaśiva** or **Vimalasambhu**, disciple of **Bhūṣaṅkara**, disciple of **Tryambakēśa**, in the succession of **Lakṣṭhādhyāna**, a sage in the spiritual lineage going back to the mythical **Durvāsas** (vv. 23-27). A prose passage gives the praises of **Vimalaśiva** (ll. 43-45), and a verse states that the gift was duly made (v. 28). Now comes a series of prose details of endowments to this sanctuary (ll. 47-66), the first of which mentions a former foundation in **Śaka** 1167 by **Āḍi-Setṭi**, a son of **Malli** (ll. 47-48), who now gives the village of **Sabbetṭa** (ll. 53-54). Prominent among the donors is the guild of merchants (**Banaḷju**, on whom see above, Vol. XVI, p. 332), among whom **Chāmunda** was a shining light (ll. 56-65).

As regards the Yādava kings and their exploits here mentioned, it is sufficient to refer to *Dynast. Kanar. Distr.*, pp. 518-27, and *Bombay Gaz.*, I. ii. pp. 239 ff., 243, 245. The family of **Setṭis** descended from **Chikkadēva** figures also in the inscriptions published in *J. Bo. Br. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII, pp. 25 ff., 42 ff., Vol. XV, pp. 383 ff., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 304, and *PSOCI.*, No. 21 (cf. above, Vol. VII, App., Nos. 351, 357), and from these sources we can establish the following pedigree:—



Two dates are given. The first is **Śaka** 1172 elapsed, **Sādharaṇa**; **Vaiśākha** kṛi. 5; **Saturday** (ll. 35-36). This is practically correct, for the *tithi* specified, if calculated by "true" *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, ended 19 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise on **Friday, 22 April, A.D. 1250**, i.e. 1.33 A.M. on **Saturday morning**. The late Mr. R. Sewell², who with his usual kindness

¹ [The context would show him to be his enemy. *Ambhōjāta* or *ambhōja* does not necessarily signify moon-lotus or water-lily.—Ed.]

² [This and the following article were contributed several years before the sad death of this veteran scholar. See above Vol. XVIII, p. 261 f. n. 1.—Ed.]

verified my calculations in this paper, informs me that the result is practically the same by the *Siddhanta-Sirōmani* and the "true" *Ārya-Siddhanta*, and that by the mean system of the latter the date was quite regular. The second date is Śaka 1137, Viśvāvasu ; Pushya ba. 8 ; Monday ; the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* (l. 47). This is utterly irregular. If the Southern Cycle is intended, the *tithi* corresponded to Friday, 12 January A.D. 1248, and the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* occurred on Monday, 25 December, A.D. 1245. If we emend Viśvāvasu to Krōdhur, the result is slightly more satisfactory, giving the *tithi* in connection with Saturday, 24 December, A.D. 1244, and the *uttarāyana-saṁkrānti* would then fall on Sunday, 25 December ; but this solution hardly commends itself. The result is no happier if we try the Northern Cycle, in which Viśvāvasu corresponded with Śaka 1164 current ; and Mr. Sewell tells me that calculations by the *Siddhanta-Sirōmani* and both the true and the mean *Ārya-Siddhanta* shew similar discrepancies.

The geographical names mentioned are : the kingdom of Kuntala (l. 7) ; the Three-thousand of Kūṇḍi (ll. 8, 61) ; Kuṇumbetṭa, an "immemorial town of the Bapañjus," which gave its name to a *kampaṇa* of 30 towns (ll. 10, 34 f., 48, 54, 61, 65) ; Dvārāvati (l. 18) ; Dēvagiri (l. 20) ; the Sētu (Adam's Bridge) and Himālaya (l. 22) ; the Koṇkaṇ (l. 24) ; the river Kāvēri (l. 24) ; Huligere (l. 36) ; Sabbetṭa, in Kuṇumbetṭa (l. 54) ; Bāgavāḍi (l. 55) ; Aghapaṭṭi (l. 57) ; Ahichohhattra (l. 58) ; Ayyāvāle (l. 59), and Kākatīyabāḍa (l. 64), besides the kingdoms of the Gūrjaras (ll. 13, 19), Māgadhās (l. 14), Chōlas (l. 14), Gaṇḍas (l. 14), Mālavās (ll. 19, 44), Tailāṅgas (l. 19), and Pāṇḍyas (l. 23). On Kūṇḍi see Dr. Fleet's note in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 278 ff. Kuṇumbetṭa seems to be the village styled "Kurbet" in the *Bombay Postal Directory*, "Shindi Kurbet" on sheet 247 of the Bombay Survey, and "Koorebet" on sheet 41 of the Indian Atlas, which lies in lat. 16° 12½' and long. 74° 50'. Its Sanskrit name (ll. 9-10) is mutilated ; only the ending *-giri* is legible. Dvārāvati is the modern Dwārakā in Kāṭhiāwār, and Dēvagiri is now Danlātābād, in the Nizam's Dominions. Huligere is Lakshmēshwar, in lat. 15° 7' and long. 75° 31'. Ahichohhattra and Ayyāvāle are several times mentioned in connection with the Bapañjus : cf. above, Vol. XVI, p. 332. Bāgavāḍi (now Bāgewāḍi) is the "Bagehwarree" of the Indian Atlas, which shews it in lat. 16° 18' and long. 74° 47½'. Aghapaṭṭi, which also had some connection with the cult of the Bapañjus, seems to be no longer traceable.¹ Kākatīyabāḍa is possibly Kākti, in Sāngli State.

TEXT.²

[Metres : vv. 1, 11, 14, 20, *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 2, 3, *Śikharinī* ; vv. 4, 5, 10, 15-18, 21, *Bṛagdhārā* ; vv. 6, 9, 12, 22, 23, *Sārdulavikrīḍita* ; vv. 8, 25, *Mālinī* ; v. 13, *Āryā* ; v. 19, *Triṣṭubh* ; v. 24, *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 26, *Rathōddhatā* ; v. 27, *Giti* ; v. 28, *Praharṣinī*. V. 7 is apparently *Āryā*, but the text is imperfectly preserved.]

- 1 ॐ Om namaḥ Śivāya || Namaḥ-tuṅga-śiraś-chumbi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāravē |
trailōkya-nagar-śrāmabha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē || [1*]
- 2 Sthirā yad-damṣṭr-āgrē nivasati tadya-dyuti-chayō Hiranyākṣha-sparśa-
prabhava-durita-dhvaṁsana-dhiyā | vi-
- 3 yaṁ(ya)d-Gaṁgā-pūrē dhruvam-iva³ vigāhaṁ vidadhati(tē) Hariḥ krōḍa-kriḍaḥ
sa jayati yati-stutya-vibhavaḥ || [2*] Jayaty-ā-kalpa-śrī-kalita-kamanīy-
āmrīta-ka[ra]-

¹ I take this opportunity to correct an error in my paper on the Belgaum inscription A. above, Vol. XIII, p. 21, l. 46, where the division of words should be "prasannarūpam=Aghapaṭṭipura".

² From the ink-impression.

³ The stone mason has actually cut *dhr̥vāḥ*, and then made a slight indentation in the loop at the bottom of the *kā*, to shew that it is to be read as *mi*.

- 4 prabhā m(i)tya-prēma-prapāyi-Girijā-Saṅkara-yutiḥ | nija-śri-pād-śhja-prapāta-
jama-śrīti-pramathanaṁ jagat-prēdurbbhāva-prathama-[mi].
- 5 thūnah puṇya-kathanaṁ || [8*] Aśi śri(śri)mān=udānvaṁ=ahir=I(i)va parikṣa
sthūja-vēl-āchāśya prākār-ākāra-dhāmā bhavaa-pura-bhuvah sarbba-lō-
- 6 k-ottamāyāḥ | tan-madhye bhāti Mēsur-nnirapama-sumāno-harmya-sādharmya-
chārur=dvīpas-tad-dakshin-āśm=adhi(dhi)vasati purā-jāta-jambū-samē[naḥ || 4*]
- 7 Taj-Jambū-dvīpa-madhye viśasati Bharata-kahētram=ānanda-pātram tatr=āstē
Kuntal-ōrbbi jana-janita-yasā[4*]-śri-sukh-āgāra-garbbi | tasmin=susmēra-
Lakshmi-¹
- 8 mudita-janāpad-āgānya-puṇy-aika-kōśaḥ sampat-sampūrīt-āśaḥ sa jayati jagati-
maṇḍanam Kūṁdī-dōśaḥ || [5*] Dōśō tatra chakāsti vāstava-jana-śri-
vartta[naḥ]
- 9 pattanam pūra-ānēka-taṭka-kūpa-sarasi(si)-sāmpatti-śōbh-āspadam | yat=sarbbatpī(tra)
latānta-pallava-phala-kshōpija-ramy-ōrbbarāṁ tpi(tri)māsad-grāma-var-ādi[— ∪]
- 10 giri-nāma śrīmatām-āśrayaḥ || [6*] Tad-iha Kuṇumbetṭam=iti prakhyāta[m*]
lōka-bhāśayā nagaram | yatra sur-ālaya-kalāśaiḥ sārddham saṁdihyatē
[— — ||] [7*]
- 11 Rāj-āvaliḥ || Mudita-muditam=āsit-pārtāhivānām kulānām yad=uru Yadu-kulam
tat-Krishṇa-janm-ābhīramam | nripatir=ajani tatra kshatra-dharm-aika-dhāmā
ra[na].
- 12 vitarāṇa-Rāmō Bhīllamaḥ sarbbabhaumaḥ || [8*] Tasy=ābhūt-tānayaḥ samagra-
vinayaḥ śri-Jaitugi-kshāpatih susvāyatta-chatuḥ-samudra-rāśan-ālamkāra-bhū-
[maṇḍalāḥ ?]
- 13 tat-putraḥ kṛta-Śārngapāpi-charaṇ-āmbhōjāta-pūjā-pa(pha)lām bhōjē rāja-samāja-
pūjita-mahā-simbhāsanam Gi(Śi)mhaṇaḥ || [9*] Api cha || Bhōj-āmbhōjāta-
rājō-Bhūṇa-vana-parāśu[r*]=Gūrijar[— — ∪]
- 14 dabhra-brāta-prōchchamāda-vātō Magadha-naga-paviś=Chōḷa-Paulastya-Rāmāḥ | Gauda-
kshvēd-Ī[m*]duchūdas-Turaga-pati-sati-navya-vaidhavya-dātā Ballāḷa-sthūja-kūḷa-
prapatana-taṭini-pūra-rāmbhō [— — ∪]
- 15 haḥ || [10*] Tat-putrō dhavala²-chchhatra-chchhāyā-viśrānta-bhūtalāḥ | Jaitugi-
kshāpatih=chakrō pratāpam hīdayē dvishām || [11*] Dhātō=sy=Ānaka-
durādubhēr=iva autō yas=chakravartti-śrīy[am — —]
- 16 Krishṇa iv=ātinirmanāḥ=alāṅkurbban=Yadūnām kulām | Hl-ōnmūḷita-rāshṭra-
kaiṭaka-chamū-chakrām mahi[m*] pālayan=vēd-ōddhāra-parāḥ sa Kanhara iti
khyātō jagatyām [— — || 12*]
- 17 Api cha || Āsth-para-bhūṣura-kara-śēsh-ākshata-śaila-parisarō yasya [1*] prasaranti
dāna-dhārā-jala-janitā nūtanā nadhya(dya)ḥ || [13*] Yathā Rāmasya Saumitri-
(tri)r-yyathā [? Dharmma].
- 18 sya Phalgunaḥ | yavarājō-nujas-tasya Mahādēvas-tath=ābhavat || [14*]



Svasti [1*] Śri-Prithvi-vallabha-mahārājādhīrājāḥ paramēśvarō Dvāravati(ti)-
puravar-ādhiśvarō Vishṇu-vamś-ōdbhavō Yādava-kūla-kamāja-[kaḷi].

¹ There are traces of a letter at the end of the line ; the metre shews it to be superfluous.

² One or two syllables are lost here, apparently beginning with a ś or bh.

³ The ca was begun as a sa, and finished as ca.

- 19 kā-vikāsa-bhāskarō¹-ri-rāya-jagajjhampū(pō) Mālava-rāya-Madana-Tripetrō Gūrjjara-
vāraṇ-āmkusās-Tallāṅga-rāya-sthāpan-āchāvvyō rāya-Nārāyaṇaḥ sakala-kulā-pā[rā]-
- 20 yana ity=ādi-nām-āvali-virājamāna-Bhujā-bala-Pranḍha-pratāpa-chakravartti-śrī-Kanhara-
mahīśvarō Dēvagiri-śkanḍhāvārō sukha-samkathā-vinōdam-ā-chandr-ārka-tāraṇ
rājyaṇ karōti || Tet-pāda-pa[dra-ōpajivi?]
- 21 Śrī(śrī)mān=uteśha-dhīmān=abhavadh(d)=abhimatas-Chikkadēv-ātma-jātah khyātah
pañch-āṅga-mamtra-sthiti-nirupama-śakti-tray-ōdātta-chittah | śrī-Bīṣaḥ siddha-
vāchaḥ pratinripa-rathin-dhvaṃsa-gandha-dvipendrah[— — —]
- 22 prājya-rājy-ōnnati-karapa-paṭuḥ prēṣhaṇ-Vātā-jātah || [15*] Ā Sētōr=ā Himādrōr=
bbhuvam-avichalitām Kanhar-ōrbbiśvarasya svāyattī-kṛitya labdhv=ānvabhavad=
abhimatam tasya rājy-ārddham=ēsh[ah | — —]²
- 23 jyēsthō garishthah sakala-guṇa-gaṇair=Mmalla utphulla-kirtti-jyōtēnā-sampādita-śrī-
kalita-kuvalayō=³bhūd=asau bhūta-ēmduh || [16*] Pāṇḍya-dhvaṃsa-prachandah
[○○○○]
- 24 dana[—]t⁴=Kornkan-ātanka-dandah Kāvērī-tira-durgg-ādhipa-vipula-śirah-karttana-
krōra-kāṇḍah | dandādhiśa-prakāṇḍah sakala-jana-manō-hārī-vidyā-karamḍas-
Chāmumḍas=tasya sū[nu ○ ○]⁵
- 25 ti jagad-abhiśat-ārtha-kṛid=dēna-saumḍah || [17*] Api cha || Udyamy-ōdyamyā
bhūtyah pratinripa-dharapi-mamḍa-ōparyy-asēśhān-ākramy-ākramya dēśān-gaja-
turaga-mahā-ratna-sūti-pradēśān [1*] ādāy-ādāya *b[— — ○]
- 26 nam=abhilashitam Kanhar-ōrbbiśa-lakshmanm-ānandy-ānandya bhāgyaṇ suchiram=
anubhavaty=ēsha Chāmumḍa-rājah || [18*] Vāgīśvarō yasya gurur=anumandrah
Śiv-āgama-jūāna-vi[— ○ —]
- 27 tath⁷ | śrī(śrī)-Sōmanāthah sva-kul-ādhidēvaś-Chāmumḍa-dandādhipatis=sa
dhanyah || [19*] Rāpa-saumḍaryya-sambhāgya-lāvanyo-guṇa-bhūṣhaṇ |
Lakshkha-dēvi satī yasya La[kshmrī-iva]
- 28 Mura-dvishah || [20*] Sōyam Chāmumḍa-rājah sujana-jana-manō-vāṇchahhit-
āmartya-bhūjah sampann-āshṭāṅga-bhakti-krama-vihita-Śiv-āṅghri-dvay-āpbbhoja-
pūjah | nirmāy-ānēka-dha[rmmān ? ○ ○]
- 29 jagati yāsah-punya-lakshmi(kshmi)-samētah prēśādāni prabhūtāny=anu-nagaram=asau
dēvatānām vidhattō || [21*] Rāmō Dāśarathir=yyathā kiṇ tathā tūrtāśha
nānā-nadi-tīrēsh[— ○ ○ pa]-
- 30 tēnēshu paritō līngāni bhā-mamḍaḥ | śubhr-śbhramkasha-kūṭa-kōṭishu muni-
śrēsthah pratishtāpayaty=udyat-kirtti-lat-āmkurēshv=iva kṛiti Chāmumḍa-
dandādhipah || [22*] Svasti samasta- * * *
- 31 viśtāra-lakshmi(kshmi)-samtōshita-jagaj-jana-hridayah śaraṇ-āgata-pratyarthī-pārthiva-
sadayah samada-Hoyśaḥ-chakravartti-Sōmēśvara-mada-nivāraṇō rā * * *
- 32 śrēsthī-gandha-vārapah sudhṣha-nija-pratāp-ātīśaya-bhānumān prēṣhaṇā-Haṇmān
chatur-upāya-Chaturāṇaḥ pañch-āṅga-mamtra-pañch[āṇaḥ]
- 33 śhādgūnya-Shāḍānanaḥ śrī(śrī)-Sōmanātha-dēva-ōbaraṇ-ārādhaṇa-pavitrikṛita-kara-
sarōruhas=sakala-saj-jana-kalpa-mahiruhō Lakshkha-dēvi(vi)-manah-samānōhana-
Makara-kōtuh śau[ryya-Ka]-

¹ This is written with a regular *acagraha*, quite modern in form.

² The gap may be filled by reading *taj.jō*.




³ Written with an *acagraha*.


⁴ The letter after *na* seems to be incomplete, being like a *da* without a top. Perhaps we should read *Malaya-Madana-ārī*.

⁵ Perhaps *sūnur-jjayati*.

⁶ Possibly *ch*.

⁷ The gap may be filled by reading *viśuddha-chētā*.

- 34 pi-kētuḥ śri(śri)man-mahāpradhānas=sarvv-ādhikāri(rī) Chāmumḍa-damādāhipaḥ
svaki(kī)ya-yaśo-dhavaḷa-prāśāda-madhye gagana-mahā-ni(nī)la-līngam pratishtāpya
tasminn=anēdau Kurum[be]-
- 35 ṭṭa-pattanē Triḷṭa-prāsādē svasya pitur=Mellināsthasya nāmnē bhrātur=Ddēva-
śrēṣṭhinō nāmnē cha dvā-saptati-śat-ōttara-sahasra-samkhyam-atitē Śaka-
sam[vatsarē]
- 36 Sadhāraṇa-vatsarē varttamānē Vaiśākha-māsasya kṛishṇa-pakṣhē panchamyam
Śanaishchara-vārē Śiva-līnga-dvayam Mādhava-pratimām cha pratishtāpya
Hulige[re]-
- 37 nagarē sukha-samāvāsam kṛtvā dharmm-ārtha-kāmān-yathā-kālam-anusaran tad-
dharmma-sthānam lōkottamasya tapōdhanasya hastē samarppayi[tav]ya[m-i]-
- 38 ti dhiyam(yam) kṛtvā ||  Śri-Kailāsa-nivāsinaḥ Paśupatēḥ śishyēṇa
Durvāsasā mēdinyam=avatāritē=tivimalaḥ Śaiv-ānvayē dēśikaḥ | Lakṣādhyā-
[na]-
- 39 padēna viśva-viditō jajñō jagad-vamditas=tat-santāna-sarōja-bhānur-abhavat śri-
Tryambakāśō guruḥ || [23*] Tasmāt prasanna-Śiva-bōdhaka-chakravartī
kṣh[mā-chakra]-
- 40 vartti-mukut-ārchchita-pāda-padmaḥ | Śaiv-āgam-āmbunidhi-śīta-karō babhūva
Bhūśamkarah prasamit-ānata-janma-bhitiḥ || [24*] Nikhila-nigama-vidyā-
vāridhis-tasya śi[sh]y[ō Vi]-
- 41 malaśīva-muni(nī)ndrō varttatē Sāmavēdi | nripati-mukuta-chūdā-chumbit-ānghris-
tapōdhi[r*]-Draviḍa-vishaya-janmā namra-janm-āpahārī || [25*] Vādi-vāgmi-
kavi-danti-kēśari Śaiva-[śīva]-
- 42 na-payōdhi-chandramāḥ | kīrti-kamḍalita-viśva-dīn-mukhō mōdatē Vimalaśambhu-
dēśikaḥ || [26*] Sahridaya-hridaya-sarōjam pravīśya puḷakāni janayati
tad-āmgō | Vimala[śīva]-
- 43 sūkti-lakṣmi(kṣmi)ḥ sūhitya-kalā-vilāsa-nija-bhūṣhā || [27*]  Svasti
yama-niyam-āsana-prāṇ-āyāma - pratyāhāra - dhārapā - dhyāna - sam(sa)mādhi-sampanna-
parama-bha[ṭ]ṭāra[ka]-
- 44 Śaiv-āchāryya-nikhila-nigama - vidyā - mahārṇava - karṇa(rṇa)dhāra - vādi - vāgmi - kavi-
chakravartī Mālavēndra-pramukha-chakravartī-chakravāla-kīrti-kōṭi-kīrḍā-
durllalita-pād-ā[mbhō]-
- 45 ruḷaḥ prabala-tapaḥ-praka[r*]sha-prasamita-pranata-durita-nivaha-mahā-dēśika-Vimala-
śīva-muni(nī)ndrah sakala-bhūtaḷē tapō-vidyā-vibhavair-nnirupama iti niśchitya
- 46 tasmai śri(śri)-Vimalaśivasya damdanāsthas=Chāmumḍaḥ krama-yugayōr-nripatyā
bhaktyā | sthānam tat-paramam=adād-vitirṇṇa-dhārō nirbbādha[m] sakala-
nripais=cha vāmdaniyam || [28*] Śr[i]
- 47  Svasti śri(śri)-Śaka-varsha 1167 neya Viśvāvasu-samvatsarada Pushya-
ba 8 85 | uttarāyana-samkramana-punya-dinadalu Ā-

- 48 **qi-seṭṭiya** tamdey=appa śrīman-mahāpradhānam **Malli-seṭṭiyaru** munnam śrīmad-anādiya **Baṇamju-vaṭṭanam** **Kurumbetṭadalu** śrīman-mahāprabh[u]
- 49 mūliga **Holli-gavumḍa-mukhyav=āgi** mūla-sthān-āchāryya samasta-sāsanaigara munḍa-
iṭṭu-komḍu māḍida brahma-puriya haṁneraḍu vṛitti(tti)ya [brā]-
- 50 hmaṇargge dhārā-pūrbbakam=āgi koṭṭa vāmana-mudreya nālkuṁ kall=olaṇṇa
nivēśanad=olage tamma haṁneraḍu maneyim mūḍalu *
- 51 kkaṁ baṭṭeg=emdu rāj-rastada yik-kai-vareyam kaladu vūḷida nivēśanavām ā
br[ā*]hmaṇar[u] ā Mallēśvara-Dēvēśvara-Mādhava-dēvargge koṭṭaru | mattam=
ā dēvar=ā[chāry]ya-
- 52 ra maṭṭhakke ā sāsanaigaru ā brahma-puriya [dēvālyada] paṇḍiya ni(ni)ḷada |
25 hastad-agalada | nivēśanavām paṇḍi-vididu temka deseya[lu? ko]-
- 53 ṭṭaru | mattam=ā brahma-puriya paḍuvalu dāriyim temkal[u] ā sāsanaigaru ā
dēvarggey=amgaḍige liṅga-mudreya kalla naḍisi koṭṭar | mattam=ā dēvargge
ā-
- 54 **qi-seṭṭiyar ā Kurumbetṭada** pravaiṣṭa vāḍam **Sabbetṭavām ā dēvar=amga-**
bhōga-raṅga-bhōgakke sarbba-bādhā-parihāram=āgi koṭṭar | mattam=ā
dēvargge ā sāsanaigar[u] * * *
- 55 mūḍalu Bāgavādiya baṭṭeyim paḍuval[u] koṭṭa tōṭa 1 ā maṭṭhakke tōṭa 1
baṇabege koṭṭa nivēśana 1 mattam-sāsanaigar[u] dēvargge koṭṭa ga * *
- 56  Svasti samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-paṁcha-śata-vira-sāsana-labdh-ānēka-guṇa-
gaṇ-ālamkṛita satya-śaucha-āchāra-chāru-charitra-naya-vinaya-vijñāna Vir-āvatāra
Vira-Ba[ṇam]-
- 57 ju-ga(sa)maya-dharmma-pratipālana-viśuddha guḍḍa-dhvaja-virājita-ānūna-sāhas-
ottumgarum puṇya-prasaṅgarum | Aghapattī-gur-ūtpatti-Balade[va-Vā]-
- 58 andēva-Khaṇḍali-Mūlabhadra-vamś-ōḍha(dbha)varum | **Ahichchha[ṭṭra*]j-puri-**
lalanā-lalāṭa-tiṭakarum | Hari-Virimchi-Paṁchānana-Jinēndra-pūjā-niratarum śrī(śrī)-
Padma[vati]-
- 59 dēvi(vi)-labdha-vara-prasādarum Vira-Nārāyaṇa-dēva-charaṇa-smaraṇa-pariṇat-
āntahkaranaṇum=appa śrīmad-**Ayyavaley**=aynūrbbar=svāmigaḷu [mu]-
khyā-samasta-muṁmuri-damḍaṅgaḷum ēlu-vare haṁnomdu-vareya ubhaya-nānā-
dēsigalum chatuḥ-samudra-mudritam=appa bhū-mamḍalada sakala-[sā]-
myavāntarum samaya-chakravartī **Kalidēva-seṭṭiyarum Kūṁḍi mūrum-sāsirada**
Kurumbetṭa-kampanada modala anādiya **Baṇamju-vaṭṭanam Kurumbetṭa** la
y * *
- 62 vajra-baisaṇḍi(ge)y=āgi kuḷḷirḍdu tamma samay-āchārada tējamaṇ=uddharisuva
rāya-śrēṣṭhiy=appa **Chāmumḍarāja** māḍisida **Trikūṭa-[prāsāda]**-
- 63 kke ā sihaḷada mūrum baḷada gāvumḍugaḷam sāmyavāntarumam muthi-
iṭṭu-komḍu ēlu-vare ha[m*]nomdu-vareya vaḷage jala-mārgga-pāda-
mā[r]gga[da]-
- 64 l[u] āne māṇikava hōḍid-aḍam suṁkav=ill=emdu koṭṭa parihārad=ettu kōpa
mūvattu yippattu [i*] **Kakatiya-bāḍadali** śrī-Mallēśva(śva)ra-dēvara
ni(ni)v[ē]dyak[ē] koṭṭa gadde paṁne[ra]-

* This word is added in smaller script over the word *bāḍadali*.

- 65 *du mattaru* [*] *Kurumbettāda mūliga Holli-gauḍa śri-Mallēva(śva)ra-dēvara*
namdā-divi(vi)gege tamna māṁnyad-olage koṭṭa harala keya kambha 100
*baṇaba 1 **
- 66 *Nāgarasaru Kapila-Bhava(?)davarige bi(bhi)ksheyaḥ nūleyaḥ koṭṭa kambha*
200 [||]*

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om ! homage to Śiva !*

(Verse 1.) Homage to Śambhu beauteous with the yak-tail fan that is the moon kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the construction of the city of the triple world !

(V. 2.) Victorious is that Hari whose majesty is praised by the saints and who took in sport the form of a boar, on whose tusk-tip dwells the constant mass of his peculiar radiance (and) with the design of dissipating the guilt arising from the touch of Hiranyāksha affords as it were an assured bath in the flood of the celestial Ganges.

(V. 3.) Victorious is the union of the Mountain's Daughter and Śaṅkara enamoured in eternal love, which has the lustre of a lovely moon-endowed with splendour for as long as the æon endures, the primal Pair in the birth of the universe who dissipate the sorrows of folk bowing at their blest lotus-feet, (and) who are the theme of holy speech.

(V. 4.) There is a splendid ocean, like a moat without to the massive mountain on its shores which has a form shaped like a rampart for the city of the earth, which of all worlds is the noblest; in the midst of the latter shines Mēru, beauteous in its likeness to a peerless palace of gods; a continent like (*in shape*) to an ancient *jambū*-tree occupies the region to the south thereof.

(V. 5.) In the midst of this *Jambū-dvīpa* is conspicuous the Land of Bharata, a vessel of joy. In it lies the region of *Kuntala*, weighty with homes pleasant with fortunes of glory arising for its folk. In it is supreme the province of *Kūṇḍi*, which is a unique storehouse of incalculable merit (*earned*) by its people rejoicing in brightly smiling Fortune, and which fills the regions of space with its wealth, an ornament of the world.

(V. 6.) In that province shines a city, a veritable haunt of popular fortune, a seat of splendour in its wealth of many full tanks, wells, and lakes; which everywhere has its lands charming with flowers, buds, and fruit-trees; (and) which bears the name of . . . *giri*, the first of thirty towns, a dwelling of happy men.

(V. 7.) This town here is known in vernacular speech by the name of *Kurumbettā*, in it . . . is confounded with the finials of the celestials' dwellings.

(L. 11.) The Royal pedigree :—

(V. 8.) The mighty race of the *Yadus*, which has been peculiarly happy among princely families, is pleasing because of the birth of *Kṛishṇa* (*from it*). In it was born a king who was a singular seat of knightly duty, a *Rāma* in winning his way through battles, the Emperor *Bhillama*.

(V. 9.) He had a son perfect in courtesy, the blest king *Jaitugi*, who held in due control the [circle] of the earth having as girdle-ornament the four oceans. His son *Sinhana* occupied the great throne worshipped by companies of kings, which was the fruit of the adoration paid (*by him*) to *Śārāgapāṇi*'s lotus-feet.

(L. 13.) Moreover :—

(V. 10.) A moon to the lotus *Bhōja*, an axe to the forest *Arjuna*, a furious storm-blast to the feeble crowd of the *Gūṛjara* . . . a thunderbolt on the mountain *Magadha*, a *Rāma* to that *Paulastya* the *Chōla*, a *Śiva* to the poison the *Gauḍa*, a bestower of new widowhood to the dames of the Lord of Horses, a . . . river's raging flood in dashing upon the massive bank *Ballāla* (*was he*).

(V. 11.) His son Jaitugi, who had the earth reposing under the shade of his white parasol, set his majesty¹ in the heart of foemen.

(V. 12.) His son, who carries the fortune (*śrī*) of an Emperor (*chakravartin*) as Vasu-dēva's son [Kṛishṇa] carries the Fortune (*śrī*) of the Discus-bearer. (*Chakravartin*), adorning like Kṛishṇa the perfectly stainless race of the Yadus, protecting the earth wherein he has with sportive ease torn up by the roots the banded armies that were as thorns to his kingdom, intent on restoration of the Vēdas, is famed under the name of Kanhara in the world

(L. 17.) Moreover:—

(V. 13.) At the side of the mountains of sacramental rice² (*thrown upon him*) by the hands of Brāhmanas busied in benediction gush forth new rivers arising from the water of the streams of *dāna* [largesses, or ichor of elephants in rut].

(V. 14.) His younger brother, the Heir-Apparent Mahādēva, was to him as Lakshmaṇa to Rāma, as Arjuna to Yudhishthira.

(Ll. 18-20.) Hail! King Kanhara, the Emperor strong of arm and magnificent in majesty, who is resplendent with titles such as: "Great Emperor, darling of Fortune and Earth, supreme Lord, master of Dvārāvātī best of towns, scion of the lineage of Viṣṇu, a sun for the efflorescence of the buds of the lotuses of the Yādava race, a jagajjhampa to hostile kings, a Śiva to the Love-God the Mālava king, a goad to the elephant the Gūrjara, a master architect of the Tailāṅga king, a Nārāyaṇa of kings, perfectly versed in all arts," is reigning for as long as moon, sun, and stars at the standing camp of Dēvagiri in enjoyment of pleasant conversations.³

(L. 20.) One [that finds sustenance] at his lotus-feet:—

(V. 15.) The blest Bioha, Chikka-dēva's son, was fortunate, energetic, and prudent, agreeable, famous, having a mind exalted by the triad of peerless powers⁴ for maintaining five-membered policy,⁵ approved of speech, a furious great elephant for destroying the hosts of rival kings, skilful in aggrandising the prosperous kingdom of . . . , a Hanumān in (*fulfilling*) commissions.

(V. 16.) Having made subject to king Kanhara the whole untroubled land from Sētu to the Mountain of Snow, he obtained and enjoyed an acceptable half of the kingdom. [His] eldest [son], much honoured for all kinds of virtue, was Malla, a moon on earth, who filled the circle of the world⁶ with splendour acquired from the moonlight of his blossoming glory.

(V. 17.) Terrible in destruction of the Paṇḍya . . . a rod for the troubles of the Koṅkan, a cruel arrow for cutting off the numerous heads of the lords of the fastnesses on the banks of the Kāvērī, eminent among generals, a casket of learning attracting the minds of all men, his son Chāmunda is [successful?], fulfilling the objects desired by the world, impassioned for bestowing bounty.

(L. 25.) Moreover:—

(V. 18.) Again and again imposing control upon the provinces of many hostile kings' lands, again and again invading all countries that are the native places of elephants, horses, and precious stones, again and again taking desired . . . again and again gladdening king Kanhara's fortunes, this Chāmunda-rāja has long enjoyed a happy lot.

¹ Literally, "heat"; the figure hence is that of *vāhāśānā*, or "peculiar causation."

² *Śēṣh-ākshata*, in Kanarese *śēṣhe* or *sēse*, "raw rice over which incantations have been pronounced and which is thrown on the heads of the bride and bridegroom during the marriage ceremony and other joyous rites" (Kittel, *Diet.*, s.v. *śēṣhe*).

³ "Pinḍam is to be taken as gerund: see Speijer, *Ved. u. Skt.-Syntax*, § 224, Pāṇini III. iv. 25 ff.

⁴ Viz. of *prabhu*, *utsāha*, and *mantra*.

⁵ On the five members (*aṅgas*) of policy cf. Kāmandaka's *Nīti-sāra*, XII. 36, *Śitupāla-vadha*, II. 28, with Mallinātha's note, etc.

⁶ A play on *kucṣṭajaya*, which means both "lotus" and "circle of earth."

(V. 19.) Fortunate is this General Chāmunda, whose preceptor is the great sage Vāgīśvara [purified of mind?] by the lore of Śiva's traditions, and of whose family the tutelary deity is the blest Sōmanātha;

(V. 20.) Who has for consort Lakkhā-dēvi, adorned by the virtues of shapeliness, beauty, happy fortune, and loveliness, as Vishṇu has for consort Lakshmi.

(V. 21.) This same Chāmunda-rāja, a celestial tree for the desires of worthy men's minds, performing adoration of Śiva's pair of lotus-feet according to the order of perfect eightfold devotion,¹ having created many pious foundations . . . being endowed with fame, godliness, and fortune, establishes in town after town numerous temples to the gods.

(V. 22.) Like Daśāratha's son Rāma, forsooth, the skilful General Chāmunda causes phallic images to be consecrated by most worthy sages everywhere in the circuit of earth, in holy places, on the banks of various rivers, . . . in towns on the peaks of bright cloud-grazing mountain-tops, which are as it were sprouts of the creeping plant of his lofty fame.

(Ll. 30-38.) Hail! the high minister and controller of all [departments], the General Chāmunda, gladdening the hearts of the people of the world by abounding fortune in all . . . , merciful to hostile kings seeking his protection, suppressing the arrogance of the haughty Hoysala emperor Sōmēśvara, a furious elephant to the *seli* . . . , a sun in the exceeding degree of his irresistible splendour, a Hanumān in (*fulfilling*) commissions, a Four-faced [Brahman] in the four measures of policy,² a lion³ in five-membered counsel,⁴ a Six-faced [Kārtikēya] in possession of the six qualities,⁵ whose lotus-hands are purified by adoration of the god Sōmanātha's feet, a tree of desire to all good folk, a Love-god ravishing the mind of Lakkhā-dēvi, [Arjuna] in valour, having caused to be consecrated in a temple white as his own fame a phallic image of sapphire (*blue*) as the sky, and having caused to be set up in the Three-turreted Temple in this immemorial town of Kuṛumbetta two phallic images of Śiva and an effigy of Mādhava in the name of his father Mallinātha and in the name of his brother Dēva-frēshṭhin during the Śaka year passing the number one thousand one hundred and seventy-two, the cyclic year Śadhārana being current, during the dark fortnight of the month Vaiśākha, on the fifth (*lunar day*), a Saturday, and having made an agreeable residence in the town of Huligere, pursuing religion, worldly ends, and earthly love, each in its due season, formed the idea that this holy establishment should be handed over into the charge of an ascetic supreme in the world.

(V. 23.) In the Śaiva lineage brought down to earth by Duvāsas, disciple of Paśupati who dwells in the blest Kailāsa, there was born a perfectly pure teacher known throughout the universe by the name of Lakṣhādhyāna (and) adored by the world. A sun to the lotuses of his succession was that preceptor the blest Tryambakēśa.

(V. 24.) After him there was Bhūsaṅkara, an emperor among expositors of (*the doctrine of*) the gracious Śiva, one whose lotus-feet were adored by the diadems of emperors of earth, a moon to the ocean of Śaiva traditions, who stilled his suppliants' dread of rebirth.

(V. 25.) His disciple is the great sage Vimalaśiva, an ocean of all scriptural lore, a student of the Sāma-vēda, an ascetic whose feet are kissed by crests of monarchs' diadems, born in the Dravidian region, freeing suppliants from rebirth,

¹ The eight forms of worship are *arcāna*, *vandana*, *smarana*, *pāda-sāvana*, *stava*, *pradakṣiṇa*, *sakhyā*, and *ātma-nivādana* or *ātmārpaṇa*: see Kittel's *Dict.*, s.v. *aṣṭavidha-bhakti-kriyā*.

² Viz. the fomenting of discord among rivals, bribery, negotiations, and open warfare.

³ Literally, "a five-faced being." It may also mean Śiva.

⁴ See above.

⁵ These are the six branches of military science, viz. *sandhi*, *vigraha*, *yāna*, *dhana*, *dhaidhīdhāva*, and *samgraha*.

(V. 26.) A lion to the elephants disputants, orators, and poets, a moon to the ocean of Śaiva doctrine, making the face of all the regions of space to bud with his glory, the doctor Vimalasambhu rejoices.

(V. 27.) The beauty of Vimalasiva's goodly utterances, naturally adorned by the graces of literary art, enters the lotus of the hearts of men of taste and generates horripilation on their bodies.

(Ll. 43-45.) Hail! "the supreme master accomplished in major and minor disciplines, sitting-postures, exercises of the breath, retraction (*of the senses*), meditation, and absorption,—the pilot over the ocean of the lore of all scriptures of Śaiva teachers,—the emperor of disputants, orators, and poets,—he whose lotus-feet are exceedingly gay with the sport of the tips of the coronets of a crowd of emperors headed by the Mālava king,—the great doctor who by the high degree of his most potent austerities annuls the multitude of suppliants' sins,—the noble sage Vimalasiva is without peer on the whole earth in the magnificence of his austerities and learning":—being thus convinced:—

(V. 28.) Falling devoutly at his feet, the General Chāmunda gave to this blest Vimalasiva with bestowal of water this most excellent establishment, which should be free of exactions and honoured by all kings.

(Ll. 47-51.) Hail! on the holy day of the *uttarāyana-samkramaṇa*, being Monday, the 8th (*lunar day*) of the dark fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Viśvāvasu, the 1187th (*year*) of the Śaka era, whereas Āḍi-Setṭi's father the high minister Malli-Setṭi had formerly in the immemorial Baṇaṇḍu town of Kuṛumbetṭa granted with pouring of water to the Brāhmanas of the twelve fiefs of the Brāhman quarter, which he had founded in the presence of the Prior of the Mūla-sthāna and all the Controllers of Records headed by the high sheriff and *mālika*¹ Holli-Gāvunda twelve dwellings for themselves among the dwellings situate within the four stones inscribed with the figure of the Dwarf, these Brāhmanas granted to the gods Mallēśvara, Dēvēśvara, and Mādhyava² all the dwellings, save and excepting a strip of two cubits by the king's measure to serve for a road . . . on the east of their twelve houses.

(Ll. 51-53.) Also the controllers of records granted to the monastery of the Prior of these gods a dwelling of the same length as the wall of the temple of the Brāhmanas' quarter and 25 cubits in breadth, excluding the wall, on the southern side.

(L. 53.) Also the controllers of records set up and granted to these gods for the bazaar a stone inscribed with the figure of a phallus on the west of the Brāhmanas' quarter, to the south of the road.

(Ll. 53-54.) Also Āḍi-Setṭi granted to these gods Sabbetṭa, a village forming part of Kuṛumbetṭa, for the personal enjoyment and theatrical entertainment of these gods, with immunity from all imposts,

(Ll. 54-55.) Also the controllers of records granted to these gods 1 garden east of . . . and west of the road of Bāgavāḍi, 1 garden to the monastery, 1 dwelling for the *baṇabe*.³ Also the controllers of records granted to these gods . . .

(Ll. 56-66.) Hail! they who are adorned by a series of many virtues obtained by the decrees of the Five-hundred men renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy, and intelligence, pure in maintenance of the Vira-Baṇaṇḍu religion, splendid with the banner (*bearing the devotes*) of a hill, exalted in abundant boldness, holding holy conversation, scions of the races of Baladēva, Vāsudēva,

¹ On this word see the Miraj inscr., below, p. 40, f. n. 1.

² These are the gods mentioned above on l. 36. Mallēśvara is the Śiva consecrated in the name of Mallinātha, Dēvēśvara the Śiva set up in the name of Dēva-Setṭi.

³ This word usually means a 'stack'.

Khaṇḍali, and Mālabhadra originating from the Master of Aghapaṭṭi, ornaments on the brow of that lady the city of Ahichohhatra, constant in the worship of Hari, Brahman, Śiva, and the great Jinas, having grace of boons from the blest goddess Padmāvatī, having souls matured by remembrance of the feet of the god Vira-Nārāyaṇa, to wit, the Five-hundred Svāmis of the blest Ayyāvale, and all the chief bearers of mummuri-staffs, and the dwellers in various lands on both sides (?) from the seven regions and the eleven regions, and all the liberty-holders of the land encompassed by the four oceans, and Kalidēva-Setṭi the emperor of the community, being seated in the *vajra-baisanige*¹ in . . . of the immemorial Bapañju-town of Kuṛumbetta, the first (town) of the county of Kuṛumbetta in the Kāṇḍi Three-thousand, headed by the *Givunḍas* and liberty-holders of the three sections² of that place, granted for the benefit of the Three-turreted Temple constructed by the royal merchant Chāmunḍarāja, who restored the glory of their community's practices, an immunity for bullocks and buffaloes thirty and twenty declaring that there should be no tolls on loads of ivory (?) and rubies in journeys by water and journeys on foot within the seven regions and the eleven regions; they granted for the offerings to the god Mallēśvara in the town of Kākati a wet-field of twelve *matṭar*. The *mūliga* Holli-Gaṇḍa of Kuṛumbetta granted for the perpetual lamp of the god Mallēśvara 100 *kambha* and 1 . . . *banaba*³ of gravelly land (?) within his honorary estate. Nāgarasa granted 200 *kambha* for alms to the god Kapila-Bhava (?) at the (Festival of the) Thread.⁴

No. 4.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KOLHAPUR AND MIRAJ: SAKA 1058 & 1066.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT.

I have thought it best to publish the two following records together on account of the close connection of the subject-matter. Both were issued within a few years of one another under rulers of the same dynasty, the Śilāhāras of Karhād, namely Gaṇḍarāditya and his son Vijayāditya, and both record donations by that remarkable corporation of traders known as the Vira-Bapañjas or Vira-Vaḷaṇḍijiyar, to whose records I have referred in my note on the Hulgūr inscription of the reigns of Jayasimha II and Kanhara (above, Vol. XVI, p. 332). In our first inscription we find them blowing their own trumpets with the note of fantastic and ludicrous exaggeration which they occasionally affected; and in the second we have a full list of the names of the various classes constituting the syndicate. I have edited them from ink-impressions which formerly belonged to the late Dr. Fleet, and are now in the British Museum.

A.—KOLHAPUR INSCRIPTION OF SAKA 1058.

This record comes from the well-known town of Kolhāpur (anciently and more correctly spelt Kollāpura⁵), which is situate in the Kolhāpur State, in lat. 16° 42' and long. 74° 16'. It has been noticed in Major Graham's *Account of Kolhapoor*, p. 357, in *Journ. Bom. Br. As. Soc.*,

¹ Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar has kindly pointed out to me that this term occurs thrice in *Ep. Carn.*, viz. XI, Dāvarogere 59, l. 79 (*Hariharadalu rajra-bayisanigey=āgi kuḷḷirdu*), V., Bēlūr 75, ll. 67, 68 (*Śrī-Vīrūpākṣha-dēvara dēya-śrī-pād-pudmāda sannaḍhigali rajra-bayisanigeyan=ikki kuḷḷirdu*), and IV., Kriṣṇarājapāṭe 5, ll. 3-5 (*hebbāgila ālata maradale viṣṇāsana-rajra-bayisanigeyan=ikki kuḷḷirdu*), and is inclined to think that it is merely a synonym of *vajrāsana*, the posture defined in Yogic works thus: *janḡhābhyaṃ vajrasat kṛitvā guda-pādvā padāv=ubhaya*. He would connect *baisanige* with Marathi *bais* (Sanskrit *upaviś*), "to sit."

² See above, Vol. XIII, p. 59.

³ This word, denoting a measure of area, seems to be otherwise unknown; the common word *baṇḍe*, "stack," is inapplicable here.

⁴ See Kittel, s.v. *nālu*, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 52.

⁵ On the spelling of this name see *Ind. Ant.*, XXIX, p. 280, etc.

Vol. II, p. 266, and in Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions* above, Vol. VII, App., No. 319 and a transcript is given in *Elliot's Collection* (Vol. II, fol. 313a., of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy). The stone was found on the right side of the front of the Jain temple of Pārśvanātha near the Sukravāra gate of the town. It has a pediment rounded on the top, and containing some sculptures, viz. in the middle, a Jina sitting cross-legged, with hands folded in his lap, full front, inside a shrine; a little to the proper right of this, another squatting figure, full front, with uplifted hands; still further to the right, a pitcher; on the left of the central Jina, a cow and calf; above these, the sun (on left) and moon (on right). Underneath this is the inscribed area, about 3 ft. 1 in. broad and 2 ft. 2½ in. high.—The character is good Kanarese of the period, with letters varying in height from ⅞ in. to ½ in. The cursive *y* occurs in *ayvattu* (l. 26), and the palatal *ñ* in *pañcha-* (ll. 1, 5, 33).—The language, except for the introductory Sanskrit verse, is throughout Kanarese prose, more or less in the ancient dialect in the formal titles and for the rest nearer to the medieval language. The old *ḷ* is not found; instead we have *aḷid-*, l. 33. Initial *p* in pure Kanarese and *tadbhava* words has become *h*; but still we find *palam pattu* on l. 28. Lexically the record is valuable, as it contains many rare words of daily life, such as the titles of various classes of traders and other words, e.g. *mudgoḍe*, l. 10, *śāsaniga* and *kājagāra*, l. 22, *hasara* as a measure of capacity, ll. 26, 29 f., 32, *saṃgaḍi*, l. 27, *maḷave*, ll. 27, 28, *karuse*, l. 28, *bisige*, *ibid.*, *laṅka*, *ibid.*, *maravi*, *ibid.*, *daṇḍige*, ll. 31, 32, and *kāṭe*, l. 32. The word *dayāda* in the sense of rival (l. 7) is also noteworthy.

The record begins with the stanza usual in grants to Jain temples (l. 1), and then refers itself to the reign of the Śīlāhāra Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarāditya (ll. 1-5), to whom it gives the usual titles, including those of "Lord of Tagara best of cities," "action of the lineage of Jimūtavāhana," and "possessing the golden Garuḍa-banner."¹ Then it introduces in ll. 5-10 one of his barons, the Mahāśimanta Nimbādēvarasa, who among his many other titles is described as "an awful rutting elephant to the beds of the lotuses the barons of Toṇḍai,"—in other words, successful in some military operations against the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam—and who built in the market-place of Kavaḍegolḷa a Jain temple. Next appears on the scene the important corporation of the Vira-Baṇaḥjas, with an enormous series of inflated self-bestowed titles of honour, and through specified representatives makes over to Śrutakirtti, prior of the Rūpa-nārāyaṇa temple at Kollāpura, certain revenues for the benefit of the temple at Kavaḍegolḷa (ll. 10-32). A short formula (ll. 32-33) winds up the document.

The date is specified on l. 24 as: Śaka 1058, Rākṣasa; Kārttika ba. 5; Monday. This is slightly inexact. The *tithi* ba. 5 was coupled with Tuesday, 29 October, A.D. 1135; but as it ended 1 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on the Tuesday, and began 1 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Monday, it was current for the greater part of Monday, though strictly it could give its name only to the Tuesday.²

The places mentioned are: Tagara, l. 2; the *nele-viṭṭu* or standing camp of Valavāḍa, l. 4; Kavaḍegolḷa, ll. 10, 23; Ayyavole, also styled Ahichohhatra, ll. 18, 23; Kollāpura, ll. 20, 25; Miriñje, l. 20; Kūṇḍi-paṭṭana, the town of Kūṇḍi, l. 21; Torambage, l. 22; Mayisige, l. 22; Baḷeyavaṭṭana, l. 23; and the *Arthas*, l. 33. Tagara, as Dr. Fleet has shown, is the modern Tēr, or "Thair" (see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1901, p. 537, and above, Vol. XII, p. 253). Valavāḍa is not to be identified with certainty (see *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 548, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 209). Ayyavole is now Aihole or Aivali, in the Hungund taluka of Bijapur District. On Kollāpura, now Kolhāpur, see the preceding page. Miriñje is Miraj

¹ On the two last titles see Dr. Fleet's remarks in *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, pp. 536, 538, 544-46, and above, Vol. XII, pp. 251-53. On Gaṇḍarāditya see *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, pp. 547-48.

² Mr. B. Sewell, who with his wonted kindness checked and supplemented my calculations of the dates in this paper, told me that the same result was reached by using the *Siddhānta-śirōmaṇi*.

("Meeruj" on the Indian Atlas sheet 40) in lat. 16° 48' and long. 74° 12'. On the town of Kūṇḍi see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 280 and on the Kūṇḍi province *ibid.*, Vols. XIV, p. 16, XVI, p. 20, XIX, p. 244, and XXIX p. 278. Torambage may possibly be Turambe, in the Kolhāpur State, near Gārgōti. Baleyavaṭṭana seems to be Baliapaṭṭam or Valapaṭṭam, situate in the Chirakkāl taluka of Malabar District, in lat. 11° 55' and long. 75° 22'. This town is mentioned in Ptolemy's Geography, VII. i. § 6, as Βαλαίπατνα (in some editions wrongly spelt Βαλίπατνα), and is the Παλαίπατμα of the *Periplus* (cf. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 45, and *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 127, 129; Lassen, *Alterthümer*, III, pp. 181, 183); and probably Kern is right in identifying Balaipatna with the Baladēva-paṭṭana of the *Bṛhat-saṃhita*, xiv. 16.

TEXT.¹

[Metre : v. 1, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 ② Śrīmat-parama-gambhīra-syād-vād-āmōgha-lāṃchēhanam jiyāt-traiḷōkya-nāthasya
śāsanam Jina-śāsanam || [1*] Svasti samadhigata-paūcha-mahā-śabda-
mahāma-
- 2 ṇḍalēśvaram | Tagara-puravar-ādhiśvaram śrī-Śiṣhāra-narēndram | Jimūtavāhan-
ānvaya-prasūtam | suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhvajam mare-vokka²-sarppam | ayyana
- 3 siṅgam | ripu-maṇḍalika-bhairavam | vidviṣṭa-gaja-kaṇṭhiravam | iduvar-
ādityam | rūpa-Nārāyaṇam | Kali-yuga-Vikramādityam | Śanivāra-siddhi
giri-ḍu-
- 4 rgga-lāṅghanam | śrī-Mahālakṣmī-dēvi-labdha-vara-prasād-ādi-samasta-rāj-śvali-
virājitar-appa śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram Gaṇḍarādityadēvaru Valavaḍada ne-
- 5 le-viḍinal-sukha-saṃkathā-vinōdadin rājyam-geyyuttam-ire | tat-pāda-padm-ōpajivi
samadhigata-paūcha-mahā-śabda-mahāsāmantam | vijaya-la-
- 6 kṣmī-kāntam | ripu-sāmanta-sīmantini-sīmanta-bhaṅgam | vira-vārāṅganā-priya-
bhujāṅgam | vairi-sāmanta-mēgha-vighaṭana-samīraṇam | Nāgaladēviya gandha-
vā-
- 7 raṇam vidviṣṭa-sāmanta-vijaya-kālam | sāmanta-gaṇḍa-Gopālam | dāyāda-sāmanta-
Tār-āśura-vira-Kumāram | sāmanta-Kēdāram | Tōṇḍa-sāmanta-puṇḍarika-
- 8 śhaṇḍa-prachhaṇḍa-mada-vēdaṇḍam | Gaṇḍarādityadēva-dakṣha-dakṣiṇa-bhujā-daṇḍam |
yāchaka-jana-manō-bhilaṣita-chintāmaṇi | sāmanta-śīrōmaṇi | Jina-charaṇa-
sarasiru-
- 9 ha-madhukaram samyaktva-ratnākaran-āhār-ābhaya-bhaishajya-śāstra-dāna-vinōdam
Padmāvati-dēvi-labdha-vara-prasādam | nām-ādi(di)-samasta-prasasti-sahitam
śrīman-mahā-
- 10 sāmantaṁ | Nimbādēvarasaru | Kavaḍegolḷada baḷiya santēya mudgoḍeyal-
māḍisida basadiya Pārśvanātha-dēvar-aṣṭavidh-ārchchanakkam-ā basadiya jiraṇ-
ōddhārakka-
- 11 m-all-ippa ri(ri)shiyar-āhāra-dānakkam | Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-
patncha-sata-vira-śāśana-labdh-ānēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālamkṛita satya-śaṇch-āchāra-chāru-
chāritra-naya-vinaya-
- 12 vijñāna Vira-Balaṃja-dharmma-pratipālana-viśuddha guḍḍa-dhvaja-virājamān-ānūna-
śāhas-ōttuṃga kirtty-aṅga-ālimgita nija-bhuj-ōpārjjita-vijaya-lakṣmī-nivāsa-
vakṣa[s*]-sthalarum

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Read *maru-vakka*- or *maru-vamka*-, as in other versions of this series of titles.

- 13 bhuvana-parākram-ōnnata Vāsudēva-Khaṇḍali-Mūlabhadra-vamś-ōdbhavarum | Bhagavati-
labdha-vara-prasādarum | tāvu kādi soladarum | maṇu-vakka-mārigaḷum |
para-stri-para-
- 14 dhana-varjitarum chatush-shashti-kalegaḷoḷ pravīnar-appudaḷum | Brahman-annarum |
chakram=ulludaḷum Nārāyaṇan=annarum | dṛishtiyoḷ=nōdi kolvudaḷum |
Kālāgni-rudran=annarum | ko-
- 15 ndaran-aṇasi kolvudaḷum | Paraśurāman=annarum | tulidu kolvo(lvu)daḷum
mad-āndha-gandha-sindhurad=annarum | giri-durggamam maḇe-vokkaram tegedu
kolv-eḇeyoḷ sinhad=annarum
- 16 Pātālamam pokkaram kolv-eḇeyoḷ Vāsugiy=annarum | akāsadoḷ=irddaram kolv-
eḇeyoḷ=Garutman=annarum | peṇṇipinal pṛithviy=annarum | biṇṇipinal kula-gi-
- 17 riya=annarum | guṇṇipinal-mahā-samundrad=annarum | udyōgadal Rāman=annarum |
parākramadoḷ Pārithan=annarum | śauchadoḷ Gāṅgāyan=annarum | sāhasadoḷ=
Bhīman=anna-
- 18 rum | dharmmadal Dharmma-putran=annarum | jñānad=Saḥadēvan=annarum |
bhōgadal=Indran=annarum | tyāgadal=Karṇan=annarum | tējadal=Ādityan=
annarum | Ahichohhatram=enisuv=Ayyavoḷe-pura-pa-
- 19 ramēśvararum=app-aynūrvvar=svāmigaḷum gavaḇeyarum | gātriyarum | seṭṭiya-
rum | seṭṭi-guttarum | gāmaṇḍarum | gāmaṇḍa=svāmigaḷum | bira-
- 20 rum | bi(bi)ra=vaṇigarum | Kollāpurada Bilpāṇa¹-seṭṭiyum | Gōvinda-seṭṭiyum |
Komara Anṇamayyanum | Mirimjeya Bijja-seṭṭiyum | Boppi-se-
- 21 ṭṭiyum | Gaṇḍarādityadēvara rāja-śrēśṭhi Vesapayya-seṭṭiyarum | ā maṇḍalē-
śvarana biḇina Bammi-seṭṭiyum | Kūṇḍi-paṭṭanad=Āditya-griha-
- 22 da sāsaniḇam heggade Rāva-seṭṭiyum | Chaudhore Boppi-seṭṭiyum | Toram-
bageya prabhu Kannapayya-seṭṭiyum | Mayisigeysa kājagāram Chaudho-
- 23 re Goravi-seṭṭiyum | Baleyaṇṇaṇḍa(da) Śānti-seṭṭiyum | Ayyavoḷe-aynūrvvara
siṅgam Hāliya-seṭṭiyum | Kavaḇegollada prabhu Khapparayyan-ā-
- 24 dhi(di)y=āgi samasta-dēśam neredu | Śaka-varshada sāsirad=ayvatt-emteneya
Rākshasa-samvatsarada Kārttika-baṇḍa paṇchami Sōmavāradandū śri-Mūla-
saṅgha-
- 25 Dēsi(śi)ya-gaṇa-Pustaka-gachchhada Kollāpurada śri-Rāpa-nārāyaṇa-basadiy-āchāryyar-
appa śri-Śrutakirtti-traividya-dēvara kālam karchchi | dhārā-pā-
- 26 rvvakam=āgi koṭṭ-āyam=ent=endode adake hēriṅge ayvattu | javaḷakk=irppattu
hasarak=aydu | ele hēriṅge nōru | tale-voreg=ayvattu | hasarak=irppa-
- 27 tt-aydu | tuppam=emney=emb=ivu koḇakke sollage siddigeg=ara-vānam saṅgaḇig-
or-mmānām dūsigā=vasarakkam=akkasālegam hoṇge haṇam | hatti maḇaveg=a-
- 28 y-valam | bhaṇḍiya karuseya maḇaveg=eraḇu bisige | javaḷakke palam pattu |
laṇkar=okkalalli āru tiṅgalge maḇetivige maraviy=emb=iv=ond=akkum |
varshakke mam-
- 29 chav=ond=akkum | allav=arisinam śuṇṭhi beḷḷ=ulli baje bhadramustey=emb=ivu modal-
āgi tūgi māruva bhaṇḍamgaḷge hēriṅge=ay-valam javaḷakk=ip-palam hasa-
- 30 rak=op-palam jīrage melasu sāsaviy=emb=ivu hēriṅge=om-mānam javaḷakk=arp-
vaṇam hasarakke sollage | uppu modal=āgi haḇi(di)nemṇu dhānyam-
- 31 galgam bhaṇḍige koḇagav=omdu hēriṅge mānav=eraḇu tale-voreg=or-mmānam
baḇu kāy=emb=ivu bhaṇḍige hatu tale-vorege nāl=akkum | bhaṇḍige daṇḇige
vomd[u]

¹ Probably meant for Bilhāṇa.

- 32 sevey-aydu hñey-erāḍarkkaṁ dandige vomḍu(du) sevey-erāḍu hñvina heḍaligege
māle vonda kumbāṇaralli hasarakke maḍake vonda || Int-iyā-
33 yaman-aḷid-ātāṁte¹ Bāṇarāṣi-Kurukshētr-āḍigaḷo! pañcha-mahā-pātakamaṁ māḍida
phaḷam-akum ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Victorious be the command of the Lord of the Three Worlds, enjoined by the Jinas, which bears the infallible token of the blessed and supremely profound doctrine of possible predications!

(Lines 1-5) Hail! while the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gaṇḍarāditya*, who is resplendent with the whole royal series (of titles) such as "the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great musical sounds, Lord of Tagara best of cities, monarch of the blest *Śiṣhāras*, scion of the lineage of *Jimūtavāhana*, bearing a banner with (the device of) a golden *Garuḍa*, a serpent to adversaries, a lion to his father, terrible to opponent barons, a lion to the elephants his foes, a sun of casters (of missiles), a *Nārāyaṇa* in comeliness, a *Vikramāditya* of the Kali Age, successful (even) on Saturdays, passing through mountain-fastnesses, obtaining grace of boons from the blest goddess *Mahālākṣmī*," was reigning in the standing camp of *Valavāḍa* with enjoyment of pleasing conversations:—

(Ll. 5-11) for the eightfold worship² of the divine *Pārśvanātha* of the temple constructed in the *mudgoḍe* of the market-place in *Kavaḍegolla* by one who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet, the *Mahāsāmantha Nimbādēvarasa*, who has all the titles of honour such as "the *Mahāsāmantha* who has obtained the five great musical sounds, beloved of the goddess of victory, a breaker of the hair-parting of the dames of hostile barons, a gallant dear to the courtesans of warriors, a wind dissipating the clouds opponent barons, a furious elephant to *Nāgaladēvi*, a time of world-dissolution to enemy barons, a *Gopāla* to the worthiest of barons, an heroic *Kumāra* to the demon *Tāra*'s rival barons, *Kādāra* to barons, an awful rutting elephant to the beds of the lotuses the barons of *Tondai*, rod for the skilful right hand of king *Gaṇḍarāditya*, a wishing-gem for the desires of the souls of suitors, a crest-gem of barons, a bee to the Jina's lotus-feet, a mine of the gems of godliness, delighting to bestow food, protection, medicine, and teaching, obtaining grace of boons from the goddess *Padmāvati*," and for the restoration of outworn (parts) of the said temple, and for the supply of food to the holy men dwelling there:—

(Ll. 11-24) hail! they who are adorned by a series of many virtues obtained by the decrees of the Five-hundred men renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy, and intelligence, pure in maintenance of the *Vīra-Balañja* religion, splendid with the banner (bearing the device) of a hill, exalted in abundant boldness, embraced by the lady Fame, having their breasts a home for the goddess of victory (won) by their own arms, lofty in prowess (extending) over the world, sciens of the races of *Vāsudēva*, *Khaṇḍali*, and *Mālabhadra*, obtaining grace of boons from the Lady, unconquered when they strive, destroyers of adversaries, abstaining from the wives and property of others; like Brahman in being skilled in the sixty-four arts; like *Nārāyaṇa* in having a *chakra* [discus, or association]; like *Kālāgni-radra* in slaying with their gaze; like *Parasurāma* in seeking out and slaying slayers; like a rut-blinded furious elephant in trampling down and slaying; like a lion when they seize and slay those who take shelter in mountain-fastnesses; like *Vāsuki* when they slay those who come to the underworld; like *Garuḍa* when they slay those who are in the sky; like the earth in greatness, like the central mountains in weightiness, like the ocean in profundity, like *Rāma* in energy, like *Prithā*'s son [*Arjuna*] in

¹ Read -ātāṁge.

² Namely with water, scents, flowers, grain, incense, lamps, food, and betel.

proweess, like Gaṅgā's son [Bhishma] in purity, like Bhīma in boldness, like Dharma's son [Yudhisṭhira] in righteousness, like Sahadēva in knowledge, like Indra in enjoyment, like Karna in bounty, like the sun in brilliance; they who are the supreme lords of Ayyavole city, which is known as Ahichohhatra; to wit, the Five-hundred Svāmis, the *gavares*, the *gātriyas*, the *seṭtis*, the *seṭti-guttas*, the *gāmaṇḍas*, the chief-*gāmaṇḍas*, the men of valour, and the merchants of valour, Bilhaṇa (P)-Seṭṭi and Gōvinda-Seṭṭi of Kollāpura, Komara Anṇamayya, Bijja-Seṭṭi and Boppi-Seṭṭi of Miriñje, Vesapayya-Seṭṭi the royal merchant of Gaṇḍarādityadēva, Bammiseṭṭi of the Maṇḍalēśvara's household, the headman Rāva-Seṭṭi, who is recorder of the house of the Sun-god in Kūṇḍitown, Chaudhore Boppi-Seṭṭi, Kannapayya-Seṭṭi the sheriff of Toram-bage, Chaudhore Goravi-Seṭṭi the intendant of Mayisige, Śānti-Seṭṭi of Balejavatṭaṇa, Hāliya-Seṭṭi the lion of the Five-hundred of Ayyavole, Khapparayya the sheriff of Kavaḍegolḷa, and others, (*representing*) the whole country, being assembled :—

(Ll. 24-26) on Monday, the fifth of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the cyclic year Rākshasa, the thousand and fifty-eighth (*year*) of the Śaka era, laved the feet of Śrutakīrtti Traividya-dēva, of the Puṣṭaka-Gaṇḍohha in the Dēśiya-Gaṇa of the Mūla-Saṅgha, who is the prior of the temple of Rōpa-nārāyaṇa in Kollāpura, and with pouring of water gave the following revenues :—

(Ll. 26-32) Areca-nuts, fifty on a load, twenty on a half-load, five on a *hasara*; betel leaves, one hundred on a load, fifty on a head-load, twenty-five on a *hasara*; clarified butter and oil, a *solḷage*¹ on each *koḷa*, half a maund on each *siddige*,² one maund on each *saṅgaḍi*.³ On each cloth-merchant's shop and goldsmith's shop, a *panam* on every gold piece. Cotton, five *palas* on each *maḷave*; two *bisigs* on each *maḷave* of *karuse* (*sold*) from carts, ten *palas* on each half-load. On each house of *laṅkas*⁴ there shall be every six months (*a due of*) stools, tripods, and *maravi*,⁵ one of each; every year there shall be (*a due of*) one bedstead. On goods sold by weight, such as green ginger, turmeric, dry ginger, garlic, *baje*,⁶ and *bhadrāmuste*,⁷ there shall be (*a due of*) five *palas* on each load, two *palas* on a half-load, one *pala* on a *hasara*; cummin, black pepper, and mustard, one maund on each load, a half-maund on each half-load, a *solḷage* on each *hasara*; on salt and the other eighteen kinds of grain, one *koḷaga* on each cart-load, two maunds on each load, one maund on each head-load; dry and fresh fruits, ten on each cart-load, four on each head-load; on each cart-load one *daṇḍige*, five myrobalans; on each pair of *hāṭes* one *daṇḍige*, two myrobalans; on each basket of flowers one garland; for the potters, one pot on each shop.

(Ll. 32-33 : a Kanarese prose commonitory formula of the usual type.)

B.—MIRAJ INSCRIPTION OF SAKA 1065 AND 1066.

Miraj, the ancient Miriñje, is the chief town of the Miraj State in the Southern Maratha Country, and lies in lat. 16° 48' and long. 74° 12'. The present epigraph was found on a slab built into the wall in the gateway of the fort. A photograph, from the stone, was published in P.S.O.C.I. (No. 96), and a notice is given in Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, above, Vol. VII, App., No. 322.—The stone bears on its top a triangular pediment containing sculptures, namely : in the centre a *liṅga* on a stand; to the proper right of this a squatting bull facing it; above these, on the right the sun and on the left the moon. The inscribed area

¹ A measure of capacity, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *kuṣāra* or *baḷla* (see Kittel, s.v. *solage*).

² *Siddige* or *sidda* means properly a leather bottle. As a measure, *sidda* is defined by the *Kīraṇṇār Glossary* as a dry measure of 36 *tolas* in Kuntā, Honawar, and Siddhapur, and 28 *tolas* in Bhatkal, and as a fluid measure of 38 *tolas* in Ankola and 28 *tolas* in Bhatkal (p. 171).

Apparently something like a double *siddige*.

⁴ Apparently "carpenters."

⁵ Some wooden article of furniture.

⁶ The *acorus calamus* (Linn.).

⁷ The *cyperus hexastachys* (Rottler) or root of *cyperus perennans* (Roxb.)

below this is about 2 ft. broad and 4 ft. 1½ in. high.—The character is good Kanarese of the period, with letters varying in height from $\frac{3}{8}$ in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The cursive form for *m* (above, Vol. XII, p. 335) is found in *-sthānamam*, l. 6, and that for *v* in *vāṣā-vuramam*, l. 5, *gāvunḍa*°, l. 7, *Charuṇḍa*, l. 14, and *Chavunḍa*, l. 17.—The language is throughout Kanarese prose, of the transitional period between the ancient and the medieval dialects. The archaic *l* never appears: it has become *ḷ* in *ēḷ* (l. 9), *ēḷvatt*- (l. 12), *ali*° (ll. 57, 59), *iḷḍa* (l. 58), and *r* in *ērchchhāṣirada* (l. 12). Initial *p* in pure Kanarese and *tadbhava* words has become *h*, except in *padinarūvaru* (l. 6), *perggaḍe* (l. 15), *Piriyuguvārada* (l. 18), *pīriya* (l. 40, in a formula), *pasarigaru* (l. 50), *pomma* (l. 51), and *ponnalū* (l. 56, in a formula). The use of genitive as quasi-nominative (see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1918, p. 105) is found in l. 29, *seṭṭi-guttam tanna biṭṭi-āyam*. The lexical interest of the record is considerable, as it contains a large number of the special names of the classes of traders (notably *bachcha*, l. 7; *maṁka*, l. 8; *bārika*, l. 8) and some other technical words, e.g. *hasara* as a measure of capacity (ll. 27 f.), *sahḍage*, (l. 29), *mōru* (l. 37), *krēṇikāra* (l. 44), *pomma*¹ (l. 51), and *āḥāṇāntara* (l. 53).

The record opens with a copious list of the titles and special class-names of the members of the corporation of the **Vīra-Baṇāṣijas** (ll. 1-12), and informs us that certain representatives of this syndicate, at a meeting held at **Seḍambāl** in Śaka 1065, made a grant of various dues to the temple of **Mādhavēśvara** (Śiva) in **Seḍambāl**, which had been built by **Mādirājayya**, the *mahā-prabhu* or high sheriff of that place (ll. 12-32); and these grants were supplemented by others made by the inhabitants and traders of the town, which are also specified (ll. 32-38). A short formula (ll. 38-41) ends the first section. Then comes a paragraph (ll. 41-54) recording that in the reign of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Vijayāditya** (son of the **Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya**)², in Śaka 1066, two of his officials, **Bhāyipayya-Nāyaka** and **Mālapayya-Nāyaka**, granted to the same temple certain specified dues on the taxes collected in the town, the trustee being **Sōvarāsi**. A concluding formula (ll. 54-59) ends the record.

There are thus two dates. The first is given on ll. 19-20 as: **Śaka 1065, Dundubhi**; **Bhādrapada śu. 2**; Friday. This is irregular, for the *tithi* śu. 2 corresponded to **Monday, 24 August, A.D. 1142**, on which it ended about 15 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). The second date is given on ll. 46-48 as: **Śaka 1066, Rudhirōḍgāri**; **Māgha kṛi. 14**; **Vaḍḍavāra** (here apparently in the meaning of Thursday);³ the Śiva-rātri festival. Strictly speaking, this is slightly irregular. The *tithi* kṛi. 14 was coupled with Friday, 4 February, A.D. 1144, when it ended about 13 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise. But it was current during the last 10 h. 25 m. of the preceding Thursday, 3 February, having begun 4 h. 25 m. before midnight on Thursday; and at that midnight began the Śiva-rātri, the moon being then in the *nakṣatra* Śravaṇā, and being still there at mean sunrise on the Friday (see *Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai's* note above, Vol. XI, p. 289); so the Śiva-rātri day was Friday.⁴

The places mentioned are **Ayyāvale**, also called **Ahiḥchhatra**, l. 9; **Miriṇje**, l. 12, and its *nāḍu*, l. 44; **Bāge**, l. 14; **Dōṇikōḍu**, l. 14; **Toḷakale**, l. 15; **Kūṇḍili**, l. 16; **Seḍambāl** ll. 16, 19, 20, 45, 49; the *talas* of **Piriyuguvāra**, **Siriguppe**, and **Jugulakoppa**, l. 18; the *tirthas*, ll. 38-40, 55, 57; and the *nēla-viḍu* or standing camp of **Valavāḍa**, l. 42. On **Ayyāvale** (**Ayyavole**), **Miriṇje**, and **Valavāḍa** see above (p. 31). **Bāge** may possibly be connected with the **Bāgaḍage** or **Bāgenāḍu** Seventy, or the **Bāge Fifty** in the **Tardavādi Thousand** (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 265, 267, 380). **Seḍambāl** is **Shedbāl** (the "Sherbal" of

¹ *Pomma* now means a tax on tobacco; but to understand that sense in our record would be an anachronism.

² See *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 548, and the preceding inscription.

³ See Mr. Venkatasubbiah's *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, pp. 57 ff.

⁴ This date has also been examined by Mr. Venkatasubbiah in *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, p. 107, and he comes to practically the same result.

the Indian Atlas sheet 40), in lat. 16° 43' and long. 74° 49½'. The Siriguppe *tala* seems to be connected with the modern Shirguppi or "Shirgoopee," in lat. 16° 37½' and long. 74° 47½', and that of Jugulakoppa with Jugal or "Joogul" in lat. 16° 36½' and long. 74° 44½'.

TEXT.¹

- 1 ☉ Svasti samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-pamcha-śata-vira-śāsana-labdh-ānēka-guṇa-[gaṇ-ē] •
- 2 laṃkṛita satya-saucha-śchāra-chāru-charitra-naya-vinaya-vijñāna Vira-Baṇamja-
[dharma-pra]-
- 3 tipālana-viśuddha guḍḍa-dhvaja-virājita-ānūsa-sāhas-ottuṅga kirtty-aṅga-ālimgita
[nija]-
- 4 bhūja-vijaya-lakṣmi(kṣmi)-nivāsa-vakṣa[s*]-sthala bhuvana-parākram-ōnnata
Vāsudē[ya-Kṣa]-
- 5 nḍali-Mālabhadra-vaṃś-ōdbhavarum dvātrimśad-vēlā-vuramum-aśtādaśa-paṭṭaṇamum-
[aru]-
- 6 vatta-nāiku ghaṭikā-sthānamum nānā-dēś-ābhyaṃtarad-eṃtu nāḍa padinaṇvaru
[gava]-
- 7 regarum gātrigarum seṭṭiyarum seṭṭi-guttarum baḥcharum baḥgārarum
gaṇdhigarum gāvundarum gāv[unḍa]-
- 8 svāmigaḷum-arasugaḷum-arasu-makkaḷum māṃkarum māṃka-meṇavarum
birudarum bi(bi)ra-vaṇigarum bārikarum b[ā]-
- 9 rika-jana-hastarum sāsiraḍ-ēl-nāru gavaṇegaḷum-Abhihchhatra-vinirggatarum-
Ayyāvale-pu[ra-para]-
- 10 māsvararu[m*] śrī-Bhagavati-dēvi(vi)-labdha-vara-prasād-ādy-anēka-nām-āṃka-mālā-
virājitaru[mappa]-
- 11 śrīmad-aynṇirva[r*]-svāmigaḷum samasta-bhalluḍki-daṇḍa-hastarum mummuri-
daṇḍamum [mu]-
- 12 khyav-āgiy-ēlvatt-ēr-chchāsiraḍa prabhu Prithvi-seṭṭi Miri[m*]jeya Boṇṇaṇayya-
rāja-ārē[shṭhi ma]-
- 13 hā-vaḍḍa-yyavahāri Vesapaṇya-seṭṭiyarum samaya-samuddharāṇa Sōvapa-[seṭṭi]-
- 14 yarum Bāgeya mūliga Chikka-Chavumḍa-seṭṭiyum Dōṇikōḍa mummuri-daṇḍa
Da . .
- 15 va-seṭṭiyum Jayasimḡada Tolakaleya Sīriyama-seṭṭiyum nāḍa perḡgaḍe
Hemma-seṭṭi[yum]
- 16 Kāṇḍiliya seṭṭi-gutta Malla-seṭṭiyum Kuvara Lakka-seṭṭiyum Nigalada Kēti-
seṭṭiyum [Sedam]-
- 17 bāla Boṇḍalabbeya Sūra-seṭṭiyum Ākēta-seṭṭiyum Chavūḍa-seṭṭi alliya
Koppa-seṭṭi . .
- 18 ya Holla-seṭṭi Piriyuguvāraḍa tala Siriguppeya tala Jugulakoppada
tala . .
- 19 geṇa tala yintu samasta-tala-mukhyav-āgi Sedambālalu mahā-nāḍ-āgi(gi)
nerad[u Saka]-
- 20 varsha 1065neṇa Duṇḍubhi-samvatsaraḍa Bhādrapada-śuddha 2
Śukravāraḍamdu Sedambāla
- 21 mahā-prabhu Mādirājayyaṃ māḍisida śrī-Mādhavēśvara-dēvar-aṅga-bhōgake āy-
[ūra]-

¹ From the ipk-impression.

- 22 lu Su(ṣu)kravārada samteyaṁ māḍi biṭṭ-āyam=ent-o[ṁ*]doḍe māṛida aḍakeya
[java]-
- 23 laḁk=aḍakey=irppattu hasuṁbeg=aḍake hanneraḍu katteya hēriṁg=irppatt-aydu
ko¹
- 24 ettina javaḷamaṁ birichidalliy=aḍakey=ayvattu mēru-goṁḍavaralli hoṁgey=
aḍa[key=i]-
- 25 ppattu hēriṁge ele nūr-aivattu eṇṇeya koḍakke soḷasav=eraḍu tuppada koḍakke
so[ḷasa]-
- 26 v=eraḍu bhaṁḍi-goḍakke eṇṇe mānav=oṁdu dhānya-varggake kōṇana hēriṁ[ge*]
mānav-ā[ru]
- 27 ettina hēriṁge baḷḷav=oṁdu katteya hēriṁge mānav=eraḍu hasarakke mānav=
oṁḍalu
- 28 saṭṭugav=oṁdu voṭṭiliṁge koḷagav=oṁdu battiya hasaradalli dēvara soḍariṁge
batti-
- 29 ge samḍage=vatti voṁdu [i*] seṭṭi-guttam tanna biṭṭ-āyam=ent=emdoḍe
hasuṁbeyan=ikku-
- 30 valli haseya javaḷi gaṁdhara-baṭṭalu oṁdu gōṁṭu vichāraṁ-geydavaralli mudrā-
paṇaṁ hoṁ-
- 31 ge hāgam=arana bhaṁḍi māriṁ(ri)dalli mēlu-dakk=oṁdu bhaṁḍiyalu māṛida
dhānya-varggake ko-
- 32 ḷagav=oṁdu [i*] Chayitrada parvvakke pura-varggada prajegaḷu mithunakke
biṭṭa hāga-
- 33 v=oṁdu Dipāvaliya parvvadalu belaguva soḍar=eṇṇege u(ñ)r-olagana sēṇigaru
- 34 tamma manegaḷige maneyal=oṁdu hāgav=oṁdu biṭṭa hāgav=oṁdu kuṁbāra
hasa[ra*]-
- 35 kke maḍake voṁdu akkasāle Bammōja-haḷḷadiṁ mūḍa hoṁge haḷavina
pārikh-ā-
- 36 yad=olage dēvargge biṭṭa aḍḍav=oṁdu saṁmmagāṇaralli aṇu-diṁgaḷige kuḍuva
pāda-
- 37 rakshe toḍ=oṁdu mēdaralli samtege kuḍuva mōṇanu voṁdu mēdegaralli
aṇu-diṁgaḷiṁ-
- 38 ge kuḍuva miḷi voṁdu [i*] Yimṭ=i sā(sā)sana-maryyādeyaṁ kiḍisid-āta[m*]
Gaṁge-Prayāge-Vā-
- 39 raṇāsī-Karukshētradalū sāyira kapileyaṁ konda mahā-pātakaman=eydu-
- 40 va Ādityatīrtthaṁgaḷalli tanna piriya maganaṁ kondu avana kapāḷadal=
uṁḍa ma-
- 41 hā-dōshaman=eyduva || ॐ ॐ || Srasti śrīman-mahāmāṇḍalēśvaram
- 42 Vijayādityadēvarasaru Valavāḍada nelc-viḍinalu sukha-saṁkathā-vi-
- 43 nōḍadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyvuttam=iralu tat-pāḍa-padma-ōpaḷivigaḷ=appa mahāpradhā-
- 44 nam suṁka-verggaḍe Bhāyipayya-nāyakeru Mitimje-nāḍu krēṇikāraṁ Mā-
- 45 ḷapayya-nāyakar=ant=irvvaru Sēḍambāḷa prabhu sāmantaṁ Mādirājayyaṁ-
- 46 gaḷu māḍisida śrī-Mādhavēśvara-dēvar-aṁga-bhōgakk=alliya tapōḍhanar-āhāra-
dānakkam Sa(Sa)ka-va-
- 47 xsha 1066 neya Rudhirōḍgāri-samvatsarada Māghu-bahula 14 Vāḍḍavāradaṁdu
Śivarātre(tri)-

¹ Perhaps to be restored as *kōḷava*.

- 48 ya parvva-nimittav-āgiy-ā dēvara mathad-ābhārya śrīmatu-Sōvarāsi-aidhānti¹-
dēvara kā-
49 laṁ karchchi dhārā-pārvvakam māḍi koṭṭa sunkam-ant-andoḍ-ā Sedambāla
mandana haḷladim māḍa pura-
50 varggav-oḷag-āgi kaṭṭid-amaḍaḍigaḷgam tēlligaru paṣarigaru bhātta-haṭṭigaḷ
vokkalu-dere pa-
51 rihāra mattam santēya veḷagasa kēḍad-eṇṇey-eleya hērugala ponna kira-
52 kuḷa dhānya-varggamgala moṭṭeya sunkav-oḷag-āgi arddh-ādāna aḷi aṁtara-
vaṭṭadim tiri-
53 da ettina aḍakeya hōṣimge mēl-aḍake nūṛ-ayvatta āṭhāpānta-
54 radala naḍava sunkigaru saṁpa(va?)ṛṇṇakke tiṁgaḷimge vomdu bēḷeyam
kuḍavar-int-i
55 dharmmamam sa-dharmmadim pratipālisidargge Gaṁge-Vāraṇāsi-Kuruśhētradala
a[ā]-
56 sira kavileya kōḍum koḷagumam ponaḷu kaṭṭisi sāsirvva brāhmaṇa-
57 rige koṭṭa phalam-akku mattam-idan-aḷidam(dam)ge Gaṁgā-Yamunegala-eradara
58 saṁgamadoḷ-agaṇṇya-puṇṇya-vaṛa-tīrttha-āthānāgaḷoḷ-īḷa tapōdhanara gē-brāhma-
59 paṛan-aḷidan-int-idan-aḷida ||

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-12) Hail! Headed by the Five-hundred Svāmias, all the bearers of *bhallunki*-staffs and all the bearers of *mummuri*-staffs, who are resplendent with a series of numerous titles such as "adorned by a series of many virtues obtained by the decrees of the Five-hundred men renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy, and intelligence, pure in maintenance of the Vira-Bapañja religion, splendid with the banner (*bearing the device*) of a hill, exalted in abundant boldness, embraced by the lady Fame, having their breasts a home for the goddess of victory (*won*) by their own arms, lofty in prowess (*extending*) over the world, scions of the races of Vāsudēva, Khaṇḍali, and Mālabhadra, (*inhabitants of*) the thirty-two coast-towns and eighteen *paṭṭaṇas*² and sixty-four *ghaṭikā-āthānas*,³ the sixteen *gavaṛgas*⁴ and *gātrigas* and *veṭṭis* and *saṭṭi-guttas* and *bachchas* and bracelet-sellers and scent-merchants and *gāvuṇḍas* and chief *gāvuṇḍas* and 'kings' and 'princes' and *maṅkas*⁵ and *maṅkamarevas* and title-bearers and merchants of valour and *bārikas*⁶ and *bārika-jana-hastā*⁷

¹ The second *dā* has been omitted and then inserted in very small script.

² Explained by some as a place to which there is access by land or water, by others as a place of festival-mimes. Cf. *Kāṁikāgama*, XX, 8-9, *Fugādi-dōṭanā*, V, 50, and my translation of *Antagaḍa-dasāo*, p. 45 n.

³ This word is fairly common in inscriptions (cf. *Epig. Carn.*, VII. i. Sk. 94, XI. i. Kl. 170, XII. Sk. 33; *Madras Govt. Epigr. Report*, 1912-3, p. 99, 1916-7, p. 115; *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 19, 25 n.; *S. I. I.*, II, p. 511), but the meaning is not quite clear. It seems to denote a place of assembly or synod, and so must be connected with *ghaṭige*, *gaṭige*, or *ghaṭige*, on which see above, Vol. XIII, p. 327 n., and which are obviously Prakrit forms of *ghaṭikā*. Perhaps these facts should be considered in the interpretation of the Mānikāla inscription (see *J. E. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 641 ff.), seeing that the normal meaning of *ghaṭikā* is a certain division of time or a clock.

⁴ This is evidently the same as the modern *gavaṛiga*, "a man of the basket-and-mat-maker tribe or caste" (*kittel*); but the meaning seems to be different here.

⁵ Perhaps connected with Skt. *maṅka*, on which see Hoernle's *Uvāsaga-dasāo*, translation, p. 108 n.

⁶ Cf. *Madras Govt. Epigr. Report*, 1912-3, p. 9, Brown's *Miraj Eight*, p. 74, and above, Vol. V, p. 22 n.

⁷ Possibly meaning "fellows of the *bārikas*."

and the thousand and seven-hundred *gavares* of the eight provinces in the interior of various lands, who have come out of *Ahichohhatra*, who are supreme lords of the town of *Ayyāvaḷe*, and who obtain grace of boons from the divine Lady,"—

(Ll. 12-19) *Prithvi-Setti*, sheriff of the Seventy-thousand; *Boppanayya* of *Miriñje*, the royal merchant; the great trader *Vesapayya-Setti*; *Sōvaṇa-Setti*, restorer of the church; *Chikka Chavunḍa-Setti*, the *māḷiga*¹ of *Bāge*; *Da . . va-Setti* of *Dōṇikōḍu*, the bearer of the *mummuri*-staff; *Jayasingada Siriyama-Setti* of *Tolakale*; *Hemma-Setti*, head-man of the province; *Malla-Setti*, *setti-gutta* of *Kūṇḍili*; *Kuvara*²*Lakka-Setti*; *Nigalada Kēti-Setti*; *Sūra Setti*, *Ākēta-Setti*, (and) *Chavunḍa-Setti*, (sons?) of *Bondalabbe*, of *Sedambāl*; *Koppa-Setti*, of the same place; (and) . . . *Holla-Setti*, meeting at *Sedambāl* as a general county-assembly representing all the districts, namely the district of *Piriyuguvāra*, the district of *Siriguppe*, the district of *Jugulakoppa*, and the district of . . .

(Ll. 19-22) on Friday, the 2nd of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada* in the cyclic year *Dundubhi*, the 1085th (year) of the *Śaka* era, holding the Friday's market in that town, granted the following revenues for the personal enjoyment of the god *Mādhavēśvara*, (whose temple had been) constructed by *Mādirājayya*, the high sheriff of *Sedambāl* :—

(Ll. 22-29) on the sale of a half-load of areca-nuts, twenty nuts; on a shoulder-bag, twelve nuts; on an ass-load, twenty-five; on opening a [? buffalo's or] bullock's half-load, fifty areca-nuts; for purchasers, twenty areca-nuts per gold piece; on each load, a hundred-and-fifty betel-leaves; on a *koḍa* of oil, two *soḷasa*; on a *koḍa* of clarified butter, two *soḷasa*; on each *bhaṇḍi-goḍa*,³ one maund of oil; for the various kinds of grain, on a buffalo-load six maunds, on a bullock-load one *baḷḷa*,⁴ on an ass-load two maunds, on a *hasara* one ladleful in every one maund, on an *offil* one *koḷaga*⁵; on each *hasara* of cotton, one *saṇḍage*-wick for wicks for the god's lamps.

(Ll. 29-32) The *setti-guttas* on their part granted the following revenues :—on laying down each shoulder-bag, one cloth for a couch (and) one *gaṇḍhara*-bowl (?); for those who examine *gōṇṭu*, a stamped *janam*, one quarter *janam* on each gold piece; on each sale of *arana bhaṇḍi*,⁶ one stick of better quality (?); on the various kinds of grain sold in a cart, one *koḷaga*.

(Ll. 32-38) For the festival of *Chaitra* the people of the parish gave a quarter *janam* for each pairing. For oil for the lamps to be lit at the festival of the *Dipāvaḷi* the guilds-men within the town granted on their own houses one quarter-*janam* for each house; on each shop of the potters, one pot; the goldsmiths granted to the god one *aḍḍa* ⁷ in the assay-fee of a *janam* on every gold piece. In the case of the leather-workers, they gave one pair of slippers for every six months. In the case of the basket-makers, they gave one *mōru* ⁸ for every fair. In the case of the cobblers, they gave one strap for every six months.

(Ll. 38-41) So he who infringes the constitution of this decree shall incur the deadly sin of slaying by the Ganges, in *Prayāga*, in *Benares*, or in *Kurukshētra* a thousand kine; he shall incur the deadly sin of slaying his own eldest son at the *Āditya-tīrthas* and eating from his skull.

(Ll. 41-43) Hail! While the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vijayādityadēvarasa* was reigning in the standing camp of *Valavāḍa* with enjoyment of pleasing conversations :—

¹ The meaning given by Kittel for *māḷiga* is "a vendor of (medicinal) roots"; but here it must denote some *ark*. Cf. above, Vol. V, p. 27, where the *māḷigas* rank after the *mahājanas*.

² [*Kuyara* means *son*.—Ed.]

³ A measure of unknown capacity; literally, "cart-pot."

⁴ Equal to 4 maunds.

⁵ Equal to 16 maunds; hence the *offil* (literally, "pile") must be a large measure.

⁶ Obscure; the literal meaning is "king's cart."

⁷ On this weight see Kittel, *s.v.*

⁸ Apparently meaning "head-load."

(Ll. 43-49) they who find sustenance at his lotus-feet, both *Bhāyipayya-Nāyaka* the high minister and controller of taxes and *Mālapayya-Nāyaka* the *krēṇikāra* of the province of *Miriṇje*, for the personal enjoyment of the god *Mādhavēśvara* (*whose temple was*) constructed by the baron *Mādirājayya*, the sheriff of *Seḍambāḷ*, and for the provision of food to the ascetics of that place, on Thursday, the 14th of the dark fortnight of *Māgha* in the cyclic year *Rudhirōḍḡari*, the 1086th (year) of the Śaka era, on the occasion of the *Śivarātri* festival, laved the feet of *Sōvarasi Siddhāntidēva*, prior of the monastery of the god, and with pouring of water granted the following dues :—

(Ll. 49-54) For the shops built within the parish east of the river on the east of *Seḍambāḷ*, the oilmen (*and*) shopkeepers shall give in the paddy-market, excluding the household-tax, half the takings within the market inclusive of a *koḍa* of oil, the *pomma* on loads of betel leaves and the petty dues, and the tolls on bags of the various kinds of grain; on each bullock's load of areca-nuts filled up there from the *antara-vaṭṭa* (*they shall give*) one hundred and fifty superior nuts; the toll-collectors on duty in the revenue-office shall give every month an eighth on each *sauvarṇa* coin.

(Ll. 54-59 : a Kanarese commonitory formula of the usual type.)

No. 5.—ANTIRIGAM PLATES OF JAYA-BHANJA-DEVA.

BY THE LATE TABINI CHARAN RATH, B.A.

These three copper-plates were unearthed by a ryot while cultivating a piece of waste land situated in the village of *Antirigām* of *Pūrva-khaṇḍa*, *Chatrapur* Division, *Ganjam* District, *Madras* Presidency. A similar set of three other plates was also discovered along with these which will be edited separately.

The plates measure 7 inches by 3 inches, their thickness being about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch. Each plate has a circular hole on its left side through which passes a copper ring of a diameter of 2 inches, from which the plates are suspended. The two ends of the ring are not in this case secured at the bottom of an oval or circular seal as usual. We have here a lump of copper of a rather peculiar conical shape, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, which holds the two ends of the ring together. This mass of copper is at its bottom in shape a cube, measuring about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch on each side and has at the top a pot-shaped finial marked by a number of circular ridges. On one side of the cube is the following inscription, written in two lines :—

Śrīmad-sūbha

Jadēva-nṛpatiḥ

The word 'Jadēva' in the beginning of the second line is obviously a mistake for 'Jayadēva,' the name of the king who made the grant. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second or middle plate has inscription both on the obverse and reverse. The edges of the plates are not raised into rims. The inner side of the first plate and the two sides of the second plate have nine lines on each of them, while the inner side of the third or last plate contains ten lines, the total number of lines of the inscription being thus 37. The inscription is clear and the letters are fairly big in size. The plates with the ring weigh 72 tolas

¹ [It is very unlikely that the name of the king would be written *Jadēva* by mistake for *Jayadēva*. The suffix *śaśja* which is the characteristic title of the rulers of the *Bhañja* dynasty would in no case have been omitted. Hence I think we must read *Bhañjadēva* together; and what is read in the beginning as *śrīmadēva* is probably *śrīmad-Yaśa*. Besides, the last *akṣara* in the first line clearly reads *śaśja*. Thus we will have the name *Yaśa-Bhañjadēva* which according to the author himself was another name of *Jaya-Bhañjadēva*; see below page 43 —Ed.]

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the characters used are a highly specialised form of the old Northern Nāgarī type. They deserve special notice, inasmuch as they very closely resemble the Uriyā characters. The type is quite important for tracing the development of the present Uriyā alphabet. The following letters on the plates are no other than the modern Uriyā ones:—*śri* (3rd letter l. 1), *kha* (19th letter l. 5), *ga* (4th letter l. 7), *pa* (4th letter l. 6), *na* (5th letter l. 1), *kshi* (last letter l. 2), *kshmi* (21st letter l. 1), *sha* (26th letter l. 10), *ṣja* (8th letter l. 3) and *pra* (8th letter l. 10). Again the following letters also very closely resemble the present Uriyā ones and are in fact their archaic forms:—*ka* (14th letter l. 1), *gha* (7th letter l. 1), *sa* (9th letter l. 1), *na* (2nd letter l. 4), *ja* (26th letter l. 2), *ya* (22nd letter l. 1), *ṭa* (4th letter l. 10), *bha* (20th letter l. 3), *ta* (10th letter l. 1), *da* (21st letter l. 2). Several other instances of both these classes of letters can be found in the inscription on a very close examination. Though Uriyā was both a spoken and a written language in Orissa, its Rājas or ruling chiefs were accustomed to use Sanskrit in their grants relating to landed property. On the whole, I think, it can be said that the characters of the inscription are the prototypes of the modern Uriyā characters.

The plates record the grant of a village by king Jaya-Bhañjadēva, son of Rāya-Bhañja and grandson of Vira-Bhañja, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha (May-June) to a Brāhman named *śri-Jagadhara*, son of Paṇḍita Dhārādharma belonging to the Mādhyandina-śākhā and the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. The name of the village gifted thereunder is Reṅgaradā situated at the centre of the province Kṣiṇjāliyagaḍa-vishaya. The grantor issued the charter from his camp Kōlāḍa in the third [year] of the victorious reign and proclaims this fact of his grant to his ministers, his heir-apparent Vira-Bhañja and other sons, and also the several administrative officers of the province. The inscription was incised by Gaṇeśvara.

The village Reṅgaradā is stated to have been situated in the province Kṣiṇjāliyagaḍa-vishaya. The grant was issued from the camping place known as Kōlāḍa. Kṣiṇjāli, according to traditional accounts, is believed to be a tract of country forming part of the Baud State and from it the smaller States of Gumsur and Dasapalla are said to have been carved out. Kōlāḍa was the later capital of Gumsur which continued to be so till the extinction of its Bhañja line of kings. It is popularly known now as Kullāḍa. It is situated at a distance of about 4 miles from Russelkōṇḍa, the head-quarters of the Gumsur Division and Taluk, called after the Commissioner Russel and is connected with it by a good metalled road. The remains of the residences of the old chiefs of Gumsur are still to be seen here covered by jungle growth. The place stands on the bank of a river adorned with the venerable old temples built by the Gumsur Rājas who have richly endowed them with fertile lands and costly movable properties. It is hemmed in all round by beautiful ranges of hills. The name Kṣiṇjāliyagaḍa-vishaya signifies the division adjoining the fort of Kṣiṇjāli, the former name of Gumsur. Gaḍa in Uriyā means a fort. Kṣiṇjāliyagaḍa corresponds to the present name of "Gaḍamuṭha," a subdivision of the old Gumsur State, now a British possession ever since the year 1835 when its Rāja, late Dhansānjaya-Bhañja, died in the course of a campaign with the British and his minor son, late Brajarāja-Bhañja, was removed to Vellore as a State prisoner. Village names like Bhangaraḍa and Geradā which are to be found to-day in the Gumsur Taluk may be compared with Reṅgaradā, the village granted. The copper-plate grant thus, I think, relates to the ancient State of Gumsur, formerly known as the Kṣiṇjāli country.

The grantor is a scion of the illustrious dynasty of the Bhañjas, so very famous in Orissa. According to the traditional account of Gumsur it was founded in the ninth century A.D. by a son of the brother of the Bhañjarāja of Keunjhar who had settled with his brother in Baud, both having been adopted by its king. Keunjhar was carved out from the ancient

Mayūrbhañja State of Orissa, both of which still exist. The account further states that one of the Rājas of Gumsur named Pratāpa-Bhañja captured the Khond Chief of Kullāda and changed his residence by constructing a big fort there, at a very great cost, during the twelfth century A.D. Jaya-Bhañja, son of Rāya-Bhañja and grandson of Vira-Bhañja, appears from what is stated in the inscription to have ruled the country around Kolāda. The names of these kings are quite new and are neither met with in the traditional account of Gumsur, nor in any one of the several Bhañja plates hitherto discovered and published. It is not possible at present to state how the latter are connected with the Bhañja kings whose names have been discovered by these plates. The second set of copper-plates found with the present one and referred to in paragraph 1 above also mentions these very same names. The grantor and the grantee of both are identically the same persons, the occasion and the village granted alone being different. Jaya-Bhañja is, however, called therein¹ by the name of Yaśa-Bhañja. These plates of Yaśa-Bhañja have been noted as No. 10 in Appendix A of the *Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for the year 1917-18* and noticed at page 137 thereof. This king is described therein as the lord of the entire Kñiñjali country. The village Komyāna granted thereunder has been observed as being situated in the Gumsur Taluk by the above-said officer, to whom the plates had been sent by me for examination.

The grant of Jaya-Bhañja is said to have been made in the third year of the victorious reign, no particular era being given. According to the traditional account of Gumsur, Kullāda was conquered and made the capital in the latter part of the twelfth century A.D. The characters of the inscription are found to be later in date than those of the Gumsur plates of Nātri-Bhañja edited at pages 667-671 of Volume VI of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and the Baud plates of Raṇa-Bhañja edited at pages 321-328 of Volume XII of the *Epigraphia Indica*, and the inscription has probably to be assigned to the twelfth century A.D.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ [||*] Svasti śri-guṇa-saṅgha-saṃyuta-tarē lōk-[ā]bhikīrty-ōttamē (||) Lakshmi[r*]-ya[tra]
- 2 nivāsini suviralā jātāś-cha vīr-ōttamāḥ | Dharmō yatra sadā sthitō ripu-jayaḥ khyātaḥ kshi-
- 3 tau sa[r̥vva]dā varāśō Bhañja-susamjñakē ripu-hariḥ śri-Vira-Bhañj-ō[bha]vat || [1*] Tat-sūnn[r*]=dvi(i)ja-dēva-pū-
- 4 [jana-rataḥ śri]-Rāya-Bhañjō nripaḥ durvvār-āri-narēndra-darpa-dalanō viryēṇa Śakr-ōpa-
- 5 maḥ [||*] tat-putrō Jaya-Bhañjadēva-nripatī rājñām si(śi)raḥ-sē(sē)kharāḥ [r̥]pair-yō
- 6 Madan-ōpamaḥ kshiti-talē dāna(ā)ś-cha Kar[n]ḥ-ōpamō(maḥ) || [2*] Mānaś-ch-āpi Suyōdha-
- 7 n-ōpama-gataḥ Śakr-ōpamō vikramaiḥ durvvār-āri-kuraṅga-māraṇa-hariḥ śri-Śamka-

¹ [This is not so. They were apparently brothers. Yaśa-Bhañja was the elder of the two. Jaya-Bhañja issued this charter under the seal of his brother the king.—Ed.]

² [Expressed by a symbol. An interesting paper on "The Svastika and the Ōmkāra symbols" is contributed by Mr. Harit Krishna Deb, M.A., to the *Jo. and Pro. A. S. B.* (new series), Vol. XVII, 1921, No. 3. This is a direct refutation of the theory of some that the symbol represents a figure of Gopapati.—Ed.]

- 8 rē bhaktimāna(n) (||†) bhaktō vai pitṛi-māṭṛi-pāda-yugalē śrī-vaishṇavaḥ sāmpratam
|| [3*]¹ Sa cha ma-
9 hā-maṇḍalēśa(śva)ra-śa(sa)rvva-g[u]ṇ-ālamkṛita-śrīmad-rāja(jā) Jaya-Bhañja-dēvaḥ
kuśali || Kō-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 lāḍa-kaṭaka-[sthito](taḥ)pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē tṛitiya-samvatsarē Jyēsthā-
śukla-
11 pañchadasya(śya)m sōma-grahana-vēllyām Kṣiṇjaliya-g[a]ḍa-vishaya-madhya-
vartti(i)-Rēngaraḍā-grā-
12 maṁ sa-jala-sthalam a-ōdvēlam [sa-ni]dhi s-ōpanidhikam sa-viṣap-āraṇyam
a-cha(chā)ṭa-bhaṭa-[pra]-
13 vēsam su(sa)rvv-ōpadrava-vivarjitam sarvva-sas[y*]-ōtpatti[i]-sahitam chatu[s*]-simā-
vichchinnam (||†) u[t]ki-
14 rṇṇa-tā[mra]m² [a]dhi-vidhim śāsanam=akarīkri(kṛi)tya (||†) Madhyadēśiya-Tākāri-vipra-
sa-
15 -mudbha[va]m-āgatāya³ Ko[ṇḍa]rāvaṅga-vishaya-Dakṣiṇa-Tōshala-stha-Paṭavāḍa-pāṭa-
16 ka-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-sa-gōtrāy-Āngirasa-Vā(Bā)ras[p]atya-Bhāradvāja-
triḥ⁴-pravarāya
17 Yaju[r*]-vēd-ādhyāi(yi)uē Mādhyamdi(ndi)niya-śākhāya Paṇḍita-Dhārādharaśya
putrāya Daivajña-
18 [Śrī]-Jagadharāya bhūmi(m*)-dāna-vidhinā hast-ōdakam dat[t*]vā yathākāla[m*]-
bh[ā*]vina[h] samu(†)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 [p-ā]gatān-a (||†) śēsha-pārthivāna(n) prārthayati anyāms-cha rājaput[r*]-āmātya-
yuvarā[ja]-
20 Vira.Bhañjadēvaḥ⁵-akṣapaṭali(li) - Vajradat [t*]a-sandhi-vigraha(hi)-Puraṇāga-prati-
nāra-Bhōpāla-rā-
21 naka - [La]kṣmīkalāśa - rājamātula - Jāṭhināga⁶-vyavahārī(ri) - Arapōta-prabhri(bhṛi)-
tinām⁷ rāja-
22 pād-ōpajīvinah (†) kīrtitāḥ(n-a)(†)kīrtitān Kṣaṇḍapāla-Purañjaya-sarah⁸ (†) yathār-
ham mūna-
23 itya⁹ samājñāpayati matam=astu bhavatām bhūmi-dānam=idam=asmad-
dat[t*]a[m*] bha-

† Superfluous.

¹ {The fourth pāda of this verse is missing.—Ed.] Verses 1 to 3 are in the Śārāṇavikṛīṭa metre.

² Read tāmram=adhi-.

³ [Samudbhava=āgatāya seems to be used in the sense of jātāya. It is also possible that we have to divide the words as samudbhava-Māgatā(dhā)ya in which case the phrase would mean "a Māgadha born of the Brahmas of Tākāri (modern Tikāri?) who had immigrated from Madhyadēśa."—Ed.]

⁴ Cancel the visarga.

⁵ [Between ga and vya there seems to be a symbol for vi which has been possibly scored.—Ed.]

⁶ Read -prabhṛitān.

⁷ [Read śūrān; the adjective kīrtitān being in the plural, the mention of only two heroes Kṣaṇḍapāla and Purañjaya must be taken to include also similar other heroes.—Ed.]

⁸ Read yitva.

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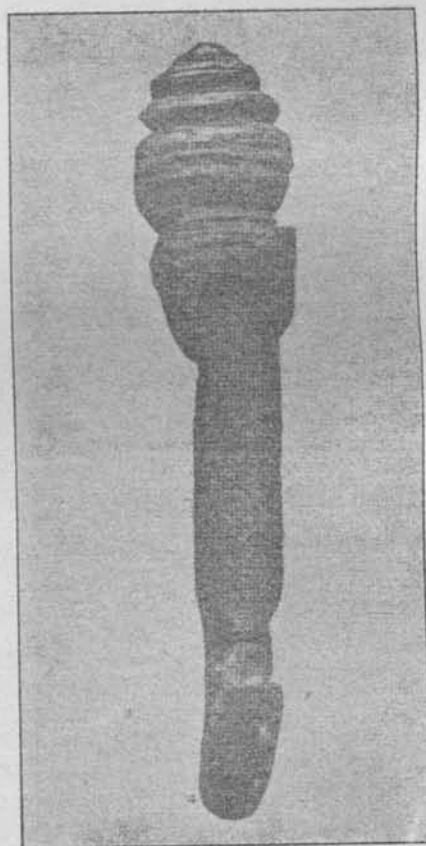
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२८ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ३० ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ३२ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ३४ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ३६ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

SEAL (FROM PHOTOGRAPHS).



FRONT VIEW.



SIDE VIEW.

- 24 vadbbih (†) bhāvibhiś-cha (||†) ā-chandr-ārka-kāhiti-sama-kālam pālanīyam ||[*] Atra
dharm-ānu-
25 sam(śam)sinah ślōkāḥ ||[*] Bhūmi-dāna-samam dānam na bhūtam na bhaviṣhyati |
dānēna ya-
26 ta(t) phalam prōktam pālanēna tatō=dhikam ||[4*] Va(ba)hubhir=vassu dhā da[t*]-
tā rājabbih Sagar-ā-
27 dibbih [*] yasyayasya yadā bhūmis=tasyatasya tadā 'phalam ||[5*] Mā bhūmi-
²phala-

Third Plate.

- 28 śamkā vah (†) para-da[t*]t-ēti pāthivāḥ | sva-dānāt-phalam-ānantya[m*] para-
datt-ānupālanam || [6*]
29 Sva-dattām para-dattām=vā yō harēti(ta) vasundharām | sva-[vī]-shṭhāyām
krimir-bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha
30 pachyatē || [7*] Asārēpi cha saṁsārē jīvitasya phala-dvayam [*] pālanam para-kirtti(tī)nā[m]
31 svayam kartṛitvam-ēvacha || [8*] Anuchintya śrī(i)yam jīvyam padma-patr-ānuvīnd[u]-
vata(t) || vñ(bu)[dh]v-ātr-ōdāhri(hi)tam
32 sarvām na lōpyāḥ para-kirttayaḥ || [9*] Asmad-vamśa(śa)-ja-bhūpatir-yadi
punar-bhūp-ōnya-vamś-ō(ś-ō)-
33 dbhavō mad-dattām paripāla[yē]d-iha mahīm tasmai dhṛit-ōsmay-amjalīm |
|| 10*³ Mata(t)-śā(chohhā)sanē pi-
34 tri(tri)-pitāmaha-bhūmi-bhāga-madhya-pradatta iha yaḥ kurutē-pakāram | Śambhōḥ
pura[h*]sthita-va(ba)-
35 [hu]-dviya-vatsa-pō(ghā)ta-nihsantatiḥ sakala-janma-śatēshu bhūyāt || [11*] Bhūmim
yaḥ pratigri-
36 [hṇāti] yasya(yas-cha) bhūmim praya[ch*]chhatī | ubhau [t]au [punya-karmāṇau
niyatau svarga-gāminau || [12*] ◆ ||
37 [Asya Kāla-paṇḍi]ta[sya] vaṇika(g)-Gaṇē[s]varēṇa ||(li)khitam-iti ||

No. 6.—INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HAMMIR OF RANTHAMBHOR,
DATED (V.S.) 1345.

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

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab which is built into a niche of the reservoir in front of the temple of Kāvājī (Kapālīśvara) lying in the Balvan estate of the Kotāh principality of Rājputānā. It was discovered by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, who gave a brief account of it in the *Annual Report* of the Rājputānā Museum at Ajmer for the year 1920-21. It is in a good state of preservation. On account of its importance for the history of the Chauhāns of Ranthambhor as well as the Paramāras of Mālwa, a detailed notice of it seems to be necessary, and is given below with the text based on the ink impressions kindly placed at my disposal by the said scholar.

† Superfluous.

¹ The syllable *pha* is written below the line.

² Read *bhūd-apaśla-* as in other inscriptions.

³ The second half of verse 10 is missing.

the *Chākapa* which flows to the left of Kavālji's temple. *Mandākinī* is the *Madākapa* which flows behind the temple. *Maṇḍapa* (v. 7) is the famous fortress of *Māṇḍu*. *Jhampāithā Ghaṭṭa*, as the name shows, might be a hill pass or a river ford somewhere in or about the Kotah territory. *Kētumukhā* (v. 2) and *Karkarālagiri* (v. 8) I cannot identify. *Rapas-tarābhapura* is the fortress of *Rapatharābhōr* in the Jaipur State. *Pashyaka* (v. 12) may be the old palace of Hammira.

As to the personages spoken of in the inscription, *Prithvirāja* is the famous chivalrous Chauhan king of Ajmer. *Vāgbhaṭa* was the fourth in succession from *Gōvindarāja*,¹ and is also known as *Bāhaḍa* or *Bāhaḍadēva*. He went for some time to *Mālwa* owing to some internal dissension with his nephew, and consequently *Ranthambhōr* fell into the hands of the *Muhamadans*. He, however, soon returned and once more became master of *Ranthambhōr*.² He was twice attacked by *Ulugh Khān* in the time of 'Alāu-d-dīn *Khālji*.³ *Jaitrasimha* (v. 7) was the son and successor of *Vāgbhaṭa*. In Samvat 1339 (A.D. 1283), he handed over the reins of Government to his son *Hammira* and went into seclusion.⁴ *Hammira* (v. 10) was the last independent Chauhan king of *Ranthambhōr*. His fame is sung in many a Sanskrit and Prākṛit verse. According to the *Hammira-mahākāvya*, the date of his accession is Samvat 1339 (A.D. 1283), but, according to the genealogy given at the end of the *Prabandhakōsha*, it is Samvat 1342 (A.D. 1285). He led a series of successful warlike expeditions into different countries. In one of the many battles fought by him, he is said to have defeated *Rājā Arjuna* of *Sarasapura*⁵—a fact which does not quite agree with that of this inscription. He was killed in Samvat 1358 (A.D. 1301).⁶ *Jayasimha* (v. 7), who was harassed by *Jaitrasimha*, was the *Paramāra* king *Jayasimhadēva* III of *Mālwa*. He succeeded *Jayavarman* II between Samvat 1317 and 1326 (A.D. 1260 and 1269), and ruled from A.D. 1261-1280.⁷ The *Kūrma* king, who is said to have been killed by *Jaitrasimha* (v. 8), belonged to the *Kachhavāha* (*Kachchhapaghāta* or *Kachchhapāri*) family of *Āmber*. It is generally believed that the *Kachhavāha* prince *Pājjuṇa* was one of the great vassals of *Prithvirāja* III of *Ajmer*.⁸ So, the *Kūrma* king mentioned above must be a descendant of *Pājjuṇa*. The *Kachhavāhas* of *Āmber* belonged to the junior branch of the *Kachhavāhas* of *Gwalior*. They were the descendants of *Sumitra*, the younger son of *Maṅgalarāja*, the third⁹ *Kachhavāha* ruler of *Gwalior*. According to the writer *Muhnot Nainsy* (A.D. 1619-1670), *Sōḍha* (*Sōḍhadēva*), who belonged to this junior branch, migrated to *Rājputānā* and took *Dyōsa* in *Jaipur* territory from the *Baragujaras*, and established his rule there.¹⁰ His descendants took *Āmber* from the *Mīnās* and made it their capital. *Āmber* remained the capital of the *Kachhavāhas* of *Rājputānā* till the time of *Sawāi Jaisimha* (A.D. 1699-1743) who founded the modern city of *Jaipur*. As to *Arjuna* (v. 11) of *Mālwa*, who is said to

¹ He was the founder of the ruling dynasty of the Chauhāns of *Ranthambhōr*. After the death of his father *Prithvirāja* in A.D. 1192, he was appointed governor of *Ajmer* by *Muhammad Ghori* but was soon driven out of *Ajmer* towards *Ranthambhōr* by his uncle *Harirāja* (*Hemrāja* or *Hirāj*). (Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 193.)

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, pp. 63-64.

³ Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 367-70.

⁴ The *Hammira-mahākāvya*, *Sarga* 8, *Śloka* 56. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 64, n. 14.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 64.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 73, n. 20.

⁷ The *Paramāras of Dhār and Mālwa* by Captain C. E. Luard and K. K. Iele, p. 41.

⁸ Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 717, n. 3.

⁹ Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. of India*, Vol. II, p. 374.

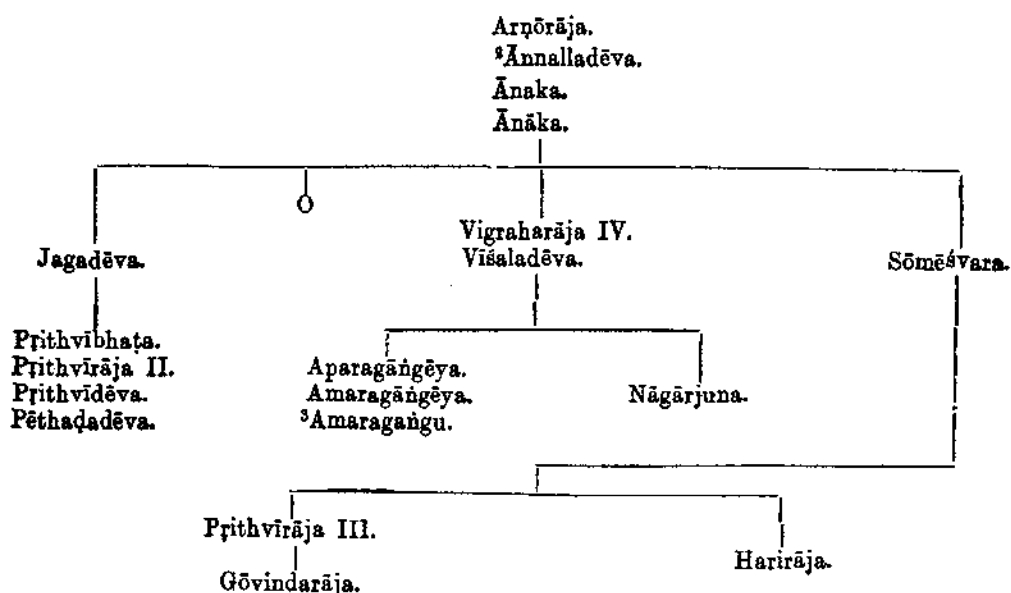
Muhnot Nainsy's Khayāta (manuscript), pp. 63-64. [Muhnot Nainsy was the minister of the *Mahārāja Jaswant Singh* (A.D. 1835-78) of *Jodhpur* and was a reliable writer of historical accounts of *Rājputānā*.]

¹⁰ *Muhnot Nainsy's Khayāta* (manuscript), p. 64. Supplementary notes to Tod's *Rajasthan* (in Hindi) by R. B. Pt. Gourishankar H. Ojha, p. 373.

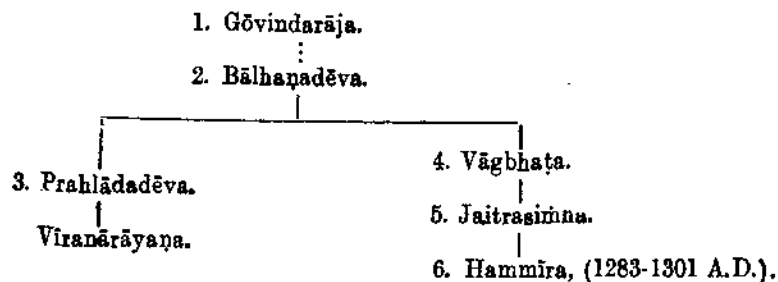
have been defeated by Hammīra (v. 11), he must be designated as Arjunavarman II in the genealogy of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa, as stated by Pandit Gourishankar Hirāchand Ojha and is different from the king named Arjuna or Arjunavarman who ruled Mālwa, but died before Samvat 1275 (A.D. 1218) and consequently could not be the contemporary of Hammīra of this record. In fact, he (Arjuna of this record) was the sixth in succession from Arjunavarman I and, therefore, must be the successor of Jayasimhadēva III of Mālwa, who was defeated by Hammīra's father Jaitrasimha. The defeat of Arjuna might have taken place between Samvat 1339 and 1345 (A.D. 1283 and 1288); that is, between the period of Hammīra's accession and the date of this record.

The genealogy of the Chauhāns of Ajmer and Ranthambhōr in the light of this inscription and other authorities would be :—

¹The Chauhāns of Ajmer.



²The Chauhāns of Ranthambhōr.

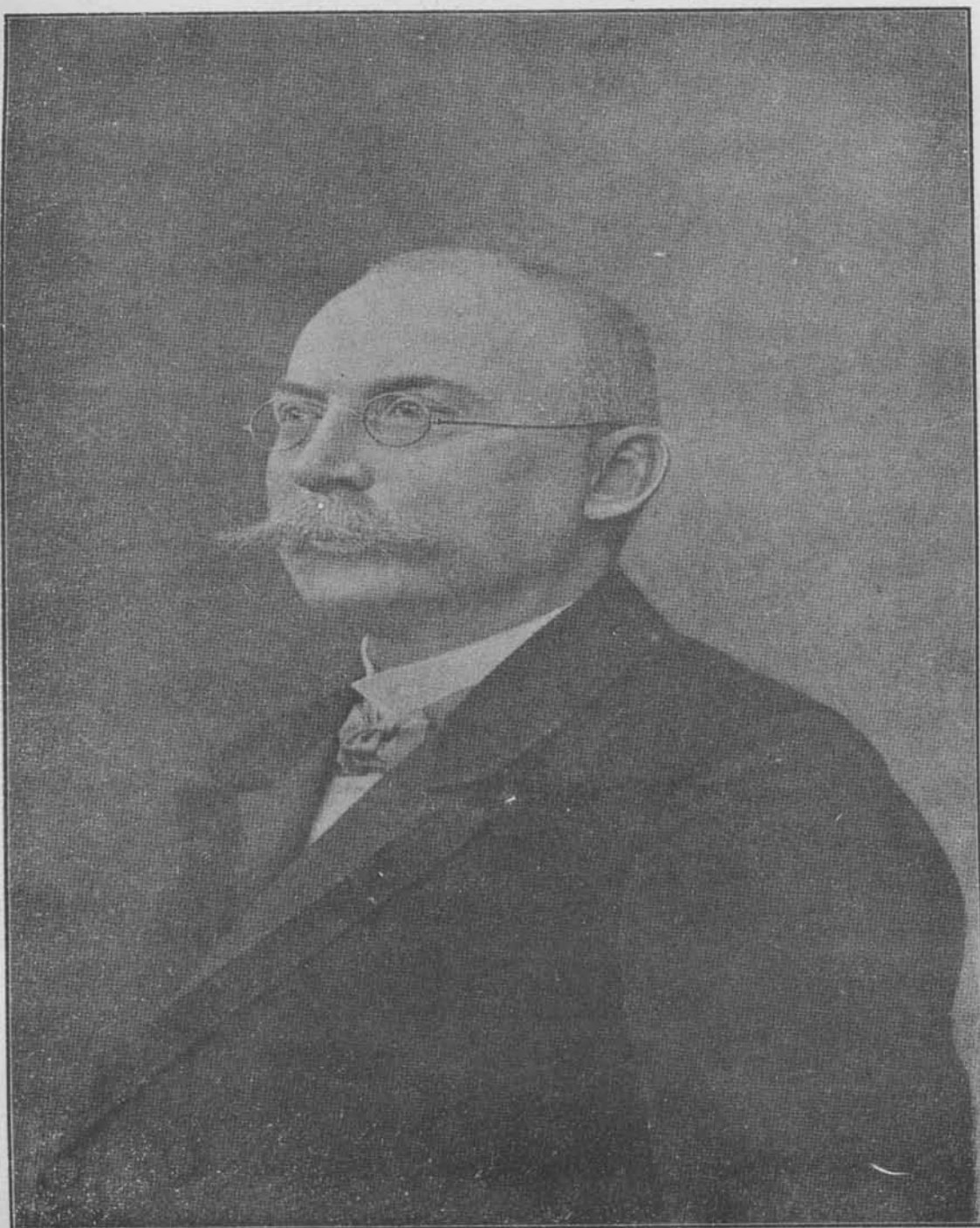


¹ According to *Prithvirāja-vijaya*, *Hammīra-mahākāvya* and several inscriptions.

² Professor Kielhorn read this name as Avēlladēva (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 218). The same is written in Duff's *Chronology*, p. 154. The correct name, however, is Annalladēva.

³ This name is given by Abul Fazl in his *Āin-i-Akbarī*. [Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. of India*, Vol. I, p. 153.]

⁴ According to the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*.



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(1886—1903).*

Born: 29th March 1857
at Dresden, Germany.

Died: 16th January 1927
at Halle (Saale),
Germany.

The position of Arjuna of this record in the genealogy of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa commencing from Arjunavarman I. would be (according to the inscriptions) :—

1. Arjunavarman I. (1210-15 A.D.).
2. Dēvapālādēva (1218-35 A.D.).
3. Jayatugidēva or Jayasimha II. (1243-57 A.D.).
4. Jayavarman II. (1257-60 A.D.).
5. Jayasimhadēva III. (A.D. 1269-.....).¹
6. Arjuna or Arjunavarman II.

TEXT.

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 12, 15, 19 to 22, 28 to 39, *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 2, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 5, *Āryā*; vv. 6 and 13, *Gṛī*; vv. 8 and 10, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 11 and 26, *Indravajrā*; v. 14, *Rathoddhatā*; v. 16, *Svāgatā*; v. 17, *Pajjhaṭikā*; v. 18, *Upajāti*; v. 23, *Sālinī*; v. 24, *Harinī*; v. 25, *Bhujāṅgaprayātā*; v. 27, *Sikhariṇī*.]

1

श्री ॥

[श्री] श्री 'लवोदरो देवादेककालं कलत्रयोः । 'बुद्धिसिद्धयोः स्तनस्यशङ्के-
तोरिव चतुर्भुजः ॥ १[॥*] दद्रुश्लोपदकुष्ठदुष्टवपुषामार्घं विनिघ्नवृषां कारुण्येन
समोद्धृतं

2

वितनुतां देवः कपाशोष्णरः ।

वामे यस्य चकास्ति चक्रतटिनी पृष्ठे च मंदाकिनी निर्यत्केतुमुखापगा-
जलवहं कुंडं प्रसिद्धं पुरः ॥ २[॥*] यदंतिके आहकृतां कुलजी-

3

टिविसृजितः ।

अनादिपादपोद्यापि दृश्यते किल शास्त्रलिः ॥ ३[॥*] चाहमाननरेन्द्राणां वंशो
विजयतामयं । उपायुज्यत यदंडः कलौ गोष्ठपरचक्षणे ॥ ४[॥*]

क-॥^२

4

लिकालकेसरिकुलचस्यशोचकरक्षणे दद्याः ।

अभवन्विजितविषयाः पृथिवीराजादयो भूपाः ॥ ५[॥*] तदंशे राजानो भानव
इव(व) वैधवा 'वभूवांसः । वाग्भट-

5

देवप्रमुखा जनकुमुदोज्ञासनैकसद्भावाः ॥ ६[॥*]

ततोभ्युदयमासाद्य जैवसिंहरविर्भवः । अपि मंडपमध्यस्थं जयसिंहमतो-
तपत् ॥ ७[॥*] कूर्मैश्चित्तोशकमठो-

¹ His reign may have lasted longer than 1280 A.D., vide l. n. 7 on p. 47 above.

² Read लवो°.

³ Read बुद्धि°.

⁴ The strokes are redundant.

⁵ Read वभूवांसः.

- 6 कठिनोदकंठ-
पीठोविलुंठ(ठ)नकठोरकुठारधारः । यः कर्करालगिरिपालकपालपालि-
खेलत्करालकरवालकरो विरेजे ॥८॥^१ येन भण्यवाच्ये
- 7 [मा]ल्लवेष्टभटाः यतं ।
१वहा रणस्तंभपुरे विष्ठा नीताश्च दासतां ॥९॥^२ तस्मिन्नुपवर्षघनदाननिदान-
पुष्पपथैः पुरंदरपुरीतिलकायमाने । २हाव्याप्यमाव्यपरि-
- 8 तोचितश्चवाहो
हंमोरभूपतिरविंद(द)त भूतधायाः [१*]॥१०॥^३ यः कोटिचोमवितयं चकार
अर्णीं गजानां पुनरानिनाय । निर्जित्य येनार्जुनमाजिभूर्धुं
- 9 श्रीर्मासवस्योज्जगृहे हठेन ॥११॥^४
रणस्तंभपुरे दुर्गो^५ वेश्म पुष्प(ण्य)कसंघ्रजं । तिष्ठभिर्भूमिभिर्युक्तं^६ यः कांचन-
मधौकरत् ॥१२॥^७ मयुरापुरीविनिर्गतकाय-
- 10 [स्व]कटारियान्ववायाव्यो^८ ।
जाता अनंतसेठश्रीधरसंघाः क्रमेण मणयः प्राक् ॥१३॥^९ लक्षणस्तदनु
लक्षणाधिको लक्षलक्षणविचक्षणोभवत् । यस्यलक्ष-^{१०}
- 11 मलकोमलेक्षणो कंठ^{११}ध्रुवस्ततयेव लक्ष्मणः ॥१४॥^{१२}
पूर्य्यपाक्षः स भूपालप्रियोस्य तनयोभवत् । यः प्राप यमुनापालम^{१३}वाल-
धरितं सुतं ॥१५॥^{१४} तस्य स्युरज-
- 12 निष्ट वरिष्ठो(ष्ठो)
विष्टपेपि खलु सोमचसंघः । देवराजदुहिता परिणोता येन श्रीलनिधि-
सोमलदेवो ॥१६॥^{१५} तस्य सुतोजनि नरपतिनामा भानुक्यानुक-^{१६}
- 13 नकसमधामा ।
यद्भुजनिजकीर्त्तिस्तदुवामा दूरमियर्त्ति सततमभिराम[१*] ॥१७॥^{१७} तस्यानुजग्मा-
भवदग्रकर्मा स श्रीपतिः श्रीपतिसक्तचेताः । अन्या-
- 14 गनासोदरताम्रतं यो
दधौ सुधासंघमिवास्तंभः ॥१८॥^{१८} श्रीमत्वरुणामाख्यमोचा^{१९}ग्वेरिंदिरोपमा ।
नयश्रीरिति विख्याता भार्या नरपतेरभूत् ॥१९॥^{२०}
- 15 १८[१*] य[क]मि(मि)मे(मे)व दिवसे इनात्वा अहासुधां^{२१}वुधा^{२२} ।

^१ Read वहा.^२ Read °याव्यो.^३ This stroke is redundant.^४ Read साधो.^५ This stroke is redundant.^६ Read °वाग्धो.^७ Read °दुक्तं.^८ Read °वाक्.^९ Read बुधो.

- तामकास्वादिस्तूनां ददौ सा दमघा तुलां ॥२०[॥*] वाचस्पत्यौ सिंघने
श्रीतम्यां स्नातया यया । सुवर्ण्यर्चनी
- 16 विप्रेभ्यो वितोष्या घेनवः शतं ॥२१[॥*]
व्यावसायिकुंडलाद्यादिना भूतिविभू[षि]ताः । व(व)भूवस्तुताः पंच महेश्वर-
मुष्णोपमाः ॥२२[॥*] तेषु ज्येष्ठः पद्मसिंहो नि-
- 17 रोहो
दोषव्यूहस्थि यत्कोत्तिहंस्था । प्रत्यर्थिस्त्रीवक्त्रपात्राजिपीतं हास्यचोरं
तद्वगंभो विमुक्तं ॥२३[॥*] यदतिशयितं रूपं दृष्ट्वा स्मरत्स्वरतमया सुसर-
- 18 सि तथा सस्ने कस्ने कयापि नृगीदृशा ।
तदुदकभरैरुष्णीभूतैर्भृशं परितापितः सकलसकुलव्यूहो वाङ्मोहतामि पतन्मया ॥
२४[॥*] परिष्ठातः ॥^१
- 19 सप्ताश्वमंभैकसारो
वभूव द्वितीयश्च श्रीरुद्रदारः । प्रियांभोजपुंजस्थितिं योज लक्ष्मीमघा-
त्यानहस्ताजगामेव शुभो [॥*] ॥२५[॥*] लोलजि(स्तृ)तीयस्त्रि-
- 20 पुरापरार्द्ध-
पादाक्षपूजाधिगतप्रसादः । भानूज्ज्वातोयतरंगसंगिहंसत्रियं विश्वदसंभ्रमो-
भूत् ॥२६[॥*] चतुर्थो भूनाथस्तुतपिविधदेमोद्वव-
- 21 लिपि-
प्र^२ बोधप्रावीक्षः सप्तजनि स लक्ष्मीवर इति । यमाजमुर्विद्या युग-
पदनवद्या द्विजहितं शुंकादीनां माता वहुफलरसोसदुभमिव ॥२७[॥*] स-
- 22 त्वरं गत्वरं मत्वा वित्तं वाडवसेवया ।
पात्रचाल^३ तस[र्व]स्त्रो यो वदान्यागव्यसिद्धापत् ॥२८[॥*] सोमः स पंचमो जोया-
दपूर्वं यम्मुखांशुव^४ । समस्थितवहि^५ ॥^६
- 23 श्रीमोरंतर्हो सरस्वती ॥ २९[॥*]
अभन्नमानमजडमकलकं विलोक्य यं । हृदये मर्षमालिन्यमिदुर्धत्तकक्षे-
तवात् ॥३०[॥*] पद्मसिंहस्य तनयो मीनसिंहः
- 24 सदा पितुः ।
शैमातुरः प्रियं कु[र्व]न्दीर्घमायुरवाप्नुयात् ॥३१[॥*] श्रीरुद्रास्त्रोस्ति तनयदितयं
दीर्घजीवितं । तच्चैवः केयवो नास्त्रा द्वितीयः खोडसंभ्र- ॥^७

^१ Read वाछे.

^२ Read °जगा°.

^३ Read प्रवी°.

^४ Read °वृक्ष°.

^५ The strokes are redundant.

^६ The strokes are redundant.

^७ Read °दास्य°.

^८ Read वहु°.

^९ Read वहि°.

^{१०} Read वभूव.

^{११} Read विज°.

^{१२} Better read पात्र चाल°.

^{१३} The strokes are redundant.

25

कः ॥३२[॥*]

गांगदेवो(व)स्तु मंगया लब्धो^१ लोलात्मजः सुखी । जयसिंहस्तु सोमस्य
सुतुः^२ स्नात्सुतप्रियः ॥३३[॥*] कर्दमालिखरस्याग्रे ज्ञानवापीति नामतः ॥
श्रि-

26

लासुवहसीपार्म कुंडं नरपतिर्धधात् ॥ ३४[॥*]

जैनसिंहस्य भूभर्तुः श्रोहंभीरनृपस्य च । नीतिशास्त्रेषु निष्णातो यो
लेभे मंत्रिसुख्यतां ॥३५[॥*] सहेव धीर-

27

स्वामिन्या सप्ताश्वः कुलदेवता ।

यत्कुलेनादिपुरुषादारभ्याद्यापि पूज्यते ॥३६[॥*] रणसंभपुरे दुर्गे देवालय-
चतुष्टयं । कारयामास वा-

28

पीं च ग्रामे पिप्पलवाटके ॥३७[॥*]

सिंहपुर्खा^३ कुरुक्षेत्रे गोदावर्या क्रमेण यः । गवां सहस्रमेकैकं विप्रेभ्यः
प्रत्यपादयत् ॥३८[॥*] श्रोहंभीरनृपो-

29

रस्य पीराणिकपदे स्थितः ।

वैजादित्यो नृपामात्यः^४ प्रथस्तिमतनोदिभां ॥३९[॥*] संवत् १३४५ वर्षे
चटिता सूचधारचिविक्रमसुतमाजुकेन ॥

No. 7.—AHAR STONE INSCRIPTION.

By DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., RAI BARADUR.

The stone slab on which this inscription is engraved is stated to have been discovered in a ruined house in the ancient town of *Āhār* situated on the banks of the Ganges at a distance of seven miles north of Anūpahahr and twenty-one miles from Bulandshahr. Mr. W. E. J. Dobbs, Collector of Bulandshahr, was informed of this discovery when he was camping at *Āhār* for the Christmas week of 1923, and at the suggestion of the Hon'ble Mr. R. Burn, C.S.I., of the Board of Revenue, United Provinces, the inscribed stone has been transferred to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. The impression published with this paper has been kindly supplied by Mr. Prayag Dayal, the Curator of that institution.

According to Mr. H. R. Nevill,⁴ I.C.S., the name of *Āhār* is locally derived from *ahi* and *hār* (Sanskrit *hāra*), the killing of the serpent,⁵ and the present town is said to be the place where Janamējaya performed the great Snake-sacrifice. *Āhār* is also locally believed to have been the residence of Rukmiṇī, the wife of Kṛishṇa, and the temple of Ambikādēvī at Muhammadpur is said to be that from which Kṛishṇa carried her off.⁶ The numerous mounds in and about *Āhār* show that the town was the seat of a Hindu principality for some centuries previous to the Musalman invasion. None of these mounds has yet been explored.

¹ Read लः.² Read 'सुवह'.³ [Evidently an instance of popular etymology.—Ed.]⁴ [But that was in Vidarbha (Berār) !—Ed.]⁵ [Perhaps सुर्यसुता^० is meant.—Ed.]⁶ *Bulandshahr Gazetteer*, p. 172.

The inscription consists of twenty-eight lines which cover a space of 3' 4" × 1' 8½". The whole of the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation except for a portion measuring 8" × 5" which is defaced on account of the flaking off of the stone in the upper left corner of the slab. Three or four letters have also mostly disappeared in the lowest or last line. The letters measure about half an inch in height exclusive of the vowel marks. The characters are Nāgarī of about the 10th century A.D., and are regularly and beautifully formed and artistically engraved from beginning to end. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose throughout, though the author of the record would seem to have been equipped with a meagre knowledge of Sanskrit grammar while some of the mistakes appear to betray the influence of the vernacular of the period. As regards orthography, *ba* has throughout been denoted by the sign for *va*, while the dental sibilant has often been employed in place of the palatal. Besides this we notice many other mistakes and defects of various kinds. Some of these are :—

The use of the vowel *च* for *रि* and *रौ* in *चतुर्थ* in place of *चद्वि* (ll. 14, 16 and 20) and *पटकाय* for *पटिकाय* (l. 24) and *च* for *यौ* (ll. 11 and 27); the use of *चक्षु* for *चक्षु* (l. 3), *सम्पार्जन* for *सम्पार्जन* (l. 5) and *सम्पत्* for *सम्पत्* (ll. 12, 18 and 21); the use of short vowels in place of long ones as in *भद्रप्रकाशनाम* in place of *भद्रप्रकाशनाना* (l. 3, etc.); single consonants for double ones and *vice versa*, as in *उत्तर* for *उत्तर* (ll. 7, 10, etc.), *देहादूतक* for *देहादूतक* (ll. 7 and 20), *महात्मने* for *महात्मने* (ll. 6, 20, etc.), *चाघाट* for *चाघाट* (ll. 9, 10, 13, etc.) and *माहक* for *माहक* (ll. 10, 11, 21, etc.).

Examples of wrong *sandhi* are *एकन* for *एकीन* (l. 1); *वर्णिक* for *वर्णिक* (l. 5, etc.). In some cases *sandhi* is ignored between the component parts of the same compound as in *दक्षपथिक चमरा* in l. 2; *श्रीतपसचट्य* in l. 6; *भद्रद* in l. 10; *भक्तिराजसमाकयो* (l. 13), etc. Specimens of extraordinary *sandhi*, one of which is repeated several times in the inscription, are *आवागाराघाटा* in place of *आवागाराघाटा* and *पूर्वतो रद्वे* for *पूर्वत रद्वे* (l. 4). Examples of wrong absolutes are *दत्ता* for *दत्ता* (l. 11), and *मनीभूता* for *मनीभूत* (ll. 8 and 18). Examples of irregular participles are *प्रतिवसमानः* (l. 3) and *प्रतिवसमानाः* (l. 17), etc.

As regards the treatment of nouns, we observe the omission of case-endings in *चक्षु* (चक्षु)-*चक्षुष* (l. 3), *मधुसूदनतया* (l. 8), *रद्वे* (l. 10), etc. Sometimes wrong cases have been employed :—

Cf. *विप्रकीर्ण* for *विप्रकीर्ण* (l. 4), *समस्तीक्ष्णसमेता* for *समस्तीक्ष्णसमेता* (l. 4), *चपापुरे* for *चपापुरात्* (l. 7), etc. Bases ending in consonants are in some cases declined like those ending in *च*, e.g., *वर्णिक* in place of *वर्णिका* (l. 9), and *वक्षि* for *वक्षि* (l. 23).

In connection with compounds, the *visarga* is sometimes wrongly used in the earlier components, *cf.* *पादावस्थातःपरम* (l. 1). As instances of irregular causatives and their derivatives, we notice *अभिलिखाय* (l. 3), *परकीर्णता* (l. 7) and *धवलापन* (ll. 5 and 28). In the text given below many of the mistakes have been corrected in round brackets. Owing to bad grammar the meaning of some of the passages remains uncertain. For this reason only a comprehensive summary of the contents instead of a complete translation is given.

Like the Siyadōni stone inscription, the present epigraph is a collective public copy of a series of ten separate documents recorded at different dates. The inscription itself is not dated, but each of the component records contains its own date. Inscription No. I is interesting inasmuch as it is dated in the reign of the Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara and illustrious Bhōjadēva (of Kanauj), the successor and, presumably, the son of the Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara and illustrious Rāmabhadradēva. Other known inscriptions of this king are the Deogaḍh Jain pillar inscription of the Vikrama year

919 and the Śaka year 784, the Peheṇā (Pehon) inscription of the Harsha-Saṃvat 276, the undated *prabasti* at Gwalior, the inscription in Pāṇḍavō-kā-kila at Delhi,¹ the Gwalior inscription of Vikrama-Saṃvat 932, and the Gwalior inscription of Vikrama-Saṃvat 933.²

The remaining nine documents of the present inscription do not mention the names of the kings who were ruling at the time they were recorded. Nine of the ten dates mentioned in the inscriptions are given in terms of the Harsha era, though the name of the era is nowhere specified. This is also the case in the Dighwā Dubauli plate of Mahārāja Mahēndrapālādēva and other inscriptions, the dates of which must evidently be referred to the Harsha era. It will be observed that the tens and units figures of the dates in the first two inscriptions are denoted by numerical symbols, and the hundreds by ordinary numeral figures, as is the case with the dates of the remaining eight inscriptions. These dates range between the years 258 and 298, corresponding respectively to A.D. 864 and A.D. 904. The tenth inscription, i.e., No. IV of the series, is dated in the Vikrama year 943. The exact duration of the reign of Bhōjadēva is not known and all that we know at present is that he was ruling at Kanauj (Mahōdaya or Kānyakubja) in the years 862, 875, 876 and 882. Smith³ assigned to Bhōja a reign of half a century (circa 840-890 A.D.), although no inscription of as early a date as A.D. 840 and attributable to his rule was forthcoming when he wrote. This want is now supplied by an inscription of Bhōja found at Barah, District Cawnpore, which is dated in the Vikrama-Saṃvat 893 (A.D. 836) and has recently been published.⁴ It clearly shows that the king had come to the throne of Kanauj even four years earlier than had been tentatively supposed by the late Mr. Smith. There is, however, no epigraphical evidence of Bhōja having continued to reign beyond A.D. 882 and consequently we can only refer documents Nos. I, II and IX with certainty to Bhōja and Nos. III, VIII and X to his successor Mahēndrapāla, who, we know from the Siyaḍōni inscription, was reigning between the years 903-04 and 907-08 A.D. The remaining four inscriptions (Nos. IV to VII) whose dates range between A.D. 886 and A.D. 902 must have been issued in the time of either Bhōja or Mahēndrapāla.

Summary of the inscription.

Document No. I. [Lines 1-2.] This epigraph simply states that on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārggaśira, (Harsha)-Saṃvat 259 (=A.D. 865), (given in words and figures), in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Bhōjadēva, meditating on the feet of Mahārājādhirāja Rāma-bhadrādēva, this excellent eulogy was engraved at Tattānandapura at the bidding of the messenger, the *daṇḍapāśika* Amarāditya and under the orders of the illustrious (and) noble Chāturvaidya, i.e., the community of Brāhmaṇas⁵ acquainted with the four *Vēdas*.

Document No. II. [ll. 2-6.] This inscription appears to state that on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha, [Harsha]-Saṃvat 258 (in words and figures), Bhadraprakāśa, son of Bhaddāka Amśuvāka of the *vaṇik-varhkaṭa* caste which had migrated from Bhillamāla and was residing at Tattānandapura, and Māumika, son of Gōśuka and of the Lam-bakañchuka-*vaṇik* caste, purchased with *drammas* belonging to the illustrious Kañchanadēvi,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, App., *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 14, 15, 16 and 546; *A. S. R.*, 1903-04, pp. 277 seq., and the *Annual Report of the Ajmer Museum* for 1923-24, p. 3 respectively. The Delhi inscription was found built in a modern flight of steps inside the Talaqi gate of the Pāṇḍavō-kā-kila or the Indrapat Fort, as it is commonly called. At my suggestion this inscription has been taken out and placed in the Delhi Fort Museum.

² [The Barah copper-plate may also be added to this list.—Ed.]

³ *Oxford History of India*, p. 133.

⁴ See above, pp. 15 ff.

⁵ Now called Chāube.—Ed.]

an *āvārī* (a shop or enclosure), which contained three rooms, together with entire elevation, and that the community of the *Saṃvārṇika* traders together with the two persons Bhadra and Māuṅka assigned the *āvārī* in question to the aforesaid temple of Kañchanadēvi to provide funds for perpetual cleaning and plastering, saffron, flowers, incense, lamps, flags, whitewashing and the repairs of broken and cracked buildings. Obviously what is meant by the passage is that the materials, etc., mentioned above, were to be provided for out of the rent of the place acquired and the entire community of the *saṃvārṇikas*, with sons, grandsons and other descendants, is enjoined to respect the transaction mentioned in the record. The inscription contains a detailed description of the situation and boundaries (*chaturāghāṭa*) of the *āvārī*, which stood in the centre of the town (Tattānandapura), in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar.

Document No. III. [ll. 6-7.] Like document No. I, this epigraph also simply records that this inscription was engraved at Tattānandapura at the bidding of the messenger Kaluvā and under the orders of the illustrious *Uttara-sabhā* (Supreme-association), on the eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra, when two hundred years of the [Harsha] era increased by ninety-eight (= A.D. 904) had elapsed.

Document No. IV. [ll. 7-11.] This inscription registers the fact that there were four persons, named Mādhava, the son of Nāga, who was the son of...., his (Mādhava's) younger brother Madhusūdana, Kēśava, the son of Gōvinda, the son of Sarvvasa, and Dēvanāga, the son of Sarvvasa, and that, after bathing in the Ganges at a lunar eclipse, they gave, on the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa of [Vikrama]-Samvat 943 (expired), for the increase of their parents' and their own religious merit and fame, as surety for a monthly payment of ten *vinśōpakās* to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvi, a house-site which had been acquired by their grandfather Maṃgalavarman for a term of ninety-nine years and on which they had themselves constructed with burnt bricks two *apavarakas* (inner apartments) which faced to the east, half of which was occupied by a large pillared hall, and which were entered by doorways on the east side. The donors further enjoin their sons, grandsons and other descendants in succession to enjoy the rent of the above-mentioned house after they had paid every month ten *vinśōpakās* to the temple of the goddess named above. The house in question was situated in the central portion of the eastern bazaar of Tattānandapura and its boundaries were :—

On the east, a lane ; on the south, the site of the house belonging to Vijātta ; on the west, the site of the house belonging to Bhaṭṭa Imbra ; and on the north, the house of the merchant Ujuvāka.

Document No. V. [ll. 11-14.] This inscription states that on the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, when 280 years of the [Harsha] era had elapsed, the *gōshāhi* purchased with money belonging to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvi, by a deed of ninety-nine years, the southern half of a building site, measuring 27 cubits on each side, which was situated in the south-eastern portion of the same town and contained a dwelling of burnt brick facing to the west and two *āvārīs* facing to the south together with all the inner apartments and total elevation, from Bhaṭṭa I(ṭ)śvara, the son of Mahādēva, and Mahādēva, the son of Asaiva, who belonged to the illustrious noble Chāturvaidya caste, residing at the illustrious Tattānandapura, with the consent of the mother Iyattā and gave it to the temple.

Document No. VI. [ll. 14-16.] This inscription records that on the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīra, when two hundred and eighty-seven years of the [Harsha] era had elapsed, an *āvārī* comprising three rooms, and facing towards the west, which was situated in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar, inside the town of Tattānandapura, was acquired, with padlocks and wooden doors together with entire elevation, with money belonging to the

illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvi, from the *kshatriya* merchant Sāhaka, the son of Ichchhuka, by a sale deed of the extreme duration of ninety-nine years. The boundaries of the place were :—

On the east, the house belonging to the merchant Pāṇeka; on the south, the *āvārī* of Gandhaśrīdēvi; on the west, the bazaar; on the north, the *āvārī* belonging to Sarvvadēva, the son of the merchant Jayanti.

Document No. VII. [ll. 16-20.] This document registers the fact that on the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year 296 of the [Harsha] era, the Sauvarṇṇika Mahājana acquired, with money belonging to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvi, by a charter of ninety-nine years' duration, an *āvārī*, which faced to the east, was constructed with burnt bricks, comprised three rooms, and was situated in the town of Tattānandapura in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar, together with the padlocks and doors and the entire elevation, from Bhaṭṭa Divākara, the son of Bhaṭṭa-Tārāgaṇa, Achyutaśiva and Dāmōdaraśiva, the sons of Saiva-Bhaṭṭa-Diyāka, and Ānanda-Bhaṭṭa-Śiva, the son of Achyutaśiva, all of whom resided in Tattānandapura, belonged to the noble Chāturvaidya caste, followed the Bahvricha-*sākhā* of the Rīgvēda and belonged to the Śarkarākshi-*gōtra*.

The *āvārī* in question was bounded on the east by the bazaar, on the south by the *āvārī* belonging to the illustrious Daśavatāra-*dēva* (ten incarnations), on the west by the temple belonging to Śrī-Nandā-Bhagavatī, and on the north by the *āvārī* belonging to the temple of Sarvvamaṅgaladēvi in the orchard of Sutuvāka with the consent of the mother Bhaṭṭinī Mahādēvi.

Document No. VIII. [ll. 20-22.] This inscription was recorded at the bidding of the messenger Kavilāka and under the orders of the illustrious *Uttara-sabhā* at Tattānandapura on the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha in the year 298 of the [Harsha] era (=A.D. 904). Here we learn that formerly (*i.e.*, in Vikrama-Samvat 943) Sarvvasa, the son of Maṅgala-varmman mentioned above (inscription No. IV), together with sons and grandsons, had given a house, facing towards the east, as a surety for the monthly payment of ten *viṃśōpakās* out of its rent. This inscription records that the *kshatriyas* Kōkāka and Padmanābha, the sons of Mādhusūdana, who resided in Tattānandapura, also Lachchikā, the wife of Dēvanāga, and Sampat, the wife of Mādhava, made over the entire rent by a deed of ninety-nine years to the holy Kanakaśrīdēvi in consideration of payment out of the funds of the said temple by the Sauvarṇṇika Mahājana.

Document No. IX. [ll. 22-24.] This inscription states that on the 3rd *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āshāḍha, when 26½ years of the [Harsha] era had elapsed, the Sauvarṇṇika Mahājana purchased with money belonging to the illustrious Kañchanaśrīdēvi, by a sale deed of the extreme duration of ninety-nine years,¹ a house constructed with burnt bricks, together with its entire elevation, which faced towards the west, and was situated in the middle portion of the eastern bazaar in the town of Tattānandapura, from the merchant Mādhava, the son of Lēvanāga who belonged to the Māthura caste and was a seller of perfumes, residing in the above-mentioned town, who had originally purchased the house with his own money.

Document No. X. [ll. 24-28.] This inscription states that on the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, in the year 298 of the [Harsha] era, the Sauvarṇṇika Mahājana acquired, by a deed of ninety-nine years, with money belonging to the illustrious Kanakaśrīdēvi, six *āvārīs*, namely, one *āvārī* measuring 27 cubits along each side, the northern half of which was occupied by a house built with burnt bricks, one other which comprised two rooms, also three *āvārīs*, each comprising two rooms, and one *āvārī* consisting of two rooms one of which faced to the north and the other to the west, from Bhaṭṭa Īśānadatta, the son of Bhaṭṭa Kēśava, who belonged to the noble Chāturvaidya caste, the Bhāradvāja.

¹ Mr. H. Sastri informs me that the ninety-nine years' lease is well-known in Southern India.

gōtra and the *Bahvīcha-sākhā* (of the *Rigvēda*). These *āvāris* were situated in the middle portion of the north-eastern part of the town of *Tattānandapura*, and had descended to the seller from his father and grandfather, after being duly partitioned with his uncle, grandfather and brothers. The boundaries of the property purchased are duly mentioned and it is further remarked that whatever rent accrues from this immovable property should be religiously applied to the provision of saffron, incense, flowers, lamps, flags and to whitewashing and the repairs of the broken portions of the temple.

From the above extracts it will be seen that as many as seven of the documents included in the inscription record acquisition of land or houses with the revenues of a temple of the goddess *Kanakadēvī* which was situated in the town of *Tattānandapura*. This goddess is denoted by the synonymous name of *Kaṇṇchanadēvī*, i.e. *Kāṇchanadēvī*, in documents Nos. II and IX. Six of these purchases (Nos. II, VI-X) were effected by the *Sauvarṇṇika-Mahājana* while the seventh (No. V) was accomplished by *gōshṭhis* or a certain *gōshṭhi*, presumably the managing committee of the temple, which, apparently, controlled the *Mahājana* mentioned above. This assumption is borne out by document No. X from which we learn that whereas the acquisition of the property mentioned therein was made by the *Sauvarṇṇika Mahājana*, it was the function of the *gōshṭhi* to ensure the application of the rent derived from it to the provision of the usual materials of worship and repairs, etc. The *Uttara-sabhā* mentioned in inscriptions Nos. III and VIII would appear to have been identical with the *gōshṭhi* referred to above or the general controlling body. The object of these purchases would appear to have been the safe investment of the income of the temple. The houses or other property thus acquired were let out on rent and the amount thus obtained was utilized for the maintenance of the temple, the entire capital thus remaining intact.

The persons from whom the property referred to above was purchased were either merchants of different castes (Nos. II, VI and IX) or *Bhāṭṭas*, i.e., *Brāhmaṇas* (Nos. V, VII and X), all of whom resided in the town of *Tattānandapura*. It will be noticed that most of these sales were subject to a lease of ninety-nine years' duration. Inscription No. IV is the only record of a free gift which was donated by four private persons after bathing in the *Ganges* at a lunar eclipse.

The temple of *Kanakadēvī*, mentioned above, was situated in the town of *Tattānandapura*, spelt as *Tātānandapura* in one or two places, which must have formed part of the dominions of *Bhōjadēva* as is evident from document No. I. This town was most probably identical with the town of *Āhār* where the inscription under discussion has been discovered and like which it was situated on the banks of the *Ganges*. *Tattānandapura* must have been an important town, for, besides the temple of *Kanakadēvī*, it contained temples dedicated to other Brahmanical deities also. Such were the temples of the goddess *Nandā-Bhagavatī* and *Vāmana-svāmin* mentioned in inscription No. II; *Gandhadēvī* (inscription No. VI); the ten incarnations of *Vishṇu* and *Sarvvaṃśaladēvī* (No. VII). Some of these edifices may still be buried in the mounds at *Āhār*. The town contained main bazaars (*haṭṭa-mārgga*), main streets (*vāṭṭa-rathyā*) and small streets (*ku-rathyā*), and the houses in it were constructed mostly with burnt bricks. It must also have been an important centre of trade, for merchants migrated to it from the distant towns of *Bhillamāla* (modern *Bhīmāl* or *Bhilmāl*), the ancient capital of southern *Rājputāna* mentioned in inscription No. II, and *Apāpura*¹ (inscription No. IV) which cannot yet be identified.

¹ It is difficult to say if this place has anything to do with *Apāpuri* or *Pāpā* or *Pāvā*, situated seven miles to the south-east of *Bihar* town, where *Mahāvīra*, the 24th *Tirthankara*, died or attained *Kēvalihood*. Vide *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, by *Nandlal Dey*, *Indian Antiquary*, October 1923, page 148.

The only state official mentioned in the inscription is the *daṇḍapāṭika* Amarāditya in No. I. Only two varieties of coins are named in the inscription. These are the *drammas* (l. 3) and the *vinśōpakās* (ll. 10, 11 and 20). Coins of the former designation are well known. The *vinśōpakās* would appear to have been a fractional part of the *dramma*.

TEXT.¹

[Document No. I.]

- 1 [परम]भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीरामभट्टदेवपादानुधातः(त)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानामभिप्रवर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये सख्यत्तरग्रतद्वये पञ्च(को)नषष्टाधिके म(मा)र्गशिरमासव(व)हुलपञ्चदशम्यां सख्यत्स्रो²(स्रराः)२५८
- 2 [मा]र्गशिर [वदि १० अस्यां स]ख्यत्तरमासदिवसपूर्व्यायान्तियाविह श्रीतत्तानन्दप(पु)रे श्रीमदार्यचातुर्विंश्यादेशाहणपात्रिक चमरादित्यदूतकवचनाश्रमस्योयसुखीर्षा³ ॥ [Document No. II] तथाऽतीतसख्यत्तरग्रतद्वये षष्टपञ्चाशदधिके आषाढमासव(व)हुलपञ्चदशम्यां सख्यत्स्रो²(स्रराः) २५८ आषाढव(व)दि १० अस्यां सख्य-
- 3 त्तरमासदिव[सपूर्व्यायान्तिया]विह श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमानः श्रीभक्तमालविनिर्मातवस्विम्बर्कटजातीयभट्टप्रकाशनाम(मा) महाकचन्सु(चंगु)पाकपुत्रः[*] तथा लब्ध(व्य)कञ्चुकवणिजजातीयमाउंकः गोसुकपुत्रः[*] अनयोर्काजा पञ्चमभिलिखाप्य श्रीमत्कचनश्रीदेव्या द्वयैः क्रयस्त्रीतावारी इहैव पत्तनाम्भ-
- 4 [नरे] पूर्ववद्भूमध्य[प्रदेशे चिमकीठां(ठा)] तलार्हसमस्तोष्णयसमेतां(ता) अस्यावार्यारा(वा)घाटा यत्र भवन्ति पूर्वतो(त) इहैव पत्तनाह(ह)हिर्हचिषस्यां दिशि या नन्दा भगवतो देवी तस्यास्तत्कं पञ्चेष्टकं गृहं दक्षिणतो भट्टनीषाकव(व)हिस्फोटसत्कावारी पश्चिमतो चट्टमार्गः उत्तरतो वामनस्ता-
- 5 [मि]⁵ . . सत्कावारी एवं [चतुराघाह(ट)विश्व]⁶ . . . [इहैव] पत्तनाह(ह)हिर्हचिषस्यां दिशि श्रीकचनश्रीदेव्यायतनस्य इहैव श्रीमत्तातानन्दपुरनिवासिस्त्रीवर्षिकवणिक्क(म्भ)हाजनेन भट्टमाउंकाभ्यां च सदा सख्या(म्या)र्गोपलीपनकुंजमपुष्यधूपप्रदीपध्वजाध्वलापनसिन्दूरखण्डस्तुटित-

¹ [The floral designs separating these documents, though seen on the plate, are omitted in the text.—Ed.]

² [The conjunct letter त् of the ligature goes with *samvat* and the symbol for *śro* stands for hundred. So the correct reading would be *samvat* 100 × 2 (i.e., 200) etc.—Ed.]

³ Written below the line.

⁴ The usual form would be प्रवर्द्धितसुखीर्षा, though the words in the original inscription might do, if some such word as कृतिः, प्रवर्द्धितः etc. were supplied by the reader.

⁵ Here two letters are missing.

⁶ Here three or four letters are missing.

- 6 [समरचनादिषु]¹ प्रतिपादिता । यतोद्य
प्रवृत्ति समस्तसौवर्णिकमहाज्ज(क)नेन पुत्रपौत्रात्(न्व)यसहितेन यथाभिलि-
खितपात्रनेयं कर्त्तव्येति ॥ [Document No. III] तथातीतसम्बत्सरशतद्वये
अष्टनवत्यधिके चैत्रमासशीतपञ्च अष्टम्यां सम्ब-
- 7 [त्सर २८८ चैत्र शु० ८ अस्यां सम्बत्सरमासदिवसपूर्वायामिह श्रीतत्तानन्द-
पुरे श्रीमदुत्त(त्त)रसभादेशादू(ह)तककलुषावचनात् लिखितसु^२क्तीर्षिता
च ॥ [Document No. IV] त[थ]स(था) अतीतसम्बत् ८४३ पौषव(व)दि
१३ अस्यां तिथाविह श्रीमदपापुरे का[र्या]भ्यागताः श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरवास्त-
- 8 [व्य*] सुतनागः नागसुतमाधवः अस्थ लघुभ्राता मधु-
सूदन[ः*] तथा सर्वससुतगोविन्दः अस्थ सुत[ः*] केशवः तथा सर्वससुत-
देवनाग[ः*] चत्वारो ये ते [ए*]कमतीभूत्वा(य) श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे पूर्व-
वृद्धमध्यप्रदेशे श्रीमदार्यचातुर्व्ये-
- 9 य[स्तस्य] [सत्का गृहभूमि][ः*] अस्मदीयपितामहमंगल-
वर्म्मे(र्षी)ण(णा) नवनवतिपञ्चेण गृहीता स्वयंकारितपूर्वाभिमुखपक्षोष्टक-
मपवरकद्वयं^३ विशालकस्तम्भसा(शा)लातलाहं समस्तोच्छ्रयसमेतं पूर्ववहा-
रभोग्यं अस्याचाष्टा(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः कुर्यादक्षिण-
- 10 तः विज[र]इसत्का गृहभूमि[ः*] पश्चिमतो भट्ट-इद्रसत्का गृहभूमि[ः*]
उत्त(त्त)रतो वयिक्-उज्जुवाकगृहं एवं चतुराचाष्ट(ट)विशुद्धं गृहं
सोमपद्वये गंगादेव्यां स्नात्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिः(भि)वृध्य-
(व्रा)ह्मं प्रतिपद्यपञ्चेण दस(श)विंशोपकामासप्रदेयभाष्ट(ट)कन्यासे-
- 11 न श्रीकनकश्रु(श्री)देव्याय(व्यै) प्रदत्तं अस्मदीयपुत्रपौत्रसंतत्यानुक्रमेण भाष्ट-
(ट)कमध्ये विंशोपका दश दत्वा(चा) भोक्तव्यमिति ॥ [Document
No. V] तथातीतसम्बत् २८० फाल्गुन व(व)दि ८ अस्यां तिथाविह
श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमानश्रीमदार्यचातुर्व्येदसामान्यभट्ट(है)श्वर-
- 12 महादेवपुत्रअसैवसुतमहादेवमाताइयडासम्म(म्भ)तेन इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यन्तरे पूर्व-
दक्षिणदिग्भिभागे स्वकीयक्रयक्रीता उभयसप्ता(प्र)विंशतिहस्तप्रमाणा गृहभूम्यर्धं
दक्षिणपारश्वो(श्री)यं पश्चिमाभिमुखं पक्षोष्टकं गृहं दक्षिणाभिमुखा(खं)
आवारीद्वयं समस्तचपव-

* Here about 22 letters are missing.

* [Possibly it stands for सित^०.—Ed.]

* Read ° लिखित.

* I had originally read पक्षोष्टक(का)मपवरक. I am indebted to Mr. H. Sastri for the reading °मपवरक.

- 13 रक्तैः समस्तोच्छ्रयसमेतं अस्व'गृहावार्योराघाटा(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः भट्ट-
च्छितराकभमाकयो[*] सत्कगृहभूमि[*] दक्षिणतो ढ(वृ)हद्रथा पश्चिमतः
कुरथ्या उत(त्त)रतो(तः) सहुलाकसत्कगृहभूम्यर्ध उत(त्त)रपारश्चो(श्चो)यं
एवं चतुराघाट(ट)विशुद्धं गृहभूम्यर्धं गृहावारौहयसमेतं
- 14 श्रीकनकश्रीदेव्या द्रव्येण गो[छि]भि[*]र्क(क)यक्रीताः(तं) भट्ट(ड)श्वरादिभिः
नवनवतिपक्षेण विक्रीता(तं) सम्प्रदत्ता(त्त)श्च(श्च) ॥ [Document
No. VI] तथातीतसम्बत् २८७ मार्गशिर व(व)दि ११ अस्यां
तिथाविह श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमानराजा चतु(त्ति)यान्वयः वणिक्सहाक
इच्छुकपुत्र इहैव
- 15 पत(त्त)नाभ्यंतरे पूर्वहट्टमध्यप्रदेशे स्वकीयक्रयक्रीता पश्चिमाभिमुखारो
त्ति(त्ति)प्रकोष्ठा तलो(ला)र्धं तालकपट्टकसमस्तोच्छ्रयसमेतास्वावार्यो [चा*]घाटा-
(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः वणिक्पाणिकसत्कगृहं दक्षिणतो(तः) श्रीगन्धश्रीदेव्या-
वारो पश्चिमतः हट्टमार्गः उत(त्त)रतो व-
- 16 शिक्जयंतिसुतसर्वदेवसत्कावारो एवं चतुराघाट(ट)विशुद्धा पश्चिमाभिमुखा-
वारो श्रीकनकश्रीदेव्या द्रव्ये(व्ये)ण सौवर्णिकमहाजनेन क्रयक्रीता चतु(त्ति)-
यमाहाकेन नवनवतिवर्षाणां (णां) चावत्यंतिकविक्रयपक्षेण^१ विक्रीता संप्रदत्ता-
(त्ता) च ॥ [Document No. VII] तथा संव-
- 17 त्वरशत^२ २८६ भाद्रपद शुदि १४ अस्यां तिथाविह श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिव-
समाना[*] श्रीमदा[र्य]चातुर्वेदसामान्याः शर्कराक्षिसगोक्षाः व(व)इचस[त्र]छा-
चारिणा(णो) भट्टदिवाकरभट्टतारागणपुत्रतथासैवभट्टदौयाकपुत्रौ अस्थुत-
शिवदामोदराशिवौ अस्य अस्थुतशि-
- 18 व[स्य*] पुत्रो(त्तः) आनन्दभट्टशिवो मातुभ(र्भ)ट्टिनोमहादेवोसम्म(म्मा)तेन एकमती-
भूत्वा(य) इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यंतरे पूर्वहट्टमध्यप्रदेशे पूर्वाभिमुखा पक्षेष्टका-
त्ति(त्ति)प्रकोष्ठा तलो(ला)र्धं तालकपट्टकसंयुक्तावारो समस्तोच्छ्रयसमेता
भट्टदौयाकेन स्वयमा(म)जिता क्रयेण अस्या वार्योरा(आ)-
- 19 घाटा(टा) यत्न भवन्ति पूर्वतः हट्टमार्ग[*] दक्षिणतो(तः) श्रीदशावतार-
देवसत्कावारो पश्चिमतः श्रीनन्दाभगवत्या[*] सत्कगृहं उत(त्त)रतोपि सुतुवा-
कवाट्टि(टि)कायां श्रीसर्वमंगलदेव्यायतने(न)सत्कावारो एवं चतुराघाट(ट)-
विशुद्धावारो श्रीकनकश्रीदेव्या[*] द्रव्येण सौवर्णिकमहा-

^१ Read अमयोः.^२ The word शत is superfluous.^३ Read चावत्यंतिकविक्रयपक्षेण.

- 20 क्क(ज)नेन क्रयक्रोताभट्टदोयाकादिभिः नवनवति(ति)पक्षेण विक्रोता ॥
[Document No. VIII] सम्वत् २८८ ज्येष्ठ शुदि १३ अस्यां तिथाविह
श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे श्रीमदुत(त्त)रसभासे(दे)शादू(दू)तककविस्त्राकवचनात् लिखितं
इहैव प्रतिवसमानो चतु(त्रि)यजातोयौ कोकाकपन्ननाभौ म-
- 21 धुसुदनपुत्रौ तथा देवनागभार्या लच्छिका तथा माधवभार्या सम्पदाभ्यां
सन्म(म्)तेन उपरिलिखितमंगलवर्गसुतसर्वससक्तपुत्रपौत्रैश्च श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे
दशविंशो(शो)पकमासप्रदेयभाट्ट(ट)कन्यासेन पूर्वभिमुखं गृहं दत्ता(त्तमा)सीत्ता-
प्रतं कोकाकादिभिः सर्वभा-
- 22 इ(ट)केन नवनवतिपक्षेण श्रीकनकश्रीदेव्या द्रवे(व्ये)ण सौवर्षिकमहाजनेन
क्रयक्रोतं कोकाकादिभिः सर्वभाट्ट(ट)केन निवेदितमिति ॥ [Document
No. IX] तथातोतसम्वत् २६१ आषाढ व(व)दि ३ अस्यां तिथाविह
श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमानगन्धिकमायुरजातीयवणिक(ग)माधव-
- 23 देवनागपुत्र इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यंतरे पूर्वहृदे मध्यप्रदेशे स्वकीयक्रयक्रोतं
पश्चिमाभिमुखं पक्षेष्टनं(कं) गृहं सर्वोच्छ्रयसमेतं अस्थाघाटा(टा) यच्च
भवन्ति पूर्वतः[*] सवचन्दाकसत्कावारी दक्षिणतोप्यसै(स्ये)वमाधवगृहं पश्चि-
मत(तो) वृ(वृ)हद्रथा उत्त(त्त)रतो वणिक(ग)मेचाकसत्कगृहं एवं च-
- 24 तुराघाट(ट)विशुद्धं गृहं श्रीकञ्चण(न)श्रीदेव्या द्रव्येण सौवर्षिकमहाजनेन नव-
नवत्यात्यन्तिकविक्रयपक्षेण क्रोतं वणिक(ग)माधवेन स्वहस्तपतु(त्रि)कायां
विक्रोतं सम्पदत(त्त)श्च ॥ [Document No. X] तथा सम्वत् २८८
भाद्रपद व(व)दि ५ अस्यां तिथाविह श्रीतत्तानन्दपुरे प्रतिवसमान-
- 25 श्रीमदार्यचातुर्वेद्यसामान्यभारद्वाजसगोक्षव(व)ज्जुचसत्र(ज)ज्ञाचारी भट्ट(ई)शानदत्त
(त्त) भट्टकेशवपुत्र इहैव पत(त्त)नाभ्यंतरे पूर्वोत्त(त्त)रदिग्विभागमध्यप्रदेशे पितु-
पितामहो(ह)यातपितृव्यपितामहावण्टनायातभ्रातृभिः सह वण्टनपु(प)त्रे-
णायाता क्रयक्रोता उ-
- 26 भयसप्ता(स)विंश(श)तिहस्तप्रमाणा गृहभूम्या(म्य)र्द्ध उत्त(त्त)रपारखो(र्षी)यं पक्षेष्ट-
कावारी एकप्रकोष्ठद्वयं तथा द्विप्रकोष्ठा(ष्ठं) वारोक्ष(त्र)यं उत्त(त्त)राभिमुखां
तथा पश्चिमाभिमुखा द्विप्रकोष्ठमेकं एवं(व)मावारो(र्यः) षट् भागमपत्तेः[*]
सह सर्वोच्छ्रयसमेता श्रीमोषामावा-

- 27 वीं(रीया) रा(या)वाहा(टा) यत्न भवति पूर्वतः कमलानकमहेश्वरदत्त(त्)-
पुत्राणां गृहं दक्षिणतः अस्मैव भूमि(र)दक्षिणपारशी(र्षी)यं भद्रतत्त
वंह(ट)नावातं पश्चिमती(तः) कुर्या उत(त्)रतीपि उ(तु)हृदया एवं चतु-
रावाह(ट)विभु(य)वं गृहभूम्यर्धं पञ्चेष्टका(क)माचारी(र्यः) वद ओक्कनकन्(ओ)
देव्या[:*] द-
- 28 व्येण सौवर्षिकमहाजनेन महार(ई)सा(शा)नदत्त(त्)हस्ते नवनवतिपत्रेष क्रीता
र(ई)सा(शा)नदत्ते(त्ते)न विक्रीता[:*] सम्प्रदत्ता(त्ता)य ॥ एतेषां स्वाव-
राणां भाह(ट)कं यत्तत्प(त्तत्त)यते तत्सर्वं [गीतिभिः] कुकुमधूपुष्प(य)दीपक-
ध्वजाधवलापनखण्डकुट्टि(टि)तसमरचनादिषु धर्मीपयोग्यं कर्तव्यं ॥

No. 8.—JEJURI PLATES OF VINAYĀDITYA : ŚAKA-SAMVAT 609.

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A. ; CALCUTTA.

These plates, which belong to the early Chalukya dynasty, came from a village called Jējūrī in the Poona District. In September, 1917, Mr. P. B. Gothoskar of the Bombay Asiatic Society was good enough to send them to me for inspection. But, as my hands were then too full with other matters and I had not enough leisure, I had to be content with merely publishing a short notice of the inscription, for the information of scholars, in the *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March, 1917. I have since then been able to prepare the necessary transcript and am now in a position to edit the plates.

These are three plates, each of them measuring about 9½" by 4". The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second is on both the sides. The letters, on the whole, are in an excellent state of preservation, and have been neatly incised. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is throughout in prose. In point of phraseology, it resembles other published records of the early Chalukya family, especially the Sorab and Harihar grants which also belong, like the present one, to the Chalukya king Vinayāditya.

The characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets prevailing in the 7th century A.D. In respect of orthography, the letters *ṇ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ* and *ṇ* are doubled after *r* as in *arṇṇavam* (l. 1); *Sēnānir-ddaitya-balam* (l. 16); *smābhīr-nnavōllara* (l. 21) and *nirviśēsham* (l. 30). *Ri* is employed instead of *ri* only once in *krīmīḥ* (l. 35). In many places the *anusvāra* is wrongly omitted.

The inscription refers itself to the 9th year of the reign of Vinayāditya and is dated in Śaka era 609 (expired) corresponding to A.D. 687. The object of the inscription is to record the gift of a village called Vira situated between Kaḷahaṭṭhāna, Parāñchika and Hariṇayiga, on the north bank of the river Nirā, in the Sātimāla-bhōga, in the Paḷayaṭṭhāna-riṣhaya. The name of the donee is Allaśarman, son of Pāñchālaśarman and grandson of Durgāśarman, of the Kaupḍinya-gōtra. The gift was made when the king was encamped at the village of Bhāḍali near Paḷayaṭṭhāna.

Most of the localities mentioned in the record can be easily identified. Paḷayaṭṭhāna is the same as the modern Phaltan (North Lat. 18°, E. Long. 74° 30'), the chief town of the lower Nirā Valley and capital of the Native State of the same name. Bhāḍali, from where the grant is issued,

is undoubtedly the present Budleebudruk (Atlas Sheet No. 39), five miles south-east of Phaltan. Vira, the village granted, is certainly the modern Veer of the Atlas Sheet (N. Lat. 18° 9', E. Long. 74° 9'), from which the surname Virkar among Dēśastha Brāhmaṇas is derived. It is about 1½ miles to the north of the river Nirā, which again is identical with the river of the same name mentioned in this grant. The village of Kalahatthāna cannot be identified at present. Parāñchika is obviously Parañchi (or Porinche) and Haripayiga is the same as the modern Harpi, about 3 and 2½ miles north and north-east of Vira, respectively.¹

Before the discovery of these plates, eight records² of the reign of Vinayāditya were known. Of these, one, namely, the Lakshmēśvara inscription, which professes to bear the earliest date (Śaka 608) among the dated records of Vinayāditya, has been proved to be spurious³ by the late Dr. Fleet. So the Jējūri inscription, which bears the Śaka date 609, is to be regarded as the earliest of the dated records of that prince.

This record is not altogether without some importance. One eminent scholar has said that Vinayāditya subdued the Pallavas, Kalabhras and others and made them his faithful vassals between his eleventh and fourteenth years.⁴ He was led to this view, because this fact "is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p. 92) and in those of his successors."⁵ But we can now say that the event certainly took place at least in the ninth year of his reign as it is found mentioned in this inscription.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- Svasti [*] Jayaty-āvishkṛita[m*] Viṣṇor-vvārāhaṁ kṣhōbhita-ārṇavaṁ [*] dakṣiṇ-
 ōnnata-damṣṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ [||*] Śrī-
 matāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtraṇām⁷ Hārīti⁸-putrāṇām sapta-
 lōka-mātṛibhi-
 s-sapta-mātṛibhir-abhivarddhitānām Kārttikēya-parirakṣaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-param-
 parāṇām Bhagavan-Nā-
 4 rāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkṣaṇa-kṣaṇa - vaśīkṛit - āśēśha - mahibhṛi-
 tāṁ Chali-
 5 kyāṇām kulam=alaṅkarishṇor-aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrikṛita-gātrasya śrī-
 Pulakēśi-vallabha-
 6 mahārājasya sūnuḥ parākram-ākra[m*]ta⁹-Vanavāsy-ādi-para-nṛpati-maṇḍala-praṇi-
 baddha-[vi-]
 7 suddha-kīrttiḥ śrī-Kīrttivarmma-prithivivallabha-mahārājas-tasy-ātma-jas-samara-
 samsakta-sakal-Ōttarāpa-
 8 th-ēśvara-śrī-Harshavarddhana-parājay-ōpalabdhā - paramēśvar - āpara - nāmadhēyas-
 Satyāśraya-śrī-prithiviva-

¹ Annual Progress Report of the Archl. Surv. of India, Western Circle, 1917, p. 49.

² Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 368-70; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 240.

³ *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 368, note 8.

⁴ *Early History of the Dekkan*, Second Edition, Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 198-99.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 189, note 1.

⁶ Read "sagōtraṇām."

⁷ From the original plates.

⁸ Read Hārīti.

⁹ Read ākrānta.

- 9 habha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaras-tat-priya-sutasya Vikramāditya-paramēśvara-
bhaṭṭārakasya
10 pavi-sahāyā¹-sāhasa-mātra-samadhitata²-nija-vamśa-samuchita-chita - rājya - vibhavasya
vividha-rasi-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 11 ta-sita-samara-mukha-gata-ripu-narapati-vijaya-samupalabdha-kīrtti - patāk - āvabhāsita-
dig-a-
12 ntarasya himakara-kara-vimala-kula-paribhava-vilaya-hētu-Pallava - pati - parājaya-
ānanta-
13 ra-parigrihita-Kāñchi-purasya prabhāva-kulīśa-dalita-Pāñḍya-Chōla-Kēraḷa-dhara-
nidhara-trāyamā-
14 ³na-māna-śrīṃgasya ananya-samavanata-Kāñchi-pati-makūṭa-kaṭa⁴-kirāṇa-salil-ābhi-
shikta-chara-
15 ṇa-kamalasya tri-samudra-maddhyavartti-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ādhiśvarasya sūnuḥ pitura-
ājña[yā]
16 Bāl-ēndu-śekharaśy-ēva Sēnānir-ddaitya-balam-atīsamuddhataḥ trairājya-Kāñ-
chi-pa-
17 ti-balam-avasṭabhyā samasta-vishaya-prasamanād-vihita-tan-manō-nurañjanaḥ at-
yanta-vatsalatvād-Yu-
18 dhishṭhira iva śrī-Rāmatvād-Vāsudēva iva nṛp-āṃkuśatvāt-Paraśurāma iva rājāśra-
yatvād-Bha[rata i]-
19 va Pallava-Kaḷabhra-Kēraḷa-Haihaya-Viḷa-Maḷava-Chōla-Pāñḍy-ādyāḥ yēn-
Aḷuva⁵-Garṅg-ādyai-
20 r-mmaulaś-sama-bhṛityatān-nitāḥ Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-Prithivīvallabha-
mahārā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 jādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya [||*] Viditam=astu vō-smābhīr-nnav-ōttara-
shaṭ-chhatēshu Śaka-
22 [va]rshēshv-atitēshu śaka-varshēshv-atitēshu⁶ pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-
sahvatsarē navamē vartta-
23 mānō Palayattāṇa-pratyāsanna-Bhāḍali-grāmam-adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvārē
Āshā-
24 ḍa⁷-Pauruṇamāsyām Bhammaṇa-rāja-vijñāpanayā Kaundinya-gōtrasya Dugga-
śarmmaṇaḥ putrāya
25 Pāñchāśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Allāśarmmaṇō Palayattāṇa-vishayē Sā(?) -
26 timāḷa-bhōgē Nirā-nady-uttara-taṭasthaḥ Kaḷaḥattāṇa-Parañchika-Hari-
payiga-
27 grāmayōr⁸-mmadhyasthaḥ Vira-nāmā grāmas-sabhōgas-sarvva-parihār-ōpētō dattaḥ
[!*

¹ Kaed *mati-sahāya*°.

² Read *trāyamāna*°.

³ [The plate seems to have *pa.* - Ed.]

⁴ Evidently this has been repeated through oversight.

⁵ [Better omit *gōr-m*° or read *grāmāṇām.* - Ed.]

⁶ Read *°samadhigata*°.

⁷ Read *°Kūṭa*°.

⁸ Read *°śakāḍha*°.

i.

2 4 6 8 10

2 4 6 8 10

10

ii a.

12 14 16 18 20

12 14 16 18 20

20

ii b.

22 24 26 28

iii.

30
 32
 34

28 Tad-āgāmibhir-asmaḍ-varṇāyair-~~anyaiś~~-cha rājābhīr-āyur-aiśvaryy-ādīnām vilasita-

Third Plate.

29 m = achirāmśu - chañchalam = avagachchhadbhīr = ā - chandr-ārka - dhar - āṇṇava - sthiti-
sama-kāla[m*]

30 yaśās-chichishubhis-ava-dattī-nirvviśēṣam paripālānīyam [*] ¹Prōktañ=cha Bha-
gava-

31 tā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājābhīs-Sagar-ādibhir-
yyasya.²

32 yasya yadā bhūmis-tasyatasya tadā phalam [*] Svan-dātum=sumahach-chhakyam
33 duḥkham=anyasya pālanaṁ [*] dāna[m*] vā pālanaṁ v-ēti dānāch-chhrēyō-
nupāla-

34 naṁ [*] Sva-dattā[m*] para-dattā[m*] vā yō harēta vasundharā[m*] shashṭi-
varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāya-

35 tā kri[m]iḥ [*] Mahā-sāndhivigrahika-śrī-Rāmapuṇyavallabhēna likhitam-idaṁ
śāsanam [*] Om

No. 9.—SEVEN INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA.

BY DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

The seven inscriptions edited in this paper are some of those brought to light in recent years by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna, Honorary Curator of the Museum of Archaeology at Mathurā. Some of these have been found in excavations carried out by him on behalf of the Director General of Archaeology in India, while others have been acquired from private possession. All the seven inscriptions discussed in this note are comparatively short dedicatory records which register the installation of images or other objects on which they are inscribed. With the exception of inscription No. V, all the others are in a more or less damaged condition. Like most of the other Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushāna period, the documents edited here are composed in the mixed dialect, consisting partly of Prākṛit and partly of Sanskrit words and forms. Peculiarities of this dialect have been fully discussed by Bühler³ and it is not necessary to make any further remarks here. Six of the objects on which the inscriptions are engraved belong to the Buddhist faith, while document No. IV is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Jaina Tīrthāṅkara Vardhamāna. Only one of the inscriptions, viz., No. II, contains the name of the ruler of the time, namely, Huvishka. No. I, which is dated in the year 23, must have been installed in the reign of Kanishka,⁴ while No. IV dated in the year 84 would belong to the reign of Vāsudēva. A point of interest in these documents is the mention of the names of four monasteries which existed at Mathurā in the Kushāna period. These are the Prāvārika-vihāra or the monastery of the cloak-makers (No. I), the Śīri-vihāra (No. V), the Suvarṇakara-vihāra or the monastery of the goldsmiths (No. VI) and the Chhataka-vihāra or Chhūṭaka-vihāra, i.e., the mango monastery (No. VII). None of these edifices appears to be referred to in any of the previously known inscriptions.

¹ [The original has *paripālānīyam-uktāñ=cha*.—Ed.] ² Read *ādibhiḥ* [*] *yasya*. ³ *Ante*, Vol. I, p. 373.

⁴ Vide my paper on "Three Mathurā Inscriptions and their bearing on the Kushāna dynasty" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1924.

No. I.—Buddha image inscription of the year 22.

This inscription, which consists of two lines, is engraved on the lower rim of the base of a headless image of Buddha (height 2' 1"; w. 1' 6½") which was found in the city of Mathurā and acquired for the Museum in 1918. The first line is in a good state of preservation but only one or two *aksharas* have survived in the second.

TEXT.

1. Ōm Siddharū Sa[rh*] 20 2 grī 2 di 30 asyām pūrvvāyām Prāvārika-vihārē
Buddha-pratimā pratisht(ṭh)āpitā
2. [samdhi]

TRANSLATION.

"Ōm Success! On the 30th day of the 2nd [month] of summer, in the year 22, on this occasion as specified, (*this*) image of Buddha was installed in the Prāvārika-vihāra"

No. II.—Bōdhisattva image inscription of the year 39.¹

TEXT.

1. [Mahārājasa dē*]vaputrasa Huv[i]shkasya sam 30 9 va 3 di 5 ētasyām
pūrvvāyām bhikkhūniyē Puśahathiniyē sa-
2. bhikkhūniyē Budhadēvāyē Bōdhisattvō pratithāpitō sahā mātāpitihi sarva-satva-
hita-sukha[ryē*]

TRANSLATION.

"(*In the reign*) of the *Mahārāja*, the *Dēvaputra*, *Huvishka*, on the 5th day of the 3rd [month] of the rainy season in the year 39, on this date as specified above, (*this*) *Bōdhisattva* was set up by a nun named *Puśahathini*, together with the nun *Budhadēvā*, together with (*her*) parents, for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings."

No. III.—Bōdhisattva image inscription.²

TEXT.

1. Mahārājasa Dēva[putrasa] sa sa hē di 10 9
[asyām] pūrvvāyām s[ā]rthavahāsa bha-
2. vaśa [ni]sa kuṭubiniyē Dha[ṇya]bhavayē [dānam Bōdhisa]chō [ya]-
d-attra p[u]-ṇya[m] ta[d-bhavatu]

TRANSLATION.

"On the 19th day of the month of the cold weather in the year of the reign of the *Mahārāja*, the *Dēvaputra* this *Bōdhisattva* is the gift of *Dha[ṇya]bhavā*, the wife of , the caravan merchant. Whatever merit there is in it, may it be"

¹ The image in question is described in the *A. S. R.* for the year 1916-17, Pt. I, p. 13, and illustrated in Pl. VII, fig. C. See also the *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917*, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

No. IV.—Vardhamāna image pedestal inscription of the year 84.¹

TEXT.

1. Ōm Siddha[m] sa[rh] 80 4 va 3 di 20 5 śtasmi purvvaya[m] Damitrasya
dhut[u] Ōkha-
2. rikāyē kuṭubiniyē Datāyē dānam Vardhamāna-pratimā pratithapitā
3. gaṇatō Kōṭṭiyatō [ba] s[ya] Satyasāna[ya] . . .
dharavṛddhiya nī[rvaratana*]

TRANSLATION.

"Ōm Success! On the 25th day of the 3rd (month) of the rainy season in the year 84, on this occasion as specified, (*this*) image of Vardhamāna, a gift of Ōkharikā,² the daughter of Damitra, and Datā (Sanskrit Dattā), the wife of a householder,³ was set up under the advice of Satyasāna and dharavṛddhi, of the Kōṭṭiya-gaṇa."

No. V.—Stone slab inscription.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab, measuring 2' 11" in length, 11" in width and 2½" in thickness, which was reclaimed from the Gau-Ghāt well in the city of Mathurā. It is roughly dressed on three sides. The fourth side contains an inscription of three lines, each measuring 1' 2½" in length. The inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.

Neither the date nor the name of the ruling king is mentioned. The inscription records the installation of an image of a Bōddhisattva, and the slab on which it is engraved must have been exhibited by the side of the statue.

TEXT.

1. Bōddhisattvō sahā mātā-pitṛihī sahā upajhāyēna Dharmakēna
2. sahā ātāvāsikēhī sahā ātāvāsinihī Śiri-vihārē
3. āchariyāna Samitiyāna parigrahē sarva-Budha-pujāyē

TRANSLATION.

"(*This*) Bōddhisattva (was dedicated by somebody, whose name is not mentioned), together with parents, together with the preceptor, Dharmaka, together with male pupils, together with female pupils, at the Śiri-vihāra for the acceptance of the Samitiya teachers, for the glorification of all the Buddhas."

No. VI.—Stone bowl inscription.

This inscription is engraved round the outer upper edge of a hemispherical stone bowl supported on the broken head of a male figure (ht. 1' 8"). The fragment was lying in the Jamnā Bāgh on the right bank of the Jamnā river just outside the Mathurā city and was being used for watering cattle. Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna acquired it for the Museum by substituting a little masonry reservoir for the aforesaid purpose. The head of the statue is

¹ Vide Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917, p. 10.

² This name also occurs in a Mathurā inscription of the year 299 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 33 and Pl. facing p. 66).

³ In the translation of the epigraph, I have interpreted the word *kuṭubini* (Sanskrit *kuṭumbini*) in its generic sense as the wife of a householder. It might equally well be a proper name. If this suggestion were correct, it would be possible to identify the three female figures to the right of the wheel in the centre of the base of the image with the three ladies who donated the image, and the three male figures on the opposite side with the three men who suggested the pious act.

much defaced and the features of the face and the ears are damaged. The turban is interlaced with a flower garland and we notice, above the forehead, a large round knot encircled with a garland and leaves. The inscription consists of two lines measuring 3' 7½" and 3½" respectively. The first line which begins immediately above the level of the right ear of the statue is preceded by a blank space of two inches to mark the commencement of the document. The inscription records that the bowl, on which it is engraved, was presented by **Ayala**, the son of **Indrasama** or **Idrasama**, at the hospice of the goldsmiths in honour of all the Buddhas for the acceptance of the *āchāryas*, who were great preachers. The name **Indrasama** may be construed as "equal to Indra" or it may stand for the Sanskrit *Indraśarman*. Another bowl similarly mounted on a well-preserved female figure is now kept in the Fyzabad Museum. The bowl being described was presumably used for worship. Fa-Hian informs us that in his time the Buddha's bowl was worshipped in a monastery at Purushapura (modern Peshawar).¹ There are in the Mathurā Museum two or three other bowls of stone one of which (ht. 1' 11", diameter 2' 1") is labelled a *Mahāpātra*² and must have been used for veneration as an imitation of the Buddha's alms-bowl. It is, however, noteworthy that a stone bowl unearthed by Sir John Marshall at Sāñchi bears a short inscription to the effect that the bowl in question was used for the storage of the food, which, having first been presented to the deity, was afterwards distributed among the pilgrims.³

TEXT.

1. **Indrasama** [or **Idrasama**]-pūṭasa **Ayala**śa dana sava-Būddhanam pūjāya
Suvanākara-[vihārē] āchāriyana [ma]hōpad[ē]śakana
2. parigahē

TRANSLATION.

"(This bowl is) the gift of **Ayala**, the son of **Indrasama** (or **Idrasama**) in the monastery of the goldsmiths for the adoration of all the Buddhas (and) for the acceptance of the teachers who were great preachers."

No. VII.—Stone channel inscription.

This inscription is incised on one side of a stone fragment (length 11") which probably formed part of a stone channel for carrying off water. The fragment was found in the débris of a house which fell down in 1917 in the Mātā Gali lane of Mathurā city and was acquired for the Museum in August of the same year.

The inscription is complete at the top and at the bottom but broken off at both ends. A continuous translation of the document is not practicable. It is, however, manifest that it records the erection of something, possibly the channel itself, on a piece of which it is engraved, in a monastery designated **Chutaka-vihāra** which may possibly be interpreted as **Chūtaka-vihāra**, i.e., the mango monastery. The last line contains the year 91 which presumably is the date of the inscription. It should probably be referred to the **Kushāna** era. The pious act mentioned in the epigraph was executed for the increase of the religious piety and strength of the [Ma]hāsāṅghikas, one of the eighteen schools into which the Buddhist church was split up early in the history of that religion. Two *aksharas* at the end of the first line which may be read as *vyāstā* cannot at present be explained, though I am inclined to think that the word intended was *vāstavya*.

¹ *Travels of Fa-Hian*, translated by Legge, p. 34.

² *Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917*, p. 8.

³ See Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 104, and *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi*, p. 37, No. B. 1.

TEXT.

1. pitō Chutaka-vihārē vyāstā
2. . . . [Ma]h[ā]sāṅghikana dharma-va(ba)la-[vṛiddhyartham*]
3. . . . [va]rṣhapā 90 1 kārūpika

TRANSLATION.

" was erected for the increase of the religious merit and strength of the [Ma]hāsāṅghikas (residing) at the Chutaka-vihāra ninety-one years "

No. 10.—THE KALVAN PLATES OF YASOVARMMAN.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The inscription edited below was discovered in a village near **Kalvan** in the north-western part of the Nāsik district of the Bombay Presidency. It was brought to the notice of Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, I.C.S., then Collector of the Nāsik district, by Mr. Gajanan Gopal Joshi, a teacher of a school at Kalvan, who also read portions of the inscription. In the first instance, only the first two plates were recovered from a Bhil, but on a reward being announced the third plate also was found at the same place. The plates were purchased for the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay through Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, I.C.S., who spared no pains to obtain them for that institution.

The inscription is incised on three plates of copper each measuring 10" x 5½". There is a hole in the upper part of each of these plates proving that they were attached together at one time by a ring. The ring as well as the seal, that must have been attached to it, are missing. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, the second plate being inscribed on both the sides. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the imprecatory verses, the entire record is in prose. The inscription abounds with mistakes. *sa* is generally substituted for *śa* : cf. *yasa* for *yaśaḥ* (ll. 2, 4, 7, 8, 14), *sira* for *śiraḥ* (l. 3), *aṣṭi* for *aṣṭi* (ll. 8-9), *subha* for *śubha* (l. 11), and *Kalakalēśvara* for *Kalakalēśvara* (l. 12). So also we find *sa* for *śa* in *sahaśra* instead of *śahaśra* in ll. 8, 33 and 37. *Vakaigala* (l. 21), *pañchavisa* (l. 20 f.), *tēlaghāṇaka* (l. 22 f.), *jin-ālāḥ* (l. 25), *chāurika* and *daṇḍavāsika* (l. 27) are instances of Prakṛitism.

The alphabet of the inscription is Nāgarī of the Northern variety of the eleventh century A.D. and may be very well compared with that of the *Banswara*¹ and the *Ujjain*² plates of Bhōjadēva. The *ai* symbol is represented by the two usual strokes at the top of the consonant or by a single stroke and a vertical line placed before the letter. Long initial *i* is distinguished from the short by a rectangular stroke placed over the latter (l. 16). A peculiar final form of *n* is to be found in *ādīn* in l. 28. The letter *ya* in l. 2 (*Siyaka*) is not closed at the top as is generally done. *Na* has two forms (see ll. 23 and 24).

The inscription is not dated but refers itself to the reign of a subordinate chief named **Yasovarman**. Even the genealogy of this prince, in whose territory the land was granted, is omitted. He is simply introduced as having obtained one-half of the town of **Sālluka** from the illustrious Bhōjadēva (I) and as being in the enjoyment of 1,500 villages. This Bhōjadēva is said

¹ Above, Vol. XI, plate opposite p. 182.

² Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, pp. 53-54.

to have defeated the kings of the *Karṇāṭa*, *Lāṭa* and *Gurjara* countries as well as the lords of *Chēḍi* and *Koṭṭakaṇa* and to have meditated on the feet of the illustrious *Sindhurājadēva*, who cleansed the earth from the mountains to the sea by his wide fame and meditated on the feet of the illustrious *Vākpatirājadēva* (II), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious *Siyakadēva* (II) of the *Paramāra* (*Paramāra*) family of *Dhārā*. The reference is very clearly to Bhōja I of the *Paramāra* dynasty of *Dhārā*, who was the son of *Sindhurāja*, the brother's son of *Vākpatirāja* II and the grandson of *Siyaka* II. The very fact that an ordinary feudatory chief dares to make a grant of land without referring the matter to his suzerain shows that the power of the *Paramāras* of *Mālava* had weakened considerably at the time of the issue of the grant. It is known from the other inscriptions of the *Paramāras* of *Mālava* as well as the *Haihayas* of *Tripurī* that Bhōja I, the conqueror of the *Koṭṭakaṇa* and the great patron of literature, had suffered a crushing defeat and had most probably fallen on the battle-field while trying to stem the tide of a combined invasion on the kingdom of *Mālava* by *Karṇa*, the king of *Tripurī*, and *Bhīma* I of *Gujarat*. Though the successor of Bhōja I was on its throne in V. S. 1112 (=1055 A.D.), yet history shows that the kingdom of *Mālava* lost its independence for a short time about that period. It regained its independence under *Udayāditya*, a kinsman of Bhōja I, and continued to be a divided kingdom up to the twelfth century. It was during these troublesome times that the grant was issued by a subordinate chief *Yaśōvarmman*, who, apparently, gave the genealogy of Bhōja I, by way of custom only. The *Śvētapāda* country, which is the same as the northern part of the modern district of *Nāsik*, was once conquered by the *Haihaya* king *Lakshmanarāja*¹ and again by *Vapullaka*, a general of *Karṇa*, the king of *Tripurī*, some time before the *Kalachuri* *Chēḍi* year 812 (=1061 A.D.). When he (i.e., *Vapullaka*) erected a temple of *Śiva*, in the inscription recording its construction he enumerated some of the famous battles in which he had fought for his king. Therein he also mentions his having defeated a king of Southern *Gujarat* named *Trilōchana*, who is known from the *Surat* plates of *Śaka* 972 (=1051 A.D.), and a Jain ascetic named *Vijjala*. The conquest of *Śvētapāda*, which is adjacent to *Surat*, must have taken place after 1051 A.D. and before 1061 A.D., i.e., about the time of the fall of Bhōja I. We know from the *Nāgpur prasasti* of the rulers of *Mālava* that "Bhōjadēva's end was unfortunate, and that during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, Bhōjadēva's relative *Udayāditya* became king, whose great achievement was that he freed the land from the dominion of (the *Chēḍi*) *Karṇa* who, joined by the *Karṇāṭas*, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean."² The same fact is referred to in v. 21 of the *Udaipur prasasti* of the rulers of *Mālava*.³

The grant under notice differs from the regular land grants of the *Paramāra* kings of *Mālava* in the following details :—(1) The absence of the *Garuḍa* and snake seal or the emblem of the *Paramāras*. (2) The absence of the date and of the mention of the reigning king as *kuśalī*. (3) The absence of the customary verse at the beginning in praise of *Śiva*. It is, therefore, almost certain that this subordinate chief *Yaśōvarmman* had issued this grant during the period of anarchy which followed the fall of Bhōja I and the occupation of *Mālava* proper by *Karṇa*, the king of *Tripurī*, the anarchical state of things lasting up to the time of the defeat of *Karṇa* by *Udayāditya*. The *Śvētapāda* country whose location is now fixed by the mention of the temple of *Kālakālēśvara*, which still exists at a distance of ten miles from *Kalvan*, was not included in *Mālava* proper, but formed a part of the country that lay within the sphere of influence of the *Paramāra* rulers at the time of their ascendancy.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 86 and note 3, 89, l. 6.

² *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 181.

³ *Ante*, Vol. I, pp. 236, 238.

The inscription belongs to the *Śvētāmbara* sect of the Jaina religion and is, therefore, important, for very few Jaina grants have come down to us. Herein we are informed that the *Rāpaka Amma*, who was a chief of the *Gaṅga* family, while in the village of *Muktāpali*, in the district of *Āudrahādi* which consisted of eighty-four rent-free villages (*Mānyakapatta*), after hearing the exposition of *Dharmma* and *Adharmma* from the mouth of the illustrious *Āchārya Ammadēva* of the *Śvētāmbara* sect and having been made to understand by his teaching that the principal *Jaina-dharmma* gives more auspicious results than other *dharmmas* in this world as well as in the next, gave certain pieces of land at *Mahishabuddhikā* in the holy *tīrtha* of *Kālakālēsvara*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, on the new-moon day of *Chaitra*. The grant consisted of several pieces of land, the first of which measured 40 *nivartanas* and the second 25 *nivartanas*. The latter, however, appears to have been once given by a prince named *Kakrapairāja*. The third measured 35 *nivartanas* while the fourth measured two *nivartanas* and consisted of a flower garden. In addition to these pieces of land two oil mills (*taila-ghāṇakas*), 14 Baniya shops (*Vanik-hattāh*), and 14 *drammas* were also given to the illustrious *Muni Suvratadēva* in the temple of the Jina in the country of *Śvētāpāda* which was completely repaired (*lupta-jirṇnōddhāraṁ*). The land, the oil mills and the shops were given to defray the expenses of worship, which are enumerated in detail (*pūjā*, *abhisheka*, *naivēdya* and *Chaitra-pavitrika*), as well as for the maintenance of the Jaina monks, who are called *Rishis*. The officers mentioned are *Dēsilaka*, *Grāmataka*, *Gōkulika*, *Chāyrika* (*Chaurika*), *Saulkika* (*Saulkika*), *Damḍavāsika* (*Damḍapāsika*), *Prātirāyika* and *Mahattama*. There are eight imprecatory verses¹ at the end of the grant, which are numbered. The deed was written by the illustrious *Sāmdhivigrahika Yōgēsvara* of the twice-born race.

Among the places mentioned, *Dhārā* is the modern city of Dhar, which is the capital of the native state of the same name in the *Mālwa* Agency of Central India. *Kālakālēsvara*, spelt *Kalakālēsvara*, is, as has been stated above, a temple of *Śiva*, ten miles to the west of Kalvan, in the *Nāsik* district of the *Bombay* Presidency. I am unable to identify the village of *Mahishabuddhikā*, where the *Rāpaka Amma* resided, and also the district of *Āudrahādi*.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [*] Śrīmān(n)¹-Dhārāyārā Mēru-mahā-giri-tuṅga-śrīṃg-ōpamē Pravāmr²-ānvayē anēka-samara-saṃghaṭṭa-[sā]-
- 2 dhita-śatru-paksha-vistṛita-yasa(śō)-dhavalita-dig-amtarālah³ - śrī - Siyakadēva-pād-ānu-dhyātaḥ Sara[sva]-
- 3 tī-mukha-tilaka-bhūta(h) kṛita-kāvya-mukta-sāyaka-ghūrmāyita⁴-si(śi)raḥ-kavi-jana-śatta(tru)-paksha-
- 4 śrī-Vākpatirājadēva-pād-ānudhyātaḥ anēka-mah-āhava-vijit-āri-jana-prathita-yasa(śō)-nirmali-
- 5 kṛita-sakala-dharādharā-dharā-jaladhi - sīmā - śrī - Sēm(Sir)dhurājadēva - pād-[ā*]nu-dhyātaḥ mahā-va(ba)la-prachamḍa-ri-
- 6 pu-paksha-nirddārīta-Karṇaṭa-Lāṭa-Gūrijara-Chēdy-ā(a)dhīpa - Korikaṇḍa(śa) - prabhṛiti-ripu-vargga-nirddārīta-

¹ [If it goes with *Dhārā*, we should expect *Śrīmātyārā* instead.—Ed.]

² Read *Paramār*.

³ Cancel the *visarga* [or the case-ending here as well as in some of the following attributes.—Ed.]

⁴ Read - ghūrmāyita.

- 7 janita-trāsa-yasa(śō)-dhavalita-bhuvana-trayaḥ śrī-Bhōjadēva-prasād¹-āvāpta-nagara-
Sō[lluk-ārddha]-
8 s-ārddha-sahaśra(sra)-grāmāpām bhōktārah² śrī-Yasō(śō)varmmanah³ | Tasmin-
vishayē Mukta[pa]lyārah chatur-āsī(śī)-
9 ti-Mānyaka-paṭṭa-Āudrahādi-vishayē sāmāntō Garuga-kula-tilaka-bhūtaḥ śrī-
A[mma]rā-
10 pakēna | Svē(Śvē)tāmva(ba)ra-śrī-Ammadēv-āchārya-mukh-ākhyāta-dharm-ādhar-
āgama-vākya-pravō(bō)dhita-
11 chih⁴[a*]ēna mukkhā(khya⁵)-Jina-dharmmam-anyē(nyad)-dharmma[d*]-iha para-lōka-
su(śu)bha-phala-dāna[m-*] iti vichih-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 12 [tva] jāta-manasā Mahishav(b)uddhikāyārah | śrī-Kalakalēva(śva)rē pupya-
t[ir]thē Chai]-
13 tra-mās-āmā[vā]syā[yā*]rah sūryya-grahan[ē] sāgara-taramga-chamchala-jivalē.
[ka]chchhā-
14 yā-samā Lakshmi phēn-ōpamāh jivitamāh(tam)-avadhārya mātā-pittā-ātmanasya⁶
pūnya-yasa(śah)-
15 śrī-vridhdayē sōpavitēna pāpinā puṇy-ōttama-tīrthē ahvum(bu) grihītvā supūrṇē.
[na] ka-
16 mamḍalunā Chālvvy⁷-ānvaya-prasūta-dharmmapatnī śrī-Chachchāl-rājā-kara-grihīta-
[nikshipta]-
17 jalēna pādau prakshālya bhūmir-iyam dattā Muktaṭpalyā uttarēna Māhūdalā-
grām-ōttara-
18 disā(śā)yām bhūmī(mi)-nivarttanāni chatvārims(ś)-āśya⁸ simā pūrvvē nadī dakshīṇē
Hathāvāda-grā-
19 ma-simā Kakaḍah paśchimē garttā uttarē parvvatam(taḥ) ēvam chatur-āghāṭa-
visu(śu)ddhā bhūmī(mi)[r-i*]yam ta-
20 thā Kumāristana-ōmgarikā-ubhaya-taṭē śrī-Kakkapai-rāja-datta-bhū-niva[r*]tta-
nāni [pa]mcha-
21 visa⁹ tathā śrī-Vakaigala-prabhṛiti-nagarēna Saṅgāma-nagara-simā-pārvē Chādai-
22 hvatē niva[r*]ttanāni paṁcha¹⁰ri(tri)māsa[t*] pūhpa¹¹-vāṭikā-bhūmī-nivarttana-dvayam
taila [ghā]-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 23 naka-dvaya[m] vaṇika(k)haṭṭās=chaturddāsa dramma ēva shātra¹² chaturddāśam
dadāti [i*] Aṭṭapi¹³-
24 kāyārah vōli[kām¹⁴] pratipatrāni paṁchāsa(śa)¹⁵ity-asē(śē)sham lupta-jirṇōddhārāh
kṛtam āchamdrā-
25 rkka-kālam yā[vat] Svē(Śvē)tapada-Jin-ālaē(yē) śrī-Muni-Suvratadēvāya niv[e*]
ditā | Pūj-ābhishē-

¹ [This would indicate that Yasōvarmman was a *Sāmanta* or rather some subordinate officer of Khōja.—Ed.]

² Cancel the syllable *rah*.

³ Read *varmmanā*.

⁴ [Doubtful ; *chihē(tē)na* would be more likely.—Ed.]

⁵ [The reading seems to be *muktvā Jina-dharmmam-anyē dharmma ihaparalikkē mē(śu)bhaphalodā na iti*.—Ed.]

⁶ Read *ātmanascha*.

⁷ Read *Chāluky*.

⁸ [The reading should be *śmad-āya*.—Ed.]

⁹ Read *paṁchavīṁśat*.

¹⁰ Read *pushpa*.

¹¹ Read *śarabha-datta*.

¹² [It seems to be *apāl(i)kā*.—Ed.]

¹³ [Doubtful.—Ed.]

¹⁴ [Better read *śo(śa)[d*]-ity*.—Ed.]

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- 26 ka-naivēdyā-chaitra-pavitraka-grās-āchchhādām(da)nēshu ri(ri)shhīnām-upayōgyā [*]
asmin-vishasa(ya)-vāsī(i)
- 27 [dē]silaka-grāma[ta]ka - gōkulika - chāu(su)rika - sau(śau)lkika - darhā(ḍa)vā(pā)si(śi)ka-
prātirāji-
- 28 'ka-mahattama-kuṭumv(b)inō-nyāmś-cha tan-nivāsinō janapad-ādīn v(b)ōdhayaty-asya
(astu) vō
- 29 viditam mayā dattam | mad-varṇasajair-anyair-vv-āgāmi-nripati-bhōgapatibhir-āyam-
asmad-dā-
- 30 yō-numamātavayāḥ pālayitavyaś-cha | yō v-ājñāna-timira-pa[ta]l-āvṛita-matir-āchchhi-
mdy[ā]-
- 31 d-āchchhimdyamānaḥ saḥ pañchabhir-mmahā-pātakair-upapātakaiḥ samyukta[ḥ*]
syād-iti | U-
- 32 kām va(cha) bhagavatā Vyāsēna | Dēva-dravyam gurōr-dravyam dravyam ch-aiva
Jinēsva(śva)rē [*] tri(tri)vidham pata-
- 33 nam dṛiṣṭam dāna-bhaktshapa-lamghanē | 1 | Shashṭir-vvarsha²-sahasrā(śrā)ṇi svarggē
tishṭhā(tha)-

Third Plate.

- 34 ti bhūmidah [*] āchchhētā ch-ānumamāntā cha³ tāny-ēva narakē vasēt | 2 |
- 35 Sam(Sam)kham bhadrasanam chocha[tra]m |⁴ var-āsvā(śvā)vara-vāhanāḥ [*] bhūmi-
dānasya chihñāni
- 36 dṛiṣya(śya)[ntē] tāni Bhārata | 3 | Sapta-janm-āntarēp-a(ai)va yat-punyam pūrvva-
samchitam | arddh-āngu-
- 37 lēna sīmāyā haraṇēna prapasya(śya)ti | [4] | Agnishtōma-sahasra(sra)ś-cha |⁴
Vājapēya-śata(tē)-
- 38 shu cha | gavām kōṭi-pradānēna |⁴ bhūmi-harttā na su(śu)dhyati | [5] | Kim sūryaḥ-
(s)-tivrā-tāpō dāha-
- 39 ti śasi(śi)-kalā[m*] pāvakō-ti jvalamte |⁴ nō rūḍham bhūmi-sasyam |⁴ na vasati
vishayē |⁴ mā
- 40 dhavaś-cha-ālpa-vṛiṣṭiḥ | kim gōshu kshiram-alpam śushati sarisarā(ḍ) jīvalōkē na
vṛiddhiḥ
- 41 yatr-āyam bhūmi-harttā vasati parijanē tasya chihñāni-māni(tāni) | 6 | Ya[smi]nu(n)
kulē jāyati
- 42 bhūmi-dātā |⁴ sa mōdatē putra-kalatra-dhānyaiḥ | sustham prajānām vasatē cha
yatra s[au]khyam śri(śri)yā-
- 43 namdati bhūmipālā(laḥ) | 7 | Va(Ba)habhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājābhiḥ⁵ Sagar-
ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya ya-
- 44 dā bhūmīm(miḥ) tasya tasya tadā phalam | 8 | Likhitam-idam Dvij-ānvayē
[sā]ndhivigrahika-śrī-Jōga(gē)sva(śva)-
- 45 rēp-ēti |⁴

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—8). Hail ! In the illustrious (city of) Dhārā, in the Paramāra family, which was
as sublime as the high peaks of the great mountain of Mēru, (was born) the illustrious Bhōjadēva

¹ [Note the symbol here.—Ed.]² Read °śhīn varsha.³ [There seems to be a superfluous cha here.—Ed.]⁴ [Dasya is unnecessary.—Ed.]⁵ Read rājābhiḥ.

who had caused the three worlds to be whitened by his fame (won by) causing fear and by destroying his enemies such as the lords of **Komkapa**, **Chōdi**, **Gūjara**, **Lāṭa** and **Karṇāṭa** and who had destroyed the hosts of his fierce enemies by his great army, (and) who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva**, whose fame had become extensive by his defeating the enemies in many great battles, (and) who had purified the entire earth up to its boundaries of mountains and seas, (and) who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Vākpatirājadēva** who was, (as it were), the mark on the forehead of the goddess of learning, (and) who had caused the heads of poets and his enemies to be turned by his poems and arrows (respectively), (and) who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Siyakadēva** who had caused the cardinal points to be whitened by his wide fame (won) by his defeating the enemies in many battles and engagements. Through his (i.e., Bhōja's) pleasure, the illustrious **Yaśovarmman** had obtained one half of the town of **Selluka** and was enjoying 1,500 villages.

(Ll. 8—17). In that province, in the (village) **Muktāpalī**, in the **Audrahādī-vishaya** (with its) 84 rent-free (villages), the *sāmanta*, the illustrious **Rāpaka Amma**, who was the mark on the forehead of the **Gaṅga family**, having heard *dharma* and *adharmma* from the illustrious **Śvētāmbara Ammadēva-Āchārya** (and) being made to understand by him, by words as well as by signs,¹ that this particular *Jina-dharma* is superior to other *dharmmas*, in this world as well as in the next, in producing good results; (and) having thought so and having made up his mind, this land was given by him at **Mahishabuddhikā**, at the holy and illustrious *tīrtha* of **K[a]lak[a]lēsvara**, on the occasion of a solar eclipse and the *amāvāsya* day of the month of **Chaitra**, having ascertained that fortune is (as fleeting) as a shade (and) the world is as transient as the (moving) waves of the sea (and) the life (as worthless) as foam, for the increase of the merit, fame and fortune of his own self as well as of his parents, having taken water in this most holy *tīrtha* with (his) sacred thread in his hand in a well-filled *kamaṇḍalu* and having washed the feet (of the Jina?) with water thrown from the hands of his legal wife (*dharma-patnī*) the illustrious **Queen Chachchāi**, (who) was born in the **Chālukya** family.

(Ll. 17—31). This land which is to the north of **Muktāpalī**, on the northern side of the village of **Māhuḍalā**, (measures) forty *nivarttanās*. Its boundaries (are):—on the east, the river, on the south, the boundary of the village **Hathāvāḍa**, and the *Kakaḍa* (?), on the west, the water-courses, (and) on the north, the mountain. This land is thus defined with its four boundaries. Again, the twenty-five *nivarttanās* of land given by the illustrious king **Kakkapai** on both slopes of the hill known as 'the breasts of the virgin'; also thirty-five *nivarttanās* (of land) by the **Vakaigala** and others of the town, by the side of the town of **Saṅgama** at **Chadaillivāṭa**; (as well as) two *nivarttanās* of flower gardens; 2 oil-mills; 14 shops of merchants; as well as 14 *dramma* coins, and in market² places (and) village streets, per leaf (?) fifty. Having caused endless repairs and restorations to be made, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon endure, in the temple of Jina in the **Śvētapada** country, are dedicated to the illustrious **Muni Suvratadēva** for the purpose of worship, *abhishēka*, *navōḍya*, *chaitra-pavittraka*, for food and clothing of Rishis. (The following officers) and inhabitants of this *vishaya*:—**Dēsilaka**, **Grāmaṭaka**, **Gōkulika**, **Chaurika**, **Saulkika**, **Damḍapāṣika**, **Prātirājyika**, **Mahattama**, householders and others, the inhabitants of towns, are informed: "Let it be known to you, that this (land) given by me, is to be recognized as a gift, by my descendants as well as other future kings and enjoyers and protected, and whoever, with his mind being covered with the dense darkness of ignorance, violates this or causes this to be violated, will be connected with (i.e., afflicted with) the five great *pātakas* as well as *upapātakas*."

¹ [See footnote on text line 11 above.—Ed.]

² [See footnote on text line 23 above.—Ed.]

(Ll. 32—44). It has been said by the venerable Vyāsa [here follow eight of the usual imprecatory verses]. Written by the illustrious *Sādhivigrahika* Jōgśvara of the twice-born race.

No. 11.—AMODA PLATES OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA I:
CHEDI SAMVAT 831.

By RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A. (RETIRED DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, CENTRAL PROVINCES).

These copper-plates were found in a field in Amodā village, about a foot below the surface. Amodā is about 10 miles from Jānjgir, the headquarters of a *taluk* of the same name in the Bilāspur District of the Central Provinces. These are two plates, each measuring 11" x 7½", the total weight of both being 107 tolas. Each has a hole, the first at the bottom and the second at the top, for being strung with a seal which is lost. They are inscribed on one side only, the first containing 20 and the second 21 lines. The plates when found about May 1924 were deposited in the Nagpur Museum, whence I obtained them for deciphering. The accompanying facsimile copy was prepared from impressions taken by Mr. Abdus Suboor, Coin Expert of the same museum.

The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation, except where the metal has been corroded. The size of the letters averages ½" except in the last 5 lines in which it is reduced to ⅓". The characters are Dēvanāgarī of the Kalachuri type with the usual peculiarities found in the records of the kings of Tripuri and Ratanpur. No difference has been made between *ba* and *va*, both being expressed by the sign for *va*. The dental sibilant has been usually employed for the palatal and *vice versa*, for which the text may be read, where the correct sibilant has been put in brackets, just opposite the incorrect one. In many words the dental *n* has been used for the *anusvāra*, e.g., in line 5 *vansa* stands for *vaṁsa* and in l. 8 *sinhāḥ* for *simhāḥ*. The letters *ta*, *ra* and *na* have been so formed that they are easily mistaken one for the other, and so is the case with *pa* and *ya*, and also with *va*, *cha* and *dha*. The letters *a*, *i*, *kha*, *ṇa*, *dha*, *bha*, *ra* and *ṣa* bear antique forms. The record is composed in Sanskrit verse and prose, there being altogether 22 verses of which 14 at the commencement are devoted to the eulogy of the donor and his ancestors and the remaining at the end to imprecation, benediction, and mention of officials like the minister for peace and war, under whom the department of gifts was usually placed, and the writer and engraver of the charter. Between these two sets of verses is placed the business portion in prose. The salutation to the deity in the beginning and the year at the end are also given in prose.

The proper object of the charter is to record the grant of a village named *Vasahā* or *Basahā* of the *Yayapara-maṇḍala* to a Brāhmaṇa named *Kṣāva*, son of *Chātṭa* and grandson of *Thirāicha* (who had come from a place named *Hastiyāmātha*), on Sunday, the 7th tithi of the dark half of *Phālguna* in the *Chēdī* year 831, on the occasion of the dedication of a *Chatuṣṭhikā* or hall resting on 4 pillars to the god *Vaṅkēśvara* at *Tumāpaka*, by *Prithvidēva I*, son of *Ratnadēva*, and queen *Nōnnalā*, daughter of *Vajuvārman*, prince of *Kōmō-maṇḍala*. The genealogy is traced to *Kārtavīrya*, who imprisoned *Rāvaṇa*, violently shaken to and fro by the waters of the great *Rēvā*. In his family were born the *Haihaya* kings, in whose line *Kōkkala* became the lord of *Chēdī* and other countries. He raided the treasures of the *Karpāṭa*, *Vaṅga*, *Gurjara*, *Koṅkara*, and *Śākambharī* kings and also of those born of the *Turushka* and *Raghu* families. He had 18 sons of whom the eldest became the king of *Tripurī*, while the others were made feudatory chiefs near about. To one of the younger

The geographical names mentioned in the record include the Rēvā river, which is an alternative name of the Narmadā, the sacred river on whose banks Tripurī, the present Tēwar, 8 miles from Jubbulpore, lay, and of whose sanctity the *Sārōddharīṇī* speaks as follows:—"The Ganges is very sacred at Kanakhala, the Sarasvatī at Kurukshētra, but the Narmadā is sacred everywhere, in any village or forest."¹ I have already spoken about the extent of the Kōsala country in which Tumāṇaka or Tummāṇa, the present Tumān, is situate. It is 45 miles north of Ratanpur, which in its turn is 16 miles north of Bilāspur, the headquarters of the district of the same name. The district is formed of many old *maṇḍalas* of which Kōmō-*maṇḍala*, whence the donor's mother hailed, is still identifiable with the Peṇḍra zamindārī, in which there is still a village named Kōmō. The Yayapara-*maṇḍala*, in which the village Vasahā or Basahā lay, must have been the tract lying about the present village Jaijaipur, 10 miles from Amodā. Basahā apparently exist with its name unchanged in the Bilāspur *tahsil*, a part of which must have been included in the Jaijaipur-*maṇḍala* of ancient days. Among the countries mentioned as raided by Kōkkala, Karṇāṭa, the present Karnātak, lies far away in the south. Close to it is Koṅkaṇa, still retaining the same name. Further up one meets Gurjara, the present Gujarāt, to the east of which in Rājputāna lies the country of Śākambharī, the tutelary goddess of the Chauhāns. Vaṅga is (Eastern) Bengal, but it is not clear what country the Turushkas and Raghus then occupied. Apparently, the latter's dominions had no specific name. Kamalarāja is stated to have vanquished an Utkala or Orissa king, but the personal names of the conquered have been left out in every case.

The temple of Vaṅkēśvara, as is clear from the record, was situated in Tumāṇa, where a superb temple, now in ruins, still exists. For further details I may refer the reader to my article on a visit to Tumāṇa published in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1924. The temple of this god has also been mentioned in a stone inscription of Jājalladēva of the year 1114 A.D.² But I cannot find a god of this name in the recognised Hindu pantheon. Apparently he was an aboriginal local deity, believed to exercise the greatest influence and was, therefore, adopted by the Kalachuris as their tutelary god in order to prevent him from doing any harm to the newcomers, unless it is another name for Śiva, of whom the Kalachuris were the great worshippers. In fact they styled themselves as *Perama-Māhēśvaras*, as has been done in this charter also. They belonged to a sect which is known as Pāsupata-pantha, now believed to practise a degraded form of Śiva worship. Vaṅkēśvara means the 'lord of vagabonds', a title equally applicable to an aboriginal god or to Śiva, as the latter is always accompanied by an army of vagabonds. Prior to the advent of the Kalachuris in the Bilāspur District, the country was inhabited mostly by aborigines, as it is so even now in the portion where Tumāṇa is situated. It is, therefore, very likely that Vaṅkēśvara was adopted from their pantheon, otherwise we should have temples dedicated to that deity in the Dāhala country, at least in the capital at Tripurī, but we find no trace of him there.

It is curious that, barring the names of kings, other names even of high officials like ministers of peace and war sound non-Aryan. The minister was named Dhōdhāka or Dhōdhā in plain language. Although the donee was named as Kēśava and was given the high title of Rishi, yet his father was named Chāṭṭa and his grandfather Thirāicha, both being out and out non-Aryan names. Even the prince of Kōmō-*maṇḍala* was named Vaju, which cannot be considered to be flattering. His daughter who was married to Ratnadēva bore the name of Nōṇallā, more correctly Nōṇallā as found in other records of the same family. This seems to be an inflation

¹ गङ्गा कनखले पुष्पा कुक्षिने सरस्वती ।

वाग्ने वा यदिवारष्टे पुष्पा सर्वत्र नर्मदा ॥

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 25 ff.

of Nōni which in the Chhattāgarhi dialect of Hindi means 'a maiden,' as it does in Oriya and Bengali. The ladies of rank apparently had the termination "allā" added to their names, as we find other queens of the same family bearing names like Āvallā, Lāchhallā, Rājallā, Rambhallā, Jāsallā, Sōmallā and Triallā.

In noticing these few points which the charter brings to prominent notice, I have been actuated by the idea that the time has come when a broader view of the manner of studying these records might well be taken, than has been hitherto the case. Up to this time attention was chiefly concentrated on kings, dates and places, but these unusual finds reveal a lot of unusual ethnographical and other data, which is well worth collection.

TEXT.

[Metres : Vv. 1, 4, 10, 11, 12, 17-23, *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 2, *Upēndravajrā* ; v. 3, *Sragdharā* ; vv. 5, 6, 8, 9, 14, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 7, 15, 16, *Upajātī* ; v. 13, *Śikhariṇī*.]

First Plate.

- 1 ओम् ॥ ओम्^१ नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं च । १^२वं
परमकारणं । भावमात्रं परं ज्योतिस्तस्यैव स-
- 2 इ(इ)न्द्राय नमः ॥ [१॥*] यदेतदघोरमस्त्र(स्त्र)रस्य ज्यो । १^२तिः स पूषा
पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य पुत्री मनु-
- 3 रादिराजस्तदन्वयेभूभुवि क[१]र्त्तव्यैः ॥ [२ ॥*] देवः श्रीकर्त्त-
व्यैः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषणं भूतधाया इ-
- 4 क्षीत्स्त्रिंशद्वि(वि)भ्यस्तुष्टिगिरिसुता[स्त्रे] सन्तोषितेशम् । दोर्दण्डक(का)च्छसितु-
प्रतिगमितम्-
- 5 हावारिरेवाप्रवाहं व्याधूतचक्षुषागुरुजनितक्षयं रावणं यो वव(वव)न्^३ ॥ [३॥*]
तदन्व(वन्)प्रभवा भूपा व(व)-
- 6 भूवर्धुवि ईश्वराः । तेषां वन्स(वन्से) च चेद्यादिक्षितोऽसः(सः) कौकक्षो-
भवत् ॥ [४ ॥*] क्वात्सर्वट(क्वात्सर्वट)वद्वपतिगूर्जरको-
- 7 ह्येषसा(सा)कंभरोपतितु[स्त्रे] वृद्धवानाम् । आ[द]ाय की[श]हरिदन्त(न्ति)-
चयं हठेन स्तम्भो जय-
- 8 स्व विहितो भुवि येन राज्ञा ॥ [५ ॥*] अष्टादशारिकरिकुम्भविभङ्गसिन्हाः
(सिन्हाः) पुत्रा वभूवरतिशौ(शौ)र्य-
- 9 पराथ तस्य । तन्नायजी नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीय आसीत्पा^४र्त्त(र्त्त) च मण्डपपती-
न्स चकार व(व)भून् ॥ [६॥*] तेषा-

^१ Represented by two different signs. [The first symbol possibly stands for सिद्धिरसु ; see above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.—Ed.]

^२ [The *dandas* are unnecessary.—Ed.] Here the space enclosed by the two vertical lines and just below it in the second line was reserved for making a hole for stringing the first plate with the second plate, but the hole was finally made at the bottom instead of at the top.

^३ Compare with the 3rd *śloka* of the Benares copper-plate inscription of Karmadēva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 305).

^४ Elsewhere this reads as वृष य (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 34, *śloka* 5).

I.

३३॥ ननु तदा जेहनेयेना निशुले च्यापवनि नोभा निपमभासतलं कुरुमूले गतिगतिरिह
 २ मन्त्रालिनेनभाउदेवद्वारा जेहनेयेनभासतलं कुरुमूले गतिगतिरिह
 ४ भादिगकुम्भद्वारेह विवेकं देवदेवः श्री चोर्ध्ववीर्यमजि विवेकं देवदेवः श्री चोर्ध्ववीर्यमजि
 ६ मन्त्रालिनेनभाउदेवद्वारा जेहनेयेनभासतलं कुरुमूले गतिगतिरिह
 ८ भादिगकुम्भद्वारेह विवेकं देवदेवः श्री चोर्ध्ववीर्यमजि विवेकं देवदेवः श्री चोर्ध्ववीर्यमजि
 १० मन्त्रालिनेनभाउदेवद्वारा जेहनेयेनभासतलं कुरुमूले गतिगतिरिह
 १२ भादिगकुम्भद्वारेह विवेकं देवदेवः श्री चोर्ध्ववीर्यमजि विवेकं देवदेवः श्री चोर्ध्ववीर्यमजि
 १४ मन्त्रालिनेनभाउदेवद्वारा जेहनेयेनभासतलं कुरुमूले गतिगतिरिह
 १६ भादिगकुम्भद्वारेह विवेकं देवदेवः श्री चोर्ध्ववीर्यमजि विवेकं देवदेवः श्री चोर्ध्ववीर्यमजि
 १८ मन्त्रालिनेनभाउदेवद्वारा जेहनेयेनभासतलं कुरुमूले गतिगतिरिह
 २० भादिगकुम्भद्वारेह विवेकं देवदेवः श्री चोर्ध्ववीर्यमजि विवेकं देवदेवः श्री चोर्ध्ववीर्यमजि

[illegible]

- 10 मनु¹जस्य कलिङ्गराजः प्रतापवज्रिभूपितारिराजः । जातोन्वये द्विष्टरिपु-
प्रवीरप्रियान-
- 11 नाभोरुहपार्वणेन्दुः ॥[७ ॥*] तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्मलकीर्तिकान्तो जातः
पु(सु)तः क[म*]लराज इति
- 12 प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतरणावुदित(ते) रजन्यां जातानि पङ्कजवनानि
विकासभोजि(भाञ्जि) ॥[८ ॥*] क्षीणो-
- 13 दपु(सु)त्कलन्टपं परिमथ्य धीरो गाद्रे(ङ्गे)यदेवविभवे स(श)मदाच्छ्रियं यः ।
उच्चैस्त्रिखरप्रण[धरचृ]प-
- 14 रत्नदानसंतोषितासुरसुरः स हि मन्दराभः ॥[९ ॥*] महीभर्तृविभूषाय²-
पपो(यो)धिरिव [कौस्तु]-
- 15 भं । जितसू(शू)रप्रतापं हि रत्नराजमसूत सः ॥[१० ॥*] दृष्ट[वि]द्विष्ट-
सामन्तध्वान्त[ध्वं]सनभास्करं ।
- 16 यस्य प्रतापतस्यैव सै(शे)त्याया(धि)श्रिता द्विषः ॥[११ ॥*] नीचशाख्या प्रिया
तस्य सू(शू)रस्येव हि
- 17 सू(शू)रता । कीमोमण्डलनाथस्य सुता या वज्रवर्मथः ॥[१२ ॥*] तत[:*]
पृथ्वीदेवः सकलधरणी-
- 18 भूषणमणिः समुत्पन्नः श्रीम[हु]धजनमनोभोजतरणिः । प्रतापाम्बौ यस्य
ज्व-
- 19 जति सततोत्तमद्वयेर्विखीनं सामात्यैर्जडकृतस(श)रीरैरिव परैः ॥ [१३ ॥*]
यस्मिन्मही-
- 20 [म*]वति नीतिविचारस(सा)रे वातोप्यवर्त्मनि पदं न करोति कीन्यः ।
धर्म[1*]ध्वनि[हि]तमतौ च न

Second Plate.

- 21 दैवत्येचन³ दैवतोपि लोकेषु(षु) नूनमुपघातलवोदयोस्ति ॥[१४ ॥*] अनेन
समस्तप्रति-
- 22 पत्तिसमूहससु(सु)पेतश(स)र्वालङ्कारविभूषितेन सं(शं)खसुग्मध्वनिपूरितजगज्जप-
(य)स्वर⁴-
- 23 रवचासितारातिचक्रेण समधिगताशेषपञ्च(पञ्च)महाशब्दे(न्दे)न श्रीमहद्वेस(श्व)र-
सरलव्य(व्य)प्रसा-

¹ न should be short, but apparently it has been made long for the sake of metre, with a view to make it a *pāda* of *Indravajrā*, like the third *pāda* of the same *śloka*, the second and fourth being those of *Upēndravajrā*.

² Elsewhere it reads विभूषाय which appears to be better (see *Rp. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 35, *śloka* 9).

³ Delete the first five letters as superfluous.

⁴ [These two letters seem to be unnecessary. The reading is not certain. Mr. Hiralal conjecturally suggests
० जगज्जप-—Ed.]

- 24 दैकविष्णु(विश्र)तिश्र(स)हये(सै)कनायमप(चा)प्रचण्डसकलकोसलाधिपतिना पर-
ममाह्वेक्ष(श्व)रेण कल-
- 25 चुरिवन्धो(धशो)इवे[नि*]त्वादि समस्त राजावलोविराजमानमहामण्डलेक्षरेण हस्ति-
यामठिनि-
- 26 माताय । आङ्गिरसगोत्राया(य) उचि(च)प्यगोतमवसिष्ठेति विः(चि)प्रम(व)-
राप(य) व(व)ह्वसा(शा)हिने [य]सो(शो)दे-
- 27 वप्रशवे(व)उपाध्यायधिराचनध्वे चा[हस]ता[य] रिसि(कृषि) केस(श)रास(वाय)-
स्य(फा)लानकथासतम्यां रविदि-
- 28 ने तुमाचके देवश्रीवहेक्ष(श्व)रचतु[ष्किकाप्र]तिष्ठायां श्रीमह्वेक्ष(श्वर)[पट्टा]धि-
कम्पदो(हो) पादौ प्रचा-
- 29 ख कुसा(शा)वतहिरण्यसमन्वितवारितुण्डकमास्तयपरमंडल(मण्डले) वसन्ता-
धामवतुःसीमा-
- 30 विभु(श)हो मातायि(पि)चोरात्मनश् पुण्ययसो(शो)भित्तये [ह]स्ती-
दक[सा](शा)सनतया प्र[द]त्तस्तदयं
- 31 चन्द्रदिवाकरचितिपाथोधिपवनास्व(श्व)राणि यावत् म(च)विह्वलभुक्त्याकान-
[भाम]करमंगलक-
- 32 रसवती¹ दम(समा)ह्वत्य(त्या)भ्यन्तरसिन्ध्यां(ध्या) भ्रजेनेतमुचपोचादिभिश्च
भोज्यः ॥ विपूर्वश्री विक्र-
- 33 मराजधेयः सो(शो)र्याहुती विक्रमराजनामा । तथार्जुनो वीरवरो
जितारिभिः प्रद-
- 34 आः(ताः) खलु श्र(स)त्यवाचः ॥[१५ ॥*] ज(त)थ [वा] सधे(संधि)विप्रह-
राजमंजो श्रेष्ठो यसो(शो)रजपुरप्रधा[न]ः । धीधा-
- 35 क आण्डिलनेस(श)[वाय ददौ] ध[रा] संवि[तसत्यधर्म]ः ॥[१६ ॥*]
व(व)हुमिर्वसुधा व(व)ता राज-
- 36 मिः सनदादिभिः । यस्वयस्व यदा भूमिस्तस्य[तस्य*] तदा फलम् ॥[१७ ॥*]
भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्ना)ति य-
- 37 च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ [तो पुण्यकर्मा]चौ नियतं सार्धंगामिनौ ॥
[१८ ॥*] सं(श)खं भद्रासन(न) क्वं वरस्ता(राजा) वरवारणाः ।
- 38 भूमिदानस्य पित्राणि फलमेत[त्पु]रन्दर ॥[१९ ॥*] [हरते चार]यते श्री
मन्दबु(हु)विष्णुमोहतः । स प(व)हो वाचसैः पासे(शे)स्तिर्यन्तो-

* [Reading uncertain.—Ed.]

¹ *Māre* : *Upajāti*. Apparently the intention was to write in *Indracājṛī* metre. But through the fault of the engraver or otherwise it has become irregular.

- 39 निं च गच्छति ॥२० ॥* न विषं विषमित्वा दुर्गं (र्गं) क्लृप्तं विषमुद्ध (क्लृ)ते ।
विषमेकाकिनं ह[न्ति] व्य(त्र)क्लृप्त(स्व) पुनपौचि(त्र)कं ॥२१ ॥* गर्भोत्स-
(स्व)रः सुक्त-
- 40 विरल्लक्ष ईशभक्त्यान्ने(स्व) चक्र(को)रनयना(नी) लिखितं सुधाधिः । योदास
(श)लः सकलसि(मि)ल्लनिधिः सुवु(वु)द्विहत्कोर्ष(र्ष)वा-
- 41 न्न सु(य)भप(प)न्ति सव(द)चरं च ॥२२* ॥१॥ च ॥ या या[य] ।
चेदीस(म)स्व सं ८३१

No. 12.—TAKKOLAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN (ADITYA I).

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S., OOTACAMUND.

Takkolam, which is now a petty village in the North Arcot District¹ and a flag station on the Arkonam-Chingleput line of the South Indian Railway, was an important place in ancient times. It occurs under the name Tiruvūral in the *Dēvāram*, and is stated to have been situated in Tonḍai-nāḍu.* It is celebrated for its Śiva temple, referred to in the hymns of the Tamil Śaiva saint Tirujñānasambandar,³ who flourished in the middle of the seventh century A.D. Even at the present day, its Śiva temple is an old structure of the Chōla times, referable to the 9th century A.D., to judge from the inscriptions⁴ engraved on the walls of the central shrine. Besides being a place of pilgrimage, it is historically important as one of the ancient battle-fields of South India. In the middle of the 10th century A.D., it witnessed a sanguinary encounter⁵ that took place between the Chōlas on the one side, and the Rāshtrakūṭas allied with the Gaṅgas on the other, the bone of contention being Tonḍai-maṇḍalam,—the plum of the Pallava dominions,—which had been snatched away by the Chōlas from the Pallavas⁶ in the third quarter of the 9th century A.D. The Chōlas were under the banner of the great Parāntaka I, the general being the valiant Chōla prince Rājāditya, while the contending Rāshtrakūṭa was the famous Kṛishṇa III,⁷ allied with the Gaṅga Būtuga II.⁸ In the encounter, Būtuga managed to get into the *howdah* of the

¹ Regarding the situation of Takkolam, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 187.

² Tiruvūral is included in the first *Tirumūrai* and is stated to be a place in Tonḍai-nāḍu.

³ Of the eleven verses composed by this saint verses 6 and 7 are lost and the rest are preserved in the *Dēvāram*.

⁴ The inscriptions of Takkolam are registered as Nos. 1 to 19 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897 and Nos. 243 to 277 of the same collection for 1921. The kings represented in them are Rājakesarivarman (No. 5 of 1897 and Nos. 255 and 260 of 1921), Parāntaka I (Nos. 8 to 12 of 1897 and Nos. 245, 246, 248, 249, 251 to 254 and 261 of 1921), Kapparaḍēva (No. 2 of 1897), Parakēsarivarman (No. 6 of 1897 and No. 250 of 1921), Pārthivēndravarman (Nos. 4, 7, 13 and 14 of 1897), Rājārāja I (No. 3 of 1897 and Nos. 247, 257, 258 and 259 of 1921), Rājendra-Chōla I (No. 15 of 1897 and 256 of 1921), Vimalāditya (No. 1 of 1897), Rājakesarivarman Vijayarājendraḍēva (No. 262 of 1921), Rājakesarivarman Virarājendra (No. 19 of 1897), Kulōttuṅga I (No. 18 of 1897 and Nos. 243, 263 and 268 of 1921), Tribhuvanaśakravartin Kulōttuṅga (Nos. 16 and 17 of 1897), Tribhuvanaśakravartin Rājārāja (Nos. 265 and 266 of 1921), Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla (Nos. 264 and 267 of 1921), Rājānārāyaṇa-Sambuvārāya (No. 271 of 1921), Dēvarāya (No. 270 of 1921) and Sadāśiva (Nos. 269 and 272 of 1921). One bears no king (No. 273 of 1921).

⁵ This battle is mentioned in the Ātakūr stone inscription (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 55).

⁶ This fact was first surmised by Mr. Venkayya in editing the Tirukkaḷukkunram inscription of Rājakesarivarman, dated in the 27th year of reign (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 279), and subsequently proved to be correct by a statement in the Tiruvālaṅḍu plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49).

⁷ Kṛishṇa III is invariably referred to in Tamil Inscriptions by the appellation "*Kachchiyum Tañjaivum-howda Kapparaḍēva*," (Kapparaḍēva, the capturer of Conjeeveram and Tanjore). The Doddasivaram inscription (No. 112 of 1899) refers to his having been encamped at Mēlpāḍi in the North Arcot district.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 55 and 57.

elephant on which Rājāditya rode, engaged him in a hand-to-hand fight and put him to death, thus securing victory to his overlord.¹ Soon after, Kṛishṇa III is said to have marched through Tondai-maṇḍalam.²

To fix the date when the Rāshtrakūṭa invasion of the Chōḷa country took place,³ we may briefly state here the events of the period :—

- (1) A number of stone inscriptions of Parāntaka I have been found dated in years 40 and later and of these the latest known so far is one belonging to the 46th year of reign.⁴ His accession being in A.D. 907, the last date takes us to A.D. 953. In the face of the existence of this record which has been recently examined and found to be clearly of the 46th year and of another dated in the 45th year, we cannot place Parāntaka's death before A.D. 952-3.
- (2) The Kanyākumari inscription states that Parāntaka I himself fought with Kṛishṇarāja and defeated him earning thereby the title Vira-Chōḷa, though it does not state when and where the encounter took place.⁵ If the success attributed to Parāntaka I is to be taken seriously, we must regard this event as having happened before A.D. 944 when, as will be shown in (3) below, Kṛishṇarāja was occupying Tondai-maṇḍalam.
- (3) The Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III occupied Tondai-maṇḍalam in at least A.D. 944, for there is a clear record of his at Siddhalingamaṇḍam in the South Arcot District dated in the 5th year of his reign mentioning his conquest of Kachohi and Tañjai.⁶ Records of Kṛishṇa III show that he reigned for 28 years⁷ and one of them states in unmistakable terms that he died in A.D. 967.⁸ Therefore, it is certain that his reign lasted from A.D. 940 to 967 and that his fifth year fell in A.D. 944.⁹
- (4) A few years after his occupation of Tondai-maṇḍalam, Kṛishṇa III had to fight against the Chōḷas at Takkōlam. We have definite information in contemporary records as to when this happened and the whole course of events that followed. The Śōḷapūram record is dated in A.D. 949, which is stated to be two years after Kṛishṇa III had fought with Rājāditya and entered Tondai-maṇḍalam.¹⁰ Who it was that killed Rājāditya in the battle and what kind of entry is referred to here are clearly learnt from the Ātakūr stone inscription. It states¹¹ that at the time when Kṛishṇa III was fighting against the Chōḷa, Būtuga II (the Gaṅga ally of the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md. 41 and *J. R. A. S.* for 1909, p. 443.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 52. Some of the statements therein made fall self-condemned.

⁴ Madras Epigraphical collection Nos. 384 of 1903, 232 of 1894, 82 of 1896, 520 of 1905, 310 of 1906, 225 of 1915, 345 and 353 of 1918 belong to the 40th year; Nos. 88 of 1892, 419 of 1903, 184 and 313 of 1906 and 149 of 1916 belong to the 41st year; No. 465 of 1918 belong to the 45th year and No. 15 of 1895 to the 46th year.

⁵ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 143, v. 48.

⁶ No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁷ Quite a large number of inscriptions of the 28th year of this king have been found: see Nos. 125 of 1906 and 334 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ No. 236 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1913 from Kolagallu is dated in Śaka 889, Kāshya, Phālguna, śu. dī. 6, Sunday, and states that Kṛishṇa III died in this year and Kottiga succeeded him. The date equivalent is Sunday, February 17th, A.D. 967.

⁹ Since the Deoli grant of Kṛishṇa III is dated in 940 A.D. and does not mention his conquest of the Chōḷas, that event should have happened after this date and most probably in A.D. 944.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195. The actual words used are "Svasii Sri yāṇḍu irāṇḍu Śaka varāhaṁ eṣṣāṅṅ-
eṭṭiputt-ōṅṇu chakravartii Kannaradēva-vallabhan Rājādittarai eṇṇḍu Tondai-maṇḍalam paṇḍad-ōṅṇu."

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 57, l. 20 and *J. R. A. S.* 1909, p. 445.

Rāshtrakūṭa king) made the *howdah* of the elephant on which Rājāditya was mounted the battle-field, fought with Rājāditya, stabbed him with a dagger and killed him. In token of appreciation, Kṛishṇa III gave Būtuga the Banavase 12,000, Belvola 300, Purigere 300, Kisukād 70 and Bāgenād 370. The same record further informs¹ us that Kṛishṇa III having attacked Mummaḍi-Chōla Rājāditya and having fought and killed him at Takkōlam was going in triumph. Thus, it is clear that this entry into Tonḍai-maṇḍalam which took place a few years after the Rāshtrakūṭa occupation of that part of the Chōla dominions was the final triumphant march or state procession in the conquered territory when all obstacles had been overcome. It will be noted that Rājāditya died long before his father's death. Accordingly, we see that the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates do not state that he became king while they do say so with regard to his brothers.²

- (5) Twelve years after Kṛishṇa III had his state entry into Tonḍai-maṇḍalam, i.e., on the 9th day of March 959 A.D., he was encamped with his victorious army at Mēlpāḍi in the Chittoor district when he established his followers in the southern provinces, took possession of the estates of the provincial chiefs and began to construct temples to Kālapriya, Gaṇḍamārtanda, Kṛishṇēśvara, etc.³

The events of the period, in the order of occurrence, may be given thus :—

1. Before A.D. 944 . . . Parāntaka I fought with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and gained victory.
2. A.D. 944 . . . Kṛishṇa III occupied Tonḍai-maṇḍalam.
3. A.D. 947 . . . Battle of Takkōlam: Rājāditya killed by Būtuga and the triumphant march of Kṛishṇa III into Tonḍai-maṇḍalam.
4. A.D. 953 . . . Last year of Parāntaka's reign known so far.
5. A.D. 959 . . . Kṛishṇa III's encampment at Mēlpāḍi and the establishment of Rāshtrakūṭa subordinates in the several provinces of Tonḍai-maṇḍalam.
6. A.D. 967 . . . Death of Kṛishṇa III.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the west wall of the central shrine in the Jalānāthēśvara temple at Takkōlam.⁴ It is written in the Tamiḻ and Grantha characters of the ninth century and is in the Tamiḻ language. The record is in a good state of preservation. The Grantha letters used are *svasthi śrī* (l. 1), *sūryya graha* (l. 5) and *māhēśvarakṣhai* (l. 11). The *vū* in *Tiruvūral* (l. 6) is shaped as in Grantha. A careful comparison of the characters employed in this record with those of Parāntaka I found in the same place, shows that this inscription must belong to a slightly earlier period. It is worthy of note that while the Parāntaka inscriptions in this place do not use the *puḷḷi* or *virāma*, it is invariably marked by a small vertical line over the letters⁵ throughout this inscription, wherever necessary. The characteristic Tamiḻ letters that

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55, l. 2.

² *South-Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 54.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 281. It is stated in this inscription that Kṛishṇa III erected a high column of victory at Rāmēśvaram after making the Chēra, Chōla, and Pāṇḍya his tributaries (V. 35 of the Karhad plates).

⁴ No. 5 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897.

⁵ It is also marked in the Tirukkalukkuṅgam inscription of the same king (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, plate facing page 284).

show an earlier type are *śa*, *ma* and *ta*. The marking of the secondary *i*-symbol from right to left like a circle over the letter is another archaic feature that is worthy of note. The etymology and orthography of the record do not call for any remarks.

The inscription is dated in the 24th year of the reign of Rājakēśarivarman without any distinguishing epithets and registers the grant of a silver water-vessel with a spout, made to the temple of Tiruvūṇal-Mahādēva by Piridipadiyār, son of Māramaraiyar, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the first day of the bright fortnight in the month of Āṇi. The donor Piridipadiyār is no doubt identical with the Gaṅga Prithvīpati II, son of Mārasimha, who is referred to by the name of Māramaraiyar here.¹ It was on this Gaṅga chief that the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I (A.D. 907 to 953) conferred later on the Bāṇa kingdom which he had obtained by defeating the then reigning Bāṇa chief, along with the feudatory title Śembiyaṇ Māvāli-Vāṇarāyaṇ.² Since before Parāntaka I the only Chōḷa king that bore the title Rājakēśarivarman was Āditya I, this inscription must belong to him. Palaeographical considerations and the fact that Prithvīpati II figures as donor in this record point to the same conclusion.

The importance of this inscription consists in the fact that it can, with certainty, be ascribed to the Chōḷa Āditya I; that it enables us to fix the date of his accession to the throne which has not hitherto been done; besides, it also reveals the fact that the Gaṅgas under Prithvīpati II assumed a subordinate position under, or were at least friendly towards, the Chōḷas even during the reign of Āditya I, as they certainly were in the time of Parāntaka I.

It is reported in the Udayēndiram grant that the Gaṅga king Prithvīpati I, grandfather of the donor of our record, fought on the side of the Pallava Aparājita against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna in the battle at Śrīpurambiyam and secured victory for his ally, though he himself lost his life in the strife.³ The Pāṇḍya king Varaguna, who was defeated in this battle, is no doubt Vatrāgūṇavarman, the eldest son of Śrīmāra Parachakrakōḷāhala.⁴ Of his reign an inscription had been found at Aivarmalai⁵ in the Madura district dated in the 8th year and Śaka 792, from which it is learnt that he ascended the throne in A.D. 862. It is clear that the battle of Śrīpurambiyam must, therefore, have been fought some time after that date, perhaps in about A.D. 870. The victor in this battle, i.e., the Pallava king Aparājita, continued his rule for some time⁶ when he had to encounter a more formidable foe in the Chōḷa Āditya I. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates state that Āditya I defeated the Pallava Aparājita, gained victory and took possession of his dominions.⁷ This must have happened in about A.D. 870.

The statement made in this inscription that in the 24th year of the king's reign there was a solar eclipse in the month of Āṇi is of the utmost importance, for it enables us to fix the year of his accession to the throne as will be shown presently. Keeping A.D. 907, the year of accession of Parāntaka I, as the last year of the reign of Āditya I, we have to look for the date meant in the

¹ Prithvīpati I, having died in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam, it is impossible that he might be meant in this record though Māramaraiyar may be equated with Śrīmāra or Mārasimha.

² See *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, page 384. See also Sholingur inscription of Parāntaka I (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, page 224), where the following words चरुभक्त पद्मनभं प्रसादं वाचाधिपतिपदलभनसाधनं are used with reference to the title obtained by Prithvīpati II from Parāntaka I.

³ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 384, v. 18, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 87.

⁴ *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1907, Pt. II, page 66 f.

⁵ No. 705 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁶ The inscriptions of Aparājita range in date from the 3rd to the 18th year of reign (see No. 435 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905 and No. 351 of the same collection for 1908).

⁷ *S. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49.

inscription. From Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, it is seen that before A.D. 907 the following are the dates when solar eclipses occurred in the month of Āṣi :—

1. Saturday, 5th June 829 A.D.
2. Thursday, 5th June 848 A.D.
3. Saturday, 16th June 866 A.D.
4. Friday, 6th June 867 A.D.
5. Saturday, 27th May 876 A.D.
6. Wednesday, 16th June 885 A.D.
7. Friday, 7th June 894 A.D.
8. Wednesday, 28th May 895 A.D.

It may be noted at the start that as Parāntaka I had had a long reign extending to 46 years, Āditya I, his father, could not have reigned as long. And if the fact that the Pallava king Aparājita and his Gaṅga ally Prithvipati I fought at Śrīpurambiyam in the Tanjore district not far from the new capital of the Chōlas, without the Chōlas taking any part in it, against the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa,—which event must have taken place after A.D. 862, the year of accession of Varaguṇa and somewhere about 870,—could suggest anything, it is that the Chōlas had not formed themselves into a power to count for much. For these reasons, we cannot place the date of accession of Āditya I, prior to A.D. 862. As such, we can safely leave out of consideration the first six probable date-equivalents of the details given in our record, since they give an accession date earlier than A.D. 862. Thus, the only two probable equivalents of the day of the solar eclipse in Āṣi given in this inscription are 7th June 894 A.D. and 28th May 895 A.D. which would place the accession of Āditya I in A.D. 870 or 871 and give him a rule of 36 or 37 years. The only other equivalent that is worthy of consideration is 16th June A.D. 885. This would place Āditya's accession in A.D. 861 and give him a long reign of 46 years. In the absence of any evidence to show that Āditya I was a mere boy at the time of his coronation, one would rather hesitate to adopt this as a probable date for the reason that the reigns of Āditya and his son Parāntaka I would cover a period of 92 years.¹ Sometime after his accession to the throne Āditya I should have thought it opportune to try issues with the Pallava victor of Śrīpurambiyam, i.e., Aparājita. While the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates state that Āditya fought with the Pallava Aparājita and defeated him,² the Kanyākumārī inscription goes further and explicitly declares that he killed him and got possession of the territory.³ It is very likely that Aparājita, after having reigned for 18 years, lost his life and his kingdom in the encounter with the Chōla Āditya I.

Here it becomes necessary to consider certain inscriptions of Rājakesarivarman which have been thought, perhaps on palaeographical grounds, to be of an earlier date than A.D. 907 and consequently as belonging to Āditya I, noticed on page 96, para. 20 of Part II of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1915 and for which 5 possible equivalents are noted on page 72 of the same report. Of these equivalents, the only one that agrees with one of the equivalents of the present record is the first which places the accession in A.D. 861 and which also we consider as highly improbable. I think these inscriptions of Rājakesarivarman should belong to some sovereign in the Chōla line who came after Parāntaka I and not to one that preceded him. My reasons for thinking

¹ South Indian history affords an odd example where the reigns of two consecutive sovereigns together lasted for more than a century. This is the case of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son Dantivarman; but in this case we are assured that Nandivarman Pallavamalla was crowned king while he had not reached the teens.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49.

³ *Trans. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 55, where it is stated that Āditya, called also Kōḍaṇḍarāma, pounced upon and killed in battle the Pallava king who was seated on a rutting elephant.

that they are later than the time of Parāntaka are (1) that in two of these records,¹ which palaeographically indicate the same period, there occurs a village called Uttamaśīli-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷam which should have been so termed after Uttamaśīli, one of the sons of Parāntaka I as we know it from his inscriptions; and (2) that these two inscriptions mention a chief named Vēḷāṇ Viranārāyaṇa *alias* Śembiyaṇ Vēdi-Vēḷāṇ, who must have been so called after Viranārāyaṇa, one of the surnames of Parāntaka I. The only two Rājakeśarivarmanas to whom they could be assigned in my opinion, are Sundara-Chōḷa and Rājarāja I, both of whom coming after Parāntaka I bore the title Rājakeśarivarman. The equivalents of the details of dates given in these records for either of these two kings are noted below :—

No. and year.	Details of date.	Equivalent for Sundara-Chōḷa.	Equivalent for Rājarāja I.
74 of 1914	5th yr. Makara, Friday, Purnamasu.	4th Jan. 984 A.D.	2nd Jan. 991 A.D.
101 of 1914	7th „ Makara, Tuesday, Ādrā.	27th Dec. 984 „	19th Jan. 992 „
104 of 1914	7th „ Makara, Thursday, Māḷ.	14th Jan. 984 „	11th Jan. 994 „
105 of 1914	7th „ Śiṅha, Saturday, Rōhini.	15th Aug. 983 „	12th Aug. 993 „
127 of 1914	6th „ Makara, Tuesday, Svāti.	23rd Dec. 982 „	17th Jan. 993 „
130 of 1914	6th „ Makara, Tuesday, Ādrā.	27th Dec. 984 „	19th Jan. 992 „
133 of 1914	5th „ Mithuna, Wednesday, Svāti.	4th Jan. 981 „	27th May 991 „

The part played by the Gaṅgas in the political affairs of the Tamil country calls for some remarks. In the beginning of the 9th century A.D., the Western Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ were hard pressed by the Rāshtrakūṭas who under Dhruva II raided the Gaṅga territory, actually took possession of a part of it and twice kept in prison Śivamāra II, the then reigning Gaṅga sovereign. Not long after Śivamāra II was set at liberty and reinstated on his throne by the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III he passed away, and the country became subject to the rule of Rājamalla Satyavākya I, who tried to regain possession of the territory lost under the late king, and when he was effecting this, he found a fierce opponent in Baṅkēśa, a general of the Rāshtrakūṭas.² Fortunately for the Gaṅga this general was recalled owing to certain internal dissensions in the Rāshtrakūṭa realm, thus affording the Gaṅgas a breathing time. Rājamalla's successor Nītimārga had to face the rising of the Bāṇas who took up the place of the Rāshtrakūṭas in causing disturbance to the Gaṅgas, and this he did effectively by gaining a victory over the Pallava army at Rājarāmaḍu and capturing from the Bāṇas Mahārājara-nāḍu called also the Mahārājavāḍi (in the Cuddapah district).³ We find Rājamalla occupying the North Arcot district which should have been previously held by the Bāṇas and where their inscriptions are actually found.⁴ While this was the case with the Gaṅgas, the country of Drāviḍa was not in a state of

¹ Nos. 104 and 105 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1914.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 28.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Kl. 90. Nj. 269, and Mb. 228.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, page 140.

TAKKOLAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN (ADITYA I).



quiet. The successors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla could not command his strength or tact. A general like Udayachandra was also absent from the scene. The Pallava dominions were exposed to the rushing tide of the Pāṇḍya aggression which was ever threatening to sweep off at least the southern parts of it since the time of Arikēsari Māravarman.¹ Seeing that the Pallavas were becoming weaker, the Bāṇas also appear to have aimed at independence. The trouble caused to the Pallavas which is evidently manifested by the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa-Mahārāja marching as far north as Araiśūr on the banks of the river Peṇṇai,² and the pressure that was brought to bear on the Gaṅgas by the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Bāṇas, as we have seen already, appear to have brought about a union of the Pallavas and the Gaṅgas at this period. The Chōlas were then holding, be it noted, a subordinate official position under the Pallavas and this is in evidence in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates which state that the Chōlamahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa was one of Nandivarman III's principal officers.³ The position of the several powers of South India at the time of which we are speaking is clearly brought out when the Śīṇṇamaṇūr plates state that Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala fought at Kuḍamūḱku, i.e., Kumbhakōṇam against the allied armies of the Gaṅga, Chōla, Pallava, Kālīṅga and others.⁴ Not long after, we notice the Gaṅga Prithvīpati I, son of Śivamāra II, forming an alliance with the Pallava Aparājita and fighting against the latter's foe, i.e., the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa.⁵ We can well imagine that friendly relations must have existed between the Gaṅgas and the Chōlas, the latter of whom held then a subordinate position under the Pallavas, while the former were their allies.⁶ This relationship should have continued even after the downfall of the Pallava power which was brought about by Āditya I: it is not unlikely that the Gaṅgas aided the Chōlas in the endeavour. The aim of the Gaṅgas must have been to secure help against the Bāṇas which they needed badly and which was fully obtained in the reign of Āditya's successor Parāntaka I. These circumstances clearly show the interest taken by the Gaṅgas in the affairs of the Tamiḷ country and account for Prithvīpati II figuring as donor in our record and the subsequent acquisition by him of the rule of the Bāṇa kingdom together with the title Śembiyaṇ Mahāvali Vānarāyaṇ from the hands of Parāntaka I.

TEXT.

1. Svasthi(sti) śri [||*] Kōv-Irāsakā-
2. śaripaṇṇa[r*]kku iyāṇḍu
3. irubattu-nālāvadu A-
4. pi-ttalai-ppiraiyāl
5. tūṇḍiṇa Sūryya-grahaṇat-

¹ The Pāṇḍya king Arikēsari Māravarman is said to have gained a victory over Pallavamalla. Varaguṇa-Mahārāja is reported to have advanced as far north as Araiśūr on the Pennar and to have encamped there. Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhala called also Pallavabhaṇḱana is said to have fought the battle of Kuḍamūḱku against the Pallava and others.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 86 and 91.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 512, v. 26 and the Tamiḷ portion which follows it. It is said of him that he was the heroic head-jewel of the Chōla race, that his glory was well known, that he had the liberality of Karpas and that his conduct was upright.

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, p. 68, para. 23.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 384, v. 18 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, page 87.

⁶ All the circumstances so far known seem to suggest that Vijayālaya, the first member of the revived Chōla line, could not have had any independence. There is no question of his valour or chivalry. At the same time there is nothing to suspect the statement of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that he captured the town of Taṇjāpurī. What looks probable is that he might have done it being under the employ of the Pallava. Perhaps, he was left to protect the Pallava interest in the southern portion of their dominions, i.e., the Tanjore district, which was exposed to attacks for years by the aggressive Pāṇḍyas.

6. ti-nāṣṣu Tiruvūral-Mādhēva-
7. rḱku Māramaraiyar magaiṇār
8. Piridipadiyār kuḍutta ve-
9. ||i-kkeṇḍi nṛai muṇṇū-
10. ṛṛu-orubatt-eḷu kaḷāṇju
11. idu paṇ-Māhēśva[ra*]-rakshai [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! On the day of the solar eclipse which occurred on the first moon in the month of Āṣi in the 24th year of (the reign of) king Rājakēsarivarman, Piridipadiyār (i.e., Pṛithvipati), son of Māramaraiyar (i.e., Mārasimha), presented a silver ean with a spout weighing three hundred and seventeen kaḷāṇju, to (the temple of the god) Mahādhēva at Tiruvūral. This (gift shall be under) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

No. 13.—A FURTHER NOTE ON THE BEZWADA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF
YUDDHAMALLA.

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.

Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari's note¹ on the inscription, named above, and his readings or interpretation of it cannot be accepted except in one case. He says that the word "bayanna" in the 3rd line of the 4th verse (l. 27 of the inscription) must be read as *mayanna* (*mā* does not scan well) and not as *maiynna* as proposed by me. Apart from the difficulties of construction, Mr. Krishnamachari's reading offends the law of prosody in a very important respect. It was shown in the original article that the verses of the inscription are in the Madhya-akkara metre. The scheme of this metre requires an *indra-gaṇa* at the place where *bayanna* stands. *Bayanna* is a *ja-gaṇa* and a *ja-gaṇa* cannot be an *indra-gaṇa*. The possible contention that *ja-gaṇa* may have been regarded as an *indra-gaṇa* at the period when the inscription was composed upsets the whole scheme of the metre adopted in the inscription. The emendation *maiynna* meets this difficulty and renders the passage quite natural and clear. Admitting that emendations should not be proposed where the original reading can possibly be adopted, it may be contended that this is a case in which the original wording of the inscription cannot be adopted and an emendation is necessary.

As for the contention that the verse should be so interpreted as to mean that it was king Yudhamalla, and not the god Kumārasvāmi that went on a pilgrimage from Chēbrōlu to Bezwada, it must be admitted that this interpretation is literally possible, though the interpretation offered already is the more probable one. Chēbrōlu does not appear to have ever been a Chalukyan capital.

The second point in the note concerns the prose passage in lines 29-36. The restoration of the lost letters suggested herein is problematical and rests upon emendations in other parts of the passage.

The third point is in regard to the reading and interpretation of the word 'vērṇu' in lines 39 and 40. The exact reading is certainly *vērṇu* but the interpretation put upon it by Mr. Krishnamachari cannot be accepted. 'Eṇu' is unknown to Telugu. In Kanarese, it is a verb meaning 'to be complete', and it can hardly be used in Telugu as an adverb in the way suggested.

The fourth and last point is in regard to the reading and interpretation of the concluding portion of the inscription consisting of the last two letters of line 44 and lines 45 and 46. The deci-

¹ [See above, Vol. XV, p. 364 f.—Ed.]

phering of this passage is quite correct. Mr. Krishnamacharlu takes the last two syllables *kunda* as a noun meaning 'a pillar', and interprets the passage *nripula kunda* as meaning 'pillar for kings (that recognize and maintain his charity).' The Kanarese word *kunda* is identical with the Telugu word *kundamu* and means the same thing, viz., 'a pile of bricks or tiles'. This is not exactly a pillar. *Nripula kunda* means *kunda* of *nripulu* (kings) but not *kunda* for *nripulu*. 'Pillar of kings' does not give any sense. Yuddhamalla, apparently, erected this pillar for the purpose of having the inscription engraved thereon and not to the honour of unnamed future kings whom he wants to maintain his charity. How does this pillar serve the latter purpose? Is there any other instance of such a pillar being erected?

The passage, so far as it goes, scans exactly to the *Madhya-akkara* metre and the last syllable *da* which, for purposes of *yati*, matches with *ta*, the initial syllable of the passage, certainly suggests that the passage is part of a verse line, and a glance at the estampage cannot fail to show that the engraving is abruptly left off at this point.

No. 14.—THE KANDUKURU PLATES OF VENKATAPATIDEVA I : SAKA 1535.

By G. V. SRINIVASA RAO, B.A., MADRAS.

These five copper-plates were secured on loan from M. R. Ry. Uddi Narasimhacharya of Kandukūru, Madanapalle Taluk, Chittoor district, in 1921-22.¹ They have raised rims and curved tops with a ring-hole, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, bored in the middle. They measure $9\frac{1}{4}$ " in height together with the projections and $7\frac{1}{2}$ " without them and are $6\frac{1}{2}$ " wide. To the ring, which is circular in shape with a diameter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ ", is attached, by a hole at the back of it, a sliding circular seal measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. On this is represented in high relief a boar, advancing to the proper left, and a dagger pointing downwards, both cut upon a horizontal double line supported by a vertical line in the centre. Above the boar are the figures of the sun and the crescent. The plates with the ring and seal weigh 307 tolas. The ring had been cut when the plates were received in the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy at Madras.

The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and last plates and on both sides of the rest. The leaves are numbered in Telugu numerals incised to the left of the ring-hole on the first written side of each plate. The alphabet of the grant is Nandi-Nāgari except the sign manual 'Śrī-Venkaṭāśa' at the end which is in Telugu, and the language is metrical Sanskrit. The portion in lines 148 to 152 is, however, in the Telugu language and is evidently an addition made after the original grant was completed.

The inscription shows the various orthographical peculiarities usually seen in the Vijayanagara grants, such as (1) the invariable use of *anusvāra* in place of the nasal and *vice versa*, (2) the treatment of the second letter as adjunct to the *repha* in conjunct consonants, (3) the omission of the *visarga* generally before the letters *śa* and *sa*, and also in a few other cases, (4) the omission of the first member in double consonants, (5) the superfluous use of an *anusvāra* before nasals, (6) the use of a stroke in addition to a hook after the vowel *i* to denote length as in consonants, (7) the occasional use of the letter *a* followed by *i* to denote *ai* sound in consonants, (8) the substitution of their mere vowels for the letters *ya* and *va* and *vice versa*.²

The grant was issued by Venkaṭapatidēva of the Karpāṭa dynasty and is dated in Śaka 1535, Pramāthin, Vaiśākha, śu. 12, which regularly corresponds to A.D. 1613, April 21,

¹ No. 9 of Appendix A to the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1921-22.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 230, Vol. IV, p. 299, Vol. XI, p. 327 and Vol. XVI, p. 241.

Wednesday, and is, therefore, nearly three months earlier than the British Museum plates of the same king.¹ After the usual invocatory verses, the inscription begins with the genealogy of the king which agrees with that given in all the other grants of the dynasty up to Tirumala I. Like the Dalavāy-Agrahāram plates² and the Viḷāpākkam grant,³ this record also mentions the two sons of Tirumala by Veṅgaḷāmbā, viz., Śrīraṅgarāya and Veṅkaṭapatiḍēva.

In the course of the narration of his ancestry and its panegyric, the document mentions Bukka as having firmly established Śāluva-Nṛsiṃha on the throne, and his son Rāmarāya as having put to flight Kāsappaḍaya and captured the hill-fortress Ādavani 'protected by Sapāda's army of 70,000 Sindh horse' as well as Kandanavōlu. Kāsappaḍaya has been surmised to be identical with Kāchapa-Nāyaka of Ādavani⁴ who figures as a subordinate of Śāluva Narasiṅgarāya in Śaka 1420.⁵ Possibly Kāchapa, for selfish ends, made common cause with the Mussalmans who invaded the Vijayanagara dominions in Śaka 1425,⁶ and Rāmarāya continued his allegiance to the political successors of the Śāluvas under king Kṛishṇarāya.⁷ Sapāda has been identified with Yūsuf Adil Shāhi of Bijāpūr who is said to have borne the name *Savaca*.⁸ The next important member of the line was Tirumala, the brother of Aḷiya Rāmarāya, who was the first to adopt the title 'Samrāt'. His successor was Śrīraṅga and after him came Veṅkaṭa, the donor of the grant and the last powerful king of the family. He was born about Śaka 1471 (A.D. 1549-50) if we can rely on the testimony of Barradas who says that he was 67 years⁹ at the time of his death which, according to Floris, took place in A.D. 1614.¹⁰ He figures as a subordinate of king Sadāsiva in A.D. 1567-68.¹¹ We learn from the *Vasucharitramu* and the *Chikkadēvarāya-vamśāvali* that during his father's time he was the Viceroy of the Chandragiri-rājya comprising the Tundīra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries, and had his capital at Chandragiri while his brother Śrīraṅga governed the Telugu districts from Penukōṇḍa. When the latter came to the throne, Veṅkaṭapati continued to be the Viceroy¹² and held the charge of the Telugu country also. This is gathered from No. 541 of 1909 which states¹³ that in Śaka 1502 (A.D. 1580) the Golkonda Sultān Hazrat Ibrāhīm Pādishāh acquired Uddagiri (i.e., Udayagiri) by driving out Veṅkaṭarāju and captured the regions around Vinikōṇḍa, etc., and Kōṇḍaviḍu.¹⁴ In the same year Śrīraṅga was taken captive by the Sultān who, with the help of the Haṇḍe chiefs, gained effective possession of the territory lying to the north of Penukōṇḍa. This event is mentioned in No. 70 of 1915 dated Śaka 1506 (A.D. 1584) which states that Ahōbalām had been in the occupation of the Muhammadan chief Vibhūrāmu and his Haṇḍe allies for about 7 years. Probably it is these reverses that account for a grant of land in A.D. 1579 to a temple at Mahābalipuram by Gōbūri Tirumalai-Nāyakkar for the merit

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 231 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 159 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 269 ff.

⁴ *Mad. Ep. Report* for 1920-21, Part II, paragraph 12.

⁵ No. 719 of the *Mad. Ep. Collection* for 1917.

⁶ Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. III, p. 348.

⁷ The *Kṛishṇarāya-vijayam* mentions Aravṭi-Bukkarāju as one of the chiefs who attended the coronation of the king. (*Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 129).

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 243, footnote 6.

⁹ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 224.

¹⁰ Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 251.

¹¹ Nos. 240 of 1897 and 183 of 1905 of the *Mad. Ep. Collection*.

¹² In No. 383 of 1919 dated Śaka 1496 in Śrīraṅga's reign he confirms certain appointments made by Tātā-chārya.

¹³ *Mad. Ep. Report* for 1910, Part II, paragraph 64.

¹⁴ These, according to the copper-plate grant No. 23 of 1910-11, had been conquered by Śrīraṅga in Śaka 1498. *Ibid.* for 1911, Part II, paragraph 57.

of Venkatasapati.¹ The Telugu work *Rāmarājīyam* states that Venkaṭa chased the Golkonda army back and defeating it on the banks of the Penner settled, with his vanquished and suppliant enemy, the river Krishna as the boundary line between their territories. His faithful feudatories who helped him on these and other occasions were the Maṭla chief Ananta who calls himself 'the right hand of the Karṇāṭa emperor,'² and the Tanjore chief Achyutappa as well as his son Raghunātha who 'brought all the Karṇāṭa territory once more under Venkaṭadēvarāya.'³ But he had his own internal enemies to contend against; for we hear of a revolt of the Nandyal chief Krishṇama having been quelled by Venkaṭa early in his reign⁴ and of Krishṇappa-Nāyaka of Gingee having been imprisoned by the emperor and subsequently set free.⁵ Virappa-Nāyaka of Madura also seems to have aimed at independence. The *Chikkadēvarāya-vamśāvaṇi* informs us that shortly after his accession, Venkaṭa sent his nephew Tirumala against Madura, but the latter received bribes from the chief and retired with his army to Śrīraṅgaṭṭana. In spite of this, Venkatasapati should have asserted his authority over Virappa as evidenced by later grants.⁶ We get some interesting glimpses into the history of this period from certain Jesuit letters⁷ noticed by the Reverend Father Heras of Bombay. About A.D. 1607, Venkaṭa had removed his seat of government to Vēlūr⁸ though Chandragiri was still 'the royal city.' Towards the close of his reign Venkaṭa had to yield to the rising chief Rājā-Uḍaiyar of Mysore on whom he had to confer the viceroyalty of Śrīraṅgaṭṭana, as his attentions were diverted again by the troublesome Golkonda chiefs who threatened his dominions in the north. It was on this occasion that Raghunātha-Nāyaka of Tanjore came to his rescue and saved the kingdom from the Muhammadan invasion. It is probable that Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka of Madura was also trying to shake off the Vijayanagara sovereignty, and therefore espoused the cause of Jaggarāya in the war of succession after Venkaṭa's death.⁹

The object of the document is to record the grant of some garden lands and fields at Chandragiri and Gollapalle for the worship of the god and the goddess at Tirupati during certain festivals specified in it. The grant was made by Venkatasatidēva at the request of *Mahāmaṇḍalēvara Gōbūri Śēshādrirāja*, the son of Venkaṭarāja and the grandson of Pāpa-Timmarāja of the Solar race and the Kāśyapa-gotra. Very little is known of these Gōbūri chiefs so far except the names of some individual members of the family. They first figure in the reign of Krishṇarāja at the time of his expedition against Kaliṅga,¹⁰ but came into prominence during the rule of Sadāśiva and his successors and had frequent matrimonial alliances with the latter.¹¹ We meet with a certain

¹ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* for 1916, Part II, paragraph 56.

² *Ibid.* for 1916, Part II, paragraph 75.

³ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 285.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁵ तदाज्यो (तदज्यो) वार्तवराचिनामः

रघुनाथो रघुनाथभूपः।

वाराचितं वाराचिनामं तं

अनोचयवेकटद्वरायात् ।

(*Raghunāthābhayudayam* of Rāmabhadraṁbā, Canto VII, verse 73).

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 159 ff. Copper-plates Nos. 9 of 1905-06 and 9 of 1911-12 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ *Mythic Society Journal*, Vol. XIV, pp. 130-140 and 312-317.

⁸ This is probably in consequence of the revolt of Liṅgama-Nāyaka whom, according to *Bahusūtravacharitam*, Chenna defeated on behalf of Venkaṭa.

⁹ Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 230.

¹⁰ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 131.

¹¹ According to the *Rāmarājīyam*, Koṇḍamma, one of the five queens of Venkaṭa I, was a daughter of Ōbarāja, while two more daughters of his, Narasīngamma and Baṅgāramma, were respectively married to Rāma and Venkaṭa II, the grandsons of Aṭiya-Rāmarāja. Other members of the family who had marriage connections with the Arayḍu chiefs were Gōbūri Veṅkaṭa, the father of a certain Pāpamma married to Śrīraṅga III, the adopted son of Gōpāla who was himself the son-in-law of (Gōbūri) Gīriyappa, and Yatirāju whose daughter Koṇḍamma was married to Rāma IV.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Gōbūri Ōbayadēva-Mahārāja as a subordinate of Sadāśiva in Śaka 1469 in an inscription at Ahōbalam,¹ though we cannot say for certain whether he is the same chief who is referred to as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gōbūri Aubhalarājayya in No. 543 of the Epigraphical collection for 1915, dated in Śaka 1482, from the Bellary district. About this period some more chiefs of the family are brought to our notice, who were connected with the Kurnool, Cuddapah and Chingleput districts. For instance, we find a certain Koṇḍrāju in Śaka 1473 at Koilkuntla,² a Narasarāju in Śaka 1478 at Toṇḍūru,³ a Giriapparāju in Śaka 1529 at Dudyāla,⁴ a Gōbūri Tirumalai-Nāyaka in Śaka 1501,⁵ and a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gōbūri Ōbarājyadēva-Mahārāja.⁶ Barradas⁷ mentions a certain Ōbo Rāya as the brother-in-law of Veṅkaṭa and a Chinnaobraya (Chinna-Ōbala-Rāya) as a brother of the traitor Jaggarāya who also belonged to the Gōbūri family,⁸ and whose daughter Bāyamā was married to Veṅkaṭa. This Ōbarājyadēva should evidently have been different from Ōbayadēva, the subordinate of Sadāśiva, and possibly his grandson. He has been surmised⁹ to be a son of Tirumalai-Nāyaka of the Kunnattūr inscription with whom again, if we may hazard a guess, Pāpa-Timmarāja, mentioned above, and Timma, who married Ōbāmbā, the sister of Tirumala I,¹⁰ and was the father of Narasa, might be identical. In that case Veṅkaṭarāja, the father of Śēshādrirāja of the present grant, Ōburāja or Ōbalarāja and Narasa should have been brothers.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, Tirupati is called Śēshāchala and Phaṇīśvaragiri. Taṅgaṭṭru is a village in the Proddutūr taluk of the Cuddapah district. Chandragiri is too well known to require identification. Veṅkaṭajammappēta seems to have been a part of Chandragiri itself. The name Toṇḍavādi-taṭāka seems to be connected with the modern Toṇḍavāda near Chandragiri and Gollapalli is a few miles further east. I am unable to identify Gōpidēvīpālya. Like the Maṅgalampād charter of the same king¹¹ this grant was also composed by Chidambara-Kavi and inscribed by Kāmayāchārya.

TEXT.

[Metres : Verses 44-69 and 73-76, *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 70-72, *Aryā* ; v. 77, *Śalini*.]

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 111 * * * ¹²दाणशक्तिक-
 112 ऊर्वेदुगणिते शकवत्सरे । प्रमादीया¹³भिषे वर्षे मासि वै-
 113 शाखनामनि ।[१४४*] पचे वरुचे पुण्यर्चे पुण्यायां द्वादसी(शो)तिथौ । ओ-
 114 धेकटेशपादाजसन्निधौ श्रेयससन्निधौ¹⁴ ।[१४५*] श्रीरामाकुच

¹ No. 63 of the Mad. Ep. Collection for 1915.

² Rangacharya's *Madras Inscriptions*, Kl. 110.

³ *Ibid.*, Od. 635.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Kl. 401.

⁵ No. 255 of the Mad. Ep. Collection for 1909. See *Ep. Rep.* for 1910, p. 105, para. 56.

⁶ No. 332 of Mad. Ep. Collection for 1909.

⁷ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 223 and 228.

⁸ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, p. 263.

⁹ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* for 1910, Part II, para. 56.

¹⁰ *Sources of Vij. Hist.*, Genealogy on page XIV.

¹¹ *Nellore Inscriptions*, Part I, p. 26.

¹² In lines 1 to 111 the first forty verses of the Viṣṇupāṅkam grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 273-276) are reproduced with two other verses (Nos. 39 and 30) which occur in the Penagalūru grant as vv. 31 and 32 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 250).

¹³ Read प्रमादीया° [The name of the year is Pramādin.—Ed.]

¹⁴ Read श्रेयसां निधौ.

- 115 कस्तूरीचिह्न(३)श्रीवल्लभाय । पूषानुष्ठांशुनेत्राय शेषाच-
 116 लकुटुविने ।[184*] स्वामिपुष्कर(रि)श्रीतीर्थधामनिव्यविहारिणे ।
 117 इंदिराया जगन्मातुर्मंदिराष्ट(यि)तवक्षसे ।[185*] शयनालीनदु-
 118 ग्धाश्विशीवाललतिकोपमा । वक्षते वारिजाक्षाय वक्षसा
 119 वनमालिका ।[186*] शंखं चक्रं च वक्षते शयाम्यामुज्ज्वलं हवा ।
 120 दृश्याकिति ज्ञापयते चंद्रार्कौ वामदक्षिणे ।[187*] महनीय(य)तरं र-
 121 त्तमकुटं मूर्ध्नि(ध्रि) विभूते । चक्षुर्भूतैर्दुर्मातीडजो(ज्यो)तिश्चक्रमि-
 122 वाश्रितं ।[188*] श्रीमद्वेकटाक्षनाथाय श्रीनिवासाय विष्णवे । श्री-
 123 (श्री)वेकटाक्षसेन्द्रस्य शिखराभरणाष्ट(यि)ते ।[189*] प्राचीभागपरिष्का-
 124 रे शोणस्वल्पशिलोच्चयात् । नटलक्ष्मी[न*]रक्षणनायकोद्यान-
 125 दक्षिणे ।[190*] विशालरथवीथ्याय वायव्यो दिग्मनाश्रिते । शयस्कर-
 126 जोयगारितोटादुत्तरदिग्भवे ।[191*] श्रीमन्नोबूरिशेषाद्विरा[जा]-
 127 रामे मनोरमे । दीपयंतं दिशो दीप्त्या महार्चमभिर्मंत[पं] ।[192*]

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 128 पतिमासं भूषयतः फणोश्चरगिरीशितुः । विविधा-
 129 पूषनेवेद्याविभषो(वी)त्सादनाय च ।[193*] तत्रैव स्वामिनो मं-
 130 न्मवसंतोऽवधोरपि । नानागंधोपचाराय नैवेद्याय
 131 विशिष्य च ।[194*] 'सुकोटितोर्थनाश्वारितेप्यदिष्योत्सवेषु च । शर-
 132 प्यर्थं च सततपुष्पदामार्पणाय च ।[195*] रमास्यदं चंद्रगिरि-
 133 राजधानीप्रसाधनं । गोपिदेवोपाख्यराजवोधीनिधिपथा-
 134 दपि ।[196*] श्रीवेकटाक्षमपेटादपि प्राचीदिमाश्रयं । श्रीमन्नूड(वु)ल-
 135 बंडाच्च दक्षिणस्यां दिशि स्थितं ।[197*] तौडवाद्रि(डि)तटाकांतक्षीमांता-
 136 दपि पश्चिमं । वु(उ)त्तरं श्रीगोपराजकाक्वाकेदारवैभवात् ।[198*] तंग-
 137 टूरि कौडुभट(ड)मान्यकोदारकं विना । सूर्यका[कवा]सुभगतोदधे-
 138 चकदंबकं ।[199*] गोकुलपण्यासुकवडकाक्वाको(के)दारकाण्यपि । सर्वमा-
 139 न्यं चतुष्को(क्षी)मासहितं च सम[त*]तः ।[200*] निधिनिक्षेपपाषाण-
 सिद्धसाध्य-
 140 जलान्वितं [1*] च[चि*]ण्यागामिसंयुक्तं देवभोज्यं सभूषणं ।[201*]
 परीतः प्र-

¹ Perhaps a mistake for

कराभ्यां

² Read प्रति°.

³ Read त्रय.

⁴ सुकोटितोर्थ is the name of a tank at Tirupati. Almost every temple in South India has a tank or a well with a sacredness attached to it. The literal meaning of the first part of the word is 3 crores and the belief is that the tank has the collective virtue of so many sacred waters of the country. Compare the Kōpi-Śrīka at Rāmeśvaram and the Sarva-Śrīka at Conjeevaram.

⁵ Read दीपणी°.

⁶ Read संयुक्तं.

- 141 यत्ते[*] स्त्रिभैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विबुधैः[*] औतपथिकैर-
 142 धिकैर्गिरा ।[148*] कास्व(श्च)पाव्यदीपस्य कास्व(श्च)पोकल्पशास्त्रिनः । ओ-
 143 सूर्यवंशरत्नस्य औमतामय्यादने¹ ।[149*] ओमन्महामंडलेश्वर-
 144 स्य सारस्य शास्त्रिनः । प्रतीतिमत्पापतिमराजपौत्रस्य रा-
 145 जतः ।[150*] ओर्वेकटमहीपालपुत्रस्यामित्रकर्षिनः । ओमज्ञोद्-
 146 रो(रि)शेषाद्विराजस्य रवितेजसः ।[151*] विशेषज्ञानभरितां विश्वप्ति-
 147 मनुपालयन् । ओवीरवेकटपतिमहारायमहीपतिः ।[152*] सहि-
 148 रण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा² ॥ [153*] ओर्वेकटेश्वरस्वामुषु क[154]-
 149 ङ शेषिनदि धर्मकर्त श्रे(से)नामोदलारि कृष्णयगारिकि³ प्रतिसंवत्सरानकुञ्ज
 ग २४

- 150 वरहालु । तोटवाक(कि)ट चलिबिद्रकुनु

Fifth Plate.

- 151 तोट श्रेषेवार्णकु शासालुनु ई कास्वरोख्वंलोनु क-
 152 इड शायनवधरिचिनाह ॥ श्री ॥
 153 ओर्वेकटपतिरायचितिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्त्तिधुर्य्य⁴ ॥
 154 शासनमिदं सुधोजन⁵कुवलयचंद्रस्य भूमहे(हे)द्रस्य(ः) ॥ [155*] ओ-
 155 र्वेकटपतिरायगिरा 'सिवसूर्य्यकवोद्भगिनीयत-
 156 या [*] कलितोक्ततिचंदवरकविरवदत्तास्त्रशासनज्ञोका-
 157 न्' ।[156*] ओर्वेकटपतिरायस्त्रापतिदेशेन कामयाचार्यः ।
 158 गणपयतनयः[*] शासनमलिच्छदिदं वीरपानुजस्तामं ।[157*] दा-

Ll. 159-167 give five imprecatory stanzas *Dānapālanayōr*, etc. etc.

- 168 ओर्वेकटेश

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Vy. 44-69.) In the Śaka year computed by the arrows (5), Śakti (3), arrows (5) and moon (1)—(i.e., 1535)—in the (cyclic) year called *Pramādin*, in the month known as *Vaiśākha*, in the bright fortnight, in an auspicious asterism on the sacred *tīrthi* of *Dvādaśī*, at the holy lotus-feet of (god) Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa, the abode of all happiness,—to the (same) glorious Viṣṇu known as *Veṅkaṭanātha* and *Śrinivāsa*, and living at *Śeṣhāchala*, ever sporting in his residence on the banks of the *Svāmi-Pushkarinī* (tank), whose chest is made the abode of *Indirā*, the mother of

¹ Read 'शायिनः'.

² The second half of this verse is wanting though the sense is complete.

³ This word is written below the line.

⁴ Read कीर्त्तिधुर्य्य.

⁵ The letter seems to be a correction from न्.

⁶ Read शिवसूर्य्य^o.

⁷ In Telugu characters.

all the worlds and is adorned with the Śrīvatsa (mark) bearing marks of musk from her breast, who bears on his chest the *Vanamālikā* (garland)¹ resembling the mossy creeper (growing) in the milky ocean clinging to his couch; who holds in his hands the conch and the disc glowing with lustre, whose left and right eyes are the Moon and the Sun, who wears on his head the magnificent jewelled crown appearing (by its brilliance) as if it were the very halo of light of those dual luminaries settled (thereon), and who adorns like a crest-jewel the glorious Venkaṭa, the king of mountains, for various cake offerings and excellent unguents to this lord of Phaṇīśvaragiri (Śēshāchala) who adorns every month the jewelled *maṇṭapa* of great value illuminating with its splendour (all) the quarters, built in the pleasure-garden (founded by) the prosperous Gōbūri Śēshādrirāja, which is situated to the east of the Red Hillock, to the south of the fair garden² (called after) Narasapa-Nāyaka, to the north-west of the broad car-street and to the north of (the garden) Śayaskara-Jiyagāritōṭa; for worship with sandal and various offerings (to the god) in the same place during the *Brahmātsava* (grand annual festival) and *Vasantātsava* (spring festival), and for the 'unintermittent offering of flower-garlands particularly during the floating festivals of the goddess (Nāchchāru) in the Mukkōṭi-tūṭha (tank); with due regard to the wise request (made for this purpose) by the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gōbūri Śēshādrirāja possessed of great excellence and of splendour like that of the Sun, who was the grandson of the famous Pāpa-Timmarāja and the son of Venkaṭa-Mahipāla, the destroyer of his foes, who was the gem of the Solar race and the light, as it were, of the Kāśyapa-gōtra and was of the school of Kāśyapī-kalpa, and who was the foremost of the fortunate; the glorious king Vira-Venkaṭapati-Mahārāja, being surrounded by pious and amiable priests and several wise and learned men following the path prescribed by the Vēdas, gave away with pleasure, to the accompaniment of libations of gold and water, excluding the small *māṅga* field of Koṇḍu-Bhaṭṭa of Taṅgaṭūru, the whole beautiful plot of garden-lands and fields called (after the canal) Sūrappa-kālvā which is the very abode of Rāmā (Lakshmi) and the ornament of the capital city of Chandragiri and is situated to the east of the high-road to Gōpidēvī-pālya and of the happy Venkaṭajammappēṭa, to the south of (the rock) Nūvulabapḍa, to the west of the extreme border-line of the (tank) Tonḍavāḍi-taṭāka and to the north of the field called (after the canal) Gōparāja-kālvā; and also the group of fields (known as) Uḷvaḍa-kālvā in Gollapalli, together with the trees (growing on them) and (the other eight privileges such as) natural resources and deposited treasures, stones, realised and realisable (income), water, *akṣhiṇi* and *āgāmi*, as a *sarvamānya* with the four boundaries (marked out) on all sides to be enjoyed by the god (in perpetuity).

(Ll. 148-152.) (The god) Śrī-Venkaṭēśvarasvāmi ordained (the payment of) 24 *varāhas* every year to the Dharmakartā Sēnā-Modalāri Kṛishṇapayagāru. For the watershed at the entrance of the garden and for the maintenance of the gardeners, (He) was (also) pleased to command (payment to be made) from the cash (income) from the above *kālvā*.

V. 70. [In praise of king Venkaṭapati.] (This is identical with verse 124 of the Kūniyūr plates of Venkaṭa II.)

¹ *Vanamālikā* is thus defined :—

वाजायुधविनी नासा सर्वसुखसुखीकृतम् ।

नये कसकदन्ताया वनमालिति कीर्तिता ।

Daśaratha is described as wearing a wreath or *vanamālā* on his crown while going out hunting. (*Raghuvaṃśa* IX, 51.)

² In the vernacular idiom any beautiful place is known as the favourite haunt of Lakshmi, the Goddess of Prosperity, who is supposed to dance there for sheer joy.

³ The meaning of the word *चरुपु* occurring in the verse is not clear. Perhaps it is a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil word *Śirappu* which means "offerings made on special occasions and distributed to the devotees then assembled." It is called *charupu* in Kanarese and Telugu.

(Vv. 71-72.) By the order of the king, Chidambara-Kavi, the sister's son of the poet Śiva-Sūrya, composed this edict and Kāmayāhārya engraved it on the plates.

(Vv. 73-77.) The usual imprecation and admonition.

(L. 168.) Śrī-Venkaṭṣa.

No. 15.—MATHURA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE KUSHANA YEAR 14.

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

This inscription is an entirely new discovery, photographs and estampages of which have, with his characteristic promptitude, been supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna, the Honorary Curator of the Museum of Archaeology at Mathurā. The stone image pedestal on which the epigraph is engraved was found in an elevated part of the Dalpat-ki-Khirki Mohalla in the city of Mathurā when an inhabitant of that town was digging foundations for his house. The excavation was not done with care with the result that the pedestal was broken into several pieces. Of the statue itself only the feet remain with the lower portion of a small standing figure at each side. There is thus nothing to show the exact nature of the central image, though from the tenor of the epigraph and other indications it must have been a standing image of Gautama Buddha.

The epigraph consists of three lines (measuring respectively 14½", 14½" and 4½") and is in a perfect state of preservation, except for the two *aksharas*, which have been partially cut away at the end of the first line. The characters used belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the Kushāna period. It must, however, be noted that the *m* everywhere shows the advanced form of the Gupta period with a small knob attached to the left of the letter instead of the triangular base. Similarly the *akshara* 'h' assumes the form peculiar to the eastern variety of the Gupta script in which the horizontal base-stroke is completely suppressed, the hook of the *akshara* being turned sharply to the left. The *anusvāra* is throughout represented by a short horizontal stroke instead of the usual dot. The long medial *ā* is in some cases not distinctly defined. The inscription is composed in the usual mixed dialect, though the deviations from the Sanskrit mode of spelling, the rules of *sandhi* and declension, etc., are much fewer than are generally found in the inscriptions of the Kushāna period. The irregular forms met with in the inscription are:—*asmin divasē* in place of *asmin divasē* in l. 1; *bhagavatō pitāmahasya* in place of *bhagavataḥ pitāmahasya*, *saṁmya-sambuddhasya* in place of *saṁyak-sambuddhasya* in l. 2; and *dukkha* instead of *duḥkha* in l. 3.

The object of the epigraph is to record the fact that, on the 10th day of the month of Pausa in the year 14 of the Mahārāja, Dēvaputra Kapishka, a certain Sarhghilā, the wife of the Prāvarika Hasthi (?), installed, for the cessation of all misery, an image for the worship of her favourite deity, the Lord, the Pitāmaha, who is truly and perfectly enlightened. It will be noticed from the text given below that the name of Gautama Buddha is not mentioned in the inscription. The title *saṁmya-sambuddha* (Pāli, *sammā-sambuddho*) is ordinarily applied in Buddhist texts to any supreme Buddha. The term is, however, often used as a proper noun, signifying Gautama Buddha himself, as for example in the sentence, *namō tassa arahatō sammā-sambuddhasa*, which is generally written in the beginning of Buddhist texts.¹ The substitution of the word *pitāmahasya* for *arahatō* in the inscription is inexplicable. Both in Buddhist and Brahmanical texts this word is commonly applied to the Hindu god Brahmā, and I am unable to say why it is used here as an appellation of the Buddha.

¹ Vide Kachchāyana's *Pali Grammar* by Francis Mason (*Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 123), p. 162.

MATHURA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE KUSHANA YEAR 14.



(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH).

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SCALE ABOUT A THIRD.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

The main interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first Brāhmī inscription of the Kushāṇa period which quotes the month of its date by its Hindu solar name instead of by the season name, which is invariably the case in other Brāhmī inscriptions of this period. This remark, of course, does not apply to the Kharōshthī inscriptions, as several of them contain the solar names of months.¹ The inscription is also important for another reason. Hitherto we possessed no inscription dated between the years 11 and 22² of the Kushāṇa era which was definitely assignable to the reign of Kanishka. The present inscription is clearly dated in the year 14 of that king.

TEXT.

- 1 Mahārāja-Dāvaputrasya Kanishkasya sarhvatṣarē 10 4 Pauṣha-māsa-divasē
10 asmīn divasē Prāvarika-Ha[sthi]ya]
- 2 bha(ā)ryyā Sarhghilā bhagavatō pitāmahaṣya Saṃmyasambuddhaṣya svamatasya
dēvasya pūjārttham pratima(ā)m pratishṭhā-
- 3 payati sarva-dukkha-prahāṇārttham—[||*]

TRANSLATION.

On the 10th day of the month of Pauṣha in the year 14 of the Mahārāja Dāvaputra Kanishka, on this day, Sarhghilā, the wife of Prāvarika Hasthi (?), installs (this) image for the veneration of her favourite deity, the Bhagavat, the pitāmaha, Gautama Buddha (i.e. who is truly and completely enlightened), for the cessation of all misery.

No. 16.—PATNA MUSEUM PLATES OF SOMESVARA II.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The inscription edited below is inscribed on a set of three copper-plates discovered in the Baudh State of Orissa by Mr. L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay, I.C.S., Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States. The plates were sent to the late Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., Ph.D., then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, who had them sent to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, the then Government Epigraphist for India. A short note on the inscription was published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle*, for the year 1916-17.³ A set of impressions of the record was supplied to me by Dr. D. B. Spooner for publication. Later on, at my request, Sir Edward Gait, I.C.S., K.C.S.I., then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa, kindly lent the original plates to me for examination.

The plates are joined together by a thick ring of copper to which is attached the seal, bearing a lion couchant in relief but no inscription. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. The characters used in the inscription are Oriyā of the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D., and are much later than the Sonpur plates of Kumāra Sōmēśvara and the Mahāda plates of Yōgēśvara-

¹ Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 46.

² See my article on "Three Mathura Inscriptions, etc." in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, pp. 300ff.

Page 4, para. 5.

dēvavarman.¹ The beginnings of the cursive Oriyā script are to be found in the form of *a* in l. 25. The first eight lines contain three verses giving the genealogy of the donor. The first person mentioned is **Challamarāja** of the **Chōla** lineage (l. 2), whose son was **Jasarāja** (=Yasōrāja) I, whose son was **Sōmēśvara** I. This prince was succeeded by his nephew (*bhrātṛija*) **Jasarāja** II. The donor of the grant is the latter's son **Sōmēśvara** II. An additional name is furnished in the prose account of the genealogy in ll. 8-14, according to which **Sōmēśvara** II meditated on the feet of the *Paramamāhēśvara* **Jasarāja** II,² who meditated on the feet of the *Paramamāhēśvara* **Chandrādityadēva**.³ The last named person may be the younger brother of **Sōmēśvara** I and the father of **Jasarāja** II. **Sōmēśvara** II is styled the lord of the entire **Kōsala** (*sakala-Kōsal-ādhiśvara*), the devout worshipper both of **Śiva** and of **Vishṇu** (*Paramamāhēśvara-Paramavaishṇava*), a *Mahāvīryūhapati*, *Rāja* and *Rāṇaka*. These titles indicate his subordinate position and, most probably, he was a subordinate chief under the Eastern Gaṅga kings of **Kaliṅga**. He is also called the bee on the lotus feet of **Vaidyanātha**. This **Vaidyanātha** is evidently the same as that mentioned in the **Mahada** plates of **Yūgeśvara-dēva** varman, and identified by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar with a temple of that name in the State of **Sonpur**.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Phullamuṭhi** together with **Dōhali** situated, probably, in the *vishaya* of **Chārōdā**. The grant is addressed to the people of another village named **Vaṇiyāvandha**, the connection of which with the two villages granted is not understood. The donees were **Utsavakara** and **Divākara**, the two **Brāhmaṇas** belonging to the *Gārgya-gōtra*, who followed the *Rig-vēda* and had studied the rites of the *Yajur-vēda*. The grant was made with the object of pleasing the Lord **Nārāyaṇa** (ll. 23-24), on the sixth day of the bright half of the month of **Jyāishṭha** in the year 17, evidently of the reign of **Sōmēśvara** II. The inscription was written by **Paṇḍita Nārāyaṇa** and incised by **Lōkanātha**, a *Vijñāni* (?).

I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant (*viz.*, **Chārōdā-vishaya**, **Vaṇiyāvandha**, **Phullamuṭhi** and **Dōhali**), except **Svarṇapura** (l. 14) which is the modern **Sonpur** in **Orissa**. I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm* [||*] Āsit kahatriya-sattamō Ravi-samutpannē-tra Chōl-ānvayē śri-
- 2 mām Challamarāja ity-ari-vadhū-vaidhavya-dīkshā-gurub | tat-putrō
- 3 Jasarājadēva itī vikyātaḥ satā[m*] vallobhō jītvā vaiṛi-va(ba)lam va(ba)-
- 4 bhāva na(nṛi)patin-dāmō(vaś)chiraṁ Kōsalā || [1*] Tasmād-ahhūd-ari-kulam*,
- 5 kshaya-dhūma-
- 6 hētuḥ Sōmēśvarō nripat[i*]r-apratima-pratāpaḥ | tad-bhrātṛijas-tadan[u*] |
- 7 nīti-vidā[m*] varishṭhaḥ śrīmān-abha(bhū)n-narapatir-Jasarājadi(ś)vaḥ || [2*]
- 7 Tat-tanayō guṇasāli prasiddha-mad(h)imā jī-āri-vaṇa-vargga[h*]

¹ [The script is not so late. See Mr. H. Krishna Sastri's remark in the note referred to in the preceding para.—Ed.]

² This chief is probably mentioned in the **Kāśikā** and **Kawardhā** inscriptions No. 235 of the *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, pp. 165-66.

³ Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri is inclined to identify him with **Challamarāja**; see *Ann. Rep. of the Arch. Sur. of India, E. C.*, 1916-17, p. 4, para. 5. A chief of this name is mentioned in the **Bārsūr** inscription, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*, pp. 144-45, No. 198, who also claims to be a **Chōla**.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* The metre is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

* Delete the *daṇḍa*

* The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

* The metre is *Vasantatilakā*.

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Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 dharmm-aika-vasatir-amalaḥ sa jayati Sōmōśvarō nripatiḥ || [3*] Paramamāhēśvara-
 9 samasta-prasasty-alamkṛita-śrīmaśh-Chandrādityadēva-pād-ānudyāta-Paramamāhēśva-
 10 ra-samasta-prasasty-alamkṛita-śrīmaśh-Chandrādityadēva-pād-ānudyāta-Paramamāhēśvara-
 para-¹
 11 mavaishṇava-samasta-prasasty-alamkṛita-dōrddāṇḍa-chaṇḍima-khaṇḍit-ārāt-khattiya-
 kula-mahā-
 12 ma-Mahādēva-Chōṭa-kula-kamala-kakṛā-vikāśa-bhāskara-Vaitya(dya)nātha-pa(pā)da-pa-
 13 nka(m)ṇka(ja)-bhramara-sakala-Kōśal-ādhiśvara-mahāvvyūhapati-Rāṣaka-śrīmad-rāja-
 14 Sōmōśvaradēva-pādāḥ kuśalināḥ | Svartṣapura-samāvāsāt | Ghārōḍā-vi-
 15 shayya-Vantya-vandhā-[grā]mā² vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ādi-samasta-janapadān mānāyanti |
 16 vō(bō)dhayanti samādīśanti cha | viditām-asu bhavatā[m]³ grāmō-yam Paullānuṭṭhā
 17 Dōhadi-sahitaḥ chatur-sim-āvachohhinaḥ sajala-sthalaḥ samataya⁴

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 18 kachchhapah prastara-nikha(ā)ta-kṛita-simō⁵chata(tta)-bhatṭa-pravēśah sakala-vādhā-
 virōdh-ādi-ra-
 19 hitaḥ samasta-rāja-dēya-nikarā-vijay-ādi yāvād-utpattimā⁶ | bhūmicchohhidr-āpi(bhi)dhā-
 na-nyāyēṇa śhanḍir-śaka-kṛiti-samakālam | Gārgya-sagotrābhyām Tṛy-ārsha(ē)ya-
 20 pravarābhyām | Rīg-vēdibhyām Yajur-vēda-vihit-ābhyāsābhyām | śmṛiti-pu-
 21 rāṇ-ādi-śrāvāṇa-nikata-kalmashābhyām nitya-sad-siushthāna-pavitṛābhyām
 22 mahā-vrā(brā)hmaṇya-śōbhitaśbhyām sādhu-Utsavakāra-Divākarābhyām Bhaga-⁷
 23 vatō Nārāyaṇa-bhāṭṭarakasya prīṭyā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha puṇya-
 24 yaśō-bhividdhy-artham tāmra-śāsanikṛitya prīdatō⁸smābhiḥ | atah pra-
 25 bhṛitā śtāyōr-adhinibhūya vā[r*]shika-pratyāya-nikat-ādikaḥ
 26 dadānāḥ sukham prastivāsata karshata cha | samad-ānantara⁹

Third Plate.

- 28 bhāvibhiś-cha rājabhir-bhūmi-dā[na-pā]lana-puṇya-śravaṇāt haraṇā-
 29 n-naraka-pāta-bhayād-asmad-dattam-idaṁ sva-dattam-iv-ānumōdya pari.¹⁰
 30 paripālaniyāḥ | Bhavanti ch-ātra dharmm-ānusa(śa)msinaḥ ślōkāḥ | Bhūmim yaḥ
 prati-
 31 grihṣāti yaś-cha bhūmim prayachchhati [*] ubhau tau puṇya-karmṇāṇau niyataḥ
 sva-¹¹
 32 rgga-gāminau ||¹² [4*] Gām-ēkām svarṇam-ēkām cha bhūmēr-apy-arddham-
 aṅgum(gu)lam | haran-na-
 33 rakam-āpnōti yāvād¹³-ābhūtisamplatra(va)m || [5*] Vā(Ba)hubhir-vasudhā dattā
 rājabhiḥ Sa-
 34 gar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam || Samvat
 35 17 Jyaishṭha śudi 6 [*] likhitam Paṇḍita-Nārāyaṇēna [1*] utkirṇam Vijñāni-Lō(Lō)
 kanā-
 36 thēn-ētā(ti) [11*]

¹ The metre is *Arjya*.² Cancel the *daṇḍa*.³ The letter *grā* was actually written *gyā*.⁴ The *anuvāsa* mark is peculiar.⁵ *Avagraha* is used here.⁶ [Hardly any distinction is made between *t* and *ta*, *n* and *na* and also *m* and *mā* in some cases.—Ed.]⁷ This word is superfluous.⁸ The *avagraha*-like sign after *sva* is superfluous.⁹ This and the two following verses are in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre.¹⁰ The letter *dā* is written over the line.

No. 17.—RITHAPUR PLATES OF BHAVATTAVARMMAN.

By Y. R. GUPTA, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These copper-plates were discovered at Rithapur (Riddhapur of the Mahānubhāvas) in the Morsi tāluka of the Amarāvati (Amraoti) district of the Central Provinces, along with a set of copper-plates of the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā,¹ and were lent to the Bhārata-Itihāsa-samśōdhaka-Maṇḍala of Poona by Mahanta Dattarāja. The Secretaries of this Maṇḍala handed them over to me for decipherment, and with their kind permission I edit the interesting record incised on them in this Journal.

The grant² is engraved on three copper-plates, which measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ " long, $3\frac{1}{2}$ " to $3\frac{1}{8}$ " broad and $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick and weigh $87\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. The first plate has no writing on its outer side; the second and the third plates are engraved on both the sides. The letters are well-cut and well preserved, except a few on the back side of the third plate. Their average size is $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ". There is no seal attached to the plates though holes, 1" in diameter, apparently meant for the ring, are to be seen on the proper right margin of each plate.

The alphabet is of the box-headed type which was current in the Central Provinces about the 5th century A.D. The peculiarities are:—(1) the contraction of the breadth of letters, and (2) the conversion of the curves, seen in older forms, into rectangular strokes. Though the box-headed type of the alphabet used here is decidedly Southern,³ yet the influence of the Northern script is clear enough. The most marked Southern characteristics in the present record are:—(1) The retention of the ancient forms of *pa*, *sha*, and *sa* open at the top, of the old *ma* and the semi-tripartite *ya*; Cf. °*nṛipa-vamśa* l. 2, °*vishayābhātāḥ* l. 11 and °*sadāsa* l. 16. (2) The right hand stroke of *la* is longer than the left; Cf. °*lōbhāt* l. 14. (3) The right-angled ornamental strokes to the left of the verticals of *a*, *ā*, *ka*, *na*, *ra*, of the subscript *ra*, and of the medial *u* and *ū*, which are evidently developed out of the curves. (4) The *ḍa* with two right angles, evidently an adaptation of the *ḍa* with the round back; Cf. °*piṇḍaraka* l. 19. (5) The medial *ri* with a curled curve to the right; Cf. °*nṛipa* l. 2. (6) The form of *ya*; Cf. °*hiraṇyādayaḥ* l. 11. The influence of the Northern script is observable in the following cases:—(1) *Ga* and *śa* with bends at the left downward strokes; Cf. °*giri-grāmā* l. 3 and °*sadāsa* l. 16. There are two forms of the letters *ga* and *śa* in this inscription, of which one is with a hook and the other has no hook. (2) *Na* with a loop and *ta* without a loop; Cf. °*Nandivarddhanāt* l. 1 and °*ānugrihitēna* l. 24. (3) The occasional peculiar *mātrās* above the line, though the horizontal and the middle *mātrās* are most common as in the Southern script; Cf. °*āsmākam* l. 6 and °*saṁvai(ś)dyē* l. 5. The raised marks for the long *ā* are seen in the Southern alphabet also.⁴ (4) The turn of the medial *i* to the left; Cf. °*nivarttanikaḥ* l. 16. There are also some examples of the medial *i* turning to the left.⁵

The epigraphical peculiarities of the present record are:—(1) The loop on the left side of *ya* is complete in some cases while not so in others, thus shewing the transition from the tripartite form to the bipartite one: Cf. *yō* in °*Yamunayōs* l. 5, *ya* in °*Mātrāḍhyāryyāya* l. 7, and *yā* in °*tārīkayā* l. 12. (2) The *tha* with a peculiar transitional ringlet at the base as in the

¹ For a brief notice of the record see the *Quarterly Journal of the Bhār. Itih. Sam. Maṇḍala*, Vol. IV, pp. 115-116.

² Vide *ibid.*, Vol. III, Nos. II-IV, pp. 89-90; *Ind. Ant.*, 1924, p. 48, *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, pp. 94-96 and *J. B. A. S.*, pp. 53-62.

³ See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, Tafel VII, col. XIV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. X.

Western script : Cf. *ekādaś-ētha* l. 20. (3) The form of *ba* is two-fold in this record : in *Brāhmaṇa* l. 3 where it is a correction from *pa*, and in *Bōppadēvēna* l. 26 where it is open on the left side : but in *Bakasāmālakam* l. 19 it is closed on this side. The initial *a* occurs in ll. 1, 13 and 16 ; *ā* in ll. 10, 12, 22, 23 and 24 ; *ē* in ll. 10, 12, 17 and 20. The final *t* and *m* are reduced in size and slightly different in shape when compared to their usual symbols : Cf. *t* in ll. 1, 15, 16 and 24 and *ma* in ll. 6, 7, 9, 10, 21 and 23. The letter *ma* is written in this record in three different forms :—(i) with the box-head attached to the left arm of the letter (ll. 1 to 5), (ii) with this head attached to the right arm of it (*grāmaḥ* in l. 12), *°māryyādā* (in l. 14, etc.), and (iii) with the head attached to both the arms (*Kumāra°* in l. 8, *°navamāya* and *Mātra°* in l. 10). Similarly there are also two different forms of the subscript *m*, viz., one with one box-head (*°varma* and *Brāhmaṇa°* in l. 3, *°smābhiḥ* in l. 4), and the other without the box-head at all (*ātma* and *Brāhmaṇa°* in l. 10, *asmābhiḥ* in l. 16). The letter *śu* is written in two different forms : one with the *u*-sign turned to the right as in l. 11 and the other with the sign turned to the left as in l. 13. The letter *su* is written differently from this letter in the box-headed type shown in Bühler's *Palaeographical Table* VII, Col. XI, where the *u*-sign is turned to the right of the letter and not to the left as in this record. On this account there is a very slight difference between the shapes of *a* and *sa* in our inscription. The medial *i* is shown by one curve but the *ī* is expressed by this curve supplemented by a smaller curve within it.

With regard to orthography we may note the doubling of consonants (with the exception of sibilants) following *r*, such as *Mātrāḍhyāryyāya* and *Dēvāryyasya* l. 7. In this process of doubling, if the letter is the 2nd or the 4th of its class, the first member is replaced by the 1st or the 3rd of its class, e.g., *Nandivardhanāt* l. 1. The letter *va* is doubled when it comes after the *anuvāra* either in the same word or in the following ; see *saṁvaidyē* in l. 5 and *loṭam vā* in l. 15. The class nasals are generally used in this inscription : Cf. *°kuṭumbinaḥ* l. 4, *Gaṅgā°* (l. 5), etc. The rules of *sandhi* are often ignored :—*°vibhavaḥ Nalanripa-vaṁsa-prasūtaḥ tripātākā-* l. 2 ; *-asmābhiḥ Bhagavataḥ* l. 4 ; *ch-ēty-ēvam ātmanavamāya* ll. 9 and 10, etc. The *Upadhmāniya* occurs once (l. 23) and is used wrongly, being followed by *cha*.¹ It is likely that the engraver discovered his mistake and tried to change *ḥcha* to *mā*. The engraver seems to have misread the draft in the following cases :—For *samahattara* he has put in *sama-harttara°* l. 3 ; for *°m-avichālyam* he has engraved *ḥchavachālyam* l. 23.²

The language is Sanskrit prose, excepting the verse in the *Āryā* metre which gives the date and mentions the writer of the grant.

The inscription refers itself to *Mahārāja Bhaṭṭāraka-Arthapati Bhavattavarman* of the *Nala* family. *Arthapati*, I understand, is only an epithet. It literally means 'the lord of riches', that is, 'a king'. But it is probably not used in its general sense in the present record. The Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, copied sometime ago at Pōḍagaḍḍi in the Jeypore Agency (Vizagapatam district), an epigraph of the 12th year of the son of king Bhavadatta, also of the *Nala* family. This document has been briefly noticed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1921-22*, where a facsimile of it is also given.³ The possibility that Bhavatta may be a *prākṛitised* form of Bhavadatta is not altogether precluded.³ But it is presumptuous at this stage to identify

¹ Vide f. n. 7 on p. 103 below.

² See p. 95 and plate II. [It was first noticed by the late Mr. Robert Sewell who in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, p. 317, mentioned it as an inscription on the rock in Dēranāgarī characters without giving its contents.—Ed.]

³ [It is interesting to observe here that another name, which in all probability was *Durgga-datta*, has been written (l. 9) as 'Durggattha', and that in 'Dēvadatta' *da* was added as a correction below the line.—Ed.]

Bhavadatta with Bhavattavarman. As very little was known so far about the Nalas,¹ these two records are of special value for they help us in determining the country over which they ruled.

The inscription records the grant of a village called Kadambagiri-grāma to Mātrādhyāryya and his eight sons, namely, Dēvāryya, Dēvadattāryya, Kumāradattāryya, Vi(VI)radattāryya, Vasudattāryya, Gō(Gau)ridattāryya, Dhruvadattāryya and Durggath(datt)āryya of the Parāśara-gōtra. The grant was issued from Nandivarddhana but actually made at Prayāga or the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. However, it does not follow that Prayāga formed part of the dominions of Bhavattavarman, for grants of distant villages, we know, were often made at exceptionally holy places or *tīrthas* like it or Benares. The charter was written at the oral instructions (*of the king*) by Chulla, his confidential officer, and engraved by Bōppadēva, the grandson of Paddōpādhyāya.

The document is dated on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika of the 11th (regnal) year of king Bhavattavarman. Palaeographically the record may be assigned to the latter half of the 5th or the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Of the localities mentioned, Nandivarddhana, from where Bhavattavarman issued the grant, deserves notice. Perhaps, it is different from the Nandivarddhana which has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with Nagardhana in the Nāgpur district, and is identical with Nandur in the Yeotmāl tāluka of the Central Provinces, which has a good camping ground. Kadambagiri-grāma is apparently Kalamba in the same district, without the appendage *giri-grāma*. Other villages I am unable to identify.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 लिख[म्] * स्वस्ति [*] नन्दिवर्धनात् [॥*] महेश्वरमहासिनातिष्ठ-
- 2 राज्यविभवः नलनृपवंशप्रसूतः विपताकाध्वजः श्रीमहाराज-
- 3 भवत्तवर्मा कदम्बगिरिग्रामे [॥*] ब्रह्मणपुरोगान् समर्पत्(त्)र-
- 4 कुटुम्बी(म्ब)नः समाह्वययति यूयमस्मानिः भगवतः प्रजापतिः(तेः)
- 5 प्रसादसिद्धये नम्रायसुनयोऽम्बै(वे)से प्रयागस्थितैरदकपूर्वकं

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 सम चाचपी(पि)³ भइ[१]रिकायाश्च दम्भं(दाम्भ)त्यस्मात्माकमनुग्रहार्थम्
(त्वे) पराशरस-
- 7 गोत्राय माताकायाय पुत्राणां चास्माद्वानाम्(नां) यथा देवार्थस्य
- 8 देवदत्तार्थस्य कुमारदत्तार्थस्य वि(वी)रदत्तार्थस्य वसुद-
- 9 त्तार्थस्य गो(गो)रिदत्तार्थस्य ध्रुवदत्तार्थस्य दुर्गाद्या(दत्ता)र्थस्य चेत्येकम्
- 10 चाकनवमायमा चाकायाय दत्ता(त्तो) यत एतेषाम् ब्राह्मणा[॥*]म्(नां)
वि-

¹ See the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 6, and the *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 49.

² From the original plates.

³ The letter * seems to be a correction from प.

⁴ [The plate reads समर्पत्(त्)र[१]म्, र् being incised below र[१].—Ed.]

⁵ Superfluous. [Or perhaps चपिच is meant.—Ed.]

⁶ द is added below the line by way of interlineation. The two horizontal lines in the margin may be noticed

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2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥

iia

6 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

iib

12 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
 १४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 १६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥

iiia

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Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a dark background. The text is arranged in four lines, with a large circular mark visible in the second line.

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Handwritten text in a script, likely Burmese, on a dark background. The text is arranged in four lines, with a large circular mark visible in the second line.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 11 व[की]चिताः शिरस्य[र]दयः सर्वप्रज्ञायाः दातव्याः ह्युवाच(च) वृत्त-
 12 व्या = एष च ग्रामः आचन्द्रतारिकाया स्थित्या सर्वकरविसर्जितः
 आ(च)भ-
 13 इममेवः अथः अयुक्तैः(स्तः) सर्ववादपरी(रि)हीनः विशालप-
 14 लायपद्रकमर्षादद्या न किञ्चिद्वक्तव्यः [॥*] यो वा कश्चिन्नो(को)भाद्रागाहा
 कर-
 15 प्रवर्त्तनं भूमिलीप(पं) व्या(वा) कुर्वान् स पञ्चभिर्नद्यापातकैर्युक्तो भ-
 16 वेत् [॥*] अस्माभिश्च सदग्रनिवर्त्तनिकः सहस्रः सवाटकः

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 17 ग्रामोयम् दत्तः यत एतदर्थम्(र्थं) न क(के)नचित् किञ्चित् वक्तव्यः
 [॥*] शि(सी)मा चास्य
 18 ग्रामस्य उत्तरेण पर्वतः विषयसि(सी)मान्तिको कर्मन्तकेन सह मा-
 19 नुकविरकः मधुकवतिका^१ पिण्डिरकवृक्षेण अकसामलकम्(कं) चिमन्दर-
 20 च विरकाः राज्यसि(सी)मेति [॥*] 'याचै'कादयेष वर्षे कार्तिकमासस्य
 बहुल-
 21 सप्तम्याम् [॥*] स्वमुखाज्ञा(च)या^२भिलिखितः(ता) रक्षसि नियुक्तेष(न) पुत्रेन
 ॥ श्रीमहारा-
 22 ज्ञात्सर्वपतिभट्टारक्षेण आत्मनः मातापित्रोः पुत्र्यकोर्त्तिवर्त्तनधर्मस्मान(नं)

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 23 [पुत्राणां अष्टाणां]^३[मा]चन्द्रार्कस्थितिका[सि]क^४(म)[वि]चास्यं भवत्विति
 आत्म-
 24 न[॥*] आर्यकपादप्रसादानुगृहीतेन ताम्बु(स)शासनमेतत् कारितमि-
 25 ति [॥*] स्वस्ति गोब्राह्मणप्रजाभ्यः = सिद्धिरस्तुः(स्तु) ॥
 26 पद्मोप(पा)ध्यायपुत्रस्य पुत्रेण वीर्यदेवेण(न) अतमिद[॥*]॥

^१ कि is engraved below the line.^२ The का of वतिका is entered below the line.^३ या is written above the line.^४ Here follows a verse in the *Aryā* metre.^५ [A letter like वा seems to be written below the symbol for वा, apparently, as a correction.—Ed.]^६ The reading पुत्राणां^७ is not quite certain ; but the traces of the damaged letters favour the reading अष्टाणामा^८ at any rate. [Then अष्टाणाम् would require correction. Cf. reading in l. 7 above.—Ed.]^७ [The correct reading seems to be का[वि]कम[वि]चास्यं भवत्विति.—Ed.]^८ The engraver seems to have inserted a द above व्या so as to make it वय.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-21.) Perfection has been attained! Hail! From Nandivarddhana. The illustrious *Mahārāja Bhavattavarman*, whose banner bears the *Tripatākā* (hand with three fingers stretched out or whose banner consists of three pennons), who is born of the lineage of the *Nala* kings, upon whom has been bestowed the glory of royalty by Mahēśvara (Śiva) and Mahāsēna (Kārttikēya), orders the house-holders and great men headed by the Brāhmanas, residing in the village of *Kadambagiri*, as follows :—(*Know*) ye (*that*) by us while staying at *Prayāga*, the place blest by the favour of the Divine Prajāpati (Brahmā) at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, (*this village*) is bestowed for blessing the matrimonial relationship of ours, *i.e.*, myself and (*my*) queen, with libations of water, on *Mātrāḍhyāryya* of the *Parāśara-gōtra* and his eight sons, namely, *Dēvāryya*, *Dēvadattāryya*, *Kumāradattāryya*, *Vi(Vi)radattāryya*, *Vasudattāryya*, *Gō(Gau)ridattāryya*, *Dhruvadattāryya* and *Durggath(datt)āryya*, he himself being the ninth (*recipient*).

To these Brāhmanas, therefore, all the taxes including gold duly accruing from the place (*mentioned below*) should be given and (*all customary*) services should be rendered. And this (*grant of the*) village is to endure with the moon and the sun (*i.e.*, for ever), free from all taxes. It is not to be entered by soldiers or horses.¹ It is to be free from tolls and customs duties and from disputes.

Nothing shall be said (*against this grant*) with (*reference to some*) tamarind or *palāśa* tree or any boundaries in the village. Whoever out of covetousness or passion, levies taxes or takes away the land (*granted*), shall incur the five great sins. This village, measuring in extent ten *nivartanas*, is given together with (*the right of*) ploughing and the garden, for which nothing should be spoken (*against it*) by anybody. The boundaries of this village are : to the north is the mountain, the extreme limit of the *vishaya* (district), *Māluka-viraka*² with the cultivated ground, *Madhuka-latikā*,³ *Bakasāmālaka* with the pomegranate tree, *Trimandara-viraka*, and the boundary of the district (*rājya*)⁴; which (*royal grant*) has been written at our oral command by *Chulla*, the Confidential Officer,⁵ on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of *Kārttika* in the eleventh (*regnal*) year.

(Lines 21-26.) This copper-plate charter, which is the abode of the virtue of increasing the sacred fame of his father and mother, has been caused to be made by the illustrious *Mahārāja Artthapati*⁶ *Bhaṭṭāraka*, who has been favoured by the kindness of respectable people, so that it may last undisturbed (*in the possession*) of the (*said*) eight sons (*enduring*) with the sun and the moon. (*May there be*) prosperity to cows, Brāhmanas and subjects! May there be success! Engraved by *Bōppadēva*, the son's son of *Paddōpādhyāya*.

¹ वज्रः may either stand for a horse in particular or a conveyance in general.

² विरकः apparently stands here as well as below (l. 2) for a village or its suburb.

³ मधुकलविका, मकसानलकम् and विमन्दर विरकः are apparently the names of bordering villages or suburbs.

⁴ रज्यं does not mean a kingdom here. It is used for a division of a kingdom.

⁵ See l. n. 5 on p. 103 *ante*.—Ed.]

⁶ This is apparently, as suggested by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., an epithet of king *Bhavattavarman*. In construing these words as I have done, there will be, I must admit, the fault of *dūrāntaya*.

No. 18.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALLAVA KING RAJASIMHA-NARASIMHAVARMAN II.

By V. RANGACHARYA, M.A.

A.—THE MAHĀBALIPURAM INSCRIPTION.¹

This record is engraved on the plinths of two platforms in the western side of the second courtyard of the Shore Temple at Mahabalipuram (Māmallapuram), and was discovered by the Archaeological Department in 1912. The platforms have been surmised to be either the *balipithas* of the two main shrines of that temple or the supports of their missing flagstaves. One of the three Chōla inscriptions² of the Shore Temple, discovered in 1887, calls the god of the temple 'the Lord of Tirukkaḍaimallai.' Another calls the temple itself Jalasayana, while the third mentions the shrines of Kshatriya-simha-Pallavēśvara-dēva, Rājasimha-Pallavēśvara-dēva and Paḷlikonḍaruliya-dēva. Rao Saheb Krishna Sastri³ believes that the two platforms, above mentioned, and the monolithic *dhvajastambha* in the sea are the probable remnants of the three shrines referred to in the last of the Chōla epigraphs. The discovery of the inscription on the platforms is important for the fact that it throws light on the identity of the king who built these shrines, a question about which nothing definite has been known. It is true that the names Rājasimha and Kshatriyasimha, after which two of the deities were named, indicated a Pallava origin to the temple; but no direct or contemporary evidence had been available to prove it. The present inscription supplies it.

The inscription⁴ is written in the Pallava-Grantha character and consists of a single line running round the plinths. It is much damaged. The existing portion comprises six Sanskrit verses in the *Āryā*, *Vasantatilakā* and the *Anuṣṭubh* metres, besides the attributes [Bhaya]rahitaḥ and Bahunayaḥ after the first verse and the title *śrī-Udayachandraḥ* after the second verse, which are in prose. They contain the names, surnames and titles of a Pallava king who, as will be shown presently, has to be identified with Narasimhavarma II. The first verse, which is wanting in the last three syllables, gives the king the epithets of Apratima, Avanibhūṣaṇa, Akalaṅka, Dharanichandra, Arimardana, Atulabala and Kulatilaka. The second verse gives him, among others, the titles of Atyantakāma, Aparājita, Chandrārddhaś-

¹ See my *Topographical List of Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 327-329. The local inscriptions herein noted (Cg. 50-81 f.) do not include those taken from the Mack. Mes., which are 31 in number. Of the thirty-six included in the list twenty (Cg. 58-74 & 77-79) have been edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 1-16 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 1-11. Two inscriptions (Cg. 75 and 78) discovered by the late Mr. Venkayya in 1907 are edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 8, under Nos. 18 and 19. All these belong to the Pallava kings from Mahēndravarma I onward. Of the remaining nine epigraphs five belong to the Chōla kings Rājārāja I, Rājēndradēva, Vira-Rājēndra and Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I; the details of two (Cg. 53 and 54) are not available; and one (Cg. 56) is dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara emperor Achyutarāya. The inscription which is edited above, forms No. 586 in that year's official list of epigraphs and Cg. 80 in my *Topographical List*.

² These are Nos. 1, 2 & 3 of 1887 and Cg. 50-52 in the *Topographical List*. They have been edited by the late Dr. Hultzsch in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, under Nos. 42, 40 and 41 respectively.

³ *Madr. Epigr. Rep.*, 1913, p. 88, para. 8. The Rao Saheb surmises that god Talasayana whom Tirumāṅgai-Ālvār refers to was Vishnu and the Saivite god, Kshatriyasimha-Pallavēśvara "who is directly facing the sea and being even washed by it, appears to have received the name Jalasayana"—the one being on land, and the other on water. It seems to me that Jalasayana is a later paurāṇic variant of Talasayana and that both the terms can refer to Vishnu Paḷlikonḍaruliya-dēva alone, as Śiva is not in the *śayana* posture. Moreover, *Talasayana* is only a shorter form of *Kaḍaimallai-talasayana* and, as such, need not be taken as a term of contrast to *jalasayana*.

⁴ It may be pointed out that the analysis given in this paragraph is not based on the plate given in the *Madr. Epigr. Rep.*, 1913 (p. 88), but a revised one kindly prepared by the Government Epigraphist for the present edition. A comparison of the two plates will show that the order of the verses is changed.

śekhara-śikhāmaṇi and *Chandāsani*. The third verse is identical with the last verse of the inscription round the outside of the Rājasimhēśvara shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchi-puram.¹ Verses 4 and 5 give, among others, the *birudas* Śrī-kārmuka, Kalakala, Abhirāma, Raṇabhīma, Guṇalaya, Śrī-Vallabha, Atimāna, Ūrjita, Unnatarāga and Yuddharjuna. The last verse, which is damaged in the beginning and which cannot be satisfactorily read, makes, however, clear mention of the expression *Narēndrasimha* in its latter part.

The identification of the king who bore the above titles is, as Mr. Krishna Sastri has pointed out, easy enough. First, it is obvious that he was the same as the builder of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchi. Secondly, the identity of verse 3 in the present epigraph with the last verse of the Rājasimhēśvara epigraph at Kāñchi gives a clue to the eulogy of the same sovereign. The Kāñchipuram epigraph tells us that Rājasimha was the son of Ugradanḍa² or Paramēśvara, who was the destroyer of the city of Rapurasika. Dr. Fleet has pointed³ out that Rapurasika is an epithet of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-680), that Ugradanḍa is identical with the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I who, the Kūṭam⁴ Plates tell us, crossed arms with Vikramāditya, and that Rājasimha (*alias* Narasimhaviṣṇu) must be identified with Narasimhavarman II. Now, an inscription⁵ of Rājasimha Narasimhavarman II discovered at Vāyalūr in 1908 says that he had also the title of Kshatrasimha (Kshatriyasimha of other inscriptions). To quote the passage itself :—

श्रीपद्मवान्यकुलाचलराजसिंहो

यः क्षत्रसिंह इति विद्युत्पुण्यकीर्तिः ।

It is thus clear that the two Śiva shrines of the Shore Temple, Rājasimha-Pallavēśvara and Kshatrasimha-Pallavēśvara, were named after Narasimhavarman II and are, therefore, his works.

In his analysis of the scripts of the Mahābalipuram and Śāḷuvāṅkuppam inscriptions Dr. Hultzsch distinguishes four styles. Of these one is entirely northern and may be ignored for the present discussion. The remaining three, he attributes respectively to the epochs of Narasimhavarman I, Atyantakāma (whom he identifies with Paramēśvaravarman I) and Atiraṇachanḍa (whom he assigns to the age of Nandivarman Pallavamalla). The palaeography of our inscription closely resembles that of the Atyantakāma group. As will be seen from my note 12 at page 108 below, I believe that the attribution of the second set of inscriptions to Paramēśvaravarman I by Dr. Hultzsch is without sufficient basis and that it can be equally legitimately ascribed to his son Narasimhavarman II. I am also disposed to believe that Atiraṇachanḍa is Narasimhavarman II himself (see below, page 109, note 3). But this difference of opinion regarding the identity of the kings need not cause a doubt in regard to the relative times of the three sets of scripts, though even from this standpoint there can be no agreement in regard to the exact chronological gaps dividing them. A comparison of their scripts from the fine facsimile plates given above (see Vol. X, plates Nos. 1 to 6) shows clearly that the first of these is archaically simple, the second very florid and ornamented with elaborate flourishes, and the third much simpler though not so simple in formation as the first set.

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 13, v. 12.

² *Ibid.*, verse 5. रघुरसिकपुरीगर्हमादुयदश्वस्तुत्रस्थः कुमारी शुद्ध इव परमादीश्वरादात्मजः ।

³ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 329 f. In his *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 11, Hultzsch identified Rājasimha with Narasimhavarman I, but in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, he accepts the conclusion of Dr. Fleet.

⁴ See lines 40-41 : विक्रमादित्यं कर्पटमात्रपरिच्छदमेकाक्षिपलायितम् कृत[वान्], *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 149, Text 149 f.

⁵ Cg. 1235 in my *Topo. List.* I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for permission to consult and note from the office copy of this inscription.

A close study of the palaeography of the present epigraph shows that the Shore Temple inscription is later than the Atyantakāma and Kāñchipuram inscriptions and earlier than those of the Atiranachanda group. Incidentally it shows that to judge of the identity of kings from the palaeography of their inscriptions alone, is dangerous in-as-much as at least three styles, namely, those of the Atyantakāma and Rājasimha group, the Shore Temple inscription and the Atiranachanda group, have to be attributed to the same king, i.e., Narasimhavarman II. This question as well as the chronology of the epigraphs will be discussed in my paper B on the Panamalai inscription of the same king printed below.

TEXT.¹

Platform A.

West Side—

श्रीः [१*] अप्रतिममवनिभूषणमकलंकन्धरणिचन्द्रमवनीन्द्राः[१*] अरिमर्दनमतुल-

South Side—

१[३]खं कुसुतिलकं ये नमन्ति ते . . . १[११*] . १रहितो बहुनय-^२

East Side—

१॥ अत्यन्तकाममपराजितमेकराजचन्द्राद्वैश्वरयिच्छामयिमहुतं^३ यम् [१*] चण्डाश-

North Side—

निं चितिधृताम्यजतामसहं सम्प्राप्य काममिव नन्दति जीवलोकः [१२*] श्रीः(श्री)

उदयचन्द्रः M'

Platform B.

West Side—

श्रीराजसिंहो रणजयः[१*] श्रीभरविजयार्मुकः[१*] एकवीरखिरम्यातु

शिवचूडामणिर्महीम् [११*] श्रीकार्मुकः

South Side—

कालकालः काला^४ [१*][च]भिरामो विजयते रणभीमो

गुणालयः M [४*] श्रीवल्लभमति-

¹ From the plate prepared by the Editor of this Journal. I must also thank him for his having permitted me to consult his transcript.

² The space available at the beginning of this line is more than necessary for the letter व.

³ As the *opitta* of this verse is Āryā, four *mitras* are wanting in order to complete the verse. Adopting the above reading, the word चण्डाश; will suit the purpose, श्च and ते being appositional. सुखिनः would suit equally well.

⁴ Two syllables are wanting here. They may be वय or वल as in the 22nd and 9th niches respectively of the Rājasimhavarman temple inscription. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 15 and 16.

⁵ The *vicarga* of this word is seen in the beginning of the east side.

⁶ The reading वरिणीय is also possible.

⁷ This symbol has been used as a punctuation mark.

⁸ वय seems to be the more probable reading, in the opinion of the Government Epigraphist.

⁹ Six syllables are wanting to make up the *Anuṣṭup* metre. It might be restored by some such expression as 'सकपदार्थः'.

East Side—

मानं रणवीरं कुल¹ [1*] अर्जितसुखतरामम्पुणमत युद्धा-
[कुल]² [11 ५*]

North Side—

. . पमर्त्य दृष्टो³ शक्तपम . म . म . . दनयनभक्त . . नरेन्द्रसिंहसमन्ति
नृपाः M [६*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Prosperity ! Those kings (*are fortunate who*) bow to (*the king*) who is unequalled,⁴ the ornament of the earth, the spotless,⁵ the moon of the earth,⁶ the conqueror of enemies,⁷ the matchless in strength,⁸ the ornament of (*his*) family.⁹

The fearful as (or the guileless).¹⁰ The great statesman.¹¹

(V. 2.) The world of men, having obtained this (*king*) is happy, as if it has obtained (*its*) desire—the king whose desires are endless,¹² the invincible,¹³ the sole ruler,¹⁴ the wearer of Śiva as his crest-jewel,¹⁵ the wonderful,¹⁶ the fierce thunderbolt¹⁷ who is intolerable to great (*hostile*) kings.

¹ This space should have been filled by six or seven letters representing eight *mātras*. Such as प्रकाशकर or अर्जुन अयिन.

² As प्रणमत् is Imperative, 2nd person, plural, we have to suppose that this is an address, and an expression like स्वामीश; after युद्धाकुल may be understood. The letter क is found in smaller size after दृ and thus enables us to decipher the word युद्धाकुल, which is also found in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 15.

³ This reading is tentative. As the space available is for 32 letters, the verse may be in the *Anuṣṭup* metre; but the last portion does not agree with this, and suggests the *Āryā* metre. The Government Epigraphist would read the earlier portion thus: यमर्त्यदृष्टे शक्तपमम. महामल्ल[१०] विनयनभक्त सिद्धम्. The whole verse is so defaced that the reading given above is, as it is, meaningless. [In the Vāyalūr inscription also Mahāmalla occurs as a surname of Narasimhavarman II.—Ed.]

⁴ See niche 27 in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.

⁵ The same is found in niches 8 and 19 above in modified forms.

⁶ Cf. अविदिशकर in niche 19 of the above.

⁷ *Ibid.*, niche 4. Compare also अरिनाश; in niche 44.

⁸ *Ibid.*, niche 26.

⁹ *Ibid.*, niche 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, niche 9 where the expression कलरुहित is found and niche 22 where the epithet मरुहित is given.

¹¹ The epithets श्रीवृद्धयः and नयानुसारो occur in the 3rd and 42nd niches of the above epigraph. Compare also विदितवृद्धयः in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, verse 5.

¹² This *biruda* is found in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, verse 5; *ibid.*, No. 25, niche 1; and the Vāyalūr and Tiruppōrūr inscriptions. *Atyantakāma* was also a *biruda* of Narasimhavarman I as is proved by No. 5 of the Dharmarājāratha inscriptions at Mahabalipuram. The late Dr. Hultzsch believed that it was also the title of Paramēśvaravarman I, to whom he attributed No. 17 of the Dharmarāja-ratha epigraphs and those in the Gaṇṇa temple (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 4, No. 18 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 8, No. 20), the Dharmarāja-maṇḍapa (*ibid.*, No. 21) and Rāmānuja-maṇḍapa (*ibid.*, No. 22). The reason why he concluded thus is the mention of Paramēśvara. It seems to me to be, however, a mere pun and not a real name. The palaeography of the epigraph in which it occurs, moreover, is the same as that of Rājasimha in the Kailāsanātha temple. On these grounds I seriously doubt the correctness of identifying Atyantakāma with Paramēśvaravarman I and am disposed to think that all the *birudas* attributed by Hultzsch to this king must be attributed to Narasimhavarman II.

¹³ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, niche 37.

¹⁵ Compare शिवचूडामणि in verse 3 and नरेन्द्रमिच्छामणिदीप्तनीलि in the Vāyalūr epigraph.

¹⁶ Compare niches 10 and 28 in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, niche 10 which gives the expression अविनाशनि.

The glorious rising moon.¹

(V. 3.) [For the translation of this see *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 14.]

(V. 4.) The blessed archer,² the death to Death³ the beautiful,⁴ the terrible in war,⁵ the abode of virtues,⁶—is victorious.

(V. 5.) (*O kings!*) bow (*to him*) who is the beloved of Śrī⁷ (Lakshmi), who is highly proud,⁸ the hero in battle,⁹...the mighty,¹⁰ the exalted and lovely,¹¹ like Arjuna¹² in war.

(V. 6.) The lion¹³ among kings...all kings obeyed....

B.—THE PANAMALAI INSCRIPTION.

The subjoined inscription and the temple on which it has been engraved are mentioned in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 209, and the *Gazetteer* of the district of South Arcot, p. 385. It was brought to the notice of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, by Prof. J. Dubreuil of Pondicherry in 1915. The village of Panamalai is situated sixteen miles north of Villupuram. An inscription¹⁴ from this place consisting of one Sanskrit verse which is identical with the last verse of the Kailāsanātha inscription¹⁵ of Rājasiṃha and the third verse of the Shore Temple inscription¹⁶ of the same king at Mahābalipuram, has been published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 24. Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri had the present inscription copied and registered as No. 616 of 1915 in his *Report* for 1916. A facsimile of the inscription is published, together with a summary of its contents, (p. 114, para. 5 and plate III opp. p. 114) in the same *Report*. Prof. Dubreuil also has published a photo of the epigraph in his *Pallava Antiquities* (Vol. I, Plate I), together with a tentative translation of it by Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

It is stated in the *Epigraphical Report* for 1916 that the beginning and the end of the inscription are covered by the paved floor of a *maṇḍapa* in front of the temple. The visible portion of the record consists of a single line in the Pallava-Grantha script cut over a

¹ *Ibid.*, niche 11.

² Compare चित्रकर्तृक in verse 3 and niche 13 in *S. I. I.*, No. 25 and लीनकर्तृक in *Ibid.*, No. 28, niche 16.

³ This title is proved by the Mahēndravarmēśvara temple inscription of queen Raṅgapatākā (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 29) to be the title of Narasiṃhavaiṣṇava and so the latter should be Rājasiṃha-Narasiṃhavarmān II. It follows logically that the Mahēndravarmān of that epigraph is the third king of that name. As Kālakāla was also the title of Atirupachanda (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 12) we have to conclude that the latter was identical with Narasiṃhavarmān II.

⁴ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 1.

⁵ Compare बाह्वर्षीय in niche 16, *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, niche 32.

⁷ *Ibid.*, niche 15.

⁸ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 3, No. 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 25, niche 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, niche 2 and *Ibid.*, No. 26, niche 4.

¹¹ This *virāḍa* is seen in both the inscriptions referred to in the previous note. See the 6th and 9th niche respectively.

¹² See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, niche 14 of No. 25.

¹³ This is only the variation of Rājasiṃha and gives a clue to the name of the king, Narasiṃhavarmān II. It occurs also in the Vāyalūr inscription.

¹⁴ This is No. 31 in *S. I. I.*, Vol. I. Prof. Dubreuil points out that the inscription is not, as it is generally described, in a temple cut in the rock, but "simply on an anfractuosity of the rock within which an image of Kūṭi (Mahiṣāsuramardini) has been placed." See his *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 11.

¹⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24.

¹⁶ See above, p. 107.

belt of granite running round the temple as in the case of the Kailāsanātha inscription of Rājasimha at Kāñchīpuram. It is a *prasaṣṭi* of king Rājasimha II and, like the one in the Shore Temple at Mahābalipuram, has no reference to his building of the shrine. The close resemblance, however, which the Panamalai temple bears to the Kailāsanātha temple in its style shows that the builder of the one must also have been the builder of the other.¹ The similarity of the contents of the two inscriptions, moreover, proves the identity of their subjects of praise. The Panamalai inscription consists of six verses in the *Sragdhārā* and *Vasantatilakā* metres. It begins with the names of **Aśvatthāman** (Draupī) and his eponymous son **Pallava**, the founder of the dynasty (verses 1 and 2). It then gives a eulogy of the Pallavas and mentions the birth of Rājasimha to king **Ēkamalla Paramēśvara**,² which it compares with the birth of Guha (Subrahmanya) to Paramēśvara (Śiva). The next two verses describe the virtues of Rājasimha, his valour and his devotion to Śiva. The last verse is in the form of an assertion and mentions the revival, in his *régime*, of the tree of *dharma*, in spite of the cruel and scorching sun of the Kali age. The Conjeeveram epigraph gives the same details, often the same expressions. In its description of Rājasimha, for example, the latter uses the phrases **गुह इव परमादीश्वरादात्तजन्म** (verse 5) and **उद्धृत्युद्धृपकुञ्जराजसिंहः**

(verse 11), which are practically the same as those occurring in the present inscription in verses 3 and 4. The Kailāsanātha record, however, is more elaborate and adds the titles of *Atyantakāma*, *Śrībhara* and *Raṇajaya* to Rājasimha. It may be noted here that two other inscriptions in the same temple³ which give more than 200 titles to Rājasimha must be attributed to the same king.

This identification of the builders of the Kailāsanātha and Panamalai temples may be objected to on the ground of palaeography, for a comparison of the Panamalai script with that of the Kāñchīpuram temple shows that the former is much simpler and therefore later in date. In fact it bears a very close resemblance to the Atiraṇachaṇḍa group of Mahābalipuram and the Śālvankuppam epigraphs, and not the Atyantakāma group (which is similar to the Kailāsanātha epigraph). Compare the letters, for example, क, ग, ङ, घ, ञ, ष and the signs for the secondary vowels चा, ळ, and ची and the correctness of the contention will be immediately obvious. It can be incidentally inferred from this that the Mahābalipuram Shore Temple inscription of Rājasimha which I have proved to be later than the Atyantakāma and Kailāsanātha group, and earlier than the Atiraṇachaṇḍa group, was slightly earlier than the present inscription. Dr. Hultsch,⁴ who believed that palaeography alone could give a clue to the identity of the kings, was of opinion that the earlier Kailāsanātha script belonged to the age of Rājasimha or Narasimhavarman II and the Atiraṇachaṇḍa group to the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Kāśākuḍi plates. Regarding the last, he has said: "It resembles, though it is not identical with, the alphabet of the Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman. The name or surname *Atiraṇachaṇḍa* is unknown from other sources. As the alphabet of stone inscriptions sometimes differs slightly from that of the contemporaneous records on copper, there would be no objection to assigning these records to the time of Nandivarman, the contemporary of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya II."

¹ In his *Pallava Antiquities* (Vol. I, pp. 19-20) Prof. Dubreuil, with characteristic insight, enumerates the various points of agreement, e.g., the possession of collateral niches always opening towards the east or west, the dedication to the prismatic (eight or sixteen-faced and not the cylindrical) type of the *linga*, the adornment of the sanctuary wall with the images of Sōmāśakanda, Brahmā and Vishnu, the rearing lion type of pillar-supports and 'the single-arched *tiruvāchis*.'

² The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates (*Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 61) say that Narasimhavarman was the son's son (उदसुत) of Paramēśvara: but it is alone in this version and is not so authoritative as the contemporary records at Kāñchīpuram, Mahābalipuram and Panamalai.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 25 and 26.

⁴ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 3.

But I have endeavoured to show in my edition of the Shore Temple inscription of Mahābalipuram that the Kailāsanātha, the Atyantakāma¹ and the Atiraṇachanda groups should all be attributed to the same king, viz., Narasimhavarman II. The identification of Atyantakāma with him is proved by the Kāñchīpuram,² Vāyalūr,³ Tiruppōrūr⁴ and Shore Temple⁵ inscriptions and that of Atiraṇachanda with him by the Kāñchīpuram⁶ and Tiruppōrūr⁷ epigraphs (which were apparently not known to Dr. Hultzsch), while the epigraphs at Śālvankuppam show that Atyantakāma and Atiraṇachanda were the titles of the same king (see *S. I. I.*, No. 21, verses 1 and 5). The attribution of the Atiraṇachanda group to the age of Nandivarman II cannot thus stand. The palaeographical comparison of it with Kāśākuḍi plates, moreover, shows that the inference of contemporaneity which Dr. Hultzsch makes, cannot be maintained. In regard to letters ए, च, ष, ऋ, ॠ and secondary vowel ॡ, we find that the Kāśākuḍi plates are distinctly later and more modern than the corresponding letters in the Atiraṇachanda style. The same remarks apply to the present inscription which, as has been already mentioned, is exactly like that of Atiraṇachanda. This conclusion will naturally give rise to the question how an archaic style like that of the Kailāsanātha-Atyantakāma group could have co-existed with the more advanced styles of Śālvankuppam and Panamalai (as well as the style of the Mahābalipuram Shore Temple which comes midway between the two). This has been, in my opinion, satisfactorily answered by Prof. Dubreuil. He believes that the more archaic and florid alphabet was "perhaps devised by the predecessor of Rājasimha, fifty years earlier. As it was much embellished and little employed, it was handed down without any change, and the sculptors of the time of Rājasimha who wished to employ this alphabet were satisfied with copying the old models instead of embellishing the writing of their days."⁸ Amongst the peculiarities of the present epigraph may be noted the combination of the conjunct *ra* and medial च with a double curve (e.g., ॠ in verse 4 and ॡ in verse 6), and the characterisation of the final ण with a slanting stroke (as well as smaller size), like ॠ.

A few words may be mentioned here about Narasimhavarman II. He seems to have been a man of peace, devoted more to religious pursuits than war and conquest. His father Paramēśvaravarman I had gained the victory of Peruvaṇallūr⁹ over the Chālukya Vikramāditya I (655-680 A.D.) and saved the integrity of the Empire, though he had not apparently been equal to the task of dispossessing the Chālukyas of the district of Kurnool¹⁰ and possibly of Nellore¹¹ which they had seized. A clue to the date and site of the battle

¹ It may be mentioned that Prof. Dubreuil agrees with Dr. Hultzsch in identifying Atyantakāma with Paramēśvara I; but while I agree with him in regard to the style of the script of Paramēśvara's time, I am not able to see eye to eye with him in regard to his identity with Atyantakāma.

² See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 1 and No. 19, verses 7 and 8.

³ Bottom block, which reads: लोचनदेन्दु सिंहः शम्भोः पादारविन्द... चरणे निवसत्यनकाम...

⁴ Piece No. 7.

⁵ See ante, p. 106.

⁶ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 25, niche 3.

⁷ Piece No. 4.

⁸ See his *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 23.

⁹ See the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman, lines 16-17, which say: ततः पेदवत्तनक्षय्ये विजितवत्तनक्षयः परमेश्वरवर्मा. The Kūram plates of Paramēśvara I describe how he made Vikramāditya take to flight, covered only by a rag (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 149, lines 40-41). The latter is evidently a reference to the engagement at Peruvaṇallūr. The Kāñchīpuram inscriptions also refer to the destruction of Rājarasika's city (i.e., the city of Vikramāditya). See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 12, verse 5.

¹⁰ See Kl. 1 and 4-6 in my *Topographical List*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Nl. 483. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 98-102.

of Peruvaṇallūr is given in the Gadvāl Plates¹ of Vikramāditya I. These plates record a grant by him in A.D. 674, while he was encamped at Uragapura on the southern bank of the Kāvērī in the Chōla kingdom. Uragapura has been identified by Venkayya² with Uraiyūr and the correctness of this has been confirmed by Prof. Dubreuil³ who has identified Peruvaṇallūr with a village of the same name, about ten miles north-west of Trichinopoly. The latter scholar further points out how the Pallava Paramēśvara was probably helped by the contemporary Pāṇḍya Kōchchadayan and the Ceylonese king Mānavamma.⁴ He further surmises that Kōchchadayan married the daughter of the Pallava prince Rājasimha (later on Narasimhavarman II) and hence had a son named Rājasimha, so named naturally after his maternal grandfather. However this might have been, Rājasimha must have succeeded Paramēśvaravarman I sometime after A.D. 675. He evidently did not distinguish his reign by any war. All his inscriptions, while describing his martial valour in vague and general terms, agree in calling him an ardent devotee of Śiva, a saviour of Dharma and Truth. He seems to have furthered the arts and blessings of peace, if we are to attach any importance to his epithets इतिहासप्रियः, काव्यप्रबोधः, वीरानारदः, चातोद्यतुम्बुहः, वाद्यविद्याधरः, etc. It was he that built the central shrine in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram, the Shore temple at Mahābalipuram, the Panamalai temple, and, as Prof. Dubreuil observes, the Airāvātēśvara temple at Kāñchīpuram. To these must be added some other structures from which the pillars containing Rājasimha's *birudas* were transferred to the later Kandasvāmi and Vyāghrapurīśvara shrines at Tiruppōrūr⁵ and Vāyalūr respectively.⁶

It only remains to be mentioned that the date of the present epigraph is not incapable of being ascertained. It has been already mentioned that Paramēśvaravarman I won a victory at Peruvaṇallūr over Vikramāditya I in A.D. 674. Supposing that Paramēśvara lived for a few years after it, we may suppose that he ceased to rule, about A.D. 680. The struggle between him and Vikramāditya I was inherited and continued by their successors,—the Pallava Narasimhavarman II, Mahēndravarmān III, Paramēśvaravarman II and Nandivarman Pallavamalla on the one hand, and the Chālukyan kings Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 680-96), his son Vijayāditya (A.D. 696-733) and his son and successor Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-746) on the other. Of these the last Pallava king was defeated by the last mentioned Chālukya king about A.D. 740. Now, as Narasimhavarman II lived two generations before Nandivarman, we may reasonably suppose that he lived in the years which immediately preceded and followed A.D. 700. And this is in keeping with the date we have assigned for the termination of the reign of Paramēśvaravarman I. These facts enable us to fix the Panamalai epigraph at about

¹ *Villo Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1910, p. 10, para. 10. The record is dated in Vaisākha, full moon, S. 596 (the 26th year of his reign), i.e., Tuesday, April 25, A.D. 674, according to Dr. Fleet, or the next day. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, No. 22, pp. 101-2.

³ See his *Pallavas*, 1917, p. 43.

⁴ The 5th king in the Vēlvikuṇḍi grant, the father of Tērmārṇ Rājasimha I (Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa), and the victor at Marudūr and Maṅgalapuram over Mahāratha. Prof. Dubreuil believes that Mahāratha was the Chālukya Vikramāditya I. Mānavamma was king of Ceylon from about 660 to 695, according to Dubreuil, but 691 to 726 according to the *Mahāvamśa*.

⁵ See Cg. 194 in the *Topographical List*. The chief epithets found are Aviratadānaḥ, Iśānaśaraṇaḥ, Jñānaśāraṇaḥ, Guṇavinītaḥ, Dharaṇitilakaḥ, Atharāśaṇḍaḥ, Arikarīkēsari, Prithvinārāḥ, Atyantakūmaḥ and Abhayaṅkaraḥ.

⁶ See Cg. 1234. Besides giving a full genealogy of the Pallavas, the record gives the titles of Narēndrasimha, Atyantakāma, Rāṇajaya, Śrīnīdhi and Kṣhattriyasimha to Rājasimha. This inscription has been edited by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, *above* Vol. XVII, pp. 145 ff.

A.D. 700. Prof. Dubreuil ascribes it to between 700 and 710. The Shore Temple inscription at Mahābalipuram should be slightly earlier, while the scripts of the Kailāsanātha-Atyantakūma group might be based on a script about 50 years earlier (i.e., A.D. 650), but engraved a few years before 700.

TEXT.¹

- 1 ²नोदपादि प्रथितभुजबलो द्रोणि³रंशः⁴ पुरारिः [1*] अश्वत्था-
- 2 क्षोद्य तस्माद्विचितगुह्यतपोनिर्म-
- 3 लादाविरासीदाम्नायादंगविद्याविसर इव महीवल्ल[भः पक्ष*]⁵ वास्यः [1*]
- 4 यस्मादेव[.]*⁶ . . . पथि विहितपदात्पावने⁷ माननीयो मन्दाकिन्या[.]* प्रवा-
- 5 हः शशिन इव महानन्वयः पक्षवानाम् [2*] सम्राजामश्वमेधावभृ-
- 6 यविरजसां भूभुजां पक्षवानामस्य-
- 7 द्यपक्षवानां विमलतरभरद्वाजवंशोद्भवानाम् [1*] कीर्तो-
- 8 रत्वो⁸ ण्वाहुद्रविण्डतमहीचक्रविख्यातकीर्तय्यो देवा-
- 9 देवमन्नाहु इव पर[मादीश्वरादात्तजन्मा⁹] [1*]
- 10¹⁰ . . भुजङ्ग¹¹विषावभासी सत्वो-¹²
- 11 र्जितः समरदृष्ट¹³महाप्रभावः [1*] यो राजसिंह इति विश्व-

¹ From the plate published in *Ep. Rep.* for 1916, opp. p. 114.

² This is the 4th quarter of a stanza in the *Śragdhara* metre. The first three syllables (which should be three *gurus*) are wanting.

³ Read द्रोणि.

⁴ Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar wrongly reads it as द्रोणी.

⁵ There is an unwritten space of one foot here, capable of holding these three letters, which are found in the Kāñchīpuram inscription. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, line 11 (verse 3).

⁶ The space (about a foot) is unwritten. The three syllables which are necessary for the metre may be प्रसूतः or प्रसूते, which will be the predicate of अश्वत्था.

⁷ Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar corrects पावने into पावनी (see *Pallava Antiquities*, p. 13); but this is absolutely unnecessary as पावने is plainly the adjective of पथि.

⁸ Read क्षो.

⁹ The stone on which the inscription is engraved is broken here and the passage inserted has been taken from *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, verse 8.

¹⁰ As the metre of this verse is *Varantatīlākā*, the first six syllables (a *ta-gāra* and a *bha-gāra* — — — — —) are wanting. An expression like सुदृष्टोर्जित will do.

¹¹ Read दृ.

¹² Read सत्वो.

¹³ Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar wrongly reads it as दृष्ट. He also confounds दृ with सु and suggests the wrong reading सुदृष्ट in place of दृष्ट. See *Pallava Antiquities*, I, p. 13.

- 12 तपुस्वीर्त्ति^१सु^२तम^३बुध^४पकु^५क्षरराजसिंहः [॥ ४*] ^६वर्त्ता कि.
 13 षड^७र्भससु^८क्रयाणां [क]र्त्ता च कक्षा^९परम्परायाम् [१*]
 14 चित्ते सदा ^{१०}सभु-
 15 तभक्तिपूते धत्ते पदं^{११} यस्य सृगा^{१२}कमो^{१३}लि[:*] ॥ [५*] संवटा^{१४}जाय-
 16 ^{१५}मयानेकशाखासमयः [चो]-
 17 ^{१६}तेः फलकुसुमज्जताकान्तिमाकम्ब-
 18 माना[:]^{१७} [१*] सद्गुत्ता^{१८}भोनिषेकैर्द्रुम इव सतततास्य . . . ^{१९}श्याससुखाम . .
 जय^{२०}ति कलियुगयोगमतसेपि^{२१} धर्मः [॥ ६*].

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. (To him) was born **Draupī**, the part-incarnation¹⁶ of Purāṇi, who was famous for the strength of his shoulders.

V. 2. From that **Aśvatthāman** who was spotless with the great penance performed by him, there arose, like the extension of the **Āṅgavidyā**¹⁷ (science of Vyākarna, etc. contributing to knowledge) from the Vēda, the beloved king of the earth called **Pallava**; and from him who trod the path of purity, came, like the floods of the Mandākini from the moon,¹⁸ this great family of the Pallavas.

¹ Read ति.

² Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar mistakes it for ह (dri).

³ This verse is in the *Indravajrā* metre.

⁴ Read म.

⁵ Read सु. Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has the wrong reading सुहृत्. (*Pallava Antiquities*, p. 14, note 1.)

⁶ This word is also wrongly read as सुद by Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

⁷ Read मी.

⁸ Read नी.

⁹ As the verse is in *Sragdhārā* metre, seven syllables are missing here : two *gurus* and five *laghus* like — —

~ ~ ~ ~ ~
¹⁰ Five syllables — — — ~ — are wanting.

¹¹ Read ऋ.

¹² Read °ताभी°.

¹³ Four letters, viz. — — ~ —, are probably missing to make up this *pāda*.

¹⁴ The late Mr. H. K. Sastri thought that ऋ was the more probable reading.

¹⁵ Read °सोपि. If the reading जगति is taken instead of ऋदति, then it is unnecessary to correct जे.

¹⁶ Notice the singular account which the Pallava inscription at Amarāvati (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 32) gives of **Aśvatthāma**'s origin. It says that Drōṇa propitiated Śiva for obtaining a son who would found a race.

¹⁷ Apte defines it not only as the चक्रवर्त्ता व्याकरणादिशास्त्रज्ञा विद्या ज्ञानसाधनं but, according to the *Bṛhat-samhita*, as 'the science of foretelling good or evil from the movements of the limbs.'

¹⁸ The Ganges flows from the matted locks of Śiva amidst which the moon also shines. The *Kaṭṭhaśāstra* inscription compares 'Pallava' to the first-born Manu in regard to his being the founder of a race of kings. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 12, verse 3. The composers of the Pallava eulogies seem to have been very fond of calling them the *vallabha* or the beloved (of the world). Cf. Kūram plates, Sanskrit portion, line 11.

Vv. 3 & 4. From the lord Ekamallā¹ whose fame spread over the globe, conquered by his inexhaustible might and wealth and who was the ornament (lit. flag) of the Pallavas who were emperors, who shone by the baths which concluded the performance of the *Aśvamedha*, who were the enjoyers of earth, who were not touched (even) by a bit (*lava*) of danger² and who had their origin in the highly pure family of *Bharadvāja*—from him was born, like *Gūha*³ (i.e., *Kumāra*) from the great *Īśvara*, he who shone by his...might and wealth, whose greatness was seen in the field of battle, who was valiant and powerful, who was well known as *Rājāsīmha* of holy reputation and who was a royal⁴ lion to the elephants of daring, hostile kings.

V. 5. The conqueror of crowds of hostile kings, the doer of a series of auspicious acts, in whose mind, purified by the feeling of incessant devotion,⁵ *Mrigāṅkamauṣi* (*Śiva*) rests his foot.

V. 6. The tree of *Dharma*⁶ which has got many *sākhās* (i.e., Vedic divisions in the one case, and branches in the other) in the form of the *Vēdas*; which is sprinkled incessantly by the waters of his virtuous acts; and which bears the splendour of the fruits and flowers—flourishes, though scorched by the cruel sun of the *Kali* age.⁷

NO. 19.—TWO LOST PLATES OF THE NIDHANPUR COPPER-PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN.

BY MAHAROPADHYAYA PANDIT PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYA, VIDYAVINODA, M.A.

The three copper-plates which were discovered in 1912 at Nidhanpur in Pañchakhanda, Sylhet, containing an inscription of Bhaskaravarman were published by me in this Journal (*vide* Vol. XII, No. 13, pp. 65 *et seq.*). There I stated that one plate was missing. It now turns up that the number of copper-plates missing was more than one, as I have got two plates, one of which is undoubtedly the 3rd plate, and the other the penultimate plate; and the rumour goes that a third missing plate is in the possession of a Musalmān and efforts are being made to get it from him. I have not, however, thought it advisable to defer any longer the publication of the two plates that have since been discovered, and if any missing plate be forthcoming at all, it will contain only a list of donees supplementary to what is found in the two plates under discussion.

The discovery of these two lost plates has rendered some of my statements in the previous article, made, of course, on mere conjecture, liable to revision. In fact the grant had

¹ It is plain that Ekamallā is the title of Paramēśvaravarman I. The Kāñchīpuram inscription (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24) calls him Ugradapda, the adversary of Rājarasika (the W. Chālukya Vikramāditya I, A.D. 655-80). Another inscription in the same place (*ibid.*, No. 27) gives Paramēśvara, the title of Lōkāditya.

² Compare निराकृतकुचापशयः यज्ञः in line 11 of Kūram grant.

³ *Vide S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, verse 5.

⁴ Cf. उद्यतमनु विरद्वज्रपटाराजसिंहेन राजा in the Kāñchīpuram inscrn. (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, verse 11).

⁵ Compare the epithets Śaṅkarabhaktaḥ, and Īśvarabhaktaḥ, in the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions. Also expressions like गुर्वीसीवात्मनि...यो विभक्तिं भक्तिपत्रेण मनसा; विदितमनुजयः श्रेयसिफलमार्गः; शिवचूडामणिः etc.

⁶ The epithets धर्मदण्डक, धर्मनिजः, धर्मविजयी found elsewhere show that the king had a great reputation for virtue.

⁷ The simile of the *Kali* age is commonly met with in the Pallava inscriptions. In the Rājāsīmhavarman inscription the king is said to have heard the divine voice even in this *Kali* age, and elsewhere in the same inscription he is said to have saved the people from the jaws of the horrid monster, the *Kali* age. Similarly the Pallavas are given the title of उद्योतप्रसन्नचित्तमदधुनि. (See *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24.)

been made by Bhūti-varman (named Mahābhūta-varman in the second plate of these inscriptions) who was the great-great-grandfather of Bhāskaravarman; and it was only renewed¹ by the latter in favour of the descendants of the original donees. The locality of the grant—Mayūrasālmal-āgrahāra in the district of Chandrapuri—I am unable to identify. While in my former article nothing was known of the donees² we find now that actually there was a host of them of different Vēdas and gōtras—apparently the successors on the sons' and probably also on the daughters' side of those Brāhmaṇas who had got the original grant from King Bhūti-varman. A tabular statement of these, shewing the Vēdas and the gōtras and shares, is given at the end of this article. The total of these shares comes to $97\frac{1}{2}$, which, with the addition of seven shares more for *bali-charu-satra*³ (worship, oblation and hospitality) comes to $104\frac{1}{2}$. Certainly the land could not have been divided into $104\frac{1}{2}$ shares, involving the fractional part of an *amśa*. It is not impossible that the rumour about another missing plate may be true, or that there may be something wrong in my interpretation of the terms like *gōtra-amśa*.

These two plates, namely, the third and the penultimate plates, have great importance as they contain information about a good number of Brāhmaṇas of many a different gōtra, and it is expected that this will throw a flood of light on the history of the Brāhmaṇas in this part of India.

Bhāskaravarman is known to have ruled over Kāmarūpa during the first half of the seventh century A.D., and if we calculate four rulers in a century, his great-great-grandfather Bhūti-varman must have flourished by the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. It is remarkable that while in the neighbouring province of Gauḍa (Bengal) the alleged import by Ādi-Śūra of five Brāhmaṇas from Kanauj or the mythical creation of the *Saptasatī* (700) Brāhmaṇas is not attributed to a period earlier than the eighth century A.D.,⁴ there should be so many Brāhmaṇas found in a single village in Kāmarūpa two centuries earlier.

It will not be difficult to understand why the grant was made to such a large number of Brāhmaṇas at a time. We learn from the accounts of Yuan Chwang that while the neighbouring kingdoms were full of Buddhist monasteries, the country of Kāmarūpa was altogether free from them. "They (i.e., the people of Kāmarūpa) worshipped the *Dēvas* and did not believe in Buddhism. So there had never been any Buddhist monastery in the land. The *Dēva* temples were some hundreds in number and the various systems had some myriads of professed adherents * * * His Majesty (Bhāskaravarman) was a lover of learning and his subjects followed his example; men of abilities came from far lands to study here."⁵ If such was the state of things in the Kāmarūpa of Bhāskaravarman's time, we might safely surmise that the condition of Kāmarūpa was the same also in Bhūti-varman's time. Bhāskaravarman was only maintaining the tradition of his illustrious predecessors whose excellent qualities are recorded in these inscriptions. A party of Brāhmaṇas probably

¹ That this grant was a renewal after the burning of the original plates is known from the last verse on the last plate (above, Vol. XII, p. 76).

² In fact in the opening verse of the inscriptions plurality of the Brāhmaṇas was indicated by "*bhūtimatām dvijanmanām*" which was then looked upon as a case of honorific plurality.

³ *Bali* means offerings to gods as flour, fruits, rice, etc. (uncooked); *charu* signifies 'cooked offerings'; and *satra* indicates 'distribution of food to the guests and the poor'. This would show that there was a shrine or common place of worship in the locality for which a provision was made by allotment of these 7 shares.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 237 and 228.

⁵ Watters: *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 186.

annoyed at the Buddhist predominance in their own place (which was most likely in Mithilā) came to settle in Kāmarūpa that was free from Buddhism and the rulers whereof were reputed to be the patrons of Brāhmaṇas, the custodians of the old faith :¹ hence this grant was made to these Brāhmaṇas and the name *agrahāra* added to Mayūrasālmali supports what has been stated above.

The locality of the grant, though it cannot be positively ascertained, must have been very near the precincts of Karṇa-Suvarṇa, as the term Gāṅgiṇī occurring in the description of the boundary of the grant indicates that the locality must be in some region where the word in its modern form of Gāṅginā exists even now. In modern Kāmrūp the term is unknown—whereas in the locality near about Karatōyā (which was the western boundary of the ancient Kāmarūpa), 'Gāṅginā' is still in use—so the grant must have been located there² and hence near Karṇa-Suvarṇa.³

How the plates containing the record could be found in Sylhet has yet to be answered. It is stated in the third plate (l. 12) that Manōrathasvāmin of the Kātyāyana-gōtra was a 'paṭṭakapati,' i.e., the holder of the copper-plates, evidently, as he was one of the leading men of the locality. There was still another person Sādhāraṇasvāmin, apparently, the foremost of them all, as his name mentioned in the first place would show, who was also termed 'paṭṭakapati': and though probably the plates were originally kept in the joint or alternate charge of both, yet they must have fallen eventually into the hands of the heirs of Manōrathasvāmin of the Kātyāyana-gōtra who were among the Brāhmaṇas who migrated to Sylhet—as is inferred from the mention of 'Kātyāyana' amongst the 10 gōtras of the Sāmpradāyika Brāhmaṇas⁴ of Sylhet. The Sāmpradāyika Brāhmaṇas designate themselves as "Maithilas" (i.e. belonging to Mithilā) and so do most of the Brāhmaṇas even of the modern Kāmrūp, who, as well as the Sāmpradāyikas, follow the *smṛiti* (law) of the Mithilā school. It is quite possible that in course of time these settlers in Sylhet lost the memory of the place from which they had come, and the oblivion was helped by the eventual loss of the copper-plates which they had taken with them to Sylhet and which have lately been discovered about ten feet below the surface of the earth. Or, it may be that the migrators having belonged originally to Mithilā gave themselves out as 'Maithila' when they settled in Sylhet.

One thing worth remarking in these two plates is the abbreviations used: 'Svā' is written for *Svāmī*,⁵ 'aṁśa' for 'ek-aṁśa' and 'gōtra-aṁśa' for 'gōtra-sahit-ādhy-arādh-aṁśa'. A remark made in my previous article regarding the defective nature of the *Āryā* metre which has been copiously used in these inscriptions, should be amended here: the remark was based on the

¹ It may be also that the settlers might have been students who had come to Kāmarūpa for study (*vide* extract from Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, above).

² In the copper-plate inscriptions of Vanamālādēva (*vide Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1840, pp. 736 *et seq.*) we find 'Chandrapari' south-east of the grant, a village named Abhisuravalaka, west of Trisarōtā. This 'Trisarōtā' is the modern 'Teesta', a river in Rangpur, Bengal, and is a little east of the river Karatōyā. If this Chandrapari be the Chandrapuri (*puri* in Vanamāla's inscriptions may be an error of the reader for *puri*, and the reading is full of errors) of Bhīskaravarman's inscriptions, within which district the grant was situated, then what has been stated here would become substantiated.

³ In fact in my former article 'Gāṅginikā' was deemed as one of the factors in coming to the decision that the grant belonged to Karṇa-Suvarṇa (*vide* footnote No. 3, p. 86, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII).

⁴ These ten gōtras are: Vātsa, Vātsya, Bharadvāja, Kṛishṇātrēya, Parāśara, Kātyāyana, Kāśyapa, Maudgalya, Svarṇa-Kauśika and Gautama. Of these, seven gōtras are found mentioned in the plates, exactly as stated above: 'Vātsa' and 'Parāśara' are mentioned in the plate as 'Vātsa' and 'Pārāśarya' (patronymic forms): while the remaining gōtra, viz., 'Svarṇa-Kauśika,' is evidently represented by 'Kauśika' in the plates, as the realization of the gōtra into 'avarṇa,' 'rajata,' 'ghṛita,' etc., did not probably take place then.

⁵ The form *Svā* has in every case been taken as an abbreviation of *Svāmī* (in the nominative case singular) as is clear from l. 11 where Sādhāraṇasvāmī occurs as the attribute of *aṁśa dvaya-bhōkṣa*.

prosodical test of verse No. 8 in which there was something wrong in the 2nd foot—that could not be improved by any tentative reading. The other verses seem to be all right and conform to the rules of prosody.

TEXT.¹*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 1 [i]ṅgana^{*}-prakaṭit-ābhikā(gā)m[i]ka^{*}-guṇ-ānurāga-vṛtitiḥ Kal[i]yuga-parākram-ākalita-vigra-
- 2 hasya samuchchhā(chchhvā)sa iva Bhagavatō Dharmasya nayasy-ādhishṭhānam-āspadam guṇānām nidhiḥ
- 3 prapayinām-upaghaṇaḥ santrastānām śrī-sampadām-āyatanam Vasumatī-anta-kram-ādhi-
- 4 gata-pada-samutkarṣa(rsh-ā)darshi(rśi)ta-prabhāva-śaktir-mMahārājādhirājaḥ śrī-Bhāskaravarmma-
- 5 dēvaḥ kuśalī || Chandrapurī-vishayō varttamāna-bhāvinō vishaya-patīn-adhikara-
- 6 ṇāni cha samājñāpayati [*] Vidadam-astu bhavatām-ētaḍ-vishay-āntaḥpāti-Mayu(ū)-ra-
- 7 śālmal-āgrahāra-kshētram(tram) rājñā śrī-Bhūti-varmmapā tāmrapaṭṭikṛitām yata[t] tat-tāmra-paṭṭ-ābhā-
- 8 vāt=karadam=iti Mahārāja(jēna) Jyēsthābhadrā(drān) vijñāpya punar-asy-ābhinamra(va)-paṭṭakaraṇāya śāsam(sa)-
- 9 nam datvā(ttvā) chandr-ārka-kṣhiti-samakālam=akiñchit-pragrāhyatayā bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna pūrva-bhō-
- 10 ktu(ktṛi)-Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ^{*} pratipāditam yatra(tra) Brāhmaṇā(ṇa)-nāmāni Prāchētasō Vājasaneyi-paṭṭakapa-
- 11 tiḥ aṇśa(aṇśa)^{*}-dvaya-bhōktā Sādhāraṇasvā[mī]^{*} || Śrivasu(sur)-bhrātrī-ttra(tra)yēpa^{*} ēkō-mśa(h) || Sōmavasū(sur)=bharṭṛisahitō-rddh-aṇśa(h) ||
- 12 Kātyāyana-Chchha(ś-Chhā)n'ōgō Manōratha-svā chaturth-aṇśa-hinō-dvir-aṇśa(h) paṭṭakapati(h*) || Arddh-aṇśa(śō) Vishṇughōṣha-[svā] [*]
- 13 Vēdaghōṣha-svā ēk-aṇśa(h*) || Yāskō Bāhvīcha(chyō) Dāmadēva-svā aṇśa(h*) || Ghōṣhadēva-svā arddh-aṇśa(h*) || Nandadē-
- 14 [va-svā] arddh-aṇśa(h*) || Bhāradvāja-Chchhāndōg-Ōrkadatta(ttō) gōttra(tra)-sahit-ādhyardh-aṇśa(h*) || Tusṭidatta-svā arddh-ā-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 15 aṇśa(h) || Kāśyapa-sagōtra-Vājasaneyi-Rishidāma-svā aṇśa(h*) || Subhadāma-svā aṇśa(h*) || Kautsō Vājasanē-
- 16 yi-Śani(nai)ścharabhūti(r*)-gōttr-aṇśa(h*) || Bāhvīchō(chyō) Gaurātr[ē]ya-Saṅkarṣaṇa-svā dvir-aṇśa(h*) || Nara-svā aṇśa(h*) || Nārāyana-

¹ From ink impressions.

^{*} The portion of the compound in the preceding plate is *achakila-nirantara-prapaya-rasa-bhar-ākṛishṭa-Kāmarūpa-Lakṣmī-samā*, where the last two words must be *Lakṣmī-samā*; see above, Vol. XII, p. 75.

² For the qualities called *ābhigāmika-guṇaḥ* see the *Nitisāra* of Kāmandaka, iv, vv. 6-8 and Flect, *Cor. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 169 n.

³ It should be noted here that both *ba* and *va* are written exactly alike in these inscriptions: so the same letter has been transliterated as 'ba' or 'va' as the case requires.

⁴ *aṇśa* is often spelt '*aṇśa*'; as the correction is apparent it has been left uncorrected after this.

⁵ *Svā*, as already stated, is apparently an abbreviation of *Svāmī* and has been left as such (i.e. unamended) after this.

⁶ [Here *sahitaḥ* seems to be understood. - Ed.]

THIRD PLATE.

a.

2
4
6
8
10
12
14

2
4
6
8
10
12
14

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a record of land grants or administrative orders. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the plate, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The plate shows signs of wear and discoloration.

b.

16
18
20
22
24
26
28

16
18
20
22
24
26
28

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, continuing the record from plate 'a'. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the plate, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The plate shows signs of wear and discoloration.

(From photographs).

a.

30
 32
 34
 36
 38
 40

b.

42
44
46
48
50
52
54

- 17 svā arddh-āśa[h*] || Viṣṇu-svā āśa[h*] || Sudarśana-svā āśa[h*] || Gōpēndra-svā āśa[h*] || Arkka-svā āśā[ch*]=chaturthō bhāgaḥ
 18 Bhānu-svā [a*]rdh-āśa[h*] || Bhūyaskari-svā arddh-āśa[h*] || Kṛishṇātrēyō Vāja-
 sanēyi-Yāsa(śō)bhūti-svā ||¹ gōtrā(trā)-āśa[h*] || Bhāradvāja-
 19 ś=Chhāndōgō Varuṇa-svā āśa[h*] || Kauṇḍinyō Vājasanēyi-Madhusēna-svā āśa[h*] ||
 Gautamaś=Chhāndōgō
 20 Dhruvasōma-svā āśa[h*] || Viṣṇusōma-svā āśa[h*] || Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyi-
 Viṣṇupālita-svā
 21 [a*]dhy-arddh-āśa[h*] || Śuchipālita-svā āśa[h*] || Mitrāpālita-Ārthapālita-yō[h*]
 arddh-āśa[h*] ||
 22 Prajāpatipālita-svā āśāch=chaturtha-bhāga[h*] || Gautamō Vājasanēyi-Madhu-svā
 āśa[h*] ||
 23 Chakradēva-svā ardh-āśa[h*] || Vātaś=Chārakyō(aḥ) Kūshmāṇḍapattra(tra)-svā
 chaturth-āśa-hīna-pa(pā)da[h*] || I(Ī)śvara-
 24 datta-svā dvir-āśa[h*] || Maudgalyō(a)-Vājasanēyi(yi)-Sudarśana-Dinakara-svāmibhyām
 āśa[h*] || Śaubha(na*)kō
 25 Vājasanēyi-Yajñakunḍa-svā [a*]dhy-arddh-āśa[h*] || Yāsa[h*]kunḍa-svā pād-ādhikō-
 āśa[h*] || Śrāddhakunḍa-svā āśa[h*] ||
 26 Nārāyaṇakunḍa-svā āśa[h*] || I(Ī)śvarakunḍa-svā arddhapād-ābhyadhika(ō)-āśa[h*] ||
 Śaktikunḍa-svā
 27 āśāch=chaturtha-bhāga[h*] || Tōshakunḍa-svā arddhapād-ābhyadhika(ō)-āśa[h*] ||
 Pārśāryya-Chārakaḥ
 28 Sādhu-svā āśa[h*] || A(Ā)ś(ēva)lāyaṇa(na)ś=Chhāndōgō Gaṅga-svā āśa[h*] || Vārāh
 Bā[h*]vṛichyō Nara(?)svā āśa[h*] ||

Penultimate Plate ; First Side.

- 29 Śa(ā)lānkāyanō Vājasanēyi-Sūrya-svā āśa[h*] | Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyi-Bhavadēva-svā
 āśa[h*] |
 30 Śarvadēva-svā āśa[h*] ||[*] Gōmidēva-svā arddh-[ā]śa[h*] | Śa(ā)vittra(tra)dēva-svā
 dvir-āśa[h*] | Arkadēva-svā arddh-āśa[h*] |
 31 Sādhāraṇa-svā āśāch=chatur^a-bhāga[h*] | Gā[r*]gyō Vājasanēyi-Dāmarāta-svā āśa[h*]
 || [*] Bhāradva(dvā)jō
 32 Vājasanēyi-Vasudattā-svā dvir-āśa[h*] || Ālambāyanō Va(Vā)jasanēyi-Jā(Yā)gēśvara-
 svā dvir-āśa[h*] |
 33 Viśvēśvara-svā āśa[h*] | Divyēśvara-svā āśa[h*] | Gaṇēśvara-svā āśa[h*] |
 Buddhēśvara-svā āśa[h*] |
 34 Jāṭēśvar-Āṅgēśvarābhyām(m) āśa[h*] | Dhō(Dhau)tēśvara-svā āśāch=chatur^a-bhāga[h*] ||
 Māghēśvara-svā a[m*]śāch=chatur^a-bha(ā)ga[h*] ||
 35 Jāhnē(hnavi)śvara-svā arddh-a(ā)śa[h*] || Nandēśvara-svā āśa[h*] | Āṅgīrasō
 Vājasanēyi-Dāmabhūti-

¹ [Danda are unnecessary.—Ed.]

² The 's' at the end of a word should not be changed into ś (asuraśra) when followed by a word beginning with a vowel: yet such a change is seen here and also in some other places (e.g. l. 39 ²bhāgāś arddhāśaś). [But the plate reads bhāgaś.—Ed.]

³ The letter 'āa' seems to be scratched and probably 'as' was attempted to be incised in its stead.

⁴ The name is illegible, but it seems to be of two syllables whereof the first is like sa. The name occurs at another place also (vide. l. 16 above).

⁵ [Chaturthō is expected.—Ed.]

- 36 svā aṇśa[h*] | Kāśyapō Bāhvrichcha(chya)[h*] Prakāsavara-sva(ā) bhrātrī-sahitō-
ṇśa[h*] | Yāskō Vājasanēyi-
37 Gāyatri(ī)pāla-svā aṇśa[h*] Pārāsaryō Bā'hvrichya[h*] Śāntasarma-svā aṇśa[h*] ||
Kauśikō
38 Bāhvrichya[h*] ||* Padmadāsa-svā gōtr-āṇśa[h*] || Gōvarddhana-Yajñapāla-Paṇu-
Sudarśanasvāmi-
39 bhyām(m)* arddh-āṇśaḥ Pāṇkalyās-Chhāndōgō Gōpāla-svā aṇśaḥ || Kāśyapas-
Taitta(tti)riya Ugradatta-svā
40 aṇśaḥ || Bārhaspatyō Bāhvrichyō Bhaṭṭinanta(nda)-svā aṇśaḥ ||* Sādhu-svā
aṇśaḥ || ||* Dēvakula-svā aṇśaḥ ||
41 Janārdana-svā [a*]rddh-āṇśaḥ | Sunayana-Nārāyaṇa-Vṛiddhi-svāmibhyō-rddh-āṇśaḥ ||
Gautamō Bāhvri-

Penultimate Plate; Second Side.

- 12 chya I[ī]śvarabhaṭṭa-svā aṇśaḥ || Bhṛigu-svā arddh-āṇśaḥ || Bhāradvājō Bāhvrichyō
Rudraghōsha-svā aṇśaḥ | Kātyāyanas-Chārakaḥ Kauśikō-
13 ma-svā aṇśaḥ || Gautamō Vājasanēyi-Prabhākarakīrti-svā aṇśaḥ || Śāṇḍilyō Vājasanēyi-
Ananda(ṇṭa)-svā aṇśa[h*] ||
44 Śaunakō Bāhvrichyō Gatibhaṭṭi-svā aṇśaḥ || Tēja-bhaṭṭi-svā aṇśaḥ || Mana(ntra)ghōsha-
Tējabhaṭṭi-Nandabhū-
45 ti-svāmibhyām (bhyā)[m=a*]rddh-āṇśaḥ || Dāmabhaṭṭi-svā aṇśaḥ || Mēdhabhaṭṭi-svā
aṇśaḥ || Sumatibhaṭṭi-svā aṇśaḥ ||
46 Suyōgabhaṭṭi-svā aṇśaḥ || Vātsya-Bāhvrichyō(aś)-Śāśvatadāma-svā aṇśa[h*] || Gauta-
maś-Chhāndōgō Tōsha-svā
47 aṇśaḥ || Vārāhō Bāhvrichyō Bhaṭṭihara-svā aṇśaḥ || Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyi-
Nāgadatta-svā [a*]rddh-āṇśaḥ ||
48 Ālambāyanō Dūrvēśvara-svā bhrātrā sah-ārdh-āṇśaḥ || Bhāradvājō Rūpādhyā-svā
[a*]rddh-āṇśaḥ || Kō(Kau)śika-
49 Bāhvrichyō(chya)-Chandradāsa-Vimarddanadāsa-svāminōr-ēkō-ṇśaḥ || Kās[y*]apō Vāja-
sanēyi-
50 Supratishṭhita-svā aṇśaḥ || Gautama(ō) Nandana-svā aṇśaḥ || Śākaṭāyanō(as)-Tōsha-svā
51 arddh-āṇśaḥ || Gautama-Kāśyapaya(yō)[s*]-Sārasa-Vakula-svāminōr-ēkō-ṇśaḥ || Bhā-
radvājō(ja)-Vidūsha-
52 svāminō(r-a)ardh-āṇśaś-ch-ēti || Bali-charu-satr-ōpayōgāya sapt-āṇśa[h*] || Yad-
ētat-Ko(Kau)śik-ōpachitaka-kshētram
53 tat-pra(pha)la[m*] pratigṛāhaka-chrā(Brā)hmaṇānām-ēva yat-tu Gaṅgiṇy-upachitaka-
kshētram tad-yathā-likhita-
54 ka-Brāhmaṇai[s*]=samam vibhajyatām-iti || Sīmānō yatra pūrvēṇa Śushka-Kauśikā ||
Pūrva-dakshi-
55 ṇēna s-aiva Śushka-Kauśikā Dūmbarichchhēda-samva(mvē)dyā Dakṣiṇēn-āpi Dūmvari
chchha(chchhē)da[h*] || Dakṣiṇa-*

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

To whom was exhibited, with a fast embrace, the course of love for the *ābhigāmika-*
*guṇas*¹ [by the Lakshmi of Kāmarūpa drawn by an excessive sentiment of constant

¹ The letter va (or ba) has also the ri-sign added to it at the bottom.

² [*Dandis* are superfluous.—Ed.]

³ [But the reading seems to be *°bhyaḥ*, not *°bhyaṁ*.—Ed.]

⁴ For *paśchimāna*, etc., see the last plate (above, Vol. XII, p. 75).

⁵ Fleet translated it as 'the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind.' See references in foot-note 3 on p. 118 above.

affection]¹ who is, as it were, the breath of the holy Dharma whose person has been seized by the powerful Kali (Iron age), the abode of Politics and good qualities, the receptacle of friends, the shelter of the terrified, the abode of good luck, whose dignified power was shown by the elevated rank obtained in order of succession from (Naraka) the son of Vasumatī (Earth)—the king of kings, the illustrious **Bhāskaravarman**, in sound health, commands the present and the future district officers, as well as the courts of justice in the district of **Chandrapuri** (*thus*): let this be known to you (*all*)—that the land of the **Mayūrasālmā-āgrahāra** (grant to Brāhmaṇas) lying within this district granted by issuing a copper-plate charter by king **Bhūti-varman** has become liable to revenue on account of the loss of the copper-plates, so by the Mahārāja having informed the senior respectable persons² (*and*) having issued orders for making a fresh copper-plate grant, the land has been awarded to the Brāhmaṇas who had been enjoying the grant already in the manner of *bhūmi-chhidra*,³ so that no tax is levied on it as long as the sun, the moon and the earth will endure. These are the names of the Brāhmaṇas (donees).⁴ For *bali* (worship), *charu* (oblation) and *satra* (hospitality) seven shares are allotted. The produce of the land that is increased by the Kauśikā (river) will go to the Brāhmaṇas, the donees of the grant, but the land which is enlarged by the Gaṅgiṇī shall be equally divided by the Brāhmaṇas as recorded.⁵ These are the boundaries—to the east, lies the dried Kauśikā, to the south-east, that very Kauśikā marked by a (piece of) hewn fig tree, to the south even, a (piece of) hewn fig tree, to the south-west, etc., *vide* the last plate.

Serial No. ⁶	Vēda etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
1	Vājasaneyin (i.e., Yajurvedin).	Prāchētasa . .	Sādhārāṇa-avāmin (<i>paṭṭakapati</i> , i.e., holder of the copper-plates).	2
2, 3, 4, 5	Do. . .	Do. ⁷ . .	Śrīvasu with his three brothers . .	1
6, 7	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sōmavasū with his master ⁸ . .	½

¹ Contains translation of the preceding portion of the compound (*vide* foot-note 2 on page 118 above).

² The reading in the text may be—*Mahārāja-Jyēsthābhadrā-vijñaptiā* in which case the meaning will be 'at the request of Mahārāja-Jyēsthābhadrā.'

³ '*Chhidra*' means 'land not fit for cultivation' (*vide* Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayanī*, Bhūmikāṇḍa-Vaiśyā-dhyāya—Verse 18): 'bhūmi-' or 'bhū' prefixed to 'chhidra,' is merely expletive. In the copper-plate grant of Vaidyadeva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 353, l. 51) we find '*bhūchchhidraicha aśiuchchikaragrāhyam*' which indicates the meaning of '*bhūmi* (or *bhū*)-*chchhidra-nyāyēna*' in copper-plate inscriptions: 'like a (worthless) plot of land unfit for cultivation'. Such land when granted would naturally be exempted from assessment of revenue. [See Mr. K. M. Gupta's interesting note on the words *bhūmichchhidra* and *bhūmichchhidra-nyāya* in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LI (1922), pp. 77-79.—Ed.]

⁴ See the list at the end.

⁵ This special treatment of the accretions to the Kauśikā and the Gaṅgiṇī most probably shows that in the time of King Bhūti-varman these boundary rivers had been streams with current and in the course of a century and quarter they became (in Bhāskaravarman's time) so much denuded of current that one got the qualifying term *śushka* (dried) prefixed to it and the other had the name Gaṅgipikā (meaning the bed of the dried river) given to it. In such circumstances, it is impossible now, after a lapse of more than fourteen centuries from Bhūti-varman's time, to identify the locality of the grant with the help of the description of the boundary.

⁶ The serial number, of course, is not to be found in the plates.

⁷ Where there is no mention of the Vēda or the gōtra, it has been supposed that the immediately preceding one holds good for the case.

⁸ When the number is not stated, only one individual has been presumed and the serial number also put accordingly.

Serial No.	Vēda etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
8	Chhāndōga (i.e., Sāmavedin).	Kātyāyana . .	Manōrathasvāmin (patibhupati) . .	1½
9	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vishṇughōṣha-svāmin . . .	½
10	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vēdaghōṣha-svāmin . . .	1
11	Bāhvīchya (i.e., Rīgvēdin).	Yāska . .	Dāmadēva-svāmin . . .	1½
12	Do. . .	Do. . .	Ghōṣhadēva-svāmin . . .	½
13	Do. . .	Do. . .	Nandadēva-svāmin . . .	½
14	Chhāndōga . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Arkadatta-svāmin with his clan share . .	1½
15	Do. . .	Do. . .	Tushṭidatta-svāmin . . .	½
16	Vājasanēyin . .	Kātyāyana . .	Rishidāma-svāmin . . .	1
17	Do. . .	Do. . .	Śubhadāma-svāmin . . .	1
18	Do. . .	Kaṭva . .	Śanaishoharabhūti . . .	1½ ¹
19	Bāhvīchya . .	Gaurātrēya . .	Saṅkarabhapa-svāmin . . .	(clan share) 2
20	Do. . .	Do. . .	Nara-svāmin . . .	1
21	Do. . .	Do. . .	Nārāyana-svāmin . . .	½
22	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vishṇu-svāmin . . .	1
23	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sudarśana-svāmin . . .	1
24	Do. . .	Do. . .	Gōpēndra-svāmin . . .	1
25	Do. . .	Do. . .	Arka-svāmin . . .	½
26	Do. . .	Do. . .	Bhānu-svāmin . . .	½
27	Do. . .	Do. . .	Bhūyaskara-svāmin . . .	½
28	Vājasanēyin . .	Kṛishnātrēya . .	Yasobhūti-svāmin . . .	1½ ¹
29	Chhāndōga . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Varuṇa-svāmin . . .	(clan share) 1
30	Vājasanēyin . .	Kaundinya . .	Madhusēna-svāmin . . .	1
31	Chhāndōga . .	Gautama . .	Dhruvasōma-svāmin . . .	1
32	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vishṇusōma-svāmin . . .	1
33	Vājasanēyin . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Vishṇupālita-svāmin . . .	1½
34	Do. . .	Do. . .	Śuchipālita-svāmin . . .	1
35, 36	Do. . .	Do. . .	Mitrapālita and Arthapālita . . .	½
37	Do. . .	Do. . .	Prajāpatipālita-svāmin . . .	½

¹ When only 'śāśa' (share) is stated, 'one share' has been presumed: in the preceding case (serial 10) *ekāśaśa* (one share) is clearly mentioned; but for brevity's sake *śa* (one) has been omitted in subsequent cases.

² 'Gōtrāśaśa' (clan share) seems to be an abbreviation of 'gōtra-sahit-ādhy-ardh-śaśa' (one and half shares with clan share), as in serial No. 14 above; so here, as also in other places, 'gōtrāśaśa' is taken to mean 1½ shares. It is not, however, clear what 'gōtrāśaśa' indicates: it is given only in a few cases either to the sole representative of a gōtra or to the head of the gōtra.

Serial No.	Vēda etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
38	Vājasanēyin . .	Gautama . .	Madhu-svāmin	1
39	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Chakradēva-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
40	Chārakya (i.e., Yaj- urvēdin). ¹	Vāta	Kūshmāṇḍapatra-svāmin	$\frac{1}{16}$
41	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Īśvaradatta-svāmin	2
42, 43	Vājasanēyin . .	Maudgalya . .	Sudarśana and Dinakara-svāmīna	1
44	Do. . . .	Saubhaka (? Saunaka)	Yajñakunḍa-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{2}$
45	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Yatōkunḍa-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{2}$
46	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Śrāddhakunḍa-svāmin	1
47	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Nārāyaṇakunḍa-svāmin	1
48	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Īśvarakunḍa-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{2}$
49	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Śaktikunḍa-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
50	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Tōshakunḍa-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{2}$
51	Chāraka	Pārāśarya	Sādhu-svāmin	1
52	Chhāndōga	Āśvalāyana	Gaṅga-svāmin	1
53	Bāhvrichya	Vārāha	Nara-svāmin	1
54	Vājasanēyin	Śālaṅkāyana	Sūryya-svāmin	1
55	Do. . . .	Bhāradvāja	Bhavadēva-svāmin	1
56	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Śarvadēva-svāmin	1
57	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Gōmidēva-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
58	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Sāvitradēva-svāmin	2
59	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Arkadēva-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
60	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Sādhāraṇa-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
61	Do. . . .	Gārgya	Dāmarāta-svāmin	1
62	Do. . . .	Bhāradvāja	Vasudatta-svāmin	2
63	Do. . . .	Ālambāyana	Yāgōśvara-svāmin	2
64	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Viśvōśvara-svāmin	1
65	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Divyōśvara-svāmin	1
66	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Gaṇōśvara-svāmin	1
67	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Buddhōśvara-svāmin	1
68, 69	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Jaṭōśvara and Aṅgōśvara-svāmīna	1
70	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Dhautōśvara-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$

¹ It is stated in the *Bhāṣya*-*Parāya* that Chāraka was a disciple of Vaiśampāyana who was a Yajurvēdin (vide verses 52 and 61 of Chap. VI, Sk. XII).

Serial No.	Vēda etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
71	Vāsanēyin . .	Ālambāyana . .	Māghśvara-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
72	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Jāhnavīvara-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
73	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Nandśvara-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
74	Do. . . .	Āngīrasa	Dāmabhūti-svāmin	1
75, 76	Bāhvīchya . .	Kāśyapa	Prakśvara-svāmin with brother . .	1
77	Vājanēyin . .	Yaska	Gāyatrīpāla-svāmin	1
78	Bāhvīchya . .	Pārāśarya	Sāntasarma-svāmin	1
79	Do. . . .	Kauṭika	Padmadāsa-svāmin	$1\frac{1}{2}$
80, 81	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Gōvardhana Yajñapāla and Paṇu Sudarśana-svāmīna. ¹	$\frac{1}{2}$ (olan share)
82	Chhāndōga . .	Pāṅkalya	Gōpāla-svāmin	1
83	Taittirīya (Yajur-vēdin). .	Kāśyapa	Ugradatta-svāmin	1
84	Bāhvīchya . .	Vārhaspatya . .	Bhāttinanda-svāmin	1
85	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Sidhu-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
86	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Dēvakula-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
87	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Janārdana-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
88, 89, 90	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Sunayana, Nārāyaṇa and Viddhi-svāmīna.	$\frac{1}{2}$
91	Do. . . .	Gautama	Iśvarabhāṭṭa-svāmin	1
92	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Bhṛigu-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
93	Do. . . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Rudraghōsha-svāmin	1
94	Chāraka . . .	Kātyāyana . . .	Kauśīkoma-svāmin	1
95	Vājanēyin . .	Gautama	Prabhākarakīrtti-svāmin	1
96	Do. . . .	Śāṇḍilya	Ananta-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
97	Bāhvīchya . .	Saunaka	Gatibhāṭṭi-svāmin	1
98	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Tējabhāṭṭi-svāmin	1
99 & 100	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Mantraghōsha, Tējabhāṭṭi and Nandībhūti-svāmīna. ²	$\frac{1}{2}$
101	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Dāmabhāṭṭi-svāmin	1
102	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Mēdhabhāṭṭi-svāmin	1
103	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Sumatibhāṭṭi-svāmin	1
104	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Suyōgabhāṭṭi-svāmin	1

¹ If it were not for the dual sign 'bhām' after these names, these would be considered as three persons or not four. This 'bhām', however, may be an error for 'bhāyō', as 'am' and 'ō' marks are easily interchangeable (vide inscription, penultimate plate, ll 38 and 39). [See f. n. 3 on p. 120 above.—Ed.]

² Mantraghōsha (or Mandraghōsha)—the word in the plate is Managhōsha [or Mañju.—Ed.]—seems to be an adjective to Tējabhāṭṭi, probably to distinguish him from the preceding Tējabhāṭṭi (serial No. 98).

Serial No.	Vēda etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
105	Bāhvrichya . .	Vātsya . . .	Śāvatadāma-svāmin	1
106	Chhāndōga . .	Gautama . . .	Tōsha-svāmin	1
107	Bāhvrichya . .	Vārsha . . .	Bhatṭihara-svāmin	1
108	Vājasaneyin . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Nāgadatta-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
109, 110	Do. . . .	Ālambāyana . .	Dūrvēśvara-svāmin with brother . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
111	Do. . . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Rūpādhyā-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
112, 113	Bāhvrichya . .	Kaṇṭhika . . .	Chandradāsa and Vimardanadāsa-svāmīna	1
114	Vājasaneyin . .	Kāśyapa . . .	Supratishṭhita-svāmin	1
115	Do. . . .	Gautama . . .	Nandana-svāmin	1
116	Do. . . .	Śākaṭāyana . .	Tōsha-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
117, 118	Do. . . .	Gautama and Kāśyapa . . .	Sarasa and Vakula-svāmīna	1
119	Do. . . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Vidūsha-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$

No. 20.—THE SECOND HALF OF A VALABHI GRANT OF SAMVAT 210.

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., RAJKOT.

The plate published below was discovered in 1894 in [the small town of *Iyāveja* which lies 10 miles to the south-west of *Pālitāna* in the *Gohelwār prānt* of *Kāthiawār*. It was found by Mr. Tudor Owen, I.C.S., the Administrator of the *Pālitāna* State some years ago, and is now preserved in the Watson Museum at *Rajkot*. As is clearly shown by the measurements, the distance between the holes of the ring, the characters and the opening words, it must be the second half of the grant the first half of which has already appeared in Vol. XVII, pp. 108 ff., of this journal.

The present plate, containing 15 lines of writing in clear and bold characters, is like the first one in an excellent state of preservation. There are comparatively few grammatical mistakes found in the inscription. The *sandhi* rules are many times not observed. The sign for *upadh-māniya* is found in lines 2, 5 and 6.

The grant issued by *Dhruvasēna* I, as may be seen from the first plate¹ and from the year 210 in this plate, when as many as four other grants² were issued by him, makes a gift in the follow-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 108.

² (1) *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 255.

(2) *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, p. 130 and *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 109.

(3) *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, p. 130 and *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 112.

(4) *J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S., Vol. I)*, p. 65.

ing way : (a) a hundred *pādāvarṭtas* in the south-east quarter of the village *Bhadrāpikā* in the *Surāṣṭrā* to a Brāhmaṇa named Śāntiśarman, resident of *Nagaraka* and of the *Ātrēya-gṛā*¹ and the *Vājasaneyā-śākhā*, (b) a hundred *pādāvarṭtas* as well as a *vāpibhōllara* with an area of twelve *pādāvarṭtas* in the same quarter, to Dēvaśarman, brother of the same (Brāhmaṇa).

The meaning of *vāpibhōllara* cannot be definitely given, but it seems to denote 'an unused well filled with earth'.

The *Dūtaka* who executed the present grant was *Rudradhara*. It may be mentioned that in the grants of Dhruvasēna I, preceding the present one, the *Dūtaka* is found to be Mammaka, while in this and in the subsequent grants he is Rudradhara. The writer, as in the preceding and the subsequent grants of the king, is *Kikkaka*.

TEXT.²

- 1 सनियसन्नञ्जचारिणे तथा अस्यैव भ्रात्रे देवशर्मणे अस्यामेव सोमि
- 2 पादावर्त्तशतं वापीभोजनं च द्वादशपादावर्त्तपरिसरं मया मातापित्रो
⊕ पुण्याप्याय-
- 3 ना[या*]त्मनश्चैदिकामुष्मिकयथाभिलषितफलावाप्तिनिमित्तमाचन्द्रार्कखण्डव्यतिस्थि-
तिसरि-
- 4 तत्पूर्वतसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यं बलिचरुवैश्व(स्व)देवाद्यानां क्रियाणा[']*
समुत्प-
- 5 र्ण्यातर्धमुदकातिसर्धेण निरुष्टं यतो नयो ⊕ पूर्ववन्नदयस्थित्या भुञ्जतोः कृषतोः[*]
- 6 कर्षापयती ⊕ प्रदिशतीर्ष्या न कैश्चित्स्वल्पाप्यावाधा विचारणा वा कार्ष्या-
स्त्रदंशजैश्च-
- 7 गामिनृपतिभिरपि अनित्यान्वैश्वर्याणि अस्मिन् मानुष्यं स[र्व*]सामान्यं भूमि-
दानफ³।
- 8 स(स्व)मकमण्डलिरयमस्मद्वयोऽनुमन्त्र्यः यथाच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदे[त*]
- 9 स पंचभिः महाप[ि*]तकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तस्वादिति— अपि चात्र-
व्यासगोत-
- 10 श्लोका भवन्ति— षष्ठि(ष्टि) ॥⁴सदृशाणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*]
आच्छेत्ता वानुमन्ता च
- 11 ताव्येव नरके वसेत्—[॥ १*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुध्वरा [1*]
स⁵ गवां शतसहस्र-
- 12 स्व इन्तुः प्राप्नोति किरिप(स्त्रि)षम् [॥ २*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्त्वयस्य

¹ So much account of the first grantee is known from the first plate. This must be read in continuation of text l. 15 on p. 109 of this journal, Vol. XVII.

² From the original plate.

³ Read व in place of ।.

⁴ Danda is superfluous.

⁵ [Superfluous.—Ed.]

[illegible]

- 13 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा फलमिति (म् ॥ इति) = सं २०० १०
भ(१*)द्रपद यदि ८ . . [१*]
14 स्रहस्रो मम महासामन्तमहाराजधुवसेनस्य— दूतको रुद्रधरः [१*] लिखितं
किञ्च(क)-
15 केन [१*]

No. 21.—THE SOHAWAL COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHARAJA
SARVANATHA—THE YEAR 191.

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

This inscription, which is published here for the first time, was discovered at **Sohāwal** in the Baghelkhand tract of the Central India Agency. It records a grant engraved on two copper-plates, which were brought to the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer, by Thākur Sāheb Gopal Singh of Kharwā (in Ajmer-Merwāra) for decipherment. An abstract of the contents of the inscription was published by Rai Bahadur Gourishankar Hirachand Ojha, Curator of the Museum, in the *Annual Report* of the Museum for the year ending 31st March 1924.

The copper-plates are bored at the top, and their thick as well as somewhat raised edges have largely contributed towards the excellent preservation of the writing on them. The ring, which must have passed through the hole, and the seal, if there was any, are missing. The first plate bears inscription on one side only, while the other on both the sides, though it contains only five lines of writing on the back. The plates measure $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ each and weigh about 2½ lbs. or 95 tolas. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}''$.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets (*Gupta-lipi*), being almost similar to those of the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Excepting the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses which occur in ll. 21-27, the document is written in **Sanskrit** prose.

As regards orthography, some of the points may be noted here :—

- (1) Consonants are mostly doubled when combined (i) with a superscript *r*, as for instance, in °शर्व्वेनाथः (l. 7), °चन्द्रार्क (l. 9), °वर्जितः (l. 10), गत्ती (l. 32), कर्म्मिला° or °आवर्त्त (l. 33), etc.; and (ii) with a subscript *r*, as in पुत्त° (ll. 1, 2, 4, etc.), °विगृह्णिक° (l. 29), यत्त (l. 32), etc. (2) The conjunct consonant **ज्ञ** is employed with the subscript *y* in °अनुज्ञातो (ll. 3, 4, 5 and 6); (3) the occasional use of *ba* for *va*, as in °परदत्ताम्बा (l. 21), सम्बत्सर° (l. 27), and *vice versa*, as in बलि° (l. 15) and °बलाधिकत° (l. 30); (4) the use of *n* instead of *anuseāra* before *ś*, as in कारुञ्च (l. 8), °अस्मद्वन्यो° (l. 17), and before *l* in °दत्तिन्लोप° (l. 19); (5) the use of *n* instead of *ण* in प्रायेन (l. 22); and (6) the use of *upadhāniya* in °सपञ्चभि° (l. 19).

The genealogy given in the record is identical with the one usually found in the grants¹ of Śarvanātha, and the text is also similar.

This inscription is also a charter of Mahārāja Śarvanātha which was issued from Uchchakalpa. Its object is to record that Mahārāja Śarvanātha granted the village of Vaiśyavāṭaka, as an *agrahāra* on certain conditions herein laid down, for the maintenance of the temple of Kūrtikēya, to two individuals named Viśākhadatta and Śakti. The date is given in words and reads as **the year one hundred and ninety-one, and the tenth day of the intercalary month of Āshāḍha (June-July)**. Assuming that the era used is of the Gupta reckoning, the year of the issue of the grant would correspond to 510-511 A.D. The document was written by *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Manōratha*, the son of the *Bhōgika* Varāhadinna (=Skt. Varāhadatta) and the grandson of the *Bhōgika*, the *Amātya* Phālgudatta, the *Dukata* being the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the Kshatriya *Sivagupta*. These persons are identical with those mentioned in the Khoh copper-plate inscription of Śarvanātha.²

The Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa ruled over the territories lying to the east and south-east of Bundelkhand (i.e., in Baghelkhand³) at the time when the Parivrājaka Mahārājas ruled over modern Bundelkhand⁴ and its vicinity. Uchchakalpa was probably the name of their capital. The inscriptions of these rulers do not help us much to know the history of their family. These chiefs seem to have been the tributaries of the Vākāṭaka rulers of the Central Provinces⁵ and Northern Deccan.⁷

Till now, four copper-plate inscriptions of Mahārāja Śarvanātha have been discovered. Of these, three are dated in the years 193, 197 and 214, or A.D. 512-13, 516-17 and 533-34 respectively. No document of the successor of Śarvanātha has yet been found. The present grant is the earliest known record for this king.

Antiquarians seem to differ in regard to the era to which the dates of these inscriptions belong. Prof. Kielhorn was inclined to refer them to the Kalachuri era.⁸ R. B. Gōurishankar H. Ojha is of opinion that they should be referred to the Gupta and not to the Kalachuri⁹ era, and I quite agree with him. My reason for holding this view is that the stone pillar inscription at Bhumarā¹⁰ makes it certain that Mahārāja Hastin of the Parivrājaka family and Śarvanātha were contemporaries, and the date of Hastin's inscription refers to the Gupta era.¹¹

I am unable to identify Vaiśyavāṭaka, Daṇḍapālī, Gavāyanagartikā and the river Kardamīlā mentioned in the document.

¹ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, Nos. 28 and 29.

² *Ibid.*, No. 30.

³ Fleet's *Gup. Ins.*, p. 126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 103. Dr. Barnett supposes them to be the feudatories of the Guptas, [*Antiquities of India*, p. 47], while Dr. Fleet, of the Kalachuri kings, [*Gup. Ins.*, p. 8 (preface)].

⁶ Fleet's *Gup. Ins.*, Nos. 55 and 56. Barnett, *Ant. of India*, p. 51.

⁷ **वाकाटके राजति द्वेसेने य[यैषकोशो] सुवि उस्मिन्नः[॥]**

Inscriptions from the cave temples of Western India, by Dr. J. Burgess and Pt. B. Indrajī, p. 89.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 55, C. 337 and 392.

⁹ *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1923-24, p. 2.

¹⁰ *O. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 110.

¹¹ For Dr. Fleet's views on the question see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 228. See Prof. G. J. Dubreuil's remarks on the dates of inscriptions of the Uchchakalpas in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1926, p. 103.—Ed.]

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 [नी]² स्वस्त्युच्चकल्पा³ महाराजौघदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुदगा[तो] महादे[व्या]
- 2 कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजकुमारदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
- 3 नुदगातो महादेव्या जयस्वामिन्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजजयस्वामी [।*] त[स्य]
- 4 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुदगातो महादेव्या रामदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजध्यात्र[ः] [।*]
- 5 तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुदगातो महादेव्यामज्जितदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-
- 6 जयनाथस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुदगातो महादेव्या⁴ सुरुण्डदेव्यामुत्प-
- 7 न्नो महाराजशर्वनाथः कुशली वैश्यवाटकी ब्राह्मणादीन्कुटुम्बि-
- 8 नस्त्वर्चकारु⁵न्ध समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदित(तं) वोस्तु यथैष ग्रामो
- 9 मयाचन्द्रार्कसमकालिक[ः] सो]द्रङ्गः सोपरिकरः अचाटभट-
- 10 प्रावेश्यः हलिकाकरसमेतः चौरदण्डवर्जितः उत्तरापथेय⁶खाथाना-
- 11 पुत्रविशाखदत्तशक्तिभ्यां एतत्पुत्र[पौत्र*]प्रपौत्रतत्पुत्राद्यनुक्रमेण⁷ ताम्-
- 12 शासनेनाग्रहारत्वेनातिष्ठः⁸ [।*] आभ्यामपि मया[तु]मोदितकं यथो-
- 13 [प]रिलिखितकक्रमेणैव स्वपुण्याभिहृदये स्वप्रतिष्ठापितकभगव⁹त-
- 14 स्वामिकार्त्तिकेयस्वामिपादानां खण्डफु¹⁰टप्रतिस(सं)स्कारकरणाय
- 15 व¹¹लिचरुसन्नगन्धधूपदीपतैलप्रवर्त्तनाय चातिष्ठः [।*]

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 16 ते¹² यूयमेषां समुचितभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रत्यायो[प]न[यं] करि-
- 17 यथाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयाश्च भविष्यथ [।*] ये चास्मद्¹³न्योत्पद्यमानकराजान[ः]
- 18 तेरियन्दत्तिर्न विलोप्यानुमोदनीया [।*] यथाकालश्च प्रतिपालनीया [।*]
- 19 समुचितराजाभाव्यकरप्रत्यायाश्च न ग्राह्याः [।*] यःर(र)मान्द¹⁴त्तिन्लोपयेत्(प-)
- 20 च्चभिर्महापातकैरुपातकैश्च संयुक्तस्यादुक्तश्च महाभारते

¹ From the original plate.² Read °कल्पाग्रहाराजौ°.³ °उत्तरापथेय is not a correct Sanskrit word but it might have been formed on the analogy of ग्रामेय.⁴ Add उपभोयः after क्रमेण.⁵ Read °मगन्ध°.⁶ Read °वशि°.⁷ Read °द्वयो°.⁸ Read दर्शितं औपदेशे पञ्चमिः.⁹ This is expressed by a symbol.¹⁰ Read °द्वयो°.¹¹ Read °काङ्क्ष°.¹² Read °वटः°.¹³ Read °सुटित°.¹⁴ Read तेन.

- 21 भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1*] 'स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्बा' यन्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठि-
 22 र [1*] महीमहीम'ताञ्ज्रेष्ठ दानाञ्च्योत्तुपालनं [॥ 1*] प्रायेन¹ हि नरेन्द्राणां विद्य-
 23 ते न शुभा गतिः [1*] पूयन्ते ते तु सततं प्रयच्छन्तो वसुन्धरां [॥ 2*] बहुभि-
 24 र्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 25 तदा फलं [॥ 3*] षष्ठि² वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानु-
 26 मन्ता च तान्येव नर[के] व³सकृत्सस्यसमृद्धान्तु यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [1*]
 27 खविष्टायां क्षमिर्भूत[वा] पितृभिस्तद्व मञ्जते [॥ 5*] लिखितं सम्ब⁴कार-
 28 शते एकनवत्युत्तरे द्विराषाढमासदिवसे दशमे भोगिकफाल्गु-
 29 दत्तामात्यनम्ना भोगिकवराहदिचपुत्रेण महासाम्बिविग्रहिक-
 30 मनोरथेन [1*] दूतक⁵महावलाधिकृतचक्रियशिवशुभः [1*]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 हलिकाकरप्रतिमोचनाभिलेखायानेपि दूतकः उपरिक-
 32 मातृशिवः [1*] आघाटा; यच्च उत्तरस्यां दिशि गर्ता यावत्सन्मुखः⁶]
 33 पूर्वेषु कर्दमिलानदी दक्षिणेन गर्ता पुनः पुनरावर्त्तकेन यावत्सन्मुखः⁷
 34 गवायनशुक्तिकाग्रामसमीपे कच्छको मध्य[मे]⁸ गर्तायाः दक्षिणामुखो
 35 दण्डपाली ग्रामस्त पश्चिमे[न] यावदपरा गर्तेति ॥

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-8. Ōm! Hail! From Uchchakalpa—(There was) the Mahārāja Ōghadēva. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Kumāradēva, born of the Mahādēvi Kumāradēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayasvāmin, born of the Mahādēvi Jayasvāminī. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Vyāghra, born of the Mahādēvi Rāmadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, (was) the Mahārāja Jayanātha, born of the Mahādēvi Ajjhitadēvi. His son, who meditated on his feet, the Mahārāja Sarvanātha, born of Mahādēvi Murupadadēvi, being in good health, issues a command to Brahmans and others, householders, and all the artisans at (the village of) Vaiśyavātaka—

Ll. 8-12. "Be it known to you that this village is granted by me in a copper edict as an *agrahāra* to Viśākhadatta and Śakti, sons of Khāthānā of Uttarāpatha, (to be enjoyed by) their sons, (grandsons), great-grandsons and their sons, (and) to last as long as the moon and the sun will endure (i.e., in perpetuity), with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, (and with the privilege that it is) not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops, with (the right to) taxes on ploughs, (but) with the exception of (the right to) fines imposed on thieves.

¹ The metre of this and the following four verses is *Anuṣṭubh*.

² Read परदत्तां व.

³ Read महीजयां येष्ट.

⁴ Read प्रायेण.

⁵ Read षष्ठि.

⁶ Read वसुन्. [॥ 4*] सव्य⁹.

⁷ Read संवत्सर⁹.

⁸ Read दूतको महावलाधिकृत⁹.

⁹ Read समुद्रः.

¹⁰ [Why not मध्ये? —Ed.]

ia

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

32

34

32 33 34
 32 34
 34

Ll. 12-20. "Moreover, it is also given to them according to the same terms as mentioned above (and) confirmed by me, for the increase of my own merits, for repairs to whatever may be worn out or broken (in the temple) of Lord Kārtikēya established by me, as also for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *sattra*, perfumes, incense, lamps, and oil.

"Therefore, you yourselves shall offer to these persons (donees) shares, the tribute of the customary royalties, taxes, gold, etc., and shall be obedient to (their) commands.

"And this grant shall not be confiscated by those kings who will be born in our family, (but) should be assented to, and preserved, as in the (previous) time. (And) the tribute of the taxes which by custom should not belong to the king, should not be taken.¹

"Whosoever confiscates this grant—he shall be contaminated with (the guilt of) the five great sins and the minor sins."

[Ll. 20-27. The usual benedictory and imprecatory verses.]

Ll. 27 ff. (This charter) has been written, in a century of years, increased by ninety-one, on the tenth day of the second month of Āshāḍha, by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Manōratha**, the grandson of the *Bhōgika*, the *Amātya* **Phālgudatta**, (and) the son of the *Bhōgika* **Varāhadinna**. The *Dūtaka* (is) the *Mahābalādhikṛita*, the Kshatriya **Sivagupta**. Moreover the *Dūtaka*, in the matter of conveying the letter (ordering) the remission of taxes on ploughs, (is) the *Uparika* **Mātrīśiva**.

The boundaries (are) :—in the north, a boundary-trench as far as (its) mouth. On the east, the river **Kardamilā**. On the south, again, (there is) a trench with a winding course up to (its) mouth. Near the village **Gavāyanagartikā** (there is) a low hill (*kachchhaka*)² in the middle of the trench facing **Daṇḍapālī**³ towards the south. On the west of the village, there is a western trench.

No. 22.—PEYALABANDA GRANT OF KRISHNARAYA.

By Y. R. GUPTA, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These copper-plates, which belong to Mr. Archaka Venkatachar, were obtained on loan by the Tahsildar of Rāyadrug for the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, who noticed the record incised on them in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913.⁴ The following is an extract from the description of the plates he has given there :—"The plates which are well preserved are held together by a ring with a seal which bears on its counter-sunk surface the figure of a boar facing the proper right. The plates measure on an average about 7½" from side to side and about 11½" from the highest point in the curved top to the bottom."

The language of the record is Sanskrit verse throughout, with the exception of lines 88 to 98 which are written in Kanarese prose. The alphabet is Nandināgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, i.e., about the 16th century A.D. As regards orthography, the record contains most of the peculiarities and defects common to the Vijayanagara grants of the period, which need not be mentioned here.

¹ [Apparently from Fleet's *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 129.—Ed.]

² *Dongar* in Central Hindi and Marāṭhī.

³ Probably 'a row of bars', or 'a bridge'.

⁴ See p. 13, Appendix A, No. 7.

Omitting that portion of the grant which is common to the Hampi¹ and the Conjeeveram² records, which have already been published, we find that the inscription, incised on these plates, refers to the reign of king **Kṛishṇarāya** of the second Vijayanagara dynasty and records the grant of the village **Pēyalabaṇḍa**, also named **Kṛishṇarāyapuram**, which was situated within the limits of the principality of **Naḍugalla**, to **Nṛisimhādhvarīśarman**, son of **Pañchāgni-Vishṇa(śhṇu)yajvārya** of the *Agastya-gōtra* and the *Bōdhāyana-sūtra*. It describes the donee as having commented on all the *śāstras* and performed the *Sarvakratu* sacrifice.

The date given in the charter is **pūrṇimā** of the month of **Vaiśākha** in the **Śaka year 1446** corresponding to the **cyclic year Tārāṇa**. It is regular and, according to the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, equivalent to **18th April 1524 A.D., Monday**.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, **Pēyalabaṇḍa** is evidently **Pailbaṇḍa** in the **Mada-kṣira Taluk** of the **Anantapur District** and **Kurrubaśivara** is apparently **Palāśivaram**. The latter might have been called **Kurrubaśivara** because of its being inhabited by shepherds (**Kurrubas**).

TEXT.

[For the first 28 stanzas, which are here omitted, see above, Vol. I, pp. 363 ff., and also Vol. XIII, pp. 126 ff.]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- * * * * *
- 64 * * * * * [२८*] शालिवाहननिर्णी-
- 65 ते शकाब्दे सचतुःशतैः । षट्त्वारिंशदधिकैः संख्याते द-
- 66 शभिः शते ।। २९*] तारणे वत्सरे मासि वैशाखे पौर्ण(णि)माति-
- 67 थौ [१*] तुंगभद्रा[नदी*]तीरे श्रीविरूपाक्षमंनिधौ ।। ३०*] अगस्ता(स्त्य)गो-
- 68 वजाताय श्रीबोधायनसूत्रिणे । याजुषाध्यायिने
- 69 वेदवेदांतागमवेदिने ।। ३१*] पंचाग्निविष्णु(ष्णु)यज्वार्यसूनवे
- 70 जितमन्यवे । सर्वकृत(तु)महायामयाजिने जितवादिने ।। ३२*]
- 71 क्वा(व्या)ख्यातो(ता)खिलशास्त्राय विख्याताय महात्मने । ह्रिज-
- 72 श्रेष्ठा(ष्ठा)य शांताय नृसिंहाध्वरिशर्मणे ।। ३३*] नडुगक्काख्यदु-
- 73 र्गस्य राज्ये प्राज्ये प्रतिष्ठि(ष्ठि)तां [१*] कुरुवंशोवरसीमायां
- 74 रम्यायां विहितस्थितिं ।। ३४*] कंकरेनामकाङ्गामादि(दि)शि
- 75 प्राच्यां प्रतिष्ठि(ष्ठि)तं । हलूकनामकाङ्गामाद(द) दक्षिणस्यां
- 76 दिशि स्थितं ।। ३५*] महतो दंडमार्गात्(त्तु) प्रतीचीं दिशमाश्रितं [१*] क(कु)
- 77 र्ववंशोवरसंज्ञात्तु ग्रामादुत्तरतः स्थितं ।। ३६*] ग्रामं पेयलवं-
- 78 डाख्यं प्रथितं शुभमुत्तमं । कृष्णराज्यपुरं चेति प्रतिनामो-

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 363 ff.

² Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 126 ff.

- 79 पशोभितं ।[। ३७*] सर्वमान्यं चतुःसीमासंयुतं च समंततः ।
 80 सर्वदा सर्वसस्याक्यं गृह्यारामादिसंयुतं । [। ३८*] मिथिनि-
 81 क्षेपपाषाणाद्यष्टभोगैः समा(म)न्वितं । विविधैश्च फलेयु-
 82 क्तमेकभोग्यं समूहं ।[। ३९*] वापीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्छेनापि स-
 83 मं(म)न्वितं । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भोग्यं क्रमादाचंद्रा(द्र)तारकं ।[। ४०*] दा-
 84 नस्याधमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चोचितं । परीत[*] प्रय-
 85 तै[*] स्त्रिधैः(धैः) पुरोहितपुरोगमैः ।[। ४१*] वीरश्रीकृष्णदेवेंद्रमहारा-
 86 यो महामना[.] । दक्षिणासहितं धारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा ।[। ४२*] तै-
 87 स्तेः समंततः(त)श्चिह्नैःदिक्षु(दिक्षु) प्राच्यादिषु क्रमातु(त) । सीमैतस्या-
 88 ग्रहारस्य लिख्यते देशभाषया ।[। ४३*] ईपेयलबंडेय अग्रहा-
 89 रद चतु[*]सीमेवलयशासनद विवर । ग्रामद ईशान्यद ।
 90 स [दं]डिनदारिय पडुवलु दोड्डकरियगुंडिलि वरद
 91 वामनमुद्रे । अक्षिंद तेंकलु करियकल्लबेलिगो-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 92 षु(डे) वरद वामनमुद्रे । कुर्हचिन हुट्टगलु । नेह कल्लिन मे-
 93 रये मूडनमेरे । बेविनमरके तेंकलु नेह वामनमुद्रे ।
 94 आग्नेयद मेरे [॥*] अक्षिंद पडुवलु नेहल्लमूले पर्यंत वामन-
 95 मुद्रे नेह कल्लु । तेंकणमेरे नेहल्लद मूले कल्लिंद बडगलु
 96 नड(नेट्टा)द वामनमुद्रेकल्लु । पडुवण मेरे वाया(य)व्यद मूले कल्लि-
 97 द ईशान्यद कल्लु परियंतरा मूडलागि नडदु(नेट्टु) वरद वा-
 98 मनमुद्रे कल्लुगले बडगण मेरे ॥

[Ll. 99 to 105 contain four admonitory verses.]

106 श्रीविरूपाक्ष¹

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Ll. 64-87. In the year, computed by ten hundreds and four hundreds plus forty-six determined according to the Śālivāhana era and named Tārana, in the month of Vaiśākha and on the pūrṇimā-tīthi, on the bank of the river Tungabhadra in the presence of Śrī-Virūpāksha, to the best Brāhman, named Nṛsiṃhādhvari, who is calm, a great soul, well-known, expounder of all the śāstras, who has achieved success in discussions, is a sacrificer, who has performed all the great yāgas (sacrifices), who has controlled anger, is

¹ Written in Telugu-Kannada characters.

the son of Pañchāgni-Vishṇa(u)yaivārya, knows the Vēdas, the Vēdānta and the traditional lore, i.e., who is studying the Yajus, is of the *sūtra* of Bōdhāyana and of the family of Agastya, the well-known beautiful village of **Pāyalabaṇḍa** which is adorned with the other name of **Kṛishṇarāyapuram**, is included in the great principality of **Naḍugalladurga** on the pleasant boundary of **Kurrubaśivara**, whose boundaries have been defined (as follows), which lies to the east of the village called **Karukērrō**, to the south of the village called **Halūru**, lying to the west of the great military road situated to the north of the village named **Kurrubaśivara**, free of all taxes, on all sides well defined by the four boundaries, always rich in having all the plants, full of houses and gardens, accompanied by the eight kinds of enjoyments (beginning with treasures, deposit and stones), having different fruits, to be enjoyed by one, with what is grown on the land having ponds, wells, tanks, even with mounds or marshy grounds, to be enjoyed by sons, grandsons and others in succession till the moon and the stars last, with the due right of sale, mortgage and gift, the brave **Kṛishṇarāya**, king of kings, high-souled, and surrounded by the pious and devoted head priests with delight granted the village with *dakṣiṇā* and libations of water.

Ll. 88-98. The boundaries of this *agrahāra* are given in the language of the country. To the north-east of the village, to the west of the military road (*the boundary stone having*) the *Vāmana-mudrā* cut on it (*planted*) in the pit called *Doḍḍakariyagunḍi*; from that place to the south the natural stone which is the boundary mark having the *Vāmana-madrā* written on it posted near the pit called *Kariyakallu*; the boundary of the stone planted (*is*) the eastern limit to the north of the margosa tree, the planted stone having *Vāmana-mudrā* (*is*) the south-east limit; from that place (*to the*) west upto the south-west the planted stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*; southern boundary from the stone (*planted*) in the south-western corner (*to the*) north the stone planted; the western boundary from the stone planted in the north-western corner upto the stone (*planted*) in the north-east stone (*planted*) in the direction of the east; the planted stones bearing *Vāmana-mudrā* (*form the*) northern boundary.

* * * * *

L. 106. *Śrī-Virūpākṣha*.

No. 23.—VISHAMAGIRI PLATES OF INDRAVARMADĒVA.

BY THE LATE TARINI CHARAN RATH, B.A.

These copper-plates are three in number and were discovered from a piece of barren dry land, near the village of **Vishamagiri**, situated within the Sanakhimedi Zamindari, Aska Taluk of the Ganjām District, when it was reclaimed for cultivation. They were found suspended by a ring on a small stick in an earthenware pot, filled up with sand, the two ends of the stick resting on the edges of the pot.

The plates measure 7 inches by 3½ inches each, their thickness being ¼ of an inch. They are held together by a copper ring measuring 4 inches in diameter and passing through a circular hole on their proper right side. The ends of the ring are secured by a circular seal about 1 inch in diameter, bearing marks which are not quite distinct. The figures on the seal appear to be a couchant bull and a crescent. The plates together with the ring and the seal, weigh 156 tolas.

The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. The edges of the plates are raised into well-formed rims to protect the writing. The letters of the inscription are big enough and quite clear, their size being a little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch. There are in all 35 lines, each side having 9 lines on it, excepting the second side of the second plate which contains only 8 lines.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the script used is later in form than that of the Phanantara plates of Sāmantavarman which I have already published in this journal.¹ The record is not dated.

The object of the inscription is to record that Mahārāja Indravarmadēva of Kaliṅga, a devotee of Śrī-Gōkarṇṇēśvarasvāmin seated on the summit of the Mahēndra mountain (near Mandasa in the Ganjām district), granted some land whose boundaries are specified in it and which lay in the Amērasīṅga village of the Jalamvōra-vishaya (district) of the ancient Kaliṅga country, to Jakshasvāmi-śarman, a Brahman of the Vājasaneyā-charaṇa, Kāṇva-śākhā and Jātukarṇa-gōtra, for the increase of his and his parents' merit (puṇya). The Dūtaka or messenger of the grant was Mahāsāmanta Śrī-Nāgakhēddi. The inscription on the plates was written by Mahāpratihāra Adityavarman and the king's seal was affixed to it by the minister of peace and war (Mahāsāndhivigrahika) Chandapāka. It was engraved by the brazier (Kamsāraka) Dēvapila. The grant was issued from Śvētaka.

The record does not state the ancestry or lineage of the king, but there can be little doubt that he belonged to the Eastern Ganga family of Kaliṅga. A grant of king Indravarman I of Kaliṅga, otherwise known as Rājasinhha, has been published in this journal,² under the name of the Achyutapuram plates. The characters of these plates appear to be somewhat older than those used in this inscription. The king Indravarmadēva of the present plates is not the same as that of the Achyutapuram plates. He cannot, I think, be identified with even Indravarman II whose grants have also been published with specific years of the Eastern Ganga era. On palaeographical grounds, the characters of the present plates, which are an admixture of the northern and southern types, may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D. These plates are noted as No. 9 in Appendix A of the Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1917-18, to whom they had been sent by me for examination.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ Svasti [] [Śvē]tak-āddhi(dhi)sthānāt | bhagavatta(ta)ś=char-āchara-[gurōh*] śāka-
- 2 la-sha(śa)śāṅka-śēkhara-dharasya sthity-utpa[t*]ti-pralaya-kāra-
- 3 pa-hētōr=~~m~~Mahēndrācha[la*]-śikhara-nivāsi(si)-śrīmān⁴ Gōkarṇṇēśvara-bha-
- 4 ṭṭarakasya charaṇa-kamal-ārādhana-āvvā(vā)pta-punya(nya)-nichaya[h*] śakti-tra-
- 5 ya-pra[bh-ā]nurañjit-āsēsha-śā(sā)manta-chakra[h*] śva(sva)-bbuja-va(ba)la-
- 6 parākrā[nta]-śa(sa)kala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājyē parama-māhēśvarō mātā-
- 7 pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātō mahārāja-śrī-Indravarmmadēva[h*] kuśali ||
- 8 Jalamvōra-vishayē | yathākāl-āddhyāsi(si)-mahāśā(sā)manta-śrī-
- 9 śā(sā)manta-rājānaka-rājaputrā(tra)-kumārāmāty-ōparika-daṇḍa-

¹ See above, Vol. XV, pp. 275-278.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ [^opra[ka*]rahā* might be the reading.—Ed.]

⁴ See above, Vol. III, p. 128.

⁵ Read *śrīmān*.

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 nāyaka-vishayapati-grāmapati-vrā(bṛā)hma-purōgamān=a-
 11 tyā(nyām)ś=cha chāta-bhaṭa-daṇḍapāsika¹-vallabha-jāti(tī)yām(n) | yathārarha[m*]² mā-
 12 nayati vō(bō)dhayati cha śa(sa)mādisati | viditām(ta)m=astu bhavatām | ē-
 13 tad-viśa(sha)ya-śa(sa)mva(mba)ndha(ddha) | Amērasīnga-grāmē bhūmi[h*]³ |
 pu(pū)rva-diśē(śi) | pō(pu)-
 14 shkarinyā[h*] paśchima-pāli-parichehhēda[h*] | nadi(dīm) yāvat-paśchima-
 15 pradēśē Vrid[dha*]bhōgikasya bhōgapātaka-parichehhēdō(dah) | u-
 16 [t*]ta[ra*]-pradēśēbhishṭha-parichehhēda[h*] | dakṣiṇa-diśāyām nna(na)di
 parichehhē-
 17 da[h*] | nadilōmpāṇi(nya-)ardha-bhōga[h*] | Vv(V)ājaśēna⁴-cha[ra*]ṇāya Kanma(Kāṇva)-
 śā-
 18 khāya | Jāta(tu)karṇa-gōtrāya | Vāsi(si)sthātṭa[vat?]*-Jātukarṇa-ēti-prava-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 rāya | Jātukarṇavva(va)ṭṭa(t) Jiva[dvi]jēshṭha[va]d* | (-) anupavarāya
 20 Bhaṭṭaputra-Ja[ksh]aśvā(svā)mi-śarmanā(pō) | mātṭā(tā)-pitṭōr-ātmanas=cha
 21 punyā(ny-ā)bhividdhayē | śa(sa)lila-dhārā-puraśa(ssa)arēṇ-āchandr-ārka kshī-
 22 ti-śa(sa)makālam=akarikṛitya pratipādi[tō*]=sinābhi[h*] yataḥ | śāśa(sa)-
 23 na-darśanād=dharma-gauravā[d=a*]smad-gauravā[ch*]-cha na kēnachi-
 24 t=paripanthina⁵(nā) bhavitavyam | tathā cha paṭhyatē dharmaśāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhiḥ⁶-
 25 r=vasudhā dattā rājāna⁶ Śa(Sa)gar-ādibhiḥ [!]* yasya asya yadā bhūmi[s*]
 26 tasya tasya tadā phalam [!]* Śva(Sva)-dattām para-dattām vā(m vā) yō ha-

Third Plate.

- 27 r[ē]ti(ta) vasundharām [!]* śvavishṭhāyām kṛimīr=bhūtva pitṭibhi[s*]=
 28 śa(sa)ha pachyatē [!]* Mābhuya(bhūd)=aphala-śaṅkā va[h*] paradatt-ēti pā-
 29 rthiva(vāh) | śva(sva)-dānāt=phalam=ānantyam [?]⁷ paradatt-ānupālānē [!]* I-
 30 ti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-bindu-lōlām śri[ya*]m=anuchi-
 31 ntya manuśya(śhya)-ji(ji)vitañ=cha śa(sa)kalām=idam=udāhṛi-
 32 tañ=cha vu(bu)dhā(dhvā) nahi puruṣai[h*] para-ki(ki)rtayō vilōpyā[h*] Dūttagō(takō)-
 33 ttra Mahāsāmanta-śrī-Nāgakhēddi [!]* Mahāpratihāra-Ādi-
 34 tyavarmanā [?]⁷ likhita[m*] | lāñchitañ=cha Mahāśa(sā)ndhivigrahī(hi)ka(hka)-
 35 Chandapākṣa(na) [!]* utki(tki)ṇṇam Ka[nśā](mā)raṅkā(ka)-Dēvapilān=ēti(hi) |

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Ll. 1 to 12. Hail! the glorious *Mahārāja Indravarman* who has acquired a store of virtue by the worship of the lotus feet of the divine lord Gōkarṇaśvara, the almighty master of the animate and the inanimate, who wears the crest ornament of the half-moon, is the cause of existence, genesis and destruction, and who resides on the summit of the *Mahēndra* mountain; —he, possessing the overlordship of the entire *Kaliṅga* country, won by the strength of his own arms, endeared to all his vassals by the pre-eminence of his threefold powers, a great devotee of Śiva and meditator upon the feet of his father and mother, advises and commands, from the

¹ Ka is written below the line between pā and śi.

² Read *yathārarha*.

³ The letter na is cut below the line between pa and mhi.

⁴ The visarga is superfluous.

⁵ Daṇḍa is superfluous.

⁶ Read *Vājasaṇḍya*.

⁷ Read *rājabhiśaśa*.

i.

1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 2. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 3. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 4. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 5. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 6. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 7. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 8. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ii a.

10. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 11. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 12. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 13. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 14. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 15. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 16. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 17. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 18. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ii b.

१०
 २०
 २२
 २४
 २६

iii.

१५ वस्तु वृषांश्च विष्णुर्वां कृष्णं रुद्रं पितृं
 २८ लुप्तं पशुं मेमांस्तु यत्पितृंश्च द्वायपरादनेपि
 धिं वृद्धं दावाहालमा कर्मां पारायनात्पुनरिति
 ३० नित्यं निदला सुविद्युत्ता लं प्रमत्तु
 ३२ मत्तु मत्तु विदिनं च कलसि यत्तु
 ३४ मत्तु मत्तु विदिनं च कलसि यत्तु

residence of Śvētaka, the Mahāsāmanta, Śrīsāmanta, Rājānaka, Rājaputra, Kumārāmātya, Uparika, Daṇḍanāyaka, Viśhayapati, Grāmapati and other officers in the Jalamvōra-vishaya, thus :—

Ll. 12 to 24. Be it well known to you that the land in the village of Amēraśiṅga belonging to this province, bounded on the east by the western face of the tank as far as the river, on the west by the Bhōgapātaka land of Vṛiddhabhōgika, on the north by such limit as you like and on the south by the river as far as the middle of its bed, is granted to Bhaṭṭaputra Ja[ksha]svāmiśarman of the Vājasanēya-charaṇa, Kāṇva-śākhā, Jātukarṇa-gōtra, Vasishṭhāṭṭa(vat)-Jātukarṇa-pravara and Jātukarṇavat-Jivadvijūshṭhavat-anupravara, for the increase of the merit of my father, mother and self, accompanied with the handful of water, to be enjoyed by him as long as the moon, sun and earth last. Nobody, whoever he may be, should interfere with this, out of regard for virtue and myself.

Ll. 24 to 32. It is stated thus in the *Dharma-śāstra*. (Then follow four of the customary benedictive and admonitory verses.)

Ll. 32 to 35. The *dātaka* here is Mahāsāmanta śrī-Nāgakhēddi. (The document was) written by Mahāpratihāra Ādityavarman; the king's seal was affixed (to it) by Mahāsān-dhivigrahika Chandapāka; and it was engraved by Kamsāraka (brazier) Dēvapila.

NO. 24.—TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF EASTERN CHALUKYA PRINCES.

By the late K. V. Lakshmana Rao, M.A., Madras.

The two copper-plate inscriptions which are now for the first time published, with plates, deserve special study by the students of South-Indian history. They are issued by the two brothers Bādapa¹ and Tāla II, sons of Yuddhamalla II, not hitherto known to us. The first of the plates *viz.* the Ārumbāka Plates of Bādapa will be referred to as A and the second *viz.* the Śrīpūṇḍi Plates of Tāla II as B.

A.—THE ĀRUMBĀKA PLATES OF BĀDAPA.

These plates were found in 1921, buried underground in a pot, at a village called Polamūru in the Tanuku tālukā of the Krishna District, Madras Presidency. I received them from a gentleman of that place and forwarded them for examination to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. The ring was not cut when they were first sent to me. They are noticed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1920-21 and are numbered as No. 16 of Appendix A, in that report. I edit the inscription from the original plates and from one set of ink-impressions kindly supplied by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The plates are five in number and measure 4½" high and 9¾" broad and are hung together on a ring 5" in diameter. A massive seal with a diameter of 3¼" is fixed on to the ring. On its surface are cut in relief at the top the figures of the crescent and an *aṅkuśa* in horizontal position placed below it, with the legend Śrī-Tṛibhuvana[m]kuśa cut below the latter.² Below the

¹ This proper name has been read as Bādapa in the *Epigraphical Reports*, Southern Circle, for 1909, p. 108 and for 1920, pp. 86-7. But examining carefully all *ḍa*'s and *da*'s in these two inscriptions and comparing them with each other I have come to the conclusion that the second letter in this word is a dental and not a lingual.

² The last syllable of the legend is put in the second line, to the proper right of the bow.

legend is the figure of the boar standing on a lotus. The figure of the sun is cut towards the proper left of the seal near the head of the boar. The bottom of the seal through which the two ends of the ring are inserted and in which they are fixed, has the petals of a lotus engraved on it. The plates are rather thin and their rims are raised to protect the writing. The material of the plates is pure copper and that of the seal is bronze.

The discoverer of the plates appears to have subjected them to several mechanical and chemical processes of test. The second plate has therefore been broken and a small piece of it has dropped away. In almost all the plates several letters are hopelessly disfigured and could not be deciphered even with the help of a microscope.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There is an admixture of prose and poetry throughout the inscription. Some of the phrases are bodily borrowed from the inscriptions of Amma II such as e.g. the Nāmūru grant published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 61 ff.

I propose to deal with alphabets and orthography of both the inscriptions A and B together, for the sake of convenience. The secondary form of the vowel *a*, which is called *tala-kattu* in Telugu, is a horizontal straight line in B, just as we find the head line in Nāgari letters of to-day. Then, again, the secondary form of *ā* in B is very peculiar. It bends at right angles to the horizontal line on the head of the original letter and generally comes down straight to the foot-level of the letter and sometimes is prolonged a little downwards on the right side, e.g. *tā*, *mā* (l. 1), and *rā* (l. 9). Thus it almost resembles the secondary form of *ā* in Nāgari letters. The secondary form of *ā* in A goes up in a few cases, directly above the original letter like a tail, e.g. *mā*, *nā* (l. 1), *tā* (l. 8), *hā* (l. 23), *jā* (l. 24) and *jā* (l. 39). We find two different symbols for the short and long initial forms of *ri* in B (see ll. 9 and 35); and in the secondary forms a clear distinction is made in both the plates. In A three different ways of representing the secondary form of the vowel *u* are seen. The first of them and the one generally used here and in other inscriptions of the period is prominently to be seen in the letter *bhu* of *bhuvana* (l. 1). The second form, which differs from the first, is found in *pu* of *Hārītiputrānām* (l. 1). Both these forms are prominently visible in l. 37. The third form of the secondary *u* is found in *Kalpataru* (l. 22). Here the secondary form assumes altogether a different shape and resembles the secondary form now used in the Nāgari alphabet. All the three forms of *u* are seen together in line 38, where they can be conveniently compared and contrasted. The first form is used for all the consonants, the second, for *m*, *p* and *y*, and the third is seen only with the consonants *r* and *k* (ll. 21, 23, 25). In B we find only the first and the last of the secondary forms. The last form makes no distinction between the long and short vowel (A. ll. 53, 63; B. l. 25). The secondary form of *ē* is represented in two ways in A, as in *Mahāsēna* (l. 2), and *vallabhēndra* (l. 4). The first of these is placed on the left side of the letter at the foot almost touching it. The second form is over the letter and is perhaps the precursor of the present Telugu *ēvamu*. B has two more forms in addition to the two found in A. The line on the left side comes downwards from the top of the letter as in *Velanāṇḍu* (l. 24). The fourth form, as in *aśvamēdha* (l. 6), and *kṛitaklēśa* (l. 20), resembles the modern secondary form of *ē*. This may be due to the mistake of the engraver. From a study of the palaeography of these inscriptions we find that the Telugu language of that period must have had a short *e*. In A, for instance, the name of the sub-domee is given as *Chandepa* (l. 63), and we can safely infer that the vowel *e* in the syllable *de* is short, as it is in the ninth letter in a foot of the metre called *Indravajrā*. We have again in A and B the word *Velanāṇḍu* with a short *e* on *v* (l. 24). This makes it clear that both the short and long *e* had only one symbol in writing. The secondary form of *e* is written in two ways, e.g. A. *Sarṣ-nātha* (l. 52), *paḍ-āmbhōja* (l. 54); B. *tad-anujā* (l. 19), *gōtrānām* (l. 2). The first is the combination of the secondary forms of *ā* and *ē* and the second one is an

independent symbol. The first method of representing *ṣ* is still found in Telugu only in the case of a few consonants such as *m* and *y*. The secondary form of *ṣ* in A differs from that used in B. In A it appears twice in *Kauṣiki* (l. 1), and *śaucha* (l. 38). This form is common to the other inscriptions of that period. But B uses a form which is the same as that of *ṣ* (*Kauṣiki*, l. 2). Perhaps this again is due to the error committed by the engraver. The vowel *ri* is usually confounded with the consonant *ri* and *vice versa*, e.g. on the seal of A we have *Tribhuvanāmbuśa* instead of *Tribhuvanāmbuśa*, *bhrīśam* for *bhṛīśam* (l. 33).

Coming to the consonants, we must note the existence of *ḷa*, marked in this inscription by the symbol *ḷ* (A. l. 26; B. l. 19). This sound is represented in Tamil by *ḷ*. Dravidian philologists were not aware of the existence of this sound in Telugu. The Bezvada pillar inscription¹ of Yuddhamalla II prominently brought it into light.² This is of course a purely Dravidian sound. In B it appears in the proper name *Tāḷa* (ll. 17, 19). The word *Tāḷa* is found in many inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas and is spelt in various ways, such as *Tāḍa*, *Tāḷa*, *Tāḷa*, *Tāḷa*. This variation in spelling is a sure indication that the second consonant of this word, which was originally *ḷa*, gradually gave way to *ḍa* in the Telugu country and to *ḷa* in the Kanarese country.

In both the plates the *anuvāras* followed by a letter of the *ta-varga* or *ṭa-varga* are invariably changed into the nasal of that *varga*, e.g. A. *manyantē* (l. 31), *Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa* (l. 48); B. *Velanāṇḍu* (l. 24). A special symbol is used for the compound letter *ñcha*, e.g. A. l. 65; B. l. 37. This symbol is almost similar in both these plates. In cases where letters of other *vargas* follow, the *anuvāra* is shown as such invariably and the nasal of the *varga* is never used in its place. So the southern system of representing the nasals of the *vargas* by *anuvāras*³ was already in vogue in the tenth century as far as the first, second and the fifth *vargas* (*k*, *ch*, *p*) were concerned.

The inscription begins with the usual eulogy of the Chālukya race found in numerous other Chālukya inscriptions, and then enumerates in order the names, the mutual relations and the periods of the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya kings from Kubja-Vishnuvardhana to Bhimarāja or Chālukya-Bhīma II. All the details here given agree with those generally found in the other inscriptions of this family. The last king mentioned in the plates as the immediate predecessor of Bādapa, the donor, is Amma II, son of Chālukya-Bhīma II. The length of his reign, which we know from other sources to be twenty-five years, is not given in this inscription. Amma II is praised (ll. 16-17) as a virtuous king who ruled the country of Vēṅgi together with Trikalīṅga, properly and justly, according to the injunctions of *dharma*. However, Bādapa, the donor, who was the son of Yuddhamalla II of a collateral branch, defeated and sent into exile Amma II with the help of one Karṇarāja-Vallabha (ll. 17-18). Bādapa further claims to have defeated other *dayās* (i.e., *dayādas*), to have held the titles of 'Samastabhuvanāśraya, Vijayāditya-Mahārāja, Paramēśvara, Paramamāhēśvara and Paramabhaṭṭāraka' (ll. 22-23). He had also the title 'Adhirāja' (v. 2).

Tracing next, the genealogy of the donee, the plates refer first to a certain [Bā]lāditya who had a son called Nṛipakāma. His wife was Nāyamambā. To them was born Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa who was a famous archer (l. 55). To this Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa was given by Bādapa the village of Ārumbāka situated in the Velanāṇḍu-vishaya. Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa in his turn gave

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 150. Mr. Ramayya Pantulu, however, thinks that the first portion of the inscription may refer to Yuddhamalla I.

² See my note on this inscription; above, Vol. XV.

³ The system is now found among the Marāṭhās, the Telugu and the Kanarese people. The Tamilians, however, follow the north Indian system, [apparently, because there is no *anuvāra* in that alphabet.—Ed.]

the village to one Chandena who was the son of his mother's younger sister (ll. 59-61). The boundaries of the granted village are:—to the east Cherakumballi, to the south Śrīpūṇḍi, to the west Kāvūru, to the north Gōmaḍuvu. The executor of the grant was Kaṭakanripa; the poet, Ayyana-bhaṭṭa; and the engraver, Bhaṭṭadēva.

Karparāja-Vallabha, as the epithet Vallabha clearly indicates, was a Rāshtrakūṭa king and evidently the same as Kanna (or Kṛishṇa) III who was a contemporary of Amma II and ruled from A.D. 939 to 968. The poet of our plates, of course, mistook the word Kanna for the *tadbhava* of Karṇa, while in reality it is the *Prākṛita-tadbhava* of the word Kṛishṇa.

Though no date is given in the inscription itself, it is not difficult to fix it. Bādapa claims to have conquered Amma II and to have reigned immediately after him.¹ We know from several inscriptions that Amma II ruled for twenty-five years (A.D. 945-970). We can, therefore, safely infer that Bādapa issued this inscription after he established himself as the king of the Vēṅḡ country after A.D. 970. Following the statement made in the inscriptions of the later Chālukya kings commencing with Śaktivarman, a period of 27 years, viz. A.D. 973-999, is generally considered by historians as an interregnum in the history of the Eastern Chālukyas. But these plates of Bādapa and Tāla reveal to us for the first time that there was no real interregnum during that period, but that the collateral or junior line then ruled the country sending the senior line into exile. The interregnum was only from the point of view of the senior line, whose members, driven away from the Telugu country, had to spend their time for 27 or 30 years in the Tamil or the Kanarese countries. The so-called interregnum (*asvāmika*) does not connote absence of rulers or anarchy in the Telugu country, as has been represented by the Chālukyan kings of the post-restoration period or has hitherto been believed by some scholars, but only suggests the complete exclusion of the members of the senior branch from the Vēṅḡ and Kalinga countries. I shall discuss in detail the history of this period (the so-called interregnum) in the light of these and other plates, in a separate article.²

The villages mentioned in the inscription can easily be identified. Ārumbāka, the village granted, is found by the same name in the tālukā of Repalle in the Guntur District. The other villages mentioned in the plates are also found now in the vicinity of Ārumbāka. They are all around it within a radius of four miles. Śrīpūṇḍi is now known as Śrīpūḍi; Cherakumballi is now called Cherukumilli; Kāvūru has not changed its name even now.³ I am told Gōmaḍuvu is the same as Gōvāḍa which is three miles to the north of Ārumbāka, in the Tenali tālukā. I must here add that the village Śrīpūṇḍi, which is described as the southern boundary of Ārumbāka in these plates, is the subject of a gift by Bādapa's younger brother Tāla II as found in Plate B below. All these villages were situated in the Velanāṇḍu-rishaya⁴ at the time of the gift.

The donee of the grant is one Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa and the sub-donee is his aunt's son Chandena. The donee and his ancestors are described in the plates at great length and with a flourish of rhetoric, in more than thirty lines (ll. 25-55). The grandfather of the donee was an expert archer like Paraśurāma and Arjuna (l. 26). His son Nṛipakāma was also an archer and was

¹ [It is very doubtful if this is so. The participle *विजित्वा* cannot indicate that Bādapa had once for all ousted Amma II from the Eastern Chālukya throne. He might have temporarily displaced him for a time. The Māṅallu plates (*A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1917, Part II, paragraph 24) clearly state that Amma II in the 11th year of his reign had to go to fight with Kṛishṇa, i.e. the Vallabha Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, who befriended Bādapa according to the Ārumbāka plates.—H. K. S.]

² [It is very much to be regretted that this promised article is never to come, for Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao is now dead. Had he been spared to us, he would have made his mark in the field of Epigraphy, as he actually did in his wide researches in Telugu literature and philology.—Ed.]

³ Vide Taluk map of Repalle, published by the Survey Office, Madras.

⁴ See above, Vol. IV, p. 33.

entitled 'Kārmuk-ārjuna' (ll. 30-33) and the 'Lord of the Lake' (Sarō-nātha) (l. 35). He was also called Satya-Ballāta (l. 49). Nṛipakāma seems to have been a petty chieftain perhaps of the Lake region, i.e. Kollāru, well known for his valour, benevolence and patronage to learning. He was a worshipper of god Śiva (l. 41) and is said to have killed five warriors at a time with his sword (l. 43). By his wife Nāyamambā, he had a son, the donee Bhāskara surnamed Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa (v. 23). We can identify the father and the mother of our donee with the father-in-law and the mother-in-law of Amma II, as stated in his Guṇḍugolana plates.¹ These clearly tell us that Nṛipakāma aka Sarō-nātha (Lord of the Lake), also a worshipper of god Śiva, was the father-in-law of the king, and that Nāyamambā was his mother-in-law.² Thus Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa was the brother-in-law of Amma II. It is therefore very strange that Bādapa who drove away Amma II should patronise his brother-in-law Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa. But we know that in times of revolt and revolution, political adventurers change their allegiance very often. Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa was, perhaps, also related to Bādapa and was instrumental in overthrowing Amma II and the senior line.

The sub-donee to whom Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa gifted away the village was the son of his mother's younger sister Sā[ma]kāmā. As the plates were issued by and under the seal of Bādapa and not by Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, it is clear that the sub-donation was also recognised by the king.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 स्मृति⁴ [*॥] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसंगोदाणां हारोतिपुत्राणां
कौशिकी-
- 2 वरप्रसादलब्धराज्याणां⁵ मातृगणपरिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातानां
भगवन्नारा-
- 3 यणप्रसादसमासादितवर[व]राहलांकुणे⁶ क्षणक्षणवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानां⁷ मन्त्रमेधा-
- 4 'वभृथक्षानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां [कु]लमलां⁸ करिणीः सत्याश्रयवक्त्रमेन्द्रस्य
भ्राता कु-
- 5 रजविष्णुवर्धनोष्टादश वर्षाणि [वे]गी[दे]शमपालयत् । तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्रयसिं-
- 6 श[तं] । तदनुजेन्द्रराज[नन्दनो] विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तत्सूनुर्मगियुवराजः
पञ्चविंशति⁹ [*]
- 7 तरपुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्र[योदश] । त[दव]रजः¹⁰ कौकिलिः षणमासान् [*] तस्य
ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णु-
- 8 वर्धनस्तमुच्चाव्य सप्तविंश[तं] । तरपुत्रो विजयादित्यभट्टारकोष्टादश । तत्स¹¹तो
विष्णुवर्ध-

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 248.² A floral device precedes this word.³ Read 'मन्त्रमेधाम'.⁴ Read कौकिलिः.⁵ Ibid., ll. 23-25.⁶ Read 'उद्यानां'.⁷ Read 'मल्लक'.⁸ Read 'रघु'.⁹ From the original plates,¹⁰ Read 'नेक्ष'.¹¹ Read विंशति,

- 9 मः षट्त्रिंशत् । तत्सुतो विजयादित्यनरेन्द्रमृगराजखाष्टचत्वारिंशत् ।
तत्सुतः कलिबिण्णव-
10 ईनो[ऋष्वर्षे] [1*] तत्सुतो गुणगांविजयादित्यसुतसत्वारिंशत् । तदनुज-
युवराजवि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 11 क्रमाद्रित्यभूष[तेस्तनयश्चक्रुस्वभीम]भूपालस्त्रिंशत्¹ । तत्पुत्रः कोकबिगण्डविजयादि-
12 त्यः षण्मासान् [1*] तत्सुतोवरा[जसप्तवर्षाणि] .[1] तत्सुतं विजयादित्यवा-
लमुञ्चात् तालपो मा-
13 समेक² । तं जित्वा चालुक्य[भीमसूनु]र्विक्रमादित्य एकादश मासान् [1*]
ततस्तालपराजस्व
14 सुतो युद्धमङ्गः सप्त वर्षाणि । तं जित्वा कोकबिगण्ड[वि]जयादित्यसुतो
भीमराजो द्वादश वर्षा-
15 णि । तस्य महेन्द्र[सू]र्तः भीमभूपतेः उमासमानाकृतः लोकमहादेव्याः कु-
16 माराभः खलु यस्मिन्भवदम्भराजाख्यः असौ सम्यग्धर्मन्यायेन वंगोदेशं त्रि-
17 कलिंगसहितं रक्षति स्म [1] आश्रित्य क[र्ण]राजाख्यवक्त्रं बादपाधिपः [1*]
विनिर्गम्य तन्दे-⁴
18 [शा]दम्भराजाख्यमुज्जित⁵ [1] [1*] जित्वा⁶ [दा]यान्मदित्वा रिपुनिकरमथा-
भ्यर्तिर्षा⁷ वसुराशिं दत्वा [संपू]ज्य द-
19 म्भून्सकलगुणगणालंकृतो[त्तं]माकीर्तिः[ः] [1*] मानी धीरः प्रतापो मनुमतचरितः
पालयन्भाति भू-
20 मिं ।⁸ वेंगीशो युद्धमङ्गलितपतितनयो बादपाख्याधिराजः [1*] यस्मिन्
शासति नृपतौ ।⁹ परिपक्वा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 नेकसस्यसंपत्सहितः । भमति¹⁰ धर्मानुरक्तो निरीतिरपरुद्धिरस्तचोरो देशः ॥
[1*] मनुनिव सकलजनानां जन[क]
22 इवाशेषमृत्यवर्गाणां [1*] काम इव [क]ामिनोनामर्त्यजनानां च
कल्पतरुः ॥[1*] स्व¹¹ समस्तभुवनान्ययत्रोविजया-

¹ Read °स्त्रिंशत्.

² The *anusvāra* is marked on the left top corner of the letter *ka*.

³ Read °विभिन्.

⁴ Read तं द्देश°.

⁵ Read °मूर्जित.

⁶ [Perhaps the traces of the letter in brackets indicate a *ka*.—Ed.]

⁷ Read °ना.

⁸ Read °सुग°.

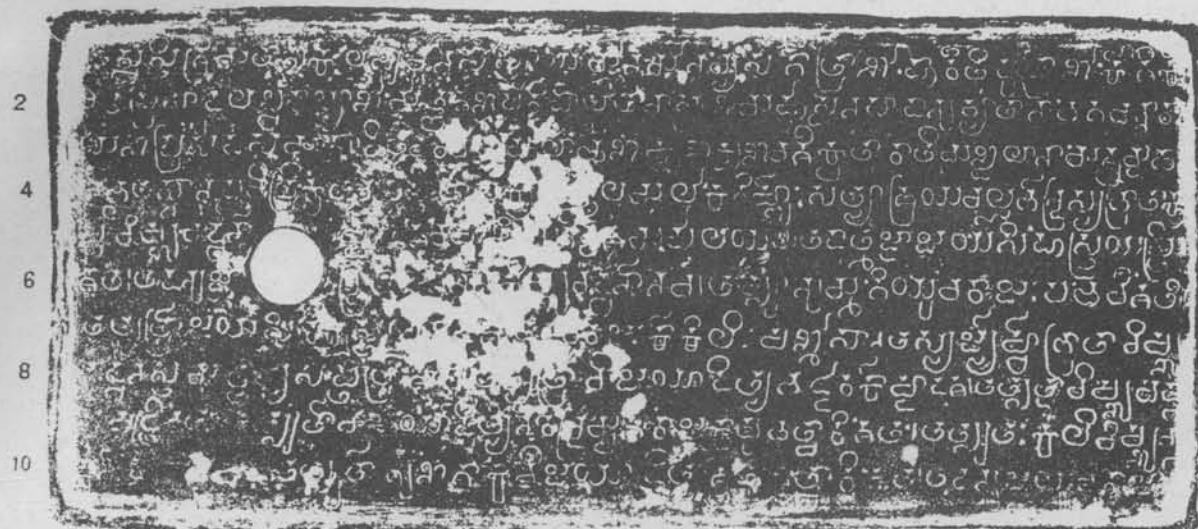
⁹ *Danda* is not needed.

¹⁰ Read भवति.

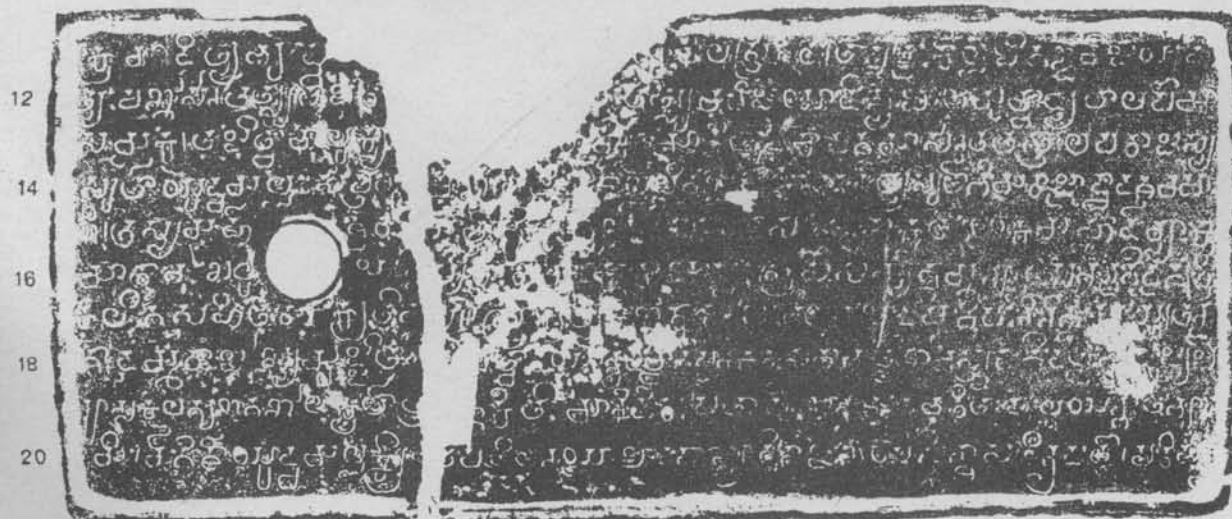
¹¹ Read सु°.

ARUMBAKA PLATES OF BADAPA.

i.



ii a.



ii b.



iii a.

32

34

36

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pali, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

iii b.

38

40

42

44

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pali, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

iv a.

46

48

50

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pali, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf.

- 23 दित्यमहाराजाधिरा[जप]रसे[स्वर]: परमभट्टारकः परममाहेश्वरः परमब्रह्मण्यो
मातापितृपादानु-
- 24 ध्यायी वेक्षणाच्छुविमयनिवासि[नो राक्षकूट]प्रसुखान्ध^१ स्फुटिद्विमुखमाह्वयेत्य-
मात्रापयति [॥*] विदितम-
- 25 स्तु वः श्रेष्ठो यस्य धनुर्धरः[कलि]युगे तत्कार्य^२वोर्यापहः भूयो जात इति
प्र^३कर्मास-
- 26 हिमो रामार्जुनाभ्यां सन्धः^४ । ^५[बा]८७१दित्यविशेषनामविजुतो धर्मो
रतस्त्ववाक् (१) द्वा[ता]
- 27 विद्विष्टकालानलः ।[१५*] तत्पुत्रो नृपकाम
इत्यभिनुतस्त्वप्रति-
- 28 [नो ध]नुर्धर्मं चाप्य विख्यातशौर्याकरः [१*] यद्वाष्ट्रे
पथि गच्छतां च पवणी^६ नास-
- 29 सय[त्य]^७ङ्कं चोरे ता यस्य प्रतापानलैः [॥ ६*]
स काम^८कजितारित्वात्काम^९का-
- 30 कर्जुनामभृत् [१*] सत्यै[क] [सत्यवक्त्रा]त^{१०}सैन्नकः [॥ ७*]
^{११}धीमन्तो गुरुमग्रजन्मनिकरा व्या-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 31 [सं] सहायं नृपाः [प्रोत्या] स्वजनकं कल्पद्रुमं चारिणः^{१०} [१*]
मन्यन्तेपि स-
- 32 दैकभूर्जितमनेकं पारर्थमुष्टम्विनः चित्रं श्रीवरकामुकार्जुननृपं कामा-^{११}
[स्व]कामा[ः*] स्त्रियः [॥] [८*]
- 33 यच्छौर्यं युधि वैरिभूपनिवहव्याघातजातं ^{१२}श्विग्रं यद्दानं द्विजसंश्रि-
- 34 तारिर्जनसङ्ग्रहि^{१३}क्रियापे[श*]लं । यरकोर्त्तिस्त्रकलाश्च चन्द्रधव-
- 35 ला शुभ्रीकरोति क्षि[ति] सोयं भाति सुकाम^{१४}कर्जुनसरोनाथोर्जितो वी-
- 36 र्यवान् ॥[८*] कनति सन्नुपकामसरःपति[ः*] श्रितजनाननपद्मसुनन्दनः ।
इह सदी-
- 37 दितिरंशुनिधिः क्षितो^{१५} (१) रिपुतमोनुदिनेन^{१५} समीनघः ।[१ १०*] दानोदार-
दयाबलप्र-

^१ Read °न्यांस्फुटि°.

^२ Read समः.

^३ Read पवनी.

^४ The letters श्रीमन्तो गु are written on an erasure.

^५ Read कामं सवामा°.

^६ Read क्षिदी.

^७ Read तत्कार्तवौर्यापहः.

^८ [The letter in brackets looks more like म than न. — Ed.]

^९ Read °स्यङ्कं.

^{१०} Read भृशं.

^{११} Read समीनुदनेन.

^{१२} Read प्रकृष्ट°.

^{१३} Read संश्रिः.

^{१४} Read चारिणः.

^{१५} Read दंत°.

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 38 क[टितप्रा]वीक्ष्यशौचक्षमामानालंघ्यशिवार्चनोत्तुगुणमुक्ताहारसंभूषितः [1*]
 39 दीनानाथनटान्धननकविवाग्मीन्द्रहिजानन्दक्रि'ज्ञाति प्रस्तुतकोर्त्तिमान्पुण्ययो
 40 श्री[स]त्त्ववज्ञातराट् [॥११*] ध्र[वल]गुणो धवलयशो धवलितदिग्म'ण्डलो-
 [व]दमितारा-
 41 तिः । भवभक्तो भवकर्णोद्भवभवभोगान्वितो विभाति सुकीर्त्तिः [॥ १२*]
 अर्कप्रता-
 42 पोरिरिडयधन्वी श्रीक्रीष्णमाज्ञाकरुणाश्री(त्रि)तोमीः [1*] एनःचिदस्यां भुवि भाति
 नित्यं ।²
 43 सत्त्वाश्रितस्तनूपकाम[शो]रि[:*] ।[११३*] योवधीत्सुरिकेशैकः पंचवीरान्वला-
 रस्तयः⁴ । पु⁵ -
 44 [र्णात्ति]धनुषा 'शतसहस्रान्युधि भाति सः ।[१४*] ब्रह्मयेन्द्रकि'वीकेश-
 कुमाराणां

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 45 [य]थाभव'न्वाग्धूमाश्वोत्तल्ली ।³जयश्री सुभमा[:*] स्त्रियः ॥[१५*] तथा तेषां
 सम-
 46 स्याभूषणकामसरःपतेः [1*] तासां⁹ समा प्रिया भार्या नायसंबा¹⁰ इति
 47 [श्र]ता ।[१६*] सर्वलक्षणसंपन्ना सर्वभरणभूषिता । सर्वस्त्रीधर्मतत्त्वज्ञा श्री-
 48 ल[हत्तव]ती सती ॥[१७*] तस्यां पतिव्रतायां च गण्डनारायणाह्वयः[11] [1*] स-
 49 त्ववज्ञातनामांकः पावं पुत्रमजोजनत् ॥[१८*] उमाहृषांकयोर्य-
 50 [था] गुह[श]चि¹²न्दयोरिव [1*] जयस्त इत्यभूत्सुतः तयोश्च तत्त्वमानयोः [॥] [१९*]
 51 [व्यु]ढोरस्को वृषस्कन्दः¹³ स्कन्दप्रतिमविक्रमः [1*] महोत्साही महोद्योगी महा-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 52 बाहुर्भृशबलः ॥[२०*] नृपकामसरोनाथपुत्रो ज्येष्ठोतिबुद्धिमान्ग¹⁴ण्डनारायण[:*]
 53 श्रीमाण्गजाश्वारूढकोशलः¹⁵ ॥[२१*] पटुसूरशुचिर्हृद्यशैल¹⁶[हत्तगु]णान्वितः [1*]
 धनुषस्त्यु-

¹ Read 'कृष्णाति'.² Read 'दिङ्म'.³ [Danda is unnecessary.—Ed.]⁴ Read 'तत्त्वय'.⁵ Read 'पु'°. The two letters at the beginning of the next line look like नः स on the original plate.⁶ Read 'श्रव'°.⁷ Read 'पु'°.⁸ Read 'मवन् । वाग्'°.⁹ Read 'तासां'.¹⁰ [The anusvara is placed on the syllable नृ.—Ed.]¹¹ Read 'हृद्य'°.¹² Read 'वीन्द'°.¹³ Read 'स्वय'°.¹⁴ Read 'हिमान् । वय'°.¹⁵ [I would read it as 'तोह'°.—Ed.] ¹⁶ Read 'पटुसूरशुचिर्हृद्यशैल'°.

ir b.

52
 54
 56
 58

ra.

60
 62
 64
 66

rb.

68

SEAL.



FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

- 54 वृषभेष्टः[*] श्रेष्ठ-सर्व्वकलासु च ॥[२२*] मातापितृपादांभोजभूमरो भास्क-
 55 रो नृ[णां] [१*] गङ्गानारायणादौ यस्मिन्वृषभेष्टाभिः^१ वरः ॥[२३*] तस्मै
 वादपराजाधि-
 56 [रा]जो रा[जे]नृपुंगवः [१*] प्रीतः प्रादात्तद्वापाममांसांवाकेति विभुतः^२ ॥[२४*]
 तस्मै ग-
 57 [गङ्गानारा]यणाय वेलनाङ्गविषये आहंवात्तनामपामं^३ सर्व्वजगत्परिहारं
 58 [ताम]शासनी[कृत्य म]या दत्त इति ॥ वादपराजेन्द्रेण दत्त (दत्त)^४ पामं^५ स्वीकृत्वा^६

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 59 . . गङ्गानारायणः[*] स्वयं स्वमतुर्वात्तमायाः कनीयसी सहीदरी सा-
 60 [म]कां^७वां त[स्याः पु]त्रचन्देनाख्यः ॥^८तस्मै चन्दे[णा]ख्याय स्वीकृतमाहंवाकनाम-
 61 [प्रा]मं^{१०}सुदक[पूर्व] प्रादात् [४*] तं पामं स्वीकृत्वा^७ चन्देनाख्यः कलान्^{११} स्वीकृत्वा^८
 पूर्व्वचन्द्र इव भा-
 62 जति त्वा [॥*] शूरः कुमारकुम्भ[टा]मन्त्रकरोत्तराणां सकलागमयः [१*]
 कावस्थवा-
 63 ग्गर्व्वितशत्रुहन्ता चा[रु]दयो भाति सुचन्देनार्यः ॥[२५*] तस्य पामस्या-
 वधयः पूर्व्व-
 64 तः चेत्तुंजुञ्जि दक्षिणतः श्रीपूणि पश्चिमतः कावूर उत्तरतः गोमडुनु ॥
 तस्य पाम-
 65 स्तोपरि न केनचिद्वाधा कर्त्तव्या यः करोति स पञ्चमहापातकसंयुक्तो
 भवति । स्वद-
 66 तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधरां [१*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्टा(हा)यां
 जायते कृमिः ॥[२६*] व्यासेना[र्यु]-

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

- 67 तं [१*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमि^{१२}तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥[२७*] आश्रमि-
 68 [ः] क[ट]कनृपः कविरय्यनभट्टसर्व्वशास्त्रज्ञः [१*] लिखितं भट्टदेवेन शासनमा-
 चन्द्रतारार्कम् ॥ [२८*]

^१ Read °वृषभेष्टः.

^२ Read °भुतः.

^३ Read perhaps विभुतः.

^४ Read °पामस्यर्व्वं.

^५ The syllables दत्त repeated for the second time have been erased in the original.

^६ [The plate shows मः.—Ed.]

^७ Read स्वीकृत्य.

^८ Read कला. [The anusvāra is placed on the syllable वा.—Ed.]

^९ [Dandas are unnecessary.—Ed.]

^{१०} Read पामं.

^{११} Read कलाः.

^{१२} Read सुख.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1,5). Hail! The brother of **Satyāśraya-Vallabhāśrēṣṭha**—an ornament to the family of the blessed **Chālukyas**, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the **Mānavyas** praised by the whole world, who are the sons of **Hārīti**, who acquired (*their*) kingdom through the favour of (the goddess) **Kausītī**, who are protected by the assemblage of (*divine*) **Mātṛis**, who meditate on the feet of god **Mahāsēna**, who have subdued the realms of (*their*) enemies in a moment by the (*mere*) sight of (*their*) superior **boar-banner** which was obtained by the grace of Lord **Nārāyaṇa**, and who have purified their bodies by **sacred bathings** (*performed*) at the end of horse sacrifices,—was **Kubja-Vishnuvardhana**.

(Ll. 5-15). (He) ruled the **Vēṅgī** country for 18 years; his son **Jāyasīmha**, for 33 (*years*); **Vishnuvardhana**, the son of his younger brother **Indrarāja**, for 9 (*years*); his son **Maṅgi-Yuvarāja**, for 25 (*years*); his son **Jāyasīmha**, for 13 (*years*); his younger brother **Kokkili**, for 6 months; dethroning him, his elder brother **Vishnuvardhana**, for 37 (*years*); his son **Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka**, for 18 (*years*); his son **Vishnuvardhana**, for 36 (*years*); his son **Vijayāditya-Narēndra-Mṛigārāja**, for 48 (*years*); his son **Kali-Vishnuvardhana**, for a year and a half; his son **Gunagāṇika-Vijayāditya**, for 44 (*years*); king **Chālukya-Bhīma**, the son of his younger brother **Yuvarāja-Vikramāditya**, for 30 (*years*); his son **Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya**, for 6 months; his son **Ambarāja**, for 7 years; dethroning his son **Vijayāditya**, who was a boy, **Tālapa** for one month; having conquered him, **Chālukya-Bhīma**'s son **Vikramāditya**, for 11 months. Then **Talaparāja**'s son **Yuddhamalla** (*ruled*) for 7 years. Having conquered him, **Bhīmarāja**, the son of **Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya** (*reigned*) for 12 years.

(Ll. 15-17). This king **Bhīma**, the personification of **Mahāśvara**, begot by his wife **Lōka-mahādēvi**, who resembled **Umā** in form, a son called **Ammarāja** who resembled **Kumāra**. This (**Ammarāja**) ruled well the **Vēṅgī** country with **Trikaliṅga**, according to the injunctions of **Dharma**.

(Verse 1). **Bādapa** with the help of the **Vallabha** (*king*) called **Karṇarāja** drove away from the country the prosperous (*king*) called **Ammarāja**.

(V. 2). Having defeated the *ādyaś*¹ (*agnates*) and crushed the multitude of enemies, given a heap of things to supplicants and honoured his relations, the **Adhirāja** called **Bādapa**, son of king **Yuddhamalla**, lord of **Vēṅgi**, rules the earth and conducts himself according to the injunctions of **Manu**, adorned with all virtues. He is highly famous and valurous, a man of self-respect and a warrior.

(V. 3). During the reign of this king the country, rich with abundance of many and full-grown crops, was mindful of its duties (*dharma-anurakta*) and free from calamities, diseases and thieves.

(V. 4). He was a **Manu** to all his subjects, a father to all his servants, Cupid to women and a desire-fulfilling tree to supplicants.

(Ll. 22-25). He, **Samastabhūvanāśraya**, **śrī-Vijayāditya**, **Mahārājādhirāja**, **Paramēśvara** **Paṇṣambhaṭṭāraka**, the great worshipper of **Mahāśvara** (**Śiva**), most hospitable to Brahmins, one who concentrates his mind on the feet of his parents, having called together all the chiefs of families headed by the **Rāshṭrakūṭas** residing in **Velanāṇḍu-vishaya**, orders (*them*) thus:—"Be it known to you".

(V. 5). There is one who is well-known by the famous name of [**Bhī**]āditya, a superior archer whose greatness is taken for that of a re-incarnation of the Destroyer of **Kārtavīrya** (*i.e.*, **Paraśurāma**) in the **Kali** age, who is equal to **Rama** and **Arjuna** (*in archery*), is devoted to **Dharma**, speaks the truth, and is the saviour of and a fire of destruction to his enemies.

¹ [See foot-note on Text I, 13.—Ed.]

(Vv. 6 and 7). His son, known as **Nṛipakāma**, is one who never swerves from his word in the practice of the bow and well-known as a mine of prowess. Besides, in his kingdom, on the roads, the cloths of the travellers are not even loosened by the winds; the robbers by the fire of his prowess. He received the appellation of **Kārmuk-ārjuna** (an Arjuna in archery) because he conquered his enemies with a bow, and the title **Satyaballāta** because

(V. 8). The excellent king **Kārmukārjuna** is taken by crowds of wise Brahmins to be the teacher (*guru*) Vyāsa; by kings, to be a helper; . . . to be their father; and by supplicants, to be the desire-fulfilling tree. It is a wonder that by great archers, he is taken to be many **Pārthas** (Arjuns) though (*he is*) one (unequalled) and victorious (*hero*), and by passionate women to be Cupid (the god of beauty).

(V. 9). His valour, indeed, is born in the heavy blows dealt in battle-fields to the multitude of enemy-kings; his charity is charming by satisfying (*fully the wishes of*) Brahmins, dependents and supplicants; his glory, white as the moon, purifies (or makes white) the whole world. So shines he, the good **Kārmukārjuna**, **Sarō-nātha** (lord of the lake), powerful and victorious.

(V. 10). The noble and good **Nṛipakāma**, lord of the lake (*Sarāhpati*), shines on this earth like the sun, a repository of brilliance (or rays) to the delight of the lotus-like faces of his dependents, always rising and destroying the darkness, viz. the enemies.

(V. 11). He is adorned with the pearl necklace of great virtues, such as charity, unstinted kindness, strength, . . . proficiency, purity, forgiveness, respectability and inestimable worship of Śiva; he is the source of pleasure to the poor, the forlorn, the actors, the blind, the naked, the poets, great orators and Brahmins. So shines the illustrious and famous chief **Satyaballāta**, the conqueror in battle-fields.

(V. 12). With pure virtues and unsullied fame, he brightens the points of the compass, destroying his enemies. He, the devotee of Bhava (Śiva), enjoys the pleasures of this world through the grace of Bhava and is very famous.

(V. 13). With prowess like that of the sun he destroys his enemies and is the foremost of archers, the abode of wealth, modesty, forgiveness, authority and mercy, and the fearless one. This Śāuri (Vishnu), viz. the good king **Nṛipakāma**, patronising truthfulness, shines always in this world, a destroyer of sins.

(V. 14). Strong and glorious, he killed single-handed with his sword five warriors (*at a time*), and with full(*-stretched*) bow, thousands of enemies in the battle-field.

(V. 15). Just as the gods Brahma, Īśa (Śiva), Indra, Hrishikēśa (Vishnu) and Kumāra (Skanda), have for their beautiful wives the Goddess of Speech (Sarasvatī), Umā, Śachi, Lakshmi and Jayasri (the Goddess of Victory), respectively,

(V. 16). so, **Nṛipakāma-Sarāhpati**, who resembled those gods, had a wife who was dear to him and who resembled those (*goddesses*) and was well-known as (*i.e.*, by the name of) **Nayamambā**.

(V. 17). She had (*on her body*) all auspicious signs and was adorned with all ornaments. She knew the principles of all the duties of a woman, and was a house-wife (*sati*) possessed of virtuous character and conduct.

(V. 18). By that devoted wife he, surnamed **Satyaballāta**, begot a worthy son named **Gaṇḍanārjuna**.

(V. 19). Just as Guha (Skanda) was born to Umā and Śiva, (*or*) Jayanta to Śachi and Indra, a son was born to them who were equal to those two divine pairs.

(V. 20). With an expanded chest and shoulders like those of a bull, he resembled Skanda in valour. With strong arms and extraordinary strength, he possessed great energy and perseverance.

(Vv. 21-23). The illustrious Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, the eldest son of Nṛipakāma-Sarṇātha, was highly intelligent and proficient in mounting elephants and horses. He was strong, brave, pure, clever and possessed virtuous character and conduct and good qualities. He was the best among the archers and the most proficient in all the arts. This sun among men named Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa is the best of all warriors and a bee at the lotus-like feet of (his) parents.

(V. 24). To him Bādapa, the king of kings, and the mightiest among great kings, being pleased, gave the big and famous village Ārumbāka saying :—

(Ll. 56-58). "I have given to Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa having issued an order on plates of copper the village called Ārumbāka in Velanāṇḍu-vishaya free of all taxes."

(Ll. 58-62). Having accepted the village granted by Bādapa, the best of kings, Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa, in his turn, gave, with an oblation of water, the thus accepted village named Ārumbāka to Chandēṇa who was the son of Sā[ma]kāmā, the uterine younger sister of his (Gaṇḍanārāyaṇa's) mother Nāyamambā. After accepting the village, (the said) Chandēṇa shone like the full moon who receives the (sixteen) kalas (phases).

(V. 25). Resplendent is the good Chandanārya, a brave young man, the foremost of good warriors, who, among men of the Saras (lake-lords), possesses the knowledge of all the āgamas, is compassionate, is the destroyer of proud enemies and is rising fortune.¹

(Ll. 63-64). The boundaries of that village (are) : to the east Cherakumballi, to the south Śrīpūṇḍi, to the west Kāvūru, (and) to the north Gōmaḍuvu.

(Ll. 64-67). No one shall interfere with this village. If any one so interferes, he shall incur the five great sins.

[Here follow the two imprecatory verses (26 and 27), viz., सदनं परदनं etc. and बहुभिर्बहुष etc. (sung by Vyāsa), which are well-known.]

(V. 28). The executor (ājñapti) (of this order) is Kaṭaka-nṛipa; the poet is Ayyanabhaṭṭa who knows all the śāstras. The edict was written by Bhaṭṭadēva, to last as long as the moon, the stars and the sun would last.

B.—THE ŚRĪPŪṆḌI PLATES OF TĀLA II.

These copper-plates, registered as No. 5 of Appendix A of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1908-09, were received from the Collector of Guntūr in 1908 by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and noticed by him at page 108, paragraph 61 of the same report. But it may be noted that these plates had been examined, transcribed and included, already about A.D. 1800, in the Mackenzie Collection of Manuscripts.² In one of the copies of the plates thus preserved it is remarked that 'the original copper-plates were found buried in the ground, some fifteen years before, in the village of Śrīpūṇḍi by the karnams of the place'. It is further noted that there was a tradition in the village that it was given by a king called Viṣṇuvardhana to some Bhaṭṭarāja—a Telugu caste, analogous to the Bhaṭṭas of Rājputāna.

The inscription consists of five plates with raised rims measuring in height $8\frac{1}{4}$ " and in breadth $3\frac{1}{2}$ " to $3\frac{3}{4}$ ". The first and last plates are written only on the inner side. They are strung on a circular copper ring measuring $4\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter and nearly $\frac{3}{8}$ " in thickness. The

¹ [and possesses a lovely appearance. —Ed.]

² See Bk. No. (15-5-30), pp. 179-182; Bk. No. (5-6-21), pp. 136-138, and Bk. N. (15-5-35), pp. 41-43, preserved in the Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. The second, the third and No. 5 of 1908-09 (Appendix A of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*) have been noticed by Mr. V. Rangacharya in his *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, as Gt. 539, 607 and Ms. 185 and are given as separate copper-plates, while in reality they are copies of the same. In one of the copies (viz. Bk. 15-5-35) *Rāshṭrakūṭa* is read as *Sowrāshṭra*, *Śrīpūṇḍi* as *Śrīvāru*, *Velanāṇḍu-vishaya* as *Telugunṭi-gōshṭi*, and *Ravivarmachārya* as *Kaei-harmadharmachārya*.

ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal measuring $2\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. The bottom is fashioned into a flower of several petals which support the seal. An expanded lotus flower and above it the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanasiha* are cut in relief on the seal but are slightly damaged. Above the legend is a standing boar facing the proper left with the tip of its snout slightly raised. Above the boar is an *aṅkura* laid in a horizontal position and above the latter, the crescent with a dot which latter, perhaps, stands for the symbol of the sun. The ring had been cut when the plates reached the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent's office. The plates are in a perfect state of preservation, and not a single letter is illegible as the work of engraving was most carefully done. They are now deposited in the Madras Museum.¹ Remarks on the palaeography and orthography of this inscription have been included in my introduction to the grant A above.

The inscription commences with the usual titles of the Eastern Chālukyas beginning with the words "*Svasti Śrīmatām*" and ending with "*Chālukyānām*." It then enumerates the kings of the Eastern Chālukya line from Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, the brother of Satyāśraya-Vallabhendra, down to the donor Vishṇuvardhana-Tāla (II). Unlike the other inscriptions of the Chālukyas, the periods of reigns of the different kings are not given in this inscription. The genealogy also differs widely from the genealogy given in A above—the Ārumbāka plates of Bādapa—and from the other published grants which supply a genealogical list of the Chālukya kings.² The relationship, for example, of the ruling kings from Jayasimha-Vallabha to Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, is different. The interval between these two kings includes five generations instead of the usual two. From Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka to Amma I the genealogy is correctly given and in the right order of succession. Next, coming to Amma I, it is stated that he, Vikramāditya (II) and Tāla I, ruled one after another, and then came Yuddhamalla II and the latter's two sons, Bādapa and Tāla II. The omission of the short reigns of Bēta-Vijayāditya V and Bhīma III, the two sons of Amma I, and the reversing of the order in the case of Vikramāditya II and Tāla I, perhaps suggest that the author of the record intended to represent that after Vikramāditya II, from Tāla I to Tāla II, there was an unbroken succession quite contrary to what is stated elsewhere. This seems to be the reason why he took care to omit to mention the number of years each king ruled.

The donee is one Kuppanayya, grandson of Kalivarma and son of Makariyarāja. He occupied the position of a great feudatory and minister (*mahāsāmant-āmātya*) under the king, had successfully stood the test of the four kinds of honesty (*upadhā*), viz. loyalty, disinterestedness, continence and courage, and was a member of the family of Pallavamalla. His father Makariyarāja is stated to have suffered and lost his life in serving his master. Thus it is evident that both father and son were in the service of Tāla II. The Vandram plates of Amma II³ also mention a donee by name Kuppanayya or Kuppanāmātya; but there, his grandfather was one Tūrkiya-Peddiya or Tūrkiya-yajvan. We cannot therefore identify Kuppanayya of our plates with that Kuppanāmātya. From the appellation 'varma' applied to the name of the grandfather of the donee we may take it that he belonged to a family that claimed to be Kshatriyas. Regarding the family-name Pallavamalla, we know that the usurper Pallavamalla Nandivarman, the last great king of the Pallavas, flourished about A.D. 717 to 779.⁴ After the fall of the Pallavas, some of the later members of the family may have settled in the Telugu country; and Kuppanayya's family has evidently to be traced to one of them. The high-sounding titles of the donee indicate that the members of the family may have once enjoyed a great position.

¹ They are numbered as Eastern Chālukya plates No. 12, in the "Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras" (1918). In the remarks on these plates, there, it is stated that the grant must have been made by Tāla I who reigned for a month in 925 A.D. But we know from the plates themselves that these were issued by Tāla II, the grandson of Tāla I.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 283.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 131.

⁴ Professor G. J. Dubreuil's *The Pallavas*, p. 74.

The language of the plates is Sanskrit prose which is very carelessly written. Telugu words are, however, used in describing the boundaries. Some of these are out of use in the current spoken dialect and are not found in standard Telugu lexicons. They are therefore of great interest and must be carefully interpreted with the help of cognate words in other Dravidian languages:—

(1) *Maṇḍi-monika-chinta*: *maṇḍi* means 'bent' (Kittel) and *chinta* means 'a tamarind tree'; *monika* may be taken as *mōka* which means 'a sprout' or 'a young tree'; *maṇḍi-monika-chinta* will mean 'the young tamarind tree which is bent'; perhaps the tree was known in the village by that name.

(2) *Koḍamaduvu* ... We may try to interpret this compound word thus:—The top sill of a sluice is called *goḍugubaṇḍa* (lit. the umbrella-slab) in Telugu, perhaps because it stands like an umbrella on the sluice. Similarly the top plank of a door-way is called a *goḍugu-balla*. In Tamil and Kanarese, the cognate word for *goḍugu* is *koḍai* or *koḍa*. *Maduva* in Tamil means 'a sluice'. Hence *koḍa-maduva* may mean 'a sluice of a tank with a top sill', i.e., a sluice with masonry construction, as contrasted with an ordinary sluice. If we take *koḍa* as *koṇḍa* then the word would mean 'a sluice on the hill-side'.

(3) *Gōgurēvu*: *gōgu* means 'hemp' and *rēvu* beginning with *r* and not with *r̥* means in the current Telugu language, 'a ford, a ferry, a landing place, a fort'. Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary* gives this word in both the forms *rēvu* and *r̥ēvu* in the same sense. In the Nandamapūṇḍi plates of Rājārāja I, we have the terms *tāḍla-rēva* (l. 82) and *golla-rēva* (l. 86). We have in Telugu *Ohākali-rēvu*, the place where washermen do their washing business. I take *rēva* and *rēvu* to be the same word and interpret it as a place where a group of people or of trees is to be found. If this interpretation is correct, *gōgurēvu* would mean the plot of land in which generally *gōgu* plants are cultivated or grown in abundance.

(4) *Kadamukōpu*. *Kōpu* is a conical bar or column as the small pillars of earth left in the middle of pits by earth diggers, to indicate the original depth of the pit at different places. Bars of slate pencils are also called *balapapu kōpulu*. *Kadamu* may be *kadambu*, the Dravidian form of the Sanskrit word *Kadamba*. The compound word then means 'the trunk of a *kadamba* tree which was like a cone'.

(5) *Kalavelalagula-pedda-chinta*. To make some sense out of it I would like to correct this compound word as *Kalvelagula-pedda-chinta*. *Kal* is 'stone' and *velagula* or (*velugula*) means a 'fence'. We can translate the whole phrase as 'the big tamarind tree adjoining the stone fencing'.¹

(6) *Chirutōdi-maddalu*. *Chirutōdi* is perhaps the name of a village or a variety of *maddalu*, and *maddalu* means 'the *maddi* (*bricadelia retusa*) trees'.

(7) *Goragapallamu* and *Kaṭṭumbōḍalu*. *Goraga* is a Śaiva mendicant and *pallamu* means a low land, a wet land, a paddy-field. Therefore the first phrase means 'the paddy field belonging to the Śaiva mendicants'. *Bōḍa* means a tiny embankment constructed to irrigate a field. *Kaṭṭumbōḍalu* would mean 'artificial embankments', or, as there is no distinction made in these plates between a short and a long *o*, we may read this word as *Kaṭṭumbōḍalu* and divide it as *kaṭṭu(m) + pōḍalu*. *Kaṭṭuva* means 'a fence' and *pōḍalu* means 'bushes'. The compound word would then mean 'the fences made of (natural) bushes'.

(8) *Bāḍiya-bola-yaṇṭapēḍariyāku-jinta*. The meaning of *Bāḍiya* is not clear. It may be a village. *Bola* is *pola* which means 'boundary'. This word is found in this sense in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant (ll. 81, etc.). *Yaṇṭa* is *aṇṭa* and means 'touching, near, by the side of'.

¹ [The Tamil word for 'a sluice' is *madagu* or *maḍai*.—Ed.]

² [The word may be corrected into *karala-velagala*, that is, 'of bifurcated wood-apple trees'.—Ed.]

Pēdari means 'poor'; *pēdariyāku* may be translated as 'poor-leaved', (with very small leaves). The tree perhaps had peculiarly tiny leaves. The whole phrase may be translated as 'the dwarf-leaved tamarind tree which is near the boundary limits of Bādīya.'

It is not clear from the text whether the village given away was Śrīpūṇḍi or the adjoining Ādūru or both. In ll. 29-30 it is stated that the small village (*grāmaṭikā*) of Śrīpūṇḍi is given; while in ll. 35-36 Ādūru is mentioned as the hamlet (*grāmaṭikā*) which is the subject of the gift. I think this contradiction is due to a mistake of the writer. I believe that in ll. 29-30 he ought to have written (*Ādūru-grāmāntarvartini*) Śrīpūṇḍi-nāma-grāmaṭikā mayā dattā but omitted by mistake the letters put in brackets, and he ought to have repeated the same words in ll. 35-36. It may also be suggested that the mistake of the writer was rather in l. 36 than in l. 30. He ought to have stated *śīmāntarvartini-Ādūru-(sahita-Śrīpūṇḍi)-nāmā grāmaṭikā ēta*. Thus it would be that the king gave Śrīpūṇḍi with Ādūru (as its *upagrāma*). But it is not likely that Ādūru formed part of the gift, because it is mentioned in the plates as a boundary to the place mentioned which is the subject of the gift (l. 32) and because if Ādūru was one of the villages given, the donor in all probability would have defined its boundaries also. Anyhow the limits of the village do not seem to have touched the boundaries of any of the neighbouring villages except that of Ādūru in the south. It may, therefore, be inferred that instead of gifting away the whole village of either Śrīpūṇḍi or Ādūru, a new hamlet was carved out of the old village or villages for the purpose of this grant. This view is strengthened by the boundaries given in the plates of Bādapa. There, Śrīpūṇḍi is given as the southern boundary of Ārumbāka (l. 64). If the whole village of Śrīpūṇḍi was given, we should have expected the name of Ārumbāka as the northern boundary of Śrīpūṇḍi. Instead of that we have some embankments or bushes as the northern limit.

There is no doubt about the identification of Śrīpūṇḍi; because it is given as the southern boundary of Ārumbāka in A and we find it in the same position even now in the Repalle tālukā of the Guntūr District. But Ādūru is not found now. Perhaps it has merged in the parent village. In describing the position of the village Śrīpūṇḍi it is said that it was in the middle of (or between) *vāgaru*. But what is *vāgaru*? I think it is a compound word consisting of two words *vāgu* and *aru*. *Vāgu* means 'a stream' and *aru* may be equivalent to *aru* which means 'a river' in Tamil, the cognate of *aru* in current Telugu. The land given by the grant seems to have been situated within a delta formed by streams, one of which was known by the name of *vāgu* and the other *aru* or *aru*.

The date of the grant, though not given in the plates, can easily be guessed. Of the kings mentioned in the plates Amma II is the last one known to us and the grant must have been therefore issued subsequent to his reign and prior to the restoration. Whether Tāla II of record B actually ruled for some time and whether this grant was issued during his *de facto* rule or whether he considered the reign of his brother Bādapa as *svarājya-samaya* cannot be definitely determined. But the probability seems to be that Tāla did not rule independently of his elder brother Bādapa. The legend on his (Tāla's) seal and the epithets used for Bādapa and Tāla in these plates support this view. The legend on the seal of Tāla is 'Tribhuvana-siṃha' instead of the imperial legend of 'Tribhuvanāṅkuśa' which we find on Bādapa's seal. In mentioning the prior kings the inscription uses no royal epithets. But on coming to Bādapa he is styled as 'Bādapākhyā-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvaraḥ' (ll. 18-19). This clearly indicates that the previous kings were dead and Bādapa was the living supreme ruler according to the writer of the inscription. Again, in mentioning Tāla, he is styled at one place only as Tāla-bhāpala (l. 19) and at another place *Mahārājādhirāja* (l. 24), but the epithet of *Paramēś-*

vara is not applied to him. We know that Pulakésin II acquired this title as a sign of paramountcy after defeating Harsha, the paramount lord of the north, who had this title. From this we can infer that Bādapa was ruling as the supreme lord of the kingdom, and Tāla acted as a subordinate and lieutenant. It is not necessary that such charities should be conferred by the reigning prince alone, and *starājya-samaya* need not necessarily mean the reign of the donor. It may here mean the period during which the once-excluded junior line obtained possession of the kingdom, which, in their view, really belonged to them. Tāla, of course, considered the possession of his elder brother as his own possession.¹

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 'स्वस्ति [i] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्थयमानमानव्य-
- 2 सगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादस[व्य]राज्या-
- 3 नां म[r]तुमणपरिपालितानां क्षामिमहासेनपा-
- 4 दातुध्यातानां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमा-
- 5 सादितवरवराहलाङ्गनो¹क्षयक्षयवशीक्रि²तारातिम-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 कल³नां पद्ममेधावभूत(य)ज्ञानपवित्रीक्रि⁴तवपुषां
- 7 चाकुक्ष[1*]नां कुक्षमर्ककरिणो⁵स्तत्याश्रयवक्षमिन्द्रस्य
- 8 भ्राता कुक्षविष्णुवर्धनः । तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहव-
- 9 क्तः । तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्धनः । तत्पुत्रः¹⁰ इन्द्रिभट्टार-
- 10 कः । तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्धनः । तत्पुत्रः सत्याश्रयः । तत्पुत्र-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 11 मन्त्रियवरज¹¹ तत्पुत्रः कोकिक्रः¹² । तद्भ्राता विष्णुराजः । तद्भ्रा[1*]-
- 12 ता विजयादित्यः । तत्पुत्रो¹³ विष्णुवर्धनः । तत्पुत्रो¹³ विजयादि-
- 13 त्थभट्टारकः । तत्पुत्रः विष्णुवर्धनः [1*] तत्पुत्रो नरेन्द्र-
- 14 विजयदित्यः¹⁴ [1*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्धनः¹⁵ । तत्पुत्रो¹⁵
- 15 गुणकेनज्ञातविजयादित्यः । तदनुजसुतो भिमराजः¹⁶ ।

¹ Vide Fleet's *Dynasties of the Canarese Districts*, p. 361.

² The marks of a floral design are faintly visible here.

³ The letter *न* is cut above the line in the plate.

⁴ Read 'वाङ्मनेच'.

⁵ Read 'नोक्त'.

¹¹ Read 'मन्त्रियवरजः'.

¹² Read 'विजयादित्यः'.

⁶ Read 'वशीकृता'.

⁷ Read 'कुक्षमर्ककरिणो'.

¹³ Read 'कोकिक्रः'.

¹⁴ Read 'तत्पुत्रो'.

⁸ Read 'संकृतानां'.

⁹ Read 'मन्त्रियवरजः'.

¹⁰ Read 'इन्द्र'.

¹⁵ Read 'तत्पुत्रो'.

¹⁶ Read 'भिमराजः'.

SRIPUNDI PLATES OF TALA II.

i.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

2

4

iii a.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

16

18

20

ii a.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

6

8

10

ii b.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

22

24

ii b.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

12

14

ir a.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

26

28

30

ivb.

32
34
[Sanskrit inscription on a rectangular plate, likely a seal or coin, with a central circular hole. The text is arranged in two columns, reading from right to left.]

v

36
38
40
[Sanskrit inscription on a rectangular plate, likely a seal or coin, with a central circular hole. The text is arranged in two columns, reading from right to left.]

SEAL. (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.)



Third Plate ; First Side.

- 16 तक्षुतः कोकविजयादित्यः । तक्षुनुरम्भराजः । तदनु वि-
 17 क्रमादित्यः [1*] तदनु भीमानुजः त'९७भूपालः । तरपुत्र[2*] श्रीयु-
 18 ह्मन्न[3*] तक्षुतो बादवा(पा)ख्यमहाराजधिराजः परमेष्-
 19 रः । तदनुजो विष्णुवर्द्धनस्ता९७भूरालः^४ स्वराज्यस-
 20 मये परमनिर्भृत्यस्य कितक्रीश[५]रजीतस्त्रमङ्गिदयस्य^६

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 पलवान्वयस्य चतुर्षधशुद्धस्य महासामन्तामात्य-
 22 पदनियुक्तस्य सक[ल*]गुणगणालकितस्य^७ पती^८हितधवल-
 23 स्य नानाकिंकुर्वीणतया परमकृष्णपद्मि^९
 24 दयस्त्रिगुणवर्द्धनमहाराजाधिराजः वेलनाम्बु-
 25 विडय^{१०}निवासिनी राइकु(कू)टप्रमुखान् कुटुम्बिन आङ्ग-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 26 य इत्यमाज्ञापयति च । विदितमस्तु वीक्षाभिः चक्षे
 27 पञ्चवमस्त्रान्वयाय कलिवर्म्मस्य पीत्राय^{११} अस्त्र-
 28 स्तावमृतस्य क्रि^{१२}तक्रमस्य मकरियराजस्य
 29 पुत्र[१]य कुप्यनय्यवरना[स्त्रे]^{१३} वाग९७मर्त्ये^{१४}
 30 श्रीपुण्ड्रिनामत्रमटिका^{१५} मय[१*] दत्त^{१६} । तस्य[१*] [अ*]वधयः । पूर्व-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 31 त^{१७} मण्डिमुंकासिन्द^{१८} चाम्पयतः^{१९} कोडमदुव दक्षिणतः च-^{२०}
 32 दुरि सीमान्तो(न्ते) गोगु९७व नैरित्यतः^{२१} कदमुकोपु पञ्चवात^{२२} क-
 33 लवेललगुलपेहचिन्त । वायव्यतः चि९७श्री-
 34 दिमहल उत्तरतः गोरगपञ्चसुत्तरमुन कहुंकोदल
 35 ईशानतः वादियबोलय[ण्ट] पेदरियाकुजित^{२३} । एतत्त^{२४}मान्तर्व-

^१ Read ता९७भूपालः.^२ Read राजाधिराजः.^३ Read मपालः.^४ Read निधृतस्य.^५ Read [कितक्रीशचारजितस्त्रामिङ्ग - Ed]^६ Read पञ्चवा.^७ Read लंकृतस्य.^८ Read पति.^९ Read ईदय.^{१०} Read विधय.^{११} Read वस्त्रायः पीत्राय.^{१२} Read कितक्रीशस्य.^{१३} The superscription (here and in line 31 below) is written in the form of a final 'n' ; while in other cases (such as l. 6 इमान्), l. 7 (रज्जो, etc.) it is formed as in modern Telugu.^{१४} Read मर्त्ये.^{१५} Read श्रीपुण्ड्रिनामत्रमटिका.^{१६} Read दत्त.^{१७} Read पूर्वतः.^{१८} Read चिन्त.^{१९} Read चाम्पयतः.^{२०} Read कहुंकोदल.^{२१} Read मेकृतः.^{२२} Read पश्चिमतः.^{२३} Read चिन्त.^{२४} Read एतत्त.

Fifth Plate.

- 36 ति[नी] चा[हृ]रनाम(नी) प्रामटिका सर्वज्ञपरिवारेण मान्यमया
 37 दत्ता इति [1*] अस्योपरि त लेन चाहा[हृ]र¹ कर्त्तव्या यः करोति स पञ्च-
 38 महा[पा]तकसंयुक्तो भवति । तथा श्रीक² व्यासेन । अदत्तां परदत्त[1]
 39 वा यो हरेत वसुधया³ [1*] प्रष्टिर्वर्षह[हृ]र[1]पि वि[हृ]र-
 40 यां जायत⁴ क्रिमिः⁵ । इतिवृत्त⁶वाक्येन लिखित⁷ ।

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-8). [The usual titles of the Chalukyas, and the mention of Satyāśraya Vallabhendra as in H. 1-4 of A.]

(Ll. 8-19). His brother was Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana; his son Jayasinha-Vallabha; his son Vishṇurāja; his son Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka; his son Vishṇuvardhana; his son Satyāśraya; his son Maṅgi-Yuvarāja; his son, Kokkili; his brother, Vishṇurāja; his brother Vijayāditya; his son Vishṇuvardhana; his son Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka; his son Vishṇuvardhana; his son Narēndra-Vijayāditya; his son Kali-Vishṇuvardhana; his son Guṇakkēṇallata-Vijayāditya; his younger brother's son Bhimarāja; his son Kollabi-Vijayāditya; his son Ammarāja; after him, Vikramāditya; after him, Bhīma's younger brother Tālabhūpāla; his son Śrī-Yuddhamalla; his son Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Bādapa; his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana Tālabhūpāla.

(Ll. 19-26). (This) Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārājādhirāja, during the period of his rule (*svarājya*),—(moved) with heart full of great kindness on account of the various services rendered by one, who was very much devoted (to him), who won the heart of his master by hard work and good behaviour, who belonged to the family of the Pallavas, who came pure out of the four tests (loyalty, etc.), who was appointed to the position of a great *sāmanta* and *amātya*, who was adorned with all virtues and who was pure in the cause of his master—sent for the chiefs of families residing in *Velanāṇḍu-vishaya* headed by the Rāshtrakūṭas and ordered them thus:—

(Ll. 26-30). "Be it known to you that to this (*dancee*) named Kuṣṇanayya, of the family of Pallavamalla, grandson of Kalivarma, and son of Makariyarāja who has suffered and died in our cause, we have given the small village (*grāmatikā*) named Śrīpūṇḍī (situated) in the middle of Vāgaru.

(Ll. 30-35). "Its boundaries are: to the east *maṇḍimuṣka-chinta*, to the south-east *koḍa-maduvu*, to the south *gōḡuṣṇu* which lies at the end of the boundary of *Ādūru*; to the south-west *kadamu-kōpu*, to the west *kalavēlalagula-pēḍa-chinta*, to the north-west *Chirūṣōḍi-maddalu*, to the north *kaṭṭum-bōḍalu* north of *Gōraga-pallamu*, to the north-east *bāḍiyabotayanā pēḍariyāku-chinta*.

(Ll. 35-37). "Within this boundary I have given you as *mānya* the small village called *Ādūru* exempted from all taxes."

(Ll. 37-40). None should interfere with this (*village*). One who does so shall be deemed to have committed the five great sins. Vyasa has also said: [the usual imprecatory verse अदत्तां परदत्त, etc.]. Written by Ravivarmāśchārya.

¹ Read °चहावा.

² Read वसुधया.

³ Read °वर्षा.

⁴ Cancel the *anuvāra*.

⁵ Read जायते.

⁶ Read लिखित.

⁷ Read श्रीक.

⁸ [Read हृदि:—Ed.]

No. 25.—PANCHADHARALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE KONA KING CHODA III.
SAKA-SAMVAT 1325.¹

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An inked estampage of the inscription (No. 210 of 1899) was supplied by the late Mr. Venkayya and made over to me by Prof. Lüders. The inscription is engraved on three faces of a square pillar at the eastern entrance of the Dharmalingēśvara temple at **Pañchadhārāla** in the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency. On the north face are five verses (*pañcharatna*) which are not connected with the inscription, but were composed, as stated in the first five lines of the west face, by a certain Chen[n*]āpeg[g*]aḍa Chennakavirāja-kalaharisa in praise of the god Dharmalinga. That these verses were engraved at a later time than the inscription is shown by a Telugu inscription² on a pillar at the western entrance of the same temple dated in Śaka-Samvat 1465, which mentions a certain Chennapeggaḍa Chennakavirāja, and by a pillar inscription³ at the entrance of the Viṣṇu temple in the same village dated in Śaka-Samvat 1452, which contains a verse by a poet called Chennakavirāja. There can be no doubt that the person mentioned in these two inscriptions is identical with the author of the '*pañcharatna*.'

The inscription contains 93 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is 1 inch. The alphabet is Telugu. Peculiar is the subscript form of *tha* which resembles the *ta* in its full form (see e.g., *Sthānuśailaḥ*, l. 14; *paritrāṇ-āntham*, l. 37). The same sign is used for expressing the second *dha* in the ligature *dhāha* (see e.g., *Varasiddhalinga*, l. 83). The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the last remark in Telugu (*ślokaḥ* 20), the whole inscription is in verse. Regarding the orthography it may be stated that after *anusvāra* as well as after *r*, consonants are sometimes doubled, as in *lingga-tīrtham* in l. 43.

The inscription is of some interest as it makes us acquainted with one of the smaller dynasties of Southern India, of which but little was known to us hitherto.

After an invocation of god Gaṇēśa (v. 1) the inscription begins with a mythical genealogy of the Kōṇa dynasty. From Viṣṇu's navel sprang Brahmā, his son was Marichi, his son was Kaśyapa, from him sprang Bhānu (the Sun), from him Manu, and in his race was born Arjuna Kārtavīrya (v. 2).⁴

The historical genealogy begins with verse 3. In Arjuna Kārtavīrya's race there was Chōḍa I, who governed the country lying between the Vindhya mountain and the ocean (v. 3). His *birudas* are enumerated in verse 4 and are: 'Māhishmaty-adhipa, Saubhadra, Birudañkarudra,⁵ Ātrēya-gōtra Gaṇḍavēṇḍa, Mahniya-kṣmāpālī-mṛiga-vēṇṭakāra'. The title of 'the lord of Māhishmatī' seems to be founded only on the fact that he derived his descent from Arjuna Kārtavīrya. Chōḍa I was married to Mallāmbā (v. 5).

Their son was Upēndra (v. 5), of whom nothing is recorded except that his *biruda* was Gaṇḍavēṇḍa (v. 8), and that his wife was Bimbāmbikā (v. 7).

From her he had a son, Chōḍa II (v. 7). In verse 8 we are told that he ruled over the kingdom which was given to him by his father, the honoured Gaṇḍavēṇḍa, the ruler of

¹ [I had to make a few alterations in this and the next article and am alone responsible for them.—Ed.]

² See the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1900, p. 39, No. 211.

³ See *ib.*, p. 40, No. 220.

⁴ See above, Vol. VII, p. 126.

⁵ The same *biruda* was borne by a prince Viraparāja, who is mentioned in a Telugu inscription from the same Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāla, dated Śaka-Samvat 141[6], and by a king Lakkama-Chōḍa in an undated inscription from the same place. See *Annual Report* for 1900, p. 39, No. 212 and p. 40, No. 222.

Madhyadēśa. Madhyadēśa is usually taken to be the name of the country lying between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. It seems impossible, however, that this region should be meant by the Madhyadēśa of our inscription, because we are told in verse 5 that Chōḍa I ruled over the country between the Vindhya mountain and the ocean. For this reason Madhyadēśa must be taken in a sense different from the usual one. It apparently denotes the region lying between the two rivers Gōdāvarī and Kṛishṇā, which by its natural condition bears a certain resemblance to the country between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. In the same meaning Madhyadēśa appears to have been used in two other passages. In the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Prithivīśvara, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1108,¹ the chiefs of Velanāṇḍu claim their origin from Indrasēna, whose capital is said to have been 'Kīrtipura in Madhyadēśa, (a city) that was the only receptacle of the bliss of the enjoyment of all pleasures (*asēsha-sukha-sambhōga-bhāgadhēya-aika-bhāṇa*) | *Madhyadēśe-bhavat tasya sthānam Kīrtipuram mahat* ||'. Since we know that the chiefs of Velanāṇḍu ruled over a tract of the Telugu country, it is highly probable that here also Madhyadēśa is to be understood as the name of the country between the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛishṇā. This conclusion is corroborated by verse 23 of the same inscription. There we read that the king Vēdura II won a victory over an unnamed Pāṇḍya king under orders of Vīra-Chōḍa, who conferred upon him, as a reward, one half of his crown and the *Sindhuyugmāntara*, 'the country between the pair of rivers.' The late Prof. Hultzsch was certainly right in identifying the 'pair of rivers' with the two rivers Kṛishṇā and Gōdāvarī. *Sindhuyugmāntara*, then, would be the same as Madhyadēśa.

The second passage occurs in a verse in Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Vaidyaḥṇava* :
Yatr-āgatā Tryambakaparvatāch-cha Gōdāvarī sindhunadēna yuktā | tatr-āsti Gōdātā-Madhyadēśe Shatkhēṣakākhyam² nagaram suramyam ||. The *Gōdātā-Madhyadēśa* of this stanza cannot be the country between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, but must be looked for in the vicinity of the Gōdāvarī, as the region included by the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvarī.

In verse 9 we are told that Chōḍa II set about in aid of the harassed **Sultān** (*suratrāṇa*) of **Paṇḍuva**, vanquished the **Emperor of Dilli** (Delhi), and gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two elephants to the **king of Utkala** (Orissa).

The 'Sultān of Paṇḍuva' is, apparently, Iliyās Khwāja Sultān, the first independent ruler of Bengal, who in 1353 A.D. transferred his capital from Gauṛ to Pandua in the Mālda district,⁴ and the verse of our inscription refers to the war between him and Fīrōz Tughlaq, the Emperor of Delhi and successor of the well-known Muḥamad Tughlaq. According to Ferishta the campaign took place in 1353 A.D. which would agree well with the statement of the present inscription, that the grandfather of Chōḍa III, whose date was 1401 A.D., took part in the campaign against

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 32.

² See Aufrecht, *Cat. Cod. Sanscr. Bibl. Bodl.*, p. 318a. See also above, Vol. VI, p. 132, note 5.

³ The town of Shatkhēṣaka I am unable to identify.

⁴ There are altogether three places of the name of Paṇḍuva. The first is a village in the Gōdāvarī district, situated about 40 miles to the south-west from Dāksharāma (see v. 10), but it is quite improbable that the Paṇḍuva of our inscription should be identical with that place which apparently in early times was only a village. In *his Life of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I, p. 39, Mr. Sewell mentions that there is a copper-plate inscription dated in Śaka 1056 which records the grant of the village of Paṇḍuva, as an *agrakāra* to certain Brahmans, by Kolani Kōṭappa-Nāyaka, lord of Sarasipura. Another Paṇḍuva is found in Bengal in the Hūgī district. It is at present a village, but in ancient times it was fortified and the seat of a Hindu rājā, but it never was the capital of a Mahomedan ruler (see *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New ed., Vol. XIX, p. 394). For the third place of the name of Pandua in the Mālda district, see *ibid.* p. 392.

the Emperor of Delhi. Of the war Ferishta gives the following account in his *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*¹ :—

“ In the year 754 (i.e. 1353 A.D.) the King (Feroze Tughlak, the successor of the well-known Mohamed Tughlak) having hunted at Kallanore, caused a palace to be built on the banks of the Soorsutty. In the month of Shuwal, of the same year, he appointed Khan Jehan to the charge of Dehly, and himself marched towards Luknowty, to subdue Hajy Elias. This chief had assumed royal honours, and the title of Sums-ood-Deen, and had also occupied with his troops the whole of Bengal and Behar, as far as Benares. On the King's arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorukpoor, the zemindars of that place made the usual presents, and were admitted to pay their respects. The King then penetrated as far as Bundwa,² one of the stations of Hajy Elias; and the latter retreated to Yekdulla, whither the King pursued him, and arrived there on the 7th of Rubbee-ool-Awul. An action ensued on the same day; but Hajy Elias having entrenched his position very strongly reduced the King to the necessity of surrounding him. The blockade continued for twenty days, when, on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Akhir, Feroze, intending to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, left their works, and drew up in order of battle. On perceiving it was the King's intention to attack them, however, they again retreated, but with such precipitation and confusion, that 44 elephants and many standards fell into the King's hand. The rainy season soon after came on with great violence; peace was concluded; and the King returned to Delhy, without effecting his effects.”

The last remark leaves no doubt that Firōz Tughlaq did not succeed in subduing Iliyās Kḥwāja, which would be quite in harmony with the statement of the present inscription, that the Sultān of Paṇḍuva gained a victory over the Emperor of Delhi. From the inscription we may further gather that the Sultān of Paṇḍuva was aided by the king of Orissa, and from the account that Chōḍa II gave ‘ the Śrī of Victory together with twenty-two elephants to the king of Utkala ’ it becomes likely that he was a vassal of the ruler of Orissa, or a general in his army.

According to verse 10, the **Bhīmōśa-līṅga** in **Dākshārāma**,³ the modern Dracharam in the Godāvari district, four miles from Rāmachandrapuram, was the idol of king Chōḍa II. He was married to **Attemāmbā** (v. 11).

The son of Chōḍa II was **Bhīma** (v. 11), of whom nothing is recorded except that he was married to **Lakkāmbā** (v. 12).

His son was **Chōḍa III** (v. 12). In verse 16 he is said to have protected the princes of the great **Shaṭkōṇa**. The name of **Mahā-Shaṭkōṇa** seems to be identical with **Kōṇa-śīma** and **Kōṇa-maṇḍala**, the local designation of the Godāvari Delta.⁴ In the Naḍupūru grant of Anna-Vēma dated in Śaka-Samvat 1296, we find the name **Kōṇasthala** which, according to the late Prof. Hultzsch, is the same as **Kōṇa-maṇḍala** and **Kōṇa-śīma**.⁵

From the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallidēva and Maṇma-Satya II⁶ we know of a certain dynasty that ruled over the **Kōṇa-maṇḍala**. The last of the princes here mentioned is Maṇma-Satya II, who ruled in Śaka-Samvat 1117. Since the dynasty of our inscription has no connection with that older dynasty, it seems that in the 13th century a change of dynasties

¹ Translated by John Briggs, Vol. I, p. 448 f.

² Bundwa undoubtedly is the Paṇḍuva of our inscription. Pandua is situated some twenty miles from Gauṛ.

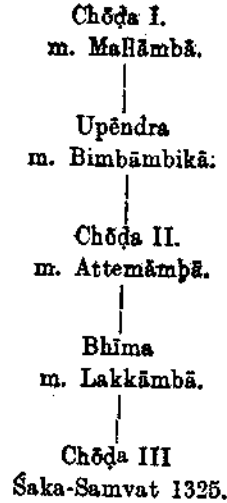
³ With regard to the name of Dākshārāma, see Hultzsch's remark above, Vol. IV, No. 37, note 3.

⁴ See above, Vol. III, p. 287.

⁵ See above, Vol. III, p. 287, and Vol. IV, p. 84; also Vol. VII, p. 75.

⁶ See above, Vol. IV, p. 83.

took place, though the cause of it is unknown to us. Perhaps it will be best to distinguish the new dynasty from the older one by calling it the second Kōṣa dynasty. Its pedigree according to the present inscription would be as follows :—



With verse 16 we come to the real purpose of the inscription. We are told (vv. 16, 18, 20) that Chōḍa III built a *gōpura* and laid out a grove at the eastern entrance of the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāla, the modern Pañchadhārāla in the Vizagapatam district.

The date of this event is given twice, both times in chronograms. According to v. 18 it took place in the Śaka year that is unfolded by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the moon (1); according to v. 20 in the Śaka year counted by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the earth (1), in the year Svabhānu, in the month of Rādhā, on the 6th day of the bright fortnight, on Friday. This date corresponds to A.D. 1403, April 27, Friday.

TEXT.

West Face.

- 1 त्रियमवतु गजास्य[.] त्रेयसां¹
- 2 वो गुणानां स सुवमजनमादी
- 3 रम्यहर्म्यं सुराणां । अजविनु-
- 4 तमहिमः ककुक्षौ यस्य ना-
- 5 भीक्षुहरविहरदंभः कुम्भि-
- 6 नीयाटिकाभूत् ॥ [१*]² नाभिर्विष्णोरज-
- 7 नि स विधिस्तनूजो मरौचिस्तल्लजा-

¹ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

² Metro : *Mālinī*.

- 8 ती भुवनभवनः कल्प¹स्तस्य सतुः ।
 9 भानुर्मूर्तिभयमयवपुस्तक्षुतो-
 10 भून्मनू राडास्तस्यान्वयनृपमणि-
 11 चार्जुनो दुर्जनीयः ॥ [२*]² यक्षानं चक्रपा-
 12 णेर्हयगतभुजश्चक्रवरी लीलयाभू-
 13 यत्कारायां चिरायावसदवसर-
 14 भागुष्टतस्याणुशैलः³ । तस्य श्रीकार्तवीर्या-
 15 र्जुनधरणिपतेर्व्यंजो नमभूभू-
 16 षड्योडाभिधानचिरविभवमशास्त्रिधुवि-
 17 ध्यांतरोर्वी ॥ [३*]⁴ माहिचत्तविष⁵ प्रयाम-
 18 हिमभिर्मायद्रुजक्रोडया सौमद्री वि-
 19 रुदंकरुद्र उदयेरात्रेयमोचोय-
 20 मैः । विक्रात्यापि च गंडवेण्डविहारी
 21 धाटीभटैर्मनियन्त्रापाकीमृगवेष्ट-
 22 कार इति तं प्राप्सुजन् भुभुजः ॥ [४*]⁶
 23 ततस्त्रोडमहीपास्तादजीजनदयो-
 24 दयं । मन्नांवा महितोपेद्रसु-
 25 पेद्रमिव सादितिः ॥ [५*]⁷ तस्मिन्भरं जनक-
 26 दोरवतोर्णसुर्व्या विम्वत्यदभ्रव-
 27 लविभ्रमदंसकूटे । दिक्भिनः स्वक-
 28 रिणीध्वरमंस नित्यं शेषेपि शंकरकरे-
 29 भवदिष्टभूषा ॥ [६*]⁸ तस्मादुपेद्राहुदभ्रदु-
 30 दारो बिंबाविकायां किल चोडभूष-
 31 : । चूडामणोचुंबितपादपीठः क्रोडा-
 32 जितारातिनराधिपानां ॥ [७*]⁹ महितमंडुवे¹⁰-
 33 षडमध्यदेशाधीशजनकदत्तराज्यसमधिकेन
 34 । तेन किल नृपेण वसवातुर्वर्त्तमानमर-
 35 तकवितोर्णमयजहास ॥ [८*]¹¹ हनं विच-

¹ Read कल्प°.² Sargdharā.³ Anushubh.⁴ The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line.⁵ [Jāveladi, a variety of Giti usually employed in Telugu verse.—G. R. K. Ch.]⁶ Mandākrānti.⁷ Read °विषः.⁸ Vasantatilakā.⁹ Read °भाषुत°.¹⁰ Śardūlavikrīḍita.¹¹ Indravajrā.

- 36 मिदं तु पंडुवसुरचाणार्त्तसेना-
 37 परिचाणार्थं प्रतिगम्य बाहुवि-
 38 भवेर्निर्जित्य डिक्कीपति । द्वाविंश-

South Face.

- 39 तुरुदंतिभिस्सममदाक्षीवे-¹
 40 हिरासुक्कचोणीशाय स
 41 भूपतिः सुरवरस्रोभ्यस्तुरु-
 42 क्कानपि ॥ [८*]² देवं दाक्षारामभीमे-
 43 शलिंगस्तोर्थं गोदा यूपसंवा-
 44 धरोधाः । कीर्त्तिः³ शुद्धा सप्तसंस्तानसि-
 45 द्वा चोडेंद्रस्य श्रीरपि श्रीविधानी ॥ [१०*]⁴
 46 तस्मादसूतात्मजमर्त्तेर्माशिका च⁵-
 47 द्रं द्वितीयेव विपश्चिदर्चितं । एष
 48 त्विषा भीम इति द्विषां रणे पित्रैव
 49 भीमः क्रियते स्या नामतः ॥ [११*]⁶ भीमश्री-
 50 णिभुजो भुजोर्जितजयादागामिभ-
 51 द्रोदयक्रीडं चोडकुमारमात्मत-
 52 नयं प्राप्नोत्युरंध्रीमणी । सा र-
 53 द्वाकरमेखला वसुमती गुर्वी यथा-
 54 ध्यागमं लक्षांब्वा ललितोदये विरचि-
 55 ते पुण्यैर्यद्देः पंचभिः ॥ [१२*]⁷ चोडकृपालि
 56 तस्मिन् लोकनुतां भजति राजहं-
 57 सविभूतिं । कुवलयतलमपि विकस-
 58 क्कमलाकरतामुपैति सततामोदं⁸
 59 ॥ [१३*]⁹ तर्कषु धर्मेषु जनावनेषु स्माकंट-
 60 कानां परिमर्द्दनेषु । चोडेंद्रमायि-
 61 त्य विरं चतस्रः स्थाय्यं भजन्ते भु-
 62 वि राजविद्याः ॥ [१४*]¹⁰ दानं दीनजनेप्सिता-

¹ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

² *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

³ Read कीर्त्तिः.

⁴ *Sālini*.

⁵ [He re for the sake of metre the vowel e is to be treated as short. Telugu recognises a short e. - Ed.]

⁶ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁷ *Indra-ajrā*.

⁸ *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ *Aryagiti*.

¹⁰ *Indravajrā*.

- 63 दतिशयत्रीदं गुणासंकता कीर्त्ति-
 64 र्यस्य सरस्वती सङ्घचरी सौदर्य-
 65 माय्यादृतं । तेजो विक्रमविभुतं रिपु-
 66 मनीगर्वाध्वकारापहं धर्मचोड-
 67 कृपस्य तस्य घरणावाक्यमुज्जृम्भतां¹ ॥ [१५*]²
 68 श्रीमचोडकृपः स पाणितमहाघट्कोण-
 69 भूमीश्वरो लोकोदञ्चितपञ्चधार-
 70 नगरीधर्मेश्वरप्रीतये । पूर्वद्वा-
 71 रि विराजितं विलसितैरास्यापय-
 72 गोपुरं द्रष्टुं गोपुरयोषितां-
 73 मिव नवक्रीडाद्रिमिष्टोत्सवान् ॥ [१६*]³ यचो-
 74 र्जिताः पञ्चसज्जबिम्बनाकिनेररंभा-
 75 रसाकतरवो कृपचोडनाम्ना । दातु-
 76 त्वमस्य परिचेतुमिवावतीर्णाः कल्पदु-
 77 माः पुरवने विलसन्ति पञ्च ॥ [१७*]⁴

East Face.

- 78 सशरभुजरामचंद्रप्रसरे शाके
 79 निजौजसीव विरचितं । चोडेश्व-
 80 रेण सवनं गोपुरमाचंद्रमादिने⁵
 81 द्रं जयतात् ॥ [१८*]⁶ लिङ्गैः पञ्चशतैः
 82 सदा परिवृत्तौ नागेद्रुमैलालयः
 83 संसिद्धा⁷ वरसिद्धलिङ्ग इति यः
 84 पूर्वैः पुरा भाष्यते । पञ्चात्पाण्डव-
 85 भक्तवत्सलतया धर्मेश इत्यागमैः
 86 स्वीयं रक्षतु चोडभूपमनिशं
 87 श्रीराजराजेश्वरः ॥ [१९*]⁸ शाकाब्दे शर-
 88 बाहुरामवसुधासंख्ये स्वभा-
 89 न्बद्धौ राधे षष्टदिने सितेष्युगमसौ
 90 चारे वरं गोपुरं । सारामं प्रक-

¹ Read 'मुज्जृम्भतां'.

² *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.

³ *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.

⁴ *Vasantatilakā*.

⁵ गोपुरमाचंद्रमा⁵ is corrected from गोपुरं चंद्रमा⁵.

⁶ The *navasvra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁷ *Aryāgīti*.

⁸ Read संसिद्ध

⁹ *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.

- 91 टं प्रतिष्ठितमिदं त्र्योचोद्धृमी-
 92 भुजा खेयादाग्रशिभास्करं निरिमुता-
 93 धर्मेणविश्वान्तये ॥ [२०*]¹ श्लोकास्तु २० ॥

TRANSLATION.¹

(Verse 1.) May the Elephant-faced (Gaṇēśa) increase the splendour of your excellent qualities : he whose playing ball in the beginning of the creation of the world was the pleasant dwelling-place of the gods, while his majesty was praised by Brahman, the water moving in the cavity of whose (Gaṇēśa's) navel became the garment of the earth.

(V. 2.) From Viṣṇu's navel Brahmā was born. His son was Marīchi. His son was Kaśyapa, the origin of beings.² His son was Bhānu (the Sun), whose body consists of the three forms.³ His son was Manu, the first king. A jewel among the princes of his race was Arjuna, terrible to evil-doers.

(V. 3.) Born in the race of the glorious king Arjuna-Kārtavīrya,—in whose prison he (*Rāvaṇa*) who had uplifted the mountain of Sthāṇu (Śiva) lived long, waiting his time, through the sport of the wielder of the disc (Viṣṇu) his realm had been conferred as a boon on the thousand-armed one⁴—king called Chōḍa, to whom the crests of kings bowed down, ruled with long-lasting power the country between the ocean and the Vindhya.

(V. 4.) On account of the greatness of (*his*) fame the kings honoured him as 'Māhishmaty-adhipa', on account of the sport of (*his*) proud arm as 'Saubhadra', for his accomplishment as 'Birudañkarudra', on account of (*his*) self-control as Ātrēya-gōtra, on account of (*his*) valour as having the *biruda* 'Gaṇḍaveṇḍa', on account of (*his*) warriors as 'Maṇiṇi-kaśmāpālī-mṛiga-vēṇṭakāra'.

(V. 5.) To that king Chōḍa, Mallāmbā bore the honoured Upēndra, the origin of fame, as Aditi (bore) Upēndra (Viṣṇu).

(V. 6.) While he, in whose shoulder there was no small strength, bore the burden of the earth descended from his father's arms, the elephants of the quarters were unceasingly sporting with their females and Śēsha was a favourite ornament in Śiva's hand.⁵

(V. 7.) From that Upēndra was born to Bimbāmbikā the august prince Chōḍa, whose foot-stool was kissed by the crest-jewels of the hostile princes, vanquished (*by him*) in sport.

¹ *Śardūlavikrīḍita*.

² [In some places it has become too literal.—Ed.]

³ Kaśyapa had numerous wives and for this reason a very large and heterogeneous progeny : deities, demons, serpents, birds, reptiles, in fine, all sorts of animated beings. Hence he is called sometimes Prajāpati : see *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, transl. by Wilson, p. 122 ff.

⁴ *Trimūrti* is an epithet of the Sun ; cf. Hōmādrī (*Bibl. Ind.*) 1.611.9 ; 823.6 ; 2a.126.11 ; the same sense has *trayīmaya* in Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkārasarvasva* (*Kāvya-mālā*, No. 35), p. 99. See also Hopkins, *The Religion of India*, p. 446 f.

⁵ I take the compound दशदंतभुजधरः as दशदंतभुजधरस्य सवरः । The verse refers to the well-known legends of Rāvaṇa's lifting the Kailāsa on his march to attack Indra and his capture by Arjuna-Kārtavīrya ; but the feature alluded to in the first *pāda* does not seem to occur in other versions of the story. [The first *pāda* seems to imply that this (i.e. Arjuna-Kārtavīrya's) realm had been conferred on him by the sport of Viṣṇu as a boon for his one thousand arms, though he is said to have got various boons from Dattātrēya.—Ed.]

⁶ Both the elephants and Śēsha were released from their duties, for Upēndra acted as *lāṅghya* and *Chūdara*.

(V. 8.) Being satisfied by the king who was great on account of the kingdom given (to him) by his father, the honoured Gaṇḍaveṇḍa, the ruler of Madhyadēśa, the four castes laughed at the gift of the celestial tree.

(V. 9.) But this was an unique (and) wonderful (deed) : having set out to protect the harassed army of the Sultān of Paṇḍuva, and having by the strength of (his) arm completely vanquished the ruler of Pilli, that king gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two great elephants to the king of Utkala, and the Turks to the excellent damsels of the gods.¹

(V. 10.) King Chōḍa's idol (was) the Bhīmēśa-liṅga at Dākṣhārāma, his bathing-place, (was) the Gōḍā,² the banks of which were beset with sacrificial stakes, his pure fame (was) complete through the seven saṁtānas³ and his Śrī (was) the distributor of happiness.

(V. 11.) From him Attemāmbikā bore a son, praised by the wise, as the second day of the bright fortnight (bears) the moon⁴; he was called Bhīma by (his) father (because he said to himself) : " he will be terrible in battle by (his) wrath to (his) enemies ".

(V. 12.) From king Bhīma who had gained victories by (his) arm, Lakṣmībā (whose girdle was set with many gems), the jewel among women, obtained as a son prince Chōḍa who (was to exhibit) in future without effort the display of fortune, as the heavy earth, whose girdle are the oceans, (obtains) the growth of treasures, a happy conjuncture having been effected by the five auspicious planets.

(V. 13.) While this king Chōḍa displayed the splendour of a rājakaṁsa praised by the world, the surface of the earth became an ever-blossoming lotus-field (and obtained) perpetual joy.

(V. 14.) In reasoning, in (fulfilling) religious duties, in helping the people, in destroying the enemies of the country, the four royal sciences, after they have attached themselves to king Chōḍa, at last attain to their real purpose on the earth.

(V. 15.) Let the law of this king Chōḍa expand on the earth until (the end of) the kalpa—(of this king), whose liberality granted more wealth than the miserable ones had asked for, whose glory was adorned with virtues, whose companion was Sarasvatī, whose beauty was honoured by the noble ones, whose splendour, famous through his valour, took away the darkness of pride in the minds of (his) enemies.

(V. 16.) To the delight of (god) Dharmēśvara in the town of Pañchadhāra (of Dharmēśvara) renowned in the worlds, the glorious king Chōḍa, by whom the princes of the great Shaṭkōṇa-land are protected, had a gōpura (gate-way) erected at the eastern entrance (of the temple), brilliant by its charms, a new pleasure-hill, as it were, for the damsels in heaven, to behold (from there) the charming festivals (in the temple).

(V. 17.) In the park of the town where the bread-fruit, the jambūla,⁵ the cocoa-nut, the plantain, and the mango-trees nursed by him, who bears the name of king Chōḍa, are flourishing as if the five wish-giving trees had descended (from heaven) to witness his liberality.

¹ I.e., he killed them.

² Gōḍā is an abbreviation of Gōḍāvarī, cf. e.g., Hōmachandra's *Abhidhānāchintāmāni* 1084, *Rajhuvamśa* XIII, 35 (ans-Gōḍām), and the verse in Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Vaidyaajivana*, quoted above.

³ The seven saṁtānas or saṁtātis are enumerated above, Vol. VI, p. 119, v. 15.

⁴ *Devīyā* is the second day of the bright fortnight. See e.g. *Batnāvali*, act II.

पञ्चोक्तु विरलवृक्षपात्रिक्रमं हि सविस्मयवर्धनीयं तत्रं समुत्पन्नो वदितो हि व सोऽदिदिपदु वदरं चोदित
पिचपचशी ॥

⁵ *Jambūla* is *jambū* or the 'rose-apple'.

(V. 18.) This *gōpura* erected by king Chōḍa in the Śaka year that is unfolded by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the Moon (1), and (for this reason), as it were, in its innate strength, (the displaying of which is like that of Rāmachandra in whose arms there are arrows), shall flourish, together with the park, as long as the moon and the sun will last.¹

(V. 19.) May this holy Rājarājēśvara, who, always surrounded by five hundred *lingas*, is dwelling on Mount Nāgēndra, who by the ancients was formerly called Varasiddhalinga on account of his (granting) successes, (but) according to tradition later on Dharmēśa on account of his being gracious to the faithful Pāṇḍavas,² always protect king Chōḍa.

(V. 20.) Let this excellent *gōpura* publicly established together with a grove by the glorious king Chōḍa in the Śaka-year counted by the arrows (5), the arms (2), the Rāmas (3), and the earth (1) in the year Svabhānu, in (the month of) Rādhā, on the sixth bright day, on Friday, endure as long as the moon and the sun, for the repose of Pārvatī and Dharmēśa.

(Line 93.) Twenty verses.

NO. 26.—THE PANCHADHARALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING VISVESVARA : SAKA-SAMVAT 1329.

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Two inked estampages of this inscription were supplied to me by the late Mr. Venkayya through Prof. Lüders. The inscription is engraved on three faces of a pillar in the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* in the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāla in the Vizagapatam district. The name of the engraver is Dēvāchāri.

The characters are Telugu not differing from those of the pillar inscription of King Chōḍa III of the Kōṇa dynasty, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1325 which has been published above.³ The following peculiarities, however, may be noted. The remark about the combinations *ttha*, *dḍha*, and *stha* does not hold good for the present inscription. In the former, *da* and *dha*, *i* and *ī* could clearly be distinguished, in the latter, they are constantly mixed up.

The language is Sanskrit verse throughout; only at the beginning and the end there is some prose. In the beginning we have *Śrī-Viśvōśvarāya namaḥ*, which is an invocation to Śiva, the illustrious lord of the universe. At the end comes the passage *Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagar-bha(ē)bhyaḥ namaḥ* which means 'adoration to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahma', and is followed by the name of the engraver Dēvāchāri, written in Telugu as *Dēvāchāri-likhitaṃ*. The style is very similar to that of the foregoing inscription, from which one verse (v. 25) has been borrowed almost verbally. This is not surprising if we bear in mind that the former inscription is but four years older than the present. There can be little doubt that both originated from the same author.

¹ The word *prasara*, not found elsewhere at the end of a chronogram, seems to have been used on account of the *ślēṣha*; it means: development, development of power, power.

² With regard to the term *bhaktavatsala*, cf. Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*—II, 50.

अलं बुलुक्षितिपासुमस्तु नमो विद्यासु नमो तपः ।

नमस्तपः त्वयि पार्श्वतीपतिः प्रसादनरोहति नमस्तपः ॥

"Away with mortification, thou ornament of the Chalukya princes, let cease the hard austerity. Pārvatī's husband, gracious to the faithful, will bestow an unheard-of favour on you." Cf. also *Mahābh.* I, 188, 23.

³ *Supra* pp. 155 ff.

In regard to **orthography**, it may be stated that after *anuvāra* and *ra* the doubling of consonants, unlike the preceding record, has not often been resorted to. The *visarga*, furthermore, is sometimes to be found where it is out of place (see vv. 19, 22, 25). Taking in view that it stands at the end of a verse, and once (v. 19) before a *cæsura*, we may take it as some sort of hyphen.

The proper object of the inscription is to record that the Eastern **Chalukya** king **Viśvēśvara** erected a *maṇḍapa* for the *kalyāṇa* festivals of the god **Dharmēśa** of **Pañchadhārāla** in **Śaka-Samvat 1329**, and that he set up an idol of **Vishṇu** in the **Upēndravara-āgrahāra** built by himself.

After an invocation of **Gaṇēśa** (v. 1) the inscription opens with some mythical ancestors of the **Chālukyas**. From **Vishṇu**'s navel sprang **Brahmā**; he had a son **Atri**, from whose eyes the Moon arose. His eldest son was **Budha**. His son was **Purūravas**, and one of his descendants was **Pāṇḍu** (v. 2). His son was **Arjuna** (v. 3), his son **Abhimanyu**, his son **Parīkshit**, his son **Janamējaya** (v. 4). From his race descended **Vishṇuvardhana** (v. 5) with whom we come to the historical ancestors of **Viśvēśvara**.

Vishṇuvardhana is said to have practised the life of an ascetic on the **Chalukya** mountain which I am unable to identify. It is also mentioned in the **Korumelli** plates of the Eastern **Chālukya Mahārājādhirāja Rājarāja I Vishṇuvardhana**¹ and also in a grant of **Vira-Chōḍa**.²

In **Vishṇuvardhana**'s race was born **Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara [I]**³ (v. 6). We are told that the **Śiva** temple **Kumārārāma**, being largely enriched with treasures by this king, was called after him **Chālukya-Bhīmēśa**. This temple is to be found even at the present time at **Bhīmavaram** near **Cocanada** in the **Godāvari** district.⁴ In other inscriptions this town is called **Chālukyabhīmēśvara-pura**, **Chālukyabhīma-nagarī**, or **Chālukyabhīma-pura**.⁵ That in former times the temple was named **Kumārārāma** we may gather from some unedited inscriptions where the town **Bhīmapuram** is called **Kumārārāma** or **Skandārāma**. In the **Pithāpuram** pillar inscription of **Mallapadēva**, dated **Śaka-Samvat 1124**,⁶ we are told, in contradiction to the passage in the present inscription, that **Chālukya-Bhīma [I]** himself founded the **Śiva** temple, called after his own name **Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara**. But there is no doubt that the account of the new inscription corresponds with the real fact.

From **Chālukya-Bhīma**'s race originated king **Vimalāditya**,⁷ who is said to have ruled over the land lying between the **Vindhya** mountain and the sea (v. 7). The same is recorded of the **Kōpa** king **Chōḍa [I]** in the **Pañchadhārāla** pillar inscription (v. 3), noticed above. Of course, they were princes who ruled over a small part of that country.

The son of **Vimalāditya** was **Rājamahēndra**, called **Rājarāja [I]** in other inscriptions.⁸ After him a town on the **Godāvari** is named **Rājamahēndra** (v. 8), which is identical with the modern **Rajahmundry**.⁹

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 61, l. 25.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 53, l. 22.

³ He is also called *Drōḥārjuna* (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 32, 38, 42).

⁴ See above, Vol. IV, p. 227.

⁵ See above, Vol. IV, p. 227.

⁶ See *ibid.*

⁷ He was married to **Kundavā**, the younger sister of the [**Chōḍa** king] **Rājēndra-Chōḍa [I]** and daughter of the [**Chōḍa** king] **Rājarāja [I]** of the solar race. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 50; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 302; VI, p. 350.

⁸ See e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 50.

⁹ See also above, Vol. V, p. 58, l. 23—*Rājamahēndranāmā(mnī) rājadhānī*. The town is called **Rājamahēndra-nagarī**, above, Vol. IV, p. 323, l. 33; **Rājamahēndra-nagara**, Vol. IV, p. 324, l. 42, Vol. V, p. 58, l. 27 and **Rājamahēndra-paṭṭana**, Vol. V, p. 32, v. 4.

Rājamahendra's son was **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa** (I). In verse 9 we are told, "that he played with his majesty on the summits of the Sandal-Mountain, and against the horrible Pāṇḍya". As may be concluded from the Tamil inscriptions¹ of this king, the name Malayāchala (= Chanda-nāchala) refers to the territory of the Chēra king, generally called Malai-nāḍu. The modern designation of Malaya (or Malakōṭṭa) is Malabar. In this country, too, dwelt the five Pāṇḍyas.² Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa's victory over the Pāṇḍya princes and king Chēra is very often mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions. In the same verse the king is called **Kōsarīn**, an abbreviated form of **Kōsarivarman** or **Rājakōsarivarman** of other inscriptions.³

So far we had to deal with princes, already known from other inscriptions. The remaining verses introduce new kings. From Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa's lineage arose **Vijayāditya** (v. 10), who was married to **Chandāmbikā** (v. 11). His son was **Mallapadōva** (I) whose *biruda* was **Sarvalōkāśraya** (v. 11). His wife was **Lakshmi** (v. 12). From her he got a son, **Upendra** (I) who, as verse 12 seems to hint, bore the two surnames **Karavālabhairava** and **Dharaṇivarāha**. He was married to **Gaṅgāmbā** (v. 13). Upendra's son was **Mallapadōva** (II) (v. 13), who was married to **Chōḍāmbikā** (v. 14). She bore him **Upendra** (II) whose *biruda* was **Rājāsēkhara**. He is said to have founded the town **Chōḍamalle** in honour of his parents (v. 14). His wife was **Mallāmbikā** (v. 15) and his son was **Kōppa** with the surname **Paragaṇḍabhairava** (v. 15). He was married to **Gaṅgamāmbā** (v. 16). Kōppa's son was **Upendra** (III) who bore the *biruda* **Rājanārāyaṇa** (v. 16). His wife was **Bimbāmbā** (v. 17). From him originated **Manum-Ōpēndra** (IV) (v. 17), to whose praise five verses (17-21) are devoted. He bore the three *birudas* **Rājāsēkhara**, **Sarvajña**, and **Śamkara** (v. 20). His wife was **Lakṣāmbikā** (v. 22). The son of Manum-Ōpēndra (IV) was **Viśvēśvara**, also named **Viśvanātha** (v. 1), **Viśvabhūmiśvara** (v. 26), **Viśvadharaṇibhartṛi** (v. 28), **Viśvanṛipa** (v. 29), and **Viśvēśa** (v. 30). The record of his deeds must be considered the chief object of the present inscription. From verse 23 we learn that his *biruda* was 'Sarvalōkāśraya', verse 29 mentions another, viz., 'Rāyagaṇḍagōpāla', and verse 30 a third one, i.e., 'Dharaṇivarāha'. A historical fact is reported in verse 24. We are told that in the year which is counted after the *gatis* (5), the *arms* (2), the *śaktis* (3), and the *earth* (1), and which is called **Chitrabhānu** (**Śaka-Samvat 1325**), king Viśvēśvara overcame the **Āndhra** army in the sphere of **Sarvasiddhi**, which town lies seven miles south-west to **Pañchadhārāla**. We do not know, however, the near circumstances of this event. Verse 26 records the erection of a *maṇḍapa* for the success of the *kalyāṇa*-festivals of the god **Dharmēśa** of **Pañchadhārāla**. According to Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *kalyāṇa* is a 'festival' and especially a 'marriage'. This last meaning the word must have in the present inscription; for the god **Dharmēśa** is called '*pratyabdam parinēṛi*', 'he, who marries every year'. This marriage, certainly, was every year celebrated in this *maṇḍapa*.⁴ Verse 28 furnishes us with the exact date of this *maṇḍapa*: it was erected in the year, counting after the *nine* (9), the *arms* (2), the *Rāmas* (3), and the *moon* (1), i.e. 1329 of the **Śaka era** in the month of **Śuchi** (**Jyēṣṭha**), on the seventh bright day, and Sunday. This corresponds to Sunday, the 12th June A.D. 1407.

The last verse (30) records that Viśvēśvara set up an idol of the god **Vishṇu** in the **Upēndra-var-āgrahāra**, built by himself, and probably called after his father's name.

¹ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 2, 236.

² [This statement is incorrect.—Ed.]

³ See *ibid.*, Vol. II, *passim*.

⁴ [*Kalyāṇa-maṇḍapas* are meant for such marriages of gods and goddesses.—Ed.]

The pedigree of the new princes may be represented thus :—

Vijayāditya
m. Chandāmbikā.
|
Mallapadēva I.
m. Lakshmi.
|
Upēndra I.
m. Gangāmbā.
|
Mallapadēva II.
m. Chōḍāmbikā.
|
Upēndra II.
m. Mallāmbikā.
|
Kōppa
m. Gaṅgamāmbā.
|
Upēndra III.
m. Bimbāmbā.
|
Manum-Upēndra IV.
m. Lakkāmbikā.
|
Viśvēśvara.

TEXT.¹

[Metres : vv. 1 and 17, *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 2, 6, 23 and 25 to 28, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3 and 30, *Indravamśā*; vv. 4, 5, 8, 14 and 18, *Upajāti*; vv. 7, 9, 13, 16, 20 and 21, *Anuśṭubh*; vv. 10, 24 and 29, *Gūṭi*; vv. 11, 15, 19 and 22, *Indravajrā*; and v. 12, *Praharshinī*.]

South Face.

- 1 श्रीविश्वेश्वराय नमः ।
- 2 श्रीसंह[र्षि] चिरमुत्त-
- 3 रां ज्ञेयसां स प्रतप्यान्नाकु-
- 4 क्त्वाणां कुलदिनरवेर्विश्वनाथस्य² रा-
- 5 ज्ञः ॥(1) मातादर्शं जनकशिरससंदर्शने-
- 6 न युञ्जन् यस्तर्हिन्वं विदधदिव संपू-
- 7 र्वमाद्यो गजास्यः । १ । विश्वोर्नाभिसरोह-
- 8 षादुष्टभवद्भ्राता तदालोक्योद्यन्निस्तत्र-
- 9 यनोदितः शम्भरस्तस्यापसुतुर्बुधः³ ।
- 10 तस्यचः स पुनरवा रघु'रवापंतावस-

¹ From ink-impressions.

² Read °नाथस्य.

³ Read °बुधः.

⁴ Read °रघुना°.

- 11 नाहितस्तदंशेषु गतेषु पाण्डुरजनि स्था-
 12 पासचूडामणिः । २ । तस्यात्मजोभूदरिम-
 13 दंनोर्लुनः कोदंहुदंङ्गावतितुष्टग्रंकरः ।
 14 संप्राप्तवान् पाशुपतास्त्रमीश्वरात् को नाम
 15 तेनोपमितो नरेश्वरः । ३ । तस्याभिमन्युस्तन-
 16 यस्तदात्मजः परिशिदाश्रीदध^१ तस्य नंदनः । को-
 17 केषु रेजे जनमेजयस्ततः कृते कृष्णवैद्यववं^२-
 18 श्रजेः शुभेः^३ । ४ । तदन्वयेजायत विष्णुवहं-
 19 नः संवर्द्धनो^४ राजकुलस्य संततेः । चक्रवर्त्तिले
 20 तपशा^५ भिनंहितैर्दुर्गाश्रुताश्वैः कृतविक्रम-
 21 स्ततेः^६ । ५ । आसीदिंदुकुलाग्रशीर्जनपतिः चाकुक्षभी^७-
 22 मेश्वरस्तस्य चात्रपवित्रशेवपदवीवृत्तं विचित्रं भु-
 23 वि । तेनैवार्पितवैभवात् खलु सदा चाकुक्षभीमेव इत्याख्या-
 24 मापदपूर्विकाभिश्च कुमारारामभीमेश्वरः । ६ । तदं-
 25 श्रो विमलादिस्त्री दिव्यपत्नारिविक्रमः । शशास यश-
 26 सा सांद्रां विंध्यसिंहतरां^८ दरां^९ । ७ । तदात्मजो
 27 राजनरेंद्रभूवरो^{१०} भूत्वाभवद्राजमहेंद्र-
 28 नामकः । तदाख्यया राजमहेंद्रसंजकं^{११} रम्यं^{१२}
 29 प्ररं^{१३} राजति गीतमीतटे । ८ । तस्य पुत्रः कुलोत्तुंग-
 30 श्रीचक्रोड तेजसा । चंद्रनाचलमृगेषु चंद्रपां-
 31 श्वे च केसरी । ९ । दरणी^{१४} शस्तस्य कुले स्वकरजपद्मानुरा-
 32 गतात्पय्या[त्]^{१५} । उदयादित्यसहस्रा^{१६} विजयादित्याभि-
 33 दानपभुरभवत्^{१७} । १० । चंद्राविकायां जनितः स
 34 तस्माद्राजाश्रितो भक्तपदेवभूयः । यः सर्वलो-
 35 कान्त्रयतां प्रपेदे मर्त्यैरमर्त्यैः पितृभिश्च वृत्तैः । ११ ।

^१ Read °दासीदध.^२ Read शुभे.^३ Read तपसाभि°.^४ Read विंध्यसिंहतरां.^५ Read °संश्रुतं.^६ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.^७ Read शरी°.^८ Read कृष्णवैद्य° The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.^९ Read °वर्द्धनः संवर्द्धनो.^{१०} Read °स्ततः.^{११} Read चरां.^{१२} Read °सहस्री.^{१३} Read °पतिशालुक्°.^{१४} Read राजनरेंद्र°.^{१५} Read पुत्रं.^{१६} Read °निधानम्°.

- 36 लक्ष्मीमङ्गपदपयोःपेद्रभूपः सन्पुत्रो¹ निखि-
 37 लमवन् द्विरेव² भजे । शत्रूणां युधि करवालभै-
 38 रवत्वं मित्राणामपि ³दरणीवराहकल्पं । १२ ।
 39 तस्माद्गंगावया लब्धः(व्यः) सन्नुर्मङ्गपदेवकः । कुं⁴-
 40 भिकूर्मकुम्भकोलभारं भूमेर्वभार सः । १३ ।
 41 चोडाविकामङ्गपदेवयोः सुतः संरा(सम्मा)दुपेद्रो-
 42 जनि राजशेखरः । चकार पित्रोः परितुष्टये पुरं स
 43 चोडमङ्गा(म्मा)द्वयमग्रहारकं । १४ । मङ्गा⁵-
 44 विक्रायामुदभूदुपेद्रात् कोप्पत्तितीयः प-
 45 रगंडुभैरवः । विद्याव्रतसो धरणीपतीनां स्वा-
 46 त्तं⁶ दधुस्तेन⁷ विनीतवृत्तिना । १५ ।

East Face.

- 47 उपेद्रो गंगामावायां
 48 कोप्पभूपादजायत । स तु वि-
 49 श्व(भ)रत्वेन⁸ राजनारायणीभ-
 50 वत् । १६ । विम्बाव्यायामजनि
 51 मजनि⁹ मनुसोपेद्रभूपोप्पुपे¹⁰-
 52 द्रात् को वा तुल्यो जगति विधुषा¹¹ तेन
 53 राजाश्चितेन । चात्रे धर्मो विनयगर्[द]-
 54 तेनूपदाने¹² च दाने श्रौतस्मार्त्तसृ-
 55 शि च सरणी शाश्वते शैवतं
 56 । १७ । उपेद्रभूपेन शिवार्चनायां¹³
 57 प्रभूतदीपत्वसुपेत्य पावकः ।
 58 सुपाचसुखेहभरेण तप्तो ह-
 59 तं कथंचिद्भजते च¹⁴ यज्वनां । १८ ।
 60 तेनाभिषिक्तस्य शिवस्य मूर्त्तः¹⁵ पं-

¹ Read सन्पुत्रो.

² Read द्विरेव.

³ Read दरणीव.

⁴ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ Read लब्धः.

⁶ Read कुं.

⁷ This *anuvāra* must be dropped.

⁸ Read मनुसोपेद्रभूपोप्पुपे. The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

⁹ Read विधुषा.

¹⁰ नूपदाने *metri causa* for 'नूपदाने'.

¹¹ The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹² Read च.

¹³ Read मूर्त्तः.

- 61 चास्यतेर्निर्गकितैः फणासु । पूतो भ-
 62 भूवेत्यनुमीयतेसौः^१ शेषो द्विजिह्वो-
 63 पि विषाननोपिः^२ । १८ । इक्षोपे-
 64 द्रभूभर्त्तुं साक्यपदभाजनं । रा-
 65 जशेखरसर्व्वश्रमंकरत्वमदाहवः
 66 । २० । शस्तोपेद्रवृपो यज्ञैः शतेना-
 67 पि सुदुर्लभं । शंभोरवाप सायु-
 68 ष्यं शैवदीक्षायतोत्सवैः । २१ । सङ्गाब्धि-
 69 कोपेद्रमहोद्ययोरभूद्विश्वेश्वरो
 70 विश्वगुणोर्जितः सुतः । तेनाम्बयावु-
 71 ष्व(स्व)सितावदीव्यतां व्यावाप्त्यव्यावि-
 72 व तीव्रभानुनाः^३ । २२ । शंभोर्मूर्तिवि-
 73 भूषणं कुलपतिः शीलं चिवर्गोचितं की-
 74 र्तिबंदनचर्चिका दशदिशां तेजोपि नीराज-
 75 ना । विद्यासीन्नि विहारशर्म विबुधं य-
 76 त्सर्व्वलोकान्ययो धीमंतः किमिव स्तुवं-
 77 त्ति ननु तं चाकुक्षविश्वेश्वरं । २३ । सति-
 78 बाहुशक्तिभूमितिमपि गणयत्सर्व्व-
 79 सिद्धि(हि)पथभग्नं । सति चिन्मामुखाच्चिधि
 80 दरणीवराज्ञाददावदंद्रवर्णं^४ । २४ ।
 81 लिङ्गैः पंचशतैः कुबेररचितः प्रो-
 82 राजराजेश्वरः संसिद्धा^५ वरशिध्दलिङ्गा^६
 83 इति यः पूर्वागमज्ञैः श्रुतः । पश्चा-
 84 त्पांडुवभक्तावत्सलतया धर्मेश इत्य-
 85 र्जितो नागेश्वर^७चलमंदिरः सदवनेः शं-^८
 86 भुः समुज्जृम्भतेः(ते) । २५ ।

North Face.

- 87 तस्योदंश्चितपञ्चदा^{१०}रमगरीधर्मेश्वर[स्थो]-
 88 र्जितं प्रत्यब्दं परिणेतुरीशितुरिदं सं[जा]-

^१ Read बभूवेत्यनुमीयतेसौ.

^२ [यस्यशतैः would be a better reading.—Ed.]

^३ Read धरणीवराज्ञाददावदंद्रवर्णं.

^४ Read नागेश्वरं.

^५ Read पञ्चशतं.

^६ Read विषाननोपि.

^७ Read शंभोर्मूर्तिवि.

^८ Read संसिद्धा.

^९ Read अरविः.

^{१०} The *anuvāsa* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 89 तथैतोभुवः । कल्याणोक्तवमङ्गुपं सवि-
 90 भवं द्राकल्पयन्नितिमान् चाकुल्यान्-
 91 यविष्णुवर्धनं कुलश्रीविश्वभूमेश्वरः ।
 92 २६ । पत्याद्रेरिव क्लृप्तमङ्गलचतुःशा-
 93 ले परिभाजिते कल्याणोक्तवमङ्गुपे विरचि-
 94 ते विश्वेश्वरोज्ज्वलोभुजा । दिव्यामोदिनि राजरा-
 95 जविनुते वृक्षश्रवोविश्रुते पार्वत्या सह
 96 पञ्चदशरत्नगरीधर्मेश्वरो राजते । २७ ।
 97 याकाम्दे नवबाहुरामशशिसंख्या-
 98 ते शुद्धौ भासिते सप्तम्यामिनवारभा-
 99 जि महितः संस्थापितो^१ मङ्गुपः । कल्या-
 100 णोक्तवसिधत्तये^२ सविभवः^३ श्रीपञ्चधारापु-
 101 रोधर्मेश्वर चक्रवर्तिश्वधरणीभर्ता वि-
 102 शिवास्तदं । २८ । किं च तदुत्तरदिक्[सु]-
 103 दंक्षितसालं विशालमुत्तालं । प्राकल्प-
 104 यदाकल्पं विश्वनृपो रायगङ्गुगो-
 105 पालः । २९ । विष्णुप्रतिष्ठा(ष्टा)मक-
 106 रोक्तसौदा(धा) विश्वेशभूपो धरणीधरा-
 107 हः । स्थापादितोपेन्द्रवराग्रहारे ष-
 108 हर्मभिस्तृप्तमरुद्दिहारे । ३० । हरिह-
 109 रहरण्यगर्भेभ्यो^४ नमः । श्री श्री श्री
 110 देवाचारिलिखितमु^५ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.¹¹

Line 1. Salutation to (the) Blessed (god) Viśvēśvara.

(Verse 1.) May He for a long time exceedingly advance the progress of the fortune of king Viśvanātha (Viśvēśvara), the sun of the race of the Chālūkyas, (he) the Elephant-faced (Gaṇēśa), who combining his mother's (Pārvatī's) mirror with the half-moon on his father's (Śiva's) head is making full, as it were, that disc of the moon.

(V. 2.) From Viṣṇu's navel-lotus originated Brahmā whose son was Atri. From Atri's eyes arose the Moon whose eldest son was Budha. His son (was) Purūravas, whose enemies

¹ Read प्राकल्पयन्नितिमान्^१.

² Read वृक्ष^२.

³ Read °विश्वेश्वर^३.

⁴ Read °हरिण्यगर्भेभ्यो^४.

⁵ Read विश्ववर्धनं^५.

⁶ Read पञ्चधार^६.

⁷ The letter अ looks somewhat like च.

⁸ Read °लिखितमु^८.

⁹ Read क्लृप्तं^९.

¹⁰ Read संस्थापितो^{१०}.

¹¹ [See f. n. 2 on p. 162.—Ed.]

were afflicted and destroyed by (*the mere hearing of*) the noise of his chariot. When his descendants had passed away, Pāṇḍu the crest-jewel of kings was born.

(V. 3.) His son was Arjuna, the destroyer of his enemies, who pleased Śambhu (Śiva) by striking him with his bow-staff. Which king has been compared with him who received from the Lord (Śiva) the Pāśupata missile?

(V. 4.) His son was Abhimanyu, who had Parikshit for his son. His son was Janamējaya who shone in the world in the Kali age, which was purified by the descendants of the Lunar race.

(V. 5.) In his family was born **Vishṇuvardhana** who promoted the (*uninterrupted*) line of the royal family, to whom power was given by (*the deities*) Durgā, Achyuta (Vishṇu) and others, because they rejoiced over his ascetic life on the **Chālukya-mountain**.

(V. 6.) The most excellent prince of the Lunar race was **Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara**. His following of Śiva's doctrine purified by his qualification as a Kshatriya was famous in the world. (*Śiva here worshipped as*) Kumārārāma-Bhīmēśvara got, indeed, a new name of Chālukya-Bhīmēśa (*after him*), on account of the riches he always bestowed on him.

(V. 7.) His descendant **Vimalāditya**, whose valour was like that of the enemy of Diti's sons (Vishṇu), ruled the earth (*lying*) between the Vindhya mountain and the sea, and densely filled up by his fame.

(V. 8.) His son was king **Rājanarēndra**, (*who*) on account of (*his*) glory was called **Rāja-mahēndra**. With his name glitters the lovely town of **Rājamahēndra** on the bank of the **Gautamī** (*Godāvarī*).

(V. 9.) His son **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa**, Kēsari¹ (**Rājakēsari-varman**), played by means of his majesty (*i.e.*, glory) on the summits of the Sandal-mountain (*Malaya*) and against the horrible **Pāṇḍya**.

(V. 10.) In his family was born a king whose name was Vijayāditya. Because of the lotus-like red colour of his finger-nails (*karaja*), he resembled the rising sun who has the redness of the lotus which is caused by his rays (*karaja*).

(V. 11.) From him **Chandāmbikā** bore king **Mallapadēva** who was honoured by princes and was the refuge of the whole world, because he satisfied men, gods, and his ancestors.

(V. 12.) **Lakshmi's** and king Mallapa's good son, prince **Upēndra**, attained, when governing the universe (*these*) two² (*things*): the state of being 'Karavālabhairava' (*i.e.*, terrible on account of his sword) in battles with the enemies, and similarity with 'Dharaṇivarāha'³ in the case of his friends.

(V. 13.) His son king **Mallapa**, begotten by him on **Gaṅgāmbā**, bore the burden of the earth, (*otherwise borne*) by the elephants, the Tortoise, the mountains, and the Boar.

(V. 14.) From **Chōḍāmbikā** and king Mallapa was born the emperor **Upēndra**, the crest-jewel of kings.⁴ For the gratification of his parents he built as an *agrahāra* the town named **Chōḍamalla**.

(V. 15.) **Mallāmbikā** bore from Upēndra king **Koppa** *alias* **Paragaṇḍabhairava**. The four royal sciences attained their proper aim through him whose character was noble.

(V. 16.) **Gaṅgamāmbā** bore **Upēndra** from king **Koppa**. Because of his sustaining the (*whole*) world, he became **Rājanārāyana**.

¹ [as a lion.—Ed.]

² *dvir* is used instead of *dayam*.

³ The *biruda* Dharaṇivarāha was borne by king Viśvēśvara, as may be concluded from v. 24.

⁴ Probably, Rājaśekhara was a *biruda* of Upēndra.

(V. 17.) **Bimbāmbā** bore from Upēndra king **Manum-Ōpēndra**. Who in this world will equal that scholar, honoured by princes, in the *dharma* relating to the Kshatriya-tribe, known by 'discipline, in charity devoid of corruption,'¹ in the knowledge of the Vēda and the tradition, and in the eternal Śiva-doctrine?

(V. 18.) The fire which in the worship of Śiva performed by Upēndra assumed the form of many lamps, and which was satisfied by plenty of good vessels with good oil,² cared but little for the sacrificial offerings of priests.

(V. 19.) From the fact that the five nectarian substances³ dropped on the hoods (of *Śēsha*) from Śiva's head, besprinkled by him (*Upēndra*), it is concluded, that the serpent *Śēsha* became pure, though he has two tongues (and) carries poison in his mouth.

(V. 20.) Already in this life Bhava (Śiva) gave to king Upēndra the state of being Rāja-śēkhara, Sarvajña and Śaṁkara—Upēndra who was the receptacle of the condition of assimilation to the deity.⁴

(V. 21.) The famous king Upēndra got, by feasts in which there were a hundred of Śiva-dīkshās,⁵ union with Śaṁbhu (Śiva), very difficult to get even by one hundred of Vēdic sacrifices.

(V. 22.) The son of **Lakkāmbikā** and king Upēndra was **Viśvēśvara** endowed with all the virtues. Through him shone the two excellent families⁶ (of father and mother), as do the heaven and the earth through the powerful sun.

(V. 23.) Because his first ancestor was Śaṁbhu's (Śiva's) crest-ornament (the moon), (because) his behaviour was in accordance with the three *vargas* (*dharma, artha, kama*), (because) his fame was the sandal-ointment of the ten regions, (because) his majestic lustre was a waving light (of the ten regions), (because) it was his pleasure to divert himself in the region of knowledge, (because) his *biruda* was *Sarvalōkāśraya*—can the wise ones adequately praise that Chālukya Viśvēśvara?

(V. 24.) The army of the **Āndhras** defeated in the region (the town) of **Sarvasiddhi** (shattered by means of his complete success), reckoning after the *gatis* (5), the arms (2), the constituents (3), and the earth (1) (considering their resources, the strength of their arms, and the extent of the place), fled before **Dharaṇīvarāha** (Viśvēśvara), the witness being (the year called) **Chitrabhānu** (when the sun was present as witness).

(V. 25.) The (god) **Rājarājēśvara** (in his temple) who formerly, being founded by **Kubērawith** five hundred (subsidiary) *lingas*, was, on account of the fulfilment of the desires (of the devotees) called **Varasiddhalinga**, by those who know the tradition (and who) later on, on account of His affection towards His worshippers, the **Pāṇḍavas**, was famous as **Dharmēśa**,—(this) **Śaṁbhu** (Śiva) whose abode is the **Nāgēndra-mountain** prospers through the aid (rendered) to the good.

(V. 26.) The pious **Viśvabhūmiśvara** (Viśvēśvara) of **Vishṇuvardhana's** family of the **Chālukya** race has built this magnificent and large *maṇḍapa* for the *kalyāṇa*-festivals⁷ of the worshipped⁸

¹ I am not sure if this translation is correct. As for *upadāna*, Apte, in the *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, gives: a gift made for procuring favour or protection, such as a bribe.

² Suggested meaning: satisfied by the profusion of his great love to very venerable persons.

³ Milk, curds, ghee, honey, and sugar.

⁴ *Sārāpya* is one of the four states of *mukti*: compare *Sāgujya* in the next verse.

⁵ The exact meaning of *Śivadīkshā*, which seems to signify a special ceremony, is unknown to me. Should *dīkshā* be used in the more general sense: self-devotion (to Śiva)?

⁶ In *Raghuvamśa* VI, 45 *Sushena* is called *āchārabuddhōbhayavāṁśadīpam*.

⁷ Here, it seems, we are to suppose some local cult. Kittel in his *Kannada-English Dictionary* gives *kalyāṇa*—a festival (marriage). It is usual to celebrate the marriage of the god and his consort every year and this annual festival is called *kalyāṇotsava*.

⁸ As will appear from verse 16 of the pillar inscription of King Chōḍa III (*supra* p. 161) which gives 'lōkōdāṁchēkṣita-*panchadhāraṇagari-Dharmēśvara-prīṭaye*', *udāṁchēkṣita* here is used in the sense of 'bright worshipped'.

Dharmēśvara of the town of **Pañchadhārā** (of *Dharmēśvara*), who year by year is marrying (*Pārvatī*),—the lord whose love (to *Pārvatī*) has appeared.

(V. 27.) In the magnificent *maṇḍapa*, with four sacred halls constructed, as it were, by the lord of the mountain (i.e., *Himavat*), which has celestial perfumes and which is praised by the king of kings (*Kubēra*, in the other case) and famous on account of its being extolled by great men (*Indra*, in the other case)—(in this *maṇḍapa*), erected for the *kalyāṇa*-feasts by king *Viśvēśvara*, shines (the god) *Dharmēśvara* of the town *Pañchadhāra* with *Pārvatī*.

(V. 28.) King *Viśva* (*Viśvēśvara*) of the *Chālukya* dynasty has erected (this) magnificent *maṇḍapa* as a beautiful abode of the glorious *Dharmēśa* of the town of *Pañchadhāra* (*Pañchadhārā*) for the celebration of the *kalyāṇa*-festival in the *Śaka* year which is counted after nine (9), the arms (2), the *Rāmas* (3), and the Moon (1), in the bright half of (the month) *Śukhī* (*Jyēṣṭhā*), on the seventh day, on Sunday.

(V. 29.) And king *Viśva* (*Viśvēśvara*), the *Rāyagaṇḍagōpāla*, has erected this magnificent (and) large temple with a beautiful hall¹ to the north, (which will endure) until the end of the *kalpa*.

(V. 30.) King *Viśvēśa* (*Viśvēśvara*), the *Dharaṇīvarāha*, installed (the image of) *Vishnu* in a shrine in the *Upēndravat-āgrahāra* laid out by himself, (which is) the pleasure-ground of the gods who are pleased by the *Brāhmanas'* six *karmas*.²

(ll. 108-109.) Adoration to *Hari*, *Hara* and *Hiranyagarbha*. Hail! Hail! Hail!

(l. 110.) Engraved by *Dēvāchāri*.

No. 27.—A FRAGMENTARY PRATIHAHA INSCRIPTION.

By D. B. DISKALKAR, RAJKOT.

The following note is prepared from an impression preserved in the Barton Museum at Bhāvnagar. The name of the place where the inscription of which this impression is a copy was found has unfortunately not been recorded, nor did anybody come across the record again. The impression measures 1'-6" in height and the breadth varies from 1' to 1'-2". The stone from which the impression was taken must have originally been more than double the size of the estampage. About 35 to 40 letters have been completely lost with the latter part of each line, as the gaps in the verses would show. The concluding portion of the inscription is, however, preserved in the impression under notice.

The record is written in characters of about the ninth century A.D., and exhibits certain peculiarities which are found in the western variety of the *Kuṣṭha* script. Attention may be drawn in particular to the forms of the following letters: *na* is sometimes made up of two parts, each joining the top line close to the other. Its left part consists of an open hook with a bend the right part being vertical. It can thus be easily mistaken for *ma* (cf. *na* in l. 11). Sometimes the right hand vertical line is absent (cf. *na* in l. 19). Palatal *ṣa* is also similarly seen divided in two parts, the vertical on the right and the double-looped limb on the left. The language of the record is *Sanskrit* and, except the invocation in the beginning and the names of the writer as well as the engraver at the end, the whole of it must have been in verse.

The inscription being represented only partially by the impression its contents cannot be known fully. But the following items of information may be noted: The record opens with

¹ [The text gives *sālam*.—Ed.]

² The six *karmas* or duties enjoined on *Brāhmanas* are: *adhyāyana*, *adhyāpana*, *yajana*, *yājama*, *dāna*, and *pratiṣṭhā*, or the six acts belonging to the practice of *Yoga* (Apte under *युग*). It is not *युग* meant here?—Ed.]

an invocation to god Śiva. In the following lines Śiva seems to be praised in his *Ardhanār-īśvara* (half male and half female) form. In the eighth line the Lunar race is referred to. In l. 9 a king of the Western country is mentioned. Line 11 seems to mention a person whom people called [Va]rāha. Next is mentioned the river Rāva. In l. 12 is mentioned a king named *Kṛishṇarāja*, who was made to retreat hastily to his own country. In l. 13 some one is referred to as having gone to heaven after distributing untold wealth to Brāhmanas. In l. 15 some town, the name of which began with *Malava*, is mentioned as the place where a very charitable man named *Gōgga*, whose munificence is described in the following six lines, seems to have died. His faithful wife was named *Manikā*. Line 22 records the building of a temple of Viṣṇu, the enemy of the demon *Madhu*. In l. 23 *Īśvara*, the grandfather of one *Siddhāditya*, is mentioned, probably in connection with certain endowments to some temple. A verse in ll. 24 and 25 expresses the benediction for the long life probably of the temple. The *prastā* was composed by *Śambhuvarman*, son of *Dēvavarman*. The writer's name is missing. It was engraved by the son of *Dharmalālaka*.

The name [Va]rāha contained in the above account is significant and reminds us of 'Ādivarāha', the *biruda* of *Bhōjadēva*, the famous king of the *Pratihāra* dynasty. If it is really meant for the said ruler, as is very likely, the inscription can well be relegated to his reign, and the king *Kṛishṇarāja* mentioned in l. 12 can safely be identified with the *Rāshtrakūṭa* king *Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa II* (875-911 A.D.), who was his contemporary. We know that the *Pratihāras* and the *Rāshtrakūṭas* were constantly at war with each other and were alternately victorious. This inscription may be referring to a fight in which *Bhōjadēva* defeated *Kṛishṇarāja*, for poets usually record victories and not defeats of their patron kings.

TEXT.¹

1. श्रीं नमः शिवाय ॥ ब्रह्माण्डजन्मस्त्वितिसंज्ञते[ना]
2. स्था वपुरिदमस्त्रिं चन्द्रिका मदीयं चातुसिंहस्त
3. यस्य प्रदुग्धा सुरस[रि]त इव शीघ्र . . ति सोम्यात् [दिहे?]
4. हृभीर्ध्वं वेपथे किं गदितमिति हरस्वार्धनारीश्वरमूर्तेः प्रत्यक्ष्या[तो] विधिर्भू-
5. कीर्त्तीर्णसितीन सिद्धममृतेनागत्य विस्तारि[त⊕]कण्ठे यस्य विषं प्रसारित[म]-
6. अयमस्मिन्मूर्तिरिति निरुद्धिष्वाम्बुधारास्तरो कोनाम्बुधारासिद्धिर्भूतमिति(त्रि) धियां सज्ज[ता]
7. पसे दिङ्गनां ॥२॥ अस्मिन्मूर्तिरिति(१)मृत . . कराचमनिर[त]

¹ From a rubbing preserved in the Barton Museum at Bhavnagar.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ This symbol and the gon in the fifteenth line seem to indicate the conclusion of a paragraph.

- 8 पासीनिशाक[र]कलाकृतपूजमूर्धदेवातिदेवदशमोप[म]सुभ

 9 प्राञ्चालदेशाधिपो राज . . ह.परैसं.मरे च पञ्चत्वमापा

 10 सुन्नाम्भो दितिजेशसंगरजयोभिप्रायतः प्रापितो(तस्) तस्मिन्बाध

 11 राज इति यं सर्वः समन्ता[जनः] ॥ रेवातोयां(यान्)वहद्वि[र्ज]रपतय इ

 12 शदेशाभिसुखमविरतं सातिरेकैः प्रयाणैः प्राप्य द्राक्षस्वराजं

 13 [कि] दत्त्वा द्रविणानविदितप्रायसंख्यं द्विजेभ्यः । याते स्वर्गोक्तमाप्तुं सु

 14 टितकृतकौशमासाप्रत्यापमान्तस्वा(?)पञ्चतान्ध्वनिविभवधनुर्मूर्तरो[म]प्रह

 15 त्वाजितस्वाज्जुनेनः(न) ॥॥ चोखामस्ति परं चारि मक्षवादिपदान्वितं नगरं

 16 [वाज] शरण[म] । दानविस्मितचित्तेन^१ शिरःकप^२ विधास्यता भूकपः कथ्यते-
 व्यापि इ
 17 सुदारचरितः कृतधीः कृतज्ञो गोमोभवत्पुत्रभुवनप्रथितप्रभावः ॥ जन्मान्तरा

 18 तस्मासी[न्मनिका साध्वी] भार्या[धिप]गुणान्विता हरत्त्वच^३ नृणां याता या
 गंगेय [दृष्टा]
 19 . ददता येन सुदा प्रथयिनाभवत्^४ देहीति कपणा वामो^५ न नीताः
 श्रुतिगोचरं ॥ सं
 20 . युत एव सर्वमिदं निरूप्य निपुणं धर्मं समानं यो बिभ्रावेत्
 हिमाचलप्रतिनि
 21 . शकस्यसुमतीप्रान्तसंप्राप्तकीर्तिः दीनाना[मा]र्त्तिहन्ता प्रतिदिनमसमावाप्त-
 पुष्यप्रता
 22 . तस्मा कारिता सुधिया येन प्रतिष्ठास्य [मधु]हि[यः] ॥ तस्य . सुव्या
 र्थास्तवाप्ति(?)मायिका गु

^१ Read °चित्तव.^२ Read लघं.^३ Read °कप.^४ Read प्रथयिना.^५ Read कियवे°.^६ Read वापे.

A FRAGMENTARY PRATIHARA INSCRIPTION.



- 23 ॥ श्रीमान्मातामहस्तस्य सिद्धादित्यस्य धीमतः[.] मूर्तिमानिव
 पुण्येयुः श्रीमानीवरचंद्रितः ॥ मा
- 24 कारि भग्नस्य निवेशनेव[*] ॥ यावत्किंल्लविरामकालविलसद्वाताहतिप्रे-
 रितप्रोक्ष्यपुनश्चाभ्युवाहनिवह
- 25 .[ई] लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मिः ॥ प्रशस्तिमकरोदेनां सर्व[स्त्रे]न प्रचोदितः शम्भुवामं-
 ति विख्यातस्तनयो देवकर्म[नः]
- 26 [रंगला] .२. लिखितं ॥ उत्कोष्ठा धर्मशास्त्रकस्तुना ॥

No. 28.—AN ODD PLATE OF PARAMARA SIYAKA OF [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1026.

By D. B. DISKALKAR.

This copper-plate was obtained from a copper-smith of Ahmedābād by some pleader of Kaira (in Gujarāt), who made it over to Muni Jinavijayaji of the Gujarāt Purātattva Mandir of Ahmedābād some seven years ago. The latter kindly handed it over to me for publication.

The plate, which is the second half of a grant, has two holes each measuring $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in diameter at its top at a distance of 7 inches from each other. They are meant for the two copper rings holding the two plates together. The rings are missing. All the edges of the plate are fashioned into rims to protect the incised portion which is in a good state of preservation. It measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and $7\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth, and contains ten lines of writing, the last one containing, in about three times larger letters, the sign-manual of Śrī-Siyaka. In the left hand lower corner of the plate is engraved the figure of a flying Garuḍa holding in his left hand a cobra and having his right hand raised to strike it, as is generally seen in the grants of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwā.

The engraver has done his work in a slovenly way. The letters are not straight but are seen inclined to the left or more often to the right. Their average size is $\frac{1}{4}$ " by $\frac{1}{4}$ ". There are a number of grammatical mistakes even in this small portion of the record. The *anuvāra* is many times left out. The characters are old Nāgarī current in the 10th century A.D. They agree with those of the copper-plate grants of the Paramāra rulers, Vākpati Muñja¹ and Bhōja,² but are rather different from those of the two Harsola³ plates of V.S. 1005 of Siyaka, who is identical with the Paramāra Siyaka of the present inscription. The language of the record is Sanskrit. As regards orthography nothing special is to be noted.

A larger part of the plate, from the first line to the eighth, is taken up by the five customary imprecatory verses, which are the same as in the grant of Vākpatirāja of V.S. 1031. The last two lines of the inscription contain an important historical information. The ninth

¹ Read °किं.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 51, and Vol. XIV, p. 160.

³ They are being edited in this Journal.

⁴ Better read लिखिता.

⁵ Above, Vol. XI, p. 181, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 53.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 51.

line gives the 15th day¹ of the dark half of *Āvina* of the [Vikrama] year 1026 as the date of the record, and mentions *Kaphapaika* as the *dāpaka* (or the person who caused the grant to be issued).

By the loss of the first plate we are deprived of that portion of the record which contained the details of the family to which *Siyaka* belonged. There is, however, no doubt that this *Siyaka* was the illustrious *Paramāra* king of *Mālwā*. The *Garuḍa* symbol found in the plates of the *Paramāras*, namely, *Vākpati* and *Bhōja*, is found here exactly in the same form, and the characters are similar. We can even say that the *Siyaka* of our plate is the father of *Vākpati Muṇja*, whose two grants of V.S. 1031 and 1036 have been discovered. The *dāpaka*,² moreover, in this grant and in the grant of V.S. 1031 is the same individual. We know that *Siyaka* had reigned at least up to the year 1029 of the *Vikrama* era, as the poet *Dhanapāla* of *Dhārā* says in verse 276 of his *Prākṛit Dictionary* called *Pañlacchī*, that he had composed the work for the sake of his sister *Sundarā* in V.S. 1029, when *Mānyakhēta* was looted by the people of *Mālwā*.³ This undoubtedly refers to the statement in the 12th verse of the *Udayapur prasasti* that *Śri-Harsha*, (another name of *Siyaka*), had invaded the dominions and looted the capital of *Khōṭṭiga*.⁴ The present grant, being dated in V.S. 1026, is three years earlier than that date and twenty-one years later than the *Harsola* plates.

A point which requires to be borne in mind here is that the present plate and the *Harsola* plates, which are the earliest known records of the *Paramāra* family of *Mālwā*, were discovered in the *Ahmedābād* district of *Gujarāt*. The *Harsola* plates show that the property granted by the king consisted of the same tract of *Gujarāt*. We have, therefore, reason to believe that the *Paramāras* were connected with *Gujarāt* in the early days of their power.

TEXT.⁵

1 सासायं चैतद्युगफलं बुद्धाकाङ्क्षजेरन्येरपि भाविभौकृभिरस्यदत्तधर्मदायीय-

2 भ[सु]गन्तव्य-पालसीयस्य [1*] उहं च भग[व*]ता व्यासीन[1*] * * *

3 to 8

[Five imprecatory verses.]

¹ It will be seen that the *tiṭhi* is given here as the 15th of the dark half, which is the *amāvāsya* day of the month. In the *Harsola* grants of the same king, which are dated in V.S. 1005, the same *tiṭhi*, *amāvāsya*, is expressed as the 30th of the dark half as is done now-a-days. It seems, therefore, that both the forms of expressing the *amāvāsya* day were in use in the medieval period. Out of the eighty *Valabhi* grants, for instance, in as many as nine places the *tiṭhi* is expressed in the former way.

² The word *dāpaka* has been read by the editors of *Vākpati*'s grants of V.S. 1031 and 1036 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 51, and Vol. XIV, p. 160) as *dāyaka* and combined with the preceding word *ājāśa* as *स्यमाज्ञादायकः*. But it is to be noted that the word *dāpaka* found in these grants and in the grants of V.S. 1005 and in the present grant stands for the usual word *dātaka* and the word *स्यमाज्ञा* means, as the grants of V.S. 1005 clearly state *राजाज्ञया*, 'by order of the king'. Both the expressions are quite separately given there thus—*दापकी च उहं भोविषः । राजाज्ञया चिह्नितं कावक्ष्यजुषरैश्च*. The word *dāpaka* conveys, I think, the same meaning as another word *kārōpaka* (a person appointed to look after the execution of the record) does. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX p. 62 n. 53, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 189.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI (1907), p. 169.

⁴ From the original plate.

⁵ Read *पालसीयस्य*.

⁶ Above, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁷ Read *बुद्धा*.

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ १०
 ११ १२ १३ १४ १५ १६ १७ १८ १९ २०
 २१ २२ २३ २४ २५ २६ २७ २८ २९ ३०
 ३१ ३२ ३३ ३४ ३५ ३६ ३७ ३८ ३९ ४०
 ४१ ४२ ४३ ४४ ४५ ४६ ४७ ४८ ४९ ५०
 ५१ ५२ ५३ ५४ ५५ ५६ ५७ ५८ ५९ ६०
 ६१ ६२ ६३ ६४ ६५ ६६ ६७ ६८ ६९ ७०
 ७१ ७२ ७३ ७४ ७५ ७६ ७७ ७८ ७९ ८०
 ८१ ८२ ८३ ८४ ८५ ८६ ८७ ८८ ८९ ९०
 ९१ ९२ ९३ ९४ ९५ ९६ ९७ ९८ ९९ १००

- 9 * * * * सं १०२६ चास्मिन् वदि १५ [*] लयमात्रा दापकवान श्रीकण्ठवैकः ।
 10 Garuḍa figure श्रीसीयकस्य लहस्तीयं ।

No. 29.—SIX INSCRIPTIONS FROM KOLUR AND DEVAGERI.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT.

Kolūr is a village in the Karajgi tāluka of the Dhārwar District, about 3 miles nearly west from Karajgi town, in lat. 14° 52' and long. 75° 27'. The name is ancient, and is that given to the village in the records here published. On the neighbouring village of **Dēvagēri**, anciently **Dēvaṅgēri**, I need only refer to Dr. Fleet's remarks in Vol. XI above, p. 1. The present series is now published for the first time¹ from ink-impressions which were prepared for Dr. Fleet, and on his lamented death passed into the British Museum. Four of them (Nos. A., C., D., and F.) are from Kolūr; the rest (B. and E.) are from Dēvagēri. They range in date from Śaka 967 to the reign of the Yādava Siṅghaṇa, in the first half of the 13th century A.D.

Kolūr and Dēvagēri, together with the adjoining town of Kulēnūr, formed part of the *manneya* or seignior (something like the modern *inām*) of the district known as the **Bāsavūra Hundred-and-forty**, or **Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr**. In the present records, with the sole exception of No. C., this seignior is mentioned as being under the control of a dynasty of nobles who claimed to belong to the **Jimūtavāhan-ānvaya** or lineage of Jimūtavāhana and the **Khachara-vamśa** or Race of the Birds, and bore on their banners the figure of a snake (A., l. 18, F., l. 27). This refers to the legend dramatised in the drama *Nāgānanda*, attributed to Harshavardhana, and brings them into connection with the **Śiṣhāra** dynasty of the Southern Konkan (circa 783-1008 A.D.), with the Northern branch of the same family, with Goṅkadēva, who was reigning at Tērdāl in A.D. 1122,² and with the **Sēnavāra** or **Sēnamāra** family ruling in the Kaṭṭur district of Mysore from about the end of the 7th century,³ all of whom claimed the same ancestry. This raises a point of peculiar interest. The *Nāgānanda* is one of the plays which the Chākya of Travancore are in the habit of acting at religious festivals.⁴ At first sight it seems strange that a Buddhist drama should be habitually performed by orthodox Hindus in honour of their gods; but the reason is now apparent. The scene of the *Nāgānanda* is laid on the Malaya Mountain, i.e. the Western Ghats of Malabar and Travancore; and its theme is indicated by the pedigrees of these three families. Hence either the plot of the drama was entirely fictitious, and these pedigrees were concocted on the basis of it; or else it embodies a genuine legend of Malabar or Travancore, which was the source of these pedigrees, either directly or through the medium of the drama. The former alternative seems to me to be quite untenable. The other alternative fully accounts for the facts,—both the pedigrees of these neighbouring families and the appearance of a Buddhist play in orthodox Hindu festivals. Hence I venture to draw the inference that the performance of the *Nāgānanda* is one of the few cases in which a Hindu play is definitively associated with an ancient legend of the place where it is enacted.

¹ No. E. is included in the Elliot Collection, on fol. 367a. of Vol. i. of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy.

² See *Dyn. Kavar. Distr.*, pp. 439, 443, 450, 523, 536, 548; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 252.

³ See *Ep. Carn.*, VI. Cm. 61, 62, 75, 76, 94, 95, Kp. 37.

⁴ See Pandit Ganapati Sastri's preface to Vol. xlii of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*.

A.—KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SOMESVARA I : SAKA 967.

This is from a slab found in Kōlūr; but I can find no record of its site or other details. The inscribed area is 2 ft. 1½ in. wide and 4 ft. 10½ in. high.—The character is good Kanarese of the period; the letters in the upper lines are about ⅔ in. high, the rest about ½ in. The cursive *m* (above, Vol. XII, p. 335) appears in *ma[m*]gaḷa* (l. 45).—The language is Old Kanarese prose, except in the two Sanskrit verses on ll. 41-44. The *ḷ* does not appear; its place is taken by *l*. Initial *p* is preserved. The spelling *-śchādamuḥ* for *-śchādamuḥ* (l. 39) is interesting: cf. Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, § 227a, and Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, p. 154.


The record opens by referring itself to the reign of Trailōkyamalla-dēva (Sōmēśvara I) in ll. 1-4. Under him a certain functionary with the title of Rājagurudēva, of the Kādamba lineage, was governing the twelve towns which were administered for the benefit of the temple of Indrēśvara at Baṅkāpura (ll. 4-13); he is described as the 'guardian of the Koṅkaṇ' (l. 11), and much is said about his piety, valour, learning, and other merits. Next is introduced Kaliyammaraśa, of the Jīmūtavāhana lineage and the Khachara race, who was administering the *manneya* of the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (ll. 14-23). He was a Jain by religion, the tutelary goddess of his family was Padmāvatī, and their banner bore the device of a serpent. He is also termed *Ḍāyiga-dallaḷam*, 'a trouble to Ḍāyiga,' apparently some potentate whom he had defeated (l. 21). Then follow the details of the endowment (ll. 23-34), by which Rājagurudēva granted some land to the temple of Kalidēśvara at Kōlūr, and Kaliyammaraśa assigned thirty houses to defray the cost of perpetual lamps in it. The writer of the record was Bāsavayya, and the sculptor Bammōja.

The date is given on ll. 26-27 as : Śaka 967, the cyclic year Pārthiva; Pausya-suddha 5, Sunday; the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. This is irregular. The given *tithi* corresponded to Monday, 16 December, A.D. 1045; it ended at 12 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise on that day, and began 13 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding Sunday. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred 23 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 23 December,—a week after the given *tithi*.¹

The places mentioned are : Roḍḍa (l. 8), Baṅkāpura (ll. 13, 27), the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (l. 22), Kōlūr (l. 28), Karage (l. 30), Ālakere (l. 30), the Varade river (l. 31), and the *tirthas* (ll. 36, 37, 39). On Roḍḍa see above, Vol. VIII, p. 135n. Baṅkāpura is the modern Baṅkāpūr (see above, Vol. XIII, p. 168). On Bāsavūr and Kōlūr see above. Kōlūr was one of twelve towns administered for the benefit of the temple of Indrēśvara at Baṅkāpura. Karage may possibly be the modern town of Karajgi, which gives its name to the *tāluka*, and lies in lat. 14° 52' and long. 75° 30'. The Varade river must be the stream called "Verdā" on the Bombay Survey map: Kōlūr lies on its southern bank, and it flows thence westwards to the north of Dēvagēri and then turns southwards. There is a village named "Vardi" (so the Bombay Survey) on its bank in lat. 14° 47½' and long. 75° 20'.

TEXT.²

[The metres are as follows : verse 1, *Śalini*; verse 2, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1  Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pri(Pri)thvi-vallabha mahārājādhirājā(ja) para³.
2 mēśva(śva)ra parama-bhaṭṭarakam Satyāśraya-kula-tīlakam Chājuky-ābharapam

¹ I have again to acknowledge my obligation to the late Mr. R. Sewell, who with his usual kindness checked my calculations for the dates in this series.

² From the ink-impression.

³ The engraver began this word with the syllable *dāi*, and then corrected it to *pa*.

- 3 śrīma[t*]-Trailōkyamalla-dēvar sukha-[saṃ]kamtā¹-vinōdadim rājyaṃ-geyyu-
 4 ttam-ire || ☉ Svasti yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-prāṇ-ā-
 5 yāma-pratyāhāra-japa-samādhi-saṃpannar-Īśvara-p[ā*]da-kamala-
 6 bhri(bhri)ṃga sāhas-ōttuṃgan-āsrita-jana-kalpa-vri(vri)ksha sa(sa)raṇ-āgata-suraksha
 7 nudid-ante māṛppam kṛe kūrppam pratipanna-Mēruv-ēkāṃga-viran-Āsandhu(nda)-
 dhiram
 8 Vir-āvatāram vira-chūdāmaṇi gōtra-chintāmaṇi Roḍ[d*]ja-kaivāram Sai(Śai)va-
 prākāram sa(sa)ra-
 9 pariparinata² niśsamka-vairi-vri(vri)ndaka³-sa(sa)ra-sandhāna bāpa-śikṣā-guru Kali-
 yuga-
 10 Drōṇāchāryya sarvva-sa(sa)stra-sā(sā)stra-viśāradaṃ nārācha-Parasu(su)rāma
 giri-durgga-bhaṃjā(ja)-
 11 n-Āmjanēya trailōkya-ramjanam kaṭaka-mābhīśam⁴ Komkēṇa-rakṣāḥam
 Kadamb-ānvaya-
 12 samuddharāṇa-nām-ādi-samasta-prasa(sa)sti-sahitam śrīmat Rājagurudēvar
 13 Bāmkāpurad-Ind[r*]śvara⁵-dēvargg-āḥva panneradum bādaman sukhadin-āḥuttam-
 ire || ☉
 14 Svasti samasta-vasumatitāḥa-kṣā(kṣyā)ta-Jimūtavāhan-ānvaya-bra(pra)stā ba-
 15 ndhu-jana-kama[i*]nī-rāja-hamśa(sa) vidva[j*]-jana-vinōdam gōṣṭhi-vinōdam Padmā-
 vati-lābha-va-
 16 ra-prasāda rāja-vidyā-parāyaṇa mūrti-Nārāyaṇam samyakt[v*]a-chā-
 17 ḍamaṇi bhri(bhri)tya-chintāmaṇi pratāpa-mārttāṇḍa pagevara-gaṇḍa dīn-
 ānātha-ja-
 18 na-santa[r*]ppit-ānūna-dāna pannaga-dhvaḥa-vi(vi)rājamāna vidagdha-mugdha-
 19 vār[ā*]ṃganā-mc-ā-bhirāma chalaḍ-amka-Rāva(ma) Ji(Ji)na-pāda-pamkaja-raja[h*]-
 20 putiḥa-piṇjarita-gātra par-āṃganā-putra sakala-guṇa-gaṇ-ōttuṃga
 21 māvana siṃga jita-vairi-saṃkula Dāyiga-dallaḥam nām-ādy-ā(a)nēka-[nā*]m-ā-
 22 lāṃkritam⁶-samōtan-appa śrīmat-Kalli(li)yammarasaṃ Bāsavūram(ra)-nū-
 23 ra-nālvattara manneya[d-araṇa-geyyattam-ilḍu*]⁷ || ☉ Svasti yama-ni(ni)yama-
 svādhyāya-dhyāna-
 24 dhāraṇa-mō(man)u-ānushṭhāpā(na)-parayāṇa⁸-japa-samādhi-saṃpannarum anavara-
 25 ta-dharmma-chittarum-appa śrīmat Vāmarāsi(śi)-dēvara śiṣyar-appa Mallika-
 26 rjjuna-bhadāgga⁹ svasti Sa(Śa)ka-varaha 967neya Pārthiva-saṃvatsarada
 Pausya(shya)-su(su)ddha
 27 pamchami Ādivāra uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrāntiyandu Bāmkāpurad-Indrēva(śva) ra-

¹ Read -saṃkamtā-.

² Read -pariṇata. ³ The ānushṭhāpā and dā are not quite clear.

⁴ Possibly a mistake for -mābhīśam.
⁵ I have altered the spelling Indrēvara to Indrēpara, as the latter form appears below, l. 27, and in inscr. C., l. 8. On the other hand, the Hoṭṭūr inscription of Śaka 929 mentions a place called Indrēvaragēri (l. 12); hence it is possible that both forms were in use.

⁶ Read -āḥamkṛit-.

⁷ There seems to be a gap here; I have accordingly filled it up from inscription B., ll. 22-23; cf. *ibid.*, l. 8.

⁸ Read -parayāṇa-.

⁹ This may be corrected to -bhadāgga, or -bhadāgga, or -bhadāgga. The first seems the most likely.

- 28 dēva[r*]gg-aīva panneradum bādada baīya Kōlūra Kalidēvēśvara-dēvargge
 29 śrīmat Rājagurudēvaru dhār[ā*]-pūrvvakadīm sarvva-namasyam-ā-
 30 ge biṭṭa Karageya baṭṭeyim tenika Ālakeṛeyim-d-ūr-ānnaram¹
 31 paḍuval biṭṭa ere mattar-emṭṭ(mṭ)u dēgulada kōde(de)ym paḍuva Varade-
 32 ya tōreyim tenkal biṭṭa kisu mattar=eraḍu antu mattar pattu [!*]
 33 Manneya Kaliyammarasam nandā-divigege biṭṭa pariṣṭrada manega!
 34 mūvattu sarvva-bādha-parihāram=int-ī dharmmamam pratipālisuvar [!]*
 35 ī dharmmamam pratipālisid-ātagem² vijaya-śrīyūm baī-āyūm āro-
 36 gy-ābhividdhiyūm³=uttar-ōttaram=akku [!*] matta[m*] Kurnkshētra Vāraṇāsi
 37 Prayāge Argghyatīrttham=emba mā(ma)hā-tīrtthagamlo!⁴=śāsira kavileya kōḍu[m*]
 koḷagumam
 38 paṁcha-ratnadol=kattisi mā(ma)hā-brāhmaṇargge nbhayamukhi goṭṭa phalam=akku
 [!*] Idan-aī-
 39 dh(d)-ātange rōgam daridratvam santati-śchēdamum⁵ Vāraṇāsiyoī=kōṭi
 kavileyum kōṭi
 40 brāhmaṇarum ek-kōṭi-tapōdhanarumam konda paṁcha-māha⁶-pātakan=akkum ||
 41 Sāmānyō-yam dha[r*]mma-sētu[r*]-nripānām kālō kālō pālantiyō bhavadbhiḥ [!*]
 42 sarvvān-ētām(n) chāgina⁷ pārtthivēndrō(ndrān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō
 Rāmaḥbhadrah [|| 1*]
 43 Sva-datt[ā*]m para-datt[ā*]m vā yō harēti(ta) vasundarā⁸ [!*] sashṭhi⁹-varsha-
 saha[r*]ṇi
 44 mishṭhayām¹⁰ jāyatō krimi¹¹ [! 2*] Bareda sēnabōva Basavayya besa-ge-
 45 yda Bam[m*]ōja [!*] Ma[m*]gaḷa

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4.) Hail! When the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chāḷukyas, king Trailōkyamalla, was reigning with enjoyment of pleasant conversations:—

(Ll. 4-13.) Hail! When he who observes the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, suppression of breath, retraction of senses, prayer, and absorption, who is a bee to Īśvara's lotus-feet, possessing all titles of honour such as "lofty in courage, a tree of desire to dependents, a good guardian to seekers of his protection, an opponent (?) according to the word,¹² returning love for love, a Mēru in exaltation, a warrior of the body-guard, valiant as Āsanda [Vishṇu], an incarnation of Vira [Virabhadra], a crest-jewel of warriors, a wishing-gem to his gōtra, a theme of praise to Rōḍḍa, a palace¹³ for Śaivas, skilled in (the use of) arrows, stringing arrows against troops of fearless foes, a master to teach archery, a Drōṇīchārya of the Kali age, accomplished in all weapons and books of instruction, a Paraśurāma with arrows, an Āñjanēya (Hanumān) in shattering mountain-fastnesses, delighting the three worlds, great lord of the camp (?), guardian of the Konkan, restorer of the Kadamba

¹ This word is corrupt.

² Read -ātagem.

³ Read -ābhividdhiyūm=.

⁴ Read -tīrtthagamlo.

⁵ On this spelling see Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, §227a, and Wachernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* I, p. 154.

⁶ Read -māha.

⁷ Read bhāgina.

⁸ Read vasundharā.

⁹ Read shashṭim.

¹⁰ Read mishṭhayā.

¹¹ Read krimi.

¹² Or: the phrase suṣīd-ante gṛhḍa.

¹³ [I would say 'rampart' instead.—Ed.]

lineage," the illustrious Rājagurudēva, was happily governing the twelve towns administered for (the benefit of) the god Indrāśvara of Baṅkāpura :—

(Ll. 14-23.) Hail ! While he who is sprung from the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana famed over the whole earth, possessing many titles of distinction such as 'a royal swan in the lotus-lake of his kin, delighting in learned men, delighting in social circles, receiving the grace of boons from (the goddess) Padmāvati, versed in the science of kings, an incarnate Nārāyaṇa, a crest-jewel of goodness, a wishing-jewel to servants, a sun of magnificence, a man of might to foes, satisfying by abundant gifts the miserable and forlorn, brilliant with the Serpent-banner, delighting the mind of witty and modest courtesans, a Rāma in the characteristic of constancy, having his limbs yellowed by the mass of pollen in the lotuses of the Jinās' feet, a son to other men's wives, exalted by the series of all virtues, a lion of his uncle, conqueror of a multitude of enemies, a trouble to Pāyiga', the illustrious Kaliyammaraśa, was ruling the seigniorship of the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavū¹ :—

(Ll. 23-26.) Hail ! to Mallikarjuna-Bhaṭṭa (?), disciple of Vāmarāśi-dēva, who is versed in the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, and observance of the vow of silence, who practises prayer and absorption, and is constantly inspired by godliness,—

(Ll. 26-27.) Hail ! on Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Pausya in the cyclic year Pārthiva, the 967th (year) of the Śaka era, at the uttarāyana-saṁkrānti,—

(Ll. 27-34.) For (the benefit of) the god Kalidēvēśvara of Kōḷūr, (one of the towns) included in the twelve towns administered for (the benefit of) the god Indrāśvara of Baṅkāpura, the illustrious Rājagurudēva with pouring of water granted on sarva-namasya tenure, eight mattar of black-loam land north of the road of Karage, west . . . from the Ālakere ; (and also) he granted two mattar of red land west of the wall (?) of the temple, south of the river of Varade : altogether ten mattar. The seignior Kaliyammaraśa granted for the perpetual lamps thirty houses in the precinct, immune from all conflicting claims. So they shall protect this pious endowment.

(Ll. 35-40 : a prose formula of the usual type.)

(Verses 1-2 : two common Sanskrit formulae.)

(Ll. 44-45.) The town-clerk Baṣavayya wrote (the record). Bammōja executed (the order). Happiness !

B.—DEVAGERI INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGNS OF SOMESVARA II AND SOMESVARA III: SAKA 997 AND 1056.

This record was found on a stone at Dēvagēri ; but I have no information as to its site or character. The inscribed area is about 3 ft. 2½ in. high and 3 ft. 6½ in. wide. It contains two documents, in different hands, of which the second is imperfect at the end.—The character is Kanarese ; the letters vary in height from ½ in. to ¾ in. The cursive *m* (above, Vol. XII, p. 335) is used in *sampannar* (l. 9), *dharmmam* (l. 27), *kamma* (l. 28), *mattam* (l. 28) ; the palatal *ṇ* appears in *paṣṇa* (ll. 4, 6).—The language is Old Kanarese, except for the introductory Sanskrit verse. The archaic *l* occurs in *līda* (ll. 11, 15, 23), *gaḷda* (l. 28), and wrongly in *kaḷchi* (l. 13) ; elsewhere it is changed to *ḷ*. Initial *p* is preserved, except in *hattakk* (l. 17), and *Halama* (l. 29). The word *kottayum* on l. 20 (if I have read it aright) is singular. On *mattalu* (l. 28) cf. above, Vol. XIII, p. 168, and *Ep. Carn.*, VII. i., Sk. 8, 61, 70, 71, 322, Hl. 7, 11, etc. Some words are of lexical interest, viz. *kāṣaṭa* (l. 16), *maḷave* (ll. 16, 17), *kechchanappa* (ib.), and *ḷaige* (l. 17).

¹There seems to be something lost here ; see above.

The first document, after referring itself to the reign of Bhuvanaikamalla-dēva, i.e. Sōmēśvara II (l. 3), mentions the General Udayāditya—a *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, high minister, commissioner for *hēri* and for peace and war, and steward of the household—as administering at the time the Binavise Twelve-thousand (ll. 4-5), while the *Mahāsāmantā Kaliyammarasa*, of the Jimūtavāhana lineage and Khachara race, styled 'a lion for Rājāditya' (apparently one of his family to whom he had rendered military services),¹ was governing the *manneya* of the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty (ll. 5-8). The details of the grant then follow (ll. 8-21), according to which Veṇṇamayya, a general, minister, and controller of the *perijjuka* taxes, together with the controllers of the two *bilkoḍe* taxes, assigned the proceeds of a toll on produce carried in a certain area to the temple of Kaṅkaḷēśvara² at Dēvagēri, the trustee being Gaṅgarāśi-Paṇḍita.

The second document opens by referring itself to the ninth year of the reign of Bhūḷokamalla, i.e. Sōmēśvara III, and introduces another Kaliyammarasa, a kinsman of the Kaliyammarasa mentioned above, perhaps his grandson, as governing the same seignior (ll. 21-23). A verse (ll. 23-25) states that this dignitary, who is here named Kaliga, made a gift of land to the same temple; and the details of this donation, of which the trustee was Mallikārjuna-Paṇḍita, are given in ll. 25-28. This is followed by a record of a donation by some merchants, of which only the beginning remains.

The date of the first record is given on ll. 11-12 as Śaka 997, the cyclic year Rākshasa; Paushya-suddha 14; Sunday; the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*; the *yōga vyatipāta*. In these details the only error is in the week-day. The given *tithi* corresponded to Thursday, 24 December, A.D. 1075, when it ended about 3 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* took place on the same day at 18 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise, the following Friday being reckoned as Makara.

The second record is dated on ll. 21-22 as: the 9th year of Bhūḷokamalla (i.e. Śaka 1056 expired), Ānanda; Paushya-suddha 11; Monday; the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*; the *vyatipāta*. This is irregular. The quoted *tithi* corresponded to Saturday, 29 December, A.D. 1134, on which day it ended about 1 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. On the other hand, the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred according to the Ārya-siddhānta 28 m. after mean sunrise on Tuesday, 25 December. Mr. Sewell has pointed out to me that by the Brahma-siddhānta the *samkrānti* took place on Monday, 24 December, at 1 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise, the current *tithi* for that day being Paushya śu. 7. Apparently then the record has mixed up two distinct dates, namely Paushya śu. 11 (Saturday) and the *samkrānti* on Paushya śu. 7 (Monday).

The chief places mentioned are: the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty, l. 8, or the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr, l. 22; Dēvaṅgēri, ll. 14-15; Palavūr, l. 15; Eleya-Tammuge, l. 15; Barade, l. 16; Beḍabālu, l. 27; Maruḷeyana-kere, l. 27; Chimudagere, ll. 27-28; and Arakere, l. 28. On Bāsavūr, Dēvaṅgēri, and Barade, see above. The other places I am unable to identify.

TEXT.³

[The metres are: verse 1, *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 2, *Uṭpalamālā*.]

- 1 [Na]mas-tu[m]ga-si(śi)raś-chumbita⁴-cha[m]dra-chāmara-chāravā [||*] triḷōkyam(kya)-nagar-āraṁbha-mūla-stambhāya Sa(Sa)mabhavē || [1*]
- 2 [Sva]sti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śri-Pri(Pri)thvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramē śvarām parama-bhaṭṭarakam Satyāśraya-kṇja-tiḷaka[m] Chāḷuky-ā-

¹ [Ordinarily it may also imply that he was a lion to (i.e. vanquished) Rājāditya. The previous plate has *māyana śinga* (l. 21).—Ed.]

² This name is spelt on l. 14 *Kaṅkaḷēśvara*, on l. 24 *Kaṅkaḷēśvara*, and on l. 28 f. *Kaṅkaḷēśvara*.

³ From the ink-impression.

⁴ Read -*chumbi*.

- 3 bharaṇam śrīmat **Bhuvanaikamella-dēva-jaya-rājya-uttar-ōttar-ābhivri**(vri)ddhi
pravarddhamānam-ā-chaṇḍr-ārka-tāram-baram saluttam-ire [1*]
- 4 [Ta]t-pāda-padm-opajlvi samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śa[bda-ma]hā-sāmantādhipati
mahā-prachanḍa-danḍanāyaka mahāpradhānam hēri-sa-
- 5 [ndhi]-vīgrahi mane-verggaḍe danḍanāyakan-**Udayādityam Banavāse-pannirch-**
chhāsiramuman¹-ājutt-ire [1*] Svasti samadhiga-
- 6 [ta]-pañcha-mahā-śabda-mahāsāmantam vijaya-lakshmi-kāntam samasta-vasumatitāla-
khyātam(ta)-Jīmūtavāhan-ānvaya-prasā(sa)-
- 7 [tam] bandhu-jana-kamaṇi-rāja-hamśa(sa) **Khaṇḍhara²-varṇa-ōdbhavam Padmāvati-**
labdha-vara-prasādam tyāga-vinōdam **Rājādityanasirga** śrīmat
- 8 **Kaliyammarasam Bāsavūra-nūṇa-nālvattarkkam** man[n(e*)]yaman sukhadin-arasa-
geyyuttam-ire ☉ Svasti samasta-rāja-
- 9 bhara-nirūpita-mahāmātya-padavi-virājamāna mān-ōnnata prabhu-mamtr-ōtsāha-śakti-
traya-sampannar-appa śrīmaṇḍ-danḍa-
- 10 [n]āyakam perjūmkada **Vēṇṇamayyarbaḷum** śrīmat-bilkode(de)ya **Nāgavarm-**
mayyannum **Chikka-Kōtāyannum** antu perjūmkav-eraḍu
- 11 [b]ilkode(de)yavarum-iḷḍu **Sa(śa)ka-varsha 997nēya Rākshasa-sathvatsarada**
Pauṇḍya-su(śu)ddha 14 **Ādityavāram-uttarāyana-**
- 12 samkrāntiyu[m*] vyatipātamum kōḷḍid-andu Svasti yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-
dhārāna-mō(mau)n-ānuśṭāpa³-
- 13 parāyana-japa-samādhi-sampannar-appa śrīmat **Gaṅgarāsi(śi)-paṇḍitara** kālam
kalchi(rochchi) dhārā-pūrvvakam mā-
- 14 ḍi **Dēvaṅgēriya Kamkaḷāvara-dēvargge** dhāpa-dīpa-nivēdyakke biṭṭa dharmmanu-
ent-endaḍe [1*] Śrīmat vaḍḍa-rāvulaḍa perggade Bē-
- 15 chayanum-iḷḍu **Dēvaṅgēriyalum Palavūralum Eleya-Tammum(smm)uge** modal-āgi
mūr-ūra talada bhaṇḍadolam paḍuvalu Maṇṇu(ann)a-
- 16 nḍiya pole mūḍalu Tammugeya **Kaḷla-voḷe** modal-āgi Baradeyim tenka pōpa
bhaṇḍakke kāsataḍa malave irppattakk-ōndu kechchan-a-
- 17 ppa nūla pāsina biḷigeya malave mūvattakk-ōndu pattiya malave ayyattakk-
ōndu davasada pēru hattakk-ōndaṇa sumkamu-
- 18 man vaḍḍa-rāvulam perjūmkā eraḍum bilkode(de)ya sumkava[m*] pratipālisuvar
[11*] I(I) dharmmavam pratipālisidavar Prayāge Bā-
- 19 pārsi Kurukshētram **Argghyatirṭhadolam** sāsirvvar vēda-pāragarige sāsira
kavileya kōḍum koḷagumam pañcha-ratnadol-ka-
- 20 ṭṭisi kōṭṭayum paḷav-akku [1*] I(I) dharmmavam pratipālisadavam sāsirvvar vēda-
pāragarumam sāsira⁴ kavileyumam konda
- 21 pañcha-mahā-pātakan-akkum ☉ Svasti śrīmach-**Chāḷḷkya⁵-Bhūḷōka[malla*]-**
varṇhada **ōṇēy-Ānamda-sathvatsarada** Pauṇḍya(śhya)-su(śu)ddha 11
Sōmavārad-u-
- 22 ttarāyana-samkrānti vyatipātad-andu śrīman-mahāsāmantā **Kaliyammarasaru**
Bāsavūra nūṇa-nālvattaṇa man[n(e*)]ya-
- 23 d-arasa-gey[y*]uttam-iḷḍu || Śr-īśvaran-appa **Khaṇḍhara-kuḷ-ānvayan-i** **Kaliḷ-āvanita**
mahāśvara-diksheyam tanage māḍisi ko-

¹ Apparently what was intended was *Banavāse-pannirchchāsiramam*.

² Possibly *Khaṇḍhara*; the first vowel is not quite clear.

³ Under the r is written ā.

⁴ Read -ānuśṭāpa-.

⁵ Read -Chāḷḷkya-.

- 24 ṇḍu samasta-dēva-dēv-śvara-Kaṁkaśvara-mahā-mahimazge nivedya-pūjagam
śāśvatam-āge koṭṭan-nkhiḷ-ōrvare ba-
- 25 ṇṇisaḷ-ndgha-bhūmiyam || [2*] Svasti yama-ni(ni)yama-śvidhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-
mō(mau)n-ānushṭāpā¹-japa-samādhi-
- 26 śiṇa-guṇa-saṁppannar-appa śrīmatu Mallikārijuna-paṇḍitara kalam karachai dhāra-
pūrvvakam nāḍi bi-
- 27 tṭa dharmmam-eint-eṇḍade | Beḍabāla baṭṭeyim taṁka | Marṇeyana kereyim
nāḍa ere mattaru nālku | Chimu-
- 28 ḍageraya paḍavāṇa deṇeyalu biṭṭa kisu mattaḷu araḍu | Arakereya keḷage
biṭṭa galḍe kamma 50 || [3*] Mattam Kaṁkāś-
29 [śvara-t]jēva[r]ige [?] pariś[ī]ṭada saṁpadalu Kisuva Halama-seṭṭivāḷaru[m*]
Kalidēva-seṭṭiyum²

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Homage to Śaṁblu, beauteous with the yak-tail fan, that is the moon, kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the building of the city of the three worlds.

(Lines 2-3.) While the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chāḷukya**, king **Bhuvanaikamalla**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(ll. 4-5.) While one who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet, the **Mahāśāmantādhipati** who has obtained the five great (*musical*) sounds, great august General, High Minister, commissioner for affairs of *lōri*,³ peace, and war, steward of the household, the General **Udayaditya**, was ruling the **Binarāśa Twelve-thousand**:—

(ll. 5-8.) While—hail!—the **Mahāśāmantā** who has obtained the five great (*musical*) sounds, beloved of the goddess of victory, scion of the lineage of **Jīmūteśvara** famed over the whole earth, a royal swan to the lotus-pool—his kindred, born of the **Khachara** race, receiving the grace of boons from (the goddess) **Padmavati**, taking delight in liberality, a lion for **Rājāditya**, the illustrious **Kaliyammaraśa**, was governing happily the seigniorship of **Bāṇavura Hundred-and-forty**:—

(ll. 8-14.) He who is eminent in the office of high minister appointed for the administration of the whole kingdom, exalted in dignity, possessing the three powers of lordship, counsel and enterprise, the General **Vēṇṇamayya** (the controller) of the *perjjuṇka* taxes, and **Nagavarmayya** and **Chikka-Kēṭayya** (the controllers) of the *biḷkoḍe* taxes, that is to say, the controllers of the *perjjuṇka* and of the two *biḷkoḍes*, in concert, on Sunday, the 14th of the bright fortnight of Pausya in the cyclic year **Rākshasa**, the 987th (year) of the **Śaka** era, coinciding with the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* and the *vyatipāta*,⁴ having laved the feet of **Geṅḡarāśi-Paṇḍita**, who is versed in the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration and observance of silence, and practises prayer and absorption, granted with pouring of water a pious endowment for (the supply of) incense, lamps, and oblations for the god **Kaṁkaśvara** of **Dēvaṁgēri**, to the following effect:—

(ll. 14-18.) With the concurrence of **Bēḥayya**, controller of the *vaḍḍa-śavūḷa* taxes, (it was decreed that) they shall maintain both in **Dēvaṁgēri** and in **Palavūr** in the case of the produce of the soil of **Kēya-Tammuge** and the rest of the three towns, a toll upon produce that is

¹ Read *-ānushṭāna-*.

² Of line 80 nothing is legible; and the rest of the record is lost.

³ See remarks in my paper on the **Lakṣmīśvar** inscr. of **Jagadīśwara** II, 1. 21.

⁴ A *yōga* in which the sun and moon have the same declination.

carried south of Barade—beginning with the river of Maṇḍandi on the west and the Kalla-river of Tammuge on the east—viz., one *maḷave* upon every twenty of *kāsaṭa*, one *maḷave* upon every thirty of *binige* of red (?)¹ thread, one *maḷave* upon every fifty of cotton-pods, one load upon every ten of grain, (as) a toll of the *vaḍḍa-rūcuḷa*, the *perjjuṅka*, and the two *bilkodeṣa*.

(Ll. 18-21 : a prose formula of the usual type.)

(Ll. 21-23.) Hail! At the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of Pausya in the cyclic year *Ānanda*, the 9th (year) of the Chālukya-Bhūḷō-kamalla era, in the *vyatipāṭa*, while the *Mahāsāmanta* *Kaliyammaraśa* was governing the seigniorship of the Hundred-and-forty of *Bāsavūr* :—

(Verse 2.) This prince *Kāṇiga*, of the lineage of the *Khēchara* family, a lord of fortune, having caused to be performed for himself the *Māhēśvara* consecration, bestowed in perpetuity, with the approval of the whole earth, good land for the great glory of *Kaṅkaṇēśvara*, the lord of all gods of gods, and for his worship with oblations.

(Ll. 25-28.) Hail! Having laved the feet of *Mallikārjuna-Paṇḍita*, who has the merit of practising the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, observance of silence, prayer, and absorption, he granted with pouring of water a pious endowment, as follows: four *mattar* of black-loam land south of the road of *Beḍabālu*, east of *Maruleya's* Tank; two *mattal(r)* of red land he granted on the west of the *Chimuḍagere*; 50 *kamma* of paddy-field he granted below the *Arakere*.

[Translation of the latter part of l. 28 and l. 29 is omitted here, apparently because the sense is not complete. As they stand, we might render them thus :—Further, to the god *Kaṅkaṇēśvara*, *Kisuva* *Halamā-setṭivāḷa* and *Kalidēva-setṭi* in the vicinity of the enclosure.—Ed.]

C.—KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE 4TH YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA VI.

This record was found on a fragment of a slab in the temple of *Dhavaḷēśvara* at *Kōḷūr*, concerning which I have found no further details. The upper half is very imperfectly preserved. The maximum height of the inscribed area is about 3 ft. ; the width is 2 ft. 3 in.—The character is a fair Kanarese of the period, the letters varying in height from $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. The cursive *m* (above, Vol. XII, p. 335) occurs in [*pa*]mcha-mahā°, l. 9, ma[hāsē]nādīpati, l. 11, and *paḷama*°, l. 28. The language, except for the concluding Sanskrit verse, is Old Kanarese. The initial *p* is changed to *h* only in *hattiya*, l. 25. The archaic *l* is preserved in *lḍu* ll. 17-18, and is written irregularly in *karchhi*, for *karchchi*, l. 21; elsewhere it has been replaced by *l*. The words *khēnikāra*, l. 17, *binige*, l. 24, *kechchanappa*, l. 24, and *maḷave*, ll. 24-25, are of some lexical interest.

The record, so far as it is preserved, begins by referring itself to a time when *Trailōkya-malla-dēva* was reigning over the *Nalambavaḍi*, Thirty-two Thousand and the *Śāntiliga* Thousand (ll. 1-6). This is probably *Jayasimha III*, the younger brother of *Vikramāditya VI*, on whom see *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 453. Then, after a mutilated reference to some religious dignitary who was administering the demesnes of the god *Indrēśvara* of *Baṅkaṇpura* (cf. above, A., ll. 12-13), we learn that at the same time a *manneya*, probably the *Bāsavura* Hundred-and-forty, was under the government of a *Mahāsāmanta* whose name is lost, but was probably *Kaliyammaraśa* (ll. 6-10), while the General *Baladēvayya*, a devotee of the Jain church, was ruling the *Banavase* Twelve-thousand and controlling the *kl-vatṭa* section of the *vaḍḍa-rūcuḷa* taxes (ll. 10-13), the General *Bammadēvaraśa* was controlling the *perjjuṅka* and the two *bilkode* taxes of the *Banavase* Twelve-thousand (ll. 13-15), the *pergaḍe* *Chāvanna*, also a pious Jain, was *khēnikāra* of the *vaḍḍa-rūcuḷa* (ll. 15-18), and *Dasa-Gāvunḍa* and *Baja-Gāvunḍa* were serving as *gāvunḍas* of *Kōḷūr* (l. 18). Next comes the date (ll. 18-20), followed

¹ Possibly *kechchanappa* is unconnected with *kechchane*, 'redness'; but it may equally be connected with *kechchu* in the sense of 'warp'.

by details of an endowment for the temple of the god Grāmeśvara, the "Village Lord", of which the trustee was a certain Kannaḍaśāhārya, and under which a toll identical in its rates with that specified in B., ll. 16-17, was to be levied on certain produce of the soil in Kōḷūr and Aggalajūr under the provisions of the above-mentioned four taxes, and applied for the benefit of the temple (ll. 20-26).

The date is given on ll. 18-20 as : the 4th year of the Chāḷukya-Vikrama era, Siddhārtha ; Paushya amāvāsī, Sunday ; the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* ; the *vyatipāta* ; an eclipse of the sun. This again is somewhat irregular. The given *tithi* corresponded to Thursday, 28 December, A.D. 1079, ending about 3 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred 19 h. after mean sunrise on the preceding Tuesday, i.e. at 1 a.m. on Wednesday, 25 December, which was hence reckoned as 1 Makara. The eclipse of the sun actually took place on Thursday, 26 December, as stated : see *Indian Calendar*, p. 122.

The following place-names occur : the Nōḷambavāḍi Thirty-two-thousand, ll. 4-5 ; the Sāntalige Thousand, l. 5 ; Baṅkaspura, l. 8 ; the Banavase Twelve-thousand, ll. 12, 14 ; Kōḷūr, ll. 18, 22 ; Aggalajūr, l. 22 f. ; Karage, l. 23 ; the *tirthas*, ll. 26, 27, 29. Nōḷambavāḍi lay somewhere about Bellary. Sāntalige was in the west of Mysore or thereabouts (*Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 306, n. 5). On Baṅkaspura see Vol. XIII, p. 168 ; on Karage, see above.

TEXT.¹

[The metre of verse 1 is *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 [śa]-
- 2 [ra]n-āgata-rakṣhāma[pi]
- 3 gajāgarājān
- 4 śrīma[t*]-Trailōkyamallavār² Nōḷa[m]bavāḍi-mūva]-
- 5 [tti]rohoḥāsīramumam Sāntalige-[āsīramu]-
- 6 mara sukha-samkathā-vinōdadin r[ājya]m-geyyuttam-ire || Svasti yama-niyama-
dhyāna]-
- 7 dhāraṇa-mō(mau)n-ānushṭhāna-japa-samādhi
- 8 Baṅkaspura-d-Indrēśvara-dēvargg-āḷva Gorava(?) [samadhi-gata]-
- 9 [pa]mcha-mahāsa(śa)bda-mahāśāntam śrīmatu [Bāṣavura-nūra-
nāḷva]-
- 10 [ttara] manneyad-arasu-geyyut[t*]am-ire || Svasti
- 11 ma[hāśe]nādi(dhi)patī mahā-prachamḍa-damḍanāyaka Jina-charaṇa-kamala-bhri(bhri)m-
ga [damḍa]-
- 12 [n]āyaka Bala-dēvayya[m]ga²]u Banavase-pannirohoḥāsīramumam vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa-
- 13 [da ?] ki]-vaṭṭeya samkaman-anubhavisuttam-ire || Śrīmad-damḍanāyaka Beṭṭi-
[mayyam ?]-
- 14 gaḷa magam Bama-dēvarasaru Banavase-pannirohoḥāsīrada perjūmkamum
eraḍu[m] bi]-
- 15 lkoḍeya samkaman-anubhavisuttam-ire || Svasti samasta-guṇa-sampanna nuḍid-
am-
- 16 t-ennam sujan-aiyka-mitra gōtra-pavitra śārīta-jāna-kālpa-vri(vri)ksha bandhu-jana-
chintāmaṇi Po .
- 17 ṭṭiya singa Jina-charaṇa-kamala-bhri(bhri)mga śrīmatu vaḍḍa-rāvuḷada khēpikāra
perggade Chāṣavannanu[m]-i]-
- 18 [du || Śrīmatu-Kōḷu(la)ra Dāsa-gāvundānum Bāja-gāvundānum gāvund-
geyyu(yu)ttam-ire || Chāḷu[k]ya-
- 19 Vikrama-varsha āneya Sidh(d)dhārtha-samvatsarada Paushyad-amāvāsī Ādityavā-
ram-uttar[ā]-

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Read *Trailōkyamalla-dēvar*.

- 20 yaṇa-samkrānti vyatīpāta su(ṇ)ryya-grahapadandu Grāmēśvara-dēvargge dhūpa-dīpa-
 21 nivēdyakke Kannaḍaśāhāryyara kālaṁ kar[chi dhārā-pūrvvakam=āgi biṭṭa dharm-
 mam-ent-enda[de]
 22 Vadda-rāvuḷa perjjumka eraḍuṁ bilkoḍe antuṁ(ntu) nāḷkuṁ sumkadalum=āgi
 Kōḷūr=Aggaḷa-
 23 jāra Karageya taḷa-bhaṇḍamu[n*?] ā yeraḍuṁ poḷege barpp-aḍḍa-vaṭṭeya
 khāsa-
 24 ṭada maḷave irppattakk=ondu kechchan=appa nūla pāsina biṇigeya maḷave
 25 māvattakk=ondu hattiya maḷave ayvattakk=ondu davasada pēru i[r*]ppa-
 26 ttakk=ondu [||*] Int-i dharmmamam pratipālisidavaru Vāraṇāsi Gu(Ku)rukshētra
 27 Prayāgeyā(yo)=sāyira kavileya kōḍuṁ koḷagumaṁ paṇcha-ratnadoḷu kaṭṭi-
 28 si(si) vēda-pāragar=appa sāsirvvaru brāhmaṇargge mahā-dānam-gotṭa pa(pha)lam-
 akku ||
 29 I dharmmamam=alidaṁ Vāraṇāsi Kurukshētradoḷ sāsira kavileyuṁ sāsira brā-
 30 hmaṇaraṇ=alida paṇcha-mahā-pātakan=akku || Sva-datt[ā*]m para-datt[ā*]m vā
 yō harēti(ta) vasu-
 31 ndharāṁ shashthi(shṭim)-varsha-sahasrāṇām(ṇi) mi(vi)shṭhāyām jāyate krimi ||
 [1*] ②

D.—KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE 10TH YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA VI.

This mutilated fragment is from a stone found at Kōḷūr, regarding which I have no details. It contains only the right-hand half of the record. Its height is about 3 ft. 5½ in.; its width at l. 1 is 12½ in., and at l. 32 (the last line) 17½ in. The character is fair Kanarese of the period and the letters vary between ⅜ in. and ½ in. The language is Old Kanarese, except in the formal Sanskrit verses on ll. 24-27. The *ḷ* is used irregularly in *kamaḷa* and *sakaḷa* (l. 5), and in *neguḷḍaḷu* (l. 14); elsewhere it is replaced by *ḷ*. We find the archaic participle *pratipālisidovge* (l. 27) in a formula beside the later form *alidavame* (l. 29).


The record refers itself in ll. 1-3 to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla-dēva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI, and then mentions in ll. 3-7 Rājagurudēva (compare above, inscr. A.) as administering twelve towns, probably those comprised in the diocese of Indrēśvara of Baṅkāpura. Next appears again Kaliyammaraśa, who figures in inscription B. (ll. 8 and 22), as governing the *manneya* of Bāsavura. After the date (ll. 12-13) begins a series of *kanda* verses in praise of Basava and Kētamalla and their family, though of the latter only one name is preserved, viz. that of their grandmother (?) Bāgaṇabbe (l. 14). To judge from the words *Ō(Au)ragakuḷa-tiḷakam* on l. 13, this family also belonged to the Jimūtavāhana lineage. One or both of these men held the office of *gōvunḍa* in Kōḷūr (l. 18), and won the favour of Kaliyammaraśa (l. 19), who was pleased because Basava risked his life (literally, 'gave his head') in his service, and accordingly made a religious endowment (ll. 19-22). The document was drafted by Maḷapayya, the teacher of Kētamalla, and was engraved by Kaḷōja (ll. 31-32).

The date is given in ll. 12-13 as the 10th year of the Chāḷukya-Vikrama era, Krōdhana, Thursday, the month and fortnight being lost. The year Krōdhana corresponded to A.D. 1085-6.

The only decipherable place-names are: the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty (l. 11); Kōḷūr (l. 18); and the *tīrthas* (l. 27).

TEXT.¹

[The metres are as follow : verses 1-7, *Kanda* ; verses 8-9, *Anushṭubh*.]

- 1 [Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabha mahār]ājādhirāja paramēśvara
parama-
- 2 [bhaṭṭārakaṁ Satyāśraya-kuṇḍa-tilakam Chāḷukya-abharapa]m śrīma[*]-Tribhuvana-
malla-dēvaru sukha-
- 3 [saṁkathā-vinōdadin rājyaṁ-geyyuttam-ire | Svasti yama-niyama-av]ādhyāya-dhyāna
dhārāpa-mō(mau)n-ānu-
- 4 [shṭhāna] budha-jana-prasānnanarūṇ
dharmma-latā-
- 5 vā-kamaja(la)-mārttaṇḍarūṇ
sakaḷa(la)- 
- 6 sara-vīratarūṇ chāritra-nīratarūṇ
śrīma-
- 7 vinādarūṇ-appa Rājagurudēvaru panneradūṇ
bādamam
- 8 [Samadhigata-pa]mcha-mahāśabda-mahāśāntam
vijaya-
- 9 [lakshmi-kānta] Jīmūtavāhan-ānvaya-prasāda
bandhu-jana-
- 10 [kamaḷini-rāja-haṁsa] [Padm]āvati(tī)-labdha-vara-prasāda tyāga-vinōda
biruda-
- 11 [manneya-mada-nivāraṇa(?)] śrīmat Kaliyam[m*]jarasa[r*]
Bāsavura-nūṇa-nāḷya-
- 12 [ttara manneyad-arasu-geyyuttam-ire (?)] | Svasti śrī]mach-Chāḷukya-Vikrama-
varshaṁ lōneya Krōdha-
- 13 [na-saṁhvatsara] [Br]i(Br)haspativārada-andu || Ō(Au)raga-kuṇḍa-tilakam²
prabhu Vi(Vi)r-ā-
- 14 [vatāra] [r]uḥa-lōchane negaḷdaḷu(lu) dhāriniyoḷ
Bāgaṇabbe
- 15 [1*] y-ananta-guṇam bhuvana-bha[raṇa]-jana-vinutam
śrī-kāntam
- 16 śhṭa-nivāsa || [2*] Āta Sitege
do[r]e
- 17 yasa(śa)r-jjaniyisidar=nniti-vida[r*] Basava-
Kētama[ī]la-
- 18 [3*] r=Kōḷūroḷ gāvunḍu-geydu sukhadin-
iral-pati-kāra-
- 19 mam mechchi Kaliyam[m*]jarasam dayeyi || [4*]
Enage tale-go-
- 20 [tt] n=emdu Kaliyam[m*]jarasam manam=osed-
eraḍum kēriya mane-
- 21 itta || [5*] Vīgrahadoḷ tale-gottī(tṭa)n=udagra-baḷam
Basava-

¹ From the ink-impression.

² The syllables *tīḷa* have been omitted from their proper place and inserted in smaller letters at the end of the line, with crosses to mark the omission.

- 22 [gra]hadimdam samasta-parigraha¹=ā-cha[m*]-
dra-tāram=ant=āg=itta || [6*]
23 ing=adu piridum punyam=artthad=ā(a)pēkshateyimd=
idan=alidava-
24 ridu naḍege naḍevavar=ella || [7*] Sva-datt[ām*]
para-danta(ttām) vā yō ha-
25 [rēta vasundharām [*] shashṭimv-a]rsha-sahasrānām(ni) mi(vi)shṭhāyām jāyatē
krimi² || [8*]
26 [Sva-dattād=dvigunam punyam p]ūrvva-datt=ānupālī(la)nam [*] pūrvva-datt-
āpahārēṇa sva-dattam nis(sh)phalam bha-
27 [vēt ||] [9*] maryyādeyam tappade pratipālisidomge
Vāraṇāsi Gange Kuru-
28 [kshētradoḥ sāsira]-kavileya kōḍum kolagumam paṁcha-ratnadoḥ kaṭṭisi vēda-
pāraga-
29 [r=appa sāsira-brāhmaṇargg]e dānam-gotṭa pa(pha)lam=akku || Idan=alidavaṁge
ant=ā tirtthadoḥ sāsi-
30 [ra-kavileyu]m sāsira-br[ā]hmaṇarum sāsira-divya-tapōdhanaruma[m*] komda pā-
31 [takam=akku] || Kētamallanan=ōdisida upādhyāyam Mālapayyam bareda besa-
ge-
32 [yda] siyamōjana magam Kēlōja ||

E.—DEVAGERI INSCRIPTION OF THE 46TH YEAR OF VIKRAMADITYA VI.

This document, of which a transcript is given in the *Elliot Collection*, vol. 1 (fol. 367a. of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy), is from a slab found standing in the front of the gateway of the temple of Basavaṇṇa by the *hoṇḍa* or well of Dēvagēri. The inscribed area is about 3 ft. 10 in. high and 1 ft. 3½ in. wide. The lower part of the inscription is lost.—The character is fair Kanarese of the period, with letters varying between ½ in. and ⅞ in. in height. The cursive *m* occurs in *mūla*, l. 2.—The language is Old Kanarese, except for the opening Sanskrit verse. Initial *p* has become *h* in the name *Hermāḍi*¹ (ll. 19, 23, 43) and in *hola-vēreyim* (l. 25; cf. above, Vol. XIV, p. 277). The *l* does not appear: we find *irḍdu* (l. 21) for *iḷdu*, and elsewhere *l*.

The document refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla-dēva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI (ll. 3-8), and mentions next the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* *Īśvarayya*, a general and steward of the household, as administering the "Two Beḷvalas," (scil. Beḷvala and Puligere) (ll. 9-13), while the *Mahāsāmanta* *Hermāḍiyarasa* of the *Jimūtavāhana* lineage and *Khachara* family, was governing the *manneya* of the *Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty* (ll. 14-21). It then records a date (ll. 21-23) on which *Hermāḍiyarasa* made a grant of some lands to the temples of Tribhuvanēśvara (a title of Śiva derived from the name of the reigning king) and Bhairava, the trustee being *Tribhuvanasingi-Paṇḍita* (ll. 23-29). After formulæ of the usual type (ll. 29-39) comes a verse which tells us that *Hermāḍiyarasa* was the son of *Kaliyammārasa* (see inscriptions B.-D.) by his wife *Laṇḥaḥaladēvi* (ll. 40-44). After this the rest of the record is lost: only small fragments of nine lines survive.

The date is given on ll. 21-23 as the 46th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, *Plava*; the full-moon of *Paushya-suddha*, Sunday; the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*; the *vyatipāta*. The *tithi* quoted corresponded to Sunday, 25 December, A.D. 1121; it began on that day at 12.24 a.m., and ended about 13 m. after midnight. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred 15 h. 45 m. after

¹ The letter *gra* has been omitted and added at the end of l. 21, with crosses to mark the omission.

² Read *krimih*.

mean sunrise, i.e., at 9.45 P.M. on the previous Saturday, so it actually took place before the quoted *tithi* began; but the day to which it was attached, viz. from mean sunrise on Saturday to mean sunrise on Sunday, was still current when the *tithi* commenced, and hence the two dates might legitimately be connected. Mr. Sewell informs me that according to the *Brahma-siddhānta* the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* occurred on Friday, 23 December, a date which could not possibly be connected with the given *tithi*.

The only place-names mentioned are: the Banavāse Twelve-thousand (l. 12), the 'Six-hundred consisting of the two Belvalas', i.e. Belvala and Puligere (ll. 12-13), the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty (l. 20), Dēvagēri (l. 25), Marayagere (l. 26), and the *tirthas* (l. 30).

TEXT.¹

[The metres are: verse 1, *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 2, *Śālinī*; verse 3, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 [Namas-tuṅga]-ś[i]raś-chumbi-chāndra-chāmara-chāravē [i*] trai[ō]kya-
- 2 nagar-ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē . [|| 1*] ☉ Maṅga[la]
- 3 ☉ Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśrayaṁ Śri-Pri(Pri)thvi-[va]-
- 4 llabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara para-
- 5 mahattārakam Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tīlakaṁ Chāḷu-
- 6 ky-ābharanam śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanamalla-dēvara vija-
- 7 ya-rājam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vri)ddhi-pravarddhamā-
- 8 nam-ā-chāndr-ārka-tāraṁ-baraṁ saluttam-ire
- 9 ☉ Tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi ☉ Svasti samadhigata-paṁcha-
- 10 mahā-śabda-mahāsāmaṁtādhīpati mahāpra-
- 11 chaṇḍa-dandānāyakaṁ mane-vergaḍey-īśvarayya-
- 12 daṇḍānāyaka[m*] Banavāse-pannirchchāsīramumam Belvala-
- 13 v=eraḍ=ṣṣunūrumam sukha-samkathā-vinōdadīmd=āḷuttam-ire
- 14 Svasti samadigada²-paṁcha-mahāśabda-mahāsāmaṁtaṁ vijaya-
- 15 lakṣmi-kāntam samasta-vasmatitā³-khyāta-Jīmūtavāhan-[ā*]-
- 16 nvaya-prasūtaṁ bandhu-jana-kamalini-rāja-kāmaṁ Khaohara-va[m*]-
- 17 ś-ōttamaṁ Padmāvati-labdha-vara-prasādam tyāga-vinōdam b[i]-
- 18 ruda-manneya-mada-ni(ni)vāraṇa-nām-ādi-samasta-
- 19 prasa(śa)sti-sahita-śrīman-mahāsāmaṁtaṁ Hermmaḍiyarasa-
- 20 ru Bāsavura-nūṇa-nālvattara manneyad=arasu-geyvutta-
- 21 m-irddu Chāḷukya-Vikrama-varshada 46neya Plava-samva-
- 22 tarada Paushya-suddha puṇṇamī Ādivārada[m*]d=uttarāya-
- 23 ṇa-samkrānti vyatipātadaḷu Hermmaḍiya-
- 24 rasaṁ māhēśvara-dīkshayaṁ kay-konḍu śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanē-
- 25 śvara-dēvara nivēdyakk[e] Dēvagēriya hola-vēreyim temka Ma-
- 26 rayagereyim baḍaga śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanaśingī-paṁḍitara kā-
- 27 lam kaechchi dhārā-pūrvvakam māḍi dēvargge biṭṭa yere ma-
- 28 ttar=aydu alli Bhairava-dēvargge yere mattar=omdu
- 29 antu mattar=āṇu [||*] Yi dharmmamam pratipālisi-
- 30 davargge Vāraṁ(m)ṇāsi Kurukshētra Prayāgey=Argghya-
- 31 tirthadalu sahasra-kavileya kōḍum kolagu-

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Read *vasumatitāḷa*.

³ Read *samadhigata*.

- 32 mañ pañcha-ratnadala khachiyisi chatur-vvêda-pārager-appa
 33 sa[hasra*] brāhmaṇargg=ubhayamukhigoṭṭa phalam-akku [*] Yi dha-
 34 rmmamain(n)-ār-orvvar-aḷidar-aḷidavargge Vāraṇāsi Ku-
 35 rukshētra Prayāgey-Argghyatirtthadal-sāyira kavile-
 36 yumañ sāsirvva[*] brāhmaṇaruman-aḷida pañcha-mahā-pā-
 37 takan=akku ② Sāmānyō-yam sētu-dharmma¹ nri(nṛi)pāpām kālē
 38 kālē pālānti bhavadbhiḥ [*] sarvvān=ētām(n) bhāg(v)ina[h*] pārtthi-
 39 [v]ēmdrō(ndrān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadra[h || 2*] ②
 40 [Ksh]ir-āmbhodhi-tanūjegañ Vanarubhākshamgañ manō-rāgadi[m*]
 41 [Kāmam(?) pu]ṭ[t]uva vola Viyaohchāra-kuḷa-prācī-ṇag-ārkkam [m*]-
 42 [— — —]m Lachchaladēvigam Kaliyam-ōrvvipālakam-
 43 [gañ — — —]māpati puṭṭidañ nri(nṛi)pa-varaṇ Hermmāḍi-bhū-
 44 [— — — || 3*] prasūta-nri(nṛi)-putra-
 kar-ār-mmige (?)²

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1: identical with verse 1 of inscription B.)

(Line 2.) Happiness!

(Ll. 3-8.) While the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, King Tribhuvanamalla, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars:—

(Ll. 9-13.) While one who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet,—hail!—the Mahāsāmāntādhīpati who has obtained the five great musical sounds, great august General, steward of the household, the General Īśvarayya, was governing the Banavāse Twelve-thousand and the Six-hundred consisting of the two Beḷvalas³ with enjoyment of pleasant conversations:—

(Ll. 14-21.) Hail! the Mahāsāmānta who has obtained the five great musical sounds, possessing all titles of honour such as “beloved of the Goddess of Victory, scion of the lineage of Jimūtavāhana famed over the whole earth, a royal swan to the lotus-pool his kindred, chaplet of the Khachara race, receiving the grace of boons from (the goddess) Padmāvatī, delighting in bounty, repressing the arrogance of titled seigniors,” the Mahāsāmānta Hermāḍiyarasa, was ruling as seignior the Bāsavura Hundred-and-forty:—

(Ll. 21-29.) On Sunday, the full-moon of the bright fortnight of Pausya in the cyclic year Plava, the 46th (year) of the Chālukya-Vikrama(era) on the uttarāyana-samkrānti, in the vyatīpāta (yōga), Hermāḍiyarasa, having performed the Mēhēśvara consecration, for the oblations of the god Tribhuvanēśvara, assigned, with laving of the feet of Tribhuvanasiṅgi-Paṇḍita and pouring of water for the benefit of the god, five mattar of black-loam land south of the dry-land bounds of Dēvagēri (and) north of Marayagere, (and) in the same place, for the benefit of the god Bhairava, one mattar of black-loam land, thus (making altogether) six mattar.

(Ll. 29-37: a prose formula of the usual type.)

(V. 2: a common Sanskrit verse.)

¹ Read dharmma-sētur-.

² Nine more lines of writing are visible, but very few words on them are legible.

³ That is, the Beḷvala Three-hundred and the Puligere Three-hundred: see above, Vol. XIII, p. 178.

(V. 3.) As to the daughter of the Milk-Ocean (Lakshmi) and to the Lotus-eyed (Vishnu) of their souls' love was born [Kāma]—a Sun on the eastern mountain of the Viyachchara¹ race . . . to Lachchaladēvi and to king Kaliyama was born a lord . . . the excellent king Hermmāḍi the [ruler] of the earth.

F.—KOLUR INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SINGHANA.

This is written on a slab found in the temple of Mārtanḍa-dēva or Holapa at Kōlūr. The inscribed area is about 2 ft. 10 in. high and 1 ft. 9½ in. wide, lines 1-5 occupying a compartment about 4 in. high, and the rest of the inscription being about 2 ft. 6 in. high. The character is a rather irregular Kanarese of the period; the letters generally vary in height from ⅔ in. to ⅝ in. The cursive *m* occurs about 24 times, the cursive *v* about 27 times. The language, except in the second verse, which is Sanskrit, is Kanarese, a mixture of the ancient and the medieval dialects. The *upadhāntya* appears wrongly in *Puḥpa*^o, l. 16; *ḷ* is not found. Initial *p* has become *h* in *Huligere*, l. 13, *hamneraḍu*, l. 33, *hiṭu* (*hiṭu* ?), l. 33, beside *paḍuva* l. 35, *paḍedaṁ* and *paḍeda*, l. 40. The first verse is of some lexical interest.

The record refers itself in ll. 6-8 to the reign of Siṁgaḷadēva, i.e. the Yādava Siṁghana (circa A.D. 1210-46), who here bears the chief of the Chālukyan titles, together with those of 'a Nārāyaṇa of kings' and 'majestic Emperor' (cf. *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 523). It then mentions the high minister Vaṅkuva-Rāvuta, with various titles, as governing the Beḷvala Three-hundred, the Huligere Three-hundred, and the Banavāse Twelve-thousand (ll. 9-14), while Kēśava-Nāyaka was administering the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (ll. 14-23), and the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mallidēvarasa, of the Jimūtavāhana lineage and Khachara family, was governing the *manneya* of the same Hundred-and-forty (ll. 24-30); and under the auspices of this Mallidēvarasa the representatives of Dēvagēri made a grant to the sanctuary of the Kṣhētrapāḷa of Kōlūr (ll. 30 ff.). The change in the status of Malli-dēvarasa's family is noteworthy. He bears the title of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, and is said to be 'reigning in the chieftainship of the *manneya*' (*arasa-rājyaṁ-geyyuttam*), whereas his ancestors were only Mahāsāmantas and were described as 'exercising the chieftainship' (*arasa-geyyuttam*). But on the other hand, the previous records make no mention of a government of the Bāsavūr Hundred-and-forty distinct from that of the *manneya*, and it would, therefore, seem that in earlier times the former was included in the general administration of the whole province, and that later a special commissioner was appointed for it, perhaps as a counterpoise to the rising power of the Lord of the *manneya*. The distinction between the two administrations is not clear.

The place-names mentioned are: the Beḷvala Three-hundred (ll. 12-13); the Huligere Three-hundred (l. 13); the Banavāse Twelve-thousand (l. 13); the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr (ll. 22, 28); Dēvamgēri (l. 31); Kōlūr (l. 33); Karage (l. 35; see above on inscr. A.); Māvina-chavuda-kārve (l. 36); and Nidugere (l. 37).

TEXT.²

[The metres are as follows: verse 1, *Tarala*³; verse 2, *Anuṣṭubh* verse 3, apparently a *Triṣṭup*.]





- 1 ॐ Nosala karṇu kuḍu-dāḍe tōḷu-vaḷe pāvu kayya kapāḷamun [mi]-
2 supa bāḷu niri-gōḍa kem-jēḍe kālal-iṭṭa ba(kaḷa)ḷaḷim [!]⁴ misuni-jamnapa
 dē(vē)-

¹ A poetical synonym for *Khachara*.

² From the ink-impression.

Read *misuni-baṇṇada* (or *-vaṇṇada*).

³ See Nāgavarma's *Kannada Chāṇḍāśaru*, ed. Kittel, p. 46, l. 186.

- 3 tramañ piḍid-akṣha-sūtradha(da) māleyim̐d-eseva gejjeyi Bhē(Bhai)ravañ namag-
igai(ge) [b̐]-
- 4 [pa varam̐galam̐ || [1*] Namas=tuṅga-sirastumbi¹-cha[m̐*]dra-chāmara-ch[ā*]rave
trailōkya²-nagar-[ā*]rañ-
- 5 bha-mulaṣṭabavasabavē³ || [2*]
- 6  Svasti samasta-prasa(sa)sti-sahitañ Śrī-hp̐tivivalabhañ⁴ mahārājādi(dhi)-
rājāñ
- 7 paramēśvarañ paramabhaṭṭārakañ Rāya-Nārāyaṇa pratāpa-chakravartti
8 śrī-Siṃgaḷa-dēvaru sukha-saṃkathā-vinōdadiñ rājyañ-geyyuttam-ire ||
- 9  Svasti śrīman-mahāpradhānañ sarb-ādhipati mahā-pasāyitañ
- 10 bahattara-niyōg-ādhipatiy-anēka-dhē(dē)ś-ādhipati sakala-lakṣmi(kṣmi)-pati-ni-
11 yōga-Yōgañdharañ pati-kārya-dhurañdharañ ni(ni)ti-Chāṇa(pa)tyañ svāmi-vam-
12 chakara-gaṇḍaṇ śaraṇ-āgata-vajra-paṃjaranum=appa Vam̐kuva-Rāvutaru Be-
13 beluvala⁵-mūnūru Huligeṇ-mūnūru Banavāse-pannirōchchāsiraṃam̐
- 14 sukha-saṃkathā-vinōdadiñ=āḷuttam-ire ||  Svasti samasta-prasasti-sa-
15 hitañ śrīman(u)-mahāpradhānañ Dviḷa-kuḷa-kamala-M[ā*]rttañḍaṇ kāmīñ-manō-
16 nayana-Puḷpnaḷōdhañḍanum⁶ śaraṇ-āgata-vajra-paṃjaranum̐ yu-
17 dhi dik-ku[m̐*]jaranum̐ yativiśama⁷-hay-ārūḍa(ḍha)-praṇḍa(ḍha)-rēkhā-Rēvañtanum̐
svā-
- 18 mi-bhakta-Hanūma[m̐*]tanum̐ satya-śaucha-śchāra-chāritranum̐ Bhāra-
19 dhvā(dvā)ja-gōtra-pavitranum̐ sakala-sāhitya-vidhy(dy)-ādy-ā(a)nēka-sāstra-
20 pārāṇana⁸ mūrtti-Nārāyaṇanu[m̐*] vairi-sēnā-nātha-jiv-ōchchā-
21 tana-maṃtra-siddh(ddd)anum̐ sakala-lōk-ē(ai)ka-prasiddh(ddd)anum̐ yity-ādhy-
ānēka-gu-
- 22 na-gaṇ-ōḷaṃkritanum̐⁹-appa Kēśava-na(nāya)karu Bāsavūra nūra-
23 nālvattumam̐ dushṭa-nigraha-si(śi)ṣṭa-pratipāḷan-a(a)gi¹⁰ a(ā)ḷuttam-irdhdu(rddu)
- 24  Svasti [[*] samasta-vasumati(ti)-tala-khyātañ(ta)-Jīmūtaḷa-
- 25 han-ānvayañ(ya)-prasāta[m̐*] baṃdhu-jana-kamalini-rāja-hamsaṃ Padmā-
26 vati(ti)-labdha-vara-prasādañ Khachara-vam̐ś-ōtta[m̐*]sañ tyāga-vinōdañ biruda-
27 mañneya-bēṃṭekārañ sarppa-dhvaja-śobhitañ māvana gaṇḍha-vāraṇam̐
28 śrīman-mahāmañḍaḷēśvarañ Malli-dēvarasaru Bāsavūra nūra-nā-
29 lvattumam̐ sukha-saṃkathā-vinōdadiñ mañneyad-arasu-rā-
30 jyañ-geyyuttam-ire || Tatu-pāda-padm-ō[pa*]jivigalū || śrīmatu-sama-
31 sta-guṇa-saṃpaṃnar-ap[p*]a Dēvañgēriya sāyira parivārañ
32 lā aruvatt-u(o)kkaḷum̐ Maṣaṇa-gāvuraḍa Icha-gāvuraḍa mukhyav-āda
33 haṃneraḍu hit[ṭ*]u sahita biṭṭa dharmma Kōḷūra Kshētrapāḷam̐

¹ Read -śiras-chumbi.² The ḷō has been omitted, and added in smaller script.³ Read -mūla-stam̐bhāya Śāmbhāvā.⁴ The second be is superfluous.⁵ Read -śivīśama.⁶ Read ity-ādy-anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ōḷaṃkritanum̐.⁷ Read -Prithvī-vallabhā.⁸ Read -Puḷpnaḷōdhañḍanum̐.⁹ Read -parāyaṇanum̐.¹⁰ Read -pratipāḷasadiḥ or -pratipāḷanagīḥ.

34 ge raṅga-bhōga-nivēdyā(dyā)kke biṭṭa datti vārim māḍa yā(a)ḍḍa-dāriyīm
 35 paḍuva yere Gaṅgana mattaru 1 vārim teṅka Karageya dāri-
 36 yīm baḍaga kem-gāḍu kamba 20 M[ā*]vina Chavūḍa-kārveyim¹ teṅ-
 37 ka Niḍugereya kelage kamba 10 soṭige yeṇṇ[e*] || Śrī śrī [i*]
 38 Yimti-i(1) dharmamavaṁ pratipālisaḍa(da)ṁge mahāṁpū² yidha(da)n-a-
 39 ḷidaṁ paṁcha-mahā-pātakaṁ-aku(kku) || Sthāna-pati³ maḍavari(m) saṁtati-
 40 paḍedaṁ sarvva-na[ma*]śe(sya)v-āgi dhā(dha)reyaṁ paḍeda : atana⁴ satati(ta)
 biḍey=abaleya
 41 nichita [|| 3*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) May Bhairava, with an eye in (*the centre of his*) forehead, crooked tusks, serpents as armlets, a skull in his hand, a glittering sword, red matted locks in a neat horn,⁵ and with anklets worn on his feet, holding a rod of golden hue, with loins adorned with a rosary of beads, give us the boons which we crave.⁶

(V. 2: identical with verse 1 of inscription B.)

(Lines 6-8.) While—hail!—the possessor of all titles of honour, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, a Nārāyaṇa of monarchs, the majestic Emperor king Siṅgaḷa was reigning with enjoyment of pleasant conversations :—

(Ll. 9-14.) While—hail!—the High Minister, general controller, great favourite, administrator of seventy-two offices, administrator of many territories, holding the office of master of the whole treasury, a Yaṅgaṇḍharāyaṇa in offices of his lord, a Chāpakya in polity, a man of might to traitors against his master, and an adamant chamber to seekers of his protection, Vaṅkuva-Rāvuta, was governing the Beḷvaḷa Three-hundred, the Huligere Three-hundred and the Banavāse Twelve-thousand, with enjoyment of pleasant conversations :—

(Ll. 14-23.) While—hail!—the possessor of all titles of honour, the High Minister, decorated with a series of many virtues (*denoted by the titles of*) 'Sun to the lotuses of the Brāhmaṇ race, a Love-god to the souls and eyes of amorous women, an adamant chamber to the seekers of his protection, an elephant of the sky-quarters in battle, a Rāvanta of magnificent type among those who ride most forward horses,⁷ a Hanūmān among those who are devoted to his lord, practising truth and purity of conduct, purifying the Bhāradvāja-gotra, versed in all literature and much other lore, an incarnate Nārāyaṇa, adept in spells destroying the lives of hostile generals, uniquely renowned among all men,' Kēḍava-Nāyaka, was governing the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr so as to suppress the wicked and protect the cultured :—

(Ll. 24-30.) While—hail!—the scion of the lineage of Jīmūtavāhana which is famed over the whole earth, a royal swan to the lotus-pool his kindred, receiving the grace of boons from (*the goddess*) Padmāvatī, a chaplet of the Khachara race, delighting in bounty, hunter of titled seigniors, adorned with the serpent-flag, a furious elephant of his uncle, the Mahā-maṇḍalāśvara Mallidēvarasa, was reigning as seignior over the Hundred-and-forty of Bāsavūr, with enjoyment of pleasant conversations :—

(Ll. 30-37.) They, who find sustenance at his lotus-feet, possessors of all virtues, the Thousand of Dēvaṅgēri, the fourteen *pariḍāras*, the sixty Households, and the twelve *hiṭṭa*,

¹ Apparently for *kāḷeyiṁ*.

² Read *maḍa-puṇyāṁ*.

³ This verse is written in a very slovenly and inaccurate manner, and it is with the utmost diffidence that I offer my present attempts at emendation and translation.

⁴ Dare we read *paḍedaṁ=ava*?

⁵ [—neatly pointed like a horn.—Ed.]

⁶ On this description of Bhairava-Kaśītrapāla see Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. 2, p. 495, and Vsen's *Arch. Survey of Mysurabhaṅga*, p. cciv.

⁷ See above, Vol. V, p. 286n., and Vol. XIII, p. 313n.

headed by *Masapa-Gāvunḍa* and *Īcha-Gāvunḍa*, jointly granted a pious endowment : for the theatrical entertainment and oblations of the *Kṣhātrapāla*¹ of *Koḷūr* they granted a gift, 1 *Gaṅga's mattar* of black-loam land east of the town (and) west of the cross-road, 20 *kamba* of red forest-land south of the town (and) north of the road to *Karage*, 10 *kamba* south of the channel of *Chauḍa* of the *Mango* (and) below the Long Tank (*Nidugeṛe*) and oil for lights. Fortune! Fortune!

(Ll. 38-39 : a prose formula of the usual type.)

(V 3.) The prior of the establishment has obtained the monastery as a pious gift.² he has got the land on *sarva-namasya* tenure, on condition that he shall certainly always avoid women.

No. 30.—SHAHDAUR INSCRIPTIONS, ONE APPARENTLY OF THE YEAR 60.

By STEN KONOW.

Shahdaur is a hamlet in the Oghi kanungo circle of the *Mānsehra* tahsil, *Hazāra* District, and is situated about two miles east of *Shamdhara* and about four miles due east of *Oghi*. It is shown as *Shodaur* on the one inch equal 2 mile sheet 43 F., N. W., at 34° 30' 36" N. and 73° 4' 20" E.

One mile south-east of the hamlet there is a narrow glen descending from the *Tanglai* hill, which gives its name to the *Tanglai* Forest, one of the reserved areas in the *Hazāra* District. In one of the small terraced fields of this glen, and overlooking a small spring in a contiguous gorge, is a firmly buried rock or large boulder of irregular shape, measuring 13' × 16', without any sign of dressing or design in position. The boulder marks the southern edge of a small field, and is of grey friable sandstone with a rough surface.

The rock bears two *Kharōṣṭhī* inscriptions, one in two lines on the perpendicular side facing the north, and another on the top. The latter shows remnants of five lines, but must, according to *Khan Bahadur Mian Wasi-ud-din*, have extended further to the south, where the surface is said to be greatly disfigured from age and other causes.

The rock is said to have been brought to the notice of *Mr. W. S. Davis*, Assistant Superintendent of Police, *Hazāra*, in 1893, but no records have been traced about the matter.

In the hot weather of 1924 a villager of *Shamdhara* gave information about the existence of the inscriptions to *Mr. T. C. Copeland*, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the *Hazāra* District, who informed the Director-General of Archaeology of the matter in a letter of the 24th October 1924 and forwarded some photographs and rough tracings. A further report was sent to the Director-General on the 20th November 1924 by *Khan Bahadur Mian Wasi-ud-din*, who had in the meantime examined the rock and exposed it by excavation for several feet and found out that there was no continuation of the inscription on the perpendicular side below the surface. He also stated that an examination of the neighbourhood did not bring to light any further evidence or coins, but only some glazed fragments of coarse pottery. Local inquiries about coins are also said to have been fruitless. Every patch of level space in all directions has been lately brought under cultivation, and no ancient walls are said to be in evidence anywhere, though mention is made of the existence of 'burjs' before Government occupied the valley

¹ On this deity, a form of *Bhairava*, see above.

² *Saṁtāna* or *samtati*, a pious work. The *sapta-saṁtāna* are enumerated in the verse:

Taṭākam dāna-nikāṣaṁ brahma-sthāpnam Śivālayam

Vanānt samtatiḥ putrāḥ sapta-saṁtānam-upahyaṭi ||

Cf. above, Vol. III, pp. 92 and 128.

The Khan Bahadur further states that the gien itself reminds one strongly of the locality and environs of Zaur Dheri across and beyond the Agror valley, where a *stūpa* of Kushān date is said to exist, which has been referred to in the *Annual Report of the Frontier Circle for 1922-23*.¹ The inscriptions have also been noticed in the Epigraphical Summary in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, 1924-25*, but I have not seen this notice².

We do not know much about the history of the district in ancient times. It belonged to the kingdom of Urasā or Uraśā, which is mentioned in the *gaṇas* to Pāṇini IV-ii-82 and IV-iii-93, and in the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* (V. 217 etc.) and has been identified with *Apśa* or *Oṽapśa*, the name given by Ptolemy VII-i-45 to the country between the Vitastā and the Indus. Hsüan Tsang mentions the country under the name of Wu-la-shi. In his days it was tributary to Kashmir.

Ptolemy mentions *Ἰσάγυρος* as one of the cities of the *Ἀπρᾶ* territory, and Sir Aurel Stein has shown that *Ἰσάγυρος* can very well be a rendering of a Prākṛit form Aityugura, which he identifies with Atyugrapura, mentioned in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgīnī* VIII. 3402 as conquered by the Kashmirian King Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-49) in a war against Dvitiya, the Uraśā. Atyugrapura, Sir Aurel further identifies with the present Agror.³

We may infer from this that the Agror valley has played some rôle in the history of Hazāra, and that some centre existed in the neighbourhood of Shahdaur. In later times Oghi was the residence of the Khan of Agror.

A.

The inscription on the northern side of the rock consists of two lines. The first extends over 6' 2" and contains *aksharas* varying in size from 3" to 4", the second is 1' 9" long and the size of the *aksharas* is 2" to 3½".

Of individual letters we may note the *cha* at the end of l. 1, which has almost the same shape as in the Sihla vase inscription; the well-shaped and angular *ḍh* in *vaḍha*, l. 1, and the distinct prolongation of the lower vertical of *sa*, upwards and towards the left, at the point of juncture with the upper portion of the *akshara*, just as in the Patika plate. On the whole there cannot be any doubt that the inscription belongs, palaeographically, to the Śaka period.

The first *akshara* is evidently *ra*, though the upper portion is somewhat damaged. The second seems to be *ja*. There is an apparent cross-bar, which is, however, so thin that I take it to be a crack in the stone. There are, further, two apparent strokes protruding from the bottom, which might be taken to be remnants of an *u*-loop. But I do not think that they are anything else than fissures in the stone. The third letter is *na*, and I think that I can see traces of an *o-mātrā*. I therefore read *rajanō*, Skr. *rājñāḥ*.

Then comes a word which I read *namijadasa* and explain as the genitive of a name *Namijada*. There is apparently a curve above the vertical which I take to be the *i-mātrā*, in the second *akshara*, and one might think of *ga*. The top of the vertical is, however, straight, and the reading *mī* seems to be preferable.

The next three *aksharas* seem to be *sakasa*. The top of *ka* is damaged, and the unevenness of the stone has resulted in an apparent bar between the two legs of the *akshara*, but the reading seems to be certain. Then follows an *akshara* which may be *la* or a blurred *ba*. With every reserve I read *ba*.

The following letter is certainly *śa*, but it is placed much lower than the surrounding *aksharas*, and the left vertical is prolonged upwards. There are, moreover, traces of lines above the horizontal, and it seems possible that we have before us the compound *śa*, of the same shape as in

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23*, p. 96.

² [See *ibid.*, 1924-25, pp. 116 and 119. Ed.]

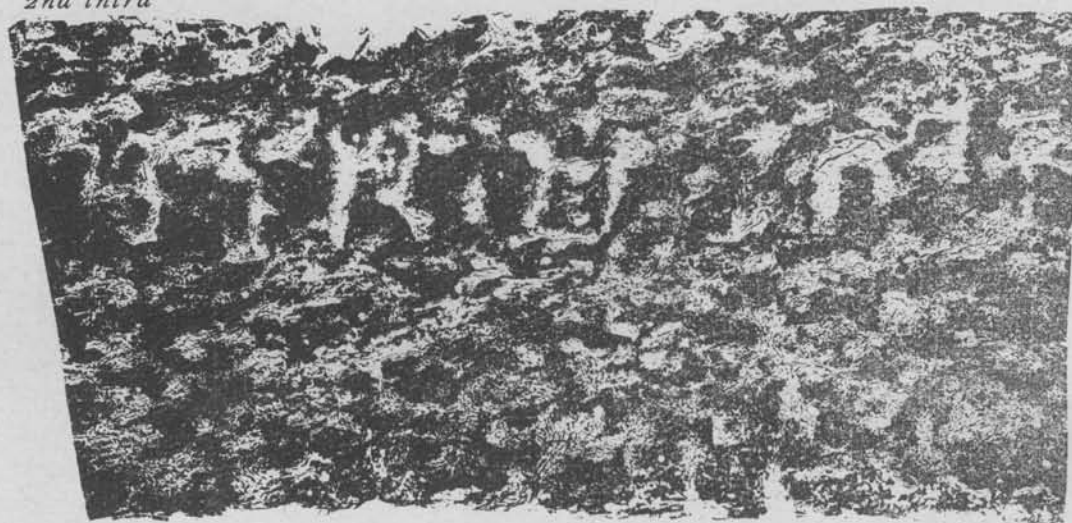
³ See his translation of the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* II, pp. 267 and 434.

Shahdaur Inscription A, of the year 60.

1st third



2nd third



3rd third



the Patika plate. The ensuing *akshara* may perhaps be *ra* or *re*. I therefore tentatively read *bat̥sare*. But then the preceding *sa* must be drawn to this word, and we must read *saka sabat̥sare*, or rather *sakasabat̥sare*.

With regard to the interpretation of *saka* there may be some doubt. It may correspond to Skr. *svaka*, but a dating in "the own year" of a ruler is without any parallel in Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions.

So far as I can see, the most probable explanation is to take *saka* as corresponding to Skr. *śaka* and explain *sakasabat̥sare* as meaning 'in the Śaka-year,' 'in the year of the Śakas, or the Śaka king,' i.e., as almost synonymous with the later *śakanripati-rājyābhishēka-kālē*.¹ It should be borne in mind that the Śakas were Iranians and that the name under which they are known was not coined in India. The Persian, Greek and Chinese renderings point to a form *saka* and not *śaka*, and if the name is Iranian, as we have every reason for assuming that it is, since it signifies an Iranian people, an initial *ś* is not possible. Moreover, the word occurs in the form *sakra*, where *kr* points to a spirantic pronunciation of the intervocalic *k*, on the Mathurā lion capital, where Professors Thomas² and Lüders³ are certainly right in explaining the sentence *sarcasa Sakrastanasa puyae* as 'in honor of all Sakastāna.'

After *sabat̥sare* I think that we may read *shasht̥iammi*, though every *akshara* is uncertain. The head of *sha* is indistinct but probable. The ensuing compound is without any parallel and my reading is only conjectural. Then follows what looks like the head of an *a* with a bend, which I take to be the beginning of an *anusvāra*, and, finally, an irregular *a* or *mi*.

Then follow three signs which I take to be the numerical symbol for 20, thrice repeated.

The ensuing word might be read *sabharusa* or *sabhaḍusa*. The latter seems to be the most likely reading because the vertical is distinctly projecting above the top line. *Bhaḍu* might stand for *bhaṇḍu*, which occurs in the *gāṇa* to Pāṇini IV-ii-77 after the names *Suvāstu* and *Varṇu* and may be the name of a country. *Sabhaḍusa* would then mean 'together with the Bhaṇḍu-ruler.'

The next word is perfectly clear: *savalavaḍhapit[us]*. The *tu* is perhaps uncertain and might be *ta*. A comparison of the *ta* of inscription B will show that our *akshara* differs in showing a forward bend of the leg, wherefore I think that *tu* is intended. I am in doubt about the explanation of this word. It may stand for *svabalavardhāpitasya*, 'elevated by his own strength' or for *sa-Balavardha-pituh*, 'together with his father Balavardha.'

The ensuing *akshara* is apparently *ña*, and the next one is certainly *cha*. I take *ñacha* to correspond to Skr. *jñāti*, though the *a*-suffix is strange. L. 2 opens with *mitravaḍha*, followed by a vertical, which apparently rises above the line and which I take to be *ne*. *Ñachamitravaḍhane* I take to mean 'for the increase of relatives and friends.'

The last *aksharas* of the line I read *putrahita*, and so far as I can see there can only be some doubt about the last letter.

Though I am considerably diffident about several details in the analysis I have attempted above, yet I give the following reading and explanation:—

TEXT.

- 1 [Rajano] Na[mil]jadasa sakasa[bat̥sare] sha[sh̥t̥iammi] 20 20 20 saBhaḍusa
saValavaḍhapit[us] [ña]cha-
2 mitravaḍha[ne] putrahita[e]

¹ Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 3.

² *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 147.

³ *S. B. A. W.*, 1912 pp. 414 ff.

TRANSLATION.

Of the Rājan Namijada, in the sixtieth, 60, Śaka-year, together with Bhaḍu (or, the Bhaṇḍu-king) and his father Balavardha, for the increase of relatives and friends (and) for the welfare of his son.

B.

The second inscription, on the top of the rock, is much more damaged and, according to Mr. Wasi-ud-din, incomplete. There are remains of five lines.

L. 1. The beginning has apparently disappeared altogether. There seems to be exactly room for four letters, and with great reserve I restore *maharayasa*. Then comes an almost certain *a*, where the only uncertainty is caused by an apparent stroke projecting upwards and towards the right from the lower half of the vertical; a fairly distinct *ya*, and traces of a *sa*. I therefore read *Ayasa*, which is probably the genitive of the well-known name *Aya*, *Aza*. In my edition of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, above Vol. XVIII, pp. 273 f, I have tried to show that *Azes* founded a new era in the old Śaka year 77. We should therefore expect the inscription B to be somewhat later.

Then follows *saṁ*, i.e., *saṁvatsare* or *sambatsare*, and afterwards traces of some signs which can be interpreted as 20 20 20 20 . . The year may accordingly be eighty and something or even ninety.

L. 2. The first *akṣaras* which remain are clearly *Śivarakṣhitasa*. Then comes a blurred *akṣhara* which might be *tsa* or *shu*, followed by *tasa*. *Shutasa* would regularly correspond to Skr. *śrutasya*, while *tsātasa* reminds us of Khotanī *tsāti*, 'rick'.

L. 3. The first remaining *akṣhara* is quite uncertain, but looks like *a*. The second may be *ḍha*, and the third is certainly *sa*.

The next *akṣhara* is quite uncertain. It may be *va*, *ra* or *ksha*. The second may be *a* or *na*, the third *va*, *ra* or *ḥi*, and the fourth and fifth are certainly *tasa*. With great diffidence I tentatively read *vaṇaḥitasa*. Then follows what looks like *cha i* . .

L. 4. The first *akṣhara* is perhaps *da*. The second and third ones are certainly *śahi*, and with some confidence the first word can therefore be restored as *daśahi*.

Then comes *kaḥapa* followed by some *akṣharas* which I cannot make out, but which may perhaps be *naśahas[re][hi*]*. The form *kaḥapana* seems to be common to all Prākṛits.

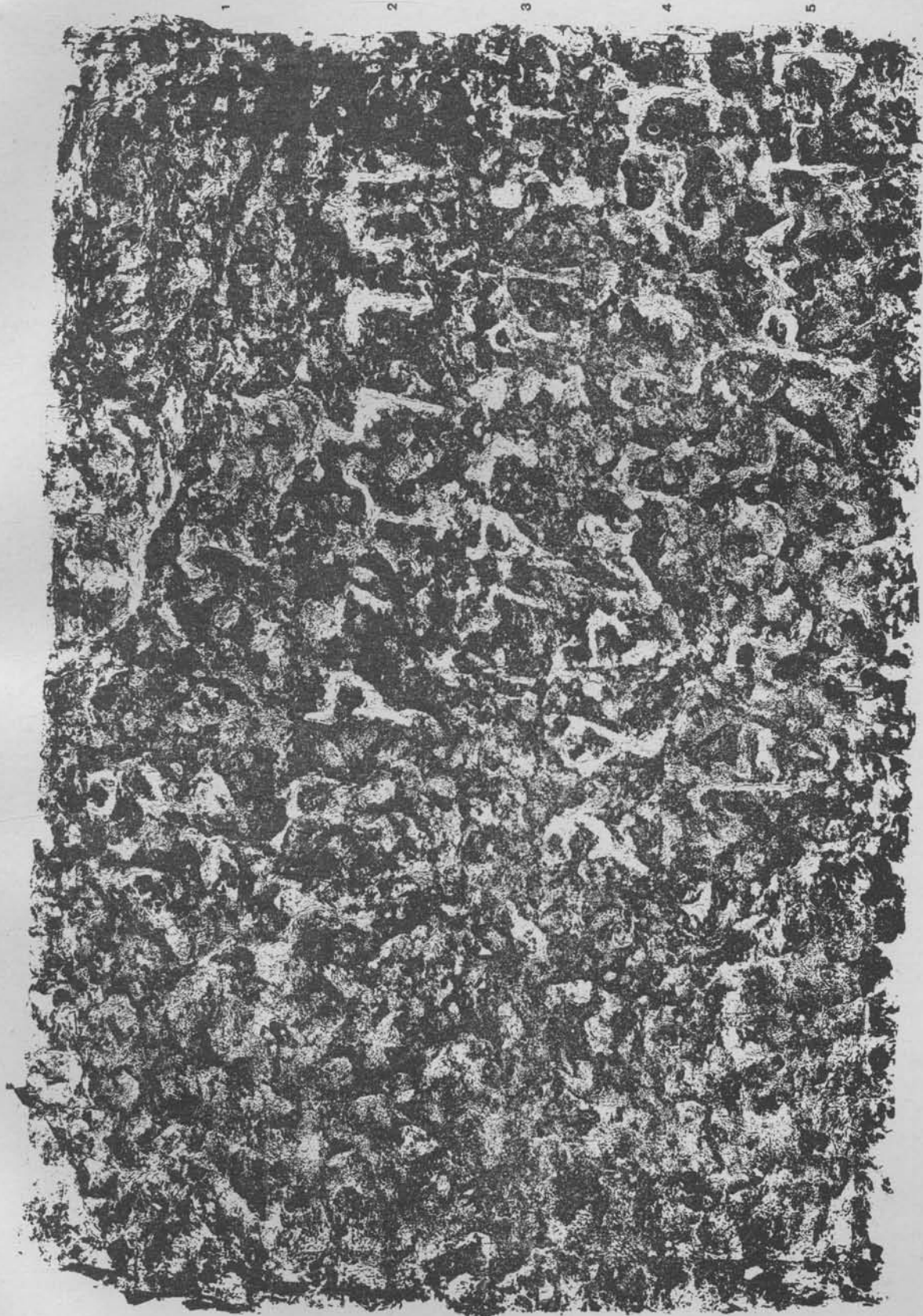
L. 5. The beginning of this line seems to run *abhu yo Gotama*. The last remaining word may be *stalao*, possibly corresponding to Skr. *sthālakaḥ*, 'a certain bone on the back', in which case a bone-relic of the Buddha would be meant.

In such circumstances I am unable to give more than a fragmentary text, and even the fragments which I attempt to restore are uncertain.

TEXT.

- 1 [Maharayasa] *Ayasa saṁ* [20 20 20 20]
- 2 *Śivarakṣhitasa* [shu]tasa
- 3 [aḍha]sa [vaṇaḥi]tasa cha i
- 4 [da]śahi kaḥapa[na]-sa[hasre] . .
- 5 abhu yo Gotama-[stalao] . . .

Shahdaur Inscription B.



STEN KONOW

SCALE '20

C. WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

TRANSLATION.

Of the [*mahārāja?*] Aya, anno.... of Śivarakṣita, the famous (?), wealthy (?), and staying in the wood (?), here (?)... for ten thousand *kārshāpāyas*... was, which the backbone (?) of Gōtama...

The chief importance of the Shahdaur inscriptions rests with the fact that the era in which they are dated seems to be designated as a Śaka reckoning. Their palaeography shows that there cannot be any question of the well-known Śaka era, which began 78-79 A.D. The characters being of the same kind as these of the Patika plate, there can hardly be any doubt that both records are dated in one and the same era, and we now learn that this era was instituted by Śaka rulers.

It therefore becomes impossible to follow those scholars who think that the Patika plate is dated in an unknown era instituted by Mithradates I after the incorporation of Seistān in the Parthian empire, or in the Parthian era of 248 B.C., with omitted hundred. We have to do with a Śaka era.

Professor Thomas has long ago¹ maintained that the reckoning used in the inscriptions of Patika, Guduvhara, etc., was a Śaka institution, and in a paper contributed to the *Acta Orientalia*² I have tried to show that it commemorated the establishment of an independent kingdom in Seistān or a Śaka conquest of India. The Shahdaur inscriptions show that the era was still known to be a Śaka era in the year 60, i.e., if the initial point was, as maintained by me in the paper just quoted, 84 B.C., about 24 B.C.

It can of course, *a priori*, be maintained that the era which is usually known as the Vikrama era was originally instituted in commemoration of the Śaka conquest of India, and identical with the Śaka-reckoning of the Shahdaur inscription and, as maintained by the late Dr. Fleet, with the era used in the Patika plate. But then we should have to state the use of another unknown era in the Śodāsa inscription of the year 72. For, as explained in my edition of the so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription,³ Śodāsa, who was Mahākshatrapa when the record of Saṁ. 72 was executed, must be identified with the Kshatrapa Śuḍāsa of the Mathurā lion capital, who as such, was contemporary with the Mahākshatrapa Patika, whom most scholars rightly identify with the chief mentioned in the Patika plate of the (Śaka) year 78, at which date his father was Kshatrapa.

I may now add that Patika himself seems then to have been designated as *jaīva*. The last words of the record are certainly, as read by Bühler, *mahadanapati Patikasa jaīvañae*, and we have no right, as suggested by Professor Lüders,⁴ to read *jaīvaraye* or some other equivalent of Skr. *yauvarāṇye*, for *y* is never changed to *j* in the dialect of the Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions. On the other hand we know from the coin legends of Zeionises that an initial voiced *s* was sometimes written *j*. There is not, therefore, so far as I can see, any objection to identifying *jaīva* with the title which we find later on, in the coin legends of Kadphises I, in the forms *yaīa*, *yavuga*, *ζαοο*. If I am right, we here have another example of the close connexion between the old Śaka conquerors and the Kushāṇas.

If my tentative restoration of the beginning of l. 3 of inscription B is correct, we further seem to be justified in inferring that the Parthian dynasty of Azes had replaced the Śakas in the Hazāra district at an unknown date, perhaps about the year 80 of the old era.

¹ J. R. A. S., 1913, pp. 635 ff.

² Above Vol. XVIII, p. 272.

³ III, pp. 57 ff.

⁴ J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 664 f.

In addition to the Rājan Namijada we are introduced to a certain Śivarakshita, whose name seems to show that he was an Indian, who may have been employed as a Kshatrapa by the Śakas or Parthians, presumably in or near Shashdaur, or perhaps in Taxila.¹

No. 31.—PESHAWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 168.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

In February 1924, while studying the antiquities kept in a store-room of the Peshāwar Museum, I chanced upon an inscribed stone marked as "No. 20" and labelled "Presented by Sir Aurel Stein on 4th July 1916." But there was no record in the office of the Peshāwar Museum to show whence the inscription came. On my return to Calcutta I wrote to Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology in India, requesting him to kindly refer the matter to Sir Aurel Stein and ascertain whether the latter could throw any light on the point. As a result of the enquiry I came to know that the stone was presented to Sir Aurel Stein, in April 1906, by Sir Harold Deane, to whom it had been brought by some Pathān visitors, and that later on in 1916, when the former returned to Peshāwar from his Third Central Asian Expedition, it was presented by him to the Peshāwar Museum. I edit the record from the excellent photographs kindly supplied to me by Khan Bahadur M. Wasi-ud-din.

The inscribed surface of the stone is about 11" by 4½"; and the letters vary in size between 1" and ½". The inscription consists of 3 lines and is in a good state of preservation. Below it there is engraved a *Svastika* symbol.

The characters are Kharōshthī of the Kushāna period. Specially to be noted are the curvively written *pa* with *anusvāra* and *cha* in *pañchadaśa* (l. 1), and *ka* in *kue* (l. 3). The first two might be compared with almost similar forms in Stein's Kharōshthī documents from Niya in Chinese Turkestan, and the third one with the form occurring in them as well as in the inscription on the Wardak vase. The letter *sa* shows no projection of the lower vertical line in two out of four instances (*saṃ* and *divase* l. 1); but in the other two, there is just a trace of a projected lower vertical (*mase*, l. 1, and *-sahayana*, l. 2). The *e*-stroke does not touch the top of letters in *Jetha* and *divase* (l. 1). Similarly in the sign for 100 the upper slanting stroke is not joined to the lower portion of the letter. Some letters again are not fully incised, e.g., *ga*, the *u*-stroke attached to *sh* in l. 2 and the letter *e* immediately before the word *viharami* in l. 3.

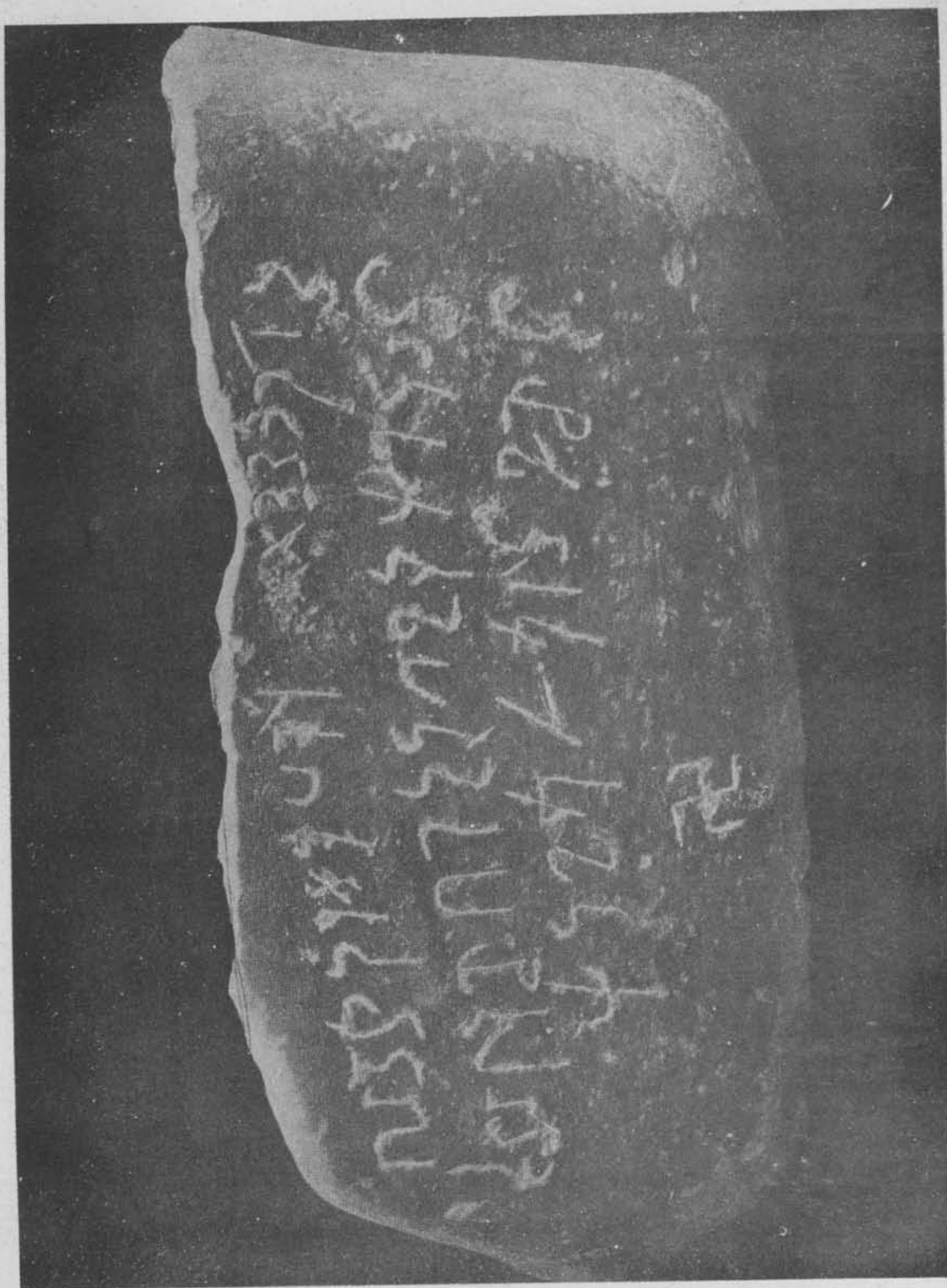
The language is the typical north-western Prākṛit as found generally in Kharōshthī inscriptions coming from the Peshāwar region. The form of the word *śashura* (*śvaśura*) calls for special notice, being comparable to such forms as *khakhorni* (= *śaśurāṇi*) and *khakhorna* employed in the third century Niya documents.² The latter forms are obviously later, because both the palatal *śa*-s have been lingualised, and the lingualisation has necessitated the orthographic substitution of *kha*. These were probably derived from Iranian *χvasura*.³ Whether the same Iranian influence is responsible for the lingualisation of *ś* in *śashura* in the present instance is doubtful.

¹ The name *Śivarakshita* is found on a copper seal from Sirkap, where the shape of the Kharōshthī letters is of the same kind as in our inscription; see *Annual Report, A.S.I.*, 1914-15, p. 35 and Plate XXIV, 51.

² *Kharōshthī Inscriptions* (ed. Rapson, Senart and Boyér), No. 53, reverse, l. 1 and No. 248, l. 4. Cf. F. W. Thomas, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1921, p. 280.

³ See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (1904), col. 1874.

PESHAWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 168.



H. KRISHNA SASTRI.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

It is probably due to the peculiar pronunciation of the word as prevalent on the North-Western Frontier of India.¹ Clear instances² of lingualisation of the palatal sibilant occur in the word *shamana* (*śramaṇa*) in the two Chārsadda earthen jar inscriptions³ and the Hashtnagar pedestal inscription in the Lahore Museum,⁴ in the name *Shamaṇamitra* (*Śramaṇamitra*) in a Taxila image inscription,⁵ in the word *shavaa* (*śrāvaka*) in the Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359, published below, and in the word *Kashyavia* (*Kāśyapiya*) in a Bedadi copper ladle inscription.⁶ In the majority of cases, it appears, that the change of *ś* into *sha* is the result of the proximity of the letter *ra*. This characteristic is very well represented by the Khotanese dialect in which Aryan *śr* is regularly converted into Khotanese *sh*.⁷ This old linguistic feature has survived in some of the modern dialects of the North-West as, e.g., the Bashgali⁸ and the Gilgit dialect of Shina.⁹

The object of the inscription is to record the excavation of a well inside a certain monastery. *Trava* is probably a Prākṛit equivalent of Sanskrit *trapā* meaning 'bashfulness,' which would be a good Indian personal name befitting a lady. It is very likely that she was the actual donor. Her father-in-law Agasahaya (*Agrāsahāya*), who calls himself 'humble' (*kshudra*), excavated the well probably to carry out her pious wish, namely, to provide for drinking water, specially during the hottest part of the year. The record is dated the **15th day of Jyaishṭha**, the **year 168** of an unspecified era. The mode of reckoning is, however, the same as in other Kharōṣṭhī documents such as the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, which are now generally assigned to the era of 57 B.C. Referring the year 168 to that era the corresponding English date becomes 110 A.D.

TEXT.

- 1 Sam 1 100 20 20 20 4 4 Jetha-mase divase pañchadaśa(śe)
2 khudana Agasahayana Trava-śashurapa daṇa-mu-
3 khe kue khaṇavi[e]- viharani

TRANSLATION.

(In) the **year 168**, on the **15th day** of the month of **Jyaishṭha**, a well (*which is*) a gift, is caused to be dug, within the Monastery, by the humble Agasahaya (*Agrāsahāya*), the father-in-law of Trava (*Trapā*).

No. 32.—A KHAROSHṬHĪ INSCRIPTION FROM JAMALGARHI OF THE YEAR 359.
BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

This inscription was discovered by Mr. Hargreaves in December 1920, from the debris of Court No. VII adjoining the Stūpa at **Jamālgaṛhī** in the District of Peshāwar. It was afterwards removed to the Peshāwar Museum where it is at present deposited. A short

¹ Cf. Lüders, *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1903-4, p. 290 and *Sitz. Kön. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1915, p. 421, n. 1; also Vogel, *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1903-4, p. 252.

² If Prof. Lüders is right the feature would also occur in the word *shavaehi* (*śrāvakaish*) in the Mānikialā inscription of the year 18 (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1909, p. 645). The reading of *sha* in *Dashalatha* in the inscriptions of Aśoka's grandson at Barābar in Gayā District, and in all cases where one would expect other sibilants, in the Kālsī edicts of Aśoka is probably unwarrantable.

³ *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1903-4, p. 289.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁵ *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 7, p. 9.

⁶ See my edition in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, N. S., Vol. XIX (1923), p. 345.

⁷ Konow, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1914, p. 353.

⁸ Konow, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1911, pp. 30, 31.

⁹ Cf. Gilgit *śash* (= *śrāvaka*). Lorimer, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1924, p. 178.

notice of the record has already appeared in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Frontier Circle, 1920-21, pp. 5-6. I now edit it from a set of excellent photographs and estampages which Mr. Hargreaves had very kindly sent to me.

It is incised on a slab of stone which is slightly damaged. Excepting a few letters which have peeled off, it is in a sound state of preservation. The writing consists of only 2 lines covering a space of 21" x 3", and is neatly done. It is divided by a horizontal line drawn across the blank space between lines 1 and 2. The letters vary in size from $1\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

The characters are Kharōṣṭhī of the Kushāna variety. According to Bühler¹, this variety is "represented by the strongly cursive script of the first and second centuries A.D. (?), which begins with the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of Gondophores and is fully developed in the inscriptions of the later Kuṣāna kings Kanīṣka and Huviṣka and occurs also in the MS. of the *Dhammapada* from Khotan." But the present record contains scarcely any cursive forms at all, a feature in its palaeography that is specially to be noted. The evidence of this inscription partially repudiates Bühler's statement and shows that cursiveness need not be necessarily associated with the Kharōṣṭhī of the Kushāna period. Of greater palaeographic significance are, in the present case, the superscript *r* expressed by a loop at the base of a letter² (in *serve*, l. 2), and the form of the letter *s* which is open to the left, without the least upward projection of the lower vertical line (e.g., in *Āśpaīasa*, l. 1).³ That the inscription cannot be earlier than the Kushāna period follows at once from the presence of these two characteristics. Two conjunct forms deserve to be noted, viz., *dn* and *sp*. Of these, *sp* (*Āśpaīasa*, l. 1) is already well known from coins and inscriptions. But the ligature *dn* (*radne*, l. 2) is new. It is composed of the signs for *d* and *n* simply joined together without any modification of their individual forms.

The language is north-western Prākṛit, called 'Gandhārian' by Bühler. The nominative singular ends in *e* (e.g., *parigrahe*). The letter *t* is changed into *d* (*radne*), *th* into *dh* (*paḍhamanīmi*), *p* and *m* into *v* (*preṭhavide*, *ive*) and *v* conjointly with *ś* into *p* (*Āśpaīasa*). The conjunct *śr* becomes *sh* (*shavaena*). The *r* is often retained in groups, both as a posterior (e.g., *parigrahe*) and a prior member (e.g., *sarva*). Cases of consonantal elision are rather abundant. The letter *y* is invariably elided, e.g., in *Āśpaīasa* (*Āśvayujasya*), *sa(?)haehi* (*sahāyahi*), *dhamatīte* (*dharma-yuktah*), and *Oḍiliakehi*. The letter *k* is elided, e.g., in *shavaena* (*śrāvakeṇa*) and *Podae* (*na?*) (*Potakēna*), and *j*, in *Āśpaīasa*. Elision of medial consonants is very rare in the Prākṛit of the earliest Kharōṣṭhī documents, namely, those of Aśoka from Shāhbāzgarhi and Mūnsehra. Again, the Mathurā lion-capital inscriptions, which belong to circa 1st century A.D., contain fewer instances of consonantal elision,⁴ when compared to the present record. From this point of view, the language of the record would seem to represent a much more advanced stage of development like the Prākṛit of Indian dramas and of the Dutreuil de Rhins MS. of the *Dhammapada* from Khotan which has been assigned to the 3rd century A.D.

The inscription records the establishment of the 'jewel' (*ratna*), i.e., an image of the Buddha, by the disciple (*śrāvaka*) Potaka, together with his companions, the Oḍiliakas, the sons of Śida. It is dated the first day of the month of Āśvayuja, the year 359.

It is by no means easy to decide the era in which this record is dated. The Lariyān Tangai inscription of the year 318⁵ and the Hashtnagar inscription of the year 384,⁶ have

¹ *Indian Palaeography* (trans.), p. 25.

² Majumdar, *Sir A. Mookerji Silver Jub. Vols.*, Orientalia, Part I, pp. 461-62.

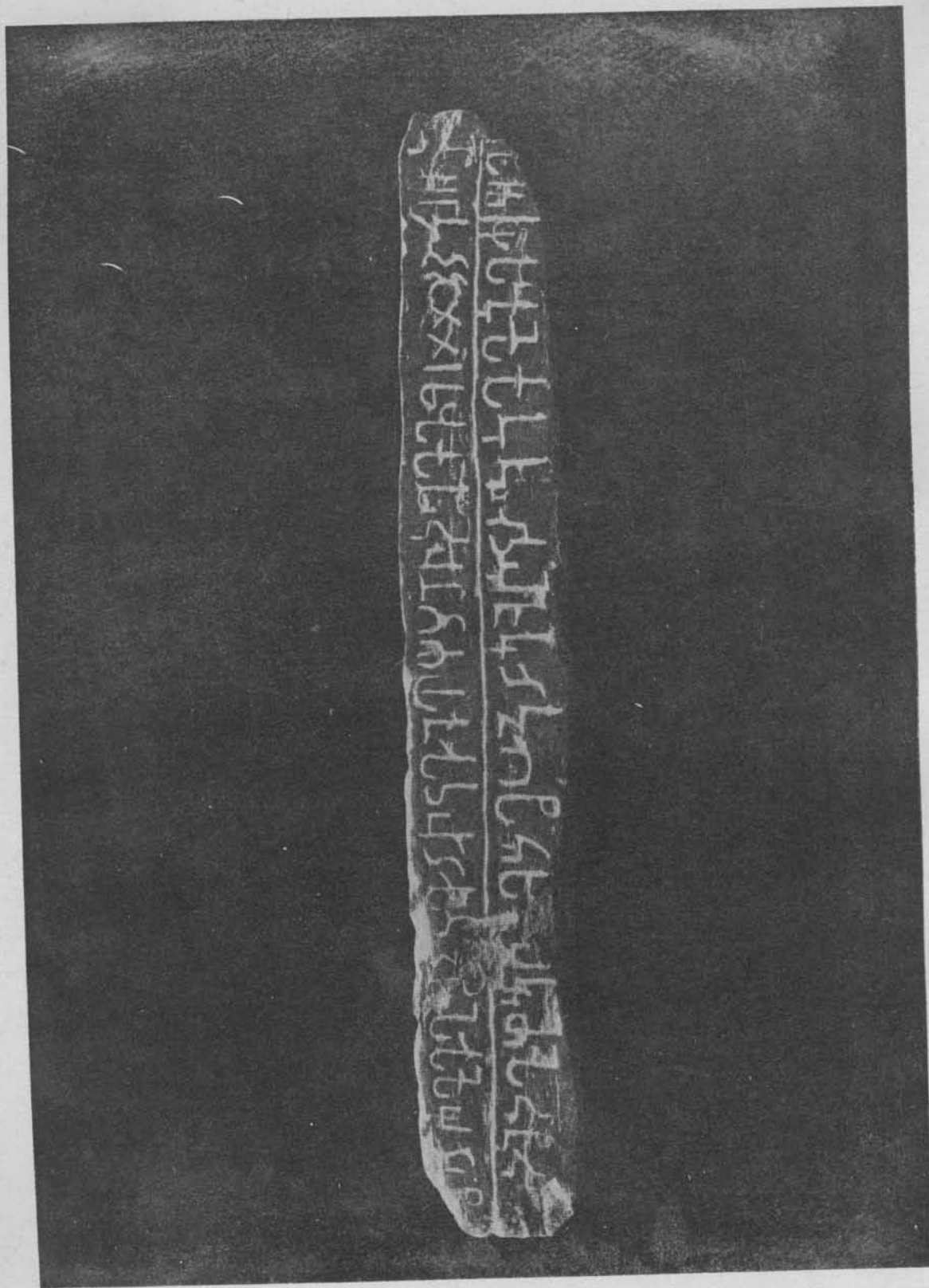
³ Banerji, *JRAS.*, 1920, pp. 208-9.

⁴ Thomas, *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 128.

⁵ *JASB.*, 1922, p. 63.

⁶ Targiter, *Ante*, Vol. XII, p. 302.

JAMALGARHI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 859.



H. KRISHNA SASTRI.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

to be brought in a line with the present record. Palæographically it cannot be placed earlier than the Kushāṇas and linguistic grounds would seem also to favour the conclusion that it has to be assigned to a period not prior to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. The numismatic finds, which Mr. Hargreaves made near the spot where the inscription was discovered, comprise issues of the Early and the Later Kushāṇa dynasties. The latter have been generally assigned to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., which may be regarded as the latest limit of the date of the inscription. Under the circumstances I am inclined to refer the year 359, as also the two other years 318 and 384, to the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. The date of our record would, accordingly, be 301 A.D.

TEXT.

1 Sam 111 100 20 20 10(a) 4 4 1 Aśpalasa paḍhamammi shavaena Poda[na;]
..(b) haehi Sida-[p]u(c).

2 [O]ḍḍilakehi(d) ive radne(e) preṭhaviḍe dhamaūte a.(f) parigrahe sarva-sa..(g)

REMARKS.

(a) Through the carelessness of the engraver this sign and the previous one have been jumbled up. (b) There is space for about two letters here. *Podaena sahaehi* was perhaps intended. (c) Probably two letters are missing. Read *putehi*. (d) The lower portion of the first letter is broken. (e) The *e-kāra* in *radne* is placed on the top of *d*. (f) Read *aye*. After *a* there is just space for only one letter which was probably *ye*. I have to offer a few remarks on this restoration. The word *aye*=Sanskrit *ayam*. There is evidence to show that, so far as the North-western Prākṛits are concerned, *aya* is sometimes used as a base by itself. The Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehra versions of the edicts of Aśōka have *ayi dhrama-nipi* and *ayo dhrama-nipi*. An unpublished Kharoshṭhi inscription in the Lahore Museum has *aye pukarani*. The Prākṛits of a later period, also, sometimes use the form *aya* as a base, e.g., *aammi* and *ayamsi*=*asmin* (Pischel, *Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 429-30). Quite in keeping with this system of declension, the Taxila silver-scroll inscription of the year 136 contains: *sam 136 ayasa asnaqasa masasa divase 15*. This portion of the record has been interpreted in a variety of ways; and scholars do not seem to be agreed as to the exact meaning conveyed by the word *ayasa* in this expression. Those, who propose to take it in the sense 'of Azes,' cannot satisfactorily explain the anomalous position of a king without titles; and further, they make dependent on *ayasa* the preceding '*sam 136*' (i.e. 'the year 136 of Azes'), which, to judge from similar analogies, is not probable. Similarly, to interpret *ayasa* as *ādyasya* and say that it means 'the first Ashāḍha' is not quite convincing. If, on the other hand we take *ayasa*=*asya*,¹ as *aye* or *ayi*=*ayam*, or *ayamsi*=*asmin*, no such difficulty would arise: *ayasa* might mean 'of this,' and when it is preceded by *sam 136*, it might stand for 'of this (year)' i.e. 'of the year 136.' The dated portion of the Taxila inscription may thus be translated as: 'The year 136. On the 15th day of the month of Ashāḍha of this (year).' (g) There is space for two letters here. Read *satvana* or *sapana* on the analogy of similar votive inscriptions.

¹ It was so taken first by Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 317-18. Cf. Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 296.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 359, on the first (day) of *Aśvayuja*, this Jewel (*ratna*)(a) has been installed(b) by the lay-hearer Potaka, together with his companions, the *Oḍḍiyakas*, (who are) the sons of Śīda. (May) this gift, endowed with merits, (c) belong to all living creatures.

NOTES.

(a) I.e., Buddha who is one of the *Tri-ratna* : Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. In the *Saddharmapundarīka*, however, the term *ratna* denotes a Bodhisattva (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXI, p.66). The word *ratnagriha* which occurs in a Mathurā inscription of Dhanabhūti (Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* No. 125), and two Sāñchī inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 32 and p. 261), probably means 'the sanctuary containing the Buddha's image.' (b) *Prasthāpita*; cf. *preṭhavatiye* in another Kharoṣṭhī inscription (Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 283). (c) *dhamaṭṭe*=*dharma-yukta* as Dr. Thomas suggests.

No. 33.—RAWAL SPURIOUS INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 40.

By STEN KONOW.

At the village of Rawal near Mathurā an inscribed stone has been dug out of a mound. The stone is now in the Mathurā Museum.

The information which has been supplied by the Honorary Curator is to the effect that there is nothing suspicious about the find. The stone is stated to be, to all appearances, old.

To judge from the photographs and estampages, the stone is square, about 4" high, 11½" long and 6" broad. It is inscribed with four lines in Kharoṣṭhī of a very peculiar type, one line on the front edge of the upper surface, and three lines on the vertical face of the front. The inscribed portion measures about 4" by 8", and the size of individual letters varies between ½" and 1¼".

When the impressions reached me, I was hardly able to recognize a single *akṣhara*, and I was for some time in doubt whether I had before me a Kharoṣṭhī inscription or a record in some 'unknown' script. It was only when I chanced to think of the Shakardarra inscription of the year 40 that I realized that the Rawal record is nothing else than a clumsy copy of the former, evidently executed by a person who cannot have had but a very imperfect idea of the contents of his original. The only way of 'editing' the Rawal inscription is, therefore, to compare it, line by line, with the Shakardarra record, and to show how far the writer has been able to reproduce his draft.

The various attempts at reading the Shakardarra inscription have been registered by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the last editor of the record, in his valuable *List of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*,¹ and I need not repeat what he has said.

L. 1 does not present any serious difficulty. It runs : *saṃ 20 20 Proṭhavadasa masasa divas.*, where we can only be in doubt whether the last word should be restored as *divase* or as *divasamī*. The edge is broken, and there seems to have been room for a *mī* after the mutilated *s* at the end. We may note the shape which the letter *da* has in this inscription. It looks like *ta*.

It will be seen that the initial *saṃ* rises above the line. The copyist has exaggerated this feature and, besides, separated the *akṣhara* in an upper and a lower part.

The ensuing numeral figures have come out fairly well.

¹ *J. & P. A. S. B.*, XX, 1924, p. 20.

The next word in the Shakardarra inscription is damaged in the beginning. The *o-mātrā* has caused a peeling off of the stone, the result being an apparent narrow semi-circle. The head of *pa* looks as if it were curved back, and a horizontal seems to connect the limb of this letter with the ensuing *akshara*. All these features have been faithfully reproduced on the Rawal stone, and the consequence is that *Proṭha* looks like a Nāgarī *ṇi* followed by a broken line, which might be taken to be Kharōshthī *va*, but is in reality a misread *ṭha*. The ensuing letters *vadasa* can be recognized, though the final *sa* is quite distorted.

If we abstract from the distorted shape of the *sa*'s, the ensuing *masasa* is well recognizable, but the next word, *divas.*, has not been properly reproduced, *vas* having become something like a Kharōshthī *ḍa*, though it is possible that the last *akshara* is meant to reproduce the initial *vi* of l. 2.

L. 2 of the Shakardarra record is clear, if we abstract from the last *akshara*, which has usually been read as *ka*, but which seems to me to be *la*. With this reading it runs : *viṣamī di 20 atra divasakāle śala*. We may note the distinct difference between *t* in *atra* and the *da* of this record, and also the sign of the long *ā* in *kāle*.

The copyist begins with an *akshara* which seems to correspond to the second one of the Shakardarra record, *vic.*, *śa*, and then adds a figure which evidently reproduces the somewhat peculiar 20. Here we have the impression that he has felt that *divasa[mī]* *viṣamī di 20* is redundant and has tried to write *di viśa 20*.

Then comes a recognizable copy of *atra divasakāle*, though the *aksharas* of the latter word are all misshaped.

The last two *aksharas* of the line have not been clearly visible in the original inscription and the copyist has simply tried to reproduce what he saw. The *śa* looks like an *a*, and the last *akshara* has been drawn as an upright and a broken line. Only a comparison of the original can explain how he arrived at his reading.

L. 3. The first three *aksharas* have usually been read as *nikame*, which has been explained as representing Skr. *nigamē*. Mr. Banerji read *ekame*. The first *akshara*, however, seems to be *no*, with the *o*-stroke added towards the top, and the *ka* is provided with a sloping bottom stroke which, I think, is the *r*-stroke. It, therefore, seems to me that we must read *nokrame*, Skr. *naukramē*. This word, which occurs in the *Divyāvadāna*, has been translated as 'bridge of boats,' but may also mean a 'boat-crossing,' 'ferry-station.'

If we take *Śalanokrame* as one word, its meaning must be 'at the Śala ferry-station,' and it is of interest to remember that we have a similar name, *Śalātura*, on the other side of the Indus. It is probable that those two places were the starting points for those who wanted to cross the river.

After *nokrame*, I think, we must read *kuvo khadao droṇivādṛaṇa sa..* The *u* of *kuvo* has got its *u*-loop blurred, because the stone has peeled off where the rounding is most pronounced. There is not, however, any reason for reading *kovo*. The *d* of *droṇi* is of the same shape as in *Proṭhavadasa*, *divasa[mī]*, etc., and quite different from the *t* of *atra*. The *r*-stroke of *ḍra* is of the same kind as in *kra*. I take *droṇi* to be Skr. *drōṇī*, Pāli *dōṇī*, which latter word also means 'a trough-shaped canoe', a doney. In *vaḍra* I see Skr. *padra*, village, and *droṇivādṛa* I take to be an adjective meaning 'belonging to the doney-village,' i.e., the village providing ferries for the crossing.

The last letter of the line has a forward bend at the bottom, which seems to be due to a desire of avoiding its running into the picture below and not to be a vowel-*mātrā*. I connect it with the first *aksharas* of l. 4, which I read as *harana*, and explain *saharana* as the genitive plural of

sahara, i.e., *sahayara*, *sahachara*, companion. The well is accordingly the gift of the companions of the ferry-village, i.e., of the boatman-association at the Śalā crossing.

We shall now see what the imitator has made out of this. *No* has become *o*, and *kra* and *me* would hardly be intelligible without the guidance of the original. Of *kuvo khadao* only one *akshara* remains. It looks like *o*. Then we can, with some modifications, recognize *dropivadrāṇa sa*. Then follow three signs which have nothing to correspond to them in the original. The first one is repeated in l. 4, below the final *sa* of l. 3, and the last one looks like an attempt at reproducing the top of the picture shown in the Shakardarra inscription.

L. 4. It will be seen that the first *aksharas* of the Shakardarra record are a little misshaped, the head of *ha* having become closed, the top of the *na* running into the preceding *ra* and being, besides, continued in a short stroke to the left, the latter being evidently due to peeling off. It also seems necessary to read the final *na* as a dental, the same sign as in *nokrame*, though we should certainly expect *ṇa*, as usually between vowels in this record. Thus the last word is clearly *dapamukho*.

The writer of the Rawal record has drawn the *ha* with a hook protruding from the upper part of the vertical; the *ra* has become something looking like *da*, and the *na* has been read with the forward protrusion and looks like *ṇa*.

The ensuing *dapa* is well imitated, but the remainder of the inscription has turned out very badly. The two first *aksharas* may be copied from *mukho*, with a reversion of the *mu*, or they may be an attempt at supplying the word *kuvo* omitted in l. 3. Then follows the same sign which we found after the final *sa* of l. 3, and, finally, three signs which may represent an attempt at reproducing parts of the picture of the original. It is not, however, of any use to speculate on their meaning.

In order to illustrate how the copyist went to work I shall give a transliteration of the Shakardarra record, adding, (in *italics*), the corresponding words or letters of the Rawal text where they have come out with something like the original.

TEXT.

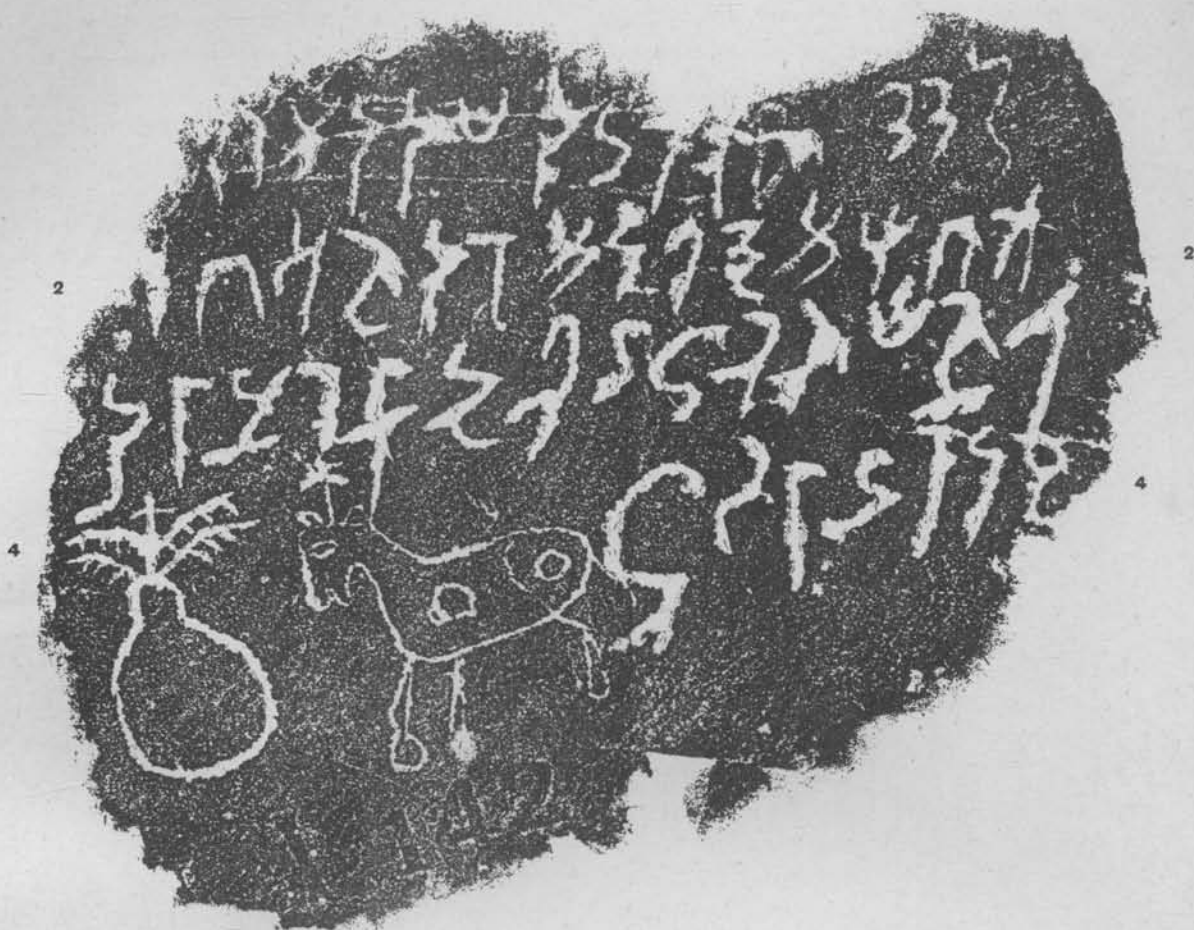
L. 1	sarh	20	20	Proṭhavadasa	masasa	divas[ami]
	<i>sarh</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>. . . vadasa</i>	<i>masasa</i>	<i>diva</i>
L. 2	viśamī	dī	20	atra	divasakāle	Śa[la]
	<i>śa</i>		<i>20</i>	<i>atra</i>	<i>divasakāle</i>	<i>a</i>
L. 3	nokrame	kuvo	khadao	dropivadrāṇa	sa-	
	<i>okrame</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>dropivadrāṇa</i>	<i>sa</i>	
L. 4	[ha]ra[na]		dapamukho			
	<i>hadava</i>		<i>dapa</i>	<i>.</i>		

TRANSLATION.

Anno 40, on the twentieth day, d. 20, of the month Praushṭhapada, at this time and day, at the Śalā-ferry, this well was dug as the gift of the ferry-village associates.

The Rawal inscription has not, it will be seen, any value as an independent record. It is nevertheless of interest as throwing light on the way in which such inscriptions were looked on.

Shakardarra Inscription, the year 40.



Rawal Inscription, the year 40.



It is a well-known fact that several inscriptions were never destined to be read. They were buried and hidden from view in stūpas or temples. They cannot, accordingly, have been intended to convey information to other persons. M. Barth¹ has spoken of such records as aiming at a certain amount of publicity, no doubt, but a publicity intended especially for the next world. And we seem indeed justified in looking on many of the ancient inscriptions not as notifications but as a kind of charms or powerful formulas, intended to ensure good results from some pious act.

Numerous examples might be quoted, but I do not know of any which is so clear as the Rawal record. The person who put it up in a well he had dug or in some other place endowed by him, evidently brought it to Mathurā from Shakardarra, where he had seen the inscription and drawn the inference that it was a powerful charm, either for conferring merit on pious donors or for making the water of the well fresh and abundant. And he copied the inscription for the benefit of his own donation in Mathurā.

The Rawal record does not, accordingly, hail from Mathurā, though the person who executed it may have been a native of that place, who had seen the inscription on the occasion of some travel. But it cannot, no more than the inscriptions on the Mathurā lion capital or the Mathurā elephant, be taken to show that Kharōṣṭhī was ever used by the native population of Mathurā in the natural course of things. It is a distinctly north-western alphabet, while Brāhmī was the usual script in and about Mathurā.

No. 34.—AMODA PLATES OF THE HAIHAYA KING JAJALLADEVA II OF THE (CHEDI) YEAR 912.

By RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A.

Amodā is a village in the Bilāspur District of the Central Provinces, where eight copper plates recording four different charters² by three different kings were found while digging for the foundation of a temple in May 1924. They are now deposited in the Nagpur Museum. The two plates in hand were issued by the Haihaya king Jājalladēva II. These are massive plates each weighing 150½ tolas and measuring 13" × 10". Each plate has a hole for being strung with the seal of the king, which is lost. The engraver commenced with letters as big as half an inch in size, but on completing the first line he apparently calculated or felt that the whole record would not come in, even within those two big plates. So with the second line he reduced the size to ½" which he continued almost to the end, with a very slight diminution in the closing eight lines. There are altogether 37 lines of which 18 are engraved in the first and the remaining on the second plate. The characters are Dēvanāgarī of the well-known Kalachuri type. The whole of the record is written in Sanskrit verses numbering 26 in all, except the initial salutation and the date and the names of the donees at the end, which are in prose. Many of the verses are taken from the ancestral eulogy composed once for all and added to later on according to the requirements of the generations coming into power, and sometimes improved upon by the Court Paṇḍit dealing with the charters. The old verses are really beautiful. The new ones appear to be rather crude. Spelling and grammatical mistakes are not wanting, but comparatively speaking, the charter in

¹ *Comptes Rendus*, 1907, p. 387; *Ind. Ant.* 37, 1908, p. 246.

² Two of these have been published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol. 1, pp. 405 ff., and another in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 76 ff.

hand is written better than others found along with it. As regards **orthography**, *ba* is not distinguished from *va*, which stands for both. *Sa* and *Sa* have been confused. The sign for *i* resembles an arrow-head with a parallel stroke below it.

Ordinarily, grants on copper-plates are made for increasing the religious merits of the donors and their parents, but this is an exception. It was made by way of **thanksgiving** on an escape from a great calamity, when the donor had almost lost his kingdom in a battle with one **Dhīrū**, who is described as a huge alligator clutching his victim. **Dhīrū** is a non-Āryan name and it appears that a local aboriginal chief rebelled against Jājalladēva and put him into a precarious position. In fact it is stated that on regaining his kingdom he made the gift, which indicates that it was merely by a turn of fortune that he became the king of his country once more.

The **genealogy** of Jājalladēva is given as follows :—From Kārtavīrya were born the Haihayas, among whom was born **Kōkalla**, who had 18 sons. The eldest of these became the king of Tripuri and he made his brothers the lords of the *Maṇḍalas* or districts which lay close by. One of these younger brothers had a son named **Kalīṅgarāja**, who was very powerful. His son was **Kamalarāja**, from whom was born **Ratnadēva I.** His wife was **Nōnallā** and from them was born **Prithvidēva I.** He had for his queen **Rājalladēvī**, from whose union was born **Jājalladēva I.** The latter's son was **Prithvidēva II**, whose son was **Jājalladēva II**, the donor. By this charter a village named **Bundērā** was granted to two Brāhmans **Rāghava** and **Nāmadēva**, the former being the astrologer and the latter the royal priest. Their genealogies are also given. **Rāghava** belonged to *agōtra* having five *pravaras*, viz., **Vatsa**, **Bhārgava**, **Chyavana**, **Āpnuvāna** and **Aurvva**. His father was **Dāmōdara**, who was very learned. He was a great astrologer and was loved by the people and worshipped by kings.¹ **Dāmōdara's** father was **Prithvidhara**. **Nāmadēva** belonged to the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra* having three *pravaras*, to wit, **Bhāradvāja**, **Aṅgiras** and **Bārhaspatya**. His father's name was **Parāśara** and grandfather's **Mahādhana**. At the end of the record **Nāmadēva** has a **Ṭha** before his name, which apparently stands for **Ṭhakkura** and would indicate the military tendencies of the royal priest.

The charter was written by a **Vāstavya Kāyastha** named **Chitrabhānu**, son of **Vatsarāja**, master of **Jaḍēra** (village), on **Friday the 5th of the dark fortnight** of a month which reads as **Agrapa**, apparently a mistake for either **Śrāvana** or **Āgrahāyana**, in **Samvat 91[2]**. Although the era is not specifically stated, it cannot but be the **Kalachuri** one, as the king belonged to its founder's dynasty. The last figure of the year is corroded, but the bottom bend indicates that it could not but be 2 or 3. With the aid of the week-day we find that in 912, the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight fell on a Friday in **Śrāvana** and not in **Āgrahāyana**. Friday did not fall on that *tithi* in either month in 913. In the text there are only three letters for the month, which suit **श्रावण** better than **आग्रहायण** which has five letters. So it is pretty certain that the reference is to the **Śrāvana** month, and as such, the date is equivalent to Friday, the 14th July 1161 A.D.

¹ This **Dāmōdara** appears to be identical with one whose stone image was found in **Kharod**, a village in the Jānjgir tahsil of Bilāspur District. He was being worshipped as a **Dēvī**, with the blood of hundreds of cocks and goats, until the writer's visit to that locality about 20 years ago, when he proved to the satisfaction of the local people that the statue represented neither a *dēvī* nor a *dēva*, but an ordinary male worshipper, as the figure and the pose clearly showed. The people then informed the writer that it bore an inscription at the bottom which on digging up confirmed this guess. It read as follows :—**दक्षिणतदासीदरस्य मुनिरियं प्रणीतः (ःकु)से**. At **Kharod** there is an old temple of **Siva** known as **Lakṣnēśvara-mandira**. It has two **Kalachuri** stone records affixed to the wall. Apparently the *Sāmbhu-kūla* referred to that temple with which **Pandit Dāmōdara** might have been connected as a priest or worshipper. His merits given in our record qualify him for being honoured with a statue, which was restored at the writer's instance to the **Lakṣnēśvara** temple, some 20 years before this inscription was discovered. (See *Hitkala's C. P. and Berar Inscriptions*, pp. 117 and 118.)

There are only two geographical names mentioned, viz., Bundērā, the village granted and Jaḍēra, the village to which the writer of the gift belonged. Bundērā may be identical with Bundelā in the Janjgir *tahsil*, situated about 13 miles from Amodā where the plates were found. Jaḍēra is not traceable.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 ओम् ओम्² नमो ब्र(ज)ह्मणे । निर्मुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परस(म)-
कारणं । भावमाद्यं पद(र)यो(ज्यो)ति-
- 2 स्वस्मै सद्गु(ह्म)ह्मणः॥(णे) नमः [।]³ १[॥] यदेतदयेसरमंवरं स्व ज्योतिः स पूषा
पुरुषः पुराणः । अयास्व
- 3 पुत्रो मनुरादिपञ्चदशयेऽभूदुवि कार्त्तवीर्यः ॥२॥⁴ तदंशप्रभव(वा) नरेन्द्रपतयः
स्थाता[ः*]
- 4 क्षितौ वैश्यासोषामन्वयभूषणं रिपुमनोविन्द्यस्ततापानसः । धर्मः ध्यानध-
नामुग्रं च-
- 5 जयाः⁵ शम्भुसतां सौख्यलयेयान्मर्त्यगुणान्वितः समभवच्छ्रीमान्(न)श्री(सौ)
कोकिलः ॥३॥⁶
- 6 अष्टादशारिः(रि)करिकुम्भविभङ्गसिंहाः पुत्र(दाः) प(व)भूवुरतिशौर्यपराय तस्य ।
तत्रायजो नृप-
- 7 वरस्त्रिपुरोश् चासीत्पार्श्वे च मण्डलपतीत्य चकार व(व)भून् ॥४॥⁷ तेषाम-
नूजस्व⁸ कलि-
- 8 कुराजः प्रतरपवज्जिह्वपितारिराजः । जातोऽन्वये द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननाशो-
द्वहपा-
- 9 व्यथिन्दुः ॥५॥⁹ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्भलकोर्त्तिकान्तो जातः सुतः कभलराज
इति प्रसिद्ध[ः।*]

¹ From the original plates and impressions kindly taken by Mr. F. F. Pike, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.

² This is expressed by the letter च with a dot over it, while the first one is expressed by a peculiar sign [which stands for *Siddham* or *Siddhi-asu* (see above, Vol. XVII, p. 352). I think this affords another strong support in favour of Mr. Bhattasali's view, because *om* is written here in quite a different way and just after this very symbol. See also the facsimile of the plates of Prithivīdeva II published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, between pp. 406-407.—Ed.]

³ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Metre *Upajit*.

⁵ Metre *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ Apparently नू is made long for the sake of metre.

⁷ Read ऐसरमवरस.

⁸ Read धर्मध्यानधनामुग्रविशदमा.

⁹ Metre *Vasantatilaka*.

¹⁰ Metre *Upajit*.

- 10 यस्य प्रतापतरणाबुद्धिर्ते रजन्वा जातानि पंक(पङ्क)जवनानि विकासभान्जि-
(स्त्रि) ॥६॥^१ तेनाथ चन्द्र-
- 11 वदनोऽजनि रत्नराजो विश्वोपकारकरुणार्जितपुण्यभारः । येन स्ववा(वा)हु-
युगं(ग)निर्मितवि-
- 12 क्रमेण नीतं यशस्त्रिभुवने विनिहृत्य शत्रून् ॥७॥^२ नीनसाख्या प्रिया
तस्य शूरस्येव दि(दि) शूरत(ता) [१*]
- 13 तयाः(योः) सुतो नृपथ्येः(हः) पृथ्वीदेवो प(प)भूष ह ॥८॥^३ [पृ]थ्वी[दे]वस्त-
मुद्भवः समभवद्राजज्ञदवीशूत(सुतः)
- 14 शूरः सज्जनवाङ्मिताथफलदः कल्पदुमः श्रीफलः । सर्व्वेवागुचितोऽर्चने सुमन-
सा(सां) तीष्णाहि-
- 15 ष[त्क]टकः पश्यत्काम्पतराङ्गनाङ्गमदनो जाजज्ञदेवो नृपः ॥९॥^४ तस्यात्मजः सकल-
- 16 [को]शलमण्डनश्रोः श्रीमान्समाङ्गतसमल(स्त)नराधिपश्रोः । सर्व्वचितोऽक्षर-
[शि]रोविहिता-
- 17 ह्रिपे(से)वः सेवाभृतान्निधिरसो भुवि रजदेवः ॥१०॥^५ पृथ्वीदेवस्ततोजातः पीतः
कंठोरवादिव [१*]
- 18 सि(सिं)(ह)हं(सं)द(ह)ननो योऽरिक्त्रियूथमपोषयत(त्) ॥११॥^६ 'तस्मादजायत
जगंचयशोसः

Second Plate.

- 19 तस्मात्प्राप्त(भ)कदादपद्यमधुपो जाजज्ञदेवोऽभवद्दीरारातिनितम्बि(स्त्रि)नो-
मुखपयोज-
- 20 श्रीषधीशोदयः । लोके यस्य यशस्यैर्हवलिने र[भ्यं] यसां(शां)कोदवं
मत्वा सप्तपयोधयो व-
- 21 ह्रिधरे प्रोत्फुल्लितं कैरवेः ॥१२॥^७ यो वत्सभार्जववरश्चवनाभुवानोर्ध्वभूजिते
मोत्रे तर्जस्य वरिष्ठे
- 22 जातः पृथ्वीधरो विप्रः ॥१३॥^८ तस्यादेवचूडामणिरखिलजनानंदसंदोहहे[तुः]
पुत्रो दामोदरोभूत्सक-

^१ & ^२ Metre Vasantatilakā.^३ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^४ Metre Anuṣṭubh.^५ This portion to the end of the line is superfluous and must be omitted. Possibly the engraver left out the three pādas of this verse; the first could very well be तस्मादजायत जगंचयशोसः^६ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^७ Metre Anuṣṭubh.^८ Metre Vasantatilakā.^९ Metre Arjya.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 २ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 ३ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 ४ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 ५ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 ६ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 ७ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 ८ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 ९ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 १० ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 ११ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 १२ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 १३ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 १४ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 १५ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 १६ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 १७ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥
 १८ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति राजा जजालदेवः ॥

[illegible]

- 23 कशुचनिधिः पार्थिवाराधितोऽग्निः ॥(1) यः सा(शा)पाऽनुप्रज्ञाभ्यामपर एव सदा
गोभिलः सामगायत्र्ये(स्त)त्युद्धो रा-
- 24 ववाख्यः क्वचिदुमुदमुदे जातवान्निप्रराजः ॥१४॥¹ भारद्वाजाग्नि(जाङ्गि)रसवा-
(वा)हस्य(त्वेति)तृतीयकप्रवरे ॥ भारद्वाजे
- 25 गोत्रे मन्वा[धनो] नाम विप्रोभूत् ॥१५॥² मन्वाधनेनाऽजनि पुन्य(स्थ)भाजा परा-
स(श)रः कैरवकुंदकोर्त्तिः ॥(1) धृते गृहं
- 26 यो यम—७— सः सत्वाख्यदं पुन्य(स्थ)निधानमासीत् ॥१६॥³ उदयगिरे-
रिव तरणिर्दुग्धाख्येन्द्रमा यथा तद-
- 27 त् ॥(1) पुत्रः पाराशरतः(पराशरस्य च ?) प्रख्यातो नामदेवाख्यः ॥१७॥⁴ ताभ्यां
हिजाभ्यां नृपवैरिगारीसोमन्तहारी रणरङ्गम-
- 28 कः ॥(1) जाजहदेवो विधिवदु(द्)न्देरासंज्ञं ददौ ग्राममदीनसत्यः ॥१८॥⁵ धीरु-
मन्वापाहृष्टहोतमूर्त्तिर्जाजहदेवो नृप-
- 29 तिर्ष्व(र्ष्व)भूय ॥(1) यज्ञेण सुक्तः समवाप्य राख्यं(ण्यं) ग्रामं ददौ पुन्य-
(स्थ)दिने हिजाभ्याम् ॥१९॥⁶ ग्रंथं मद्रासनं ह्वयं गजाश्वव-
- 30 व(र)वाह[न]म् । भूमिदानस्य चिन्हाणि फल(त्वं) स्वर्गमनुत्तमं(मम्) ॥२०॥⁷
व(व)हुं(द्)भिर्ष्वसुधा भुक्त्वा रात्रिभिः सगरादि-
- 31 मिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥२१॥⁸ भूमिं यः
प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्ना)ति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1*]
- 32 उभौ तौ पुत्र्यकर्माभौ नियतौ [स्वर्ग]नामिनौ ॥२२॥⁹ स्वहतां पर-
दत्तां वा योसरेहसुधरा(हरेत वसुधरा)। स विष्ठा-
- 33 यां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥२३॥¹⁰ इति¹¹जातातुयातांश्च भूम्यर्थे
योऽनृतं वदेत् । स व(व)हो
- 34 वाहयैः पाशैः [ति]र्यम्बोन्म्यां तु जायते ॥२४॥¹² हिजाच [नाव]मन्तव्यास्त्रैलोक्य-
मितिहेतवः [1*]
- 35 देववरपूजनोयाच दानमानाचानादिभिः ॥२५॥¹³ वास्तव्यवर्गकमन्ताकरचित्रभानुः
ग्रन्थप्रवी-

¹ Metro *Bradhara*.

² Metro *Upendraajra*.

³ Metro *Indravajra*.

⁴ Metro *Anushubh*.

⁵ Metro *Anushubh*.

¹¹ Read इति जातमन्ता¹⁰.

¹² Metro *Anushubh*.

⁶ Metro *Arya*.

⁷ Metro *Arya*.

⁸ Metro *Indravajra*.

⁹ Metro *Anushubh*.

¹⁰ Metro *Anushubh*.

¹³ Metro *Anushubh*.

- 36 रविक[ले]भनचिन्मातुः । [त्रीवस्तराज]तनयः खलु धर्मराजो जडे(डे)रमाय रच
तामनि(मि)दं लिख ॥
- 37 १२६॥ संवत् ८१[२] अश्वयुज(आवय) व(व)दि ५ सुक्र(सुक्र) ॥ ज्योतिषी(जी)
पंडितराघवा(वः) ॥ सुरोषाः ठ नामद(दि)व[*] ॥

No. 35.—A NOTE ON THE VELVIKUDI GRANT OF NEDUNJADAIYAN.

By A. M. Satakoparamanujacharya, VIDVĀN.

In the interesting article on the Velvikudi grant of Nedunjadaiyan, that was published in this journal¹ by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, I find that some corrections are absolutely necessary in the text and the translation as given by him. These I should like to put down below, together with a few suggestions in regard to one or two points raised by him in that article.

In text line 95, for *Āya*², I should like to read *Āy*, and in line 132 for *pōr*, *pōra*. Again, in line 120 of the text, instead of *Kuḷandai-van-Kūlvandai-śe[y*]kkun*, I would read *kuḷandai-vāṅgūl vanda-śaikkum*, correcting *Kuḷandai* and *vandai-śe* of the text into *kuḷandai* and *vandaśai*. Accordingly, in the translation of this passage, instead of 'to the north of the field (called) Kūlvandai-śey of Kuḷandēvan', I would prefer to have 'waved (gently) by the tender breeze' (*kuḷandai*=tender, *vāṅgūl*=breeze, [*vandu*] *śaikkum*=waving).

According to the Rao Bahadur, the Maṅgalapura of the inscription is identical with Mangalore, the district head-quarters of South Kanara. Mr. K. G. Sankara Ayyar also, I find, holds the same view.³ In my opinion, however, it should be looked for somewhere in the Tamil districts,⁴ north of the Kāvēri, where we find many villages called Mangalam or having names ending in 'Mangalam', because from the Udayēndiram plates⁵ we learn that Paramēśvaraśarman defeated the army of Vallabha in the battle of Peruvaṇallūr, on the northern bank of the Kāvēri, and from the Gadval grant⁶, that Vikramāditya was encamping at "Uragapuram on the southern bank of the Kāvēri" in 674 A.D. The Kēndūr plates⁷ also say that Vikramāditya fought with the Pāṇḍyas and other Tamil kings.⁸

¹ These strokes are unnecessary. Metre *Sragdharā*.

² Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. LI, p. 214.

⁴ [The plates do not say where Maṅgalapura was situated. As such, it is not possible to definitely locate it. The identification of it with Mangalore or any place in the Tamil districts is only a conjecture.—K. V. S. Ayyar.]

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 371.

⁶ Above, Vol. X, p. 101.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 205.

⁸ For further details see Dubreuil's *The Pallavas*, p. 63.

No. 36.—KUMBAKONAM INSCRIPTION OF SEVVAPPA-NAYAKA.

By G. VENKOBÄ RAO.

The subjoined Tamil record¹ is engraved on the door-jamb of the entrance into the inner *prākāra* of the Kumbhēśvara temple at Kumbakonam. It is dated in the cyclic year Vikrama during the reign of *Sevvappa-Nāyaka*, who was the first ruler of the Nāyaka dynasty of Tanjore. The stone inscription (No. 145 of 1924) which is dated in the same cyclic year and in the reign of *Kṛishṇadēvarāya* (corresponding to A.D. 1520) calls *Sevvappa*, a *Daḷavāy* (commander) only. Possibly, therefore, the present record has to be assigned to A.D. 1580, especially, because a copperplate record belonging to him and dated in Śaka 1502 (=A.D. 1580) was also issued from Kumbakonam².

The history of the Nāyakas of Tanjore remains yet to be written in detail,³ although an excellent preliminary attempt has been made in *A Short History of the Tanjore Nayakas* in Tamil by Mr. T. S. Kuppusvami Sastri of Tanjore. How and when the Nāyaka dynasty of Tanjore arose is obscure. An unpublished Sanskrit poem *Sāhityaratnākara* by the eldest son of Gōvinda-Dikshita, the Brahman prime-minister of the second and third Nāyaka kings, says that *Sevvappa* obtained the Tanjore kingdom by his own valour. The Telugu poem *Vijayavilāsamu* by Chēmākūra Vēṅkaṭa-Kavi would show that *Sevvappa* married the sister of the queen of the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya, and got the Tanjore principality, perhaps, as a dowry.

Like other old kings, *Sevvappa* was a tolerant ruler, though his leaning was specially towards Vaishṇavism. Inscription No. 425 of 1924 relates to some gifts of land made by *Sevvappa* to the mosque at Tanjore in the year Sādhārāṇa corresponding to A.D. 1549, and the record under publication is interesting in that it mentions a temple of Buddha at Tiruvilandurai. It registers the gift of 2½ (*vēḷi* ?) of land as the charity of the king *Sevvappa-Nāyaka* in the Brahman village (*aḡaram*) of Tirumalairājapuram for the repairs or the worshipping service in the temple (?), when a channel was dug through the lands belonging to a certain individual (name not very clearly made out) attached to the Buddha⁴ temple. The two villages Tiruvilandurai and Tirumalairājapuram cannot be definitely identified. Tiruvallaṅḡuli, which is 4 miles away from Kumbakonam, and was one of its wards⁵, has a standing image of Buddha placed near the *gōpura* of its Śiva temple. Tiruvilandurai of this inscription has, perhaps, to be identified with Elandurai, a village about 9 miles distant from Kumbakonam which has a Śiva temple with an inscription dated in Śaka 1493 (A.D. 1571) of the time of Achyutappa-Nāyaka (No. 239 of 1927). It may also be noted that Ilanturai has been mentioned in No. 222 of 1927 as one of the *saptasthānas* or seven sacred places round about Kumbakonam. I cannot say whether the Tirumalairājapuram of this record has to be identified with Tirumalairājapuram *alias* *Śuṅgam-tavirttaśṣṭāṇallūr* which is mentioned in an inscription published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 119, as adjacent to Karuntittaiḡkkuḡi in Taṅḡjāvūr-paḡru. There is one seated image in the temple at Paṭṭiśvaram near Kumbakonam, and another, now popularly called *Bhagavarishi*, lying outside the Gaṇēśa shrine in the Āṇaiyaḡi street at Kumbakonam, both of which appear to be Buddhist. From these facts, it appears that Buddhism continued to survive in the Tanjore district till the 16th century. This would be natural when Negapatam in the Tanjore district was a stronghold of Buddhism. The large Leyden plates record the grant of the village

¹ No. 292 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927.

² *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1917, p. 55, para. 135.

³ A paper on the detailed history of the Tanjore Nāyakas by the author is almost ready, and will appear very soon in this journal.

⁴ In Tamil it is sometimes loosely applied to a Jaina temple also.

⁵ Nos. 629 and 633 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902.

of Āpaimaṅgalam to a Buddha temple at Negapatam during the time of the Chōla king Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1010). The smaller Leyden grant dated in the 20th year of Kulōttuṅga I (A.D. 1090) records gifts to two Buddhist temples. An ancient tower known as 'Puduveligōpuram' or 'Jaina Pagoda' was demolished by the Jesuits when they built the St. Joseph's College at Negapatam.¹ This tower might have belonged to one of these two Buddha temples. It is interesting to note that a number of metallic Buddhist images were unearthed at this place recently.

Though Jain families are living in Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Mannārgudi even now, and we see Jain temples at Kumbakonam and Mannārgudi, yet traces of Buddhism are no longer visible there.

The record bears at the end the expression "(the) Gurukkaḷ, (i.e., teachers) of the Convention", perhaps of Buddha.

TEXT.*

1 Vikkiṇa-	15 ndā-Nāyakar-
2 ma-varuṣham	16 nilatti[ḷ]ē
3 [Ā]ḍi-mādam ³ 2-	17 Tirumalai-
4 2 ⁴ ௨ ⁵	18 rāśapura[ttu]
5 Śevuvap ⁶	19 'aśēṣham-ā-
6 pa-Nāyak-	20 ga śapaṅgaḷ
7 kar-ayya-	21 vākkāl ve-
8 ṇ-damma-	22 [ṭṭi] pōgaiyil Ti-
9 m-āga Ti-	23 rumalairāśapurattil-
10 ruvilan-	24 agarattil tirup-
11 duṛai-	25 paṇi-śērvai-
12 Buddar-	26 āga vi[ṭṭa] nilam ⁹ 2 ¹⁰
13 kōyil-	27 [sa]mayattār Guru-
14 Titta-Mā[ma]ru-	28 kkaḷ ௨

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 26) (On) the 22nd day of the month of Āḍi in the year Vikrama, all the people of Tirumalairājapuram assigned 2¹⁰ (vēḷi ௨) land in the brahman village (agaram) of Tirumalairāja-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 224-27 and *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1925-26, p. 2.

² From an inked estampage.

³ Expressed by an abbreviated symbol.

⁴ The figure 22 is expressed in the Tamil text by three digits, the numerical figure for ten intervening between the two figures.

⁵ This symbol stands for the word *tṛdī* meaning day.

⁶ Read *Śevvap*.

⁷ It may be read also as *aśēṣa-māgapaṅgaḷ* (*mahājanaṅga*).

⁸ Expressed by an abbreviated symbol.

⁹ Expressed by a Tamil numeral.

puram for repairs¹ as a charity² of Śevvappa-Nāyakkar-ayyan as the channel was dug and passed through the land³ belonging to 'Titta Māmarundā-Nāyakar of the Buddha temple at Tiruvilandurai.

(Ll. 27 and 28) (*This is under the protection of*) the Gurukkaḷ of the Faith (*samayaṃ*).

No. 37.—GADAG INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHA II : SAKA 959.

By LIONEL D. BARNETT.

This inscription was found in the wall of the yard of the Vira-nārāyaṇa temple at Gadag.⁴ An attempt at a transcript is given in the Elliot Collection, Vol. I, f. 37b. of the Royal Asiatic Society's copy; and good ink-impressions were prepared for the late Dr. Fleet, which are now in the British Museum. The stone is very dilapidated. On the ink-impression there seem to be some faint vestiges of effaced sculptures; but Elliot's pandit found no sculptures surviving in his day. The record itself is but a fragment. The ink-impressions record 64 lines; but the stone has been broken off on the proper right, the break beginning on line 13 and increasing as it runs down, while the left side also is damaged below. I have therefore given only the text as far as the eleventh verse, near the end of l. 38, the rest being altogether fragmentary. The width of the slab is 2 ft. 5½ in.; the height is somewhat uncertain, as there seems to be a gap in the ink-impressions between ll. 43 and 44, but it must be something over 6 ft. 8 in. The writing is a fine archaic hand of the period; the letters vary in height from ¾ in. to 1 in., becoming smaller and more crabbed at line 61. The guttural nasal is used in *sataṅga*, l. 4. The language in the portion edited below is Old Kanarese prose and verse, with two formal Sanskrit stanzas (vv. 1 & 2). The *ḷ* is preserved in *negalḍa* (l. 26), *negalḍam* (l. 27), and falsely written for *ḷ* in *Chālūky-* (l. 2); it is changed to *ḷ* in *aḷida* (l. 15), *pēḷ* (l. 24), *pogaḷvar* (l. 25). The *upadhmāniya* appears in *bhāvinaḥ-p°* (l. 17). The instrumental case in *-e* occurs in *Lokk[guṇḍi]ye* (l. 19 f.); cf. above, Vol. XIV, p. 277, n. 9. Lexically *aḍagu[nṭi]* (l. 21) may be noted.

The record begins by referring itself in ll. 1-4 to the reign of Jagadēkamalla-Jayasimha [II],⁵ and then in ll. 4-11 relates that on a given date Maddimayya-Nāyaka, mayor (*ūr-oḍeya*) of Lokkiguṇḍi, made over⁷ an estate to one Dāmōdara-Setṭi, who a few months later assigned the same for the benefit of the cult of the Traipurusha gods and the Twelve Nārāyaṇas. After formal clauses of commonition (ll. 11-18), the record bursts into poetry, expatiating, in a long series of verses, upon the excellences of Dāmōdara (also named Dāma and Dāvala) and his family. First it mentions Dhōyipayya of Lokkiguṇḍi, who built the temple of the Twelve Nārāyaṇas and the Traipurushas and set up a Garuḍa-column (v. 3, ll. 19-21), and Dhōyipayya's wife Guṇābbe (v. 4, ll. 21-23). Next appears Māhuva-Setṭi, apparently their son, who is coupled with his sons Dāma or Dāvala (Dāmōdara) and Dhōyipayya (vv. 5-6, ll. 24-

¹ *Tiruppani-tērvai* may also be translated into "worshipping service."

² It is generally translated as "for the merit of".

³ Tamil language will also allow of another construction. "The people of Tirumalairājapuram" may be taken as the subject of the predicate "dug and passed" and *veṭṭi pōḡaiyil* will convey the same meaning as *seṭṭuḡaiyil* (while digging). In this case, there will be no subject for the verb *viṭṭa* (assigned). But then we will have to translate "2½ was the land assigned."

⁴ Titta stands for *tīrtha* (a preceptor) and Māmarundā means Amṛita.

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. XV, p. 348.

⁶ See *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, pp. 435-7.

⁷ See however note on l. 7.

27). The rest of the poetry seems to be devoted to the praise of Dāma, and continues as far as l. 61. Then begins a section in prose, written in a smaller hand, and specifying an endowment made by the latter in the presence of the local *Mahājanas* for the benefit of the Traipurushas and some other god ; in the midst of this the stone breaks off.

It is perhaps worth noting that the poet compares Māhuva to the legendary Dadhichi, Gutta, Chārudatta, and Karna, and Dama to Karna, Vikramāditya, Hariśchandra, Nala, Chānddatta, Dadhichi, Śibi, and Gutta. The comparison with Karna and Nala is of course a commonplace, and Hariśchandra is one of the most popular figures of legend. On Chārudatta and Dadhichi I may refer to my remarks on the Sūṇi inscription E (2) above, Vol. XV, p. 83. The mention of **Vikramāditya**, which seldom occurs elsewhere in this period, shews that the legend of the mythical king of that name had firmly established itself at this time in the Dekkan. It may well be that the legend, as has been suggested, is based upon traditions of the Gupta dynasty of the 4th-5th centuries A.D. and later, some members of which bore the title of Vikramāditya ;¹ and if this be so, its appearance here by the side of that of Gutta is doubly interesting. For there seems to be little doubt that this legendary Gutta is to be connected with the Gutta dynasty of Guttavolal or Guttal, probably as an eponymous ancestor ; and this family claimed to derive its name and origin from the Gupta emperors as well as from a more or less mythical Vikramāditya of Ujjayini.² Hence it would seem that the two legends of Vikramāditya and of Gutta are doublets, both having sprung from vague memories of the glories of the Gupta emperors.

Two dates are specified. The first is given on ll. 4-5 as Śaka 959, Īśvara ; Āshāḍha śu. 5 ; Sunday. This apparently refers to Śaka 959 expired, which by the Southern Cycle was coupled with Īśvara ; according to this, the *tithi* Āshāḍha śu. 5 was connected with **Monday, June 20, A.D. 1037**, ending about 19 h. 38 m. after mean sunrise for Ujjain. Thus the date is slightly irregular, the Sunday being named probably to lend auspiciousness, although the *tithi* was current only for a short time at the end of it (cf. Mr. Venkatasubbiah's *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, p. 69). The late lamented Mr. R. Sewell, who with his wonted kindness examined the dates in this inscription, informed me that by the *Ārya-siddhānta* very similar results are obtained ; śu. 5 was connected with Monday, June 20, and was current only for about 1 h. 55 m. before mean sunrise on that day. He added that by the mean system, in Śaka 959 expired, śu. 5 began 3 h. 50 m. before mean sunrise on Monday. The Northern Cycle may be excluded from consideration, as it coupled Īśvara with Śaka 957 expired and 958 current.

The second date is given on l. 11 as the *amāvāsyā* (kṛi. 15) of Āsvayuja, evidently of the same year as the preceding date, coupled with an eclipse of the sun and the *yōga* Vyatpāta. This is fairly satisfactory. The *tithi* was connected with **Tuesday, 11 October, A.D. 1037**, on which it ended about 15 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise ; and on the same Tuesday there was an eclipse of the sun, which, however, was not visible in India (Oppolzer, *Kanon der Finsternisse*, p. 214). Mr. Sewell has pointed out that by the mean system this Tuesday was coupled with kṛi. 14 and the following Wednesday with the *amāvāsyā*, which tends to shew that the calculations here were made by true *tithis*.

The only names of places mentioned are **Lokkiguṇḍī**, ll. 5, 19 f., the *tīrthas*, l. 13 f., the **Himāchala**, i.e. Himālaya, l. 32, and **Mālaya**, ibid. Lokkiguṇḍī is Lakkuṇḍī ('Lūkoondē' of the Indian Atlas), in lat. 15° 23' and long. 75° 45½', some 6 miles south-east from Gadag. **Indrakila** (l. 30) is probably meant to be purely mythical ; but there is a hill of the name at Bezwada.

¹ See especially Mr. Allan's *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties in the British Museum*, p. xlix, n. 1.

² See *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, pp. 578-80.

TEXT.¹

[Metres:—v. 1, *Śālinī*; v. 2, *Anushtubh*; vv. 3, 7, *Śārdūlavikrīṭa*; vv. 4, 12, *Uṭpalamāla*; vv. 5, 11, *Champakamālā*; v. 6, *Kanda*; vv. 8, 10, *Matēbhavikrīṭa*; v. 9, *Mahā-sragdharā*.]

- 1 ॐ Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pri(Pri)thvi-vallabha mahārājādhirāja
paramēśvara
- 2 paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Chālu(ḷu)ky-ābharanam Jagadōka-
mallam
- 3 śrīmaj-Jayasimghadēvara rājyam=uttarōttar-ābhi[vṛiddhi*]-pravarddhamānam-ā-
chandr-ārka-t[ā]-
- 4 raṁ saluttam-ire Sa(Śa)ka-nri(nṛi)pa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-sa(śa)taṅga[!]*
959neya īśvara-samvatsarada
- 5 Āshāḍa(dha)-su(su)ddha 5 Āditya-vāradandu śrīmal-Lokkiguṇḍiya ūr-oḍe-volada
per-vvasugeya
- 6 Sa(Śa)ṁkarayyaṁ(yya)-Nāyakara magam ūr-oḍeya Maddimayya-Nāyakam
artthamam koṇḍu Dāmōdara-
- 7 Setṭiyargge sāsirvvara sannidhānadā kāl-garchch-āgi dānam-goṇḍam² keyi mattar-
ayvatt-āru a[m]-
- 8 kadoḷam matta[r*] 56 ā keyge benn-irkkey-illa benn-irkkey-endavam svāna
gārdnebhā³ chāpdāla[m*] I-
- 9 daṇḍa vyavasthe intuṭu [!]* Int-ā bhūmiyam koṇḍu Traipurnasa-dēvarggaṁ bāraha-
Nārāyaṇa-dēvar-u-
- 10 pachāradim mikkudam brāhmaṇar-unba[r*] [!]* Int-i(i) s[th]jitiyal Dāmōdara-Setṭi
bhūmi-dānam-go-
- 11 tṭa titthi Āśva(śva)yujad-amavāsyē sūryya-grahana-vyatipātam Antu koṭṭa
dharmmavam sāsi-
- 12 rv[v]arum rakshisuvar [!]* Int-idaṇ-āśrama-guru-dharmma-pratī(tī)pālanum sva(sa)d-
āchāranum=olḷitta[m]ge⁴
- 13 [vya]bhichāriyum bhakshakan-ād-ātām Prayāge Vāraṇāsi Argghyatirtham
Kurukshētra[m]
- 14 [Pu]shkaram Śrīparvvatam=emba mahā-tīrtthamga[o] chatur-vvēda-pāragarumam
pannirchchāsira kavi-
- 15 [le]yuman=aḷida pātakam sva-dharmmadoḷ rakshisidan⁵-i tīrtthamga[uma[m]] i(i)y-
āyadha(ta)namumam
- 16 [rakshi]sida⁵ mahā-puṇy-ādhipan-akkum || Sāmānyō-yam dharmma-tētu[r*]-
nri(nṛi)pāpām kālē kā[ā]
- 17 [pā]lāniyō bhavadbhīh [!]* ssa(sa)rvvān-ētān=bhāvinaḥ-pārtthivē[m*]drān bhūyō
bhūyō yāchatē [Rā]-


¹ From the ink-impression.

² Read *svana gurubāṇa*

³ The *si* has been omitted, and added in small script under the line.

⁴ Apparently an error for *-goffa*.

⁵ The *gc* is added, in smaller script, under the *no*.

- 18 [machā]ndra[h*] || [1*] Sva-datt[ā*]m para-datt[ā*]m vā yō harēta vasun-dharām shashtir-vvarsha-sahasrāṇi viśthāyām jāyatō¹ krimi² [||* 2*] Maṇ[ga]a]
- 19 Śrīmat-perggaḍe **Dhōyipayyan**=adhikam dhārmikam=udyan-mahāgrāmaṁ neṭṭane Lokki[gu]-
- 20 [pḍi]ye nutam kīrtti-dhvajam sad-guṇ-ōddāmaṁ dvādaśa(śa)-Viśṇuṣam Garuḍa-māna-stambhamam sthāpi[s-]
- 21 [—]mam Traipurusharkkaḷam nilisidam³ puṇy-ādhikam dhātṛiyo || [3*] Ā mahimā-viśāśa-aḍagu[nti]-
- 22 [ya ?]⁴ perggaḍe **Dhōyipayyan**=uddāma-kulakke takka sati mikka patibrate Jaina-dāna-dharmam-āmrite-⁵
- 23 [? vṛi]ddhi-chamḍrike **Guṇābhe** guṇ-ādhike sanda Rugmiṇi⁶-rāmege Rāma-rāmeg-eṇey-endode mattaran-ēnan-ēmbenō || [4*]
- 24 [∪ ∪ ∪] Dadhichi puttidano Guttane bandano Chārudattanō [n]iratiśay-Ārkka-nandanano pē-ene **Māhuva**=artthig-artthama[m]
- 25 [kara]m=osed-ittan-ātana magam vibudh-āgrapiy=endu **Dāmar**(ma)nam karam-atirā-gadiṁ poga[var-ēn-esav-antano pu-
- 26 [? nya]m-antanō || [5*] **Māhuva-Setṭiya** magan-aṭisāhasikam nega[da **Dhōyipayyan**-⁷ amarmmam māhātm[y*]-ārjita-guṇa-[sam]-
- 27 [dōha]m dhareg-eseye **Dāvalam** sale nega[dam [|| 6*]  Śrī-kāntā-kamanīyam-ādudu viśā[ōra[s*]-stha]am tanna vāk śrī-kā[ntā-ka].
- 28 [ma]nīyam-ādudu mukh-āmbhōjātam=udya[jaya-śrī-kāntā-rama]nīyam-ādudu bhujā-daṇḍam dig-ant[am ?]
- 29 [ya]śa[s*]-śrī-kāntā-kamanīyam-ādud=ada[ṇind-ēn-Dāman=uddāmanō || [7*] Sura-rājendra-mad-ēbha-mastakado[—]
- 30 [dig-da]nti-dantaṁga[o]=Haran=ugr-āsiyo[=Imdrakīla-taṭado[=Nirējaputr-āṇḍado[=vara-nāg-ālayado[=Murāri-
- 31 [ya ?] gri(gri)h-ōdya[d*]-dvāra-bandhamga[o]-bareda[=Vāg-vadhu **Dāvalam** su(śu)chi mahā-dān-āḍya(dhya)n-ēmb-amkamam || [8*] Sura-rāj-ādr[i]-
- 32 [ndra-Hi]mācha[la-Ma]le[la]ya-nag-ōpānta-vallī - van - ābhyanatarado[=nānā - vinōdaṁga[o]e nelai vidyādhara-stri-
- 33 [∪ — — ∪ ∪] kānt-ānikamam pannaga-yuvatiyaṁ pāḍuvar=kkūḍe **Dāmōdara**-kīrtti-śrīyan=ēn=end-aḍa
- 34 [∪ ∪ ∪ —]m baṇ[ṇ]isalk-ārppan-āvam || [9*] Moḷe-voyt-Ārkka[ṇ]am pasurppu vaḍedatt=ā Vikramāditya-bhūta[la-nāth-ā]g[r[āṇi]-
- 35 [yim ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —]tt-ettam Hariśchamdraniṁ Naḷaniṁ pūtudu Chārudatta-vibhuviṁdam kāytud-i bhūri-bhūta[ado] **Dāma**[∪ —]

¹ The ya has been added below the line.² Read *krimi*.³ The si has been omitted, and added below.⁴ Or possibly -ye.⁵ Read -āmrita.⁶ This is the common Southern spelling for the Sanskrit *Rukmiṇi*.⁷ [Reference to inscription No. 30 of the Nagamangala Taluq (line 55) *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV, Pt. ii, and its translation by Rice (p. 120, l. 1) to which Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao has drawn my attention, would suggest that the reading is *Dhōyipayyana marmmam* or possibly *mammam*. If that is so, Dāvala would be the son of Māhuvasēṭṭi and grandson of Dhōyipayya. See p. 217 above, last para. Kittel, however, gives *momma* but not *mamṇa* (or *marmma*) in the sense of grandson.—Ed.]

(V. 7.) His broad breast was worthy of being desired by the lady Fortune; his speech was worthy of [being desired by the lady] Fortune; the lotus of his face¹ was worthy of the love of that lady the Fortune of high Victory; his rod-like arm, extending through the regions of space, was worthy of being desired by that lady the Fortune of Glory; thus how splendid is **Dāma**!

(V. 8.) On the head of the rutting elephant of the great King of Gods, on the tusks of the elephants of the regions of space, on Hara's awful sword, on the slope of Indrakīla, on the cosmic egg of the Lotus-born [Brahman], on the home of the great Serpents [Pātāla], on the high door-posts of Murāri's house, the lady Speech has written the title: "**Dāvala** is pure, rich in great bounty."

(V. 9.) Standing in divers sports amidst the groves of creeping plants on the skirts of the great mountain of the King of the Gods, of Himālaya, and of Mount Malaya, do not the wives of the Vidyādhara and the company of ladies of . . . and the Serpent damsels sing in concert the splendour of **Dāmōdara's** glory? hence who is able to praise (*fittingly*) its [greatness]?

(V. 10.) The noble tree of desire . . . , throwing out its sprouts through the child of the Sun [Kārṇa], attained to greenness through Vikramāditya chief of monarchs, . . . everywhere from Hariśchandra, flowered through Nala, put forth green fruit through the lord Chārudatta, [and ripened into perfect fruit] through **Dāma** . . . on this vast earth.

(V. 11.) Is not **Dāma**, who makes gifts with calm delight to the company of sages even in [this] troublous time, [when] the Kali Age is rife everywhere and the quality of greed [pervades?] the whole universe . . . to this world, a Dadhichi, a Śibi, a Kārṇa, a Gutta, a Chārudatta?

No. 38.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM RON, OF SAKA 944 AND 1102.

BY LIONEL D. BARNETT.

Rōṇ (the word is spelt "Roan" in the Indian Atlas sheet 41) is the chief town of the Rōṇ *tāluka* in Dhārwar District, Bombay Presidency, and lies in lat. 15° 42' and long. 75° 47'. Both the present epigraphs, which are now edited from ink-impressions bequeathed by the late Dr. Fleet to the British Museum, come from the local temple of Śvara. From notes on the ink-impressions it appears that at the time when the impressions were taken both the stones were on the outside of the temple; the introductory note to the imperfect transcript of B. in the Elliot Collection (Vol. II, fol. 93b. in the Royal Asiatic Society's copy) states that Elliot's agent found it "in the stone temple standing in front of the Redḍiyavar's house in Rōṇ".

A.—OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHA II: SAKA 944.

This record is imperfect; the latter part of the stone is missing, and it is moreover cracked across the middle. The inscribed area is about 2 ft. 7 in. wide, and the maximum height of what remains is about 3 ft. 1 in. There seems to be no trace of any sculptures.—The character is Kanarese: lines 1-28 are written in a fair sloping hand typical of the eleventh century, with letters of an average height of $\frac{5}{8}$ in., and underneath them are portions of three more lines

¹ We may construe the sentence as:—*tanna viśāl-ōrasthalam Śrikāntā-kamanīyam-ādudu, tanna mukh-ām-bhōjātām Vāk-Śrikāntā-kamanīyam-ādudu tanna bhuj-ādaṇḍam udyaj-Jayaśrikāntā-kamanīyam-ādudu, etc.*, and translate it accordingly.—Ed.]

written in a slightly smaller and more cramped hand; perhaps a later addition. As very little can be made out of the latter, I give only the text of ll. 1-28. The language is Old Kanarese, with two formal Sanskrit stanzas (vv. 10 and 11): The *l* is preserved in *negal* (ll. 6, 21 f.), *alidon* and *alida* (l. 20); it appears as *l* in *pogaladar* (l. 10) and *pogalai* (l. 21): *Nirmādhya* (l. 18) is a rare but classical Sanskrit word. In *tandeya māhida bhūmi-dānamām* (l. 24) we have an example of the use of the genitive for nominative to which I have called attention in *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1918, p. 105.

The record opens by referring itself to the reign of the Chālukya Jagadekāntalladēva (Jayasimha II) (ll. 1-3). It then describes in verse the town of Rōpa, the modern Rōp (ll. 3-5), and the virtues of an eminent local Brāhman named Āytavarma and his son Saṅkimayya, the latter of whom constructed a temple to the Mūlāsthāna god in Rōp (ll. 5-10). Saṅkimayya had an elder brother named Māchamayya, whose younger brother was Chāndimayya; and Māchamayya granted land for a rest-house for Brāhman (ll. 10-14). Next follow prose details of Māchamayya's gift of some lands and three oil-mills, etc., for the maintenance of the temple of Śiva, the trustees being the Hundred-and-four burgesses of Rōp (ll. 14-20). Next come three verses (ll. 20-25), from which we learn that he also constructed a well, and that his three sons Āytavarma, Rudrāmayya, and Dāchīmāyya made over their father's land-endowment to the custody of the Hundred-and-four; apparently there had been some delay in the formal transfer of the estates granted by Māchamayya, and probably he died in the interim. After this come two concluding Sanskrit stanzas (ll. 25-27), and then begins a new section, of which the first verse (ll. 27-28) speaks of a certain Ravikīya-Bhaṭṭa as possessing some estate. From this point the stone becomes more and more dilapidated: there remain only fragments of three more lines, which I have not thought worth while to print, as they give no consecutive sense. It is noteworthy that these three lines are in a slightly smaller and more cramped hand than the rest of the record, as I have remarked above. The rest of the stone has been lost, and hence it is impossible to determine the exact date when the epigraph in its present form was set up. Apparently it was intended as a composite record of the various charities of the family. The reference to the reigning king in ll. 1-3 and the character of the script shew that it cannot be later than about Śaka 964; and we have Śaka 944 as a *terminus ad quo*; hence it may be reasonably assigned to a date about midway between these limits.

The date of the first donation is given on ll. 14-15 as: Śaka 944, Dundubhi; Pushya ba. 14; Monday; the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. This is not perfectly regular, but may be accepted. The *tithi* specified corresponded to Tuesday, 25 December, A.D. 1022, whereas the *samkrānti* occurred 1 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 24 December; but as the *tithi* ba. 14 began 3 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the Monday and ended 2 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise, thus being current for 20 h. 45 m. on the Monday, the confusion is pardonable.¹

Only two places are mentioned, viz. Rōpa, the modern Rōp (ll. 4, 9, 16, 21); and a spot of which the name began with Pushpa- (l. 16).

TEXT.²

[Metres:—vv. 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 12, *Kandā*; vv. 2, 8, *Chumpakamālā*; v. 5, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 6, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*; vv. 10, 11, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

1 [Om] Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Prithvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara paramabha-

¹ I have again to thank Mr. R. Sewell, who unhappily has died since this paper was written, for his kindness in checking my calculations in this paper.

² From the ink-impression.

- 2 [tāraka]m Satyāśraya-kula-tilakam Chāluky-ābharanam śrīmaj-Jagadēkamalla-
dēvara vijaya-rājya-
- 3 [m=utta]r-ōttar-ābhividdhi-pravarddhamānam-ā-chandr-ārka-tāram saluttam-ire |
Kandam | Śrī-ramaṇi-pr[i*]yan=i--
- 4 [v] Dvā]rāvatigam Surēndran=Amarāvatigam saram dharaṇi-vaniteya hāra[m]
śrī-Rōṇam=oppugum
- 5 [vasu]matiyo | (||) [i*] Vṛittam [i*] Enipa mah-āgrahāram=adaṇol=Vana-
jōdbhava-vamśajarkaol=Manu-charita-pra-
- 6 [—]r-ene kotta]ivan=nega]d-ol-gulakke mikk-anupama-dāni śiṣṭa-jana-vatsalan=
ivara dēvan-**Aytava**[r*]mmane
- 7 [pa]ram-ārttham=endu dhare baṇṇisugum vibudh-āgragaṇya(n)am | (||) [2*]
Kandam | Ātaṅge sujana-jana-vikhyātaṅge jagaj-ja-
- 8 [n]-aika-nuta-charitam nirdhūt-āgha-nichayam-urvvi-khyātam śrī-Saṅkimayyan=ādam
tanayam | (||) [3*] Kshiti-valayam
- 9 [ba]ṇṇisal=unnatiyam mādisidan=esevinam Rōṇado] =unnatam-ene Mūla-sthān-āyatana-
man=ā Saṅkimayyan=e-
- 10 ne poga]adar=ār | (||) [4*] Vṛittam | Ātaṅge=unna[t]a-kīrttig-agrajan-
udagram Māchimagayam jagat-khyātam¹ nirmma]a-dharmman=ātan=s-
- 11 nujam śrī-Chandimagay-āṁkan=uddhūt-āgh-aughan=enippan=irvvar-olag=ā śrī-Māchi-
magayam dvija-vrātakk=unnata-satra-
- 12 bhūmiyan=idam biṭṭam mah-ōtsāhadim | (||) [5*] Oḍalam tām sucharitrado]
dhanaman=udyad-dānadol=nan[n]iyam nuḍi-
- 13 yo] =bhaktiyan=eyde tandeyo] =udagram chittamam santatam Mṛiḍa-pād-ābjado]
āvagam basanamam sad-dharmmadol=tā-
- 14 [didam gaḍad=ē vaṇṇipen=appa sach-charitamam śrī-Māchimagay-āṁkanam | (||)
[6*] Ad=ent=e[ndode] } Śaka-varsha 944neya Dur-
- 15 dubhi=samvatsarada Pushya-bahu]a 14 Sōmavāram=uttarāyaṇa-samkramanadandu
pannirvvar=brāhmaṇargge sa-
- 16 tram māḍi baṇḍ=ā Rōṇa-mā]ado] 50 mattar=ddanada keyyu[m*] dēvargge
Pushpa . . temkalum 2 matteram 335 kammada tōm-
- 17 tamum soḍar-ennege 3 ghāṇamumam sarvva-bādhā-parihāram mānyam māḍi
śrīman-nūṇa-nālvargge pāda-pūje[ge*] 50
- 18 gadyāṇa[m] ponnaṁ koṭṭa dharmmamam rakshisuvud=endu nirmmadhyam=
oppisidar=i dharmmamam rakshisidavargge Prayāge-Vāraṇāsi-
- 19 Kurukshētrado] =sāsira kavileya kōḍum ku]agumam suvarṇado] khachiyisi sā-
survvar=vvēda-pāragar=appa brāhmaṇa-
- 20 rgge sūryya-grahanado] =koṭṭa puṇyam=ak[k*]um=idan=a]idon=initunidevaruman²=a]ida
mahā-pātakan=ak[k*]um | Ka-
- 21 ndam | Jagatī-jana-hitamam vibudha-gaṇ-āgrāṇi Māchimagayam=urvvi-valayam
poga]al Rōṇada māpiyara nega-
- 22 [d-āramey-olage bāviyam tōḍisidam | (||) [7*] Enisida Māchimagayya-vibu-
pa(dha)m̃g=eseyalke tanūjar=urvvarā-jana-
- 23 nutan-**Aytavarṇma**-vibhu sach-charitam sale Rudramayyan=atyanavarat-ēṣṭa-
dāni vibudh-āgrāṇi dhātrige Dāchima-

¹ Written as separate words, jagat khyātam.

² Apparently corrupt; we should expect something like inīum=inītaruman.

- 24 [yyan]-atyanupamar-int-ivar-kramade tandeya māḍida bhūmi-dānamam [|| 8*]
 Parirakshisi vipra-kalēbara-bhānu-ga-
 25 [bhasti nūṛa]-nālvargg-atyādaradinde samarppisidar-paripālisim-endu chandra-
 tāra[m*]-baregam [|| 9*] Ślōkam [1*] Sva-dattām
 26 [para-dattām vā yō har]ēta vasundharām | shashṭir-vvarsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām
 jāyatē kṛimih | (||*) [10*] Akarasya karam(ri)-
 27 [karanam gō-sahasra-vadhaḥ smṛi]taḥ | kara-pravṛitti-vichchhēdād-gō-kōṭi-phalam-
 aśnutē | (||*) [11*] Kandam | Neṭṭane shaṇ-māsam mugī-
 28 [] kaṭ[t]-ā=en[d]um
 Ravikiya-bhaṭṭam Nirguḍiyan-unṇa neleyan-tinnam | (||) [12*]¹

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-3.) While the victorious reign of—hail!—the refuge of the whole world, darling of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of **Satyāśraya's** race, embellishment of the **Chālukyas**, king **Jagadōkamalla**, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) for as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(Verse 1.) More excellent than the **Dvārāvati** of Lady Fortune's lover [**Kṛishṇa**] or than the **Amarāvati** of Indra, a pearl-necklace for the Lady Earth, the blest **Rōṇa** is conspicuous on earth.

(V. 2.) The great Brāhmaṇic *fief* so named—in it are men perfect (?) in the conduct (*prescribed*) by Manu among the scions of the race of the Lotus-born [**Brahman**] : one of this company, a man of peerless charities excelling in that illustrious good family, kindly to cultured men, a god of givers (*of bounty*), is **Āytavarma** in supreme truth : in such terms does the world laud that most eminent of sages.

(V. 3.) To him, who was renowned among good men, there was a son, the blest **Saṅkimayya**, whose conduct was uniquely praised by the people of the world, who dispelled the mass of sin, famed on the earth.

(V. 4.) With the circle of earth lauding (*his*) eminence, this **Saṅkimayya** constructed a **Mūla-sthāna** sanctuary such as to be conspicuous for magnificence in **Rōṇa** ; for this who are there that do not praise (*him*) ?

(V. 5.) He, exalted of fame, had an elder brother, the stately **Māchimayya**, world-renowned, stainless in religion ; his younger brother, named the blest **Chandimayya**, is known as having dispelled the flood of sin. Of the two, this blest **Māchimayya** with great generosity granted to the company of Brāhmaṇs the land for a magnificent rest-house.

(V. 6.) He kept his body in righteousness, his wealth in noble charity, truth in speech, devotion fittingly towards his father, an eager spirit ever towards **Mṛiḍa's** lotus-feet, passion ever for the good Law : verily, O brother, how can I (*worthily*) extol the righteous man bearing the name of the blest **Māchimayya** ?

(Ll. 14-20.) As regards the manner thereof :—On Monday, the 14th of the dark fortnight of Pushya, in the cyclic year **Dundubhi**, the 944th year of the **Śaka** (era), at the **uttarāyana-saṁkrānti**, having made a rest-house for twelve Brāhmaṇs, and having come and made into an honorary estate for the god with immunity from all conflicting claims a corn-field

¹ The stone contains portions of three more lines, possibly by a later hand, on which see above (p. 223).

of 50 *mattar* in the meadows of Rōṇa and south of Pushpa . . . 2 *mattar* and a garden of 335 *kamma* and 3 oil-mills to supply oil for lamps, he granted 50 *gadyāṇa* of gold for adoration of the feet to the Hundred-and-four, which pious endowment they undertook directly to maintain. To those who maintain this pious endowment will accrue the merit of decorating with gold the horns and hoofs of a thousand kine at Prayāga, Benares, or Kurukshētra and giving them, during an eclipse of the sun, to a thousand Brāhmaṇs learned in the Vēdas; he who destroys it will bear the same deadly sin as if he destroyed the same number of them.

(V. 7.) **Māchimaṇḍya**, leader of the company of sages, with the applause of the circle of earth caused to be dug in the splendid park of the intendants of Rōṇa a well, beneficial to the people of the world.

(Vv. 8 & 9.) As this sage **Māchimaṇḍya's** sons became distinguished, the lord **Aytavarma** praised by the people of the earth, the truly righteous **Rudramaṇḍya**, and **Dēchimaṇḍya**, a most unceasing dispenser of boons, a leader of sages in the world, were quite without peer: these four, in order preserving the land-endowment founded by (*their*) father, with the utmost respect transferred it to the [Hundred and] four, who are [rays] of the sun in the bodies of Brāhmaṇs, bidding them guard it for as long as moon and stars endure.

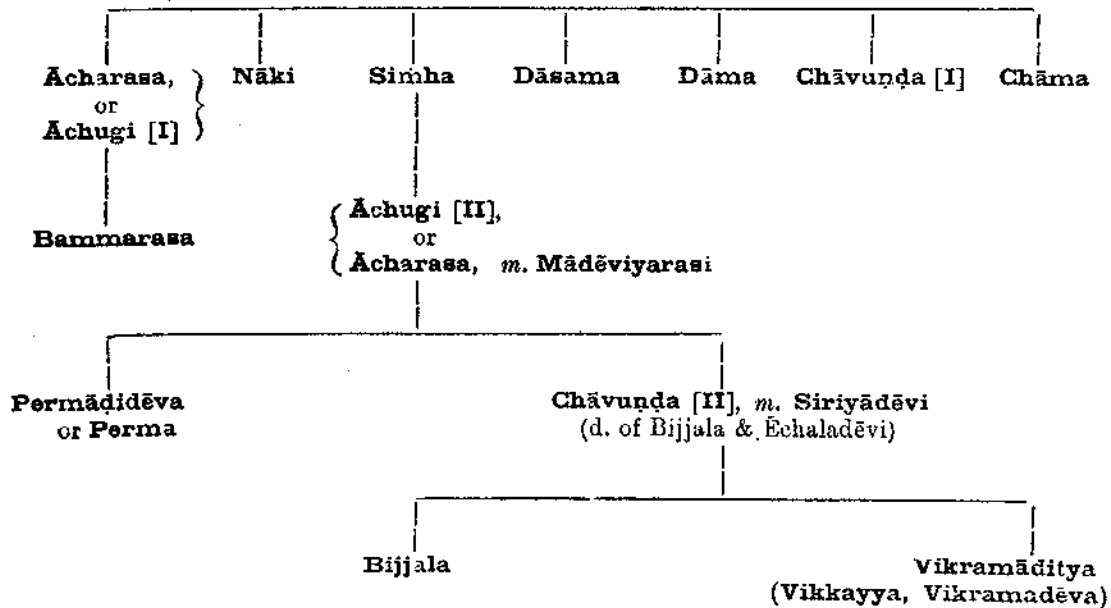
(Vv. 10, 11: two common Sanskrit formulæ.)

(V. 12.) . . . everywhere **Ravikiya—Bhaṭṭa** has enjoyed the estate that . . . possessed.

B.—OF THE REIGN OF SANKAMA AND THE SINDA VIKRAMADITYA : SAKA 1102.

The inscribed area of this epigraph is in width about 2 ft. 3 in. and in height nearly 5 ft. There is no record of any sculptures being attached to it. The **character** is Kanarese of the period, a generally well-formed ornate hand, decorated at the beginning with arabesque designs similar to those of the Kurgōḍ inscriptions published above, Vol. XIV, p. 265 ff. The height of the letters varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. The cursive forms of *y* and *m* noted above, Vol. XII, p. 335, are found here: that for *m* occurs in ll. 38, 53, 75 (twice), and 77, and that for *y* in l. 19. The **language** is Kanarese, the metrical part being in the ancient language and the prose medieval; two formal stanzas (vv. 1 and 26) and a quotation from Manu (v. 25) are in Sanskrit. Sporadically *ay* is changed to *ey*, in °*vaḷeya*° (ll. 2, 19), *taneyam* (l. 28), and *abheyan* (l. 28). The prothesis of *y* in *yaupāsan-āgni* (l. 62) is noteworthy; so is the spelling *Āsvayija* (l. 66), which is the first step to the modern vernacular pronunciation *Āsvija*. The ancient *ḷ* has not been preserved: it has been changed to *ḷ* in *negaf*° (*passim*), *kīḷ*° (l. 18), *elvinam* (l. 30), and to *r* in *ērvavarum* (l. 26), ? *arvuvu* (l. 30), *negardda* (l. 39, prose), *negarda* (l. 43, prose), with loss in *eppattuman* (l. 56). *V* is changed to *b* in -*brāta*°, ll. 4, 14, -*braja*°, l. 47, -*byūha*°, l. 50, -*bratiy*, l. 51, -*svayambaram*, l. 57. The change of *p* to *h* occurs in the verse portion only in *Hoysaḷana* (l. 32) and *Torahanam* (l. 33; but *Torapa*° in the prose titles, l. 63), and in the prose in *Hiriya* (ll. 67, 71, 73), *hamneraḷu* (l. 70), and *hola*° (ll. 71-72, 78-79), by the side of *paḍuva* (l. 71) and *paḍuvalu* (l. 78), both in prose. The *upadhāniya* appears in *amṭaḷpura*° (l. 40). On the lexical side we may note *prōḷḷimḷḷita* (l. 9), *ānamna* (l. 12), the list of technical names of towns and villages (*paṭṭana*, l. 14; *sanivāḷana*, l. 14; *khēda*, l. 14; *kharevaḷa*, l. 14 f.; *maḍamba*, l. 15; *drōḷā-mukha*, l. 15), and *kāmbi* (ll. 71 f., 78 f.; also found in the Ālūr inscr. of Śaka 933, above, Vol. XVI, p. 27). Part of the text, viz. the passages from *Anṣu sogayisuva* on l. 6 to *Kumṭaḷ-ōrvu-viḷasum* on l. 13 and from *Viḷasitam* on l. 21 to *emḷaḷe* on l. 24, together with vv. 14, 16, 19, 20, and 21, occur also in No. L. of the inscriptions of Sūḍi published above, Vol. XV, pp. 109 ff.

The record, after the opening verse, proceeds to extol the ocean (ll. 2-6), Jambū-dvīpa (ll. 6-8), Mount Mēru (ll. 8-10), Kuntala (ll. 11-16), and the king of Kuntala, the **Kalachurya Saṅkama**, to whose reign it formally refers itself (ll. 16-21). It then mentions the province of Kisukāḍu (ll. 21-22) and the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara ruling it, the **Sinda Vikramādēva**, also known as **Vikkayya** or **Vikramāditya** (ll. 22-23),¹ giving the pedigree of the latter as follows (ll. 23-49):—



This differs in some slight details from the pedigree given in the Sūḍi record above, Vol. XV, p. 109. It moreover supplements it by adding the mention of Bammarasa and by stating that Achugi II conquered the Male or Highlands of the Ghāts, defeated the king of Pāhala (Chēdi), sacked Uppina-kaṭṭa, and killed the Gaṅga of Kaḍāra (on which see below), and that Permāḍidēva captured the Hoysala king's elephants and treasure-waggon as well as the Toraha² himself (vv. 13, 15). Next, we are introduced to Bācheya-Sēhani, a distinguished Master of the Horse, general, and *bīhallara-niyōgi* or 'holder of seventy-two offices' in the service of the Sinda Vikramāditya (ll. 49-55); it was on his petition that the present grant was made. The occasion of it was when Vikramāditya, having been moved by hearing a sermon on the text Manu VIII. 15, was making a number of charitable endowments and gifts in honour of his late father (ll. 55-70), and the trustee was Gurubhaktadēva, a Śaiva divine of the Parvata³ school of the Kālāmukha church, the beneficiaries being the local sanctuaries of Chāmēśvara and Mālēśvara. A specification of the boundaries of the land then follows (ll. 70-74), with a concluding verse (ll. 74-75) and some supplementary endowments by Vikramāditya and his brother Bijjana or Bijjala (ll. 75-80).

¹ On the Sinda dynasty see above, Vol. XIV, pp. 268-270, and *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 572 ff.

² Apparently the head of some hostile tribe of that name; cf. the title *Torapa-kul-āntakar*, "slayers of the Torapa race," applied in the present record, l. 63, to the burgesses of Rōn, and the reference in the Hūli inscription above, Vol. XVIII, p. 200.

³ As this name shows, the school was derived from Kashmir. Cf. *Ep. Carn.* VII, i. Sk. 114, etc.

The date is given in l. 66 as : Śaka 1102 (current), Vikāri ; the new-moon day of Āśvayuja, Monday. This is not perfectly regular. The *tithi* mentioned corresponded to Tuesday, 2 October, A.D. 1179, on which day it ended 13 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain).¹

The places mentioned are Kuntala (ll. 13 f., 16, 21 f.), Kisukāḍu (ll. 22, 67) and the Kisukāḍu Seventy (l. 56), Pāhaḷa (l. 29), Uppina-kaṭṭe (l. 29), Kaḍāra (l. 30), Erambarage or Yerambarage (ll. 57 f., 61), Rōṇa (ll. 63, 68, 71, 78), Hiriya Maṇiyūr (ll. 67, 71, 73, 78 f.) Chikka Maṇiyūr (l. 72), Mudiyanūr (ll. 72, 77, 79), and Maṇiyūr (l. 76). On Kisukāḍu see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX (1901), p. 259 ff. Pāhaḷa is the kingdom of Chēdi. Kaḍāra, evidently the same as the Kiḍāram or Kaḍāram of several other records, is rather difficult to locate. Mr. Venkayya (*S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 109) and Dr. Hultsch (above, Vol. IX, p. 231) seem to be right in placing it on the western coast of Burma or thereabouts in regard to other records ; but here it is rather hard to believe that the arms of the Sindas could reach so far. The words *Kaḍāra-Gaṅga* in l. 30 must mean a Gaṅga prince ruling in Kaḍāra, and suggest that there was a place of that name in or near the territory of the Gaṅgas in India, from which a colonial Kaḍāra on the other side of the Bay of Bengal might have taken its name. Erambarage is Yelburga, situate in Lingsugur District of the Nizam's Dominions, in lat. 15° 37' and long. 76° 3' ; we here learn (l. 57) that it bore the title of *Lakṣmī-svayamvara*. Rōṇa is the modern town of Rōṇ. Hiriya Maṇiyūr, given as " Hire-Manur " on the Bombay Survey sheet No. 332 and as " Heereh Munnoor " on the Indian Atlas sheet 41, is in long. 75° 42' and lat. 15° 42½'. Chikka Maṇiyūr, the " Chik-Manur " of the Survey and " Chika Munnoor " of the Atlas, lies in long. 75° 42½' and lat. 15° 40½'. Maṇiyūr may possibly denote these two towns collectively. Mudiyanūr may perhaps have some connection with the modern village of Mudengudi (" Moodiangoodie " on the Indian Atlas), which lies in long. 75° 43' and lat. 15° 44½' ; the former name is to be analysed as *Mudiyaṇa ūr*, " the elder's village," and the latter as *Mudiyaṇa kuḍi*, " the elder's homestead " (or perhaps *guḍi*, " temple ").

TEXT.¹

[Metres :—vv. 1, 25, 26, *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 2, 24, *Uṭpalamālā* ; vv. 3, 5, 6, 8, *Mahāśraḡdhara* ; vv. 4, 13, 15, 17-21, *Mattebhavikriḡḡa* ; vv. 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, 22, 23, *Kanda* ; v. 10, *Champakamāla*.]



Śrī [1*] Namas-tuṅga-śiraś-chumbi-chāndra-chāmara-chāravē [1*] traiḡḡkyā-nagar-


ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē || [1*] Vṛitta ||

2 Svasti samasta-bhū-vaḡe[ḡa]ya-vēṣṡṡitam-uj[ḡ*]vaḡa-mauktik-ādi-sad-vastu-vī(vi)kṛṡṡṡav-
uchchaḡiḡiḡta-tuṅga-taraṡṡa-

3 haṡṡa-māḡlikā-nyasta-viyat-taḡam sogayis-irppudu bhāvai nōḡe nāḡe lōka-stutam-āḡi
ma-

¹ Mr. R. Sewell has informed me that practically the same result is reached if we follow the *Siddhānta-sīrmaṡi*, which gives as *tithi*-index 9809, as against the 9810 of the *Ārya-siddhānta*. He also points out an interesting fact in this connection. As the *amāvāsyā-tithi* (ba. 15) ended shortly after sunset on Tuesday, the preceding Monday night was the Dīpāvalī festival ; see Kielhorn's list of " Festal Days " in *J. A.*, Vol. XXVI, 1887, p. 184. Kielhorn there says that the " principal day " of the festival was the one in which the moon was in the *nakṡatra* Svāti. Mr. Sewell's new table XLVIII A however shows that the moon entered Svāti, according to the equal space system, 17 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise on Tuesday ; hence Tuesday was the " principal day " of the Dīpāvalī in A.D. 1179, though apparently the festival at any rate began on Monday night while the *amāvāsyā-tithi* was current. The *Siddhānta-sīrmaṡi* also given a similar result.

² From the ink-impression.

- 4 taya-makar-ōtkara-saṁsthita-ghūrṇpit-ārṇṇavaṁ || [2*] Jala-hasti-brāta-hast-āhatiyin-
ogedu nuṇ-muttugaḷu sūse tira-sthaliyoḷu
- 5 mey-verchchi mēgamṇg-ogedu teraḷe nūṁkutte śubhr-ābhramam nirmmaḷa-
kallōḷ-aughadimḍam gagana-taḷake tūṁ-
- 6 t-iṭṭa vōl-īkashisalu kaṇ-goḷikum bhūgōḷamam sutt-igid-atuḷatara-dhvānav-aṁbhōṇi(ni)-
dhānam || [3*] Vachana || Antu sogayi-
- 7 suva muṁṇire mērey-āgi nī(ni)khiḷa-dvipa-kuḷa-kudhara-kuhara-kumja-ramjitamūṁ
aśēsha-dōsh-āpaharapa-
- 8 pari(ri)ṇata-prabhāva-sukshētramum=enī(ni)si sogayisuva Jambū-dvipada natṭa-
naḍuve || Vri || Sura-kāntā-rata-kūjita-pra-
- 9 tirava-prōjrimbhitaṁ¹ kimnari-vara-git-ārava-mōhita-dvipa-kuḷam sidhdh-āṁganā-pāda-
paṁkaruḷa-prāṁchita-kum-
- 10 kuma-sthagi(gi)ta-chamchach-chamdra-kānt-ōpaḷam karam=opp-ippudu ratna-kūṭa-
ramaṇiyam Mēru-dhātridharām || [4*] Ā Kām-
- 11 chan-āchaḷada dakshiṇa-dig-bhāgadoḷu Bharata-kshētram=embud-irppud-adaḷoḷu ||
Polan*-ellaṁ gaṁdha-śāḷi-prakara-pa-
- 12 rivri(vri)taṁ namdana-ārēṇiy-ellaṁ phaḷa-bhār-ō(ā)namna-chūt-āvanī(ni)ja-ḷaḷaḷayitaṁ²
dīrghik-āṇikam-ellaṁ daḷi(li)t-aṁbhōjāta-
- 13 rēṇu-sthagita-lalitam-ūr-ūrggaḷ-ellaṁ prajā-saṁkuḷa-gō-dhānya-prakīrṇṇ-āṁchitam=enal-
esegum Kuṁṭaḷ-ōrvvi-viḷasam || [5*]
- 14 Ā Kuṁṭaḷa-dēśadoḷu || Palavum grāmaṁgaḷim paṭṭaṇa-nikaradi(de) saṁvāhana-
brātadiṁ pēsha(śa)ḷa-khōḷa-vyūhadim kha-
- 15 rvvaḍa-nagara-maḍaṁb-aughadim kūḍe cheluvaṁ taḷeda drōṇāmukha-ārēṇiyin=eseva
nadī-jāḷadim bhūri-bhū-maṁḍa-
- 16 ḷadoḷu kaṇg-eḍḍam-āg-irppudu ruchirateyim madhya-dēśam viśēśam || [6*]
Tatu-Kuṁṭaḷ-ādhipati bhāsvat-kīrti-viḷasan-udhdhat-ārā-
- 17 ti-mahībhi(bhri)t-Kuḷiśa-daṁḍan-adaṭa chamatkāram śauryya-śāḷi Saṁkamadēvaṁ ||
[7*] Ā dēś-ādhiśvarana bhuja-
- 18 pratāpam=emṭ-emḍaḍe || Baḷavad-vidviṣṭa-bhūpāḷakaran-uṇḍe kīṭt-ikki tadd-rājya-
chihnaṁgaḷan-udyad-dēśa-kōśaṁgaḷan-a-
- 19 vayavadiṁ koṁḍu sal-īḷeyimḍam jāḷadhi-vyāvēśṭit-ōrvvi-vaḷe(ḷa)yaṁv-anitumam
tāḷidam taṁna dōr-mmaṁḍa-
- 20 ḷadoḷu niśēśamka-Laṁkēśvaran-amaḷa-yaśam Saṁkama-kaḷōṇipāḷam || [8*] Ant-
enisida Kaḷachuryya-chakravartti(rtti) Saṁkama-dēvarasa-
- 21 ra rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vri)dhdhi-pravardhdhamānam-ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram
saluttam-ire ||  Viḷasitam=enipa Kuṁ-
- 22 taḷa-dēśadoḷu bahu-phaḷa-dhānya-dhānu-dhana-pūrṇṇav-enisuv-ūrggaḷa nele nāḍu
Kisukāḍu || Ā nāḍan-āḷvan-artthi-jan-ānam-

¹ Read *prōjrimbhitaṁ*.² The first *ja* is superfluous.³ The *prāsa* is imperfect, / rhyming with *l*, in verses 5-6.

- 23 dha(da)m Sirinda-manḍalika-tīlakam tējō-nidhi Vikramadēvarā Śrī-nāṇḍanan-
eseye tamna lalit-ākāram || [9*] Ā jagadu-
- 24 vīraṇ=anvay-āvatāram=em̐t=em̐daḍe || Para-nṛī(nṛī)pa-marddanam subhaṭan=Ācharasari
kali Nāki-bhūmipam suruchira-kīrtti Sirinḥa-
- 25 vi(vi)bhuv-aggada Dāsama-manḍalēśvaram narapati Dēma-bhūmipati śaurya-
dhanam vinutam Chauvumḍa¹-bhūvaran-ene mūrtti
- 26 Chāma-nṛipam-emba sahōdha(da)rar-ādar-ērvvarum || [10*] Avar-oḷag-Āchugi-
bhūparṅg=aviraja-āi(si)ta-kīrtti puṭṭidam Bammarasam bhuva-
- 27 na-jana-stutyam pārtthiva-Pārttham Sirinda-vaṇśa-chūḍāratnam || [11*] Ātanōḍa-
vuṭṭidam vikhyāta-yasam Sirinḥa-bhūmipā-
- 28 lāna tane(na)yam pātī(ti)ta-ripu-nri(nṛī)pa-varggam bhūtaladoḷu negaḷdan
abhe(bha)yan-Āchugi-bhūpam || [12*] Maleyam
- 29 sādhisī Pāhaḷ-ādhipatiyam beṇ-komḍu mikk-irdda dōr-vvaladim̐=Uppina-
kaḍḍe(tte)yam kavardhdu(rdu) saṅgrām-āgradoḷu saṇ-
- 30 da mey-galiy-āg-irdda Kaḍāra-Gaṅganam-agurv=arvv-ēḷvinam komdu bhūtalā-
doḷu tām-esedh(d)-irddan-Āchugi-nri(nṛī)pā-
- 31 laṇ Sirinda-vaṇś-ōttamam || [13*] Ā negaḷd=Ācharasariḅgam mānini² Mā-
dēviyarasigam puṭṭidan=urvvī-nuta-vibhavam satya-
- 32 nidhānam Permmāḍi-dēvan=apratima-yasam || [14*] Ghana-bāhā-baḷadim̐de
Hoysalana matt-ēbhaṅgaḷam vastu-vāhanamam kom-
- 33 ḍ-atidhīranam Torahanam beṇ-komḍu tūḷd-eydi muṭṭi neram-bārade kaṭṭi
tamdu chalaḍhi(di)m Chāḷukya-rāyaṅge koṭṭan=anūna-pra-
- 34 baḷa-pratāpa-vibhavam Permmāḍi-bhūpālakam || [15*] Ene negaḷda Permma-
bhūbhujan-anujam vidvishṭa-manḍalēśvara-kāmtā-
- 35 jana-karṇa-patra-vichchēḍanan=apratima-pratāpi Chavumḍa-nri(nṛī)pam || [16*]
Vara-hōm-āgnita(ya) vāji-māhsaman=alampiṇ melva mātaṅga-bhī-
- 36 kara-kumbha-sthita-rakta-pānaman-arutt=ānamdadiṇ pīrvva nishṭhura-ni(ni)strim̐sa-
ni(ni)j-āsiyoḷu neredu Dēvi-saṅgaram sādhipar=dhdhurado-
- 37 ḷu chitram=id-alte śatru-mahipar-Chehāvumḍa-bhūpālanim || [17*] Kuḷa-śaiḷam
rajaṭ-ādriyam jaḷadhi dugdh-āmbhōdhiyam vāhinī-
- 38 kuḷam=Imdhr(dr)-āpageyam tamāḷa-taru kalp-ōrvvijamam Viṣṇu nī(ni)rmmaḷe
Gaṅgādharanam ḍamam³ nereye pōlt-irpp-a[m]negam parvvitt(t)=u-
- 39 [j*]vaḷa-kīrtti dyuti-līḷeyi[m*] trijagamam Chāvumḍa-bhūpālanam(na) || [18*]
Ant-enisi negaḷda śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvaram sāhas-ō-
- 40 ttumga-Vīra-Chāvumḍarasa-dēvan=arddh-āṅga-Lakshmi paṭṭa-mahādēviy=am̐taḥpura-
mukha-darppaṇe Siriyādēvi-
- 41 yarasiy=anvay-āvatāram=em̐t=em̐daḍe || Naranāth-āgraṇi Bijjalam Kaḷachuri-
kaḥmāpālan=ayyam guṇ-ākare-
- 42 y-ād-Echaladēvi tāyi nri(nṛī)pa-varam śrī-Vajradēvarḥ sahōdaran=atyum̐nata-
Sirinda-vaṇś-āyan=ādhipam Chāvumḍam=em̐dam̐de
- 43 daḷu Siriyādēviy-ol-ār-eraj-kuladoḷam saṁpūjeyaru rāṇiyaru || [19*] Ant-enisi
negaḷda Siriyādēviyara-

¹ To be scanned *Chavumḍa*.² Read *mānini*.³ Perhaps an error for *ḍiḷuṇ* or something of the kind.

- 44 **sigam** Chāvumḍa-maṇḍaḷēsvaramgam puttīdar=ad-ēmt-ēmdaḍe || Dhareyam
pālisal-ēmda Gaurige Gajāsyam Shaṇmukham Siteg=u-
- 45 dhdhura-tējam Lava-bhūbhujam Kuśa-nri(nri)paṁ śrī-Dēvaki-dēvig-ādaradimdam
Bala-Kri(Kri)shṇar=udbhavipa volu lō-
- 46 k-ōttamar=pputtīdar=**Ssiriyaḍdēvig[e*]** Vīra-Bijjala-nri(nri)paṁ **Vikkayyan**=ēmba-
ātmajaru || [20*] Avar-oḷage || Prajeyam pāli(li)-
- 47 si dharmmamam nī(ni)lisi si(si)shṭa-vrātamaṁ kād-ari-brajamaṁ sōdu niraṁtaram
vipuḷa-lakshmi-dhāman-ādam mahibhu-
- 48 ja-chūdāmaṇi **Sirinda**-vaṁśyan-ajitam śrī-**Vikkramādityan**=āpta-jan-ōdyaṁ-nidhi maṁ-
ḍaḷēsa-tilakam **Chāvumḍa**dēv-ātmajam || [21*] Khyātam bālyadoḷam Mām.
- 49 dhātam tām=ēnī(ni)si maṁḍaḷika-Māmdhātam bhūtaḷamaṁ pālisidam nūtaṇa-Baliy-
enisī **Vikkramāditya**-nri(nri)paṁ || [22*] Tatu-pāda-padm-ōpa-
- 50 jivī¹ || Āhava-dhīraṇa vidyu(dvi)ḍ-byūha-bhayaṁkarana **Vi(Vi)kkramādityana**
saṁnāham tām=ene **Bācheya-Sāhaṇi** śaraṇ-āgat-aika-rakshāmaṇi-
- 51 yaṁ || [23*] Satya-parākkramaṁ para-hita-bratiy-ēmt-**Eraḱāṭi** **Vikkramādityana**
biḍinoḷu negaḷdan=ante jagam-nuta-vīra-**Vikkramāditya**-
- 52 na biḍinoḷu negaḷdan-i śu(su)bhāṭ-āgraniy-ēmdu baṇṇikuth bhri(bhri)tya-nidhāna-
naṁ negaḷda **Bācheya-Sāhaṇiyaṁ** jagaj-janaṁ || [24*] Ant-akhaṇḍi-
- 53 ta-dōr-ddamḍa-pratāpanum²=avamdhye(mdhya)-kōpanum raṇa-raṅga-simhanum
vimaḷa-kīrtti-latā-kamdanum vijaya-lakshmi-kāmtanum=eni-
- 54 sida mahā-pradhānam sēnādhipati bāhattara-niyōgi maṁḍaḷika-sāhaṇi-śīrōmaṇi
śrīmatu-**Bāchayya-Sāhaṇi**-
- 55 ya birṇapadiṁ || Svasti Samadhigata-paṁcha-mahā-śabda-mahāmaṇḍaḷēsvaraṁ
uddaṇḍa-maṇḍaḷika-ripu-Madana-Mahēsvaraṁ **Sirinda**-Gōvinḍamnuv³=udātta-Rā-
- 56 manum vairi-maṇḍaḷika-śīrō-Vajra-damḍanum=enisida śrīmanu-mahāmaṇḍaḷēsvaraṁ
Vīra-Vikkramādityadēva-rasaṁ **Kisukāḍ**=eppattu-
- 57 man=āḷdu duṣṭa-nigraha-śiṣṭa-paripāḷanadiṁ tribhōg-ābhyaṁtara-sidhdhiyimd=āḷdu
Lakshmi-svayambaram=enisida nija-rājadhāniy-app-E-
- 58 raṁbarageya nele-viḍinoḷu sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttam-irddu
dharmma-prasaṁgaḍoḷu ||
- 59 Dharmma ēva hatō haṁti dharmmō rakshati rakshitaḥ [1*] tasmād=dharmmō na
haṁtavya[s*]=sarvv-aśvarya-phaḷ⁴-ēpsubhiḥ || [25*] ēmba subhāśi(śi)ta-
vachanaṁgaḷam kēḷdu tām
- 60 sājadim dharmma-budhdhiy=appudaḍimdam tamma bappaṁ śrīman-
mahāmaṇḍaḷēsvaraṁ **Chavumḍarasa**-dēvargge parōksha-vinayaṁ(ya)-prā-
- 61 yaśchitta-nimittam **Yeraṁbarageyalu** bhū-dāna-gri(gri)ha-dāna-gō-dāna-suvarṇa-
dānaṁgaḷam māḍuttam-irdda tat-kāḷadoḷu || Svasti Ya-
- 62 ma-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa - mō(mau)n - ānushṭhāna - parāyaṇa - japa - samādhi-
śi(śi)la-saṁpannarum yau(au)pāsaṇ-āgni-hōtra-
- 63 dvija-guru-dēva-pūjā-tatpararum mārtamḍ-ō[j*]vaḷa-kīrtti-yutarum **Torapa-kul-**
āstakarum-appa śrīman-mah-āgrāhāram **Rōpāda**

¹ Read -*Spajivi*.² Read -*Gōvinḍanuv*.³ Read -*prasaṁgam*.⁴ The scribe seems to have actually written -*aśvarya phraḷ*.

- 64 nūṛa-nālvār-aśśā(sha)-mahājanamgaḷa samnidhānadai-alliya Kalla-maṭṭhad-
āchāryya-Gurubhaktadēvargge || Āvara guru-kuḷam-ēmt-ēmdaḍe Kāḷā-
- 65 mukha-Parvvat-āvaḷi-tapō-ni(ni)shthā-parar-enisi negaḷda Koppina Vakkhkhāpadēvar-
āvara śishyaṁ Rudraśaktidēvaru āvara śishya[m*] Jñānaśaktidēvar-āva-
- 66 ra śishyaṁ Gurubhaktadēvargge Sa(Sa)ka-varsha 1102neya Vikāri-
sariivatsarada Āsvayi(yu)jad-amavāse Sōmavāradarṇdu tamma
- 67 Kisukāḍa nāḍa baḷiya bāḍam Hiriya Maṇiyūra samasta-guṇa-viśēś(ah)-ōmnatar-
app-ūr-[o*]ḍeya-mukhyaṁv¹-al[l*]iy-aṇuvatt[t*]-okka-
- 68 lum samasta-prajegaḷu sahitaṁ Rōpada Kalla-maṭṭa(ṭha)da Chāmēśvara-dēvara
nitya-pūjā-naivēdya-gaṁdha-dhūpa-dīpa-Chaitra-pavitraṁ naḍev-amt-ā-
- 69 giy-alliy-āchāryya Gurubhaktadēvara pāda-prakāḷalanam-geydu dhārā-pūrvvakarṇ
māḍi rāja-dattiy-āgi sarvva-na-
- 70 masyaṁ māḍi koṭṭa keyi mattaru haṁneraḍu alliya Māḷēśvara-dēvara
naivēdyakke koṭṭa keyi mattar-eraḍu || Amt-ā vri(vri)ttige stha-
- 71 ḷav-āvud-ēmdaḍē Hiriya Maṇiyūra mūḍapa holadiṁ kaḍeyalu Rōpada
paḍuva-volada kambi-
- 72 vodduge teṁkalu Chikka Maṇiyūra holadiṁ baḍagalu kambi-vodduge baḍagalu
Mudiyanūra holadiṁ teṁkalu kambi-vodduge am-
- 73 tu nālkuṁ deseyalu kavileya kallaṁ naṭṭu koṭṭaru || Imt-ī dharmmamam
Hiriya Maṇiyūra vūr-ōḍeyanum samasta-
- 74 prajegaḷum sadharmmadim pratipālisuvaru || Dānaṁ vā pālanam v-āpi dānāch-
ohhrēyō-nupālanam [i*] dānāt-svarggam-avāpnōti pā-
- 75 lanād-achyutaṁ padaṁ || [26*] Vira-Bijjaṇadēvanum Vikkarasanum kerege
mattar-eraḍu aṇuvatt[i*]gege mattar-eraḍu amt
- 76 biṭṭa mattaru 4 Maṇiyūra ūr-ōḍeyanum aṇuvatt-okkalum pratipālisu-
varu || ☉
- 77 Mattam Vira-Bijjaṇadēvarasanum Vikkara[sa*]num Kalla-maṭṭhada
Chāmēśva(śva)ra-dēvarige biṭṭa keyi Mudiyanūra
- 78 he(ho)lad-olage mattaru 6 Rōpada he(ho)lada kambiy-oddugey-āgi paḍuvalu
Hiriya Ma-
- 79 piyūra he(ho)lada kambiy-oddugey-āgi baḍagalu Mudiyanūra ūr-ōḍeyanum
aṇ[u*]va-
- 80 tt-okkalum pratipālisuvaru ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Homage to Śambhu lovely with the yak-tail fan that is the moon kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the construction of the city of the Threefold World.

(Verse 2.) Hail! surrounded by the ring of the whole earth, abounding in goodly treasures of brilliant pearls and the like, decking the face of the sky with garlands of thousands of upspringing lofty waves, the tossing Ocean tenanted by crowds of fishes and dolphins, when one gazes in meditation, is fair to the sight, being exceedingly praised by the world.

¹ Read -mutigava.

(V. 3.) When, swelling up on its shores, rising aloft, beating against the bright sky, it rocks about so that fine pearls arising from the blows of the trunks of troops of water-elephants are showered around, the Ocean, most incomparable in its thunders, surrounding the globe of the world, attracts the eye as one gazes, as though it were driving holes in the face of the heavens with its floods of stainless billows.

(Ll. 6-8.) In the very middle of Jambū-dvīpa, which, with the ocean thus resplendent as its bound, is brilliant in being adorned with grotto-bowers in the principal mountains of all the continents and in being a blessed land richly endowed with power to remove all guilt—

(V. 4.) Conspicuous indeed is Mount Mēru, charming with jewelled peaks, which is full of echoes of the murmurs of celestial damsels' amorous dalliance, where the tribes of birds¹ are fascinated by the sounds of Kinnarī's sweet songs, and where brilliant moonstones are besmeared with lustrous saffron from the lotus-feet of Siddhas' wives.

(Ll. 10-11.) On the south of this Golden Mountain is the land of Bharata : in it—

(V. 5.) All the fields are encompassed by lines of fragrant rice-crops ; all the series of parks encircled by mango-trees bending with the weight of fruit ; all the multitudes of pools charmingly powdered with pollen of bursting lotuses ; all the towns splendidly abounding in crowds of people, kine, and grain : thus appears the bright aspect of the land of Kuntala.

(L. 14.) In this land of Kuntala—

(V. 6.) With many villages, with numbers of market-towns, with crowds of store-places, with multitudes of elegant hamlets, with abundance of *kharaḍa*-villages, towns, and *maḍamba*-villages, together, with a series of beautiful *drōṇā-mukha*-towns,² with the multitude of rivers, the central province is unique amidst the realms of the vast earth in charming the eye with its loveliness.

(V. 7.) The lord of this Kuntala is the heroic king *Saṅkama*, brilliant with lustrous glory, a Thunderbolt-wielder [Indra] to the mountains, haughty foes, a miracle of valour.

(Ll. 17-18.) As regards the splendour of the arm of the lord of this land :—

(V. 8.) King *Saṅkama*, an intrepid Lord of *Laṅkā*,³ stainless of glory, unceasingly tearing up and destroying puissant hostile monarchs, winning, member by member, their emblems of royalty (and) the treasures of their noble lands, in fine sport has supported on the circle of his arm the whole ring of the ocean-encompassed earth.

(Ll. 20-21.) While the reign of the *Kaṭachūrya* emperor thus described, *Saṅkama-dēvarāma*, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars :—

(Ll. 21-22.) In the bright land of Kuntala is *Kiṇṇakāḍu*, a province containing towns that are full of abundant fruit, grain, kine, and money.

(V. 9.) The ruler of this province is a delight to the needy, an ornament of *Sinda Maṇḍalikas*, a treasure of splendour, *Vikramadēva*, a child of Fortune,⁴ whose own charming form is conspicuous.

(Ll. 23-24.) As regards the lineage of this world-hero :—

(V. 10.) There were seven brethren, to wit, the warrior *Acharasa*, who crushed hostile monarchs, the valiant king *Nāki*, prince *Sirīha* most brilliant of fame, the excellent baron *Dāsama*, king *Dāma*, lord of men, the famed person, rich in valour, known as king *Chāvunḍa*, (and) king *Chāma*.

¹ [The text (p. 229, l. 9 above) has *dvīpa* which means 'elephant'. Perhaps *dvīja* is meant.—Ed.]

² Definitions of the terms *grāma*, *paṭṭana*, *saṃvāhana*, *khēḍa*, *kharaḍa*, *nagara*, *maḍamba*, and *drōṇa-mukha* are to be found in the *Kāśikāgama* XX. 4-10 and *Yugādi-dikāśa* V. 50 ; cf. my translation of *Anugada-dakṣa*, p. 45 n.

³ A variation of the commoner title *nīlānka-Rāma*.

⁴ *Sirī-nandana*, a play on the name of his mother *Sirīyādēvi* (see below).

(V. 11.) Among these, there was born to king **Āchugi, Bammārāsa**, possessing abundant bright fame, lauded by the folk of the world, a Prithā's son (Arjuna) among monarchs, a crest jewel of the **Sinda** race.

(V. 12.) The son of his (Āchugi's) full-brother the renowned king **Sinhha**, the fearless king **Āchugi (II)**, who laid low troops of hostile sovereigns, was illustrious on earth.

(V. 13.) Overcoming the **Highlands**, driving into flight the lord of **Ḍāhala**, with exceeding strength of arm sacking **Uppina-katte**, slaying in the forefront of battle that worthy man of true valour the **Gaṅga** of **Kaḍāra** when his awful power of destruction was at its height, king **Āchugi**, best of the **Sinda** race, was in turn illustrious on the earth.

(V. 14.) To this distinguished **Ācharasa** and his high-spirited consort **Mādēviyarasi** was born **Permāḍidēva** of world-renowned majesty, a treasure of truthfulness, incomparable in glory.

(V. 15.) By the strength of his robust arm winning the **Hoysala's** fiery elephants (and) treasure-waggons, driving into flight the very bold **Toṛaha**, pursuing, approaching, coming into touch, binding (*him*) with none coming to aid, king **Permāḍi**, splendid in perfect puissant majesty, boldly carried (*him*) off and handed (*him*) over to the **Chālukya** king.

(V. 16.) The younger brother of this distinguished king **Perma** was king **Chāvunḍa (II)**, who plucked away the leaves in the ears of hostile barons' mistresses, incomparable in majesty.

(V. 17.) On meeting with the blade pertaining to (*his*) grim sword, which devours splendidly the flesh of horses (*destined as it were*) for noble oblation-fires, (and) stabbing drinks joyfully draughts of blood lodged in the terrible temples of elephants, enemy kings, strange to say, do verily in battle fulfil the vow of the Goddess by means of king **Chāvunḍa**.¹

(V. 18.) The brilliant fame of king **Chāvunḍa** has spread through the triple world with the sport of its lustre, so that the central mountains become verily like to the Silver Mountain (*i.e.*, **Vaitāḍhya**), the ocean to the Sea of Milk, the series of rivers to Indra's stream, the *tamāla* trees (*Xanthochymus pictorius*) to the Tree of Desire, Vishṇu to the stainless Bearer of the Ganges (**Śiva**).²

(Ll. 39-41.) As regards the lineage of **Siriyādēviyarasi**, the Fortune forming half the body of the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara** king **Vira-Chāvunḍarasa** exalted in valour who was thus illustrious, his royal consort, the mirror to the face of the seraglio :—

(V. 19.) Seeing that her father was the **Kalachuri** monarch **Bijjala**, foremost of lords of men, her mother **Ēchaladēvi**, a mine of virtues, her brother the blest **Vajradēva**, best of kings, her husband **Chāvunḍa**, scion of the most exalted **Sindas**, what queens forsooth in the two races were so highly honoured as **Siriyādēvi**?

(Ll. 43-44.) As regards the (*sons*) born to this illustrious **Siriyādēviyarasi** and the **Maṇḍalēśvara Chāvunḍa** :—

(V. 20.) As to **Gauri**, for the protection of earth, were born the Elephant-faced (*i.e.*, **Gaṇēśa**) and **Shaymukha**, as to **Sītā** king **Lava** immense of splendour (and) king **Kuśa**, as to the blest lady **Dēvaki** by act of grace were born **Bala** and **Krishṇa**, (so) were born to **Siriyādēvi** as sons, best of the world, king **Vira-Bijjala** (and) **Vikkayya**.

¹ The meeting of the enemy kings with Chāvunḍa's sword is compared to the union of devotees of Kālī with the hierophant. Chāvunḍa's sword destroys their horses and elephants, as the priest's knife slaughters the victims presented by worshippers before they are burned in the fire.

² The whiteness of his fame makes every dark-coloured object appear to be of a brilliant white hue. The rhetorical figure is *tad-guṇa*.

(L. 46.) Of these (*two sons*):—

(V. 21.) Guarding (*his*) subjects, establishing religion, protecting men of culture, driving away foes, the blest **Vikramāditya**, crest-jewel of monarchs, scion of the **Sindas**, invincible, an exalted treasure to friends, an ornament of barons, son of king **Chāvunḍa**, has been everlastingly a seat of abounding fortune.

(V. 22.) King **Vikramāditya**, renowned even in boyhood as a very **Māndhātā**, has protected the earth, a **Māndhātā** among barons, known as a new Bali.

(Ll. 49-50.) One who finds sustenance at his lotus-feet—

(V. 23.) **Bācheya-Sāhaṇi**, a unique protective gem for seekers of his protection, known as the very armour of **Vikramāditya** stout in the fray (*and*) terrible to hosts of foemen:—

(V. 24.) “As flourished in the palace of **Vikramāditya**, **Eṛakāṭi** true in valour (*and*) devoted to the weal of others, so there has flourished in the palace of the world-famed hero **Vikramāditya** this most eminent of warriors”: thus the people of the world extol the illustrious **Bācheya Sāhaṇi**, a treasure to dependents.

(Ll. 52-55.) On the petition of **Bāchayya Sāhaṇi**, the High Minister, General of the Forces, holder of seventy-two offices, head-jewel of princely Officers of the Stables, who is thus styled ‘majestic with invincible rod-like arm, not to be baulked in wrath, lion on the stage of battle, root of the creeping-plant of stainless fame, beloved of the Fortune of victory’—

(Ll. 55-61.) Hail! While the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara** who has obtained the five great (*musical*) sounds, the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikramāditya-dēvarasa**, who is styled “a **Mahēśvara** to the Love-god haughty hostile barons, a **Gōvinda** of the **Sindas**, a **Rāma** among the noble, a Thunderbolt-wielder to the heads of opponent barons,” administering the **Kisukāḍu Seventy**, and governing it so as to suppress the wicked and protect the cultured, with internal authority over the three forms of enjoyment,¹ was reigning with enjoyment of pleasant conversations in his capital city the standing camp of **Erambarage**, which is styled **Lakshmi's Svayamvara**, in the course of a religious address he heard the following moral verses: “Religion when harmed harms, religion when guarded guards; therefore religion should not be harmed by those who desire fruits of paramount lordship.”* As he himself was naturally of a godly spirit, he dispensed in **Erambarage** gifts of lands, houses, kine, and gold in pious memory of his father the **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chāvunḍarasa-dēva** and for the lustration (*of his soul*); and in the course thereof:—

(Ll. 61-64.) In the presence of all the Hundred-and-four **Mahājanas** of the **Great Agrahāra of Rōṇa**, who are—hail!—devoted to the performance of the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, meditation, spiritual concentration, and practice of silence, observant of prayer and absorption, attentive to libation in the domestic fire and to reverence of **Brāhmaṇas**, elders, and gods, having glory brilliant as the sun, destroyers of the race of the **Torapas**:—

(Ll. 64-66.) To **Gurubhakta-dēva**, prior of the **Kalla-Matṭha** (=Stone monastery) of that place:—As regards his spiritual lineage: **Koppina Vakhkhāṇadēva**, renowned as being devoted to the ascetic practice of the **Parvat-āvali** (=Mountain-school) of the **Kāḷāmukhas**; his disciple **Rudrasakti-dēva**; his disciple **Jñānasaktidēva**; to his disciple **Gurubhakta-dēva**—

(Ll. 66-70.) On Monday, the new-moon day of **Āsvayuja** in the cyclic year **Vikāri**, the 1102nd year of the **Śaka** (era) (*the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vikramādityadēva*), in company with the local sixty households and whole population of **Hiriya Maṇiyūr**, a town forming part of

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 271.

* *Manu* VIII. 15.

his province of *Kisukād*, headed by the mayor, who are eminent for all excellences of virtue, did with laving of the feet of the local prior *Gurubhaktadēva* and pouring of water make over as a royal gift on *sarva-namasya* tenure a field of twelve *mattar* for the maintenance of the regular worship, oblations, fragrances, incense, lamps, and *Chaitra-pavitra*¹ of the god *Chāmēśvara*, in the *Kalla-Maṭha* (stone monastery) of *Rōpa*, (and) a field of two *mattar* for the oblations of the local god *Māṣēvara*.

(L. 70-74.) Now as regards the area comprised in this endowment: on the four sides, to wit, at the side by the eastern field of *Hirya Maṇiyūr*, the *kambi*-junction of the western field of *Rōpa*, on the south the *kambi*-junction on the north of the field of *Chikka Maṇiyūr*, on the north the *kambi*-junction on the south of the field of *Mudiyānūr*, they set up stones (engraved with the figure) of a cow. Thus the mayor of *Hirya Maṇiyūr* and all the population shall maintain this pious foundation according to its rule.

(V. 26: a standing Sanskrit formula.)

(Ll. 75-76.) The 4 *mattar* which *Vira-Bijjana-dēva* and *Vikkarasa* granted, namely two *mattar* for the tank (and) two *mattar* for the alms-booth, the mayors of *Maṇiyūr* and the sixty Households shall preserve.

(Ll. 77-80.) Moreover, the field granted by *Vira-Bijjana-dēvarasa* and *Vikkarasa* to the god *Chāmēśvara* of the Stone-monastery, 6 *mattar* within the field of *Mudiyānūr*, on the west forming a *kambi*-junction of the field of *Rōpa*, on the north forming a *kambi*-junction of the field of *Hirya Maṇiyūr*, the mayors of *Mudiyānūr* and the sixty Households shall preserve.

No. 39.—TWO HARSOLA COPPER PLATE GRANTS OF THE PARAMARA SIYAKA OF V. S. 1005.

By K. N. DIXHIT, M.A. AND D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

The two grants published here are in the possession of a Visanagarā Nāgar Brahman named Bhaṭṭ Magan Motiram of the village *Harsola* in the Parāntij taluka of the Ahmadābād District of Gujarāt. Rao Bahadur Keshavlal H. Dhruva of Ahmadābād first obtained information about them and tried his best to secure them for the preparation of impressions. The owner was unwilling to part with them for any consideration. He, however, allowed Rao Bahadur Dhruva to have them photographed and lent them for a few hours for personal examination. The Rao Bahadur kindly placed the photographs at our disposal for the purpose of deciphering and publication. Subsequently through the kind efforts of Mr. Dayabhai P. Derasari, Bar-at-law of Ahmadābād, the Brahman lent to us the plates for a few days for taking impressions from which the accompanying facsimiles have been prepared.

The grants, herein called A & B, consist of two plates each, engraved only on the inner side. All the four plates were most probably joined together by means of a ring passing through a small hole in the centre at the bottom of the first and third and the top of the second and fourth plates. Mr. Dhruva informs us that two of the plates were found joined together by a ring, the remaining two being loose. From the presence of the *Gartaḍa* symbol on only one of the sets of the plates it, however, seems probable that all the four plates were originally joined together, the grants being issued by the same king on the same day to two Brahmins, related to each other as father and son. For the sake of convenience the father's grant has been designated in this article as grant

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 52.

A and the son's, as B. At the left hand bottom of the second plate of grant A is incised the figure of flying Garuḍa holding a snake in his left arm. The Garuḍa symbol is found on some of the Rāshtrakūṭa records, the newly discovered Ahmadābād grant of V. S. 1026 of Siyaka himself¹ and the plates of the Paramāra princes Vākpati-Muñja and Bhōja, the son and the grandson, respectively, of Siyaka of these grants.

The grant A has 27 lines of writing, 16 being written on the first and 11 on the second plate. In grant B, there are 29 lines, 13 in the first plate and 16 in the second. The first plate has been more carefully engraved. The writer of the grant B began with bold letters and had to compress the concluding few lines within a short space, the penultimate line being incised practically on the edge and the last word written vertically on the right hand margin.

The characters used in the plates belong to the northern class of alphabets prevalent in the 10th century A.D. and generally resemble the letters of contemporary inscriptions, e.g., the Partāgarh inscription² of the time of the Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla II, dated Samvat 1003. The use of the archaic as well as the advanced forms of letters in these two grants would indicate that the alphabet employed in them was undergoing a change during the period to which they belong. A few examples may be given to illustrate this point. Initial *a* is found in at least three different forms, (cf. *a* in *adrishṭa*, in grant A, line 19 and grant B, line 21 and in *anumantavyaḥ*, in grant B, line 25). In grant A, the initial *z* is a triangle with the apex at the bottom (line 8). Of the consonants, *kha* occurs in grant A in the older form with loops to the left of each of the two verticals; while in grant B it approximates to the modern Nāgarī form (see *kha* in l. 3). In grant A, *ta* occurs more frequently in the earlier form in which the top vertical is straight and the lower limb consists of two curves, the one on the right being at times longer. In grant B, the modern form of *ta* where the right curve is merely the continuation of the top vertical, is more predominant. The letter *pha* occurs in grant A in a rare form resembling the Greek ϕ .

Regarding orthography, it may be noted that no distinction is observed between *va* and *ba*, as in most of the inscriptions of the period. Dental *sa* is substituted for *śa* in *visāla* (line 11). The *ha* of *simha* is changed into *gha* in two places (ll. 1 and 6). The use of the *anusvāra* is generally preferred to that of the class nasal; in some cases both the *anusvāra* and the class nasal are used (cf. *avalambita*, grant A, line 11). Some mistakes are repeated in both the grants, e. g., *triṇa* is written as *triṇa* in *triṇāgra* (grant A, line 16; grant B line 17). With *r*, the following *ka*, *ja*, *na*, *ma* and *va* and the preceding *t* are generally doubled.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the opening verse in honour of the Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu, the three verses describing the pedigree of the donor and the two imprecatory verses at the end, the documents are in prose throughout.

The grants open with an invocation of the God Viṣṇu in his Nṛsiṃha incarnation. Then follows the mention of the two kings *Amoghavarsha* and *Akālavarsha*, with the epithets *Paramabhāṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara*. The latter, who is mentioned as meditating on the feet of the former, has the two additional epithets *Prithivīvallabha* and *Śrīvallabha-narēndra*.

¹ Above Vol. XIX, p. 177

² Above Vol. XIV, pp. 176 & 183.

Now, there cannot be any doubt that the two kings here mentioned¹ are the well-known sovereigns of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of Mālkheḍ, either Amōghavarsha I and Kṛishṇa II whose combined reigns extend over about a century (814-911 A.D.) or Amōghavarsha III and Kṛishṇa III (934-961 A.D.). Possibly some portion of the original draft is missing here through the engraver's oversight for, immediately after this, follows a verse which mentions that 'in that family' was born the famous king Bappaiparāja whose son was Vairisimha. The expression 'in that family' presupposes the mention of the family, but the immediately preceding expression is the genitive case-ending *narēndra-pādānām*, which is hardly appropriate. Then occurs a verse in praise of Vairisimha, which is followed by another, mentioning that the king Siyaka was born to him. In the subsequent prose eulogy of Siyaka, we find that he is called a *Mahāmaṇḍalika-chūḍāmaṇi* and *Mahārājādhirāja-pati*. The grants are mentioned as having been made at the instance of the ruler of the Khēṭaka-maṇḍala (corresponding roughly to the modern Kaira District). The records say that on his return from a successful expedition against Yōgarāja, the king was encamped on the banks of the Mahī, where, after offering worship to Śivanātha (most probably at the shrine of Sarnāl, a place of considerable repute) he gave away the villages of Kumbhārōṭaka and Sihakā in the Mōhaḍavāsaka-vishaya respectively to Lallōpādhyāya, son of Gōvardhana and Ninā Dikshita, son of Lallōpādhyāya, Nāgara (Brahmana) of Ānandapura, belonging to the Gōpali-gōtra. The *dāpaka*² or person who caused the grants to be given, probably the officer who was entrusted with the duty of issuing the grants, was the *Thakkura* Śrī-Vishṇu. The grants were written by the *Kāyastha* Guṇadhara. The last line in both grants contains the sign-manual of the king Siyaka.

The date of the grants is given as 'Samvat 1005, Māgha v(b)a di 30, Budhe' which corresponds to *Wednesday, the 31st January, 949 A.D.*, thus showing that the year was a *Kārtikādi*³ expired year and the month was *amānta*. The occasion for the grant was the *chandrārkkā-yōga-parva*, which may mean simply an *amāvāsya* and not necessarily an eclipse of the sun. There was no solar eclipse on the date.

The grants are of great historical interest, as they are the **earliest records** of the Paramāra dynasty and as such have considerable bearing on the history of Gujarāt. In regard to the details of the last years of Chāvḍā rule, especially the period from 940 A.D. to 960 A.D., the Jain Chronicles are hopelessly at variance. The late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji says in his history of Gujarāt, "The period of Chāvḍā rule at Anahilavāḍa is likely to remain obscure until the discovery of contemporary inscriptions throws more light upon it than can be gathered from the confused and contradictory legends collected by the Solanki historians, none of whom are older than the twelfth century." In dealing with the period when the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ

¹ The identical expression *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēvara-śrīmad-Amōghavarshadēva-pādānūdhyaṭī-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēvara-śrīmad-Akīlavarshadēva-Prithivīvallabha Śrīma vallaḥa-narēndradēva*, is used to denote Kṛishṇa III in the Karhāḍa plates of Kṛishṇa III, dated Śaka 880 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 278ff.) and with the addition of *paramamāhāvara*, in the Dēoli plates of the same king dated in Śaka 862 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 188ff.). The date of the present inscription (equivalent to Śaka 870) is just intermediate between the Dēoli and Karhāḍa inscriptions. It is possible that Kṛishṇa III was at this time the overlord of Siyaka and his name may have therefore been given the place of honour. The epithet *mahāmaṇḍalika-chūḍāmaṇi* is in consonance with this view. But other indications may seem to favour the view that the expression ending with *narēndra-pādānām* in the present plates refers to the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II.

² See above Vol. XIX, p. 178 f.n. 1.

³ See above Vol. XVIII, p. 321.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, page 153.

held sway over Gujarāt, he admits¹ that no materials exist for fixing how long after A.D. 914, Gujarāt belonged to the Mānyakheta Rāshtrakūṭas, and ventures the suggestion that probably they continued until their destruction in A.D. 972 by the Chālukya king Taila or Tailapa. The present grants, I think, would go to supply the required information to a large extent. It is possible that the Yōgarāja of the present grants was a chief of the Chāpōtkata or Chāvḍā dynasty of Anahilavāḍa-Pātan (if the account of some Jain *prabandhas* that the Chāvḍā rule ended in V. S. 1017 instead of in V. S. 998 is correct), or of the Chālukya dynasty of Southern Kāthiāwār.² As Siyaka when returning from his expedition against Yōgarāja was encamped (near Sārnāl) on the banks of the Mahī, it follows that Yōgarāja's principality must lie somewhere to the west of the Mahī and of the Khēṭaka-*maṇḍala*, which was in his own possession. The Chāpōtkatas of Pātan and the Chālukyas of South Kāthiāwār acknowledged the overlordship of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj and Siyaka's intimate connection with the Rāshtrakūṭas, the enemies of the Pratihāras, explains why he attacked Yōgarāja.

The Siyaka of the present grants is no doubt Siyaka II, the father of Vākpati-Muñja, whose date in his Dharampuri copper plates being 974 A. D.³ was 25 years later than the date of the present records or, just the period of a generation. In fact Mabel Duff⁴ actually gives 950 A.D. as the date of Siyaka II, the Paramāra, probably working backwards from the known dates of Vākpati-Muñja. He is also identical with the Siyaka of the Ahmadābād grant of V. S. 1026. Siyaka's father's name is Vairisimha in this, as well as in all previously known Paramāra records. The Vākpati-Muñja grants give the name of the father of Vairisimha as Kṛishṇa, who may be identical with Bappaiparāja of the present grant and with Vākpati I of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of Parimala and the Udayapur *Prasasti*.⁵ It may be noted that Bappai is a good Prākṛit equivalent of Vākpati.

The Udayapur *Prasasti*⁶ further mentions two forbears of Vākpati I, viz., Vairisimha I and Siyaka I, but as no historical fact is recorded regarding them except that they followed each other in the direct line of succession, we can assume that they had not established their power,⁷ and the first prince of the family who assumed importance was Bappaipa or Vākpati or Kṛishṇa.

We find no mention in the present records of the mythical ancestor Paramāra, born of the sacrificial fire on Mount Abu. Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his article⁸ on the exploded myth of Agnikulas mentions that of the four supposed Agnikula families only the Paramāras seem to trace their descent to Agni, from their Udayapur inscription. At least the present records, which are earlier than any other record of the Paramāras, are silent on this point.

The presence of the *birudas* *Amōghavarsha* *Prithivīvallabha* and *Śrīvallabha* among the titles of Vākpati-Muñja have never been explained before, but on the basis of the relationship of the Paramāras with the Rāshtrakūṭas revealed by the present grants, it is now possible to do so. From the fact that only Amōghavarsha I and Akālavarsha (Kṛishṇa II) are mentioned in the plates, it seems that these two princes were held in special esteem by the early Paramāras. What exactly the relation between the two families was it is difficult to say, but possibly the Paramāras were descended from a Rāshtrakūṭa princess. As some of the Vākātaka⁹ plates begin with a

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, page 131.

² Above Vol. IX, p. 2f.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 48f.

⁴ *The Chronology of India*, p. 92. See also *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. IV, p. 80.

⁵ Above Vol. I, p. 233.

⁶ Or their names might have been repeated in the genealogy through mistake. See *Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference*, p. 303ff. and *History of Medieval Hindu India* by C. V. Vaidya, Vol. II, p. 118.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 110.

⁸ Above Vol. XV, p. 39 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, p. 48.

description of the Gupta Emperors, from whom queen Prabhāvatī was descended, so the Paramāras may have been descended from the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Amoghavarsha and Akālavarsha through a Rāshtrakūṭa princess, and, therefore, the present record opens with the names of the two Rāshtrakūṭa sovereigns. It is also possible that Bappaiparāja was a general of Krishna II Akālavarsha at the time of the latter's invasion of Gujarāt and annexation of the domains of the local branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas sometime about 900 A.D. He or his son Vairisimha may have crossed over from Gujarāt to Mālwa and laid the foundation of the rule of their family in that province. From the present records, it seems possible that Siyaka's capital was in Mālwa, as he was marching to the east of the Mahī, possibly through the modern Pāñch Mahāls and the Jhābus State. In Gujarāt, Siyaka still had possession of the Khēṭaka-maṇḍala at any rate. The lord of Rādūpāṭi or Rudrapāṭi, who, the *Navasāhasānācācharita* tells us, was conquered by Siyaka, may possibly have been the Yōgarāja of the present grant. If Siyaka was at the time of these inscriptions subordinate to some overlord, possibly the Rāshtrakūṭa king, it is apparent from the statement of the Udayapur inscription that he later on fought with and defeated the Rāshtrakūṭa king Khotṭiga (about 970 A.D.).

The connection of the Paramāras with Gujarāt, after the date of these plates, no doubt lasted at least up to V. S. 1026, the date of Siyaka's Ahmadābād grant, although Mūlarāja, the founder of the Aṇhilvāḍa Chaulukyas, consolidated North Gujarāt under his rule and the Paramāras must have lost to him some portion of Northern Gujarāt which they had held. It seems that in the time of the successors of Siyaka-Vākpati and Sindhurāja, the Paramāras had ceased to hold the portion of Gujarāt under their sway. For in 975 A.D. we see Mūlarāja fighting with Bārappa, the Chālukya general or ruler of Lāṭa, i.e., Southern Gujarāt. This he could not have done had the Paramāras been holding on their territory which lay between the Aṇhilvād kingdom and Lāṭa. From the Tilakvāḍa plates¹ of V. S. 1103 of the time of Paramāra Bhōja it seems, however, that Bhōja seized again a portion of Northern Gujarāt since his power was acknowledged by a king ruling over the modern Saṅkheḍā mahāl of the Baroda State.

It is not known when exactly the connection of the Paramāras with Mālwa began. The Partābgarh inscription² of V. S. 1003 of the time of the Pratihāra sovereign Mahēndrapāla II shows that Ujjain was then governed by an officer of Mahēndrapāla named Mādhava. Though this fact cannot be totally inconsistent with the occupation of Dhār by the Paramāras the country round about Ujjain was obtained by them not before the latter part of Siyaka's reign or the early part of Vākpati-Muñja's reign.

A king of Khēṭaka-maṇḍala is mentioned in the grants as a subordinate chief of Siyaka. But unfortunately neither his name nor that of the family to which he belonged is given. From the Kapaḍvanj grant³ of Ś. 832 (A.D. 910) we know that Prachanḍa of the Brahmayāk family had gained the principality of Khēṭaka-maṇḍala by the favour of the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign Akālavarsha and was ruling at Harshapura, modern Harsola, where our grants were discovered. The ruler of Khēṭaka-maṇḍala, who was the contemporary of Siyaka was probably the successor of this Prachanḍa. From our Harsola grants and the Kapaḍvanj grant it seems that the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign Akālavarsha had allotted certain portions of his territories in Gujarāt to his nobles who would check the attacks of the Pratihāra enemies.

Of the localities mentioned, Khēṭaka-maṇḍala is roughly equivalent to the modern Kaira and parts of Ahmedābād District. Mōhaḍavāsaka must be the same as modern Mōhāsā or

¹ Proceedings of the Poona Oriental Conference.

² Above Vol. XIV, p. 177.

³ Bom. Gaz. I. i. p. 122.



RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.,
LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1920—1925.

BORN: 16th September 1870
at Hoskote,
Bangalore District.

Died: 8th February 1928
at Bangalore.

Modāsa in Prāntij *taluka* of the District of Ahmadābād. The villages granted viz., **Kum-bhārōṭaka** and **Sihakā** can be identified with the present Kāmroḍ and Sīkā situated at a distance of 13 miles to the east and 8 miles to the south of Modāsa, respectively. **Śivanātha**, the shrine on the Mahī, which was the place of the king's encampment, can be identified¹ with Sarnāl, lying near the place where the Mahī is now crossed by the Anand-Godhra Section of the B., B. & C. I. Ry. It is still looked upon with sanctity in the neighbourhood and has an ancient Śiva temple named Gaṭeśvara which is now a protected monument. It is near the village of Janod owned by a Thākur in the Thāsra *taluka* of the Kaira District, and can be approached by the railway station Angadi on the Anand-Godhra line. Anandapura was the original home of the Nāgara Brāhmanas and is now represented by Vadnagar, a town in the Kherālū *taluk* of the Kadi *prant*, Baroda State. It is noteworthy that these documents give us the earliest known epigraphical mention of the Nāgaras though Brāhmanas hailing from Anandapur are mentioned in some Valabhi inscriptions.

TEXT.²

Grant A

- 1 om³ [1*] Vidyuch-chakra-kaḍāra-kēsara-saṭā-bhūm⁴-ām⁵v(b)uda-śrēṇayaḥ śōṇam nētra-hutāsa-ḍam⁶v(b)ara-bhṛitaḥ singh-ā-⁶
- 2 kṛitēḥ Śārūṇaḥ | viśphūrjjad-gala-garjji-tarjjita-kakun-mātaṅga-darp-ōdayāḥ sāmrambhāsa-sukhayamtu vaḥ khara-na-
- 3 kha-kshumna⁷-dvishad-vakshasaḥ || [1 ||*] Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Amōghavarsha-dēva-pād-ā
- 4 nudhyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-dhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Akālavarshadēva-prithivīvallabha-śrīvalla-
- 5 bha-narēndra-pādānām | Tasmin-kulē kal-masha-mōsha-dakshē⁸ |⁹ jātaḥ pratāp-āgni-hut-āri-pakshaḥ | V(B)appaipa-⁹
- 6 rāj-ēti nripaḥ prasiddhas-tasmāt-suto-bhūd-anu Vairisīrghaḥ¹⁰ | [2 ||*] Dript-āri-vanitā-vaktra-chaṇdra-v(b)imv(b)akalaḥ-

Grant B.

- 1 om³ [1*] Vidyuk-chakra⁴-kaḍāra-kēsara-saṭā-bhūm⁴-ām⁵v(b)uda-śrēṇayaḥ śōṇam nētra-hutāsa-ḍam⁶v(b)ara-bhṛitaḥ singh⁶-ā-
- 2 kṛitēḥ Śārūṇaḥ | viśphūrjja[d]-gala-garjji-tarjjita-kakun-mātaṅga-darp-ōdayāḥ sāmrambhāḥ su-
- 3 khayamtu vaḥ khara-nakha-kahumna⁶-dvishad-vakshasaḥ || [1 ||*] Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-
- 4 mad-Amōghavarshadēva-pād-ānudhy-āta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Akāl-
- 5 lavarshadēva-prithivīvallabha-śrīvallabha-narēndra-pādānām | Tasmin-kulē kal-masha-[m]ōsha-dak[shē] jātaḥ
- 6 pratāp-āgni-hut-āri-pakshaḥ | V(B)appaipa⁹-parāj-ēti nripaḥ prasiddhas-tasmāt-sutō-bhūd-anu Vairisīrghaḥ¹⁰ [2 ||*] Dript-

¹ We are indebted to Mr. R. D. Banerji, M.A., for this suggestion. See *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. W. C.* for 1920-21, p. 61.

² From the photographs and the original plates.

³ Expressed by a symbol. [I would read Siddham instead.—Ed.]

⁴ Read *Vidyuch-chakra*.

⁵ Read *bhūm*.

⁶ Read *siṃh*.

⁷ Read *kahumna*.

⁸ *Dakṣa* is superfluous.

⁹ (Facsimile gives V (B) appaiya. See p. 239 above.—Ed.)

¹⁰ Read *Vairisīrghaḥ*.

- 7 katā [*] nō dhautā yasya kīrty-āpi
Hara-hās-āvadātayā || [3*] Durvvāra-
ripu-bhūpāla-raṇa-raṅg-aika-nā-
- 8 yakah | nripah śrī-Siyakas-tasmāt=
kula-kalpa-drumō=bhavat || [4*] sa
ēvaṁvidhaḥ praṇata-sakala-sāmarita-
- 9 śirōmaṇi-marīchi-ramjita-charaṇa-yugalah
śrī-Khēṭaka-maṇḍal-ādhipati-pratipatti-
prativ(b)addha-trukti (?)
- 10 satūryā-rava-saṁttrast-ānēka-ripu-samūhaḥ
anēka-śaṁkha-dhvani-v(b)adhirita-paṁ-
cha-varṇṇa-patākā-rājī-virā-
- 11 jita-viśāla-vaksha[s*]-sthal-āvalamv(b)ita-
kumuda-v(b)āndhavaḥ atula-dāna-saṁ-
pādan-aika-kalpa-drumah mahā-maṇ-
ḍa-
- 12 lika-chūdāmaṇi-mahārājādhirāja-pati-śrī-
SĪYAKAḤ, sva-bhujyamāna-Mōhaḍa-
vāsaka-vishaya-saṁv(b)addha-Kurh-
- 13 bhārōṭaka-grāmaḥ¹ | samasta-rāja-puru-
shān=prativāsi-janapadānś=cha v(b)ōdh-
ayaty=astu² vaḥ yathā Yōgarāja-³
- 7 āri-vanītā-vaktra-chaṁdra-v(b)imv(b)a-ka-
lāṁkatā [1*] nō dhautā yasya kīrty-āpi
Hara-hās-āvadātayā || [3*] Durvvāra-ri-
- 8 pu-bhūpāla-raṇa-ra[ā*]g-āika-nāyakah
nripah śrī-Siyakas-tasmāt=kula-kalpa-
drumō=bhavat || [4*] Sa ēvaṁvi-
- 9 dhaḥ praṇata-sakala-sāmarita-śirōmaṇi-
marīchi-ramjita-charaṇa-yugalah śrī-
Khēṭaka-maṇḍal-ā-
- 10 dhipati-pratipatti-prativ(b)addha-trukti (?)
sat[ū]ryā-rava-sa[ūn*]ttrast-ānēka-ripu-sa-
mūhaḥ anēka-śaṁkha-dhva-
- 11 ni-v(b)adhirita-paṁcha-varṇṇa-patākā-rājī-
virājita-viśāla¹-vaksha[s*]-sthal-āvalam-
v(b)ita-kumuda-v(b)āndha-
- 12 vaḥ atula-dāna-saṁ[p]ādan-aika-kalpa-
drumah mahā-maṇḍalika-che[ā]maṇi-
mahārājādhi-
- 13 rāja-pati-śrī-Siyakah sva-bhujyamāna-
Mōhaḍavāsaka-vishaya-saṁv(b)a-
ddha-Sihakā-grā-
- Second Plate.
- 14 sy=ōpari yātrā-samaya-saṁsid-
dha-kāry-ānantara-vyāghuṭitair=**Mahī**-
nadī-taṭa-nivāsibhir=asmābhis=chaṁdr-
ā-
- 15 rkka-yōga-parvvaṇi Śivanātham sama-
bhya[r]chy-āva[dhā]rya || Vāt-ābhra-
vibhramam-idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=
āpāta-
- 16 mātira-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōgaḥ |
prāṇās=trīṇ⁴-āgra-jala-vimdu-samā na-
rāṇāṁ⁵ dharmaḥ sakhā param-
ahō-
- 14 mah³ | samasta-rāja-puru-shān=pra-
tivāsi-janapadānś=cha v(b)ōdhayaty
astuvaḥ⁴ yathā Yōgarā-
- 15 jasy=ōpari yātrā-samaya-saṁsid-
dha-kāry-ānantara-vyāghuṭitair **Mahī**-nadī-taṭa-
nivāsibhi-
- 16 r=asmābhis=chaṁdr-ā[r*]ka-yōga-parvvaṇi
Śivanātham samabhyarchy-āvadhārya
| Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasu-

2nd Plate.

- 17 para-lōka-yānē || [5*] Iti jagad-anityam
sakalam=avadhāry=ōpari-likhitō
grāmaḥ sa-simā-trīpa-gōchara-pa[r]jy-
am-
- 17 dh-ādhipatyam=āpāta-mātira-madhurō
vishay-ōpabhōgaḥ | prāṇās-trīṇ⁴-āgra-
jala-vimdu-samā narāṇāṁ dharma-

¹ Read *Viśāla*.² The phrase *sva-bhujya* *grāmaḥ* is grammatically unconnected with the preceding or following word.³ Supply *saṁvidāna* after *vaḥ*.⁴ Read *trīṇ*.⁵ Read *chūdāmaṇi*.⁶ Punctuation is not needed.

A

2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ १ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ २ ॥
 ४ कृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीविष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ ३ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ ४ ॥
 ६ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ ५ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ ६ ॥
 ८ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ ७ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ ८ ॥
 १० अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ ९ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ १० ॥
 १२ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ ११ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ १२ ॥
 १४ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ १३ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ १४ ॥
 १६ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ १५ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ १६ ॥

१८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ १७ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ १८ ॥
 २० अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ १९ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ २० ॥
 २२ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ २१ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ २२ ॥
 २४ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ २३ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ २४ ॥
 २६ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ २५ ॥ अथ श्रीमद्विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रे ॥ २६ ॥



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- 18 ta[h*] sōparakaraḥ¹ sarvv-ādāya-samō(u)-
pētaḥ śrīmad-Ānanda-puriya-Nāgarāya
Tryārshēyāya Gōpālī-sa-
- 19 gōttrāya Gōvarddhana-sūnave Lall-
ōpādhyāyāyā mātā-pitrōr-atmanas-
cha puṇya-yasō²-bhivṛddhayē ad-
rīṣṭa-pha-
- 20 lam-aṅgikṛityā-ā-chaṁdr-ārkk-
ārṇava-kṣhiti-sama-kālam parayā bha-
ktyā śāsanēna udaka-purvvakam
pratipādita i-
- 21 ti || Tam-nivāsi³-janapadair-yathā-diyamāna-
bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-sarvvam=
ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā
- 22 tat-putra-pautr-ādibhyaḥ samupanēta-
vyam | iti vudhvā⁴ asmad-varṇasā⁵-
jair=anyair=api bhāvi-bhōktrībhīḥ
mat-pradatta-dha-
- 23 rmma-dāyō=yam manumanṭavyaḥ¹⁰
pālaniyās=cha | Uktam cha | V(B)ahub-
hir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbhis=Saga-
r-ādibhiḥ | Yasya
- 24 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
phalam || [6 || *] Yān-īha dattāni purā
narēn-drair=ddānāni dharm-ārttha-
yasaska-rāpi | ni-
- 25 rmmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma
sādhuh punar=ādadita || [7 || *] Samvat
1005 Māgha v(b)a di 30 Budhē dāpa-
- 26 kō-ttra Thakkuraḥ śrī-Vishṇuḥ | Rāj-
ājñayā likhitam Kāyastha-Guṇa-
dharēṇa¹² || Svahastō-yam śrī-Siyaka-
- 27 sya || 8 ||
- 18 s-sakhā param-ahō para-lōka-yānai⁶ ||
[5 || *] Iti jagad-anityam sakalam=
avadhāry-ōpari-likhitō-
- 19 grāmaḥ sa-sīmā-tṛpa-gōchra-paryamta[h*]
sōpara⁷-karaḥ sarvv-ādāya-
samō(u)pētaḥ śrīmad-Ānanda-
- 20 puriya-Nāgarāya Tryārshēyāya Gōpālī-
sagō[trā]ya Lall-ōpādhyāya-suta-
Ninā-Dīkṣhitāya
- 21 mātā-pitrōr-atmanas=cha puṇya-yasō²-
bhivṛddhayē adrīṣṭa-phalam=
aṅgikṛityā-ā-chaṁdr-ārkk-ārṇa-
- 22 va-kṣhiti-sama-kālam parayā bhaktyā
śāsanēna udaka-purvvakam prati-
pādita iti || ta-nivā³=
- 23 si-janapadair-yathā-diyamāna-
bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-sarvvam=
ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhiyair⁸=bhū-
- 24 tvā tat-putra-pautr-ādibhyaḥ samu-
panētavayam [1*] Iti vudhvā⁴ asmad-
varṇasajair⁵=anyair=api bhāvi-
bhōktrībhīḥ⁹ mat-pra-
- 25 datta-dharmma-dāyō=yam anumam-
tavyaḥ pālaniyās=cha | Uktam
cha | V(B)ahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā
rājabbhis=Sagar-ā-
- 26 dibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā
bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam |
[6 || *] Yān-īha dattāni purā
narēndrair=dānāni dharm-ārttha-
- 27 yasaskarāpi | nimālya¹¹-vānta-pratimāni
tāni kō nāma sādhuh punar=
ādadita [|| 7 || *] Sa[m*] 1005 Māgha
v(b)a 3[0*]
- 28 [Budhē] dāpakō-tra Thakuraḥ¹² śrī-
Vishṇuḥ[|*]rāj-ājñayā likhitam Kāyas-
tha-Guṇadhareṇa | svahasto-yam
- 29 śrī-Siyakasya |

¹ Read sōparikaraḥ.

² Read yasō.

³ Read buddhē.

⁴ Read yam-anumanṭavyaḥ.

⁵ Read Guṇadhareṇa.

⁶ Read yānai.

⁷ Read tan-nivāsi.

⁸ Read varṇasajair.

⁹ Read nirmālya-vānta.

¹⁰ Read yasō.

¹¹ Read vidhēyair.

¹² Read bhōktrībhīḥ.

¹³ Read Thakkuraḥ.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Invocation to the man-lion form of Viṣṇu.

(Lines 3-5) Of the revered king P. M. P. the great lord, lord of the earth, lord of wealth, the illustrious Akālavarsha, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious lord P. M. P. Amōghavarsha.

(v. 2) In that family, skilful in removing sin, was born a famous king named Bappai-parāja, who sacrificed his enemy's forces in the fire of his valour; to him was born a son, Vairi-siṃha who succeeded him.

(v. 3) His fame, though white like the god Śiva's laugh, could not remove the spots from the moon like faces of the wives of his proud enemies.

(v. 4) To him was born king Śiyaka, the desire-yielding tree of his dynasty, who was the sole hero on the stage of battle between him and the hostile kings.

(ll. 8-20) He, whose feet were tinged with the rays of the crest-jewels of all the feudatories rendering obeisance, who had invested Trukti (?) at the request of the lord of the Khēṭaka Division, terrorized many enemy hosts by the (very) sound of his trumpets (in battle), and deafened (the enemies) by the sound of his conch, (whose army was) shining with the rows of penta-coloured banners on whose spacious breast was a pendent moon, who was the sole desire-yielding tree in bestowing unrivalled gifts, the crest jewel of the great feudatories, the lord, the overlord of kings, the illustrious Śiyaka, thus commands all the officers and neighbouring villagers of the village of Kumbhāroṭaka (grant A), Śihakā (grant B) comprised within the district (*viśaya*) of Mōhaḍavāsaka.

Be it known to you that at the time of our invasion against Yōgarāja, while returning after having accomplished our object, we were encamped on the bank of the river Mahī, after worshipping the Lord Śiva at the time of the conjunction of the sun and the moon, and reflecting that 'the sovereignty of this world is but the play of the wind and clouds, the enjoyment of sensual objects is sweet only at the outset, the life of man is like a drop of water on the tip of a blade of grass, but Dharma is the only companion on the journey to the other world,' also remembering that the whole of this world is evanescent, we have granted with great devotion the above-mentioned village, together with a charter and accompanied by (a libation of) water, as enclosed within its boundaries, along with the pastures and cattle-grazing lands, with the claim to all the dues and taxes—to the Nāgara (Brāhmaṇa) hailing from Ānandapura, of the Gōpālī-gōtra owning three gishis (as the Pravara of his gōtra) by name Lallopādhyāya son of Govardhana (grant A), Nīnā-Dīkshita son of Lallopādhyāya (grant B), for the enhancement of the religious merit and the fame of our parents as well as of ourselves. The gift shall continue as long as the sun, the moon, the ocean and the earth endure.

(ll. 21 ff.) So the inhabitants residing in that (village) being prompt in attending to our orders, shall offer him and his sons and grandsons, etc., in due succession, all the dues as are now paid such as the shares (of produce) royalties, taxes and gold, etc.

Future rulers of our own dynasty as also the other princes enjoying (the sovereignty of this land) knowing this (to be our wish) should concur in and continue this grant made by us in (the cause of) religion and (it) has been said,—[Here follow two usual verses]. Dated Monday the 30th day of Māgha dark half of the year 1005. Thakkura Viṣṇu was the officer who caused this to be granted; written by Kāyastha Guṇadhara under the king's orders. Sign manual of the illustrious Śiyaka.

No. 40.—A THIRD LOST PLATE OF THE NIDHANPUR PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN.

BY M. M. P. PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYYA, VIDYAVINODA, M.A.

When writing on the "Two Lost Plates" of the Nidhanpur plates, I stated, "the rumour goes that a third missing plate is in the possession of a Musalman and efforts are being made to get it from him".¹ Not having been successful in recovering the plate through other means, I myself went to Nidhanpur (in Sylhet) in April 1926 and purchased this third missing plate from its possessor. From the enquiries I made in this connection, I have come to know that seven plates strung with the ring attached to the seal were found, about 2½ feet below the surface of the plinth of a whilom house, and that the discoverer (Masharraḥ) sold the plates to different persons. Of these, three along with the seal fell to the lot of Babu Pavitrānath Das, a local zamindar, who, being an educated gentleman, realised their value and so sent them to Silchar to his friend Rai Saheb Dinanath Das from whom I got them in 1913.² Other purchasers who were illiterate people thought that the plates would some day be conducive to some lucky bargain and kept them hidden until they came to know that the three which were sold to Pavitrā Babu revealed nothing but some sort of information quite unprofitable to them: and then sold them off one by one at whatever they could make out of them. I purchased the present plate for Rs. 20.

The present plate enumerates altogether 63½ shares belonging to 86 persons of 24 *gōtras* of which 19 are new *gōtras* not found mentioned in the plates already dealt with. As the total of these shares amounts to 166½, evidently there must be at least one more plate to complete the set, otherwise, the fraction will be inexplicable.

Whether the plate under consideration is the fourth or the fifth one of the set, it is very difficult to decide. The third plate ends with the complete record of a share and the penultimate plate also opens with an independent record, so that none of these plates has any dependence on a subsequent or a preceding one, respectively. The present plate, as it has been read and written here, also begins in such a way as it may be considered to be in continuation of the third plate or of the missing plate if that one ends with a complete record of share, like the third plate. I have, however, a suspicion that this plate was inscribed in a wrong way, i.e., what is the first side as shown here was inscribed after the inscription of what is shown as the second side. The first record of share in the second side of the plate does not give the proper name of the donee, which is not found even at the end of the first side. Again, the name of the last donee mentioned in the second side, viz., Gōmināga, ends in "nāga" which also occurs in the first name recorded in the first side of the plate. Generally we observe that the names whose latter halves or component parts are similar (e.g., ghōsha, dāma, kuṇḍa, pālita, sōma, etc.) are put down in close proximity to one another. In these circumstances it would appear that the proper name missing in the beginning of the second side (which may really be the first side) of this plate must be at the end of the plate not yet discovered. In that case, the missing plate will be the fourth, and the present one the fifth plate of the set that is said to have consisted of seven plates.

This document—viz., the copper-plate grant as renewed by Bhāskaravarman—has a special bearing on the ancient history of Kāmarūpa. The genealogy recorded in the first and the second plate gives the names of the kings (with their queens) who ruled

¹ See above, Vol. XIX, p. 116.² *Supra*, Vol. XII, p. 65.

over that province prior to Bhāskaravarman. As the grant recorded in these plates is a renewal of what was made by Bhāskaravarman's great-great-grandfather Bhūtiavarman as noticed in the third plate, it is proved that in the 5th or 6th century after Christ, i.e., long before Bhāskaravarman, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa had, even in one village, a very large number of Brāhmins of different *gōtras* and Vēdas. The village mentioned in it was situated in a place lying very close to the kingdom of Gauḍa, between the rivers Teestā and Karatōyā which was the western boundary of Kāmarūpa,¹ and now forms part of the district of Rangpur in Northern Bengal. Thus, the story that Ādiśūra, a king of Gauḍa, had to import five Brāhmins from Kanauj on account of the paucity of Brāhmins in the locality or vicinity would appear to be groundless, especially when it has not yet been confirmed by any reliable document. Further, the Sāmpadāyika Brāhmins of Sylhet with the ten *gōtras* including Kātyāyana, were all along asserting that they had come from Mithilā or still further north west; but the discovery of this copperplate in the very place Pañchakhaṇḍa—Nidhanpur forms a part of it—where they say they settled originally, would prove that they came there from Kāmarūpa. The inscription mentions all the ten *gōtras*, and as it calls Manōratha-svāmin of Kātyāyana *gōtra* Paṭṭakapati, it is evident that these plates came to Pañchakhaṇḍa with a (Kātyāyana) descendant of Manōratha-svāmin. It may be stated further that there might have been other villages like this *Mayūrasālmalā-grahāra* teeming with Brāhmin population. In fact, the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa appears to have been a refuge of the Brāhmins of the neighbouring kingdoms where Buddhism flourished. So far no ancient remains of Buddhism have yet been discovered there; and as the tide of Buddhism began to subside, the Brāhmins of Kāmarūpa also began to spread westward, and, it may be, that most of the Brāhmin families in the neighbouring province of (modern) Bengal are the descendants of those Brāhmins from Kāmarūpa. These copperplate inscriptions, therefore, possess a special value as they throw much light on the social history of the Brāhmins of this part of India.

TEXT.

Middle Plate: First Side.

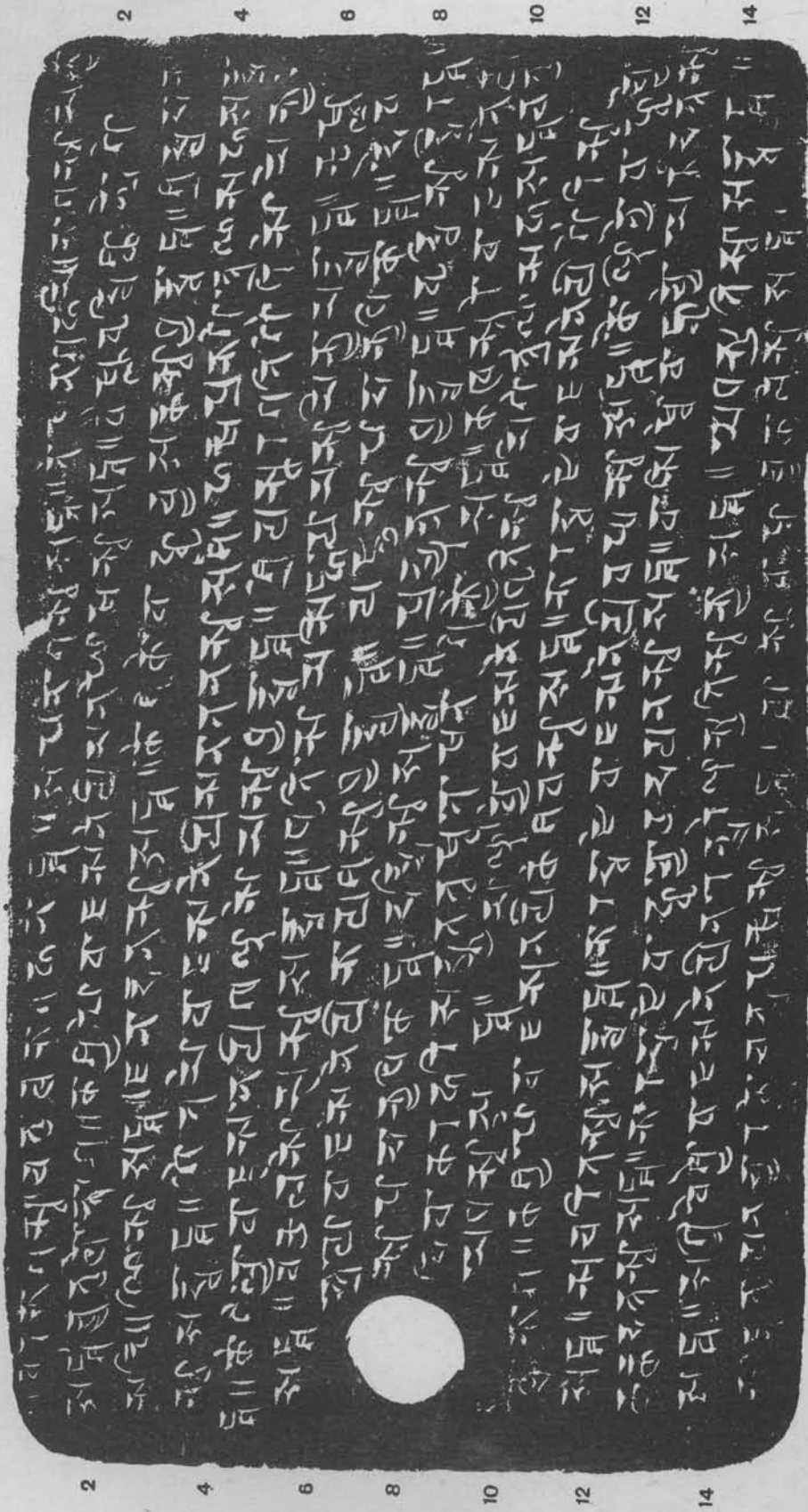
- 1 Pravarabhā(nā?)ga-svā^{*} chaturtha-bhāga-h[ī]nō 'nśa[h] || Āpanāga-svā aśśa[h] ||
Tōshanāga-Hampināga-svāmibhyā[m]
- 2 aśśāch-chaturthō bhāga[h*] || Kāśyapō Vājasanēyī Managhōsha-svā aśśa[h] ||
Vaishṇavṛiddhiś-Chhāndōgō
- 3 Sarppinī(?)-svā aśśa[h] || Janārdana-svā aśśa[h] || Kauśikō V(B)āhvichya
Arka-svā [a*]dhy-arddh-āśśa[h] || Śraddha-dāsa-
- 4 svā arddh-āśśa[h] || Gautamō Vājasanēyī Sanātana-svā aśśa[h] ||
Harshaprabha(bhō) gōtrēṇa saha ardh-ā-
- 5 nśa[h] || Kautilyō Vājasanēyī Khaṇḍasōma-svā [a*]-dhy-arddhāśśa[h] || Śrēyaskara-
Gati-Gauri-sōmēbhyah
- 6 aśśa[h] || Vakulasōma-svā arddh-āśśa[h] || Dhṛitisōma-Sin(r)ha-yo(sō)ma-
svāmibhyām=arddh-āśśa[h] || Krishṇa-
- 7 ttrēyō Vājasanēyī Bhāyaśa[h]-svā [a*]-dhy-arddh-āśśa[h] || Yajña-svā pād-
ābhy-adhikō 'nśa[h] || Daiva-

¹Supra, p. 117, fn. 2.

^{*}*Seā* stands for *Svāmī* and *aśśa* is almost always spelt as *aśśa*. [For '[h]' read '[h*]' throughout—Ed.] So no amendment has been made as the correct form is apparent.

A THIRD LOST PLATE OF THE NIDHANPUR PLATES OF BHASKARAVARMAN.

First Side.



Second Side.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a form of Arabic or Persian, covering the entire page. The text is arranged in approximately 14 horizontal lines. A large, circular hole is visible near the center of the page, slightly to the right of the vertical midline.

2

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- 8 svā pād-ābhy-adhikō 'āśa[h] || Darddi-svā arddh-āśa[h] || Pradyunna(mna)-svā [a]-dhy-arddh-āśa[h] || Vṛiddhi-svā dvir-āśa[h] ||
- 9 Divākara-Hari-Adbhuta-Tvaṣṭri-Tōsha-nāgēbhya āśa('āśa)[h] || Kavcstarō Vājasanēyī
- 10 Mēdha-svā āśa[h] || Māṇḍavyō Vājasanēyī Dhṛiti-svāmi(i) gōtrēṇa saha āśa-chatu-
- 11 rtha bhāga[h*] || Kāśyapō Vājasana(nē)yī Kēsava-svā āśa[h] || Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyī Gauri-svā
- 12 āśa[h] || Sucharita-svā arddh-āśa[h] || Bhāradvājō Vājasanēyī Vappa-svā¹ āśa[h] || Kauṇḍinyō Bāhvichyō(chyaḥ)
- 13 Karkadatta-svā āśa[h] || Bhāradvājō V(B)āhvichyō(chya) Udayana-svā āśa[h] || Vāsishtho Bāhvichya[h*] Mērudatta-svā
- 14 āśa[h] || Agnivēśyō Vājasanēyī Narēndra-Rēṇul hūti-svā(mi*)-bhyām āśa[h] || Mēdhabhūti-svā ardh-āśa[h] ||
- 15 Sāṅkrityāyana[s*]= Chyā(Chā)rakyō(kyāś)=Chandrapaksha-svā āśa[h] || Yāskō V(B)āhvichya[h*] Kālī-svā āśa[h] ||

Middle Plate : Second Side.

- 1 (?)svā {a*}-dhy-arddh-āśa[h] || Bhaṭṭi-Mahēśvara-svā ardh-āśa[h] || Pārāsaryō V(B)āhvichyō Gōpālanandi-svā āśa[h] || Bhārggavō
- 2 Viśvabhūti-svā āśa[h] || Surakshita-Sucharitāhhyā[m*]-arddh-āśa[h] || Bhāradvājas=Taṭṭiri(i)ya[s*]-Śivagaṇa-
- 3 svā āśa[h] || V(B)āhvichya[h*] Kātyāyana (nō) bhrātṛi-trayēṇa Vasuśrī-svā āśa[h] || Kauśikō Vājasanēyī
- 4 Virabhūti-svā āśa[h] || Viśṇubhūti-svā arddh-āśa[h] || Pramōdabhūti-svā āśa[h] || Bhāradvājō Vāja-
- 5 sanēyī Viśṇudatta-svā āśa[h] || Kauṇḍinyō Vājasanēyī V(B)ṛihaspati-svā āśa[h] || Yāskō
- 6 V(B)āhvichya(ō) Harshadēva-svā āśa[h] || Jātūkarṇṇa(ō) Vājasanēyī Mēdha-svā āśa[h] || Krishṇa-svā āśa[h] ||
- 7 Mādha-Haribhyām(m) āśa[h] || Bhāradvājas=Chhāndōgō Janārdanadēva-svā āśa[h] || Maudgalyō
- 8 Vājasanēyī Viśṇusōma-svā ardh-āśa[h] || Gārgyas=Chārakyō Dhanasēna-svā āśa[h] || Pramō-
- 9 dasēna-Ghōṣhasēnābhyām(m) āśa[h] || Sōmasēna-svā āśa[h] || Gautamō V(B)āhvichya(chyō) Bhāskara-
- 10 mittra-svā āśa[h] || Madh[u]mittra-svā āśa[h] || Sādhāraṇa-mittra-Sādhu-mitrābhām(bhyām) āśa[h] || Dhṛiti-
- 11 mittra-svā arddh-āśa[h] || Bhāradvājō V(B)āhvichya(s*)Śukrabhava-svā āśa[h] || Pautrimāśhyō(?) V(B)āhvichya[s*]=Sudarś(rś)ana-
- 12 Dhanēśvara-svāmibhyām(m) arddh-āśa[h] || Śāṇḍilyō Vājasanēyī Ravi-svā āśa[h] || Madhu-svā āśa[h] ||

¹ The name being a Prākṛit word (probably from Skt. *Vapra*) it has been spelt with B, [v and v have the same form in these Kāmarūpa inscriptions].

- 13 Mahādhara-svā aśśa[h] || Paurnṇō(Paurṇṇō?) V(B)āhvrichya(ō) Bhaṭṭi-Mahēśvara-svā aśśa[h] || Bhaṭṭi-Mātri-svā arddh-āśśa[h] ||
- 14 Rudrabhaṭṭi-svā arddh-āśśa[h] || Kauśikaś-Chhāndōgō Adri('dri)-vilēpana-svā aśśa[h] || Sāvarni-
- 15 ka-sagōtrō Vājasanēyī Gōmināga-svā aśśa[h] ||

The shares enumerated in the text given above may be tabulated thus :—

Serial No. ¹	Vēda, etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
1	Bāhvrichya ²	Vārāha . . .	Pravara(nā)ga-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
2	Do. . .	Do. . .	Āpanāga-svāmin . . .	1
3—4	Do. . .	Do. . .	Tōshanāga and Hampināga svāmins.	$\frac{1}{2}$
5	Vājasanēyin . . .	Kātyāpa . . .	Managhōsha-svāmin . . .	1
6	Chhāndōga . . .	Vaiśṇava-vṛiddhi . . .	Sarppipi-svāmin . . .	1
7	Do. . .	Do. . .	Janārdana-svāmin . . .	1
8	Bāhvrichya . . .	Kauśika . . .	Arka-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
9	Do. . .	Do. . .	Śraddhadāsa-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
10	Vājasanēyin . . .	Gautama . . .	Sanātana-svāmin . . .	1
11	Do. . .	Do. . .	Harshaprabha with his gōtra . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ ³
12	Do. . .	Kaṇṭilya . . .	Khaṇḍasōma-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
13, 14, 15	Do. . .	Do. . .	Śrēyaakara, Gatī, Gaurī, -sōma (svāmins).	1
16	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vakulasōma-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
17—18	Do. . .	Do. . .	Dhṛitisōma, Sīmhasōma (svāmins)	$\frac{1}{2}$
19	Do. . .	Kriṣṇāśtrīya . . .	Bhāyasaḥ-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
20	Do. . .	Do. . .	Yajña-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
21	Do. . .	Do. . .	Daiva-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
22	Do. . .	Do. . .	Darddi-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
23	Do. . .	Do. . .	Pradyumna-svāmin . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$
24	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vṛiddhi-svāmin . . .	2

¹ The serial number does not exist in the original.

² The third plate ends with "Vārāhō Bāhvrichyō Nara(t)-svā aśśa[h]." The Vēda and the gōtra are repeated here (vide footnote 3 on page 120 above, Vol. XIX), on the supposition that the present plate may be the fourth one. See remarks above.

³ This seems to render questionable the correctness of my interpretation of 'gōtrāsā' in foot-note 6 p. I am now inclined to think that gōtrāsāś, wherever it occurs, should mean 'gōtrasahitō śāś', i.e., one share with his gōtra, where gōtra does not mean 'clan' (as apparently others of his 'clan' get shares separately mentioned) but (loosely) 'family' or 'progeny'—much as in Pāṇini IV-1-162 (apatyam-pautra-pratārītā gōtram). On this new interpretation the serial Nos. 18, 28 and 79 in the list of donees, as recorded in the third and the penultimate plates, should get $\frac{1}{2}$ a share less each. The total of shares awarded in three plates should therefore be $102\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $104\frac{1}{2}$ as stated in the preceding article.

Serial No.	Vēda, etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
25, 26, 27, 28, 29	Vājasanēyin . .	Kṛishṇātrēya . .	Divākara, Hari, Adbhuta, Tvaṣṭṛi, Tōshanāga (svāmins).	1
30	Do. . .	Kavastara . .	Mēdha-svāmin	1
31	Do. . .	Māṇḍavya . .	Dhṛiti-svāmin with his gōtra . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
32	Do. . .	Kāśyapa . .	Kēśava-svāmin	1
33	Do. . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Gauri-svāmin	1
34	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sucharita-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
35	Do. . .	Do. . .	Bappa-svāmin	1 ¹
36	Bāhvrichya . .	Kauṇḍinya . .	Karkadatta-svāmin	1
37	Do. . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Udayana-svāmin	1
38	Do. . .	Vāsishtṛa . .	Mērudatta-svāmin	1
39, 40	Vājasanēyin . .	Agnivēdya . .	Narēndra-Rēpubhūti-svāmins . .	1
41	Do. . .	Do. . .	Mēdhabhūti-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
42	Chārakya . .	Sāṅkṛityāyana . .	Chandrapaksha-svāmin	1
43	Bāhvrichya . .	Yāska . .	Kāli-svāmin	1
44	Do. . .	Do.-svāmin	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ²
45	Do. . .	Do. . .	Bhettī-Mahēśvara-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
46	Do. . .	Pārāśarya . .	Gōpālanaadi-svāmin	1
47	Do. . .	Bhārgava . .	Viśvabhūti-svāmin	1
48, 49	Do. . .	Do. . .	Surakṣita, Sucharita-svāmins . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
50	Taittiriya . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Sivagaṇasvāmin	1
51, 52, 53, 54	Bāhvrichya . .	Kātyāyana . .	Vasūri-svāmin with three brothers	1
55	Vājasanēyin . .	Kauśika . .	Virabhūti-svāmin	1
56	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vishṇubhūti-svāmin	$\frac{1}{2}$
57	Do. . .	Do. . .	Pramōdabhūti-svāmin	1
58	Do. . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Vishṇudatta-svāmin	1
59	Do. . .	Kauṇḍinya . .	Bṛihaspati-svāmin	1
60	Bāhvrichya . .	Yāska . .	Harshadēva-svāmin	1
61	Vājasanēyin . .	Jātukarṇa . .	Mēdha-svāmin	1

¹ Here the insertion of Vēda and gōtra is redundant as the nearest preceding Vēda and gōtra are exactly the same as here (vide footnote 2, p. 248).

² Vide the prefatory remarks in this connection. The proper name that is missing here may have its mention in the missing plate, along with the record of Vēda and gōtra. If the record is really in continuation of the last line in the other side, then the name has been dropped through mere oversight and Vēda and gōtra are what belong to the last donee recorded in that side.

Serial No.	Vēda, etc.	Gōtra.	Name.	Share.
62	Vājasanēyin . .	Jātūkerṇa . .	Krishṇa-svāmin . . .	1
63, 64	Do. . .	Do. . .	Mādhava-Hari-svāmīna . .	1
65	Chhāndōga . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Janārdana-svāmin . . .	1
66	Vājasanēyin . .	Mandgalya . .	Vishpusōma-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
67	Chārakya . .	Gārgya . .	Dhanasēna-svāmin . . .	1
68, 69	Do. . .	Do. . .	Pramōdasēna, Ghōshasēna (svāmīna).	1
70	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sōmasena-svāmin . . .	1
71	Bāhvrīcha . .	Gautama . .	Bhāskaramittra-svāmin . .	1
72	Do. . .	Do. . .	Madhumittra-svāmin . . .	1
73, 74	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sādhārapamittra, Sādhumittra (svāmīna).	1
75	Do. . .	Do. . .	Dhṛitimittra-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
76	Do. . .	Bhāradvāja . .	Śukrabhava-svāmin . . .	1
77, 78	Do. . .	Pautrimāshya . .	Sudarāna, Dhanēśvara-svāmīna .	$\frac{1}{2}$
79	Vājasanēyin . .	Śāṇḍilya . .	Ravi-svāmin . . .	1
80	Do. . .	Do. . .	Madhu-svāmin . . .	1
81	Do. . .	Do. . .	Mahidhara-svāmin . . .	1
82	Bāhvrīcha . .	Paurṇa . .	Bhaṭṭi-Mahēśvara-svāmin . .	1
83	Do. . .	Do. . .	Bhaṭṭi-Mātrī-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
84	Do. . .	Do. . .	Rudrabhaṭṭi-svāmin . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
85	Chhāndōga . .	Kaṇḍika . .	Adrivilēpana-svāmin . . .	1
86	Vājasanēyin . .	Sāvarṇika . .	Gōmināgasvāmin . . .	1
TOTAL .				63 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total shares in other plates.				102 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹
GRAND TOTAL .				166 $\frac{1}{2}$

¹ Vide footnote 3 p. 248 above.

No. 41.—A NEW ASOKAN INSCRIPTION FROM TAXILA.

By DR. E. HERZFELD.

[The inscription which is published below was discovered at Taxila by Sir John Marshall who gave a facsimile of it in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1914-15¹ as well as in his *Guide to Taxila*². In both these publications he has recognised the special bearing it has on the origin of the Kharōṣṭhī alphabet. That it was a new inscription of Aśoka, the great Mauryan Emperor, was not known till recently when its contents were deciphered by Dr. Herzfeld, who communicated his interpretation of it to Sir John Marshall in the following letter. To place this discovery before scholars, his letter is published as it is, though it is not in the usual form of an article. Even the transliteration has not been disturbed.—ED.]

DEAR SIR JOHN,

While trying to decipher the Aramaic inscription of Darius which I had discovered in 1923 on his tomb at Naqsh i Rostam, I gathered all the Aramaic material accessible to me here in Teheran, where I am almost deprived of all books, and thus I came once more upon the squeeze of the Taxila inscription which you had been kind enough as to send me long ago, and which accompanies me on my various travellings. Having even not your "Guide to Taxila" nor the publication in the Ind. Arch. Surv. at my disposal, I am unable to quote the work of deciphering that has already been done, nor can I take the great advantage of making use of such work. Moreover, having no sort of Aramaic glossary at my hand, the only thing left to me is just to let you know my reading of the letters, as far as I am able to read, being no Aramaist at all. Nevertheless, the little I can do, may prove useful to other scholars, and in spite of its unsatisfactory condition, I thought it worth not to keep it back entirely.

The following is a transcript of the inscription in Hebrew and Latin characters :—

1.	ות...	... ut .
2.	לכמירתי על	l ^d /kmyrty 'l
3.	כינותא על	kynvta 'l
4.	אכיו שכינותא	a ^r /k _n zv škynvta
5.	ולאכוהי הוה	v labvhy huḥ
6.	הופתיחתי ונה	hvptyχty znh
7.	וד בהוניה	zk bhvv ^d /n _r rh .
8.	הובשתוריו הות	hvbštvr ^k /rzy hut
9.	מראן פרידר	mran prydr
10.	ה .. לכות ה	h .. lkvtḥ
11.	ואף בנוהי	vap-bnvhy
12.	למראן פרידרש	lmran prydrš

Fig. 1 is a drawing of the inscription, exactly reduced to a quarter of its natural size. Fig. 2 gives an analysis of the Aramaic alphabet. These two drawings claim to be perfectly exact, as they are made directly from the squeeze by an extraordinary fine instrument

¹ P. 25 ff.² Pp. 75-76.

which I use for similar purposes: the reduction scale is, of course, always the same, and also the position of the single letters in regard to the neighbouring ones, their inclination and height above or below the average, is exact.

The letters g 𐤂, t 𐤃, s 𐤄, 𐤅 𐤆, and q 𐤇 don't occur in the inscription, 𐤈 𐤉 only once. Most of the letters are well shaped and clearly distinguishable. But n 𐤊 and r 𐤋 are varying, as in most Aramaic inscriptions, to such a degree, that, as a matter of fact, palaeography alone does not furnish the means of fixing their value, and etymology must decide. Fig. 2 shows, that, moreover, d 𐤌 and k 𐤍 can assume a shape so closely resembling r 𐤋 or n 𐤊, that you will understand, why in several words that I am unable to explain, I have given, in the transcription, the various possibilities of reading. The true reading can only be reached at by the etymology of the whole word.

The surviving slab being unfortunately only a fragment of the inscription, a continuous text and translation is far beyond my capability to give. I must confine myself to some remarks:—

Line 1: I do not venture to restore the word, although this seems not impossible to me. Its ending in 𐤎 indicates a fem. plur. in the stat. indeterminat.

Line 2: The first word has the prep. 𐤐 "to" and the termination of a fem. noun with encl. pron. of the 1. pers. The noun itself shows the pa'il form of a root 𐤍𐤎 (priest), or of 𐤍𐤏. The second word is the prep. 𐤐 "unto." It is worth remarking that the 𐤐 in this preposition assumes already a distinct shape, the horizontal stroke being pronouncedly longer than in the other examples of 𐤐. This development, not unusual to Aramaic, leads through Pārsik to the Avestic letter for o.

Line 3: First word is a fem. plur. in the stat. determ. either from the root 𐤍𐤎 "to exist," hence 𐤍𐤎𐤏 "essence, nature," or more probable, the same word as in the following line, the missing first letter 𐤐 to be supplied at the end of the preceding line. The second word is the prep. 𐤐, as before.

Line 4: The first word seems to be a verb, at least, its termination in 𐤏 is a common verbal termination. A root 𐤍𐤏 exists, e.g. in Arabic, but I have no means to ascertain whether it is also found in Aramaic or not. Possibly, as the word stands at the beginning of the line, it might be incomplete, the preceding letters may have been at the end of the foregoing line. The second word is the stat. determ. fem. plur. ending in 𐤎 of the noun 𐤍𐤎𐤏, pa'il of the root 𐤍𐤏 "to dwell," hence "the dwellings."

Line 5: Begins with the copula 𐤀, preposition 𐤐 (dat.) and the noun 𐤍𐤎, to which is attached the encl. pron. of the 3. pers., hence "to his father." The second word is the auxiliary verb 𐤀𐤏 "to be," the third letter partly destroyed, but certain.

Line 6: The first word does not look much like an Aramaic one. In taking the first letter 𐤀 as the last one of the word preceding at the end of the foregoing line, and the second letter 𐤀 as the copula, the word might be reduced to Aramaic dimensions, and become derived from the common root 𐤀𐤏𐤎, as a pa'il fem. with pron. pers. of the 1. pers. But this is rather a forced way, and there are in the following lines three more words that look not only non-Aramaic, but resist every attempt of explaining them as Aramaic. They, too, begin with, or contain at least the same 𐤀 at the beginning, which is well known to me from OP. and Greek, and, hence, must exist in Indian. Therefore, I prefer to leave the explanation of these words to Indologists. The hu-, Gr. εὖ, if this interpretation be right, shows that the words in question belong to a moral sphere of ideas, I mean something like the Zoroastrian "good thoughts, good words, good deeds," to which there is probably something corresponding in Buddhism. The second word of line 6 seems to be, although its second letter is somewhat misshaped, the pron. dem. 𐤀𐤏 "this."

Line 7 : Begins with the other pron. dem. ׀ "that." Follows a word which begins also with ׀, if we consider the first letter ׀ to be the Aram. prepos. ׀ "with, by." Else, it could almost be read "bahuvrihi" and is apparently non-Semitic, Indian.

Line 8 : Again a word beginning with ׀ of which I am unable to propose any Semitic explanation, and the second word of the same line, of which only three letters remain, begins once more with ׀. As the third letter is ׀, it cannot be a form of the auxiliary verb ׀׀׀.

Line 9 : This line, as also l. 12, is of high importance. There are clearly and beyond any doubts, the two words: *mārāna Priyadar...*, in l. 12: *h-mārāna Priyadarš...*, i.e. "our (or to) our lord Priyadarša."

Line 10 : First letter ׀, either beginning of the following word, or, since it is the encl. pron. of the 3. pers. sg., the end of the preceding word from line 9. Then a mutilation of the stone, a rest of the letter ׀, and surely ׀׀; the last letter is ׀. I venture to restore this word, by supplying a ׀ in the lacuna, and to read it ׀׀׀׀ "and his queens," or, less probable "his kingdoms."

Line 11 : Begins with the copula ׀ followed by the particle ׀׀ "also." Second word is the plur. of ׀ formed from the stem ׀, with pron. of the 3. pers. sg., hence "and also his sons."

Line 12 : As already explained, has the words "to our lord Priyadarš..." The last letter ׀, though much mutilated, is certain, and that rendering of ׀ is not without interest.

If we regard the last lines: "our lord Priyad..... his (...) his queens....and also his sons... to our lord Priyadarš..." we may be inclined to believe that the missing part of the inscription has not been much larger than the narrow slab that forms the remaining part of it. That impression becomes strengthened if we consider the close following of the words beginning with hu-, and which were apparently closely connected in the original sequence of the phrase.

Although the word *priyadaršana* has more than one meaning, I think, we cannot doubt that it stands here for *Açoka* himself. It has been his official title, which, in all but one of his inscriptions, he uses alone instead of his proper name. M. SENART's suggestion, that he had adopted this title as his ordination name, is more than probable, and does not become contradicted by the fact, that the emperor himself uses once the plural of even that word in the sense practically of "kings." Daçaratha, and maybe all of his successors, used that ordination name as a title, not unlike the case of the word *Cæsar* in Rome. But there are better reasons: according to the style of the script, we are, I feel sure, not allowed to put the inscription down too late. It belongs certainly to the IIIrd cent. B.C., but rather to its first half, than to its end. And even more cogent, I believe absolutely conclusive, is the following reason: Who, unless *Açoka* himself, in his endeavours to propagate the new faith, could have had any interest to employ, in India, at that period, an occidental, the Aramaic script and language?

Hence, I take it for settled, that the Taxila inscription is a new *Açoka* inscription. As I thought that you might be interested in the subject, as the discoverer of so extraordinary a monument, I have written these lines.

Believe me, dear Sir John,

Yours very faithfully,

ERNEST HERZFELD.

No. 42.—THE PULIBUMRA PLATES OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING JAYASIMHA I (C. 632-63 A. D.).

By V. RANGACHARYA, M.A., KUMBakonam.

The following copper plate grant was brought to the notice of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in 1914, by M. R. Ry. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Garu. It is registered in the *Epigraphical Report* for 1913-14 as No. 5 of Appendix A; and a summary of it appears on p. 85 of the same *Report*. I edit the record here with the kind permission of the discoverer of the plates. The ink impressions of the plates were kindly furnished by the Government Epigraphist.

The inscription is engraved on three plates, which measure slightly below six inches by two and are strung together through ring-holes, measuring one-fourth of an inch in diameter. Regarding the seal which must have originally secured the ends of the ring I possess no information. The plates are numbered, though the figure on the first plate alone is clear. The engraving is distinct though at the end of lines 7, 13 and 18 there are erasures.

Excepting the imprecatory stanza (*Bahubhīr etc.*) which comes at the end, the record is written in Sanskrit prose.

The alphabet and orthography do not call for any special remarks. Compared to the Timmāpuram plates of Vishṇuvardhana I Vishamasiddhi and the Pedda-Maddāli plates of this very king (Jayasimha I), we, no doubt, find a few differences in the way some of the letters are written but they are too minor to be noticed in detail. The final *t* which in the Timmāpuram plates is placed on the top of the succeeding letter and in the Pedda-Maddāli plates sometimes comes as a full circle, is here written as a separate letter (l. 1). The final *m* is here shown, though only once, like ॐ (l. 2). The Timmāpuram plates give it as a dot but the Pedda-Maddāli plates put it both as a dot and as a curve. The doubling of consonants after *r* is to be seen here also, e.g., *parākram-ōpārjīta* (l. 7) or *karmma* (l. 18). Though the record is rather free from the grammatical blunders which characterise the grant portion of the Timmāpuram plates, yet it contains errors like the wrong use of *visarga* in *Manuḥriva* (l. 9) and of *anusvāra* as in *bhuvanam maṇḍala* (l. 3).

The inscription records a grant made by the Eastern Chālukyan king Jayasimha I, who ruled from about 632 to 663 A. D. Only one record of this king had been discovered before 1914, namely, the Pedda-Maddāli plates¹. It is dated in his 18th year and distinguishes him by the title *Sarvasiddhi*. It was issued from the city of Udayapura, which has not yet been identified. From a number of inaccuracies in the language its genuineness has been questioned, but I think the faults are due to the composer and the record is authentic. According to it Jayasimha was the son of *Vishamasiddhi* Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I and grandson of Kirtivarman, the Chalukyan king who ruled from circa 550 to 567 A.D. The number of his epithets would show that he was a pious and successful sovereign.

The present record (ll. 12-13) calls him Prithvī-Jayasimha-vallabha, not Jayasimha as the other records do. The term² *Prithvīvallabha*, it should be noted, was a title of Kirtivarman I

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137. It is registered as Kt. 337 in my *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*. Fleet's paper has been reproduced, without any alteration and without plates, in Burgess and Natesa Sastri's *Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* (*Arch. Surv. South India*, Vol. IV), pp. 108ff. See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 243-4 and Sewell's *List of Copper Plates* No. 3 for shorter notices of the record.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 101.

as well as of his son Pulakēśin II, the paternal grandfather and the uncle respectively of the Eastern Chālukyan king Jayasimha I. We have, therefore, to infer that the title was inherited by the Eastern Chālukyas from their ancestors of the West-Deccan. The record describes Jayasimha as a conqueror of the world of chiefs by his ever-growing puissance, as a valiant soldier whose fame shed lustre in all directions, as a man whose trident-like triple-might pierced through the stout hearts of all the forces of hostile kings; as a Bṛihaspati in diplomacy, a Manu in modesty, a Yudhishtira in the love of *dharma*, an Arjuna in invincibility and a scholar versed in the truths of the teachings of the *śāstras*. It further tells us that he gave the village of Pulibūmra (Pulibūru) in the Guddavādi-*viśaya*, to Rudraśarman, a Brahman of Asanapura, who was of the Gautama-*gōtra*, was learned in two Vēdas, belonged to the *Taittirika*¹ school and was the son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman. The endowed village was, we are told, made into a tax-free *agrahāra* called *sarvasiddhi-datti*. The executors of the grant were Hastikōśa and Virakōśa².

Guddavādi has been identified by Dr. Hultsch³ with Gudivada, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Kistna District. The late Mr. Sewell⁴ has described the Jain and Buddhist antiquities of this place, besides the large numismatic finds of the Andhra period un-earthed here. They would indicate that the place must have been very prominent before the Chālukyan advent in the time of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana. **Pulibūmra** (Pulibūru) may be identified with Polamūru in the Bhīmavaram taluk. **Asanapura** which seems to have played an important part in the cultural history of this period, I am unable to identify. Might it be Annavaram of the same taluk?

So far as the reign of Jayasimha is concerned, we are enlightened by a few other records. The Bezwada plates⁵ of Chālukya-Bhīma I tell us that Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, the father of Jayasimha I and the founder of the dynasty, ruled for 18 years. The Chīpurupalli plates⁶ of Vishṇuvardhana I, dated in the 18th year of his reign, give a date which was equated by Fleet and Kielhorn with 7th July A.D. 632. It is clear from this that Vishṇuvardhana I (who came to the Eastern Chālukyan throne, as proved by Fleet between 21st March and 19th April 615) ruled till at least July 632. We do not know when exactly Jayasimha was anointed king. It might have been any month after July 632. Nor are we aware of the length of his rule for the records do not agree in this point. The Bezwada plates of Chālukya-Bhīma I and almost all other plates⁷ give him a reign of 33 years. But the British Museum plates⁸ of Amma II (Vijayāditya VI) give him only 30 years. As this record stands alone in its statement, Kielhorn preferred to accept the version of the other records and decided that Jayasimha ruled for 33 years. According to Fleet,⁹ "the statement of the minority is certainly the correct one" and "from no point of view can a reign of 33 years be allowed to him." It seems to me, however, that both versions are inaccurate and must be considered to

¹ [Read *Taittirīya*. *Taittirīka* would mean 'one who catches partridges.'—Ed.]

² [For these names and for the date see *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Southern Circle*, 1913-14, p. 85, para. 7 and No. 5 of Appendix A.—Ed.]

³ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 34. The place had various names, e.g. Gudravāra (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, 123); Gudrahāra (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 76); Gudrāra (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 34). This Gudivada ought not to be confounded with Guddavadi in Ramachandrapur taluk referred to in the Pithāpuram inscription of Manmasatya II (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, 83 ff.)

⁴ *Lists of Antiquities*, p. 52.

⁵ This is Kt. 91 in my *Topo. List* and No. 557 in Kielhorn's *Southern List*. See *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 127-31.

⁶ See Vg. 16 in my *Topo. List, Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI (1891), p. 15 ff., besides *S. Ind. Palaeography*, Plate 27.

⁷ E.g. Kt. 4, Kt. 320, B.M. 6, Kt. 8, etc., in my *Topo. List*.

⁸ B.M. 7 *Ibid.*, p. 1722 (Vol. III).

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 11, footnote 15.

be only general and vague statements regarding the duration of his reign. My reasons are these. The Nellore District plates¹ of Jayasimha's nephew and successor Vishnupvardhana II distinctly tell us that he made a grant on Wednesday, 13th March, A.D. 664, in the second year of his reign. This shows that he must have come to the throne before 13th March 663. Similarly, the Maṭṭewāda plates of the same² king record a grant on February 17, A.D. 668, which is said to be his 5th regnal year. It is clear from this that Vishnupvardhana II must have been anointed as king before February 17, A.D. 664, which date would fall in the first year of his reign. From a study of these records we are able to infer that Vishnupvardhana's accession took place before 13th March, A.D. 663 but not earlier than 17th February, 663 A.D., as 17th February, A.D. 664, according to the Maṭṭewāda plates, fell within the first year of his rule. It is obvious from this that Vishnupvardhana II ascended the throne between 17th February and 13th March, 663 A.D. Fleet³ also, after calculating a number of dates, concluded that his accession took place between 14th February and 24th March, A.D. 663. This is only another way of saying that the reign of Jayasimha I ended then. It is true that between Jayasimha and Vishnupvardhana II there was his son Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, but he ruled only for seven days. If Jayasimha came to the throne after July, 632 A.D. and if his reign ended between 17th February and 13th March, 663, A.D. it is clear that he ruled for 30 years and a few months. Though Fleet brought his accession⁴ down to March, 663 A.D. and assigned to him exactly 30 years, yet, I think he ruled for a space of 30 years and a few months—from some time after July 632 to about February-March, A.D. 663.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति [१] श्री विजयस्कन्धावारात् मादगणपरिरचितानां मानव्यसगोचाराणां
- 2 हरि^१तिपुत्राणाम् अश्वमेधयाजिनां चतुर्व्यानां कुसजलनिधि-
- 3 समुत्पन्नराजराजस्य सकलभुवनमण्डलमण्डितकीर्तिः^२ श्री-
- 4 कीर्तिवर्धनः पौत्रः अनेकसमरसंहृविजयिनः प[र]नर-
- 5 पतिमकुटमण्डिमयूखावदातचरणयुगलस्य श्रीविष्णुवर्धन-
- 6 महाराजस्य प्रियतमयः प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापीपतिसमस्त-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 सामन्तमण्डलः स्वबाहुवलापराक्रमोपास्मितस[कल]यशो-
- 8 विभासितदिगन्तरः स्वशक्तिचयचिह्नावभिन्नपर[न]रपति-
- 9 सकलवक्ष्येयतनः बृहत्सतिरिव नयन्नो मयुरिव^३ विनय-
- 10 न्नः बुधितिर इव चर्मापरायणः अर्जुनवदपरमर-

¹ B.M. 2 (p. 1721) in *Madras Topo. List.* Also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 7.

² B.M. 3 ; *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, table on p. 12.

⁵ Read हरिति^१

^१ Read ह.

^२ Read नै.

^३ There is a *visarga* wrongly engraved before रि.

PULIBUMRA PLATES OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING JAYASIMHA I,
(C. 632-63 A. D.)

i.

2
4
6

2
4
6

ii.

8
10
12

8
10
12

ii.

14
16
18

14
16
18

iii.

20
22
24

20
22
24

- 11 पतिभिर्नभिलचित¹पौरुषः अनेकशास्त्रार्थितत्वज्ञः² पर-
12 मन्त्रज्ञस्यो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रीमिश्रिवीजयसिद्धव-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 ज्ञममहाराजः गुह्यादिविषयि⁴ विषयमह⁵ . . . कारपु-
14 ह्वांश्च इममर्थमाज्ञापयत्यस्मि⁶ विदितमस्तु वीय[म]स्माभिः [1*]
15 गुह्यादिविषये पुलोभूरन्नामग्रामः [1*] वेदवेदांग-
16 विदो दामशर्मा⁷ पौत्राय स्वपितुरधिकगुणगणाधि-
17 वासस्य शिवशर्मा⁸ पुत्राय तैत्तिरिक⁹समन्तचारिणि वेद-
18 ह्यालंकतशरि(री)राय गोतमसगोत्राय स्वकर्मा[नुष्ठा]न¹⁰

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 19 पराय¹⁰ पूर्वार्थहारिकरुद्रशर्मा¹¹ चसनपुरस्थानवस्तव्याय¹²
20 श्रीसर्वसिद्धितया सर्वकारपरिहारेणाग्रहारीकृत्य सम्पत्तः [1*]
21 तथा भवद्विरन्ये¹² धर्माधिगतबुद्धिभिः¹³ परिपालनोयः [1*]
22 न कैचिद्वाधा करणीया [1*] चाज्ञप्तिरत्रहस्तिकोश¹⁴ वीरकोश [व्या¹⁵]-
23 समीता¹⁶ [1*] बहुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [1*] यस्य यस्य
24 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [1*] सं 17
[1*].

TRANSLATION.

(1. 1) Hail ! From (his) victorious camp—the grandson of śrī-Kirtivarman¹⁸ whose fame adorned the circle of the whole world, who was a royal gem sprung out of the ocean-like

¹ Read व. [The form पौरुषः needs no correction.—Ed.].

² The *visarga* is cut twice.

³ Read व.

⁴ [What the author has taken to be the *i*-sign is only a crack in the plate. The *i*-sign is clearly marked by a curve to the left of the first vertical line of *ya* as in *vē* (l. 15).—Ed.].

⁵ [In place of the dots read °समान[व]°.—Ed.].

⁶ [वसि is superfluous.—Ed.].

⁷ *Dāma* might be a shortened form of *Dāmōdara*.

⁸ [See f. n. 2 on p. 255 above.—Ed.].

⁹ The letters are much erased here.

¹⁰ There is a dot before व.

¹¹ Read वा.

¹² For न the engraver had cut व.

¹³ In न we find the inside stroke of व wrongly inserted.

¹⁴ Read वीरश्री.

¹⁵ The letter व्या is indistinct, the lower part alone being clear. It is further beneath the punctuation mark and not separate.

¹⁶ [Evidently °गीतः was intended for only one verse is given गीतः is understood.—Ed.].

¹⁷ For these 5 symbols see *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Southern Circle* for 1913-14, p. 85 and No. 5 of Appendix A.—Ed.].

¹⁸ See *Dyn. Kan. Dist.* The epithet given to Kirtivarman is repeated with slight variations in all Chalukyan records.

family of the Chālukyas who were the performers of the *atvamādhya*-sacrifice, who were Hāritiputras, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the Mānavyas (and) who were protected by the group of the *Mātris*,

(l. 4) the beloved son of *Śrī*-Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja who was a victor in many a battle-assault,¹ whose two feet were brightened by the rays of the gems of the crowns of other kings ;

(l. 6) Śrī-Prithivī-Jayasiṅgha-vallabha whose ever-growing valour reduced the circle of the *Sāmantas* ; whose fame, acquired by the strength of his arms, lit all the directions ; the trident-like triad² of whose power split the heart of all the forces of hostile kings ; a diplomat like *Bṛihaspati* ; disciplined like *Manu* ; righteous like *Yudhishtira* ; who, like *Arjuna*, had a manliness unsurpassed by that of other kings ; a knower of the truth of the meanings of many *śāstras* ; the very pious one, who meditated on the feet of (his) mother and father,

(l. 13) orders, the people and (officers ?) of Guddavādi to this effect : Let this be made known to you that we have granted by the gift called *sarvasiddhi* the village of Pulibūmra (lying) in the Guddavādi-*viśaya*, after making it an *agrahāra*, free from all taxes, to the *pūrevāgrahārika* Rudraśarman, who is a resident of *Aśanapura*, belongs to the *Taittirika*³ (school), whose mouth (literally, body) is adorned by the two *Vēdas*, who belongs to the *Gōtama gōtra* ; who is intent on the performance of his duties and is the son of Śivaśarman who surpassed his father in virtues, and who is the grandson of Dāmaśarman, the knower of the *Vēdas* and the *Vēdāṅgas*.

(l. 21) Therefore, by yourselves and by others, who are virtuously disposed, let this be protected. Let no violation be done by anybody. The executors (*are*) *Hastikōśa*⁴ and *Virakōśa*.

(ll. 23-24) *Vyāsa* says : [The usual imprecatory verse.]

No. 43.—THE PEDDA-VEGI PLATES OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KING JAYA SIMHA I.

By V. RANGACHARYA, M.A., KUMBakonam.

These plates were brought to my notice by a relative of mine several years ago. The plates were, I was told, found two or three feet below the surface of the earth during some excavations near Pedda-Vēgi in the vicinity of Ellora. They are registered in the *Madras, Epigraphical Report* for 1917-18, as No. 11 of Appendix A. A review of the record appears on p. 130 of the same report.

¹ The king was known as *Viśvasiddhi* in consequence of his daring achievements. c.f. *विश्वसिद्धि* नमः of the Pedda-Maddūli plates.

² That is *Ātmaśakti*, *Prabhukṛti* and *Uśāśakti*.

³ [See f. n. 1 on p. 255 above.—Ed.]

⁴ The word *kōśa* has different meanings in Tamil classical literature. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar identifies the *Kōśar* who invaded the Pāṇḍyan kingdom with the vanguards of the Vamba or later (or illegitimate) Mauryas and connects them with the *Kōśakāras* of Assam referred to in the *Rāmāyana*. The *Kōśars* seem to have been not only a particular tribe but (1) soldiers in general ; (2) followers or relatives of kings oppressing to the Sanskrit *Rājanyas* ; (3) officers of justice in village courts, etc. In the present record the word seems to mean, as the Govt. Epigraphist points out, an officer. [See f. n. 2 on p. 255 above.—Ed.]

The inscription is engraved on three plates, the first side containing nothing and the last a single line. The plates were hung on a ring which carries a fixed circular seal engraved in relief with the title *Sri-Sarvasiddhi* and measuring about 7½ inches in length and 2½ inches in breadth. The ring is about 3½ inches in diameter. The engraving is on the whole clear; but the ends of lines 16 and 17 in plate 2 and of 19 and 20 in plate 3 are very much defaced.

The language of the grant is *Sanskrit*. The characters are identical with those employed in the Pulibūmra as well as the Niduparu plates which have been noticed above. No special remarks are necessary regarding the alphabet and orthography of this grant. The Dravidian *r* occurs in ll. 13 and 14 and the *upadhmāniya* in ll. 18 and 25. The final *t* and *m* have also been used. The former occurs as a separate letter in l. 24 and the latter is generally written in the form of a dot but in l. 23 is represented by a hook.

The contents of this grant have already been noticed by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy. The identification of the place names has also been discussed by him. All this need not be recapitulated here. The donee was *Sōmasāraṃaṇa*, son of *Śivaśarmaṇa* and grandson of *Dēvaśarmaṇa* who was a resident of *Kukkanūr*, belonged to the *Gārgya-gōtra* and was a pupil of the *Taittiriya* school of the *Yajur-vēda*. The grant was made for the increase of the *dharma* of the donor and of his parents on the full-moon day of *Kārttika* which was a *viśuva-dina* or the day of the equinox.

THE TEXT.¹

Plate I.

- 1 नमस्सवित्रे ॥ स्वस्ति [१*] श्रीमतामनन्धसाधारणगुणाधारभूतानां स्वविक्रमाका-
- 2 नसकलमहीभुजाभ्यामव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां शक्तिधरप्रसादो-
- 3 पनतसमस्तवसुमतीराज्यानाम्मातृगणपरिप[१]लितानाम-
- 4 श्रमेधावधृयज्ञानपरिध्वंसितैर्नसामनुष्ठितवर्णाश्रमस्त्रितोनाम्
- 5 मातापितृपादानुसरातानाञ्जालुब्धानामन्ववायसुकमयती नृपतिगु-
- 6 णसामग्रसन्निवासस्य कुशलजनकी[र्त्ति]तकीर्त्तैः कीर्त्तिवर्धन[ः] तस्यप्रिया-

Plate II-A.

- 7 लब्धस्य कनीयसः कारणविष्णोरिव विष्णुवन्द्यः² स्वभुजबलविजितारिस³हतेस्स-
- 8 कक्षादिगङ्गावदनविशेषकार्यमानयमसस्तस्यानन्द इव विग्रहवान्मुतः स्वगुण-
- 9 गणातिमयितपूर्वजः शक्तिबलवशीकृताशेषरिपुबलस्रक्ललीकत्रया-
- 10 चार[ः*] सर्वसिद्धिरपि च ॥ 'इन्दुं क्वा सुरगुरुश्च धिया सिताश्वं शौर्व्ये-
- 11 ण चारिधिमगाधतयाल्लहसैः [१*] धर्मात्मजं रविजमीहितदानशक्त्या क-
- 12 न्दर्पमाहिततनं⁷ वपुषातिमयेति ॥ एवंविधाभिराभिकगुणः श्रीज-

¹ From ink impressions.

² Read क्व.

³ Read क्व.

⁴ Read क्व.

⁵ The letters *वाज* are cut in smaller size below the line.

⁶ *Vasantatilaka* metre.

⁷ The *anuvāda* sign is not above *न* but between *न* and *व*.

Plate II-B.

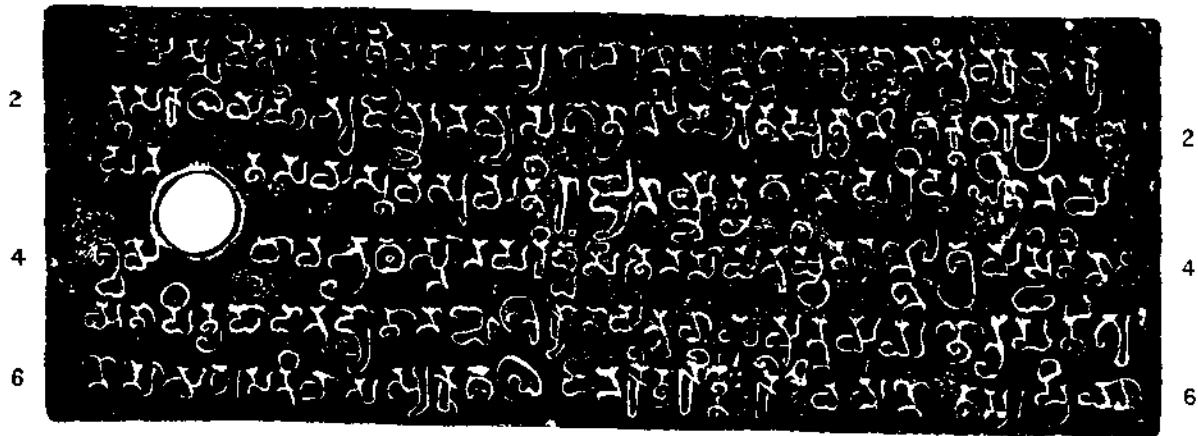
- 13 यसिंहवज्रभमहाराजः कथ्ये वाटिविषये श्लेषटूरीनाम ग्रामस्त-
 14 स्य दक्षिणतो गच्छ्य¹तमात्राकोश्व वा नाम ग्रामस्तत्रिवासिनिः² तद्विषयवा³-
 15 सिनद्यान्यासा⁴वजनपदान् ममवेतानेवमाज्ञापयति [१^५] सर्व्या^५ चना-
 16 गतकालभाव(वि)राजरिषे^६न्यथोपचरपुरस्त[रं] प्रत्यं सम्मानयति [१^७]
 17 कुकनूरवास्तव्य^७स्तैत्तिरीयसन्नचारिणो गार्ग्यगीचस्वाधिनतचतुष्कास्वानु-
 18 दिनानुष्ठितस्वकर्माणी देवशर्मणः^८ पुत्रस्व तदनुकृपगुचस्व कामिशर्मण^९पु-

Plate III-A.

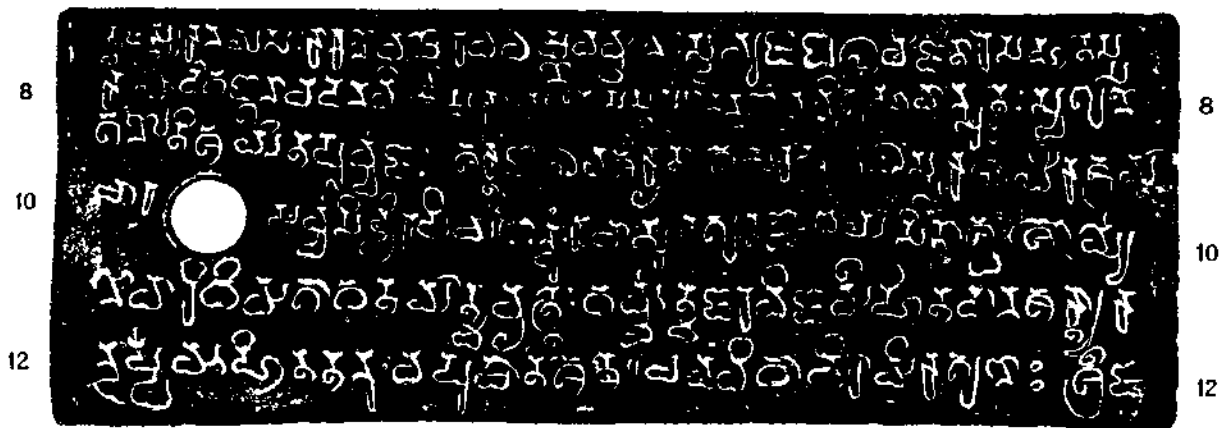
- 19 चाय वेदशास्त्रविदुषे स्वकर्मनिरताय ¹⁰पियातिथये सोमशर्मणे कार्तिक-
 [पौ^{१०}]र्ण[सासि^{११}]
 20 विभुवदिने स्व¹¹त्मातापिचोरात्मनश्च धर्माभिष्टुभयेस्वामिस्तर्जकरपरिहारेच
 अग्रहा[रोक्त]-
 21 त्य दत्तोयं ग्रामः [१^{१२}] न केनचिद्वाधाकरणीया यस्तु करोति कारयत्यनुमन्यते
 वा स पञ्चम-
 22 द्वापातकैर्युक्तो भवत्यपि च व्यासगोती श्लोकौ भवतः [१^{१३}] ¹²बभुभिर्भुधुधा
 दत्ता व-
 23 बुभिक्षानुपालिता [१^{१४}] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [१^{१५}]
 षष्टिवर्ष-
 24 सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [१^{१६}] आत्वेष्टा¹³ चातुमन्ता च ताम्येव नरके
 वसेत् [१^{१७}] ओ¹⁴
 25 सर्वसिद्ध्यैर्व्यसुधाधिपस्य प्रियः शरीरीव नय X पुरोधाः [१^{१८}] रघोवसना¹⁵भवद-
 26 स्व विद्वानाज्ञतिरार्थः (खी) नरसिंह¹⁶सर्व्या [१^{१९}]

¹ Read ति.² Read नः.³ Read वा.⁴ Read चाय.⁵ Read सर्व्या.⁶ Read री.⁷ Then 3 or 4 letters are badly damaged.⁸ Read कर्ते.⁹ The letter च looks like त्र for the sign of the conjunct consonant र is on the left side of त्र and not on the right side as usual. This is due to want of space just before त्र.¹⁰ Read निः.¹¹ Read नः.¹² The metre of this and of the following verse is Anuṣṭubh.¹³ Read स्त्रे.¹⁴ Upajhiti metre.¹⁵ I have not been able to make any sense out of this. [The reading seems to be रघोवसनी भवदस्त्र^{१५} which would mean that Narasimhasarma died in a battle-field and thus won 'virapati'.—Ed.]¹⁶ Read Narasimha Sarma.

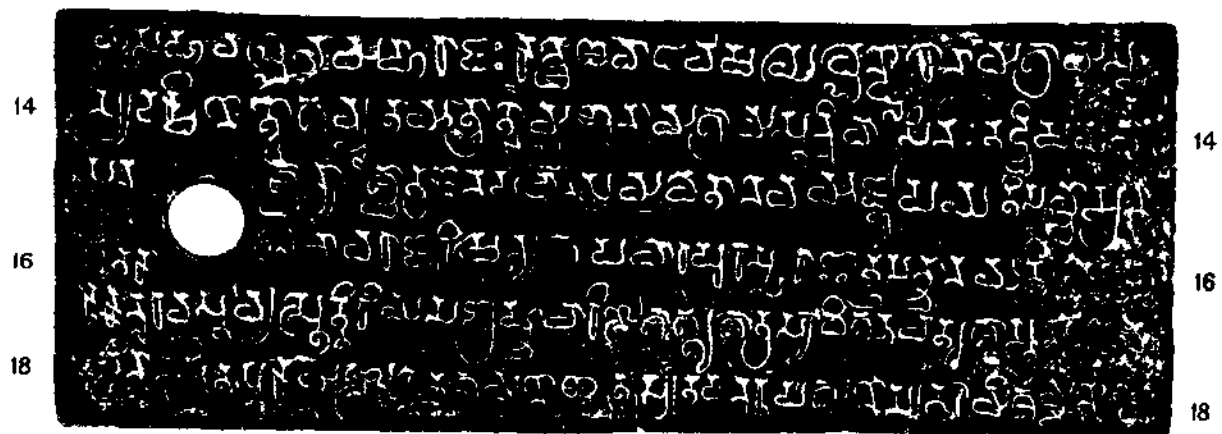
i.



ii.



iii.



iii.

20

22

24

20

22

24

iiib.

26

26

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Hail ! Jayasirṃha-Vallabha-Mahārāja (l. 12), surnamed Sarvvasiddhi (l. 10),—the son of Vishṇuvarman (l. 7), the youngest son of Kirttivarman (l. 6),—of the family of the Chālukyas (l. 5), orders thus the residents of the village named Kombaru (which lay) in the district (*viśaya*) of Kanthōruvāṭi at (a distance of) a *gavyūti* to the south of Vlōpṭūru (ll. 13-15) :

' This village (Kombaru), having been made into a tax-free *agrahāra* (l. 20), has been given by us to Sōmaśarmman (l. 19), who is a resident of Kukkanūr, belongs to the Taittiriya school and Gārgya-*gōtra* (l. 17), the son of Svāmīśarman and grandson of Dēvaśarman (l. 5), on the *viśuvadina* of Kārttika-Pūrṇimā (l. 19). Sōmaśarmman is stated to have been a very learned scholar and hospitable and one who regularly performed his daily duties.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of this (grant) is stated to have been the beloved preceptor of king Sarvvasiddhi, polity incarnate as it were, the learned and noble Narasirṃhaśarman (l. 25-26).

No. 44.—THE BARWANI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHARAJA SUBANDHU ; THE YEAR 167.

BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription comes from the Barwāni State in Central India, and has briefly been noticed in the *Annual Report* of the Rājputānā Museum for 1924-25.

It is engraved on a copper-plate measuring about 8"×3·2" and is well preserved. The sign-manual of the king, viz., Śrī-Subandhōḥ is written on the left margin. The charter was granted by Mahārāja Subandhu.

The characters belong to the 'box-headed' variety of the southern class of alphabets, and may be ascribed to about the fifth century A.D. The box-shape of the tops of the letters is scooped out hollow and is almost rectangular. The letters are more or less like those of the Chammak copper-plate inscription¹ of the Mahārāja Pravarasēna II of the Vākāṭaka family.

The language is Sanskrit prose throughout, and is generally correct. It contains no benedictory or imprecatory verse, but merely records the grant as ordered by the donor, i.e., prince Subandhu.

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted :—

- (1) Consonants are generally doubled when combined with (i) a superscript *r*, as in -*gaurāpathakaḥ*, l. 1, and -*chandrārkkārṇava*-, l. 4.
and (ii) with a subscript *r*, as in -*paddrakē*, l. 2.
- (2) the combination of *ts* and *th* with a superscript *r* in *puṇyāpyāyatārtha*-, l. 4.
- (3) the wrong use of *i* instead of *ī* in *Māhishmati*, and *kuśali*, l. 1.
- (4) *Sandhi* is not observed in *kuśali udumbara*-, l. 1, etc.

Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the foot-notes accompanying the text.

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate 24.

The present inscription is one of **Mahārāja Subandhu**, and the grant recorded in it is issued by him from the city called **Māhishmatī**. It is dated the seventh day of the bright half of Bhādrapada of Sam. 167. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a piece of land at the village (*padraha*) **Sōhajanā** in the **Udumbaragartā** district (*pathaka*) to a Brāhmaṇa named **Shashṭhisvāmin** for the spiritual welfare of the donor and of the donor's parents. The *dūtaka* is **Guhadāsa**. The date of the grant is given in symbols of 100, 60 and 7 (=167), and should be referred to the Gupta era. It would, then, correspond to 486 A.D. The **Subandhu** of this charter is apparently a new figure. That he is styled as a 'Mahārāja' would show that he was a vassal-chief. Possibly, like **Suraśmichandra**,¹ he was a subordinate of **Budhagupta**, who, as shown by the **Eran**² Pillar and the **Sārnāth**³ Buddha Image inscriptions, and by his coins⁴, flourished about that time.

The fact that **Mahārāja Subandhu** was connected with such an ancient and famous city as **Māhishmatī** is noteworthy.

As to the places mentioned in the document **Māhishmatī**⁵ is apparently the homonymous town of epic fame, which is, in all probability, now represented by **Mahēśvara**, though scholars like **Pargiter** would identify it with **Māndhātā**⁶ on the **Narmadā**.

The other two places namely, **Sōhajanā** and **Udumbaragartā**, I am unable to locate.

TEXT.

- 1 जो^१ स्वस्ति [१^{*}] माहिष्मतिनगरः^२(रात) महार[१^{*}]जसुबन्धुः कुयलि^{१०} उदु-
म्बरगर्तापथकः(के)
- 2 सोहजनापदके स्वानायुक्तकादीन्समाप्नापयति यदच सातिपरिभुक्तक-
- 3 चेत् तन्मयास्ते ब्राह्मणपठिस्वामिने भरहाजसगोपाया^{११} वादिस-^{१२}
- 4 नेयसब्रह्मचारिणे मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुष्पाप्यायतार्थमाचन्द्रार्कवर्ष-^{१३}
- 5 कालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं ब्रह्मदेयमतिष्ठत् [१^{*}] विदित्वाद्यदिवसादार-
भ्योपि(च)-

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 89.

² Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 89.

³ [See *Arch. Surv. of India*, 1914-15, p. 125.—Ed.] Also, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 203.

⁴ John Allan's *Coins of the Gupta dynasties*, coin no. 617.

⁵ It was founded by **Mahishmat**, a **Haihaya** chieftain, [*Vishnu-Purāṇa* translated by H. H. Wilson, Vol. IV, p. 54].

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 445-6.

⁷ From the original plate.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read °भती°.

^{१०} Read कुयली.

^{११} Read °गोपाय.

^{१२} Read ब्राह्मणेय°.

^{१३} त् is redundant; °वर्षात् may be a clerical mistake for °वर्षा°.

6 तथा ब्रह्मदियमुत्तमा भुजता¹ न व्यासिधव्य² × काव्य³ [1*] सं⁴ १०० ६० ७
 भ(भा)दपदे [य]दि स[स] [1*]
 7 गुहदासदूतकः [1*]
 व्योसुबन्धोः⁵

No. 45.—DHAULI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF SANTIKARA; THE [GANGA] YEAR 93.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

Close to the boulder at Dhauli, on which the edicts of Aśoka are inscribed, is a lofty hill, the highest part of which rises about 1,000 feet above the surrounding ground level. It is surmounted by a ruined temple dedicated to Śiva. One side of this temple has disappeared entirely, and the gigantic *phallus*, enshrined therein, is thereby exposed to view. Below this temple, about a hundred yards to the east, on the southern face of the hill, there is a small cave. According to the *Puri Gazetteer* the "northern ridge culminates in a temple-crowned peak, and at its western extremity are a number of caves, natural and artificial. To the east of the temple and at a lower level is a natural fissure, full of bats; and on a boulder at the top, near the entrance, is cut a small inscription in three lines."⁶ I found the fissure and the bats, but could not get at the boulder or find the inscription of three lines. Close to the fissure, is an artificial cave, measuring 4' × 5' × 3½' approximately. There is a niche in the back wall of this cave, under which is inscribed *Jaya-Śrī-Śrī* (h); and on the right wall is a record in seven lines, which is being edited below. The letter *ta* occurs on the level of l. 1 at a distance.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple (*maṭha*) of Āghyakā-varāṭi by one Bhaṭṭa Lōyōmaka, son of the physician Nannaṭa and grandson of Bhīmaṭa, who was born of the womb of Ijyā, an inhabitant of Virajō, in the year 93, during the reign of the illustrious Śāntikara-dēva. Śāntikara-dēva is known from another votive inscription in the Gaṇḍesa-gumphā at Khaṇḍagiri, where Ijyā, Bhīmaṭa and Nannaṭa are mentioned⁷. The Gaṇḍesa-gumphā inscription is not dated. We do not know anything yet about this king. A line of three kings with the suffix *Kara* in their names is mentioned in the Neulpur grant of Śubhakara.⁸ Except the resemblance in the names, we have no data on the basis of which we can establish any connection between them.

The chief importance of this record is its date, which supplies a datum for fixing the period of the dynasty. The adjectives in the Neulpur grant show that the dynasty was Buddhist in faith. The date of this inscription is 93. The form of the palatal *sa* indicates that it cannot be referred to the Harsha era (605-6 A.D.) The situation of the inscription precludes a reference to the Newar era (880 A.D.) The Chālukya-Vikrama era (1076 A.D.) would be too late. The era of the Gaṅgas, which was used in Kālīṅga in its first century, is most probably the reckoning to which this record is to be referred. According to Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, the initial year of this

¹ Read भुजता.

² Read न व्यासिधव्य × काव्य; *Jihvāmūlīya* is used here. [But the symbol seems to represent *m*.—Ed.]

³ सं stands for संवत्.

⁴ Is engraved on the left margin.

⁵ *Puri Gazetteer*, pp. 245-46.

⁶ *Asia*, Vol. XIII, p. 167.

⁷ *Asia*, Vol. XV, pp. 1-8.

era is equal to 772 or 778 A.D.,¹ and the date of the Bāmanghāṭi grant of Raṇabhaṅga of the year 288 is to be referred to the same reckoning. Thus, the date of this record would correspond to 865 A.D.

A king named Śāntikara is also mentioned in the Kumuranga plates of Daṇḍi-Mahādēvi published by the late Mr. Haranandan Panday of the Archaeological Survey of India.² According to this inscription Śāntikara was the son of Lalitabhāra and the father of Śubhākara, whose consort Daṇḍi-Mahādēvi issued the Kumuranga grant. According to the late Mr. Panday, Śāntikara of the Kumuranga inscription is the same as Kshēmaṅkara of the Neulpur plate.³ Both being Royal Charters embodying grants of land, it is extremely unlikely that Kshēmaṅkara and Śāntikara were one and the same person. In fact, no other name except that of Śubhākara agrees in the two genealogies. It appears to me that the Kumuranga plate of Daṇḍi-Mahādēvi is much later in date than the Neulpur plate of Śubhākara. It is quite possible that some of the earlier names in the former inscription may be *virudas* of Śivakara, Kshēmaṅkara and Śubhākara of the Neulpur inscription.

The characters of the inscription are much later than those of the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara and, therefore, it is probable that Śāntikara was a descendant or successor of Śubhākara. The following tentative genealogy of this dynasty may be accepted :—

Kshēmaṅkara-dēva.

Śivakara-dēva.

Śubhākara-dēva.

Śāntikara-dēva.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Śrī-Śāntikara-dēva-rājya-[sa]
- 2 mvat 90,⁵ 3 Ijyā-garbhajēna
- 3 Virajōvāstavya-Vaidya-Na[unna-]
- 4 ṭa-putra Bhīmaṭa-pauttra Bhaṭṭa-
- 5 Lōyōma[kē]n-Āghyakā-Varāṭi
- 6 maṭh-ā(ō)yam dēyēbhya(?) kārīta-
- 7[bā]raka

TRANSLATION.

(In) the year 93, (during) the reign of the illustrious Śāntikara-dēva, this temple of Āghyakā-Varāṭi was caused to be made as a (?) gift by Bhaṭṭa Lōyōmaka, son of the physician Nannhaṭa (and) grandson of Bhīmaṭa, who was born of the womb of Ijyā (and was) an inhabitant of Virajō.

¹ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. II, pp. 361-62. [This requires verification. It is not unlikely that the era commenced much earlier.—Ed.]

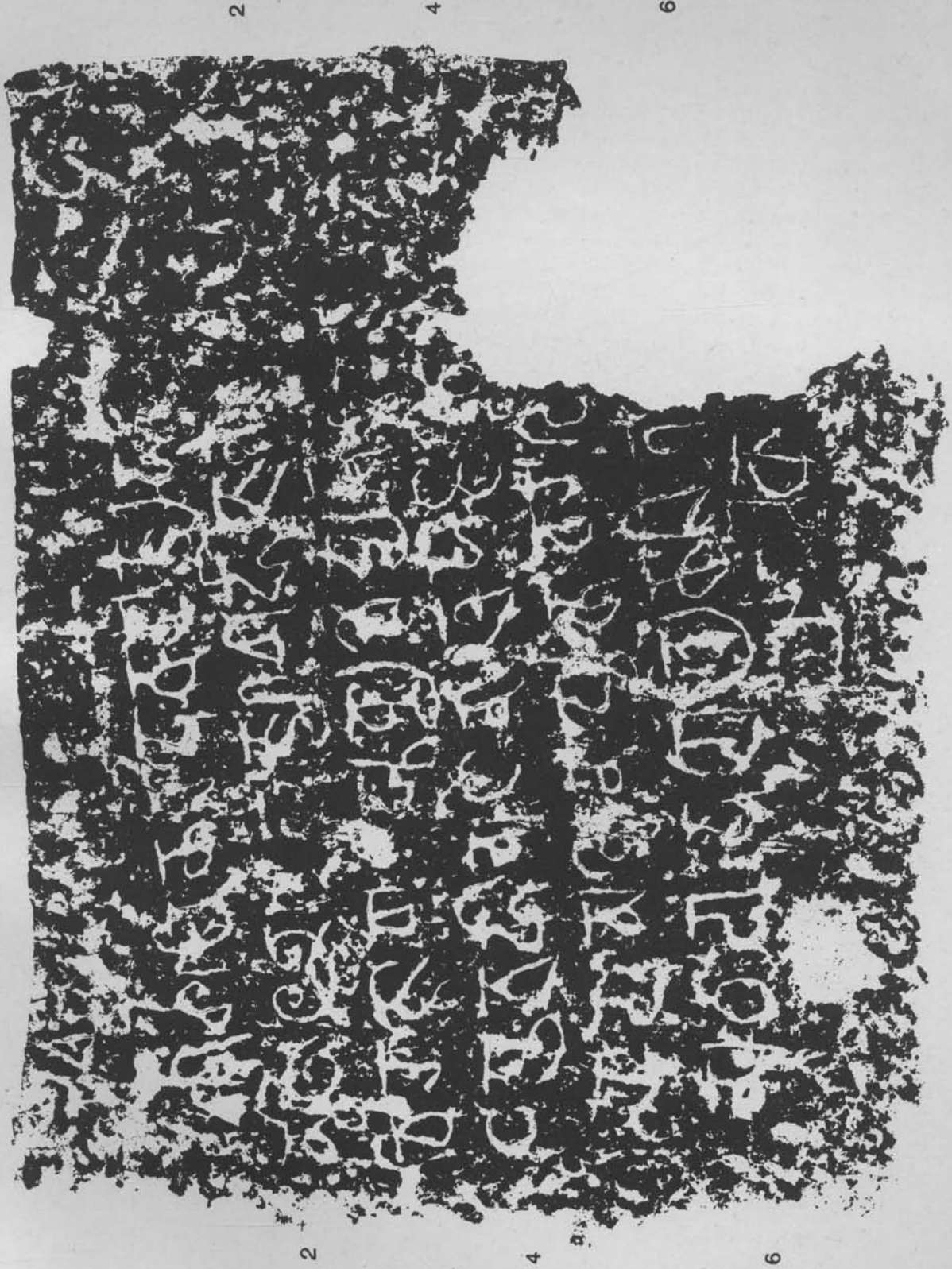
² *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. V, 1919, pp. 564-79.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 569.

⁴ From photographs and impression taken by me.

⁵ [The symbol though apparently damaged seems to be noteworthy.—Ed.]

DHAULI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF SANTIKARA; THE [GANGA] YEAR 93.



HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SCALE ONE FOURTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. 46.—KONDEDDA GRANT OF DHARMARAJA.

By Y. R. GUPTA, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The existence of the **copper-plates**, on which this grant is incised, was brought to notice by the late Mr. T. C. Rath, B.A., when he was the District Munsif at Chodavaram in the Godāvāri district of the Madras Presidency. The late Mr. G. Venkoba Rao thus wrote a preliminary note on the grant in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year ending 31st March 1921, p. 93 :—"It is engraved on a set of three copper-plates hung together on a ring about 3½" in diameter. The plates measure 6½" long and 4½" broad. The circular seal set on to the ring has a diameter of 3½". On its surface are cut in relief the figures of the crescent at the top and a seated bull in the centre and a line of letters at the bottom which is completely damaged."¹

I owe the opportunity of editing this record for the first time to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., who kindly placed the ink-impressions of it at my disposal.

The **alphabet** is an early type of the Northern variety of Nāgarī. As regards **orthography** *ba* is not distinguished from *va*. The symbol for *ṇa* (e.g., see *mṛṇāla*. l. 1, *ḡṇai* l. 29 and *aviḡṇi-tatāyā* l. 33) is also used for *ṇ* when it forms the first part of a conjunct consonant; cf. *-vāñchhām* l. 8, *Krauñchārē-iva* l. 32, *-upabhuñjānasya* l. 54, *uktañ-cha* l. 55 and *lāñchhin(t)am* l. 60; but a different symbol is used for *ṇa* when it forms the second part of a conjunct consonant, as in *yajñair-* l. 19. Such similarities of symbols are probably to be attributed to the faulty local pronunciations. The form of *pa* occasionally approaches that of *va*; cf. *ḡṇin-āpi* l. 5, the second *pā* in *pāp-āvatārair-* l. 18, *pāyinaḥ* l. 24 and *parivārītaḥ* l. 29. The guttural nasal is used instead of an *anusvāra* before *śa* as in the early Gupta records, cf. *uśṇ-āñśatējā[ḥ]* for *uśṇ-āñśutējā[ḥ]* l. 21, *prabhās-āñśubhiḥ* for *prabhās-āñśubhiḥ* l. 2, *prāñśur-* for *prāñśur-* l. 3, *vañś-ētha* for *vamś-ētha* l. 14. It is still traceable in the pronunciation of the Oriyas. The doubling of consonants after *r* except in the case of sibilants and the aspirate *ha* is common; cf. *mañēr-ddigdha[ḥ]* l. 2, *-patir-mmahēbha-* l. 17, *-āvatārair-nnūlām(tā)-* l. 18, *ākarsatya-* l. 23, *īrshayā* l. 29, *yath-arhan (m)* l. 50. The exceptions however are: *prāñ(m)śur-mahēbha-* and *Śambhōr-jatā[ḥ]* (l. 3), *patir-garī-yām (n)* (l. 12), *-durlaliti(t-ā)śidhārā(rāḥ)* and *kālēyair-bhūta-* (l. 17), *-ākhilār-marud-iva* and *dayālur-narapatir-* (l. 21), etc. *N* is thrice wrongly replaced by an *anusvāra* marked on the preceding letter; cf. *prāptavām* for *prāptavān* (l. 26), *lav(b)dh-ōnnatīm* for *lav(b)dh-ōnnatin* (l. 30), *asmin* for *asmin* (l. 47) and thrice *n* takes the place of an *anusvāra*; cf. *chūtran* for *chitrām* (l. 26), *sarvaan* for *sarvaam* (l. 36) and *yath-arhan* for *yath-ārham* (l. 50).

Of the initial vowels the text contains *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *ē* and *ō*. In the Buguḍa plates *a* and *ā* are denoted by one and the same sign. In this record, we have a different sign for the length of *ā*, which is denoted by a cup-like addition on the proper left of the letter; cf. *a* in ll. 24, 47, 51 and 53 with *ā* in ll. 10 and 39. The initial *i* occurs in ll. 1, 12, 14, 16, 25 and 27; *ē* in l. 30 and *ō* in l. 52. The initial *u* is found in l. 55. For medial *u* we have two signs: the ordinary one, viz., a rounded curve to the reader's left; cf. *tantubhīr-* l. 1, *pāntu* l. 3, *prabhūḥ* l. 9, *-kumbha-* l. 17, *-tuṅgād-* l. 22, *turaga-* l. 44, etc.; and the perpendicular downward line with a straight small stroke to the left; cf. *plutī* l. 3, *v (b) āhuḥ* l. 4, *mumuda(ē)* l. 13, *-paṭunā* l. 20, etc. Similarly, *ā* is denoted by two signs, the first consisting of two rounded strokes, one to the right and the other to the left; cf. *svayambhūr-āpi* (l. 8), *bhūmi-* (l. 12) and *-bhūta-* (l. 17), the other consisting of a downward horizontal stroke ending in a loop to the left as in the case of the Talēśvara copper-plates; cf. *sūnuḥ* (ll. 12 and 27), *ripūn-* (l. 30), *vidhūta(na)na* (l. 38)

¹ Vide also No. 3 of the Appendix A to the same Report.

² Ante Vol. XIII, plates facing pages 114 and 115.

and *pūjayati* (l. 50). The division of verses in the text is not made in all the necessary places. In some cases as in l. 25 the engraver has marked the first half of a verse by a cursive stroke, which is also used along with two perpendicular strokes to indicate the end of a verse in several cases, as in l. 15.

The language is Sanskrit. Out of the first 11 verses in the Buguḍa grant of Mādhavavarman,¹ 9 are found in this record. The inscription opens with a verse invoking the protection of the plaited hair of Śiva. This is followed by the genealogy of the dynasty which starts with Pulindasēna as in the Buguḍa and Pārikud plates. The construction of the first half of verse 5 of the Buguḍa plates, which comes as 4th in this record, was not clear to Kielhorn, evidently on account of the wrong text "*Śīlāsakal-śibhidē*." The reading in this grant and in the Pārikud plates clears up the point. Here the text reads "*śīlā-sakal-śibhāḥ*" which is to be construed with *prabhuḥ* in l. 8. The purport of the verse in question is that Brahman created a ruler named Śailōdbhava 'who split as under parts of a rock and was the founder of a dynasty'. The truth underlying this statement appears to be that the dynasty flourished originally in rocky regions. The record next mentions Raxabhīta, who was born in the lineage of Śailōdbhava and who frightened many a time the wives of his enemies,² (as their husbands were sure to be killed in battles that were to be fought). To him was born Sainyabhīta, the king at whose successes, won by the strength of the impenetrable row of elephants in many a battle, the earth rejoiced (v. 8). In his family was born Yaśōbhīta, who was also a great warrior. His son was the benevolent ruler Sainyabhīta (Mādhavavarman II of the Buguḍa grant), who was a 'lotus to the bees, viz., the eyes of charming women.' From him was descended Yaśōbhīta-dēva (II), whose surname was Madhyamarājadēva (v. 11). His son was the king Dharmmarāja, who was proficient in all the sciences and whose character was unblemished. King Mādhava, having obtained the kingdom by force and not being recognized (as a monarch), formed the evil intention of expelling from his province his elder relations, but was defeated in battle at Phāsikā by Dharmmarāja. Thereafter he resorted for help to king Strivara but was again defeated by him at the foot of the Vindhya (v. 15). Dharmmarāja's surname was Mānabhīta (v. 16). He was pre-eminently a scholar and was, therefore, known as "*sakala-śāstra-viśeṣa-vēdī*," i.e., one who had a critical knowledge of all the sciences. He is said to have spent his time in discussing religious matters in the assemblies of Brāhmins.

The possible identification of Madhyamarāja with Yaśōbhīta II on the analogy of Dr. Hultzsch's suggestion (which was accepted by Kielhorn) that Sainyabhīta was probably a surname of Mādhavavarman,³ was proposed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his article on the Pārikud plates,⁴ though in his opinion the exact relationship of Madhyamarāja with a former king was a matter of doubt. Still, on the analogy of the Buguḍa plates, it may be presumed that Yaśōbhīta was the surname of Madhyamarājadēva.

The prose portion of the inscription records a grant of half of the village of Kōṇḍāḍḍa in the district of Khidḍiṅgahāra to Bhaṭṭa Gōṇadēva-svāmin, an *agnihōtrin*, who belonged to the Kauśika-gotra and the Vājasaneyā-charaṇa, and whose *Pravaras* were Ō(Au)dalavat, Dēvarāta and Viśvāmitra.

I would ascribe the Buguḍa plates to the beginning of the 9th century A.D. although Kielhorn wanted to relegate them to the 10th century.

According to Mr. R. D. Banerji, the Pārikud plates of Madhyamarājadēva, the father of the grantor of the plates under examination, are dated in the Harsha-era. The late Mr. Venkoba Rao

¹ Ante Vol. III, pp. 43-44.

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 144.

³ Verse 5.

⁴ Above Vol. XI, p. 283.

thought that they were dated in the Vikrama era. But I would side with the late Mr. V. Venkayya in taking the numerical symbol as standing for the regnal year and read it as 10 or rather 30. The month can be made out with tolerable certainty but the actual *tithi* or date is a matter of considerable doubt though the traces of the symbol favour the reading 8.

I am unable to identify the localities mentioned in the record. *Kōṅṅōḍa* has already been identified by Kielhorn with Kong-u-t'o (Kong-yu-t'o) of Hiuen-Tsiang.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 श्री³ स्वस्ति - [॥*] इन्दोर्द्धितमृणालतनुभिरिवः⁴ स्निष्टाः करैः कोमलैर्वर्णैश्च
चेरुव[णो]
- 2 तस्करुतफलिमन्त्रेर्द्धिगङ्गाः(न्नाः)प्रभासाङ्गु(सांय)भिः [॥*] पार्वत्यासकचयद्वयति-
करव्यासुतव(च)-
- 3 मधुसूया गङ्गाःभूतिभिश्चभस्मकणिकाः[*] शम्भोजंटाः[*] पान्थु वः ॥[१॥*]⁵
प्राङ्गु(प्रांय)र्महेभकर-
- 4 [पो]वरचारुव(वा)ङ्गुः[*] कल्याणसंचयविभेदविशालवचाः[॥*] राजीवकोमल-
दलाय-
- 5 [त]लोचनाम्तः[॥] स्थातः कलिङ्गजनतासु पुलिन्दसेनः ॥[२॥*] तेनेत्यगुणि
नापि सत्व-
- 6 [म]हता नेष्टं भुवो मण्डलं शक्तो यः परिपालनाय जगतः को नाम
स स्यादिति [॥*]
- 7 प्रत्यादिष्टविभु(भू)त्वेन भगवानाराधितः शाश्वतस्वस्तितामुगुणं विधित्सु-
- 8 रदिशहाञ्छां स्वयम्भूरपि ॥[३॥*] स शिलाशक्तलोहोदो⁶ तेनाप्यालोक्ष्य धो-
- 9 मता [॥] परिकल्पितसङ्कल्पः(दंशः) प्रभुः शैलोद्भवः कृतः ॥[४॥*] शैलोद्भवस्य
- 10 कुलजो र[ण]भीत चासीद्योनासक्तकृतभियां द्विषदङ्गनानां~[॥*] लोत्स्नाप्रवो(वो)-
- 11 वसमये अधियैव सार्धमाकम्पितो नयनपद्मजलोषु चन्द्रः ॥[५॥*] तस्याभव-
- 12 हितु(हु)धपातसमस्य स्रुतः[*] श्रीशैल्यभीत इति भूसिपतिर्गङ्गोद्यां(यान्) [॥*]
यं प्राप्य

¹ See Kielhorn's remarks above, Vol. VI, p. 136.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The *visarga* is superfluous.

⁵ The second verse in the Pārikud plates praising king Mādhavēndra is omitted in this record.

⁶ The reading in the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 43) is शिलाशक्तलोहोदो, which Kielhorn corrected into शिलाशक्तलोहोदो. For the interpretation of this reading see p. 267, above.

- 13 ने(नै)कशतनाम'घटाविघटलब्ध(स्व)प्रसादविजयं सुसुद(दे) धरिणी ॥[६॥*] तस्मापि
14 वक्त्रे(वंशे)य यथार्थनामा जातो यशोभीत इति क्षितीशः [१*] येन प्रकरोपि
15 शुभैश्चरितैर्दृष्ट कलङ्क[१*] कलिदर्पणस्य ~ ॥[७॥*] जातोय तस्य तनयः

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 16 [स]जतो समस्तसोमन्तिनीनयनषट्पुण्डरीकः [१*] श्रीसैन्धवीभोत इति भूमिप-
17 तिश्च(र्म)हेभक्तुभक्ष्यलोदशनदुर्लक्षितो(ता)सिचारा(रः) ॥[८॥*] कालेयैर्भू-
धाक्षीपति[-]
18 भि[रुप]चितानेकपापावतारैर्क्षीतां(ता) येषां कथापि प्रलयमभिमल[१*] की-
19 [र्त्ति]मालैरजसं [१*] यज्ञैस्त्रैरश्वमेधप्रभृतिभिरमराक्षभिभतास्तृप्तिमुर्वी-
20 मुहुमारातिपक्षयजतिपटुना श्रीनिवासेन येन ~॥[९॥*] तस्मिन्काताह्विता-
21 र्मेरुदिव जननीहस्तदुष्णाङ्गु(ष्णांशु)तेजा[१*] शु(शू)रो मानो दयालुर्नरप-
22 ति^१रयशोभीतदेवस्तनूजः [१*] मातङ्गान्धोतितुङ्गाह(ग्ब)हस्तमदमुच-
23 शारवक्त्रां(ज्ञान्) प्रचण्डां(ण्डान्) व(व)ध्वा कर्षत्यखिलः पुनरपि तयते
यज्ञत[१] [स प्र]-
24 गल्भः ॥[१०॥*] केचिच्छैलगुहोदरेषु नियता धूमावलोपायिनः चख्ये
वायुफला-
25 म्बु(म्बु)भक्षनिरता[१*] केचिन्निराहारका ~[१*] इत्थं योगसुखी^२ विह्वयि वसन्ति
ध्यायन्ति [दिव्यं]
26 पदं चित्तम्(चं म)ध्यमराजदेवगुणधृष्टाब्धेयि^३ तस्मात्तवां(वान्) ॥[११॥*]
तस्याभवत्सकल[शा]-
27 खविशेषवेदी श्रीधर्मराज इति सूरधीतशास्त्र[१*] तस्यातिनिर्मल्य[शः]
28 परिवर्द्धमान(नं) पादा हरेरिवनमा(भ)ञ्जि(ञ्जि)तमार्जि(ञ्जि)लोक्या[१] ~ ॥[१२॥*]
निराश्रयैः प्रयत्नेन
29 गुणैः स परिवारितः [१*] वैमुख्यादीर्षया चैव(व) सर्वदोषैर्विर्वर्जित[१] ॥[१३॥*]

^१From the plates published above, Vol. VII, p. 100 f., the reading 'नाम' appears to be certain. The reading 'ति' instead (*ante*, III, p. 44, l. 9) would look to be unjustifiable as also the one 'घटा' which is only = घट...

^२[The plate reads *narapatirayaśōbhita*, thus showing that the name was *Ayaśōbhita* (= one afraid of ill fame) and not *Yasōbhita* (= afraid of fame). In the Pārikud plates also the reading in l. 15 can very well be *Ayaśōbhita*. In line 21, too, scanning shows that one letter is left out between *narapati* and *yaśō* and that letter is *ru*.—Ed.]

^३The Pārikud plates give *श्रीगुणी* which has been corrected into *श्रीगुणी*.

^४The Pārikud plates read 'द्राव्यपित्तप्राप्तव'. Mr. Banerji's correction into *पितुः* is not warranted. The intended reading appears to be 'द्राव्यपि ताप्राप्तवान्' which is given in our plates. The idea conveyed by the expression seems to be that while others meditated upon it by practising austerities, Madhyamardja got the *dravyapada* in his own kingdom.

i.

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a grant or record, with a circular hole on the left side.

ii.

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a grant or record, with a circular hole on the left side.

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Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 80 काले हन्ति रिपून्महारण्यतथापारलब्धो(ब्धो)वतोः(न) काले स(भ)क्तिसुपैति
मुष्मन्(म्भन्)-
- 81 चवि(रि)तैः शब्धोः कथाविस्तरेः [१*] काले धर्माविवेचनाय निरतो ब्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मण्यमध्ये
- 32 स्थितः क्रौञ्चारेरिव यस्य चेष्टितमलं लोकः(कैः) समास्तीक्यते ~॥[१४]*
राज्यं लब्ध्वा(लब्ध्वा)व-
- 33 दर्पाद्विगणिततया माधवी ज्येष्ठभावां(वान्) देशादस्मादपास्तुं कृतविषममति-
- 34 विग्रहे फासिकायां [१*] युद्धे क्षीमेण भक्तो वृपतिप(व)रमसी संश्रु(त्रि)-
त[ः*] क्षीवराज्य(स्थं)
- 35 पञ्चाक्षेनापि सार्धं पुनरपि विजितो विन्ध्यपादेषु जीर्णः ॥[१५]* शौर्यं
शौर्यो[व]-
- 36 नं राज्यमेकैकं मदकारकं [१*] सर्वन्(र्व) श्रीमानभीतस्य निर्विकारसुपस्थि-
- 37 त[म्*] ॥[१६]* तुरगसुराभिघातविदलहरणीतलजं जयगजकर्णचाम-
- 38 रविभूत(न)नविस्फुरितं [१*] सुभटप्रसर्पणनिरुद्धककुब्ज(ङ्ग)गनं व(व)-
- 39 सरज एव यस्य जयति द्विषतां ध्वजिनीं ॥[१७]* आरज्य प्रसभं
घटा गजगणैरश्वो-
- 40 यथादातकैः जित्वात्या(त्या)न्व(व)लशालिनो वृपवरानागत्य दृष्टेर्भुवं [१*]
युद्धे भीमप-
- 41 राक्षसेण विजिता निर्हृत्पदं प्रापिताः दृश्यन्ते भवनाङ्गणे प्रतिदिनं प्रातः
- 42 प्रणामार्थिन[ः*] ~॥[१८]* विजयसौम्यपुरवासकाच्छ्रीशैलोद्भवकुलतिलको
- 43 महामखवाजपेयाश्वमेधावस्यस्नाननिर्वर्त्तितसूनीस्तनयो व(व)दुवि-
- 44 धमत्तवारणवरतुरगपदातिशयसंपातसंकुलो व(व)ह्वाहव-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 45 विनिवृत्तमन्त्रनेकविक्रमाक्रान्तसकलभूमण्डलप्रथितयश(शा)वानुहन्ति[ः]
- 46 संप्रामादसकृत्(त्)लब्ध(ब्ध)प्रताप[ः*] परममाहेन्दरो मातापितृपाद[१*]नुध्यात[ः*]
श्रीध-
- 47 श्रीराजदेवः कुशलो ॥ अस्मिं(स्मिन्) कोङ्कोदमण्डले श्रीसामन्तमहा-
सामन्तम-
- 48 चाराजराज[१*]नकराजपुत्रान्तरङ्गदाण्डनायकदाण्डपायिकोपरिज[१*]क्षत्रिनि-

- 49 युक्तकव्यवहारि[तः]¹ सकरणान्यांश्च ब्रा(ह्म)ण्यपुत्रोऽगादिदेवयिकजन-
 50 पदान्यथार्हम्पू(र्णं पू)जयति मानयत्याज्ञापयति च विदितमस्तु भवता(ता) चि-
 51 द्विह्वारविषयसम्ब(न्ध)कोष्ठे द्वेग्रामार्होयं चकरोक्त्य
 52 [कौ]शिकसमोक्षाय वाजसनेयचरणाय श्रीदशवत्देवरात-
 53 विष्णामिन्न(च)प्रवराय अग्निहोत्री(चौ)भृगोणदेवस्वामिने मातापितृयत्नमश्च
 54 पुण्याभिप्रेतये सलिलधारापुरस्करेणाचन्द्रार्क² काकसुपभुञ्जानस्य ध-
 55 र्मगौरवाच्च केनचिद्विधाते वर्तितव्यमिति ॥ उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे [1*]
 व(व)दुभिर्व-
 56 सुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 तदा फ-
 57 लं ॥[१८ ॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां स्वा(वा) यो हरेत वसुध्वरां स्वविहायां
 क्षमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः[*]
 58 सङ्ग पश्यते ॥[२० ॥*] मा भूदफलमङ्गा वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवा[*] स्वदाना-
 रफलमा-
 59 [नमस्यं] परदत्तानुपाक[नं] ॥[२१ ॥*] दूतकोक्षाधिकृतचरम्यदेव(वो) लिखितं

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 60 [सु..] दा[मोद[रेण सा [व्यितं]. [टापल..
 61 उत्तकोर्ण³..] स्यविराट्तेनेति [॥] सम्ब(व)त् ३० वैशाख शु [८] [॥*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Ll. 26-42. His (Madhyamarājādēva's) son was the illustrious **Dharmmarāja**, who studied all the *śāstras* and who comprehended their characteristic differences, and whose very untarnished and increasing fame removed human sufferings as do the feet of Hari (Vishnu). He was possessed of excellent qualities and was free from all failings. At times he would kill foes who had risen to prominence in battle-fields and go into raptures over the tales of Śiva's radiant deeds; or he would devote himself to religious deliberations with Brahmans. His exploits were like those of the enemy of Krauñcha (i.e. Kārttikēya). King Mādhava, having obtained the kingdom by force, was defeated at Phāsikā for having formed the evil intention of driving away from the country his elderly relations. This king (Mādhava) then resorted for help to Strivara, the king's enemy; but being later on foiled even when accompanied by him, fell at the foot of the Vindhya. Though bravery, prosperity, youth and sovereignty are ever singly sufficient to cause perturbation, yet all of them came to the illustrious king Mānabhita without producing

¹ खड्गहारिः; appear to have been subordinate officers appointed by the above-mentioned higher officials for transacting actual business as compared with supervising.

² [Something like दशः यथा may be supplied after चाचन्द्रार्क—Ed.]

³ The portion is much damaged. उत्तकोर्ण, however, appears to be pretty certain.

KONDEDDA GRANT OF DHARMARAJA.

iiib.

60



60

any change in him. The dust raised by his army alone conquers the bannered host of his foes—the dust which rises from the earth beaten at the trampling of the hooves of the horses, which is enlarged by the movement of the chowries in the form of the ears of successful elephants and screens the heaven and the quarters by the spreading caused by the shields of his great warriors. Having forcibly arrayed the troops with the multitudes of elephants, horsemen, and foot soldiers, he vanquished the rival kings. Others who were conquered by him, and who displayed formidable prowess in the battle-field, were brought to the place of bliss by his coming within their sight and were seen every morning in the courtyard of his palace ready to pay him their respects.

Ll. 42-61. From his victorious camp located at **Saumyapura** the glorious **Dharmmarājādēva**, the jewel of the **Śailōdbhava** family, the son of one who had his body purified by the ablutions taken after the celebration of the **Mahāmukha**,¹ the **Vājapēya** and the **Aśvamēdha** sacrifice, who had a collection of proud elephants, excellent horses, and weapons of foot-soldiers of different kinds, who vanquished enemies in a number of battles, who is famous all over the world for his heroic actions, who is very liberal, who won laurels in many a battle, who is a great worshipper of **Mahēśvara** (Śiva), who meditates on the feet of his parents, in this province, called **Kōṅgōda**, honours, commands and worships,² as is befitting, the illustrious feudatory princes, great feudatory princes, great kings, royal personages, princes, superintendents³ over magistrates,⁴ police officers,⁴ and subordinate officers, appointed by them such as *karāṇas*⁵ and local persons, such as **Brāhmaṇas** and citizens:—"Let it be known to you that in order to increase religious merit of our parents and ourselves, this half of the village, called **Kōp-dōḍḍa**, included in the district of **Khiḍḍiṅgaḥāra** rendered tax-free, has been bestowed with the libations of water on **Bhaṭṭa Gōṣadēvasvāmin** of the **Kausika-gōtra**, **Vājasaneyā-charaṇa**, and of the **Audalavat(ha)**, **Dēvarāta** and **Viśvāmitra pravaras**, who maintains the sacrificial fire. While he is in the enjoyment of it, so long as the moon and the sun endure, no body should obstruct him, out of regard for religious merit. It has been laid down in the Code of Law: (Here follow the three of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses.) The executive officer of this document is **Charampadēva** who is in charge (of such duties). This charter is written by **Dāmōdara**. It is sealed by **Tāpala**⁶ and engraved by **Sthavira Vṛiddha**. (Dated) the 8th day of the bright fortnight of **Vaiśākha** of the 30th (regnal) year."

No. 47.—THE ADDANKI STONE INSCRIPTION OF PANDARANGA.

BY THE LATE K. V. LAKSHMANA RAO, M.A., MADRAS.

This inscription was first published with an indistinct plate in the *Nellore Inscriptions*^a by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty. It was not then thought that it contained any

^a Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Pārikud plates*, *Rp. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 286, l. 38, reads °सख. But here the reading is clearly °सुख. In the *Pārikud plates*, too, I would read °सुख.

² पूजयति must be construed with *Brāhmaṇas*.

³ दाक्षणायका:—magistrates.

⁴ दाक्षणायका:—police officers.

⁵ करवा: correspond to *kulkarnis* of the Deccan.

⁶ The words following टापल excepting उरलीच, are not clear to me.

⁷ The symbol which I take as 30 may stand for 10, but not for 800. The king's reign was perhaps somewhat longer than an ordinary one.

^a Vol. II, p. 896.

verse. While I was studying ancient Telugu inscriptions for an article on Telugu Philology to be published in my *Telugu Encyclopædia*, it arrested my attention and I made a special study of it and came to the conclusion that the lines 3-7 contained a Telugu verse in the *Taruvōṣa* metre. I published my results in Telugu in my presidential address at the Fifth Session of the Telugu Research Society, Chitrāḍa (Godāvari Dist.). I requested the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, to supply me with a fresh estampage of this and some other inscriptions, which I suspected contained Telugu verses of the period of Paṇḍaraṅga and am now editing this inscription from the estampage kindly supplied to me by him.

This inscription is engraved on a stone now lying in a field at Addanki in the Ongole Tāluka of the Guntur district. The stone is broken at the top to the extent of three or four lines and also slightly at the bottom. As it is, all the letters of the first line are damaged, except the lower halves of the last two letters, which may be read as *pura*. The second line also is similarly mutilated except the last four letters which seem to form the last portion of a verse that must have preceded the extant one.

The alphabets are of the Eastern Chālukyan type of the time of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III to which the record belongs. There seem to have been two types of characters which were then current. One is found in the Masulipatam plates¹ of this king and another in his Uruvūṭuru grant.² The first may be termed the round hand and the second square or angular hand. In this inscription which is in round hand, the upper portion of the consonant *ka* and the mark for the secondary *u* when added to *k*, are somewhat cursive, as compared with the same letters in the copper-plate grants of this king.

There is a difference between the secondary form of *e* as seen in this inscription and the one seen in the Bezwada pillar inscription.³ In the latter, we find that the secondary sign of *e* is marked generally over the main letter and goes up from left to right like a tail, while in this inscription it is always placed at the left side of the main letter and is a small curved line with a downward bend. The letters *a* and *ā* are written almost alike in this record. The forms of the letters *ka*, *ba*, *ma*, *ya* and *ra* are more archaic, and the secondary symbols for *ā*, *ai*, *o* and *ō* are shorter and less ornamental here than in the Yuddhamalla inscription. The subscript *r* which is not common is employed in this inscription in *°waṇḍreṇḍu* (l. 6) as in the Bezwada record, in *gonḍru* (l. 14). In one instance *ḍ* is employed wrongly for *ṭ* in *vuḍḷu* (l. 10) for *vuḷḷu*. The letter *ṣ* is used indifferently in many cases where we should expect *n*: e.g., *baṇchina* (l. 5), *goni* (l. 6), *°b-āṇa* (l. 7) and *Kaṇḍukur* (l. 8). In two places *ś* is replaced by *s*: in *Māḷesvaruṇḍu* (l. 9) and *aṣvamedha* (l. 11). This last feature is very common in Kannaḍa inscriptions.

The symbol representing the Dravidian sound *ḷ* is found in l. 6. This sound was represented by the same symbol in ancient Kannaḍa also. The existence of this sound in early Telugu was first revealed by the Yuddhamalla inscription.⁴

The language is Telugu. The first eight lines (except the broken ones) are in verse and the remaining lines are in prose. The language, being that of the ninth century A.D., is a little archaic, and the meanings of certain obsolete words are to be inferred from cognate words in other languages.

In orthography it resembles the Bezwada pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla. *Anusvāra* is used in several places. In some, it has the value of the modern Telugu *ardhānusvāra* (e.g., *prabhūm*-l. 4); in others, it serves as the class nasal (e.g., *garuvamb-oppaga* l. 3 *j*. and *koḷāmbu* l. 6). For purposes of metre it has to be elided in some places in this inscription just as in

¹ Above, Vol. V, p. 122.

² C. P. No. 3 of 1912-13: See also *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. I, p. 140.

³ Above, Vol. XV, p. 150.

the Bezvada inscription. The absence of forms ending in *mu* or *mmu* and the frequent use of *m̐bu* instead would show that in early periods the latter was the only form adopted and that the former two are later developments of it. Scansion would require the elision of the basic *l* in *goḷelchiya* (l. 6), cf. *goragalā* in l. 10 of the Yuddhamalla inscription.

The metre *Taruvōja*¹ in which the verse is written is a group of eight *Dvipadas*, whose two feet form one *pāda* of it. The verse is transcribed below according to the modern Telugu orthography, showing the four feet separately; the *prāsa* (rhyming) letters are underlined and the places of *yati* (caesura) are shown by asterisk and the *ardhānusrāra* is represented by a semi-circle (◌). This long metre did not find much favour with the Telugu poets. On the other hand, the *Dvipada* metre is a very popular one.

- 1 Paṭṭaṁbu (gaṭṭina* prathamāmbu nēmḍu* balagarvvaṁ-oppaga (*bai lēchi sēna-
- 2 Paṭṭaṁbu gaṭṭimēchi* prabhu (Baṁḍaraṅgu* bhaṇchina sāmānta* paḍu vaṣō bōya
- 3 Koṭṭaṁul paṁḍrēmḍu* goni Vēṁgi-nāṁṭi (* goḷeḷchi ya Tribhuvanaṁ*
- kuṣābhāṇa nilpi
- 4 Kaṭṭepudurgāmbu* gaḍu bayal chēsi Kaṁḍukur-Bbejavāḍa* gāvimche mechechi

Paṇḍaraṅga was the minister of **Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III** of the Eastern Chālukya line. In almost every grant of Vijayāditya the name of Paṇḍaraṅga is found as the executor (*ājñapti*). This king ruled from A.D. 844 to 888. We are told in this inscription that Paṇḍaraṅga was made the commander-in-chief of the army in the first year of the king's coronation. The date of the inscription therefore can safely be put as A.D. 844-5.

Paṇḍaraṅga took twelve *koṭṭams* of the **Bōyas**, established the flags (or sovereignty) of the kings of **Vēṁgi-nāṇḍu**, and laid bare the fort of **Kaṭṭe** (Kaṭṭepu-durgamu). He was a *Parama-Māhēśvara* (great worshipper of Śiva) and gave certain lands to the **Āditya-Bhaṭāra** (Sun-god) at Dammavuram.

This inscription is very important to the students of Telugu literature, as it furnishes a positive evidence of the existence of Telugu poetry in the middle of the 9th century A.D. The oldest Telugu work now extant is the *Mahābhārata* of **Nannaya-Bhaṭṭa**, the Poet Laureate in the court of the Eastern Chālukya Rājārāja I (A.D. 1022-1063) of Rajahmundry. It was, therefore, believed by many Telugu scholars that the beginnings of the Telugu poetry could not go to a period earlier than the eleventh century of the Christian era. But the Bezvada pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla took it a century back. The present inscription takes it a century further still.

Of the places mentioned in this inscription **Dammavuraṁbu** (ll. 10-11) is the village of **Dharmavaram** which is not far off from **Addanki** and where two more stone inscriptions* of Paṇḍaraṅga are to be noticed. The reading 'Kaṁḍukur-Bejavāḍa' in l. 8 is doubtful. But at Kaṁḍukur we have a stone inscription† of Paṇḍaraṅga, containing a Telugu verse in *Sīsa* metre. Paṇḍaraṅga claims to have conquered twelve *koṭṭams* of the Bōyas. *Koṭṭam* is an ancient geographical and administrative division, generally met with in Tamil inscriptions. It was bigger than the *nāḍu* and smaller than the *maṇḍalam*. We have *Koṭṭam-sima* in the Godāvāri district,

¹ Brown's *Grammar of the Telugu Language*, Book XI.

* *Nellore Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Ongole Nos. 39 and 40. I believe these two inscriptions are also in verse.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 544. Kaṁḍukur Nos. 31 and 32. It is a matter for regret that the original stone of this inscription which was removed to the taluk office from Ramaswami-mēḍa in Kaṁḍukur town by Mr. Venugopal Chetty is now missing.

which is almost identical with Tuni Zamindāri. Bōya is a hunter caste. These people are otherwise called Bēdars. In the *Gazetteer of the Anantapur district* we find it stated that "the Bōyas are the old fighting caste of this part of the country, whose exploits are so often recounted in historical works. The Poligār's forces and Haider Ali's famous troops were largely recruited from these people and they still retain a keen interest in sport and manly exercises." Their colonies are mainly found in the Ceded Districts, especially in Kurnool, Anantapur and Bellary districts. We may therefore suppose that the *Bōya kottams*, which Paṇḍaraṅga claims to have conquered, belonged to the Kurnool district. Paṇḍaraṅga seems to have come to Addanki from that quarter. It is not known where *Kaṭṭepu-durgam* is situated¹ but might have been one of the forts in the Nallamalai Hills near Śrīśailam.

The meaning of '*goḷelchiya*' (l. 6) is not clear. We find the pure Dravidian letter *ḷ* in it. *Goḷ* means 'a mountain' in Kanarese. *Elayu* in Telugu means 'to reach'. Therefore *goḷelchi* may mean 'having reached the tops of the mountains or hill forts'. *Ya* may be connected with the next word. *Yatribhuvanāṅkusabāṇa* would mean the (famous) arrow known as '*Tribhuvanāṅkuśa* (the goad that subdues the three worlds)'. If this interpretation is correct, it would lead to the conclusion that Paṇḍaraṅga had to win back many hill-forts in the Vēṅgi country from some foreign kings (perhaps the Rāshtrakūṭas). We then come to the reading *Kaṇḍukur-Bbejavāḍa* in l. 8 of which I am not sure. The other probable alternative reading would be *Kaṇḍu-kubbajavada(dha)*. We shall have to change the reading of the next two words as *gāviṇḥi vaccheḥi*, to make the meaning complete by connecting several words. The whole can then be translated as 'having arrived after killing those who were proud and were longing to fight'. *Kaṇḍu* literally means 'itch' and figuratively a 'desire to quarrel'. *Kobbagu* means a 'proud man' in Kanarese. *Aḍlu* in l. 10 may mean 'paddy' as does the current *vaḍlu*.

As the gift mentioned in the inscription was given to *Āditya-Bhaṭāra* or the Sun-God there must have been a Sun temple at Dharmavaram at that time. At Arsavalli, Chicacole Taluka, Ganjam district, there is a temple of that deity which has an inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1068.²

TEXT.³

- 1 [pura]
- 2 [pu di] bhūpālakuṇḍu [!*]
- 3 Paṭṭambu* gaṭṭina prathamambu nēṇḍu bala-garvvaṁb-o*
- 4 ppaga bailēchi sēna [!*] paṭṭambu gaṭṭiṇchi prabhum
- 5 Baṇḍaramgu ba[nchi]na* samatta*-paḍu Va[sō] Bōya-
- 6 kottāmbul-vaṇḍreṇḍu goṇi Vēṁgināṇṭi goḷelchi ya
- 7 Tribhuvanāṅkuśa bāṇa nilpi [!*] Kaṭṭepudu[r]ggambu gaḍu

¹ [This has been suggested to be identical with Kaṭhevaram in the Tenali taluk. Guntur District : See *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1923, p. 97.—Ed.]

² No. 387 of 1896.

³ From the estampage supplied to me by the Madras Epigraphy Office.

⁴ The *anusvāra* is generally placed above the letter next to the one to which it refers.

⁵ The reading is doubtful. Of the compound syllable the first consonant is certainly *ṇ* and consequently we should expect the second consonant from the *ṣa* varṇa. But it looks like *cha* more than any other letter, though the combination *achi* is a mistake.

⁶ Read *Sāmantā*.



- 8 bayal-sēsi Kaṇḍukur¹-Bbejav[ā]ḍa gāviṇche mechebi [||*]
 9 Paṇḍaraṅgu parama-Mahēśvaraṇḍu² Āditya-baṭārani-
 10 ki ichchina bh[ū]mi enubōdi vuḍlu³ aḍlu paṭṭu nēla Da-
 11 mmavuraṁbuna dammuvulu vīni rakshiṇchinav[ā]riki asva-⁴
 12 mēdambuna palamb[u] agu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) pura

(L. 2.) The king

(Verse 1.) In the first year after coronation, (*the king*) being proud of his army (or strength) and elated (*thereby*), having anointed (*i.e.* appointed) Paṇḍaraṅga, the Sāmanta, to the command of the army and sent (*him*), he (*i.e.* Paṇḍaraṅga) captured twelve *kottāms* belonging to one [Vasō]-Bōya. He reached (*i.e.* ascended and captured) the hill-top (*i.e.* forts on the top of the hill) of Vēṅgi-nāṇḍu and planted the goad of Tribhuvanāṁkuśa (*there*). He exposed fully (*i.e.* made bare after conquest) the fort of Kaṭṭe. He liked and praised Kaṇḍukur and Bejavāḍa.

(Lines 9-12.) Paṇḍaraṅga who was the best of the *Māhēśvaras* (*i.e.* the worshippers of Mahēśvara or Śiva) gave to (*the god*) Āditya-Bhaṭāra, land sowable with eighty *candies* of paddy. This is a charity at Damnavuram. Those who protect these charities will acquire such merit (*as is obtained*) by (*performing*) the *Aśvamēdha* (*sacrifice*).

No. 48.—A NOTE ON THE ADDANKI INSCRIPTION OF PANDARANGA.

By J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.

I am obliged to Dr. Hirananda Sastri for the opportunity of making a few remarks on this inscription which is so valuable from the point of view of the history of the Telugu language and literature. For the sake of convenience, I propose to group my remarks under the following headings, *viz.*, 1. reading, 2. characters, 3. orthography, 4. grammar, 5. vocabulary and 6. interpretation.

Reading.

The reading *garvamboppaga* (lines 3 and 4) is correct as it is, but to make it grammatically correct, we must insert an *anuvāra* both before and after the final *ga*. The reading *baṇchina* (line 5) makes good sense, but I am afraid it has to be rejected on orthographical grounds. The combination *ṇch* is not merely a "mistake" (foot-note 4), but it is unknown to the author (or the engraver) of the inscription, for it is always *ñ*, *i.e.*, the last letter in the *ch* varga which is used in the inscription in conjunction with *ch* as it should be. The second consonant of the syllable under consideration must, therefore, be sought for in the *ṭ* varga but I am not certain what it should be. There is a Telugu verb *pannu* which becomes *pañṇu* in Kanarese and Tamil and it means 'to prepare' or 'make ready'—as an army—which is not a quite unsuitable meaning. Or is it possible that there was once the verb *pañṭu* in Telugu which meant the same thing as *pañchu*, *i.e.*,

¹ The reading is again doubtful. If we read *Kaṇḍukur-Bbejavāḍa*, there comes the unnatural combination of *and* & (not &). This we shall have to consider to be the mistake of the writer. *Rēpha* is not very clear. Its existence is conjectural.

² Read *Māhēśvaraṇḍu*.

³ Read *vuḍlu*.

⁴ Read *adva*.

to 'order' or 'depute'? The final syllable in line 6 must be read as *yā* with a long *a*. Here *yā* stands for the remote demonstrative pronoun *ā* 'that' and goes with *tribhuvanāmkusa*. The reading *bāṇa* after *tribhuvanāmkusa* (line 7) is incorrect. The exact reading is *baṇa* which, I think, should be corrected into *m̐buna*, the syllable *ṇa* being a favourite mistake with the author for *na*. The expression would then read as *tribhuvanāmkusām̐buna*, meaning "with the *tribhuvanāmkusa*".

Orthography.

The use of the sign of *anusvāra* is an interesting feature of the Telugu inscriptions. In Telugu proper, there is no *anusvāra* strictly so called. It always stands for and has the phonetic value of the final nasal consonant of the *varga* to which the succeeding consonant belongs. Originally the nasals themselves were written in all cases. At a later stage, the *bindu* (dot or circle) was substituted for the nasal consonant, and was placed exactly where the consonant originally stood, viz., on the top of the succeeding consonant. Later on, its position was shifted slightly to the left in the same line and later still, it was brought down to a place exactly between the preceding and subsequent consonants. This last is its present position. Owing, perhaps, to this position, the *anusvāra* is now regarded as forming part of the preceding consonant and not that of the succeeding one. In the Yuddhamalla inscription, the *anusvāra* generally occupies the second of the positions described above, while in the present inscription, it generally occupies the first position, thereby showing that the present inscription is older than the Bezvada one. The intermediate position is also met with in the present inscription (as in *Paṇḍaramga* in line 9) but it is rare. In *Vēṃgināṇṇi* (line 6) the *anusvāra* is to the right of *gi* but this is evidently due to a slip of hand on the part of the engraver.

Grammar.

Prathamambunēṇḍu (line 3) is a compound of *prathamambu* and *ēṇḍu*. The augment *n* as the connecting link between these two words is unusual and not in accordance with the accepted rules of grammar¹. *Aśvamēdhambuna phalam̐bu*.—The augment *na* in cases like this is met with frequently in the writings of Nannaya-Bhaṭṭa and rarely in subsequent writers. The present inscription, like many other old inscriptions, shows that the grammatical rule that *k*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p* coming after a *kala* in *sandhi* became *g*, *j*, *ḍ* and *ṣ* respectively, was originally held to be compulsory (*nityam*) while it is only optional (*vaikalpikam*) now.

Vocabulary.

Paḍuva : means army and is cognate with the Tamil *paḍai* (?) and the Kanarese *paḍe*. It has gone out of use in Telugu as a separate word but lingers in such derivatives as *paḍavālu* and *paḍavalamu*.

Goḷalchi. The exact meaning of this word is not clear but it cannot certainly bear the meaning attributed to it by Mr. Lakshmana Rao. It seems to be used in the sense of 'having conquered' or 'having captured'.

Aḷlu. I do not think this word means 'paddy'. I rather think that it is the older form of *āḷlu* which is another name of *ārikalu*, a kind of inferior grain.

Interpretation.

I am afraid I must differ from Mr. Lakshmana Rao in one or two respects in the interpretation of the verse portion of the inscription consisting of lines 2 to 8. My interpretation² is as follows :—

The king, in the first year of coronation, being proud of his strength and elated (*thereby*), having appointed (anointed) Paṇḍaramgu to the command of the army and deputed him, he (*i.e.*,

¹ [Such *sandhi* consonants are known to Pāli and Prākṛit also.—Ed.]

² [See also *Ep. Rep.* for 1923, pp. 97 ff.—Ed.]

Paṇḍarāṅgu) having, with the (*help of the*) tributary army, captured the twelve Bōya principalities, having (*also*) wrested Vēṅgi-nāṇḍu and kept it by (*means of*) the Tribhuvanāhkuṣa (weapon), (*and*) having utterly demolished the fort of Kaṭṭembu, (*he*) admired and made (?) Kandukur and Bejavāḍa.

The concluding passage referring to Kandukur and Bejavāḍa is unintelligible. The verb *kāriṇche* (*ga* is due to *sandhi*) literally means 'caused to become'. The passage may mean that Paṇḍarāṅgu caused Kandukur and Bejavāḍa to exist, i.e., built them or that he caused Kandukur to become Bejavāḍa, neither of which interpretation is quite satisfactory. Is it possible that *kāriṇche* is used in the sense of *kāche*, i.e., 'saved', in which case, the passage would mean that having destroyed the Kaṭṭepu Fort, Paṇḍarāṅgu spared Kandukur and Bejavāḍa because he admired them?

No. 49.—THE BHATERA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF GOVINDA-KESAVADEVĀ
(C. 1049 A.D.).

By PROF. DR. K. M. GUPTA, SYLHET, ASSAM.

This plate along, with another, was discovered in a mound called Itertillah in the village of Bhāṭṭārā, about 20 miles from Sylhet. Mr. Luttman-Johnson, the Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet, in 1880, sent facsimiles of these plates to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, who published his reading of the texts along with his translations in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, August 1880, pp. 141-151. They are now in the possession of Mr. Umesh Chandra Chaudhury who very kindly lent the above-named document to me for examination. It has apparently suffered from fire, and as a result of it, one of its corners is damaged and some of the letters incised there have become mutilated. While examining the inscription, I found that Dr. Mitra had read and interpreted some of its portions wrongly, and it is on this account, especially, that I am re-editing it here.

The plate bearing this inscription measures 12½" by 11" and except for the damage by fire just mentioned, is in a good state of preservation. There is no seal attached to it. It has 55 lines in all, of which 27 are written on the first and the rest on the second side. Lines 1 to 29 are written in Sanskrit. Of the rest, lines 29 to 51 are couched in local Bengali dialect and the remainder probably in Kuki. The characters are well cut and belong to about the 11th century A.D. and are generally like those used in the Gayā Kṛishṇa-Dvārikā temple inscription of the reign of Nayapālādēva,¹ the Tarpandighī grant of Lakshmaṇasēna² and the Tippera inscription of Raṇavaṅkamalla.³

Some of the compound letters in the present record are different from those of the Tarpandighī grant and the Tippera inscription. 'Śrī' is like that given in Nayapāla-dēva's inscription, 'ku' is like that of the 11th century A.D., as given in Table V, Col. XVIII, No. 44 of Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*. The numerals used in the plate, however, seem to be earlier than those of the 11th century A.D. It may be noted here that the scribbled letters at the end of the reverse side of the plate, which presumably contains the date, do not resemble any of the letters in the main body of the document. There are a few letters which are recognisable as *da*, *pa*, *va* and *la*. Of these *da* and *pa* are of a later type. The numerals, however, mostly look like those of the plate.

¹ *Gaṇḍa-likha-mālā*.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 8.

³ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, 1807 (p. 402); [*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, App., No. 305.—Ed.]

The inscription under examination tells us that the principality of Śrīhaṭṭa was very prosperous under the rule of a king whose name was probably Kharavāṇa and who had Gōkula-dēva for his son. The latter had Nārāyaṇa as his son. From him came Gōvinda-Kēśava-dēva, who was a great conqueror. This prince made a donation of 296 houses and 375 *halas* of land herein specified to god Śiva in Bhaṭṭapāṭaka or Bhāṭapaṭā (modern Bhāṭērā). He also appointed different persons from subject races to attend on this God. Then follows a long description. At the end of the imprecatory verses in the document the date, which consists of 13 letters or rather groups of letters, seems to have been scribbled. Rajendralal Mitra read it as 'Pāṇḍava-kulādīpālāṇḍa 4328' = 1245 A.D.¹ But I do not think he was right. In the 10th group of letters I find four numerals, namely, 4, 1, 5, 1. For 5 cf. Ojha's *Prācīna Bhāratīyalipimālā* (plate LXXVI), which represents a 5 of the 11th to the 12th century A.D. I read the eleventh letter as 'je', the 12th as 'ta' and the 13th as 9. If this reading be correct then the date of the inscription would fall in 1049 A.D., which is found by deducting 3102 B.C. (the beginning of the Kali era) from 4151.

If we assign, on the average, 25 years to each reign and treat the date 1049 A.D. as the middle of Gōvinda-Kēśavadēva's reign, then the time of the founder of the line falls roughly about 1000 A.D. With regard to the name Kharavāṇa (or Naragīrvvāṇa) it is doubtful if this at all represents a name, first because it is not consistent with the naming of his successors and secondly because the second Bhāṭērā inscription² omits it. I believe the name of the founder of the kingdom of Śrīhaṭṭa is purposely kept in a semi-mythical garb, as is too common in the genealogies of ancient Indian kings. He was probably a military leader only, as may be surmised from an epithet like *kharavāṇaḥ*, and came of the Lunar dynasty of kings of Tippera or Cachar. The greatest of the line, as it appears from both the inscriptions, was Gōvinda-Kēśavadēva who seems to have been a versatile genius. The identification of some of the place-names goes to prove that Gōvinda-Kēśavadēva's rule extended over at least the modern *parganas* of Bhāṭērā, Vanabhāga, Baramchāl, Laṅglā, Itā, Chuāllis, Maurāpur, Teṅgrā, Tarap, Kaudīya, etc., in Sylhet; and probably some portions of Hill Tippera and Cachar also.

Many of the place-names given in the inscription have still been retained though some of them are slightly altered; e.g.

Baḍagāma (line 30) is modern Baḍagāo (Po. Bhāṭērā).

Mahurāpura (30) is modern Maurāpura, near Fenchuganj.

Itākhālā (30) is modern Itākhālā near Bhāṭērā.

Baḍapaṇcālā (30-31) is modern Baramchāl or Brahmachal (Ry. station).

Āmatālī (31) is modern Āmtail (*pargana* Langlā).

Kāṭākhālā (31): there is a river of this name in the Hailakandi sub-division (Cachar); there is also a Railway station (A. B. R.) of this name.

Simhajara³ (31) is modern Simrājūr (*par.* Bhāṭērā).

Bhāskara or Bhāsara-teṅgarī (31 & 37) is evidently a village in Teṅgrā mouja.

Guḍāvayī (31) is modern Guḍābhai.

Ākhālikulā (32) is probably modern Ākhālikul in *par.* Chuāllis. It may also refer to a piece of land on the river named Ākhāligāṅg in *par.* Itā.

Parākōṇā (32) is modern Barakona (Po. Bhāṭērā).

¹ See *P. A. S. B.*, August 1880, p. 143.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153.

³ [The original and the transcript give *Simhajara*.—Ed.]

Vāṁsīgāma (33) is modern Bāuīgāma in *par.* Tarap.

Śughara (33) is modern Śughara in *par.* Tarap.

Navahāṭi (33) is modern Noāhāṭi.

Kaḍaḍiyā (34) is modern Kaudiyā (*pargana*). It may also refer to Kaḍāiyā in *par.* Itā.

Varuṇi (34) is modern Varuṇi in *par.* Banabhāga (near P. S. Biswanāth). It may also refer to Varuṇagrāma in *par.* Chuāllia.

Saramā (? 35) is modern Surma river on which Sylhet is situated.

Kāliyāni may be modern Kālāin river near Kānihāṭi on the border of Hill Tippera.

Phōmpātipā (36) may be a place within Hill Tippera.

Salāchāpaḍā (38) may be modern Sālchāprā (Ry. station, A. B. R., in Cachar district).

Sāgara (38) probably refers to the famous Hākāluki Hāor. It should be noted that the word 'hāor' is a corrupt form of Sāgar or sāyara (lit. sea).

Dhāmāyi (39) or Dhāma-nadī (42) now goes by the name Dhāmai.

Cheṅgachchhuḍi (41) is modern Cheṅchhaḍi in *par.* Baramchāl. There is also a place of this name in *par.* Langla.

Vāsudēvasāsana is probably modern Vāsudēvapūr.

Jaḍigāṅg (43) is modern Juḍigāṅg which flows by the Ry. station Juri (A. B. R.).

Pōhāniyā (44) is probably the village of this name in *par.* Chuāllia.

Bōbāchāḍā (44) is the modern streamlet of this name near Bhāṭērā.

Kararagāma (43-44) is modern Karēgrām (*par.* Langla).

The *hala* measurement of land still prevails in Sylhet :

3 *krāntis* = 1 *kaḍā*

4 *kaḍās* = 1 *gaṇḍā*

20 *gaṇḍās* = 1 *pana*

4 *panas* = 1 *rēkhā*

4 *rēkhās* = 1 *jashṭhi*

7 *jashṭhis* = 1 *poā*

4 *poās* = 1 *kēdāra* or *kēyāra*

12 *kēdāras* or *kēyāras* = 1 *hala* or *hāla*

= about 10½ *bighas*

= about 3½ acres.

375 *halas* would thus be about 3,937½ *bighas* or about 1,312½ acres of land. Although in verse 19 the land granted is stated to be 375 *halas* with 296 houses, the totals of the figures actually given in the descriptive portion under the two heads are respectively about 451 (excluding 20 *kēdāras*) *vila*; and about 423. But I am not sure if these figures have not been manipulated.

TEXT.¹

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 8, 9 and 10, *Sārdḍulavikrīḍita*; v. 2, *Pushpitāgrā*; vv. 3, 4, 11 and 18, *Āryā*; v. 5, *Upajāti*; v. 16, *Upēndravajrā*; vv. 6, 7 and 15, *Vasantatilaka*; vv. 12 and 17, *Vamśasthāvila*; v. 13, *Prīhvi*; v. 14, *Sragdharā*; vv. 19, 20, 21 and 22, *Anushṭubh*.]

Obverse.

- 1* Ōm namaḥ Śivāya || Yaḥ karttā bhuvana-trayasya tanubhir-viśvaṁ prithi-
vy-ādibhir-yasya-ēdam dhriyatē ya Īvara iti khyātō-
2 bhavan-n-ā[pa]rah | yaḥ saṁjñā-trayam-ēka ēva bhajati traigunya-bhēd-āśritō
Vrahm-Ōpēndra-Mahēśvar-ēti jagatām-īśāya ta-

¹ Edited from the original.

² At the very beginning of the text there appear to be two strokes, one of which is clear.

- 3 smai namaḥ || [1*] Tripurahara-śiraḥ-kirīṭaratnam Smara-yuvatēr-abhishēka-raupya-kumbhaḥ [1*] kusuma-viśikha-bāṇa-śāṇa-chakram
- 4 jayati niśā-tilakas-tuṣhāra-rōchih || [2*] Vamśe-sya bhūmipatayaḥ katitē nishpāra-paurushāḥ jātāḥ [1] yēśhām yaśa[h*].
- 5 praśastir-bhuvi Bhāratasamhit-aiv-āsti || [3*] Atha viśruta-prabhāvaḥ prabhavaḥ¹ Śrīharājya-Kamalāyāḥ | samajani na[ra]-gīrvvā.
- 6 ṇaḥ Kharavāṇaḥ kshamābhujām śrēśhṭhaḥ || [4*] Tasy-ā[t*]majō rāja-pitāmahō-
'bhūt' mahīpatir-Gōkuladēvanāmā² | Yasya pratā-
- 7 p-ārkaruchō-pi chi[tra]m diśanty-ari-kshmā-pati-jādyā-mudrām || [5*] Tasmād-
amanda-bhuja-mandara-mathyamāna-pratya[r*]thi-pārthiva.
- 8 smudra-samuddhṛita-śrīḥ [1*] Nārāyaṇō-jani mahīpatir-anvakāri yēna sphatā³
sa bhagavāna⁴ śrīta-nandakēna || [6*] Tasmād-asī-
- 9 ma-guṇa-gaurava-gīta-kīrttir-bhūpāla-mauli-maṇi-maṇḍita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ | śrīmān kshī-
tindra-tilakō ripu-rāja-
- 10 gōpī-Gōvinda ity-ajani Kēśavadēva ēśhaḥ || [7*] Yaḥ sīm-ādbhuta-paurushasya
yaśasām dhāma śrīyām-āśrayō vidyā-
- 11 nām vasati[r*]nayasya nilayō dhāmnan-tad-ēkāspadam | tyāgasy-āyatanam
vilāsa-bhavanam vāchaḥ kalānā[m] nidhiḥ | *
- 12 saujanyasya nikētanam vijayatē mūrttō guṇānām gaṇaḥ || [8*] Dōr-
daṇḍēna samuddhṛita-kshitibhṛitā samrakshya gō-maṇḍa-
- 13 lam sad-vṛindāvanam-ādarēṇa⁵vidadhau-nachchanna-Kaṁsa-ōtsavama⁶ | śrīmat-
Kēśavadēva ēśha niyatam chakrē-vaśēśha[m*] rushā ya-
- 14 tr-aikam Śīsupālam-apy-ari-kulē kshipt-āri-chakrō nripaḥ || [9*] Kṛtvā yēna
bhuj-aujasā vasumatīm-ēk-ātapatrām-i-
- 15 mām lōkē-sminn-abhilashyatē vajayiny-an-any-ādhikāra-sthithim⁷ | pāṇiḥ kalpa-
tarōḥ padē dinakṛitaḥ kṛityē
- 16 pratāpō yaśaḥ śītāmśōr-vishayē nyadhāyi bhujagādhiā-ādhikārē bhujāḥ || [10*]
Yasmina¹⁰ śāsati nikhilām-ā-
- 17 di-mahīpāla-dīkshayā kshōṇim [1*] śruti-patha-laṅghana-māhasa-sāsīt¹¹ kāntā-dri-
śām-ēva || [11*] Ayam suhrich-chakra-
- 18 mudam vibhāvayan prasādhit-āsah karavāla-līlayā [1*] sudūram-utsārīta-rāja-
maṇḍalō rarāja pūrvv-āvanibhṛit-
- 19 śrīōmaṇiḥ¹² || [12*] Karōti dhavalam jagat vinsyatē-ri-pa[dm]-ōḍgamaṁ
tanōti kumudam yaśaḥ sadriśam-asya cha-
- 20 ndr-ōjvalam¹³ | sitam kim-a[thā] rañjakam¹⁴-bhramad-anārataṁ kim sthiraṁ
sa-kāraṇam-idañ-cha sat-kim-iva nityam-ity-adbhū-

¹ Read the following word as *Śrīharājya*°. Dr. Mitra read it as *svachchha-rājya*. [The use of the vowel *ri* for the consonant *ri* is noteworthy.—Ed.]

² Read *bhūn-mahī*°.

³ Compare line 5 of the 2nd Bhāṭera plate, *P. A. S. B.*, 1880, p. 153. The name may also be read as *Koṅgaṇa*°.

⁴ Read *sphuṭam* or *sphuṭaḥ*. Dr. Mitra read it as *svayam*.

⁵ [Daṇḍa not needed.—Ed.]

⁶ Read *ōtsavam*.

⁷ Read *yasmin*.

⁸ Read *bhṛich-chhīr*°.

⁹ Read *rañjakam bhra*°.

¹⁰ Read *bhagavān*.

¹¹ Read *vidadhā-āchchanna*°.

¹² Read *vijayinā nā-nyādhikāra-sthithiḥ*.

¹³ Read *laṅghana-ōḍhasam-sāsīt*.

¹⁴ Read *ōjvalam*.

- 21 tam || [13*] Bāṣṭhpair-urvvipatīnām yad-ayam-anumitō mūrchchhitō yad-
ripūṇām klālair-yat-tanōti dvishad-avani-bhujām
- 22 jādyaṃ-archchir-vitānāḥ | kāsṭhānām yad-vyatītya prakaram-upayayāv-ambaram
lēlīhānas-tēn-āścharyy-aika-sisā¹ jayati nara-
- 23 patēḥ kō-pi tējaḥ-kriśānuḥ || [14*] Kāṣṭhībhuja yugapad-āhava-saṅgatēna
tēn-ōnnata-dvayam-anā[mī] gupā-dvayēna [1*] ēkē-
- 24 [na]² kārmmukam-asīma-ma[ha]ḥ-prakaraha-gamyēna vairi-nivahaḥ sahasā-parē
ṇa || [15*] Mahībhuja-jlyata chandrahāsa-karēṇa tē-
- 25 [n-ā]³mita-vikramēṇa [1*] vilāṅghit-ānēka-payōdhin-ēyam svēn-ēva⁴ kṛtsnā-
yāsāsā dharitṛ || [16*] Ath-āsti Kailāsa-nī-
- 26 [vāsa]⁵nishprihaḥ kṛit-āvatārō bhūvi Bhāṭṭapāṭakē | an-ādi-rūpō jagad-ādir-apy-
ayan-tri-lōka-nāthō bhaga-
- 27 [vāsa⁶ Vāṭṭ]⁷ēvaraḥ || [17*] Śaśi-śekharaḥ tasmai nṛipa-śekhara-ratna-
visphurach-charaṇaḥ | pradadau nāna⁸-grāmē nikhīla-nṛipa-

Reverse.

- 28 grā[ma]nīr-ē[sha]ḥ || [18*] Adhikam pañcha-saptatyā bhū-halānām śata-
trayaḥ | śata-dvayaṇī-cha vāṭṭnām śaṇṇavatyā sa[ma]nvitam || [19*]
[Nā][nā]⁹.
- 29 parijanāms-tasman¹⁰ jana-jātīn-anēkaśaḥ [1*] prādāt Śrīhaṭṭa-nāthō-yam¹¹ Śivāya
śiva-kīrtta[na]ḥ || [20*] Bhāṭṭapādādēvaranvē¹² bhū-
- 30 hala 35 || Vāṭṭi 110 Vāḍagāmē bhū-hala 13¹³ Mahurāpurē vāṭṭi 1 Itākhā-
lākē bhū-hala 7 vāṭṭi 6 Dēgigām-ōttarē bhū-hala 1 Vara-
- 31 pañchālē hala 5 vāṭṭi 4 Āmataḥkē hala 7¹⁴ Sīmhaurē¹⁵ vāṭṭi 1 Bhā-
sanāṭēngārikē¹⁶ bhūkē¹⁷ 6 Guḍāvayikē vāṭṭi 2 Kāṭārḥā[ṭṭi]¹⁸
- 32 bh[ū]-hala 2 Ākhālikulē bhū-[ha]ḥ 7 Parākōṇakē vāṭṭi 1 Pithāpinagarē¹⁹ Bhū-
hala 17 vāṭṭi 4 Vēnūvagāmē vāṭṭi 2 Pōḍāti-
- 33 thāk-śmṛitakara²⁰ samhala²¹ 2 vāṭṭi 11 Kaivāmē hala 8 vāṭṭi 1 Vālū-aigāmē
hala 5 Navahāṭi-paśchimē hala 2 Śugharē hala 5 vā-
- 34 ṭi 1 Bhōṭhīlāhāṭākē²² bhū-hala 5 vāṭṭi 9 Kaḍadiyā-dakṣiṇē Gōṣuyā-pūrvvā
Gōvāṭ-ōttarē Var[ū]ṇi-paśchimē

¹ Read *śisā.

² Now lost in the original plate, but clearly shown in Dr. Mitra's facsimile.

³ Read svēn-āśa.

⁴ Read śāgavāsa.

⁵ Read nānā.

⁶ Now lost in the original plate, but seen in Dr. Mitra's facsimile.

⁷ Read tasmai.

⁸ Dr. Mitra read it as *nāthāya. [Read Śrīhaṭṭa. See footnote 1 on p. 281.—Ed.]

⁹ Dr. Mitra read it as dēvānta. [The reading seems to be dēva(ba)nāś.—Ed.]

¹⁰ The lower part of the figure 1 is effaced and 13 may be read as 2.

¹¹ May also be read as 2.

¹² May be read Śiśaharē.

¹³ 'ra' in Bhāsa looks like 'sa'. The word is probably Bhāśara (see l. 37).

¹⁴ Read bhā-kāṭā.

¹⁵ Read Kāṭāḥā.

¹⁶ May also be read as pithāpinagarē.

¹⁷ 'mī' may also be read as 'pī'. The word is probably Amīśara.

¹⁸ Read bhā-hala.

¹⁹ Dr. Mitra reads as bhāśahāṭi.

- 35 Bhū-hala 19 Saramā-nadī-dakṣiṇē¹ bhū-hala 5 vāṭi 3 tathā nady-uttarē
bhū-hala 35 vāṭi 12 tathā nady-uttarē Nāṭi-
36 [ra]mbha-pūrvvē² vāṭi 1 tathā nady-uttarē Ghaṭā-bhū-paśchimē Garvvara-
bhū-dakṣiṇē³ bhū-hala 7 Kāliyāni-nady-uttarē Phōmphaṇi-
37 yā-pūrvvē bhū-hala 9 || vāṭi 7 tathā nadī-dakṣiṇē Kharasōnti-pūrvvē Bhā-
karatāṅgarī-paśchimē bhū-hala 45 vāṭi 91
38 Jagāpāntarē⁴ Nāṭapānā-grāma-dvayē bhū-hala 5 vāṭi 20 Sālāchāpaḍākē Muti-
kāthi-pūrvvē sāgara-paśchimē bhū-
39 hala 10 Kāliyāni-nadī-dakṣiṇ-ōttarē bhū-hala 9 || Dhāmāyi-nadī-dakṣiṇē
bhū-hala 6 vāṭi 10 Bhōgāubhūvāi-
40 [dā]ttarē⁵ bhū-hala 4 vāṭi 4 Nathōśāsana-paśchimē Haṭṭa-var-ōttarē Bhū-hala
7 vāṭi 10 Sātākōpā-dakṣiṇē vaḍasō-
41 pūrbhe⁶ hala 10 Chēṅgachchudikē bhū-hala 2 vāṭi 1 Āḍanakāthikē vāṭi
9 bhūkē 4 Gāḍganapāvīkē vāṭi 9 Mēghāparā-
42 ka vāṭi 1 bhūkē 6 Paṁśivo-pūrvvē Āthāvi-uttarē bhū-hala 90 vāṭi 12
Nāḍakuṭigāmē vāṭi 9 tathāgāmē Dhāma-na-
43 [dy]-uttarē vāṭi 9 bhūkē 4 Gōṣayākṣhāta-pūrvvē Gōpathasy-ōttarē Jaḍi-
gāṅga-dakṣiṇē Vanaṅga-jōṭṭi-paśchimē Karagā-
44 mara hala 5 Pōhāniyā Ākhālittāḍākē bhū-hala 10 Vāṣṭōvāśāsana-purē⁷
bhū-hala 5 Vōvātudā-dakṣi-
45 nē Jōgāvaniyā-uttarē vāṭi 1 Bhāṭaphaḍākē Kēḍākēdi-vāra-griha 10 tathākē⁸
Amṇitākēdi-gōpa-griha 1
46 [tathā]k-ōttarē 5⁹ pākādītē griha 5 tathākē Kāśya-Gōvindā-griha 1 Vaḍ-
agāmē gōpa-grihā¹⁰ 1 tathāḍagkē ārupā-
47 nākādivāra-griha 7 Jōgā-uttarē nidhisārasuyātē¹¹ griha 9 Bhāṭapaḍā Haya-
khālā Nikuṇjagattākēdi-griha 7
48 Bhāṭapaḍā Varapañchālā Itākhālātīdivākarākādimātā¹² griha 6 Bhāṭapaḍā [āi]-
mivākādi gō-griha¹³ 5 Bhāṭa-
49 paḍāni nāpita-Gōvindā-griha 1 rajaka-Sirupā-griha 1 Vōvāchhāḍā-nichan¹⁴ vā-
tāpipākādi-griha 5
50 tathāni Doṭṭharēttapā[kādi-griha 5 Navahātāni [Dēgvimā]ṇi-pākādi-griha 2
Bhāṭapaḍā Nivā[ra]-pākā-
51 di-haṭṭiya-griha 3 Pithāpinagarē Dyōtyēnavikākādi-griha 2 Simhāuragrāmē
dantavāra¹⁵ Rajarigā-griha¹⁶ [1]¹⁷

¹ 'ma' in Saramā may be read as 'sa' or 'pa', but there is a river named Surma, which is probably a later transformation of Saramā. [But the original reads *Saramā*.—Ed.]

² Dr. Mitra read *Vāṭisastapūrvvē*.

³ Dr. Mitra read *Garvabhāṭ*.

⁴ Dr. Mitra reads *jagāpāntarē*.

⁵ [Possibly *Armatō-uttarē*.—Ed.]

⁶ Read *pūrvvē*.

⁷ May be read as *pūrvvā*.

⁸ A colloquial Bengali word meaning 'there'.

⁹ At first 7 was written and then cancelled.

¹⁰ Griha can also be read as *gaddā*.

¹¹ *dhiaḍra* may also be read as *nimdra*.

¹² *Tidivākara* may also be read as *nidivākara*, and 'mātā' as 'mānd'.

¹³ Read *gōpagriha*.

¹⁴ Read *nichan*.

¹⁵ Read *dantavāra*.

¹⁶ May also be read as *Vajarigā*.

¹⁷ Now lost in the original plate, but clearly shown in the facsimile.

- 52 ¹kōshpī hudukā mahāsāchūhō kōshpīśuchhupa kōshpīlōkṛitām chhaṭṭōbhām
harishpaṭṭōtapatrē āpit na pī [thūyā]²
- 53 ³āpiyārē bhālānkādādayanākādayaḥ pradattāḥ || V(B)ahubhir-vasudhā dattā rā-
jabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhir-yasya [yasya]⁴
- 54 yasya yadā bhūmī-tasya tasyar-tadā⁵ phalam || [21*] Sva-dattām
para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [1*] sa viśṭbhāyām kṛimir-
bhū[tvā pī]-⁶
- 55 tribhīḥ saha pachyatē || [22*] Pāṇḍavakulādipāl-ā-v(b)da 4151 jēṭa 9⁷

TRANSLATION.

Om. Salutation to Śiva !

V. 1. Salutation to that Lord of the Universe who is the Maker of the three realms, by whose body (*represented by*) the earth and other elements, this universe is held, who alone is called the Supreme Being and who alone holds, on account of the difference in the three qualities (*namely, sattva, rajas, and tamas*), the three names—Brahma, Upēndra and Mahēśvara.

V. 2. (May) he be victorious—the crown-jewel on the head of the Destroyer of Tripura, the silver-pitcher⁸ (*used*) in the bath of the youthful wife of Cupid, the circular whet-stone for sharpening the arrows of the god with flowery arrows (*i.e., Cupid*), the ornament of the night, the coolrayed (*i.e., the Moon*).

V. 3. In his (Moon's) well-known dynasty were born those kings of limitless prowess whose record of fame exists in the (*Mahā*)bhārata.

V. 4. Now, was born the greatly renowned Kharavāṇa, (?) a god among men, the cause of the existence of Lakshmi (lit. Prosperity) of the kingdom of Śrīhaṭṭa, the best among the rulers of the earth.⁹

V. 5. His son, a king of the name of Gōkuladēva, was the grandfather of the (*present*) king. It is indeed strange that his prowess (*which is*) like the rays of the Sun, imposed inactivity on the kings among his enemies.

V. 6. Unto him was born king Nārāyaṇa who raised the goddess of Fortune from the ocean of hostile kings violently stirred by his arms (*which were*) like the Mandara (mountain), just like Kṛishṇa-Nārāyaṇa who obtained Lakshmi as a result of the churning of the ocean with the Mandara mountain; by whom the god (Nārāyaṇa) was verily imitated owing to his pleasing the people (*nandaka*) or owing to his taking help of Nandaka (minister or general in the case of king Nārāyaṇa, and the sword named Nandaka in the case of Kṛishṇa-Nārāyaṇa).

¹ Dr. Mitra reads : kōdyī hūhukō mahāsāchūhō kōdyī sahuna kōdyīnō kṛitām vuṭṭōbhām havishpaṭṭōtapatra āpit na pithūyā.

² Now lost in the original plate, but clearly shown in the facsimile.

³ Dr. Mitra reads : āpiyāche bhāla da daya ākādayaḥ pradattāḥ.

⁴ To be found indistinctly in the facsimile. Portion of 'ya' survives in the original plate. One yasya is redundant.

⁵ Read tasya tadā.

⁶ Indistinctly occurs in the facsimile.

⁷ I have doubts regarding the reading of the date which consists of 12 letters or groups of letters. (See introductory remarks.)

⁸ Rati is conceived of as having her bath in the beautiful rays of the Moon, which accounts for her beauty.

⁹ The fact that the second Bhāṭērā inscription referred to in the introduction does not mention this name Kharavāṇa, is significant. The verse may refer to an unnamed king who was, in addition to these qualities, sharp in throwing arrows (*kharavāṇaḥ*).

V. 7. Unto him was born this *Kṣāvadēva* alias the Ripurāja-Gōpi-Gōvinda¹ whose fame is sung (on account of) his unlimited virtue and glory, whose foot stool is decorated with the crown-jewels of kings, (who is) illustrious and prominent among kings,

V. 8. who (is) the limit of wonderful prowess, the abode of fame and the refuge of riches, the abode (of all kinds) of knowledge, the shelter of diplomacy, the only famous dwelling place of glory, the abode of liberality, the pleasure-house of eloquence, the ocean of cultural sciences, the seat of goodness and the group of virtues incarnate—may he be victorious !

V. 9. He, by preserving the earth with that force of arms which defeated kings,² protected with kindness the good people openly (*achchhannakam*³) and with festivities (*sōsavam*), just like Kṛishṇa who gave with kindness the festival of the destruction of Kāmśa (*uchchhinnakam-sōsavam*⁴) to the good people of Vṛindāvana. Also (this) king Kṣāvadēva, who with anger destroyed the circle of (his) enemies surely left one (alone, namely,) the protector of a child, to remain (with life) from among the race of (his) opponents (just like Kṛishṇa) who by being angry killed Śisupāla.

V. 10. Bringing the earth under one umbrella by the valour of arms this conquering (king), (as if), desiring that in this earth there should not be any control of any other (thing), placed the palm of his hands in the place of the Wishing Tree, his prowess in that of the Sun, his reputation in that of the Moon and his arms in that of the duty of the king of snakes (i.e., in bearing the weight of the earth).

V. 11. While he rules the earth with the vow (in virtuous principles) of the first kings of the earth, the daring attempt to transgress the Śruti (meaning the Vēda and the ear) was found only in the eyes of women.

V. 12. Having caused pleasure in the circle of friendly kings, having illuminated all the directions by the skilful swaying of his sword, and having expelled the circle of (inimical) kings at a distance, he shone forth as the crest-jewel of the Eastern mountain (i.e., the Sun), thereby producing gaiety among the delighted *chakravāka* (birds), illuminating the directions by the play of the rays and by driving apart the orb of the Moon or the circle of enemies.⁵

V. 13. His reputation, bright as the Moon, illuminates the world, hampers the growth of enemies (just as moonlight does the growth of lotus) and causes the lily of joy of the world (*kumuda*) to spread. It is white (i.e., spotless) and at the same time pleasing, it is ceaselessly moving about though fixed, it is eternal though it is the effect of some cause. It is indeed wonderful !

V. 14. His amazing, fire-like prowess whose existence is inferred by the tears of the rulers of the earth (ordinary fire is however indicated by smoke and not water) ; which is increased by the blood of enemies (ordinary fire is however extinguished by watery substance like blood) ; by the diffusion of whose rays the inactivity of the hostile kings is increased (ordinary fire however removes inactivity), whose power (as if) to lick it repeatedly reaches the sky after surpassing all the directions (ordinary fire is however extinguished as soon as it over-reaches a pile of wood)—may it be victorious !

V. 15. By that ruler of the earth engaged in warfare, two great things were bent simultaneously by (reason of his) two *guṇas*—by one *guṇa* (i.e., the string) the bow was bent, and by the other *guṇa*, which is guessed by his limitless great prowess, the host of enemies.

¹ Ripurāja-Gōpi-Gōvinda seems to have been a *biruda* of Kṣāvadēva. Compare ll. 8 and 9 of the second Bhāṣārā copper-plate inscription (P. A. S. B., 1880, p. 153).

² [It seems to refer to Kṛishṇa's lifting the Gōvardhana hill.—Ed.]

³ [See l. n. 7 on p. 233 above.—Ed.]

⁴ [But the text gives *achchhanna*°.—Ed.]

⁵ *Pārvatanibhrīt* suggests that he was a king of the eastern countries.

V. 16. By that ruler of the earth, with a sword in hand, of unparalleled valour, with an army of elephant-riders, was the whole of the earth conquered just as (*it was conquered*) by his fame which like the rays of the laughing Moon crossed many seas in long strides.

V. 17. Now, this lord **Vaṭṣvara**, who, though having no beginning (*for himself*) is (*yet*) the beginning of the universe and is the lord of the three realms, has come into this world at Bhāṭṭa-pāṭaka (*i.e.*, Bhāṭapaḍā or Bhāṭērā) as an incarnation and is living here, having given up the desire to live at Kailāsa.

Vv. 18 and 19. The leader of the kings (*of this world*), whose feet are decorated with the crown-jewels of kings, gave 300 and 75 (*i.e.*, 375) *halas* of land with two hundred and ninety-six houses in various villages to that moon-crowned (god Śiva).

V. 20. This worshipper of Śiva (*śiva-kīrtana*), the lord of Śrīhaṭṭa, gave to that Śiva different kinds of attendants belonging to (subject) races.

Lines 29-51. 35 *halas* of land in Dēva-forest (?) in Bhāṭapaḍā, as well as 110 houses. 13 *halas* in Vaḍagāma. One house in Mahurāpura. 7 *halas* in Itākhālā, as well as 6 houses. One *hala* in the north of Dēgigāma. 5 *halas* as well as 4 houses in Varapañchāla. 7 houses in Āmatālī. One house in Simhajara. 6 *kēdāras* of land in Bhāsanātēngārika. 2 houses in Guḍāvayika. 2 *halas* in Kāṭākhālā. 7 *halas* in Ākhālikulā. One house in Parākōṇāka. 17 *halas* and 4 houses in Pithāpinagara. 2 houses in Vēnūvagrāma. 2 *halas* and 11 houses belonging to Amṛitakara of Pōṭātithāka. 8 *halas* and 1 house in Kaivāma. 5 *halas* in Vālūsigāma. 2 *halas* in the west of Navahāṭi. 5 *halas* and 1 house in Śughara. 5 *halas* and 9 houses in Bhōtilahāṭika. 19 *halas* (lying) to the south of Kaḍaḍiyā to the east of Gōsuyā, to the north of Gōvāṭa (lit. a pasture ground) and to the north of Varuṇi. 5 *halas* and 3 houses (lying) to the south of the Saramā¹ river. 35 *halas* and 12 houses (lying) to the north of that river. 1 house (lying) to the north of that river and to the east of Nāṭirambha. 7 *halas* (lying to) the north of that river, west of Ghatābhū and south of Garvarabhū. 9 *halas* and 7 houses (lying to) the north of the river Kāliyāṇi and east of Phōmphaṭipā. 45 *halas* and 91 houses (lying to) the south of that river, east of Kharasōnti and west of Bhāskarātēngari. 5 *halas* and 20 houses in the two villages of Jagāyāntara and Nāṭapānā. 10 *halas* in Salāchāpaḍāka, and to the east of Mutikāthi and to the west of Sāgara. 9 *halas* lying north and south of the river Kāliyāṇi. 6 *halas* and 10 houses (lying) south of the river Vāmāyī. 4 *halas* and 4 houses in the north of Bhōgāu and Bhuvāi. 7 *halas* and 10 houses in the east of Nathōśāsana and north of Haṭṭavara. 10 *halas* south of Sātakōpā and east of Vaḍasō. 2 *halas* and 1 house in Chēngachchhuḍika. 4 *bhū-kēdāras* and 9 houses in Āḍānakāthika. 9 houses in Māṅganapāvika. 1 house and 6 *bhū-kēdāras* in Mēghāparāka. 90 *halas* and 12 houses in the east of Pamśivō and north of Āthāvi. 9 houses in Naḍakuṭigāma. 9 houses and 4 *bhū-kēdāras* in the same village in the north of the river Dhāma. 5 *halas* in Karagāma, east of Gōsuyākhātā, north of Gōpatha (lit. a track for cattle to pass), south of Jaḍigāṅg and west of Vanaṅgajōṭṭi. 10 *halas* in Pōhāniyā in Ākhāli-ṭṭaḍāka (Ākhālikulē?). 5 *halas* in the east of Vāsudēvaśāsana. One house (lying in) the south of Bōbāchhaḍā and north of Jōgāvaniyā. In Bhāṭapaḍā 10 outside houses² belonging to Kēḍāka and others. 1 house belonging to Amṛitāka and other *Gopas*. 5 houses to the north of that : 5 houses as kitchens. 1 house belonging to Kāśya-Gōvindā (lit. Gōvindā, the bell-metal worker).³ In Vaḍagrāma 1 house of Gōpa and 7 outside houses with kitchen etc. belonging to Ārupā. In my own (village) Gārasuyā, north of Bhōgā, 9 houses. In Bhāṭapaḍā-Itākhālā 7 houses belonging to Nikuñjabhaṭṭa and others. In Bhāṭapaḍā, Varapañchāla, Itākhālā etc. 6 houses belong-

¹ [See footnote 1 on p. 283 above.—Ed.]

² *Vāragriha*. This word is probably the same as the modern colloquial *Vāravāḍi*.

³ *Kāśya* may imply either *kāśyakāra* 'bell-metal worker' or *kāśyapa-gōtra*, *i.e.*, 'of the line of Kāśyapa, the sage'.

ing to the mother of Tidivākara and others. In Bhāṭapaḍā 5 cow-sheds belonging to Simivāka and others. In Bhāṭapaḍā 1 house belonging to washerman Sirupā. 5 houses including kitchen and pasture lower down Bōbāchhadā. 5 houses including kitchen there belonging to Dottharēṭṭa (?). In Navahāṭi kitchen and other houses (belonging to) Dēgvimāṭi 2. In Bhāṭapaḍā kitchen, shop-houses etc. (belonging to) Nivāra 3. In Pithāpinagara 2 houses (belonging to) Dyōjyē the boatman (*navikā*) and others. In Simhajara village 1 house (belonging to) Rajavigā the ivory-worker.¹

L. 52. (The language of a portion is not known) have been given.

Verses 21-22 : (the well-known imprecatory verses).

The date : Jyāishṭha 9, 4151, the era of the first of the Pāṇḍavas.

No. 50.—A NOTE ON THE VAPPAGHOSHAVATA GRANT OF JAYANAGA.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The *vishaya* of Udumbara mentioned in the grant of Jayanāga recently published in this Journal is better known than is supposed by Dr. L. D. Barnett or Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. Audumbara existed as the name of a division of Bengal and elsewhere in India up to at least the end of the sixteenth century. It is mentioned as a *Sarkār* of the *ṣubah* of Bengal in the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*. Blochmann read the name correctly as Audumbar, but unfortunately he did not live to translate the second volume of the *Ā'in*, and Jarrett, who took up the work, was not sufficiently acquainted with the topography of Bengal to recognise the difference between Udner and Audambar. Consequently in the translation published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1891 the name is given as "Sarkar of Udner commonly known as Tanda."¹ Blochmann read the name correctly as Audambar and included it in the *Sarkārs* to the south of the Ganges and the west of the Bhāgīrathī. Among the *Mahalls* mentioned as being included in *Sarkār* Audambar in the *Ā'in* there are at least two which bear the same name in early British Revenue Papers; e.g., Ākmahal and Kunwarpartab. The name of Ākmahal was subsequently changed into Rājmahal, and it is now a *parganah* of the Sonthal Parganas District. Kunwarpartāb is really *Kumārpratāpa*, and bears this name even now. It is a *parganah* in the northern part of the Murshidabad district. There cannot be any doubt therefore that portions of *Sarkār* Audambar lay to the south of the Ganges and to the west of the Bhāgīrathī. I have proved before that even up to the time of Akbar ancient or pre-Muhammadan names of Revenue Divisions continued unchanged. Rāmāvati, the new capital built by Rāmapāla after the suppression of the Kaivartta revolt in Northern Bengal,² continued to be a *Mahall* or *Sarkār* Jannatābād or Lakhnauti.³

Writing of the Revenue Divisions of Bengal in the reign of Akbar, Blochmann says, "Sarkar Audambar or Tandah, comprising the greater portions of Birbhum. The name Audambar occurs also in other parts of India, e.g., in Kachh."⁴ After the publication of Blochmann's paper

¹ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*. Eng. Trans. Calcutta, 1891, Vol. II, p. 129. The translator failed to notice Blochmann's important contributions to the history and geography of Bengal.

² *Memoirs*, A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 14.

³ *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Eng. Trans. Vol. II, 1891, p. 131.

⁴ *Journal*, A. S. B., Vol. XLII, 1873, part I, p. 217. Audambar was also the name of a *vishaya* in the *maṇḍala* of Kālāñjara and *bhukti* of Kānyakubja in the time of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Emperor Bhōja I; See his *Barah* plates of v.s. 893-*Anda*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19.

Cunningham, in the fifteenth volume of his report, spells the name correctly as Audambar.¹ I cannot understand how Jarrett came to read it as Udner, unless his Maulawi mistook and ب for و and ي .

As the name of an ancient Revenue Division of Bengal is known to have been Audambar or Audambar in the sixteenth century, there cannot be any reason to suppose that the name of the *Vishaya* in Jayanāga's grant, which is also the same, was situated in the Delta of Bengal near modern Ranaghat, where no such Revenue Divisions can be proved to have existed. The term Gaṅginikā is the diminutive of Gaṅgini. Gāṁ and Gāṅgina are common terms in Western Bengal for a dried up river bed or a small river. The name Gaṅginikā was equally common in Northern Bengal; cf. Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla II. 31-32, *paśchimēna Gaṅginikā*; I. 38-*Aśya ch-uttarēṇa Gaṅginikā-simā*; II. 39-40 *srōtikāyā Gaṅginikāṁ pravishṭa*; II. 40-41 *Uttarēṇa Gaṅginikā*.²

No. 51.—JURA PRASASTI OF KRISHNA III.

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

This inscription was discovered by Mr. R. D. Banerji, M.A., in 1921. It is incised on a stone slab which, Mr. Banerji says, is being used as a lintel in a modern bungalow erected inside an old fort in the village of Jura which is a hamlet some twelve miles away from the Maihar railway station on the G. I. P. railway line. A brief notice of its contents has already appeared in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1921-22.³ I edit it below from the impressions sent by Mr. Banerji in 1922 and kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The writing comprises 37 lines covering a space of 9 inches by 4 feet and is generally well preserved except in lines 3-13. The language of the record is Hale-Kannaḍa, line^s 1-13 and 33-37 being written in prose and lines 17-33 in verse and the *kanda* metre. The use of the word *nōḍire* as an interjection meaning "behold" is noteworthy. Only one more instance of the use of this interjection is known to me, viz., in verse 11 of the Sogal Inscription.⁴ The characters are Kanarese referable to the 10th century A.D. The size of the letters varies from about 1½" to about ½". The vowel *u* subscript is denoted in three different ways, e.g., see (1) by *ru* in *maruḷa* l. 4, (2) by *du* in *sōḷadu* l. 26, and (3) by *dhu* in *vadhu*, l. 28. The *ē* sign is formed sometimes by a superscript mark, as in *mē* of *paramēśvara*, l. 2, and sometimes by a mark on the left of the letter, as in *bē* of *bērinda* l. 19. No distinction is made between *e* and *ē* when they are combined with consonants. The sign for the vowel *ai* which occurs only once in *Kāmai*, l. 34, is worth notice. In respect of orthography, we may note (1) the correct use of the archaic *ḷ* in *kḷṭa* (ll. 20-21), *Chōḷa* (l. 20) and *iḷḷa* (l. 32); (2) the doubling of consonants after *r* as in *vaniteyarkkaḷ* (l. 11); and (3) the wrong use of *s* for *ś* as in *prasasti* (l. 36).

The inscription is a panegyric of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Paramēśvara*, *īri-Prūhvicallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Kannaradēva*. In the prose passage, with which the record opens, this king is introduced with the *birudas* of *nallara-marulaṁ*, *āne-vedaragataḥ*, *chalake-kallātaraḥ*, *vairi-vilāsaḥ*, *madagaja-mallaḥ*, *parāṅgaṇa-putraḥ*, *gaṇḍa-mārtaṇḍam*,

¹ *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. XV, p. 38.

² *Asie*, Vol. IV, p. 249.

p. 119.

Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, p. 3 and add.

Akṣavarshaḥ, Nṛpatuṅgaḥ and Kachchegarh.¹ All these epithets except those of *nallara-marulaṁ, vaṛi-viṣam, parāṅgaṇḍputraṁ* and *Nṛpatuṅgaḥ*—which are met with for the first time in the present inscription—are known to have been borne by the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor **Kṛishṇa III**, as has already been pointed out by Dr. Fleet.² Again, as is shown by the Atakur,³ the Solapuram⁴ and other records, it was **Kṛishṇa III** who uprooted the Chōlas. Accordingly, the king eulogised in this record must be identified with him, namely, **Kṛishṇa III of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed.**

The only historical event alluded to in the record is the destruction of the Chōla power by **Kṛishṇa**. Verse 2, describing this achievement, tells us that the *Āne-veḍaṅga* (i.e., **Kṛishṇa**) "rooted out the Chōla who had uprooted the Pāṇḍya." It may be noted in this connection that the expression *Chōlana bēraṁ bērinde kiṭṭan* of this record is a Kanarese rendering of **चौलान्वयोन्मूलनं** found in the Karhad grant,⁵ where we are told that **Kṛishṇarāja** uprooted the race of the Chōlas with the intention of subduing the southern region. The Chōla who is said to have uprooted the Pāṇḍya was **Parāntaka I** who ruled from A.D. 907 to 953; for not only was he a contemporary of **Kṛishṇa III**, but is also known to have waged three wars against the Pāṇḍyas and captured their capital **Madura**.⁶ And we learn from the Kanyākumārī inscription⁷ that **Parāntaka** killed the Pāṇḍya king. It was during the reign of this **Parāntaka** that **Kṛishṇa III** fought the famous battle of **Takkōlam**, killed the Chōla prince **Rājāditya** and took possession of the Chōla territory.⁸ Thus, it is evidently this incident that is alluded to in the present inscription. **Kṛishṇa's** occupation of the Chōla dominions is also borne out by the large number of his records, found in that part of the country, which give him the epithet *Kachchiyum Tanjaiyum koṇḍa*, i.e., 'he who took **Kāñchi** and **Tanjore**'.

The existence of the present record in **Jura** near Jubbulpore shows clearly that **Kṛishṇa's** conquests were not confined to the south, but extended to the north also. The Karhad grant tells us that he conquered the **Kalachuri Sahasrārjuna** though he was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. The grant, however, says explicitly that this success was one of those achieved by **Kṛishṇa** while he was yet a prince (*kumāra*) and acting under the orders of his father (*janakāñḍavaṭa*). But it is clear that the expedition during which our inscription was engraved was undertaken after he became king, since in this record he is described as a paramount sovereign. Consequently, the latter expedition must be different from the one mentioned in the Karhad grant. The record is not dated and it is, therefore, not possible to ascertain precisely the time when this expedition took place. But the allusion to the crushing of the Chōla power made in the epigraph would show that it was undertaken after the overthrow of the Chōlas and after **Kṛishṇa III** had killed the Chōla prince **Rājāditya** in A.D. 947.⁹ It is quite reasonable to surmise, therefore, that the expedition to the north was led by **Kṛishṇa III** after A.D. 947. In the

¹ On p. 119 of the *A. S. E.*, for 1921-22, the word is read as *kabbeḡa* and it is stated that it occurs as *kabbeḡa* in the Atakūr inscription, but the facsimile of the latter (facing p. 54, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI) shows clearly *kachchega* which is Fleet's reading.

² On the significance of the Rāshtrakūṭa titles ending in *tuṅga* see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 190.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 80 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 194 ff.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.

⁷ *Madras Ep. Report*, 1907, p. 72.

⁸ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 111.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 82.

¹⁰ See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 82 and 83 and *A. S. E.*, for 1912 f. n. Here it may be pointed out that the late Dr. Hultzsch was of opinion that this event took place in A.D. 949-50.

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Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of the Gaṇḍa chief Mārasimha¹, we are told that he became known as the King of the Gūrjaras by conquering the northern region for Kṛṣṇarāja (III). Evidently, the same campaign is referred to in the Kūḍlūr plates of A.D. 963 which were issued by the same chief and which tell us that Kṛṣṇarāja, when setting out on an expedition to the north, himself performed the ceremony of crowning Mārasimha as the ruler of Gaṅga-pāḍi.² If the northern expedition, in the course of which our inscription was written, is identical with the one mentioned in the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa and Kūḍlūr records, it must have taken place in A.D. 963-64 which was, according to Fleet,³ the first year of Mārasimha's rule. Consequently, the inscription under publication will have to be ascribed to that very year, viz., A.D. 963-64.

The *prasasti* was written by Chinmayya at the instance of Tuyyala Chandayya, the younger brother of Kāmaiseṭṭi. Both these persons appear to be new, for they are not known from other records.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti [||*] parama-bhaṭṭāra-
- 2 ka paramēśvara śrī-⁴pri-
- 3 thvi-va[llabha] maharājā[dhi]-
- 4 rā[ja ne(na)]lāra-marulaṇ-ā-
- 5 ne-[veḍe]ṅgaṁ chalake-na[llā]-
- 6 taṁ [vairi]-vi[śaṁ] mada[ga]-
- 7 ja-mallaṁ parāṅgaṇā-pu-
- 8 traṁ ga[ṇḍa]-mārtanḍan-Akālava-
- 9 riṣaṁ⁵ Nṛi[patu]ṅgaṁ ka[ch]cheḡam⁶ śrī-
- 10 mat-Kannaradēvaṁ || kanda [||]
- 11 vaniteyarkka-
- 12 gaḷum bama-
- 13 kaṇḍum nōḍa-
- 14 du kaṇ-nuḍiyadu bā[y-kū]-
- 15 ḍadu chittaṁ Parāṅgaṇā-
- 16 putrakana || [1* ||] Bhārata-
- 17 doḷ-i[ḍidan-I]ndranoḷ-ōr-ā-
- 18 sana-[jā]pan-enipa Pā-
- 19 ṇḍyana [kula]maṁ bērinde
- 20 kiḷta [Chō]ḷana bēraṁ
- 21 bēri[ṇdeki]ḷtan-Āneve-
- 22 ḍeṅgaṁ || [3 ||*] [Sō]ḷade para-va-
- 23 nitege [ka]ṇ-sōḷadu mo-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 151 ff.

² *Mys. A. Z.* for 1921, pp. 17 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 172. Rice held that Mārasimha commenced to rule in A.D. 961 (*Coorg Ins.*, p. 12, table).

⁴ Read ⁵*prithi*.

⁵ Read ⁶*Akālavaraha*.

⁶ Though the upper letter in *śāḷa* of this word looks like *bā*, it is apparent from the subscript that *śā* was the letter intended as in the *Āṅgūr* inscription - see also *Ind. A. Z.* Vol. XXXII, p. 316, f. n. 12.

- 24 le-vālan-ūḍi naḍapida
 25 tō(tā)yaṁ(yim) mēl-ene baḡegun
 26 nōḍire sōladu chittam
 27 Parāṅganāputrakana || [3||*]
 28 Nōḍire para-vadhuge
 29 manam kūḍadu sūl-sū-
 30 lo|'-etti na[ḍa]pida
 31 tōl-unḍ-āḍida mole ba-
 32 sir-oḷag-iḷd-āḍida chittam
 33 Parāṅganāputrakana || [4||*]
 34 Svasti [|*] Ubhi-Kāma|'eṭṭiya
 35 tammam Tuyyala Chanda-
 36 yyaṁ prasa(śa)stiyaṁ bareyi[si*]-
 37 darṁ [|*] baredane Chi[mma]yyaṁ [|*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—10.) Hail! Supreme Master, supreme Lord, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great emperor, he who amazed good men (*by his goodness*), a marvel with elephants, he who is beautiful on account of firmness of character, he to whom (*encounter with*) the enemy is a sport, a wrestler against rutting elephants, a son to other men's wives, a (*very*) sun among heroes, **Akālavarsha**, **Nṛpatuṅga**, he who wears the girdle of prowess; the illustrious **Kannaradēva**.

(Verse 1.) women the eye of **Parāṅganāputra** (*i.e.*, **Kṛishṇa III**) seeing, does not see, (*his*) mouth does not speak and his mind does not unite.

(Verse 2.) **Ānaveḍeṅga** (*i.e.*, **Kṛishṇa**) rooted out the **Chōḷa** who had uprooted the **Pāṇḍya** that had become famous as one who had killed (*his enemies*) in the **Bhārata** (*war*) and who was so skilful as to share with **Indra** one half of his throne.*

(Verse 3.) Unless one is overcome (*with love*) for another's wife, his eye will not be captivated (*by her*). But see! the mind of **Parāṅganāputra** regards another's wife as more than his mother who has fed (*him*) on her breast milk and taught (*him*) to walk.

(Verse 4.) Behold! (*His*) mind cannot be attracted towards others' wives; for it is the mind of **Parāṅganāputra** who considers himself as having remained in the wombs of others' wives and sported there, who regards their arms as those that repeatedly carried him and taught him to walk and their breasts as those which he had sucked (*as a child*) and played with.

(Lines 34—37.) Hail! **Tuyyala Chandayya**, the younger brother of **Ubhi Kāmaiseṭṭi** caused this eulogy to be written and **Chimmayya** wrote it.

* Read sūl-sūḷoḷ*.

* Evidently a shortened form of **Kāmayya**.

* These legendary accounts of the achievements of the **Pāṇḍya** kings are also mentioned in the **Vēḷvikuḍi** and the **Śinṇamanūr** grants (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 298, text-line 9 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Pt. IV, pp. 490 and 493).

No. 52.—THE BHADAVANA GRANT OF GOVINDACHANDRADEVĀ OF KANAUJ.

BY N. C. MAHTA, I.C.S.

The Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj has left abundant inscriptional material during its short period of glory—*circa* 1000-1193 A.D. Twenty five copper-plates were discovered at Kamauli near the confluence of the Berna and the Ganges at Benares in October 1892 which have been fully described by Kielhorn in Volume IV of this Journal. Another copper-plate of this dynasty was presented to me by the Taluqdar of Tālā, 6 miles from Partābgarh, United Provinces, who found it in the possession of one of his tenants, the latter having got it in exchange from a village woman for new utensils. The place where the plate was actually discovered is not known. The plate measures 17·5 inches by 13 inches and weighs 342 *śōlās*. 9½ inches of the plate are covered with inscription on one side only. The writing is well preserved. A small space, left blank in the centre at the top, was probably intended for perforating the usual ring-hole. The absence of the perforation seems to indicate that the plate was never issued from the royal record room.

The inscription is written in Sanskrit language and engraved in the Nāgarī script. Regarding the orthographical peculiarities it is to be noted that 'क्ष' is sometimes used for 'ख', as in 'क्षयो' (-ययो) and that the letters र, व, ष, ष and ष in some places appear very much alike in form. The distinction between the different sibilants is not adhered to. The medial vowel 'उ' is sometimes indicated by merely a stroke attached below the consonant, as, for instance, in चनुमन्ता in line 19. The name of the writer of the grant is not given.

Like all the published grants of this family the plate recites the genealogy from the time of Yaśōvigraha. After describing the prowess of king Govindachandradēva (ll. 1-8) it goes on to say that the village of Bhadavanā together with the hamlets of Bhaṭavallī and Laghu-Bhadavanā in the pattaḷa of Mahāvīsa was granted by the king to two Brahmans by the name of Kumārasarman, son of Vāchhā and grandson of Ṭhakkura Śrī-Pīthā of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, and Śīlasarman, son of Tiṅgula and grandson of Ṭhakkura Śrī-Vāvana of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. While the three *pravaras* of Śīlasarman are clear, those of Kumārasarman of the Kāśyapa-gōtra are not quite so explicit¹. Govindachandradēva says that the grant was made by him after he had bathed (*probably*) at Prayāga (Allahābād) according to the sacred rights, holding water and the sacred *darbhā* grass in the palm of the hand and having worshipped (*god*) Vāsudēva—the protector of the three worlds—and having made oblations to the fire. The object of the grant is said to be the acquisition of merit and renown for the donor and his parents. The grant was formally announced in the presence of the queen, the heir-apparent, the minister, the priest, the commander-in-chief, the treasurer, the keeper of the legal documents, the astrologer, the chamberlain, the officer called ²*Dūsa-Pattanākara* and the officer-in-charge of agricultural stock. The village was given subject to the payment of taxes fixed and customary but inclusive of the rights of mining, salt, waste-land and the enjoyment of the fruits of *mahuā*, mangoes, wood, natural growth, other trees, grass *pūti* and pasture. The exact meaning of the technical terms such as ³*dūsapattanākara*, *pūti*⁴, and the

¹ See below, p. 294, n. 2.

² [¹ *Dūsa* is evidently a clerical mistake for *dūka* and *adāikārī* is to be taken with *pattāns* and *ākara* also. The expression *dūka* would in that case signify the *Dūka*, the City Magistrate and the officers in charge of mines and of herds of kine.—Ed.]

³ [As in the other grants of this ruler, the word reads *yūti* and not *pūti*. *Pūti* signifies a particular grass.—Ed.]

various kinds of taxes described are not easy to determine. The word वणती¹ is probably a local term signifying the *Tricēpi* at Allahābād.

[The date of the grant is Thursday, Phālgunī-Amāvāsya of the (*Vikrama*-) Samvat 1184. In this year Phālgunī-Amāvāsya fell on Friday, the previous Thursday having 99 of Chaturdaśī. But in the following year the *tithi* fell on Thursday and lasted up to 90. So the latter appears to be the intended date which, according to Mr. L. D. Swamikaunu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, corresponds to March 21, A.D. 1129.—Ed.]

I have been unable to trace the village of **Bhaṭavali** in the Allahābād district. The village of **Bhadavaṇā** may be the same as the modern village of Budawan in *tahsil* Karchhana in the district of Allahābād.

TEXT.*

1. चोम्² स्वस्ति [1*] अकुण्ठोत्कंठवैकुण्ठपीठलुत्करः । संरम्भ³सुरतारंहे⁴ स
त्रयः अयसिस्तु वः । [१*] आसीदशोत्थुतिवस⁵जातः क्षमापाल⁶मालासु
दिवं गतासु । साक्षाद्विस्त्रानि-
2. व भूरिधाना नास्तजिसो⁷विग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ [२*] तत्तुतोभूग्महीचंद्रवर्द्ध⁸धाम-
निभं निजम् । येवा⁹पारमकूपारपारव्याप्य(पा)रितं जसः¹⁰ ॥ [३*] तस्यासीत्तनयो
तय¹¹करसिकः कान्तहिप-¹²
3. माण्डलो विध्वस्ताहृत¹³वीरधाधतिमिर¹⁴ श्रीचंद्रवो¹⁵ वृपः । येनोदारतरप्रतापस-
मिता¹⁶शेषप्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमहाधिपुराधिराज्यमस[मं]¹⁷दोर्विक्रमेणाजितम्¹⁸ ॥ [४*]
तोर्धानि कासिकुसिकोचरकोस¹⁹
4. सद्रस्थानोयकानि परिपालयतातिगम्य²⁰ । हेमात्मसुखमानसं²¹ ददता द्विजैर्भ्यो
येनाकिता²² वसुमती सतयः तुलाभिः²³ ॥ [५*] तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति
क्षितोन्द्रचुडामणिर्विजयते
5. निजगीचचद्रः²⁴ । यस्याभिषेककलशोत्थसितैः पयेभिः²⁵ प्रक्षालितं कलिरजःपटलं
धरिण्याः ॥ [६*] यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणसमये तुङ्गाचलोचललम्भाद्यत्कुंभिपदे-²⁶
क्रमासमभरम्भ-

* [The original reads प्रयाणि वणती which is probably a mistake for प्रयाणिवनतो where वणती would mean 'being humble'.—Ed.]

² From the original plate.

³ Read सं-भं.

⁴ Read ०धं.

⁵ Read ०द्वं.

⁶ Read नदेकं.

⁷ Read ०धोपतिमिरः.

⁸ Read ०जितम्.

⁹ Read ०मानसं.

¹⁰ Read दद्रः.

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol [which possibly stands for 'siddhah'.—Ed.]

¹² Read रंके.

¹³ Read आपालं.

¹⁴ Read शेना....पारी.

¹⁵ Read ज्ञानाधिवन्मं.

¹⁶ Read ०द्वी.

¹⁷ Read कासिकुसिकोचरकोसलेन्द्रं.

¹⁸ Read येनाकिता.

¹⁹ Read वलीभिः.

²⁰ Read अयसिस्तु.

²¹ Read नावा यमो.

²² Read दद्रः.

²³ Read ०कीरतं.

²⁴ Read ०मितां.

²⁵ Read ०धितय.

²⁶ Read प्रतप्रतुलाभिः.

²⁷ Read ०क्षीरं वसुमन्माद्यत्कुंभिपदे

- 6 अमहोमहले¹ । चूडारविभिन्नतालुगलितस्थानासृगुज्ञासितः श्व² पेधवसा³ दि-
व चषमसौ क्लोडे विकाना⁴ ननः ॥[७*] तस्मादजायत निजावतबाहु-
वक्षिषधावकुन्दन-
- 7 तरंगजो नरत्रैः⁵ । सान्द्राद्रवसुवो⁶ प्रभवो गवां यो गोविन्दचन्द⁷ इति
चन्द्र इवाभु(भु)रासेः⁸ ॥[८*] न कथमप्यलभन्त रणचमां सिसु⁹
दिशु गजानय वज्रिणः [1*] ककुभि
- 8 [२*] भसु¹⁰ रभसुवक्षभप्रतिभटा इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥[९*] सोयं समस्तराज-
चक्रसंसी(से)वितचरणकमलः स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर¹¹ परम-
माहेश्वरनिजभुजोपाष्णितशोकन्यकुलाधिपत्यश्रीचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमहन्¹² पाल¹³ पालदे-
- 10 वपादानुध्यातपर(र)मभट्टारकमहारा[जा*]धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्व(ख)राश्वपति-
गजपतिनरपतिराजश्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्री(म)होवि-
- 11 चन्द्रदेवो विजयो महाविसप्तलायां भटवलीयामेण सह लघुभदन(व)णा¹⁴
सह भदवणाधामनिवासिनो निखिलजनपदानपि राजराज्ञोयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरो-
हितसेना-
- 12 धिपतिभांडागात्रिवा(का)चपटलिवीक्ष[?] (कनैमिसि-Ed.) कान्तःपुरिकदूस(त-Ed.) प-
त्तनाकरगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषानाभ्रापयति वो(वो)धयत्याडिग्र¹⁵ तिच विदितमस्तु
भवतां यथोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजलसयल¹⁶
- 13 सखोहसवणाकर¹⁷ सगर्तोश्चर¹⁸ समधूक¹⁹ साम्भूतकंटिकाविटपतृणपूति²⁰ गोरच
(चर-Ed.) पर्यन्तः सोह[ति](सोहाध-Ed.) चतुराष्टाटविशुद्धः संवत् ११८४
फाल्गुन्यामावास्यायां शुक्रतिथे(तिथौ गुरी-Ed.)
- 14 आयिह²¹ श्रीमप्रयागी²² वणतो²³ श्रोवधि²⁴ वत्स्नात्वा कुशलवा(ता)पूतकरत-
लोदकेन चिभुवनचातु²⁵ वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय हविषा हविर्भुजं
हुत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनस्पुण्य-²⁶

¹ Read 'अमहोमहले'.

² Read 'विक्षीना'.

³ Read 'चन्द्र'.

⁴ Read 'वक्षु'.

⁵ Read 'नर'.

⁶ Read 'साम्भूत'.

⁷ [This should end in the instrumental case or the word 'यामि' will have to be supplied.—Ed.]

⁸ Read 'दिशु'.

⁹ Read 'नर'.

¹⁰ Read 'चय'.

¹¹ Read 'वणतो' ? [See f. n. 1 on page 292.—Ed.]

¹² Read 'श्रोवधि'.

¹³ Read 'वत्स्नात्वा'.

¹⁴ Read 'श्व'.

¹⁵ Read 'नडावक्षभनराश्वमजो नर'.

¹⁶ Read 'रासे'.

¹⁷ Read 'श्वर'. [But the text reads 'श्वर', correctly.—Ed.]

¹⁸ Drop one पाङ्.

¹⁹ Read 'सजलसयल'.

²⁰ Read 'समधूक'.

²¹ Read 'श्रीमप्रयागी'.

²² Read 'चातु'.

²³ Read 'पुण्य'.

²⁴ Read 'वक्ष'.

²⁵ Read 'सान्द्राद्रवसुवां'.

²⁶ Read 'तिसु'.

²⁷ Read 'श्वर'.

²⁸ [See f. n. 3 on page 291.—Ed.]

²⁹ Read 'श्वर'.

³⁰ [See f. n. 3 on page 291.—Ed.]

³¹ Read 'श्रीमप्रयागी'.

³² Read 'पुण्य'.

³³ Read 'पुण्य'.

- 15 यस्येतिहृदये कासप¹गोत्राय काष्ठपायस्थानेकर²तिग्राचिप्रवराय ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मजातीय-
ठकुरन्नीपोद्यापौत्राय वाह्यापुत्राय कुमरसर्गवे³ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मजाय तथा भा-
16 रद्वाजगोत्राय भारद्वाजाङ्गिरसबाह्व⁴स्त्यरि⁵प्रवराय ठकुरन्नीवावनपौत्राय तिकुल-
पुत्राय श्रीसीलिसर्मर्ष⁶ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मजाय यामोय⁷मन्त्राभिः शासनी-
17 कृत्य प्रदत्तो यथादीयमानभागभोगकरप्रवणिकरनियतानियतप्रवृत्तिसमस्ता-
दायानात्राविधेयोभूय दास्यथेति ॥ तवन्ति⁸ चा श्लोकाः । ऊ ॥
18 भूमि⁹ यः प्रतिष्ठञ्जाति यच्च भूमि¹⁰ प्रयच्छति । उभो तो पुम्य¹⁰कर्णाचो
नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥[१*] यंश्चं भद्रासनं छत्रं वरास्त्रा(स्त्रा) वर-
वारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चि-
19 नानि फलमेतत्पुनरुदर ॥[२*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि¹¹ स्वर्गे वसवि¹² भूमिदः ।
आच्छता¹³ चालुमन्ता च तान्येव नरवे वसित् ॥[३*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा
यां हरिद¹⁴
20 सुंरोम् । स विद्यायां किमि¹⁵भूत्वा पितृभिश्च मज्जति ॥[४*] गामेकां
सुव(स्व)वर्णमेकं स्वमेरुस्वक¹⁶मंगुलम् । हरहरकमानोति यावदाज्ञतसं-
21 ज्ञवम् ॥[५*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्त्वा राजभिः समरादिभिः । यस्वयस्व
यदाभूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलम् ॥[६*]¹⁷

¹ Read कासप^०.

² [काष्ठपायस्थानेकर^०तिहृदयेति.—Ed.]

³ [The way in which the superscript r is written is noteworthy.—Ed.]

⁴ Read श्रीसर्गवे.

⁵ Drop the *anusvara*.

⁶ Read भूमि.

⁷ Read पुम्य^०.

⁸ Read वसति.

⁹ Read वसति.

¹⁰ Read द्विनि^०.

¹¹ Read वा भूमेरुस्वक^०.

¹² Read °मर्षवे.

¹³ Read लेतिनि^०.

¹⁴ Read भवति चाव.

¹⁵ Read °ष्टा^०.

¹⁶ Read हरित वसुधराम.

¹⁷ Mr. Diskalkar of the Watson Museum, Rajkot, has kindly helped me in writing down the text of the inscription.

No. 53.—THE REWAH INSCRIPTION OF MALAYASIMHA, THE YEAR 944.

BY PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A., BENARES.

The existence of this and two other inscriptions was brought to my notice by Diwan Bahadur Pandit Janki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Home Member of the Council of Regency in the Rewah State, in April 1920. No information is available at present regarding the find-spot¹ of this inscription and the date when it was brought to Rewah.

The record is incised on an oblong plain slab of sandstone, measuring 4' 3½" × 1' 8½". It consists of twenty-seven long lines of writing, and, with the exception of the words *śrī śaasti*, at the beginning, and the date in numerals in l. 26, is entirely in verse. The inscription is probably Buddhist as it opens with an invocation to Mañjuhōśa, the Buddhist deity of learning, and mentions Buddha as *Bhagavān* in l. 20. There are altogether fifty-four verses in this record which are devoted to the description of the family of a feudatory chief named Malayasimha, his chief officers, the composer of the *prastāvi* and of the mason.

The characters belong to the central variety of the Nāgarī alphabet of the twelfth century A.D. The language of the record is Sanskrit, but on account of the carelessness of the mason, apparently, it contains many mistakes. The record refers itself to a king named Vijayasimha who is mentioned in verse 5 as born of the family of Karṇa. This king is again mentioned in l. 26 in connection with the date in numerals². He is, no doubt, the same as the last homonymous Chēdi king who ruled in Pāhala at least up to 1196 A.D.³ The date of the inscription is expressed both in words and in numerals : (*Kaśchuri-Chēdi*) year 944, the *śaka* named Sāhasamalla on Friday the first of the bright half of Bhādrapada.

In the description of the family of Malayasimha, the river Narmadā is introduced in the fourth verse (l. 2). On the banks of that river was the city of Tripurī where ruled a king named Vijayadēva, born of the family of Karṇa (v. 5). There was a chief named Jāta, who was the adviser of the ancestors of this prince (v. 7). The illustrious Karṇadēva had defeated his enemies with the aid of the force of the arms of Jāta (8). From him was born Yaśāpāla, who was devoted to King Gayākarṇa (v. 9). Yaśāpāla's son was Padmasimha (v. 11), who was the unrivalled minister of Vijayasimha (v. 12) and the younger brother of Chandrasimha; Padmasimha's son was Kirttisimha (v. 13), his son was Malayasimha (v. 15). The description of this family occupies seven lines of this inscription.

The next seven lines are devoted to the description of Malayasimha. Talhapadēvi seems to have been his mother. Some of his principal officers are named in ll. 14-15. The chief officer (*Sarveśdhikārin*), who was probably the Master of the Horse as well as the treasurer, was Rāpasimha, son of *śrī*-Gargga. The minister and Superintendent of the distribution of betel-nuts (*Tāmbūla-dān-ādhipati*) was Harisimha, son of Jagatsimha. Verses 34-40 are devoted to the description of the tank⁴ on the occasion of the excavation of which the *prastāvi* was composed. In the 41st verse we are informed that the tank was completed at the cost of 1,500 *ṣaṅkhas* stamped with (the effigy) of Bhagavān (i.e. the Buddha).

¹ [According to the label on the impression of this inscription received from the Director General of Archaeology in India, it was found near the Kastara tank in the Rewah *taluk*.—Ed.]

² [V. 5 gives Vijayadēva but l. 26 has Vijayasimhadēva.—Ed.]

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 227-28.

⁴ [The significance of *śāhasamallāṅki* is not clear. Does it mean 'the year of Sāhasamalla'? The word *śaka* is at times used for *śaka* or year, and Sāhasamalla literally means athlete in boldness. But whether Sāhasamalla refers to Vijayasimha or to some other personage or whether it has some other significance here is not known. Sāhasāṅka, it may however be observed, is one of the epithets of Vikramāditya.—Ed.]

⁵ [Is it not the same tank where the inscription was found?—Ed.]

Such coins, if they were current in the Chēdi country, have not been discovered as yet. The genealogy of the officer who was in charge of the excavation of the tank is given in ll. 21-23. The son of **Uddharapa** was **Śrīdhara** and the latter's son was **Thakkura Lakṣmīdhara**. His son **Vidyādhara** was the Superintendent of the excavation of this tank (vv. 43-46). The genealogy of the poet is given in ll. 24-25. The son of **Rāmachandra** was **Dīvākara**. His son **Purushōttama**, the composer of the *prastāvi*, is described as belonging to the *Kṛishṇātrēya-gōtra*, an inhabitant of Benares, well versed in Logic, Grammar (*Śabdasāstra*), *Mīmāṃsā*, *Vēdānta* and the *Yōga* philosophy. The mason was **Ananta**, son of **Galhapa** (l. 26). In the last line we are introduced to an artisan named **Ralhapa**, son of **Dalha[pa*]** whose connection with the record is not made clear. [The context shows that he was a door-keeper.—Ed.].

In the genealogy of Malayasimha the first person mentioned is Jāta, a contemporary of King Karṇa, who reigned from 1041 to about 1070 A.D. Karṇa's son Yaśahkarṇa is not mentioned but Jāta's son Yaśahpāla is, as the contemporary of Gayakarṇa, the grandson of Karṇa and the son of Yaśahkarṇa. Evidently Jāta, as a young man, had served under Karṇa in the latter's old age and was therefore the contemporary of king Yaśahkarṇa as well. Yaśahpāla's elder son Chandrasimha is mentioned as the minister of Vijayasimha. Thus, the kings Narasimha and Jayasimha are passed over. Padmasimha, the grandfather of Malayasimha, and the latter's father Kirttisimha were most probably the contemporaries of Gayakarṇa and his sons. The earliest known date of Vijayasimha is Kalachuri-Chēdi year 932 (=1180-81 A.D.), the date of his Kumbhi plates. His latest known date is 1196 A.D. mentioned in the Rewah plates of the *Mahārāṇaka* Salakhana-varmman of Kakarēdi², a feudatory of Vijayasimha. The date of this inscription is earlier than the last known date, viz. V.S. 1253, by three or four years.

Among the places mentioned in this record Tripurī is the modern Tewar, lying six miles from Jubbulpore and **Kakarēdi** (l. 12) is the modern **Kakrēṇi** situated on the border of the Rewah and Pannā States in Central India. The *Mahārāṇakas* of Kakarēdi, it may be stated here, were at first the feudatories of the Haihayas of Tripurī and then, of the Chandēllas of Jējakabhukti.

TEXT.³

- 1 [Om] Svasti || Ashtāra-chakr-ākṛiti-pūrn(ṇ)ṇa-chandre[m] padm-āsanastham himasaila-gauram | savy-ētarā(a)-pāṇiga-khadga-pustam=vakshyāmi natvā khalu Mamjughōsham || [1*]⁴ Malayasimha-kulāni guṇān=attha sva-samayēna yathōchita⁵-śaktika(tah) [] avataramti padāni yataḥ svataḥ sumaha-
- 2 -tām nanu kēna na kirttyatē ||⁶ [2*] Vāchaś=ch=ēmā[h*] pravṛittā mē Ravēṇ-iva marichayah | Malayasimha-kulā[bja]-prav(h)ōdhāya sahasraśah || [3*]⁷ Ati-vimāia-jal-aughaiḥ plāvayanti pavitraire-muni-vara-pura-lōkāt=samstutā siddha-gīrbhiḥ | apanayati suvamśāj-jāta-mātrā kumārī kalija-kalusha-bhāram dar-sa(śa)nān=Narmmadā yā || [4*]⁸ Tasyāa=tatē=sti Tripurī-pur=iti tasyām=a-
- 3 bhūt-Karṇ(ṇ)ṇa-kula-prasūtaḥ | rājñām guruḥ śrī-Vijay-ākhyā-dēvō rāj=ādhiśāstā vidisān=disāñ=cha || [5*]⁹ Yasya pratāp=ānala-śushka-kaṇṭhā rājñā[m] gaṇā aṅguli-samjñay=āpi | a-āsāmkam=ēvam vivadanti chi(ni)tyam sēvā-phalās=tat=sadasi prapannāḥ || [6*]¹⁰ [Tat]-pārva-pūrvvā bhuvi yē [babhū]vus=tāshām yaśō-varddhana-mantra-mantri |

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, pp. 116-22.

² From the original.

³ There is a superfluous superscript ē in ya of yathō.

⁴ Anushubh.

⁵ Read °phalam tat°.

⁶ See Ind. Ant., Vol. XVII, pp. 224 ff.

⁷ Indravajrā.

⁸ Drutavilambika.

⁹ Mālini.

- 4 śrī-Jāṭa-nāmā. vishayē niyuktō Vāchaspatih sarvva-guṇair-iv-ābhāt || [7*]¹
 Dharmma-dhvaṇānām. dhurāṇa-atra gurvīm=viśrāṇanēn=āvahatō dvijēbhyaḥ |
 yasy=aiva v(b)āhvōr=a[pi] paurushēṇa śrī-Karn(n)ṇa-dēvō jītvān=ripūrās=cha ||
 [8*]² Tasmād-Gayākarn(n)ṇa-mahīsa-bhaktō mantrasya gōptā bhuvi vandi-
 jīvaḥ | jajñē Yaśahpāla iti pratītas=Tārātmajaḥ
- 5 Saumya iv=Endu-dēvāt || [9*]³ Tasy=ātha putrō=pi viśāla-v(b)āhuḥ srastrā
 jagad=vikshya. tamō=dhirūḍham | tad-dyōtanāy=āvayavi su(su)d(dh)-āmśur=
 ddipah prakīptah. khalu mūrttimān=iva || [10*]⁴ Padmān hi padm-ālaya(e?)
 Padmasimhaḥ sat-patra-subhr-āmkura-suddha-gōtraḥ | kshātrasya vānśē sa
 nidāna-vījī śrī-Chandrasimha-āvanajō vijajñē || [11*]⁵ Sarvatra di-
- 6 kshu(ṇmu)kha-visarppi-yaśah prachanda-Chēd-Indra-rād=Vijayasimha-grīh-aika-man-
 tri | yō vipra-vīryya-vara-dāna-v(b)alēna rakshēd=dāridrya-danti-paṭāḍ-dvija-
 ruddha-dēham || [12*]⁶ Śrī-Padmasimha-vidushō=tra nitānta-v(b)āhuḥ śrī-Kīrtti-
 simha iti simha-v(b)alō vijajñē | ārāti-chakra-hṛidi śamkur=asau viśamkō
 Rāmāḥ purā Daśarathād=iva Kōṣaḷaśah
- 7 || [13*]⁷ Sadasi yasya hitā vividhā v(b)udhāḥ surapatēr=iva mantra-vidaḥ surāḥ |
 śuśubhirē śasi(śi)naḥ kirihāmiraḥ⁸ prati[ga]tā jagatas=tamasas=chhidē || [14*]⁹
 Sāmanta-maṇḍala-śirōruha-dhūnanēṇa niḥpamka-pāda-vana-jō Malayānusi[m*]¹⁰haḥ |
 śrī-Kīrttisimha-tanayaḥ sa babbhūva vīraḥ kshātrasya vānśaja-samūddharaṇ-
 aika-mallaḥ || [15*]¹¹ Vi-
- 8 dy-ādihikāra-kumud-ākara-v(b)ōdha-chandrō ratn-ākaro=rthi-manujēshu cha ratna-
 dānaih | sarvvē guṇā Malayasimha-nara-pratishṭhā dōshō=pi sō=sya na mṛigāṅka-
 kṛitō guṇ-āmkarāḥ || [16*]¹² Ārāti-mitra-kamal-augha-vighāta-v(b)ōdha-s=abhyām
 dadan=daśa-dig-amv(b)aram=uf[va]ḥ yah | śītāmśur=arkka iva tīkṣṇaḥ-susakti-
 hasta urvvyām=abhūn=Malayasimha iti pra-
- 9 vīṇah || [17*]¹³ Āndōlayēd=yasya kṛipānā(a)-vāyūr=vvichī-gataṁ bhāṇūm=iv=ām[bu]-
 madhyē | ārāti-sēnām=av(b)alān v(b)alishṭhaḥ sō=bhūd=ishu -- mṛaka --
 viśuddhaḥ || [18*]¹⁴ Āvartta-sukti(śukti)-harijō samudrē phēnām mukhē vardhni¹⁵
 padē=pi vikshya | magn-āri-sēnā na v(b)ahir=jagāma yasy=āsu sō=bhūn=
 Malayasya simhaḥ || [19*]¹⁶ V(B)alir=vvī-
- 10 raḥ prādā[t*]=tripada-nimītam kim tri-bhūvanam padaṁ dāsyām=Indō(u)-Ravi-
 Hara-Har-Indr-Ājasu' nṛpām¹⁷ | aham jītvā tēbhyaḥ śāpadi karavālēna
 cha vahu . . yah sākāṁ v=ōti vyavasita-v(b)alō yah sa jayatu ||
 [20*]¹⁸ Yasy=āri-sāmanta-śirō-visarppi-rakt-ājya-dipt-āsi-śikhā-kṛisānuḥ | sam-
 prāpā tāvat=tu rāṇō=tra triptam. Lamkān
- 11 hi dag[dh*]v=āpi na Māruter=yah || [21*]¹⁹ Tārāsēhan jītvā śasi(śi)nam=api dēvān-
 rapa-mukhē mahādēvi-Śachyā vīcharatī mṛigāṅkas=tribhūvanē | ahō tē-
 shām prā(?)gāt(d)-bhujaga-pati-Śēsho vilasitum prithivyām dēvō=yah
 janapada-janair=ukta iti yah || [22*]²⁰ Kāmān yath=āgnīr=Bhava-nētra-janmā
 krōdh-ātmakaḥ śatru-v(b)alān dadāha | vaidhavya-

¹ Indravajrā.² Upajātī ?³ Vasantatilakā.⁴ Read kirapāyitāb. [The reading is kir(a)ṇāgrāb.—Ed.]⁵ Drutavilambita.⁶ Read mūrdhni.⁷ [Presumably some different reading is intended.—Ed.]⁸ Śikharipi.

- 12 duḥkh-ēndhana-dīrgha-vāshpaiḥ saṁdhuksitō yat-prati-kūla-vadhvā || [23*]¹ Sa-lakṣhaṇō nirggata-lakṣhaṇō-bhavat-suKarkkarōḍḍyām-adhipō rapē yadā | vilūna-v(b)āhu-vyasanah śilimukhaiḥ karād-vimuktair-mMalayasya sūmha-jāt || [24*]² Rē rē Vikrama-sūra dhāvasi vṛithā mach-chāpa-v(b)āp-āmbhaśi(śi) magnō yāsyasi n=ā-
- 13 tra kiṁ tava kṛitē khaḍg-āgnim-ujālam yē | * ity-uktv-ābhīhatō rapō nava-daśa-sthānēshu v(b)āpāir-hṛidi yātō-dhaḥ paribhūta-vikrama-v(b)alō yasmāt-sa jiyād-iti || [25*]³ Prāsāda-mālā dvija-dēvatānām śriṣṭā vichi-trā gaganam vilagnā | yēn-āpi yābhyas-tv-avarōdha-bhityā yāt-iva Bhānō-ratha āsu ti[ryak] || [26*]⁴ Tivram tapō duḥkha-karam prakri-
- 14 tya(?) siddhā vrajantō divam-ūrdhvam-uchchaiḥ | yad-Rāma-dēv-ālaya-v(b)ādhitā yē prāyēṇa [tē] viśva-padam prayātāḥ || [27*]⁵ Yō-yam sutas-Talhana-dēvi(vi)-dēvyās-trāyēta mitrāṇi nihanti śatrūn [!]* Bhīṣmō yath-ānēka-sam-ānu-vartti jiyāt-sa Prithividhara[s*]-sānujō-pi || [28*]⁶ Śrī-Gargga-nāmā ruchi-r-āmśu-dhāmā yasy-ābhavach-chhri-Raṇasimha-sūnuḥ | Dharmasya vidyā-haya-kōśa-lē-
- 15 khī sarvv-ādhikāir-iva Chitruguptaḥ || [29*]⁷ Tām(v)ūla-dān-ādhikṛiti prayuktaḥ śrīmaj-Jagatsimha-sutaḥ sumantri | yasy-ābhavach-chhri-Harisimha-nāmā sarvv-ārthi-sāmpat-paripūrit-āsah || [30*]⁸ Praudha-prachand-āri-kari-pramāthī nārācha-pāś-āmkuśa-khaḍga-yōddhā | v(b)āhu-prasakty-āti-dṛiḍha-prahārah sēn-āgra-yāy-iva rapē kumārah || [31*]⁹ V(B)rahmaṇō
- 16 yāna-vādēna vēda-tat-pārtha-yōginā | nistīrṇ(ṇ)ṇāni pāshapdāni yatra māna-vakair-api || [32*]¹⁰ Sa-sōma-āyēn-āgnin-nayati chayanāmtar-dvija-gapō mahīm kṛtvā yūpai-ravikara-chashāl-ōrdhva-katakām | tatō vēdi-ārōṇīm vidhi-vihita-mantraḥ kṛita-giram vasan-yasminha-tishthan-n[ri]puram-īha Kāś-ṭhālakam-iti
- 17 || [33*]¹¹ Bhuktv-āpi yasmin-vara-pāpi-pātrē chakrās-tu naktaḥ sva-vadhūr-vvihāya | āmbhō-nirīksh-āhata-jīva-saṁghās-tivram tapō vā munyaś-oharamti [||] [34*]¹² Tigamāśu-tāpa-klama-nōda-dakshair-ukshām vichakru[s*]-striya ātmanō-mgē | prāṇēśa-hasta-pratiklipta-yantra-nirmukta-dhāra-paya-sām kaṇ-aughaiḥ || [35*]¹³ Pītv-āli-chā(e)krair-mmadhu-
- 18 matta-mugdhaiḥ-padmākar-ālīḍha-mukhair-nnadadbhiḥ | ākarn(ṇ)ṇya mugdhā anu-jāpayanti gītām yaśō yasya cha nāga-kanyāḥ [!]* [36*]¹⁴ Śēvāla-kaḥāraka-vāriparn(ṇ)ṇī-sālūka-saṁghāṭakar = ēva-māshair*[!] = bhbhakshair = abha-kahair-yutam-ambū-vijair-vvapraiḥ sasarij-ārthi-śa(sa)rō ya idrik || [37*]¹⁵ Kṛiḍā-pravrittāḥ patibhiḥ śa(sa)r-ōrvvan¹⁶ saṁya[mys]
- 19 ch-ābhūt-¹⁷ katham-āsthitāpām | tāsām bhruvō-mgāni kuch-ōru-jamghā dṛiṣṭv-āksha-sūtrān(ṇ)ṇy-apatan-muninām || [38*]¹⁸ Yasminha-tūrē marakata-śilā-ratna-

¹ Indravajra.² Read °vijetāyā.³ Read °tato-ārtha.⁴ Anvāṣṭh.⁵ Read Śaivāla.⁶ Read °ōrmma.⁷ Yamāśtha.⁸ Śarddālavikṛiḍita.⁹ Śikharin.¹⁰ Read °saṁghāṭaka svam = ādyaiḥ | śākaś.¹¹ ch=doṇ.

v(b)addh-ā[sa]nasthair-vvichī-lōlā-rajata-s(ś)apharī-vañchit-ōru-pradēśaiḥ | viprais-
triptā amara-pitarah̐ sapta divyā manushyā āśāmsanti prathī[ta]-

20 yaśasaṁ yaṁ sa jlyād-bhuv-iti || [39*]¹ Divy-āṁgan-āṁga²-nava-kumkuma
paṁka-piṁga-vāri-prapūra-lava-chitrīta-rōma-mālāḥ | kriḍānti yatra sukhinō
bhuvī rājahamṣā ambhō-nidhānam-atalaṁ pras(s)arah̐ sa[sa]rjja || [40*]³
Ētad-ambhō-nidhānāya śatāni daśapañcha cha | bhagavan-mudrayā yō-pi
taṁkakānā[m] vya-

21 yē-karōt || [41*]⁴ Sarvv-ārtha-sārthai[s*]-stutijair-vvachōbhīr-vvamdi(di)-janaiḥ sa[m]ḥ-
tuta ēva yō-bhūt | Siddhārtha-yōgi Malayānu-simhas-v(t)asmai bhavēyuh̐
śubhadās-tridēvāḥ || [42*]⁵ Vāstavya-vṛitti-pratham-aika-līngam̐ nāmn-āpy-
abhūd-Uddharāṇō vipaśchit | uddhṛitya mahyāma(m-a)mṛitaṁ gṛhītuṁ lōk-aika-
nāthō-tha yath-ēsa-mūrttiḥ || [43*]⁶

22 Tasy-ātha putrah̐ pramad-ābhīrāmō y(j)ushtaḥ śriyā Śrīdhara-mūrttir-āsit | yōu-
āvanī sarvva-guṇā guṇ-aughaiḥ puṇyair-anēkaiś-cha kṛitā pavitrā || [44*]⁷ Tasy-
āpi sūnur-bhuvī Thakkurō yō Lakshmīdharō lakṣhaṇa-kāvya-vēttā | Vidyā-
dharas-tasya babhūva putrah̐ sarvv-ādhikār-ārtha-guṇa-pravīṇah̐ || [45*]⁸ Ar-
tha-trayāṇām⁹-

23 m-āpi tatva-yuktaḥ kāmasya sārēṇa tu kimchid-ēva | Vidyādhārō-th-āśya
ś(s)arō-dhikarttā hētur-yath-ābdhēḥ Sagarō babhūva || [46*]¹⁰ Ś(S)arah̐-samsthā-
panē(?) vidvān-vāstavyah̐ Purushōttama | h(h) | śrīmad-Valhaṇa-putrō-bhūd-āchārya-
Śrīdharō yathā || [47*]¹¹ Pañcha-kratūnām-āpi- yas-cha karttā śrī-Rāma-
chandrō-tha babhūva vidvān | tasy-ātha pu-

24 trō-pi Divākar-ākhyah̐ sarvvajña-kalpō dvija-mukhya ēva || [48*]¹² Tasy-ātha putrō
guru-bhakti-chittō daivā[ch*]-chhriyā yah̐ parihīna jātah̐ | Ātrēya-gōtrō nana
Kṛishṇa-pūrvvah̐ Kāśī-nivāsi cha par-ōpakārī || [49*]¹³ Tarkkō jñānam-atīva
yasya chaturah̐ śabd-ārtha-śāstrē tathā mīmāṁsa-ādhiḡatō vipaśchid-abha-
vad-vēdām-

25 ta-yōg-ādhi-dhīḥ | vēd-ā[bhyā]sa-rataḥ sadā suvidushām mūrdhni prava(ba)ddh-
āñjalir-viprah̐ śrī-Purushōttamō bhuvī mahān-v(b)uddhyā cha Vāchaspatih̐ ||
[50*]¹⁴ Tēn-ēyam-ishṭ-āṁga-suvṛitta-vṛittā hārasya yashṭiś-cha sad-ārtha-
guchchhā [| *]sad-vamśa-muktā-phala-kirtti-sūtrā śastā prasastih̐ suvinirmmit-ēva ||
[51*]¹⁵ Utkīrṇ(ṇ)ā sūtra-

26 dhārēṇa śrīmad-Galhaṇa-sūnunā | nāmn-Ānamtēna chandrēr-yāḥ¹⁶ śuddh-ēyam
vamśa-paddhatih̐ || [52*]¹⁷ Chatvārimśaty-ādhikē-v(b)dē chaturbhīr-nnavamē
śatē | Śukrē Sāhasamall-ām̐kē Nābhasyē prathamē dinē || [53*]¹⁸ Samvat
944 Bhādrapada-s(ś)udī | Śukrē śrīmad-Vijayasimhadēva-rājyē || Mam-

27 galaṁ mahāśrīḥ || O || Śrīḥ || [D]auva(ā)rya-kārya-kṣhama-Ra[lha]ṇ-ākhyō yasy-
ābhavad-Dalha[ṇa*]-sūnu-vīrah̐ | dvār-iva Nā[m]di Girīśasya yuktaḥ saṁgrā-
ma-sū(śū)rō ripu-darppa-marddi || [54*]¹⁹

¹ Mandākrāntā.

² Vasantatilakā.

³ Indravajrā.

⁴ Śāradāśloka-kṛitā.

⁵ There is a symbol between "ga" and "no".

⁶ Anushubhā.

⁷ This "h" is superfluous.

⁸ Read Ohāndri yā.

No. 54.—THREE SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM BHUJ.

By A. COWLEY, CLERMONT-GANNEAU, BUCHANAN GRAY AND MAYER-LAMBERT.

Colonel H. F. Jacob, the Political Agent of Cutch, picked up during 1909-10 three inscribed stones from the Raos' Tombs (or *Chhatris*) at Bhuj, as has been noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer, Volume V, Cutch, page 218, and these remained with Mr. N. M. Billimoria of Bhuj for some time till Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar noticed them. Mr. Billimoria, with the permission of Colonel Jacob, sent them over to the Poona Museum. In the month of April 1917, Mr. Bhandarkar forwarded copies of them to Sir John Marshall, noticing them first in his Report for 1917, page 50. Sir John sent the impressions on to Dr. F. W. Thomas with the request that they might be deciphered by some Semitic epigraphist. The result was that the inscriptions were examined by Dr. Cowley, Dr. Buchanan Gray, M. Mayer-Lambert and M. Clermont-Ganneau. The following note comprises what each of these scholars has stated about them.

The largest of the three epigraphs is in Hebrew and the other two are Himyaritic. Regarding the Hebrew Inscription M. Clermont-Ganneau and Dr. Cowley say:—

The inscription is of a later date and forms the epitaph of Rabbi Hyia, son of Joseph, who died in the month of Marheshwan of the year 1563 (?) (of the Seleucids ?=1251 A.D.), with the usual eulogistic funeral formulae "may his soul rest" and "may his soul be bound up in the sheaf of the living." [C.-Ganneau].

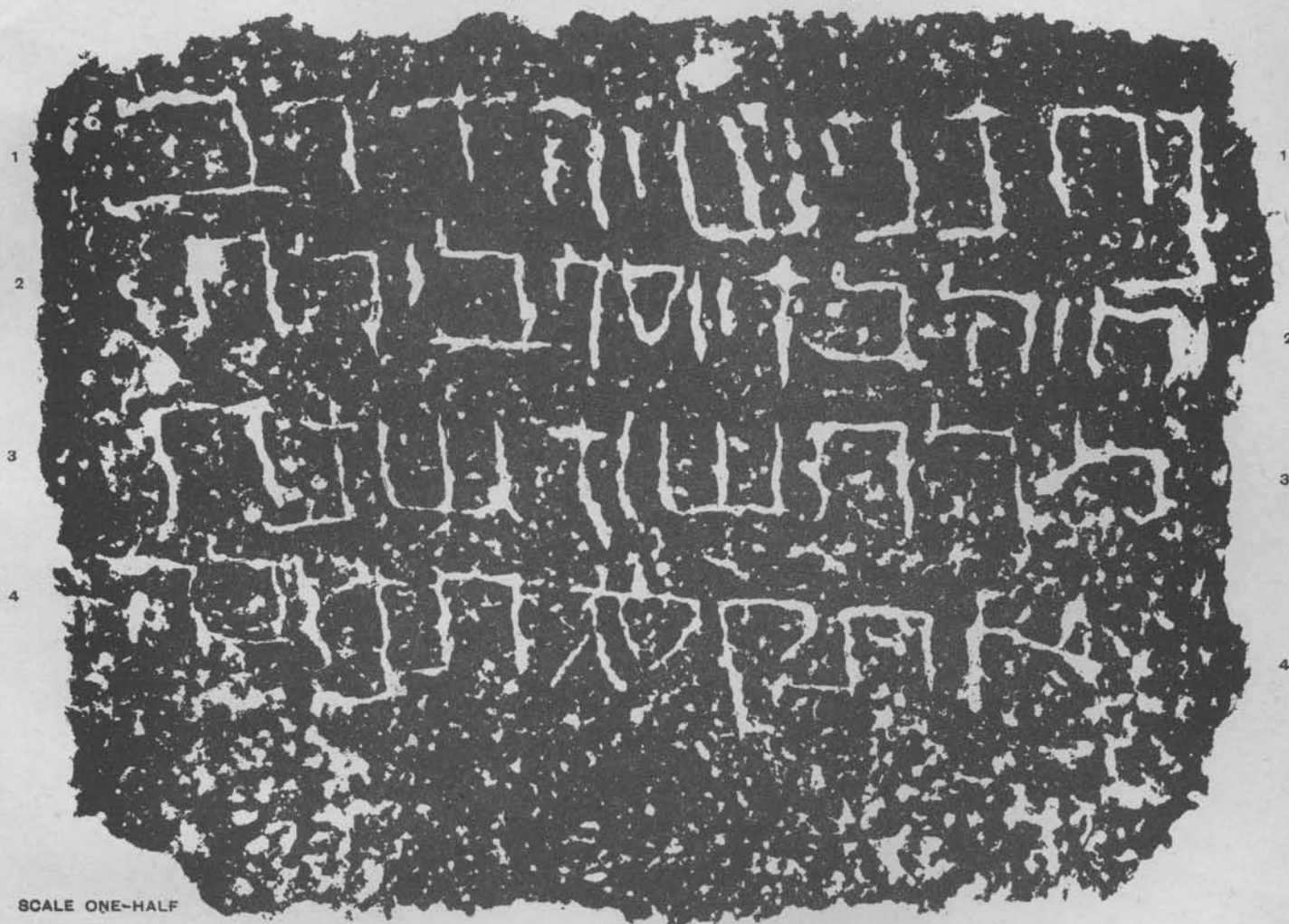
Dr. Cowley remarks as follows:—

Text in Hebrew.	Text in Roman.	Translation.
נח נפשיה דרר	Nah naphsheh d'rabb Hyia	The son of R. Hyia ben Joseph
חיה בן יוסף י"ח	ben Yoseph b'yerah Marheshwan	went to its rest in the month of
מרחשון שנת	sh'nath MDLXIII T.N.Z.B.H.	Marheshwan in the year 1563—
סתקסג תנצ"ה		R. I. P.

The inscription is of an ordinary type. The only uncertainty in the reading is with regard to the name which looks like *יחיה* (for *יחיה* Yahya), but probably the first stroke is unintentional and we should read *חיה*. The letters at the end, after the date, give a common abbreviated formula 'may his soul be bound up in the sheaf of the living' (i. Sam. 25, 20). The date 1563 is no doubt of the Seleucid era, and is, therefore, equivalent to 1252 A.D. It is difficult to say if the style of the letters either agrees or disagrees with this, because the inscription was evidently cut by an unskilled person. The *W* with a flat base, is the most noticeable letter: the distinction between *י* and *ס* is small, and the top of *י(א)* is exaggerated.

Three Semitic Inscriptions from Bhuj.

I. Epitaph of Rabbi Hiya: the year 1563.



SCALE ONE-HALF

II. Sabaean Inscription A.



SCALE ONE-THIRD

F. W. THOMAS

III. Sabaean Inscription B.



SCALE ONE-THIRD

WHITTINGHAM & GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

It is highly improbable that an epitaph of this kind should belong to Bhuj or any other place in Northern India, and doubtless the Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1916-17, p. 50, is right in supposing that all the three stones came originally from South Arabia, perhaps from Aden. A number of tomb-inscriptions (of a later date) from the Jewish cemetery at Aden, were published in 1908 by H. P. Chajes in the *Sitzb. d. ph.-hist. Kl. d. k. Akademie* of Vienna. As is well known, there have been Jewish settlers in South Arabia since early in the Christian era—if not before it.

The fact that this epitaph was associated with two South Arabian fragments is some reason for thinking that all three came originally from the same region. [A. Cowley].

On the two Himyaritic inscriptions which are on two smaller stones and bear South Arabian writing Mayer-Lambert and Dr. Gray write:—

“The inscription in two lines (from left to right) is transcribed below:—

Y	B	M	II
B	A	D	W

The second line is very clear, although W has never the form ⓧ in Himyaritic but is always expressed by the form ⓪. It is a formula *Wadd'ab* (*Wadd*=father), frequently met with on talismans: see the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Part IV, Volume II, page 178.

With regard to the first line, I am not able to make it out and should think that, though it is very strange, it reads B(o)mb(a)y.

The second inscription in one line reads:—

§ M H M B C Q

which is entirely unintelligible. It may, perhaps, be read thus:—

Q C B M H M §

that is to say.....Qa, ‘the son of Hamis’? though the meaning of BM=son is very doubtful. The monuments are probably bad copies of original stones. [Mayer-Lambert].

‘The rubbings are of two inscriptions, one of two lines (A), and the other of a single line (B).

A.

Both the lines are read from left to right and, with the exception of the left hand letter of the top line, the reading seems to be obvious; the first letter (II) is probably *ghain* and, transliterating into Arabic letters read from right to left, the inscription reads:—
ربي عم ددات مي

..... Wadd'ab.

The inscription thus belongs to the group of short Sabaeen inscriptions, found on buildings and amulets, which mention *Wadd'ab*, *Wadd'abum*, *Waddum*, *Abum*, *Abwadd* or *Abum Waddum*; see *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Part IV, Chap. IX, Art. VI, Nos. 470-486. The Bombay Museum possesses, in addition to the present, another inscription of this group (C.I.S. 482), first published by J. Bird in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II, No. VIII, 1844, p. 30; it was also published by W. F. Prideaux in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, VI, 1879, p. 305. This inscription is engraved over the figure of a man, wearing a cap and a loin cloth extending to the knees, but otherwise nude and has been interpreted as “image of Waddab.”

In the present inscription the first word is obscure. If, as can be judged from the rubbing, the inscription is complete, it consists of not less than four, nor more than five, letters; the last letter of the word (ي) should therefore be the ending of the construct case dual. The root *عيب* is, it must be admitted, unknown and improbable; but with the less improbable alternatives for the first letter, the words *عيبني*, *عيبني* give nothing more satisfactory. If the third letter should be regarded as a mutilated *ف*, *ط* or *س*, though for this there seems no good ground, roots known from the Arabic (*عيب*, *غبي*) would result, but the interpretation would remain obscure.

Both the direction of writing and the forms of the letters point to an early date for the inscription—(though the M is not quite the earliest type)—, say to the earlier part of the period of the kings of Sab'a; if the transition from the style of kings of Sab'a to that of kings of Sab'a and Dhu Raidan be correctly dated as 115 B.C., this inscription must be earlier, perhaps considerably earlier than 115 B.C.

The direction of the writing from left to right occurs in the alternate lines of the relatively rare and early boustrophedon inscriptions, see, e.g., *C.I.S.* 363, 367, 371, 379, 381, 383, 386, 387, 412, 413, 415, 417, 418, 421, 423, 439, 459 (from Abyssinia), 487, 491. Other examples of this direction maintained in two consecutive lines are much rarer: see *C.I.S.* 474 in two lines.

B.

To judge from the form of M, this also is probably to be read from left to right, though the M, round as here, does very occasionally occur in inscriptions read in the usual manner from right to left (see *C.I.S.* 393).

Transliterating into Arabic letters read from right to left, this inscription reads:—

فراءعيبني

The line immediately to the left of the first M is presumably the line of division; the similar line to the left of this looks most like a second line of division; but since two such lines together are most improbable, the line must rather be the remainder of a letter,—of what, is not clear.

The first word is obscure and perhaps incomplete; the second seems to be a proper name having the form of a participle of the causative conjugation (Ar. IV) without nunation.

The inscription belongs to much the same period as A, of an early, but not of the earliest (note the angular top of the H, and the bottom of the S; see *C. I. S.*, 379) period. [G. Buchanan Gray]. "

No. 55.—AN UNPUBLISHED GRANT OF DHARUVASENA I.

MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A.

This paper relates to two copper-plates which on cleaning have been found to constitute a new Valabhi grant. They were handed over by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar of the Deccan College, Poona, some ten years ago to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, the then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.

The grant is inscribed on the inner side of two copper-plates, each having two holes for keeping them together by means of rings, now missing. The size of the plates is $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ " and the thickness is $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Each plate is broken into two large and several small pieces.

The letters are cut deeply. As to orthography, the use of the *jīhāmāliya* in line 12 and of the *upadhāmāliya* in ll. 5, 11 and 14 and the change of the *visarga* into *s* before *ślakṣā* (l. 23) may be noticed.

The inscription is one of the *Mahāsāmānta Mahārāja Dhruvasēna I* of the Maitraka family and records the grant from Valabhī, of the village Kalahātaka situated in the *Hastavaprāharanī* to two Brāhmanas, Viśvadatta and Vasudatta, of the Bhāradvāja *yōtra* for the maintenance of the sacrificial rites *bali, charu, vaiśvadēva, etc.* That the plates confirm a previous grant is suggested by the expressions *Hastavaprāharanyām Kalahātaka-grāmaḥ pūrova-bhukta-bhujyamānakaḥ* (l. 14), *pūro-āchāra-sthityā pratipāditaḥ* (ll. 18 and 19). The name of the donees' place of residence is broken. These expressions might be translated as "the village *Kalahātaka* situated within the *Hastavaprā-haranī* territorial division which had (formerly) been enjoyed and is being enjoyed (by the donees of the original grant)", "has been granted (by us) in accordance with the usual custom."

The writer of the published charters of Dhruvasēna I, issued by him from the Gupta-Valabhī *Saṁvat* 206 to 217 is *Kikkaka*, but there are several changes in the office of the *Dūtaka* or the executive officer. Thus the *Dūtaka Pratihāra Mammaka* who is mentioned in all copper-plate grants of Dhruvasēna I issued from G. V. Saṁ. 206 to Śrāvaṇa *śu.* 15 of 210, gives place to Rudradhara in the *Palitānā* plates of Aśvayuja *ba.* 5, G. V. Saṁ. 210, issued like the other two grants of 210 from Valabhī. Later, in the year 216, Rudradhara is replaced by the *Bhōgika Rājasthānīya Bhaṭṭi*. Thus the chronology of various grants, so far as the *Dūtakas* are concerned, is sufficiently clear and leads me to surmise that as the *Dūtaka* of these plates is the *Pratihāra Mammaka*, the charter may, even in the absence of date, be tentatively placed between the years 206 and 210, i.e., before the assumption of the *Dūtaka's* office by Rudradhara. This must, however, remain a mere possibility as it is not necessary that there should be only one *Dūtaka* at a time, and that another could not be appointed during the life-time or even the tenure of a certain *Dūtaka*. Of the place names mentioned in the inscription, *Hastavapra* is modern Hāthab¹. *Kalahātaka* may be identified with modern Koliak² (spelt as Koliyat by Col. H. S. Jarrett)³ lying on the eastern bank of the creek near Hāthab.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 यो खल्वि वलभीतः प्रसभप्रयतामिचानां मैत्रकाशमनुवलयसपन्नमक्षलाभोग-
- 2 संसन्नसंप्रहारमतलमप्रतापः प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागोनुरक्त-
- 3 मौलभृतमित्रवेषोदलावासराज्यश्रीः परममाहेश्वरखेनापतिश्रीभटक्षस्य सुतः
- 4 तस्यादरजोरुणावनतपविशोक्तमि[राः*] शिरोवनतग्रन्थुङ्गामविप्रभाविष्कुरित-
पादनक्ष-
- 5 प(प)क्षिदोषितिर्हीनानायजना(नो)पजीव्यमानविभवः परममाहेश्वरखेनापतिधरसेनः
- 6 तस्यानुवलयस्यादाभिप्रचामप्रयक्षविमलमौलिमर्चिर्न्यादिप्रयोतविधिविध(धा)नधर्मा
- 7 धर्मराज इव विहितविनयश्चस्वापद्धा(ह)तिरखिलभुवनमक्षलाभोगस्वामिना
परमस्वामिन(ना)
- 8 स्वमुपहितराज्याभिषेकमहाविश्वामनाधपूतराजश्रीः परममाहेश्वरो महाराज-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 314 and above, Vol. XI, p. 106 and notes 1 and 2.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 314.

³ *Ann. & Alibari* 1891 edn., Vol. II, p. 215.

- 9 द्रोणसिंहः सिंह इव तस्यानुजस्त्वभु[जव*]लेन परगजघटानीकानामेकविजयो
 10 शरशैविनां शरणमवबोधा शास्त्रार्थ[तत्त्वा*]नां कल्पतरुव सुहृद्व्ययिनां
 यथाभिल-
 11 पितृफलोपभोगदः परमभाग[व*]त[परमभट्टारकयादाशुष्मातो महासाम[न्त*]-
 12 महाराजध्रुवसेन[कुशलो सख्य[नि*]व स्वानायुक्तकविनियुक्तक[द्रा*]निकम-
 हत्तरचा[ट*]-
 13 भटध्रुवस्थानाधिकरणिकदाण्डपा[ग्रि*]कादौनर्थांश्च यथासंबन्धमानकानमुदग्ययत्-
 14 [स्तु*] व[स्त्रांविदित*] यथा हस्तवप्राहरा(र)ण्यां कलहाटकशाम[पूर्वभुक्तभुज्य-
 [मा*]नका

Second Plate.

- 15 — — — — नगरवास्तव्यब्राह्मणविश्वदत्तवसुदत्ताभ्यां भरद्वाजसगोत्राभ्यां
 16 — — — — [स*]नक्षत्रचारिभ्यां मया मातापित्रोः पुष्पाध्यायनायात्मनश्चे-
 द्दिकामुष्मिकयथाभि-
 17 [लघित*]फलायामिनिमित्तमाचन्द्रार्का[र्ण*]वक्तितसरित्यर्धतस्त्रितिसमकालीनं
 18 [पुत्रपौत्रा*]न्ययभोर्ध्वं वलिचक्रवैश्व[देवा*]द्यानां क्रियाणां समुत्तर्यणार्थपूर्व[१*]-
 चार-
 19 [स्थित्या प्रति*]पादितः [१*] यतीनयोर्भु[ज*]तोः जपतोः कर्षयतोः प्रदि-
 शतोर्वा न कैश्चि-
 20 [प्रतिषे*]धो विचारणा वा कार्यास्त[व*]शजैरागामिभद्रनृपतिभिश्चानित्या-
 न्यैश्वर्याण्य-
 21 [स्त्रिरं मानुषं सामान्यं च भूमिदानफ*]लमवगच्छन्निरियमस्मदनुमतिर[नु-
 22 मन्तव्या यथाच्छि*]न्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वातुभो[दे*]स पञ्चभिर्गहापातकै-
 क्षोपपातकै-
 23 [च संयुक्तस्था*]दिति [१*] चाच व्यासगीताश्लोका [भवन्ति ॥ ५*]ष्ठि[ष्टि]-
 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे भोदति भूमिदः [१*]
 24 [चाच्छेत्ता*] चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे[त् १*] खदत्तां परदत्तां
 वा यो हरेत वसुधारा[म् १*]
 25 गवां शतसहस्रस्य हनुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषम् [१*] बहुभिर्बुधा भुक्त्वा
 राम[भिस्सारा*]-
 26 दिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [१*]
 27 स्वहृदो मम महासामन्तमहाराजध्रुवसेनस्य [१*] कृतकः प्रतोडास्मकः [१*]
 28 लिखितं किञ्चन [१*] — — — — — शु — — — —

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