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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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LIST OF PLATES.

[illegible]

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 8, text line 9, for *kirtya[rtham= read kirtya[rtham=.*
- „ 10, f. n. 4, for *Basavarāja-ragaḷe read Basavarājadēvara Ragaḷe.*
- „ 11, l. 8 from bottom, for *Kaviḷasapura read Kaviḷāsapura.*
- „ 12, text line 17, for *ahārājādhirāja read mahārājādhirāja.*
- „ 15, line 10, for *Dvārāvati read Dvārāvati.*
- „ 21, text line 47, for *योजिनीन(यु)त° read योजिनीन[यु]त.°*
- „ 22, text line 86, for *°ब्राह्मचपीर° read °ब्राह्मचपीर.°*
- „ 23, last line, for the final form of it *read the final form of t.*
- „ 24, text line 6, for *बबरमेखक° read बबरमेखक.°*
- „ 26, line 22, for “ in the four-hundredth year ” *read “ in the four-and-hundredth year ”.*
- „ 29, line 4 from bottom, for *Gōṇḍala-sāhasa read Gōṇḍala-sāhasa.*
- „ 29, line 3 from bottom, for *Raṅga-mṛigēndra read Raṅgarāṅga-mṛigēndra.*
- „ 32, text line 3, for *Kōllavi-gaṇḍa read Kollavigaṇḍa.*
- „ 33, text line 42, for *Guṇaka-vijayitunḍu read Guṇaka-Vijayitunḍu.*
- „ 34, text line 48, for *paritaḷḷa read paritūḷḷa.*
- „ 35, f. n. 2, for “ *C. f. Mr. V. Miśra (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.) and Mr. S. Rajaguru (Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. VII, pp. 165 ff.)* ” *read “ C. f. Mr. V. Miśra (Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. VII, pp. 665 ff.) and Mr. S. Rajaguru (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.) ”.*
- „ 35, f. n. 4 for Vol. LXIII *read Vol. LXXIII.*
- „ 38, text line 2, for *-maṇai (nē)r= read -maṇai (ṇē)r=.*
- „ 43, line 12 from bottom, for *Maṇḍaladēva read Maṇḍanadēva.*
- „ 43, line 5 from bottom, for *Pānāchchi read Pānāchchī.*
- „ 45, text line 12, for *यङ्गजदं° read यङ्गजदं.°*
- „ 48, text line 25, for *लघुभाता° read लघुभाता.°*
- „ 48, text line 29, for *शिव पुनरत्र read शिव पुनरत्र.*
- „ 49, text line 31, for *पिंरी(मो)पकी read पिंरी(मो)पकी.*
- „ 49, text line 33, for *नट्टापाटकयानि read नट्टापाटकयानि.*
- „ 49, text line 35, for *कता(कात्ती)तिकां read कता(कात्ती)तिकां.*
- „ 49, text line 37, for *स्युष्टादि read स्युष्टादि.*
- „ 50, line 15, for ‘ *frequently* ’ *read ‘ frequently ’.*
- „ 51, line 5, for *Vālabha read Vālabhya.*
- „ 54, text line 19, for *बलीकसाधारण° read बालाकसाधारण.°*
- „ 54, text line 26, for *विज्ञानिकसुनाकिन read विज्ञानिकसुनाकिन.*
- „ 71, f. n. 1, for *vasasatāra read vasasatāya.*
- „ 77, line 2 from bottom, for “ *Puragupta's mother* ” *read “ Puragupta's wife ”.*
[The correct name of this queen is Chandradēvi (see *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1934-35, p. 63).]
- „ 81, text line 4, for *Gōvinda-svāminah read Gōvindasvāminah.*
- „ 89, line 18 from bottom, for “ *interpretatated* ” *read “ interpreted ”.*
- „ 92, line 2 from bottom, for *Pamattavāra read Pramattavāra.*
- „ 93, line 3, for *visēnimādāya read visēnimādāya.*
- „ 95, text lines 15-16, for *विरण्यकशिपं read विरण्यकशिपुं.*

- Page 95, text line 26, for दीव्यमास्यं read दीव्यमास्यं.
 „ 102, line 15, for Neḍuñjadaiyan read Neḍuñjadaiyan.
 „ 104, line 18, for Paraśumaṅgalam read Paraśumaṅgalam.
 „ 118, text line 11, for =*ek-ādhivāsasya* read =*ek-ādhivāsasya*.
 „ 120, f. n. 1, l. 4, for *Mahāvamsa* read *Mahāvamsa*.
 „ 122, f. n. 1, ll. 2-3, for *Arantaṅgi* read *Arantaṅgi*.
 „ 132, text line 8, for तन्माद्यतः read तन्माद्यतः.
 „ 135, line 18, for Mattepad read Mattepad.
 „ 138, f. n. 5, for Baroda plates of Dhruva II (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, p. 197) read Bagumrā plates of Dhruva II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 179).
 „ 141, text line 22, for ०रिक् र क्षितरातिसेभकुभः ॥ read ०रिक् चक्षरचदक्षितारातिसेभकुभः ॥
 „ 146, f. n. 2, for *Sapta-bhaṅgi-naya* read *Sapta-bhaṅgi-naya*.
 „ 148, f. n. 5, for *Baihayas* read *Haihayas*.
 „ 154, line 9, for *Vamśasthavila* read *Vamśasthavila*.
 „ 155, line 19, for *Aihole* read *Aihole*.
 „ 158, line 5, for *Bhōjadēva* read *Bhōjadēva*.
 „ 160, line 8 from bottom, for *Rānmā* read *Rānmā*.
 „ 161, line 8 from bottom, for “*Kamalarāja*, son of *Kōkalla II*” read “*Kamalarāja* son of *Kaliṅgarāja*”.
 „ 164, text line 15, for =*Kāsyapa* read =*Kāsyapa*.
 „ 165, text lines 26-27, for *prabhātas=tāvad=* read *prabhātas=tāvad=*.
 „ 167, line 13, for *Kurukāḍi Kilāṇ* read *Kurukāḍi Kilāṇ*.
 „ 167, f. n. 3, l. 2, for *pērttandōm* read *pērttandōm*.
 „ 169, text line 6, for *Pallava-Muttaraiya-* read *Pallava-Muttaraiya-*.
 „ 170, line 14, for *Pāppanahchēri* read *Pāppanahchēri*.
 „ 170, line 4 from bottom, for *Tiru-Anantīśvarattu* read *Tiru-Anantīśvarattu*.
 „ 174, line 11, for “*i* is distinguished from *i*” etc., read “*i* is distinguished from *i*” etc.
 „ 175, line 9, for *Vāraṇasiyūmān* read *Vāraṇasiyūmān*.
 „ 176, f. n. 3, l. 7, for *piṇḍ-ādānvāgi* read *piṇḍ-ādānvāgi*.
 „ 177, f. n. 10, for “to have ruled only for short time” read “to have ruled only for a short time”
 „ 178, text line 15, for *gāroḍam* read *gāroḍam*.
 „ 178, f. n. 1, for *dattib* read *dattib*.
 „ 179, in the heading of A, for *Sarhvat 257* read *Sarhvat 254*.
 „ 181, line 9 from bottom, for *Hastavapra-āhāra* read *Hastavapra-āhāra*.
 „ 182, line 1, for *Khuddaka* read *Khuddaka*.
 „ 182, line 3, for *Bhadāsaka* read *Bhadāsaka*.
 „ 184, text line 35, for ०सिद्धि० read ०सिद्धि०.
 „ 184, text line 42, for ०व द्दिना ॥ read ०व द्दिना ॥.
 „ 187, f. n. 7, ll. 5-6, for *Mānā-Charaṇa* read *Mānābharāṇa*.
 „ 190, text line 18, for *uḷḷittāraik=ko ru* read *uḷḷittāraik=koṇru*.
 „ 191, text line 28, for *Jinattara[ya]* read *Chinattara[ya]*.
 „ 191, text line 29, for ०mugat-tukku read ०mugattukku.
 „ 193, line 1, for “*Pallavarāyaṇ* of *Mēṇmalaip-Palaiyaṇūr*” read “*Pallavarāyaṇ* of *Palaiyaṇūr* in *Mēṇmalaip-Palaiyaṇūr-nāḍu*”.
 „ 193, line 18, for *Virana[mbi]* read *Virana[mbi]*.
 „ 195, f. n. 7, for *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, read *C. I. I.*, Vol. II.
 „ 198, text line 8, for *yathābhūta-samprativē(bē)dhē* read *yathābhūta-samprativēdhē*.

- Page 204, No. 34, line 8, for Hoyasaḷas read Hoysaḷas.
- „ 209, line 12 from bottom, for ghañchaka read Ghañchaka.
- „ 209, line 11 from bottom, for chaṭṭa read Chaṭṭa.
- „ 209, line 10 from bottom, for Lusaṇikā read Lūsaṇikā.
- „ 209, lines 6 and 7 from bottom, for Dhōraka read Dhōrika.
- „ 212, line 4, for “ and r and c (ll. 4 and 11) ” read “ and r and ch (ll. 4 and 12) ”.
- „ 218, text line 23, for ‘चौरीहरणिक’ read ‘चौरीहरणिक.’
- „ 218, text line 31, for ‘राचवहृ’ read ‘राचवहृ.’
- „ 219, text line 53, for वल्लायन्ति read वल्लयन्ति.
- „ 225, lines 15-16, for *Aṣṭāṅgaḥriḍaya* read *Aṣṭāṅgaḥriḍaya*.
- „ 226, line 4, for “ they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 ” etc. read “ they have to be placed after A.D. 1062 ” etc.
- „ 227, line 2, for Nanarese read Kanarese.
- „ 228, line 22 from bottom, for Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram read Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram.
- „ 228, line 5 from bottom, for Alpākkam read Alppākkam.
- „ 234, text line 14, for Kulaiya-divākara- read Kuvalaiya-Divākara-.
- „ 235, text line 15, for =tiṅgalmērāttār= read =tiṅgalmērāttār=.
- „ 235, text line 19, for Virāśōḷaṇukku read Virāśōḷaṇukku.
- „ 237, text line 29, for =Tiruvēṅgaḍamālai= read =Tiruvēṅgaḍamālai=.
- „ 238, text line 30, for eṇ-kalanēy- read eṇ-kalanēy-.
- „ 243, line 11 from bottom, for “ Manmagaṇḍayan, ... Koṇḍayan, Āchchidaran ” read “ Manmagaṇḍayan, ... Kāmayan, ... Koṇḍayan, Āchchidaran ”.
- „ 244, line 15 from bottom, for Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu read kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu.
- „ 245, line 1, for Vaḷavarāditta-Mūvēṇḍavēḷār read Vaḷavarāditta-Mūvēṇḍavēḷār.
- „ 245, lines 17-18, for *mudal kilavu* read *mudal selavu*.
- „ 258, f. n. 3, for Mahmud read Maḥmūd.
- „ 263, text lines 12-13, for हेमयष्टा(ष्टा)सुनोच त्रिगुणाः read हेमयष्टा(ष्टा)सुनोचत्रिगुणाः and omit notes 3 and 4 ; and in the translation of verse 5 on p. 266, for (Let people hear) the three guṇas and the prowess of (that god), who possesses a yashtyāsana made of gold, viz., Kapardin, etc. substitute (Let these be heard, viz.) the birth in hēmayashṭyāsana, the qualities and the prowess of that (god) Kapardin ”, etc. [I am indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., for this correction and the next.]
- „ 264, text lines 49-50, for सखादन(न)चाय(चि)ता read सखादन(न)चाय(चि)ता ; and in the translation of verse 15, for “ and whose devotion (to god) resorted to none but himself ” etc. substitute “ and whose devotion resorted to none but Skanda ” etc.
- „ 264, f. n. 2, for विचतो^१विचतो^१मुखो^१ etc., read विचतो^१मुखो^१विचतो^१ etc.
- „ 268, line 5, for “Timmana-Bhaṭṭa who was the son of Kāmēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka ” read “Timmana-Bhaṭṭa who was the son of Koṇḍu-Bhaṭṭāraka and grandson of Kāmēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka ”.
- „ 268, line 16 from bottom, for Kalin-garāya- read Kalingarāya-.
- „ 268, line 11 from bottom, for Odhra read Odra.
- „ 268, line 8 from bottom, for “ the Narasāpaṭam plates of Vajrahasta II ” read the Narasāpaṭam plates of Vajrahasta III ”.
- „ 268, line 6 from bottom, for Pāṇ-dyārāya- read Pāṇḍyārāya-.
- „ 269, line 9, for Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōḷa read Madhurāntaka Pottappi-Chōḷa.

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- Page 271, text line 6, for -śāstrulavāriki read -śāstrulavāriki.
 „ 272, text line 38, for dhāra-purvañ- read dhārā-pūrvan-
 „ 274, text line 32, for निजमाहीना(मा)रं read निजमाहीना(मा)रं.
 „ 276, text line 79, delete the figure 2 above चक्रासुनं.
 „ 278, line 17, for Hāḍāvatī read Hāḍāvaṭī.
 „ 279, line 9, for Śāraṅgapura read Śāraṅgapura.
 „ 283, text line 14, for एकादशैरक्षतेन read एकादशैरक्षतेन.
 „ 286, text line 39, for सुकसदलन read सुकसदलन.
 „ 287, text line 42, for स च । read स चो.
 „ 292, line 3 from bottom, for Endāvirut read Endāvīrut.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXI.

NO. 1.—MATHURA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II : G. E. 61.

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D. (Hon.), CALCUTTA.

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

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

The characters belong to the early Gupta period when they were practically identical with those of the Kushāṇa records. This is particularly the case with our inscription which is found at Mathurā from where a number of Kushāṇa epigraphs have already come to light. In fact, it would have been well-nigh impossible to say that ours was a Gupta and not a Kushāṇa record, had it not contained the name of a Gupta king. The letters *kḥ*, *gh*, *j*, *p*, *m*, and *v* of our inscription have almost invariably flat and angular bases ; so also sometimes even the tops of *g*

and *ḥ*. But these characteristics are noticeable in the script not only of the Kushāṇa but also of the early Kshatrapa or Nahapāna period. Then we have to note the equalisation of the upper verticals, the constant use of the nail-head or wedge, the loop in the left limb of *y*, the peculiarly developed left member of *bh*, the slightly convex cross-bar of *k* and the base-line of *n* or *ṇ* bending lower down on either side. These peculiarities our epigraph has in common not only with the Kushāṇa records but also with the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. The only point in which this last differs from the others is that while in the former the medial *ā* and *ē* are indicated invariably by horizontal side strokes, in the latter they are sometimes shown by the vertical slanting strokes placed on the tops of the letters. But there seem to be no palæographic peculiarities of any kind which demarcate the early Gupta from the Kushāṇa script. It is possible to argue that what is called the eastern variety of Gupta letters, such as is indicated by the peculiar forms of *m*, *s* and *h*, already makes its appearance in the early Gupta records even at Mathurā. Thus Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* No. 4, which was found at this place and pertains to Chandragupta II himself, has the letter *m* engraved throughout in the eastern variety. The same type of *m* is traceable in a Jaina inscription also found at Mathurā¹ but of the time of Kumāragupta I. And further, if we consider the Mēharauli pillar inscription of Chandra,² we notice not only *m* but also *s* and *h* of the eastern variety. Scholars are now agreed that this Chandra is either Chandragupta I or Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Where the original site of the pillar was is not definitively known. Possibly it was somewhere near Hardwār.³ It may be to the north of Mathurā, but certainly not to the east of it. We have thus to take note of the record which refers at the latest to Chandragupta II and which presents the peculiar eastern variety of *m*, *s* and *h*, although it was not put up anywhere in the eastern part of the Gupta dominions. It may thus be argued that the eastern forms of these three letters are noticeable in epigraphs from the western part of the Gupta kingdom and also as early as the time of Chandragupta II, and that, as they are not found in any Kushāṇa record, the existence of this eastern variety at Mathurā and Mēharauli (or Hardwār) is enough to differentiate clearly the Gupta from the Kushāṇa script. This line of reasoning has no doubt an air of plausibility about it, but cannot stand any critical examination. Bühler has already shown that specimens of the eastern variety appear also in an Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Chandragupta II (Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* No. 6, IVA), but this he has rightly explained by the fact that it was incised during an expedition of that Gupta sovereign to Mālwa at the command of his minister who was a native of Pāṭaliputra. The existence of the eastern type of Gupta characters in the Mēharauli pillar inscription may be explained exactly similarly by saying that it was engraved by the officers of Chandragupta II as they were returning from an expedition of world conquest adverted to therein. Secondly, it is a mistake to suppose that these specimens of the eastern variety are not noticeable in the Kushāṇa records also. Nay, in Mathurā itself an inscription⁴ has been discovered dated the 14th year of Kanishka's reign, which contains the typically eastern Gupta forms of the three letters *m*, *s* and *h*. This also indicates that there is no hard and fast distinction between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta scripts. There is another piece of evidence to show that these eastern forms of the letters sprung into existence in the pre-Gupta period. Thus we know of an inscription found at Gaḍhā (Jasdan) in Kāthiāwāḍ of the time of the Mahākshatrapa Rudrasāna. It is dated 127 (or 126), and, as it is referred to the Śaka era, we obtain A.D. 205 (or 204) as its English equivalent. If we carefully examine the facsimile of this record,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 39 & Pl.

² *Gupta Inscr.*, No. 32, Pl. xxi^a.

³ *As. Res. Inst.*, Vol. VIII, p. 172 f.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 f.

published above (Vol. XVI. Plate facing p. 237), we find that the letters *m* and *h* are incised sometimes in the so-called western and sometimes also in the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. It is thus clear, that these eastern forms of the letters were in existence as early as A.D. 205, the date of the Jastan inscription, that is, certainly more than a century prior to the rise of the Gupta power. They cannot thus possibly be called Gupta characters at all. And it would be the height of absurdity to dub them as the eastern variety of the Gupta letters especially when the Jastan record is not only of the pre-Gupta period but is far far removed to the south-west of Pāṭaliputra.

There are, however, some minor palæographic peculiarities in our inscription which call for notice here. The ending *m* in *Siddham*, with which the inscription begins, looks, however, like the eastern variety of the Gupta *m*, though in all other cases it is represented by the other—earlier—form of the letter. That it is the ending *m* is indicated by its tiny shape. The *h* in *mahārāja* in l. 1 is represented by a character which looks like *u*. Possibly its right limb remained unincised inadvertently. Though *n* is engraved in all other cases with the base-line bending slightly lower down on either side, the *n* in *gurv-āyatanē* in l. 10 has a distinct loop on the left as in the later form of that character. This, however, is not unknown to the Kushāṇa records. The way in which components of the conjunct *mho* are joined in *sambōdhanam* (l. 12) is worth seeing. The rare *ñ* in *viśaṅkam* (l. 13) and the Kushāṇa form of *a* and *ā* in ll. 5 and 8 are also worthy of note. Similarly, the character for the numeral 60 in l. 4 does not resemble any of the Gupta period shown by Bühler in cols. IX-X. of his *Tafel IX.*, but comes very close to that in col. V of the Kshatrapa period ranging between the 2nd and the 3rd century A.D.

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

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

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1917, p. 293.

intercalary month. The lacuna before *prathamē* can thus be easily filled up with *Āshāḍha-māsē*. We thus find that the month of our date cannot but be *Āshāḍha*. We also find that the date of our record was a current Gupta year. Because this intercalary month came only in A.D. 380 current, the Gupta 61 must therefore be also a current year.

The earliest date we had so far for Chandragupta II is G.E. 82, supplied by an Udayagiri cave inscription of his feudatory chieftain of the Sanakānika family¹. But the date furnished by our epigraph is 61, which is thus twenty-one years earlier. It also sheds some light on the length of his reign. The latest known date for this Gupta sovereign is 93. Therefore Chandragupta II must have had a reign of at least 32 years.

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

The object of the inscription is to record that *Uditāchārya*, who was the *Māhēśvara* teacher living, established two images, called *Kapilēśvara* and *Upamitēśvara*, in the *Gurv-āyatana*. The second part of these two names, i.e., *ēśvara*, shows that it was the *Liṅgas* that were installed. The first parts of these, i.e., *Upamita* and *Kapila*, are the names of the teacher and the teacher's teacher of *Uditāchārya*. It therefore seems that the latter established two *Liṅgas*, one in the name of *Upamita* and the other in the name of *Kapila*. We have numerous instances of persons setting up idols of Vishṇu or Śiva either in their own or in their father's or mother's name. It is therefore no wonder that *Uditāchārya* put up two *Liṅgas* in the names of his teacher and teacher's teacher. What is, however, noteworthy here is that he installed the *Liṅgas* in a place called *Gurv-āyatana* which can only mean "the Teachers' Shrine." As none of the *gurus* of the line to which *Uditāchārya* pertained was then alive, the *Gurv-āyatana* can only denote the place where the memorials of the *gurus* were established. And we know from this inscription what sort of memorials were set up by *Uditāchārya* in the names of his *gurus*. They were *Liṅgas* called individually after them. The inference is reasonable that *Gurv-āyatana* was a place where *Liṅgas* were installed in the names of the teachers who preceded *Uditāchārya*.

This *Gurv-āyatana* reminds us of the *dēvakula* mentioned in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* of Bhāsa which was really "a royal gallery of portrait statues." Bharata, who is a son of Daśaratha but who does not know of his father's death, comes to this place, mistaking it for a shrine of four deities. He meets the *dēvakulika* who was in charge of this edifice, and learns from him that it was not a place of worship but a Statue-house, the last statue erected there being that of Daśaratha,—whereupon he concludes that his father is dead.² The case is, however, somewhat different with the *dēvakulas* mentioned in the Kushāṇa inscriptions. One *dēvakula* certainly enshrined

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 25.

² *Pratimā-nāṭaka* (Triv. Sk. Series, No. 13), pp. 44 ff.

the statue of the Kushāṇa sovereign who was the grand-father (*pitāmaha*) of Huvishka.¹ Whether this *dēvakula* "was the same as the one mentioned in the inscription of Vima it is impossible to say." If they are not the same, then they are of course different. In that case, at Māt near Mathurā where these Kushāṇa inscriptions were found, we had not a gallery of royal portraits, as supposed by some², but rather a cluster of *dēvakulas* commemorating the different Kushāṇa rulers. The case is not unlike what we see in the capital towns of the States of Rājputānā. To take the Jodhpur State, for instance. Six miles north of it is a place called Maṇḍor which is bedecked with a number of structures raised to the memory of the various kings of the Rāṭhōḍ family of that place. Some of these look exactly like temples and are also known locally as *dēulām*³ (= *dēvakulas*). The custom prevalent among the Rājputās namely, to erect a commemorative structure to every departed king seems to have been in vogue also in the Kushāṇa period. The case depicted in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* is, however, different, because it introduces us not to an assemblage of shrine structures, each separate from the others, and each raised to the memory of a ruler that has passed away, but rather to a statue-house which contained the portraits of the dead kings. The *Guruv-āyatana* adverted to in our record resembles this *pratimā-griha* more than the different memorial structures huddled together in a place, which seem to have been customary in Rājputānā from the Kushāṇa times. *Guruv-āyatana* is thus a shrine which comprised the Liṅgas set up in the name and to the memory of the *gurus* of that lineage to which Uditāchārya belonged. It may be contended that the resemblance here is not complete unless we could show that these Liṅgas were or contained the portraits of the departed *gurus*. It has to be admitted that there is some force in this contention. For, in l. 10, immediately after *Guruv-āyatane* we have the two letters *guru*, which were originally followed by at least five letters but which have unfortunately been effaced. It may reasonably be asked why *guru*^o is again engraved at all after *Guruv-āyatane* and whether the letters destroyed cannot be restored so as to answer to this presumption. The reply is that the lacuna can without much difficulty be filled up, and I do not think we shall be very wide of the mark if we restore it to *guru-pratimā-yutau*. The Liṅgas established not only were named after the *gurus* Upamita and Kapila but also bore their portraits. How this could be possible we shall see shortly.

There is just another point to be considered. We have seen that the inscription specifically mentions Uditāchārya as *daśama* or tenth in descent from Kuśika and fourth from Parāśara. While the teachers intervening between Parāśara and Uditāchārya are mentioned and are only two, those between Kuśika and Parāśara are not mentioned at all though they were no less than five. In fact, there was no need of mentioning Kuśika at all unless we suppose that he was the most important personage of the line to which Uditāchārya belonged. We are therefore compelled to infer that Kuśika, though he may not have propounded any new religious system, must have at least originated a line of teachers to which pertained Parāśara, Kapila, Upamita and Uditā. Who could this Kuśika be? There can be but one reply to this question. Years ago I had occasion to point out who Lakulī was. Lakulī was a great puzzle to scholars and archæologists. I first drew their attention to a passage which is common to both the *Vāyu*- and the *Liṅga-Purāṇa*.⁴ On the strength of this passage I showed (1) that Lakulī was the last incarnation of Mahāśvara, (2) that this incarnation took place at Kāyārōhaṇa or Kāyavatāra which was identical with Kārvān, in the Dabhōī tāluk, Baroda *prānt*, Baroda State, and (3) that he had four ascetic pupils, namely, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The same information is contained in a

¹ J. E. A. S., 1924, pp. 402-3.² *PRAS.*, W.C., 1906-7, p. 31, para. 21.³ J. B. O. R. S., 1919, p. 99.⁴ J. B. E. A. S., Vol. XXII, pp. 154 ff.

stone slab inscription, which originally belonged to a temple at Sōmanātha in Kāthiāwād but is now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra in Portugal. The inscription is thus known as the Cintra *prastasti* of the reign of the Chaulukya ruler Sāraṅgadēva, and was last critically edited by G. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff. This inscription corroborates practically all that has been said by the Purāṇas about Lakulī. The order and names of his pupils are however slightly different in this epigraphic record, being, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusha and Maitrēya. But this much is certain that in both Kuśika remains unaltered in name and also stands first in the order. The Cintra *prastasti* however tells us one thing more, namely, that these four disciples of Lakulī were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāsupatas.¹ There can thus hardly be a doubt that the Kuśika of our record must be regarded as the first pupil of Lakulī and that the four *Āchāryas* mentioned here were of course his descendants. In the Cintra *prastasti* three *Āchāryas* are mentioned, namely, Kārttikarāśi, Vālmīkirāśi and Tripurāntaka, the last of whom was a contemporary of Sāraṅgadēva during whose reign it was incised. Verse 19 of this inscription distinctly tells us that these teachers belonged to the line (*gōtra*) of Gārgya. While the Cintra *prastasti* thus gives an account of the ascetic teachers who sprung up in the line of Gārgya, the second pupil of Lakulī, our present record throws light upon the line of teachers that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakulī. It appears that while the descendants of Gārgya established themselves at Sōmanātha in Kāthiāwād, those of Kuśika were settled at Mathurā.

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

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 281, vv. 16-17.

Śiva, we have to suppose that the two sculptures from Kārvān represent obviously the absorption of Lakulī into the divinity of Śiva. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to suppose that even in the case of Upamitēśvara and Kapilēśvara, we had not mere Śiva Liṅgas set up here but rather these Liṅgas with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved into them, as is the case with Lakulī in the two images of Kārvān. Upamita and Kapila, being descendants of Kuśika, must have been experts in the Pśūpata-yōga. We have therefore to presume that they too must have passed away like the yōgins by driving away their *prāṇa-vāyu* through the *brahma-randhra*. They must have thereby merged themselves into the godhead of Śiva. This alone can explain why all these departed ascetics of the Lakulī sect have received the divine title of *bhagavat*. The teacher, Uditāchārya, who is still living and who is not yet absorbed into Śiva, is not, and in fact, cannot, be honoured with this supreme title. He has therefore been merely styled *ārya*. Here it may be asked whether even this title has at all any significance of its own. In this connection my attention has been drawn by my friend, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, to a verse in the 'Cintra' *prastāsi*.¹ It is with reference to Tripurāntaka, the ascetic-teacher of the Gārgya line, who has been referred to above. He was a contemporary of the Chaulukya king Sāraṅgadēva, during whose time the inscription was engraved. The verse runs thus :

Iha sākshād=Umākāntaḥ śrīmān Gaṇḍa-Brihaspatiḥ ।

Āryam=ēnam vinirmāya śaśkṛtham chakrē mahattaram ॥

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

What the verse says is that Gaṇḍa-Brihaspati, who was apparently the State Officer in charge of the religious monuments, made Tripurāntaka an *ārya* and then appointed him sixth *Mahattara*. Bühler himself is not sure whether *Ārya* and *Mahattara* referred to officers, or were mere titles. The second alternative was considered by him as more probable. Personally, however, I think that *Mahattara* denotes an office and frequently occurs in the list of official designations set forth in inscriptions, especially those engraved on copper-plates. As regards *ārya*, it is worthy of note that Hēmachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* gives it as a synonym of *prabhu*, "a master, an owner."² This fits excellently not only in the Cintra *prastāsi* but also in our record. For in the first case we know that Tripurāntaka built five temples of which he legitimately could be an *Ārya* or owner. In the second case we have seen that Uditāchārya raised two memorial structures to his *gurus* in the 'Teachers' Shrine', of which he must doubtless have been an *ārya* or owner.

There now remains only one point to be considered—the date of Lakulīśa. Uditāchārya, we know, was tenth in descent from Kuśika, pupil of Lakulī. Uditāchārya thus belonged to the eleventh generation from Lakulī. Uditāchārya's date, that is, the date of our inscription, is G. E. 61=A.D. 380-81. If we now allot 25 years to each generation, we have to assign Lakulī to A.D. 105-130. This agrees pretty closely with the view I expressed twenty-five years ago* that Lakulī has to be placed as early as the first century A.D. My conclusion was then based merely on the mention, in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, of Lakulī as the last incarnation of Śiva. Evidence of this type will always remain of a somewhat conjectural nature. Epigraphic evidence, on the other hand, is more accurate. We may therefore take it now as well-nigh proved that Lakulī flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D., about half a century later than the time so long ascribed to him.

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

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.

² *Martya-kāṇḍa, paryāya* I. (v. 23).

* *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 167. *J. F. Fleet* agrees in this view (*J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 424).

which has been engraved. The inscribed portion is really the shaft which is octagonal, but four of its faces on which the record is incised being well dressed and the remaining four left rough. The top and the base of the pillar have each four sides, only one of which is well dressed. While the fine dressed surface of the top is sculptured with a trident, that of the base is carved with a standing figure, with two hands, the right of which is let down catching a staff or club and the other held akimbo but also bearing some unidentifiable object. The hair on the head is matted with some curls falling on both the shoulders. The statue bears, apparently, two garments, the upper or *uttariya* being made fast to the body by a band passing round between the chest and the belly and with one end flowing loose spirally at the proper left as in the case of some Gupta images in the Udayagiri caves. Although the lower part of the body is apparently clothed with a *dhoti*, the privates are clearly shown like the breast nipples appearing through the upper garment. The last but not the least important point that we have to notice is the third eye in the forehead. All these characteristics point to the conclusion that we have here the figure of Lakulīśa. The images of Lakulīśa have no doubt been found in numbers, but they all belong to the mediæval period. None has so far been found which is earlier than the seventh century. Again, Lakulīśa of the mediæval period is invariably in a sitting posture. It has two hands, one bearing a club or *lakuṣa* and the other a *mātulūṅga* fruit. Another special feature of Lakulīśa is the *membrum virile* which is shown upraised.¹ But if he is represented in a standing posture, it is impossible to show it uplifted. It seems sufficient if his privates are exposed to view. When this feature is considered along with the fact that in the present case he wields a *lakuṣa* and bears matted hair on the head and a third eye in the forehead, there can be no reasonable doubt as to this being a standing figure of Lakulīśa. This image² is all the more important as it cannot but belong to the fourth century A.D.

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

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham [I] Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja-[rājādhi]rāja-śrī-Samudragupta-sa-
- 2 tputrasya bhaṭṭāraka-ma[hārāja]-[rājādhi]rāja-śrī-Chandragupta-
- 3 sya vija-rajya-samvatsa[rē]³ [Gupta]-kāḷ-ānuvarttamāna-sam-
- 4 vatsarē āka-shashthē 60 1 [pra]thamē śukla-divasē par-
- 5 chamyām [I] asyām pūrvvā[yām] [bha]ga[vat-Ku]śikād-daśan-āna bhagava-
- 6 t-Parāśarāch=chatur[th]jē[na] [bhagavat-Ka]pi[la]-vimala-śi-
- 7 shya-śishyēṇa bhagavad[-Upamita]-vimala-śishyēṇa
- 8 āryy-Ōdi[tā]chāryyē[ṇa] [sva]-pu[ṇy-ā]pyāyana-nimittam
- 9 gurūṇām cha kirtva[rtham=Upamitēśva]ra-Kapilēśvarau

¹ *Archaeol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep., 1906-7, p. 186.*

² [For the photograph see *A. S. E., 1930-31, Epig. Sect.—Ed.*]

³ Read *viṣaya-rājya*?

⁴ The lacuna may be filled up with *Aśhādha-māsa*.



- 10 Gurvv-āyatanē guru . . .¹ pratishṭhāpitō² n=ai-
 11 tat-khyāty-artham-abhili[kh]ya[tē] [atha] mahēśvarāṇām³ vi-
 12 jñaptik-kriyatē sambōdhanam cha yathā-kā[lē]n-āchāryyā-
 13 nām parigraham=iti matvā viśaṅka[m] pūjā-pura-
 14 skāra[m] parigraha-pāripālyam kuryyād=iti vijñaptir=iti [!]⁴
 15 Yaś=cha kīrti-abhidrōham kuryy[ā]d-yaś=ch-ābhilikhitam-uparyy-adhō
 16 vā⁵ sa pañchabhir=mah[ā]pātākair-upapātākaiś=cha samyuktas=syāt[!]⁶
 17 Jayati cha bhagavā[n=Daṇḍaḥ]⁷ rudra-daṇḍō-gra-[nā]yakō nitya[m]

TRANSLATION.

Accomplished.

(Ll. 1-5). In the year—of the victorious reign of the *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Chandragupta*, the good son of the *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Samudragupta*—on the fifth of the bright half of the First (*Ashādhā*) of the year 61 following the Gupta era.

(Ll. 5-10). On this aforesaid (*tūhi*), (the *lingas*) *Upamitēśvara* and *Kapilēśvara* (comprising the portraits of) the teachers were installed in the Teachers' Shrine. *Ārya Uditāchāryya*, tenth from the *Bhagavat* Kuśika,⁸ fourth from the *Bhagavat* Parāśara, a stainless disciple's disciple of the *Bhagavat* Upamita (and) a stainless disciple of the *Bhagavat* Kapila, for the commemoration⁹ of the preceptors and for the augmentation of the religious merit of self.

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

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

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

By S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M.A., MYSORE.

This inscription was first discovered by Rao Sahib P. G. Halakatti of Bijāpur who kindly sent me an ink-impression of it. It is engraved on a stone-slab set up in the temple of *Hāla-Saṁkaraliṅga* at *Arjunavāḍa*, a village, a mile and a half distant from *Hukēri* in the *Belgaum* district of the *Bombay Presidency*. The stone measures 9 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. The writing covers a space of 6 ft. 8 in. At the top, the figures of the *linga*, *Nandin*, and a

¹ This may perhaps be restored to *guru-pratimā-yutaḥ*.

² The 8 in 16 is quite clear at the back of the uninked estampage. Correct the word, however, into *pratish-*
ṭhāpitau.

³ Read *māhēśvarāṇām*.

⁴ Read *uchchhindyāt* or some such word after *vā*.

⁵ Read *bhagavān=Daṇḍaḥ* *sa*.

⁶ To express order of descent, the ablative case is employed. See the remarks of Dr. Hirananda Sastri, above, Vol. XIX, p. 58.

⁷ For *kīrti* (ll. 9 and 15) which is distinguished from *khyāti* (l. 11) see J. F. Fleet's note 6 in *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 212.

worshipper cover a space of 1 ft. 4 in.; at the bottom, a space of 1 ft. 10 in. is left blank. The language of the inscription is Kannada, except in the first verse. The *virāma* is represented by the usual Kannada sign, viz., two vertical strokes. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The characters are of the regular type of the 13th century A. C., with an occasional reversion to older forms, as in the case of the *aksharas* *a*, *i* and *ṇa*. The use of *chha* in place of *tṣa*, as in *saṁvachhara* (l. 46), the employment of two kinds of *anustāras*, and two forms of the secondary *e*-symbol are to be noted. Numerous mistakes have also been committed by the scribe, as in *nīruvariē* for *nīruvariye* (l. 68), *tapachakravarti* for *tapachakravarti* (l. 43), *virtti* for *vritti* (l. 55), etc.

The inscription records that during the rule of the Yādava king Kannara of Dēvagiri, his feudatories Chāvunḍa-Setti and Nāgarasa made a grant of the village Kavilāsapura to Hāla-Basavidēva, an ascetic of the family of Saṅgana-Basava. The importance of the record lies in the fact that this is the first epigraph hitherto obtained which definitely mentions Basava, the restorer of Vira-śaivism during the days of Bijjala Kaḷachurya (c. 1160 A. C.). Dr. Fleet had opined that "no epigraphic mention of Basava and Chenna-Basava had been obtained; which is really peculiar if they held the high office that is allotted to them by tradition".¹ Later, while editing the Managōḷi record,² he held that the mention of the names Mādirāja and Basava, son of a Chandrarāja might have been the nucleus around which later Lingayat tradition clustered. But this Basava could not have been the reformer as his parents mentioned in the Manigavalli record are Chandrarāja and Chandrambikā of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, while Mahāprabhu Mādirāja belonged to the Hārīta-gōtra. In the present inscription Basava is mentioned as the son of Mādirāja, the ruler of Bāgavāḍi in the Tardavāḍi-thousand district; and also as Saṅgana-Basava—a name which also occurs in the *Viraśaiva Purāṇas*. He was devoted to the *Purāṇas*, *Jaṅgamas* and the *Līṅga* (l. 9). His descendants had the golden bull (*vrishabha*) as their insignia—probably in honour of Basava or after the manner of the Kaḷachuryas who had also the golden bull as their *dhvaja*, being Śaivas, not Jainas as depicted in the *Bijjalārāya-charita* and other late works. The founder of the Kaḷachurya family, according to an epigraph³, was born of Śiva and a Brāhmaṇa girl. The genealogy of the donee Hāla-Basavidēva is not clear as the record is mutilated in vital parts. It speaks of Saṅgana-Basava, then his eldest (*agra*) Next Dēvarājamunipa is mentioned; then a Saṅga; his favourite son Kalidēvarasa; and his son Hāla-Basavidēva. It is possible that Dēvarājamunipa himself was the eldest son (?) of Basava, though the Viraśaiva works like *Bhairavēśvarakāvyada kathā-sūtra-ratnākara* mention that Basava had only one son Saṅga, who died at an early age.⁴ Unfortunately it is difficult from the impression, as it is, to decide whether it was four or five generations that elapsed from the time of Basava. In this inscription another Saṅga, the son of Dēvarāja, is also mentioned (l. 37); probably Dēvarāja named his son after his own father Saṅga, the son of Basava, according to tradition—a custom common amongst the Hindus.

The record is a Śaivite one, though it can also be claimed for the particular cult of the *Līṅgāyats* as it mentions Basava's devotion to *prasāda* (l. 42) which acquired a new significance with the rise of Basava. The reverence paid to the *Purāṇas*, *Līṅga* and *Jaṅgamas*, though emphasised by Vira-śaivism, cannot be said to be particularly characteristic of it. Even

¹ *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 481.

² *Above*, Vol. V, p. 14.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 42.

⁴ *Kurattaka Kṛticarita*, Vol. I, p. 174. The *Basavarāja-rajaśa*, attributed to Harīhara, gives the name *Madhava* to the son of Basava and Gaṅgādēvi (x. ll. 96 ff.).

Lākūlika Pāsupatas and followers of Kashmir Śaivism are said to have been "*jaṅgama-liṅg-āvatāras*" and "*mahā-māhēśvaras*" and also "*Lākūlagama-samaya-samuddhara*", i.e., the upholders of the *Lākūla-samaya*.¹

The date of the record is Śaka 1182, Siddhārthi, Chaitra, bahuḷa Amāvāsyā, Monday, solar eclipse (ll. 46-47). Putting Raudra for Siddhārthi, the date tallies with 12th April 1260 A. C. on which day a solar eclipse occurred.² Incidentally, it might be mentioned that this grant provides the latest date for the Yādava king Kṛishṇa as we know that the third regnal year of his successor Mahādēva falls in Vaiśākha of Dundubbi, Ś. 1185 (1262 A. C.).³ Kṛishṇa probably lived only for a short time after this grant was made.

Chāvunḍa-Setṭi, who is the donor of this grant, also figures in other inscriptions. In the Bēhaṭṭi grant,⁴ he is referred to as having quelled the pride of the Hōssapa king, and as having come to Kukkanūr in Belvoḷa division of Kuntala on a tour of conquest. Nāgarasa is spoken of as the prime minister of Kṛishṇa and as the establisher of the Raṭṭa kingdom (l. 45). It is not clear whether this re-establishment of the Raṭṭas took place before or after Vichana had reduced them (Cir. 1238 A. C.).⁵ We know that the capital of the Raṭṭas was transferred from Saundatti to Belgaum about the year 1208 A. C.⁶ A record of the time of Lakshmidēva II, dated 1229 A. C.,⁷ speaks of Mahāpradhāna Munichandra also as "*Raṭṭa-rājya-pratishṭhāchārya*", perhaps because of the help he rendered to improve the fortunes of the family. After 1230 A. C. we hear no more of the Raṭṭa ruling family—the Khūṇḍi province having finally passed into the hands of the Yādavas—though the members of the old family might have continued to be employed as ordinary officials. Nāgarasa is spoken of as the son of Divākaradēva of the Vāpasakula and as a devotee of Janārdana. Evidently his Vaishṇavite leanings did not come in the way of making a grant to Śaivas—which proves that there was little of the bitter animosity between the devotees of Viṣṇu and of Śiva as depicted in later Vira-śaiva legends. He seems to have also been a patron of literature as indicated by the title *Paṇḍita-pārijāta* (l. 34).

The localities mentioned in this inscription are interesting. The province Tardavāḍi-1000 (l. 8) evidently took its name from the small village Taddavāḍi on the banks of the Bhīmā, thirty-seven miles north of Bijāpur. Bāgavāḍi was the centre of Bāge-50 as mentioned in the Honvāḍa inscription of Sōmēśvara I.⁸ The district Nūlenāḍu (l. 49) clustered round the village Nūlegrāma, fifteen miles to the west of Hukēri. The district Kūṇḍi (l. 61) was the territory the boundaries of which had been fixed by Raṭṭa Kārtivīrya I (Cir. 1040—1070 A. C.).⁹ Kaviḷasapura, the lordship over which was claimed by Hāla-Basavidēva, is a village of the same name seven or eight miles from Nūlegrāma. In the thirteenth century it must have been in a very flourishing condition, including within its compass the modern villages of Arjunavāḍa, Kocharige and Mosaraguppi—the Mosaragutti of the present record (l. 69).

Some of the fiscal terms mentioned in the inscription claim our attention. *Kottasi* (l. 55) and *kuruvanige* are perhaps land revenues, assessed from the fields, each of which was sufficient for the maintenance of a temple (l. 74), while all the minor taxes like *sumka*, *sāda*, *taḷa*, *sārige*,

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 34 ff.

² Indian Ephemeris, Vol. IV, p. 122.

³ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 527.

⁴ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 42 ff.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. X, pp. 384 ff.

⁶ Bombay Gazetteer, Belgaum, p. 567.

⁷ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, pp. 260 ff.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 272. [Bāge-50 took its name, according to Dr. Fleet, from Tadalbāgi (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXX, p. 380) and so Bāgavāḍi does not appear to be the centre of the division.—Ed.]

⁹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, p. 201.

ba[¹]*]eya-bādhe, grāma-braya, aṅke, ṭaṅka, āṇe, gōsane, mudre, etc., combined, were necessary to maintain the temple of Nāgēśvara (l. 73). Perhaps they corresponded to the term *siddhāya* used in later Hoysala inscriptions to mean all the aggregate revenues payable to the king. *Sumka* usually meant a toll on things brought into the village, *hejjuggi*¹ or *hejjumka* (l. 62) being the great-toll as distinguished from taxes. *Nidhi* and *nikshēpa* were two of the eight privileges (the others being *jala*, *pāshāṇa*, *akshīṇi*, *āgāmi*, *siddha* and *sādhyā*). Other taxes were *aṅke* (a poll-tax), *ṭaṅka* (coinage), *gōsane* (evidently *ghōṣhaṇa*, a musical honour mentioned in the Bēhatti grant² as *grāma-ghōṣha-sakūtaṁ*, *grāma-dēva-ghōṣha-yuktaṁ*—different from *ghōṣhā* or a village of cowherds), *mudre* (tax on right of seal), dues from fairs (l. 77) and *kōṇana meyideṛe* (tax on buffaloes).

TEXT.

- 1 Namas-tuṅga-siras³-chumbi-chamdra-chāmara-chāra-
- 2 vē [¹]*] traṇḍōkya-nagar-āraṁbha-mūla-stambhāya Saṁ-
- 3 bhavē || [¹]*⁴ Śrīyaṁ śrī-Kallināthaṁ kuḍu-
- 4 ge bhava-haraṁ bhakta-brimḍak[¹]*]e Gauri-jāyā-kāy-ā-
- 5 nushaṁg-ākāṭita-lalitātā-prōllasad-vāma-bhāgaṁ sviya-svā-
- 6 yatta-śakti-traya-maya-mahimaṁ dēva-dāyāda-mā-
- 7 yā-pāyābhiprāya-lilaṁ prapata-jana-duraṁt-āgha-saṁghaṭṭa-śilaṁ || [²]*.⁵
- 8 Mattaṁ Ta[r*]davāḍi-madhyā-grāma-Bāgavāḍi-puravar-ādhiśvara Mādirājana tanū-
- 9 jaṁ Basavarājana mahimey=em̐t-em̐daḍe || Maṁgaḷa-kirtti-purātana-jaṁgama-liṁ-
- 10 g-aika-bhakti-nirbbhara-lilā-saṁgaṁ Saṁgana-Basavaṁ saṁgatiyaṁ * māḷke bhakti-
yolu(a)-
- 11 g=anavarataṁ || [³]*⁷ Yādava-bhūmipālar=ileyaṁ chatur-ad(b)dhi- pari-
- 12 teyaṁ nisargg-ōdayar-ā[¹var=ant=avaro]=asva-chamū-chaya-vārdhī Simhaṇa-
- 13 kshma-dayitaṁ tad-agra-tanaya-prabhavaṁ nripa⁸-Kaṁnaraṁ samast-ōdadhi-
- 14 vēleyiṁ porage belgoḍeyol=nelalaṁ nimirchchidaṁ || [⁴]*⁹ Sale bhūdēva-
- 15 rkka[¹g=itt=alasade gō-bhūmi-hēma-vastr-ādigaḷam malev=arasugaḷo-
- 16 [=koṁbaṁ balavaṁtaṁ Kaṁnaraṁ pratāpa-sahāyaṁ || [⁵]*¹⁰ Svasti [¹]* samasta-
- 17 bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Prithvī¹¹-vallabha ahārājādhirāja paramē-
- 18 śvara paramabhaṭṭāraka Dvārāvati-puravar-ādhiśvara Yā-
- 19 dava-kuḷa-kamaḷa-kalikā-vikāsa-bhāskara yari¹²-rāya-
- 20 jagaj-jhaṁpe Māḷava-rāya-Madana-Trinētra Gūrjjara-rāya-bhayaṁkara
- 21 Teluṅga-rāya-sthāpan-āchāryya ity=ādi-nāma-āvaḷi-samāḷam̐kṛita¹³

¹ [The context would show that this is a festival. The word means "the big harvest."—Ed.]

² J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 44 ff.

³ Read *-siras*.

⁴ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ Metre: *Sragdhara*.

⁶ *nga* is written above the line.

⁷ Metre: *Kanda*.

⁸ Read *nripa*.

⁹ Metre: *Uṭpalamālā*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Kanda*.

¹¹ Read *-Prithvī*.

¹² Read *ari*.

¹³ Read *lām̐kṛita*.

- 22 śrīmat-prauḍha-pratāpa-chakravartti śrī-Kaṁṇaradēvaṁ Dēvagi-
 23 riya nele-vidinoḷu sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadin=anavarataṁ rā-
 24 jyaṁ-geyuttum-ire tat-pāda-padm-ōpajivi || Chikkana chikka magam vibhavakke
 25 Kubēraṁge seṇasuvam rāyarumam mikkaṁ Bichugiy=au-
 26 dāryakk=āriṁ piriyan=ātan=amṇam Mallam || [6*]¹ Ātana tanū-bhavam ||
 27 Chāvumḍam Pārvati-vallabha-charaṇa-sarōja-dvay-āmōda-bhri(ri)ṁgam Chāvum-
 28 ḍam tyāga-bhōg-ānubhava-Bhava-sukha-śrī-vadhū-nri(ri)tya-raṁgam Chāvumḍam
 sāma-
 29 bhēda-prabhru(ri)ti-[sa]kaḷa-mamtr-āṁga-vidyā-samudram Chāvumḍam vira-vairi-
 pra-
 30 kara-samara-saṁghaṭa(ṭṭa)-kāḷ-āgni-Rudram || [7*]² Yene negaḷd=ā Chāvumḍana
 manad-annam
 31 Nāgarājan=akshila³-niyōgañan⁴=enippa Divākaradēvana putram Vāṇas-ānva-
 32 y-āṁbara-mitram || [8*]⁵ Tyāga-guṇakke tāy-vane samasta-nri(ri)pāla-niyōga-va-
 33 rttanā-śrīge nivāsam=ishṭara viśiṣṭara tōṣhaṇa-pōṣhaṇaṁga=ollāga-
 34 ram=endu baṁṇni(ṇi)suvud-ī dhare paṁḍita-pārijātanam Nāganana=ā Janārddanana bha-
 35 kti-bhara-prabhav-ānurāganam || [9*]⁶ Saṁgana-Basavana agra.....⁷ kaṁ
 36 Dēvarāja-munipana tanayam Jāṁgama-parusam.....⁸ ra
 37 Saṁgam priya-sutan=enippa Kalidēvarāsam || [10*]⁹ Kalidēvamuni-
 38 pan=ātmaja sale mūjagadolage mereva mā[na]va-dēvam gelidam asa(sa)na-
 39 besanava¹⁰ chhalar=adhikaṁ Hāla-Basavidēva-munisam¹¹ || [11*]¹² Svasti samasta-
 40 bhuvan-āreyaṁ¹³ mahā-māhēsvaram¹⁴ Kaviḷasa-purava-
 41 r-ādhiś(ś)vararum suvaṁṛṇa(varṇa)-vrisabha¹⁵-dhvajam [tē]saṭṭhi-purātha¹⁶-pād-ārch-
 chaka-
 42 rum mahā-līṅga-jāṁgama-prasāda-niyata[ru]m sama-
 43 ya-bhakti-sampamṇna(panna) śrī-Basavarājan-āṁn(an)vayarum=appa tapa-chakra-
 44 [va]rtti¹⁷ vira-brati Hāla-Basavidēvaṁge ā mahāpradhānam Rā-
 45 ṭṭa-rāja-pratishṭh-āchāryyanum=appa Nāgarasaru S(ś)aka-varuṣam sāsira-
 46 da-nūra-yemḥhatta-yeraḍaneya Siddhārthti(tthi)-saṁvachharada¹⁸ Chai-
 47 tra bahula amāse Sōma-vāra sūryya-grahapadalli Huli[ge]-
 48 reya Sōmanāthadēvara saṁn(nn)idhiyalli ā Chaudī-Setṭiyar=ā

¹ Metre : Kanda.

² Metre : Sragdharā.

³ Read =akshila-.

⁴ Read -niyōgañan=.

⁵ Metre : Kanda.

⁶ Metre : Utpalamālā.

⁷ The letters erased are probably ja Saṁgām°.

⁸ Probably the missing word is śaraṇa.

⁹ Metre : Kanda.

¹⁰ Read °vam.

¹¹ Read °kam.

¹² Metre : Kanda.

¹³ Read -āreyaṁ.

¹⁴ Read °svaram.

¹⁵ Read -vrisabha.

¹⁶ Read -purātha.

¹⁷ Read tapas-chakravartti.

¹⁸ Read -saṁvachharada.

- 49 t[^r]ttha-viśesa(sha)mam besago[alu Nūle-nāḍo]a[gi]na [manitanadi?] Kavi[alasa-¹
t[rttham]
- 50 nālku-yugada purāṇ-ōktadiṁ baṁda ksha(ṣ)trav=ad=em̐t-ēmdaḍe Kr(ṛ)ita-[yu]-
- 51 gadalli Kavi[āsa-muni Kavi]āsanātha trēteyali Am̐karāja-muni² Am̐ka-
- 52 nātha dvāparadalli Mahārāja-muni³ Mahāliṁgadēva kali-yugadalli
- 53 Kalirāja-muni Kalidēva nāma[||⁴] i(i) munigaḷu muksha⁵ samasta-gaṇēs(ṣ)va-
- 54 raru ārādhisi sālōkya-sārūpya-sāmipya-sāyujji(jy)avam paḍe-
- 55 da Ma[h⁶]ādēvarige Am̐kanātha-vesariṁ am̐kavala taḷa-virtti⁷ ko-
- 56 ttaṣi kuṇuvanige i(i) haḷli Māṁdhāta-chakravartti biṭṭa dham̐r(ar)mma ā
- 57 tirtt(tth)akk=adu s(ṣ)āsanasthav=embudam̐ Chavuḍi-Setṭiyaru kēḷi(i)du Nāga-
- 58 rasarū tāvu ēkasthar=āgi Kavi[āsapurad=olage Svayaṁbhu-Ma-
- 59 llikārjjuna Saṁgamēsvara⁸ Nāgēsvara⁹ yī mūṛu-liṁgakaṁ am̐ga-
- 60 bhōga raṁga-bhōga jirṇ-ō[d¹⁰]dhārakkam̐ pāraṇeya jaṁgam-ā-
- 61 rāḍhanegam̐ kottasi kuṇuvanige taḷa-vitti¹¹ am̐kavala Kūṁḍi-
- 62 nāḍoḷu saluvam̐te hejjuggiya-habba voḷm̐bhattu-dina sum̐ka
- 63 nūṛ-eḷ[t¹²]ina parihāra yim̐t=initumam̐ sarvv-ābādhi(a)-
- 64 sarvva-namasyavam̐ māḍi Chavuḍi-Setṭi[ya]ru Nāgarasaru
- 65 yatirāya Hāla-Basavidēvam̐ge pūrvva-dattav=em̐du
- 66 dhārā-pūrvvakam̐ māḍi koṭṭaru ā Chavuḍi-Setṭiyara ni-
- 67 yāmadim̐ Nāgarasaru puradiṁ paḍuvalu toṇeya kū-
- 68 ḍida haḷli nūruvarie¹³ mērey=āgi mēge kalukaṭiḷa-gere
- 69 Basava-gōḍi baḍagalu Mosaraguttie¹⁴ rāra-vidi[du] mūḍalu
- 70 jaṁchi-galla kaṇi Kuchchagōḍiyim̐ baṁda haḷli nūruvarie¹⁵ tēṁka-
- 71 lu toṇeya kūḍalu yī chatuṣ-sim̐-ābhyam̐tara Kavi[āsapu-
- 72 radalli sum̐ka sāda taḷa sārige baṭ[t¹⁶]eya-bādhe gra(ā)ma-braya ni-
- 73 dhiṁkshēpa am̐ke tām̐ka āṇe gōsane mudre Nāgēsvarake¹⁷ Mallēsvara-
- 74 ke kuṇuvanige Saṁgamēsvarake¹⁸ pāraṇeya jaṁgam-ārā[dha]-
- 75 nege kottasige i(i) dham̐make¹⁹ [i]ḍu vivarav=em̐du Nāgarasa[ru] koṭ[t²⁰]a
- 76 sāsana²¹ [||²²] nā[lkum̐] pattaṇam̐gaḷu Nūle-nāḍoḷage sam̐tegaḷa
- 77 āya-dāya ipam̐tu kōṇana meyidere sum̐ka hadineṇ-
- 78 ṭṭu sam̐yavu aṇuvata²³-mūvaru baṇaju-bhakuti bhēdav=i-
- 79 lla Kavi[āsapuravē sāsanaḍa²⁴-vane Basavarājanē sāsaniḷa²⁵=en-
- 80 du vubhaya-nānādēsi²⁶ muṁmuri-dam̐dam̐gaḷu koṭ[t²⁷]a [s(ṣ)āsana] [||²⁸].

¹ Read Kavi[āsa-.² "ā" is written above the line.³ Read mukhya.⁴ Read-vr̥tti.⁵ Read °śvara.⁶ Read °vritti.⁷ Read °iyē.⁸ Read °śvara°.⁹ Read dharmmakha.¹⁰ Read sāsana.¹¹ Read aṇuvata-¹² Read sāsanaḍa.¹³ Read sāsaniḷa.¹⁴ Read °śāsi.¹⁵ Read °śāsi.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. Invocation to Śiva.

V. 2. Invocation to god Kallinātha.

V. 3. Praise of Saṅgana-Basava who had unflinching faith in the *Purāṇas*, *Jāṅamas* and *Līṅga*.

V. 4. The Yādava rulers held sway over the whole earth bounded by the four seas ; among them was Simhaṇa, the possessor of numerous horses. The son of his eldest son was Kannara who brought the whole earth under the shadow of his royal white umbrella.

V. 5. Praises of Kannara.

Ll. 16-24. The refuge of the worlds, the lord of Fortune and the Earth, the king of kings, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, lord of Dvārāvati, the best of towns, the sun to the lotus of the Yādava family, destroyer of the world of hostile kings, a Trinētra (Śiva) to the Kāma, the Rājā of Mālava, terrifier of the ruler of the Gūrjara, the establisher of Teluṅgarāya—*Praudha-pratāpa-chakravarti* Kannaradēva was ruling at Dēvagiri in peace and wisdom ; the dweller at his lotus-like feet,

V. 6. Bichugi, the younger son of Chikka, was the younger brother of Malla ; Malla's son,

V. 7. Chāvunḍa, worshipper of Śiva, was well versed in arts of diplomacy and war and a veritable Rudra to his foes.

V. 8. His dearest friend was the Niyōgi Nāgarāja, son of Divākaradēva of the Vāṇasa family.

V. 9. Praises of this Nāga.

Vv. 10 & 11. Saṅgana-Basava's eldest....., Dēvarāja's son, the foremost among the *Jāṅamas*..... Saṅga (. His ?) favourite son was Kalidēvarasa. The son of Kalidēva, the lord of ascetics, is Hāla-Basavidēva, the best of men in the three worlds, who has overcome the pain of hunger and thirst.

Ll. 39-50. The refuge of all the three worlds, *Mahāmāhēśvara*, the lord of Kaviḷāsapura, the best of towns, who had the insignia of a golden bull, was the worshipper of the feet of 63 *Purāṇas*, believed in *Līṅga*, *Jāṅamas* and *Prasāda* and was the descendant of Basavarāja. Such was Hāla-Basavidēva. *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgarasa, the establisher of the Raṭṭa kingdom, and Chaudī-Setṭi requested him for the history of Kaviḷāsa-tīrtha of Nūle-nāḍu, on Monday, the new moon (*tithi*) of the dark half of Chaitra, during a solar eclipse in the year Siddhārthi (*corresponding to*) the Śaka year 1182, while residing at the temple of Sōmanātha in Huligere.

Ll. 50-55. These give the history of the place during the four *yugas*.

Ll. 55 & 56. The emperor Māndhātā gave to the god under the name Aṅkanātha, this village (i.e., Kaviḷāsapura), the fields and the dues from them, viz., *kottasi* and *kuruvanige*.

Ll. 56-66. Hearing that it had before been granted to the god, Chaudā-Setṭi and Nāgarasa together gave it to the prince of ascetics, Hāla-Basavidēva, along with the taxes *kottasi*, *kuruvanige*, *talavṛitti*, *amkavala* in the Kūṇḍi province and tolls on one hundred cattle-loads during the festival called *Hejjuggiya-habba*, for renovating the temples of, and conducting worship to, the gods Svayambhu-Mallikārjuna, Saṅgamēśvara and Nāgēśvara and also for the purpose of feeding *Jāṅamas*

Ll. 66-76. At the command of Chaudī-Setṭi, Nāgarasa made an allotment of the dues from the village of Kaviḷāsapura, the boundaries of which are specified. Of the dues from Kaviḷāsapura the tolls, *sāda*, *talā*, *sāṛige*, *baṭṭoya-bāḍhe*, *grāma-braya*, *amke*, *ṭaṅka*, *āṇe*, *gōsoma*, *mudre* and *nidhi* and *nikhēpa* were assigned to Nāgēśvara ; the *kuruvanige* to the god Mallēśvara and *kottasi* to the god Saṅgamēśvara and for feeding the *Jāṅamas*.

Ll. 76-80. The four town-guilds gave the dues from fairs in Nūle-nāḍu, the tax on buffaloes and tolls. There is no difference between the eighteen castes and the sixty-three Baṇaju devotees. The *nānādēśis* and *mummuridaṇḍas* made this grant with the consideration that the place of the grant is Kaviḷāsapura and the donee Basavarāja.

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

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

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

l. 35 Saṁgana-Basavana agra[*ja li*]ṁgaikam

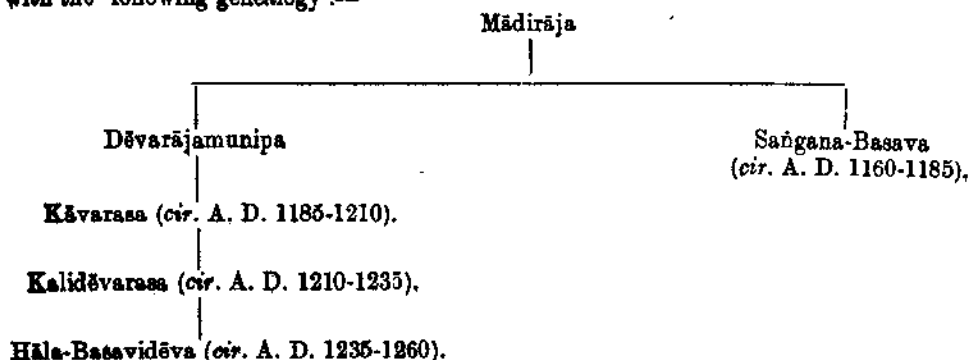
l. 36 Dēvarāja-munipana tanayaṁ [*] jaṁgama-parusaṁ [Kā]vara-

l. 37 saṁgaṁ priya-sutan=enippa Kalidēvarasaṁ||

Accordingly the translation of the stanza will be like this :—

"Saṁgana-Basava's elder brother who was absorbed in the *liṅga* was Dēvarājamunipa; to his son [Kā]varasa, who was a touchstone to the *Jaṁgamas*, was born the dear son Kalidēvarasa."

The verse, thus, becomes very important from a historical point of view, for it supplies us with the genealogy of Saṁgana-Basava and his descendants for three generations. This has not been properly made out by Mr. Srikantha Sastri, in his interesting article, and I should like to elucidate it here. From the next verse (i.e., v. 11) we learn that Kalidēva's son was Hāla-Basavidēva, the donee of the present grant; and lines 8 and 9 tell us that Saṁgana-Basava was a son of Mādirāja, the lord of Bāgavāḍi. Thus, the inscription supplies us with the following genealogy :—



As a matter of fact, it is in this genealogy that the value of the inscription chiefly lies, for it enables us to determine the period in which Saṁgana-Basava flourished and to identify him with the great Liṅgāyat reformer of that name. The record tells us that Chaudī-Setṭi, a minister of the Yādava king Kannara (i.e., Kṛishṇa), and his friend Nāgarasa granted the village Kaviḷāsa-

pura to the ascetic Hāla-Basavidēva in Śaka 1182 (=A.D. 1260). If we suppose this to be the last year of Hāla-Basavidēva and allot him a period of 25 years, his date would be about A. D. 1235-1260. As we have seen above, two generations intervene between Saṅgana-Basava and Hāla-Basavidēva. Allowing roughly 25 years for each generation we get A. D. 1160-1185 as the approximate time of Saṅgana-Basava. According to the *Basavarājadēvara Ragale*, the *Basava-Purāṇa* and the *Chenna-Basava-Purāṇa*, the great reformer Basava, who was also known as Saṅgana-Basava and who was the son of Mādirāja of Bāgevādi, was a minister of the Kaḷachurya king Bijjala, who, we know, ruled from A. D. 1156 to 1167. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Saṅgana-Basava of the Arjunavāda record is identical with the 'Apostle of Liṅgāyatism' of that name. Thus we have in this record the first epigraphical confirmation of the tradition regarding the contemporaneity of Basava, the reviver of the Virasaiva faith, with king Bijjala.

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

BY G. V. ACHARYA, B.A., BOMBAY.

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

The inscription incised on these plates is written in Nāgarī script and Sanskrit language. The invocatory as well as the genealogical portion of it (vv. 1-10, ll. 1-36) is in verse but the rest (ll. 37-91) is in prose. It opens with invocations to Śiva, the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu and the Earth (vv. 1-3). Then the city of Vijayanagarī is described (v. 4). According to verses 5 and 6, Saṅgama was born in the family of Yadu, his son was Bukkarāja and his son was Harihara. In the next verse we are told that king Harihara ruled the earth bounded by the northern bank of the Kṛishṇā, the eastern ocean, the Sētu and the western ocean. Verses 8 and 9 relate to the conquest of Gōvā, the capital of Koṅkaṇa, from the Turushkas by the minister Mādhava, and the re-consecration there of the images of Saptanātha and other gods. Next comes the description of Mādhava, who is stated to be the son of the Brahman Chāmuṇḍa of the *Bhāradvāj-ānvaya*. He was governing the province of Koṅkaṇa under the orders of the king. He was the expounder of all the *Upanishads*, the illuminator of the *Saiv-āgamas*, the author of *Kāvyas*, performer of *Mahādānas* and the teacher of *Nītisāstra* (v. 10 and ll. 37-40). While he was seated on the throne at Gōvāpura, on the date specified, he made the gift of the village Paramarūpa in the Vārāsa-janapada, forming it into an *agrahāra* and renaming it Chaudalāpura, after his father, to 21 learned Brahmins of different *gōtras*. The object of this charter is to record this gift. The concluding portion states that the minister Naraharidēva purchased two of the granted *vr̥ttis* from their holders and made a gift of them to Viṭṭhala-Paṭṭavardhana of the Kāśyapa-gōtra. This Naraharidēva, we learn, belonged to the Atri-gōtra and was the son of Brahmarasa. He was a disciple of the (sage) Vidyāśaṅkara and had been installed by Mādhavarāja (ll. 41 to 91).

The grant was issued in the Śaka year 1313 expired and the cyclic year Prajāpati, on the new moon *tithi* of Chaitra and Wednesday at the time of the solar eclipse; during *Aśvinī-nakṣatra*

and Priti-yōga. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris* the date regularly corresponds to A.D. 1391, April 5, Wednesday, on which day there was a solar eclipse.

The Mādhavarāja of the present grant has to be identified with Mādhava, the minister of Bukka I, who figures in the Hārōmuchchadi-*agrahāra* inscription¹ of A. D. 1368, which also describes him as the son of the Brahman Chāvūṇḍa, the *Upanishanmārga-pratiṣṭhā-guru* and a follower of the tenets of pure Śaivism as taught by the Śaiva teacher Kāśīvilāsa-Kriyāśakti. That the grant under publication mentions him as a scion of the Bhāradvāja family (*anvaya*) would support the identification, for Bhāradvāja is only a division of the Āṅgīrasa-gōtra. This Mādhavarāja also figures as a minister of Harihara II² in another grant of the same year, i.e., Śaka 1313, which was published long ago.³ The account given there agrees with that of the present document though it omits the name of Mādhava's father and gives the name of his mother, i.e., Mambāmbikā, and of his elder brother Bhāskara. Some of the verses are common to both of these charters (vv. 5, 7, 8 and 9 of the present grant). The details of the date recorded in them are practically the same, though the months are differently named. The charter that has already been published wrongly gives Vaiśākha in place of Chaitra. Both the grants were issued on the same date, i.e., on the 5th of April, 1391 (A. D.)⁴. As has already been pointed out by Kielhorn, and is substantiated by the present grant, the date concerned pertains to the *amānta* month of Chaitra.⁵ As Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar has shown, Mādhava flourished between A. D. 1347 and 1391⁶. The conquest of Gōvā by Mādhava mentioned in these records must have happened before Śaka 1309 (=A. D. 1386) as in that year he was already known as the 'Lord of Gōvā'. The copper plate alluded to above shows that Naraharidēva, the minister, was sent to Goa to succeed Mādhava as the governor of Jayantī-pura-maṇḍala after the latter's death, which must have happened shortly after the issue of the present grant. Vidyāśaṅkara, the *guru* of Naraharidēva, was another name of the famous Vidyātīrtha, the *guru* of the brothers Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa, who considered him as an incarnation of Mahēśvara.⁷

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

No.	Gōtra.	Father's name.	Name of the Donee.
1	Kāśyapa	Rāmadēva-Pattavardhana . . .	Vāmana-Pattavardhana.
2	Vāsishṭha	Mahādēva-Bhaṭṭa	Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭa.
3	"	Nārāṇa-Bhaṭṭa	Ajja-Bhaṭṭa.
4	Kāśyapa	Rāmadēva-Bhaṭṭa	Hari-Bhaṭṭa.
5	Bhāradvāja	Nāgadēva-Bhaṭṭa	Kēśava-Bhaṭṭa.
6	Vāsishṭha	Vitṭhala-Bhaṭṭa	" "

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 281.

² The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri who noted this fact (*A. S. R.* 1907-08, p. 244) has not identified him with Mādhava the Śaiva minister of Bukka I.

³ *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 115.

⁴ Kielhorn's *List of South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 471.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 80, f. n. 6 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 271.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLV, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ *A. R. on S. I. E.*, 1928-29, p. 82.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLV, p. 3.

No.	Gōtra.	Father's name.	Name of the Donee.
7	Vāsishtha	Mahādēva-Bhaṭṭa	Hari-Bhaṭṭa.
8	Ātrēya	"	Jānu-Bhaṭṭa.
9	Parāśara	Rāma-Bhaṭṭa	Mailāra-Bhaṭṭa.
10	Kāśyapa	Nārāya-Jyōtirvid	Gaṅgādharma-Jyōtirvid.
11	Bhāradvāja	Mahādēva-Bhaṭṭa	Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭa.
12	"	Ajjam-Bhaṭṭa	Mahādēva-Bhaṭṭa.
13	"	Nārāya-Bhaṭṭa	"
14	"	Viṭṭhala-Bhaṭṭa	Śaḍam-Bhaṭṭa.
15	Ātrēya	Mallipātha-Bhaṭṭa	Nārāya-Bhaṭṭa.
16	Bhāradvāja	Viṭṭhala-Bhaṭṭa	Narahari-Bhaṭṭa.
17	Vāsishtha	Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa	Ananta-Bhaṭṭa.
18	Bhāradvāja	Ajjam-Bhaṭṭa	Kāśava-Bhaṭṭa.
19	"	"	Jānu-Bhaṭṭa.
20	Sāṇḍilya	Bhīmadēva	Harihara.
21	Bhāradvāja	Amkappa	Paṇimappa.

Of these *vr̥ttis*, Nos. 9 and 10 were purchased from their holders and donated to Kṛishṇa-Paṭṭavardhana, son of Viṭṭhala-Paṭṭavardhana of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*, by the minister Narahari-dēva.

TEXT.¹

[Metres: Vv. 1 and 2, *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3, 4, 6, 7 and 10 *Śārdūlavikrīṭa*; v. 5 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 8 and 9 *Indravajrā*.]

Plate I.

- 1 ओगवाधिपतये नमः । नमः शिवा-
- 2 य । नमस्तुंगमिरचुंविचंद्रचामरचार-
- 3 वे । नैलोक्कनगरंभसु(म्)वर्द्धमाय ग्रंभवे ।[१२] क-
- 4 यत्केव जनहीजं सोळाकोसः शिवशिवः । यस्य
- 5 दंष्ट्राङ्गुरे भूमिश्चसत्पद्मवावते ॥ [२२] चंदत्वं क-
- 6 मठेचरः पश्चिपतिर्नीलत्वमासंयते
- 7 वर्णाचा ततयो दक्षावसितुसामाचक्ष क-
- 8 स [लि]ताः । शिंजस्त्वस्त्रिचं कुचाचक्षु-
- 9 चं मेवच सत्त्वर्षिजाकोका यच दधाति

¹ From the plates as well as from the impressions.

- 10 भाति तदिदं रम्यं रसा(स)[स्वा]रसं ॥[३*] ख्या-
 11 तो भारतवर्षदक्षिणदक्षिण देशोस्व कर्णा-
 12 टकस्तम्भे विजयाङ्गयास्ति नगरी सा-
 13 रातिभिर्दुर्जया । या कृत्वोपरिवर्तिनी-
 14 मपि पुरं जिष्णोरध[*]स्त्रेर्गुणे[*] शुभ्राङ्गलि-
 15 हृदयनिर्मलरुचा मन्ये हस्तजिता [18*]
 16 [वं]शे यदोरभिनवांश इवाच्युतस्य श्रीसं-
 17 गमादजनि संगररंगभीमः । श्रीवृक्षरा-
 18 ज इति धिक्कृतशत्रुरेष तामध्यतिष्ठदथ
 19 मध्यमलोकपालः ॥[५*] तत्पुनस्तुपदं प्रशास्ति
 20 बलिजिह्वस्तविष्टिधुरस्तुदंदावनतत्पर-
 21 य सुमहासेन[*]श्चित्तदगुणैः । श्रीयुक्तसह-
 22 श्वमंगल इति श्रीपत्न्युमाकांतयो[यु(य)त्वा]-
 23 दिह कक्षयैर्हरिहराख्यां यो वक्ष्यन्-

Plate II ; First Side.

- 24 लां ॥[६*] आस्त्याख्यसरिहरोत्तरतटादापूर्वपाथोजि-
 25 धेरासेतोरवर्णी चिरादवति सत्यापु(प)श्चिमांभोजि-
 26 धेः । ख्यातेस्त्रिगुणनामभिर्हरिहरे राजाधिरा-
 27 जादिभिस्सर्वोर्वीपतिमौलिलासितपदांभोजे ।¹
 28 महीवक्त्रभे ॥[७*] तस्याग्रया माधवमंचिवर्यो दिशं
 29 जिगोषुर्महता बलेन । गोवाभिधां कौकणराज-
 30 धानीमन्येन मन्येरुणदर्शनेन ॥[८*] प्रतिष्ठितांस्त-
 31 न तुष्टकसंधानुत्कथ्य दोष्ठा भुवनेकवीरः ।
 32 उन्मुखितानामकरोत्प्रतिष्ठां श्रीसप्तनाथादिभु-
 33 धाभुजां यः ॥[९*] भारद्वाजसदन्वितान्वयसुधावारा-
 34 शितारापतिचामुंडाभिधभूसुरेद्रतनयो मंचीखरो
 35 माधवः । शासत्कौकणनीहतं हरिहरक्षोणीपतेरा-
 36 ग्रया धर्मानंक्रयत्यसज्जनशिखिज्वालोत्तदग्धा-
 37 न्पुनः ॥[१०*] स च निर्जिताखिलभूपालस्सर्वोपनिषदां व्या-
 38 कर्ता शैवागमानां प्रकाशयिता काव्यानां कर्ता म-

¹ The stroke is not necessary.

- 39 ह्यादानानां विधाता नोतिशास्त्रस्वीपदेशा सकल-
 40 गुणालंकृतो माधवराजो गोवापुरवरसिंहास-
 41 नमधितिष्ठन्माल(न्मालि)वाहनशके वर्णाणां त्रयोदशो-
 42 त्तरचयोदशशत्यामतीतायां वर्तमानप्रजाप-
 43 तिसंवस(त्स)रे चैत्रमासे अमावास्यायां सौम्यवारे अ-
 44 श्विनीनक्षत्रगते पुष्यदंते प्रीतियोगे सूर्योप-
 45 रागे पुष्यकाले वारसनामजनपदे परमरू-
 46 पनामग्रामं स्तपितुनाम्ना चौडलापुराभिधान-
 47 मग्रहारं कृत्वा योनिगोत्र(यु)त[त]त्त्वसंपन्ने-

Plate II ; Second Side.

- 48 भ्यश्चतुर्दशविद्यापरिणतेभ्यः षट्कर्मनिरतेभ्यः
 49 ऋक्शाखाध्यायिभा(भ्य) एकविंशतिवाङ्मणे- ।¹
 50 भ्यः सर्वनमस्यं प्रादोत् । तेषां नामगोत्रवि-
 51 वरणं यथा काश्यपगोत्रस्य रामदेवपट्टव-
 52 र्धनपुत्रस्य वामनपट्टवर्धनस्य वृत्तिरेका
 53 वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामो-
 54 दरभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका । वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य नारण-
 55 भट्टप(पु)त्रस्य अज्जभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका काश्य(श्य)-
 56 पगोत्रस्य रामदेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभट्टस्य
 57 वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य नागदेवभट्टपु-
 58 त्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका । वासिष्ठ[गो]त्र-
 59 स्य विट्मलभट्टपुत्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका ।
 60 वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभ-
 61 ट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका आत्रेयगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्र-
 62 स्य जानुभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका पराशरगोत्रस्य श्री-
 63 रामभट्टपुत्रस्य मैलारभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका काश्य-
 64 पगोत्रस्य नारणज्योतिर्विद्युत्रस्य गंगाधर-
 65 ज्योतिर्विदो वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य महा-
 66 देवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामोदरभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भा-
 67 रद्वाजगो(गो)त्रस्य अज्जभट्टपुत्रस्य महादेवभ[ट्ट]-

¹ The stroke is not necessary.

68 स्य हत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य नारणभट्ट-

69 पुत्रस्य महादेवभट्टस्य हत्तिरेका भा[र]-

Plate III.

70 द्वाजगोत्रस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य शङ्भट्ट-

71 स्य हत्तिरेका चावेयगोत्रस्य मङ्गिनाथभट्ट-

72 पुत्रस्य नारणभट्टस्य हत्तिरेका भारद्वाज-

73 गोत्रस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य नरहरिभट्टस्य

74 हत्तिरेका वासिष्ठग(गो)त्रस्य गोविंदभट्टपुत्र-

75 स्य अनंतभट्टस्य हत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्र-

76 स्य चण्डभट्टपुत्रस्य क(के)शवभट्टस्य हत्तिरेका

77 भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य चण्डभट्टपुत्रस्य जानुभट्ट-

78 स्य हत्तिरेका शां[डि]श्वगोत्रस्य भोमदेव(पु)त्रस्य

79 हरिहरस्य हत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य चकं(क)श्यपु-

80 त्रस्य पंमस्यपुत्रहत्तिरेका¹ एवमेकविंशतिब्राह्म-

81 णामां नामगोत्रविवरणं ॥ तत्र मैलारभट्टस्य हत्तिं

82 गंगाधरज्योतिर्विदो हत्तिं च पवित्राचिगोत्रसं-

83 भूतो ब्रह्मरसात्मजो विद्याशंकररूपपावलीक-

84 नसुधासिकेन संवर्धितो माधवराघेन कृत- ।²

85 प्रतिष्ठः श्रीमाधवरुद्रिदेवनामा नं(मं)भीष्म-

86 रो राजसंसदि तदग्रामोत्रब्राह्मणपौरपरिवा-

87 रजनसमक्षं सम्यग्धनेन क्रीत्वा ते हे ह-

88 स्ती काम्यधगोत्राय विठ्ठलपट्टवर्धनपुत्रस्य

89 कृष्णपट्टवर्धननाम्ने विद(दु)धे ब्राह्मणाय स्त्रीपु-

90 त्राद्यनुमतेन हरि(र)ज्योदकदानधारापूर्वकं सं-

91 प्रादात् ॥

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verses 1 to 3. Invoke Śiva, Viṣṇu in the form of the Boar, and the Earth.

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

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

¹ Read 'पुत्रहत्ति'.

² The stroke is no necessary.

V 7. While this king was ruling the earth from the northern bank of the river Kṛishṇā to the Sētu and from the eastern to the western ocean, his feet were worshipped by all the kings.

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

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

Ll. 37 to 41. This Mādhavarāja, the conqueror of all kings, the expounder of all the *Upaniṣads*, the illuminator of the *Saiv-āgamas*, the author of *kāvyas*, the performer of *mahādānas*, the teacher of *nītisāstra*, being seated on the throne of Gōvā, the best of cities.

Ll. 41 to 50. When 1313 Śaka years had elapsed, on Wednesday, the new moon (*tithi*) of the month of Chaitra in the year Prajāpati, the sun being in the constellation Aśvinī, the *yōga* being Pṛiti, during a solar eclipse, gave to 21 Brahmins, who were of good birth and learned in the fourteen *vidyās*, who were devoted to the six *karmas* and were the students of the *Ēik-sākhā*, the village of Paramarūpa in the Vārāsa-janapada, making it into an *agrahāra* called Chaudalāpura after his father's name.

Ll. 50 to 81. Names, etc., of the donees (see list above).

Ll. 81 to 91. The minister Naraharidēva, son of Brahmarasa, who had been reared up by the favour of (*the sage*) Vidyāsāṅkara, and was installed by Mādhavarāja, purchased two of these *vr̥ttis* from Mailāra-Bhaṭṭa and Gaṅgādhara, the astrologer, and gave them in the royal court before the Brahmins and other inhabitants of the village to the learned Brahman Kṛishṇa-Paṭṭavardhana, son of Viṭṭhala-Paṭṭavardhana.

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

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

These are three copper-plates which were discovered by a cultivator of Koroshandā, a village six miles to the south of Parlakimiḍi in the Ganjām district of the Madras Presidency, while he was ploughing his field. The inscription incised on them has been edited by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*¹, but without any facsimile. Owing to certain defects in the reading, re-editing of this record is necessary and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in this journal.

Each plate is 7½" long and 2" broad and has a ring-hole about ⅜" in diameter on its left side. I found neither a ring nor a seal attached to them. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on their inner side but the second plate bears writing on both sides.

The alphabet of the plates resembles that of the Peddavēgi plates of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II² and of the Bṛihatprōshthā grant of Umavarman.³ The inscription under notice is written in Sanskrit and is in prose throughout, except for the two imprecatory verses *bahubhiḥ* etc., and *shashṭim* etc., which come at the end. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted: (1) consonants are generally doubled after *r*, e.g. *sarva-* (l. 5), *śarma* (l. 6), *kartavyam* (l. 8) and *svarggē* (l. 12); (2) the *upadhāniya* is used in line 4; (3) the final form of it

¹ Vol. XIV, pp. 282 ff.

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff.

occurs in line 8; and (4) the numerical symbols for 7 and 20 occur in lines 8 and 9 respectively. The symbol for the latter figure is rather noteworthy.

The inscription records that *Mahārāja Viśākhavarman*, "who was a worshipper of the gods" and "devoted to the feet of (his) father", granted the village *Tāmpōyaka* in *Kōrāsōḍaka-Pāñchālī* to *Vishṇuśarmman*, *Śrēsthīśarmman*, *Agniśarmman*, *Nāgaśarmman* and *Śivaśarmman*, all of whom belonged to the *Ātrēya-gōtra* and were the residents of the village *Śabara-lhūṇḍa*. The grant was made for increasing the merit of the donee's father who was in heaven. The date of the grant was the 20th day of the 7th fortnight of *Hēmana* in the 7th year (of the king's reign).

The family to which *Viśākhavarman* belonged is not stated in the charter. But from the *Chicacole* grant of *Indravarmman*¹ we learn that the division *Kōrāsōḍaka-Pāñchālī*, which is also mentioned in the present grant (1. 2), formed a part of the *Kaliṅga* country. This would suggest that *Viśākhavarman* was a *Kaliṅgādhipati* (i.e., the chief of *Kaliṅga*) like *Umavarman* of the *Bṛihatprōshthā* grant, *Chañḍavarman* of the *Komarti Plates*² and *Śaktivarman* of the *Rāgolu plates*.³

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

TEXT.⁴

First Plate ; Second Side.

- 1 स्वस्ति[॥*] विजयश्रीपुरात्परमदैवत[:*] वप्पभट्टारकपादभक्तः श्रीमहाराज-
- 2 विशाखवर्मा कोरासोडकपचाल्या⁵ तंपोयकग्रामे कुटुम्बिनः
- 3 समाज्ञापयति अस्त्येष ग्रामोस्माभिरस्मद्वप्पभट्टारकपादानां

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 4 सुरलोकादप्रच्युतानां भूयःपुण्याप्यायनाय आचन्द्रतारार्कप्रति-
- 5 षमग्रहारं कृत्वा सर्व्वकरभरेश्च परिहृत्य आत्रेयसगोत्रे-
- 6 भ्यः शबरमेण्डकविष्णुशर्मश्चेष्टिशर्मश्चग्निशर्मनागशर्मशिवशर्म(र्मे)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 7 भ्य[:] संप्रदत्तस्तदेवमवेत्य पूर्व्वोचितमर्थ्यादाभिस्तर्व्वोपस्थानं
- 8 कर्त्तव्यमिति[॥*] आज्ञाभोगिकबोदुदैव[:] [स]व्वत् ७ हिमं ७
- 9 अत्र च व्यासगोत्री हो श्रीको दिवस २०⁶

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122 ff.

² Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ From the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁵ Read "पंचाल्या"

⁶ Cf. G. H. Ojha's *Palaeography of India*, plate LXXII (lower), last column.

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 10 बहुभिर्बहुधा दत्ता वसुधा वसुधाधिपैः [i*] यस्य यस्य
 11 यदा भूमि[स्तस्य] तस्य तदा फल[म्] [ii*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
 12 स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद[ः] [i*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
 वसेत् [ii*]

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

BY STEN KONOW.

Saddo is a village on the left or eastern bank of the Panjkora river, to the west of the Katgala pass, on the road from Swāt to Chitrāl, where a bridge leads across the river.

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

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

I owe it to the kind assistance of Mr. Hargreaves that I can now publish a reliable reproduction. On the 29th October 1930 he sent me two estampages, prepared by Khan Bahadur Mian Wasiud Din, who had been good enough to add the following information: 'The inscription is situated on the rocky bank (left) of the Panjkora river, between the ruined and existing bridges, which are only a furlong apart. The inscribed boulder is quite smooth and naturally sloped like a camel-back, with no sign of dressing. It is outwardly $5\frac{1}{2}' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ in size, of a dun-buff colour, like the rest of the bluff jutting out into the river. It is only 48 ft. upstream from the broken pier of the ruined bridge, and being on the same level, is submerged in the current for four months in the year, i.e., May to August. It is therefore at the mercy of the torrent which carries a timber trade, besides trees and other things, when inundated.'

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

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

The inscription covers a space measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and contains remnants of four lines, of varying length. The height of the *aksharas* is 3 to 5 inches.

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

¹ *A. S. R.*, Vol. V, pp. 62 f., and plate XVI, No. 5.

² *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 9 f.

ma of this shape in any other Kharōṣṭhī inscription. The nearest approach to our *akshara* is the *mu* of *danamukh[o]* in the Dharmarājikā inscription No. 1¹, and it is possible that we should read *mu* here. The second *akshara* visible in the estampage can hardly be anything else than *dhe*. In one of my estampages the *e*-stroke is unmistakable, and the *akshara* itself is almost identical with the *dha* of the Mathurā elephant inscription².

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

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

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

The ensuing *akshara* is evidently *da*, cf. the *da* in Takht-i-Bāhī l. 4 and in the Pājā record.

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

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

What can be read is accordingly *duśadama-śra* 4 4, and, though the names of the months are not abbreviated in other Kharōṣṭhī records, I restore, with some confidence, *chaduśadam[e]* Śra 4 4, in the four-hundredth (year, on the) 8. (of) Śrāvaṇa.

It is true that other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions present *śatimaa* for 'hundredth,' but this form is probably due to the analogy of ordinals such as *satatimaa*, *aśitimaa*, and Pali has *satama*.

What precedes [*cha*]*duśadama* cannot be read. The existing traces can, however, be reconciled with the reading *sabatśarae*, which we have before [*ti*]*śatimae* in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription.

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

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

Under the *aksharas* *śada* of l. 2 there are traces of a letter which is like the *di* of l. 2 of Takht-i-Bāhī and one might think of restoring [*pra*]*di*-[*stavide*].

Then follows a fairly distinct *esha*.

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

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

¹ C. I. I., Vol. II, Part I, plate XVII, 5.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. X, 1.

After *sa* one *akshara* is lost, and then follows what looks like an *e*. I tentatively read *garu-keasarthae*, for the sake of the heavy...

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

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

My chronology has, however, been severely criticized, especially by Professor Rapson¹, who thinks that we must make use of the Vikrama era, which was, according to him, established by Azes, as proposed by Sir John Marshall. The date of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription would then correspond to 45 A.D., and the Saddo date to 46 A.D.

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

But then he maintains that he has proved² that the Āmohinī tablet is dated in the year 42 and not in 72, and his arguments have been accepted as final by Professor Charpentier³ and Mr. Jayaswal⁴. The latter scholar goes to the length of asserting that 'throughout the range of Indian epigraphy nowhere the symbol reads 70, and everywhere it reads 40', as if we had to do with a well-known and frequent sign.

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

In a masterly article⁵ Professor Lüders has examined the decimal symbols occurring in certain old manuscript leaves written in early Kushāna characters, and shown that the $\mathbb{H}$ symbol must there mean 40, because it is found in a continuous numbering immediately after 39. The St. Andrews cross occurs at least twice in page numberings, where the $\mathbb{H}$ symbol is used for 40, and since all the other decimal symbols, except that for 70, are used in other folios, the St. Andrews cross can only mean 70. Professor Lüders has further traced the origin of the figure. It is formed from the symbol for 60, which occurs in a shape resembling a Kharōshthī *ja*, by adding a stroke to the left.

Professor Rapson remarks that 'much of the perplexity which scholars have found in their attempts to arrange the chronology of the Śakas and the Kushānas seems .. to be due to the belief caused by the reading "year 72" that the Great Satrap Śoḍāsa ruled .. so late as the second decade of the first century A.D.' And it would certainly make it impossible to refer the dates of the Āmohinī tablet and the Patika plate to one and the same era.

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

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 186 ff.

² The date of the Āmohinī tablet of Mathurā, in *Indian studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, Harvard University Press, 1929, pp. 49 ff. In another paper, which will be published in the *Acta Orientalia*, Professor Rapson maintains the same view, against Professor Lüders.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, lix, 1930, p. 210.

⁴ *J. B. O. R. S.*, xvi, p. 245.

⁵ *Acta Orientalia* X, pp. 118 ff.

After the manuscript of this paper had been sent to press, Sir John Marshall's excavations at Kalawān have brought to light a new record, which shows that Professor Rapson was right in referring the dates of the Takht-i-Bāhī and some other early inscriptions to the so-called Vikrama era, and that the Saddo record accordingly belongs to A.D. 46.

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

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

And it seems to me that we have distinct indications to the effect that such an era existed, and was looked upon as a Śaka institution. The reading of the Shahdaur inscription¹ is uncertain and does not prove that it was designated as such. The matter would be different if Professor Thomas² is right in reading *sa* before the *ka* with which the inscription on the Taxila silver vase³ seems to open.

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

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

We must necessarily draw the inference that two different eras are used in the older series of Kharōshthī records; one old Śaka reckoning, and the Vikrama era. To the former we must apparently, *inter alia*, refer the Maira well, the Mānsehrā, the Shahdaur, the Patika plate, the Taxila silver vase, and probably also the Loriyān Tangai, the Hashtnagar, and the Skarah Dheri inscriptions, to the latter, *e.g.*, the Takht-i-Bāhī, the Saddo, the Panjtār, and the Taxila silver scroll records.

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

TEXT.

- 1 mu . . dhe . . .
- 2 [sambatsarac cā*] duśadam[e*] śra. 4 4
- 3 śā [pra*]di[stavida*] esha
- 4 [sedu*]ye garuheasa[rtha*]e

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, No. IX.

² *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1931, p. 4.

³ *C. I. I.*, No. XXX.

SADDO ROCK INSCRIPTION.



TRANSLATION.

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

No. 7.—CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The late Dr. Hultsch noticed this inscription long ago¹ but did not give the text nor a critical analysis of its contents. In consideration of its historical importance I am editing it below. It seems that the record is not in its original position, for the different portions of it lie in different places, though in the same sanctuary, viz., the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram. One piece is found in the floor of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the other is built in the roof of the said temple. Both these pieces, in my opinion, go to make up section I of the record though some portions of it, especially at the middle and at the end, are not forthcoming. Similarly, the third fragment is found in the floor and the other fragment marked B-1 is to be found in the roof. These fragments put together would make up section II of the record, though here too, some portions have not been secured as yet. Each of the fragments A and A-1 contain an equal number of lines incised on them. The portion of the record giving the date (l. 8) which is found on the fragment A, seems to continue on the fragment marked A-1. Of the other section, 49 lines are engraved on the fragment marked B and 30 on the slab called B-1. I think that lines 16 to 45 of B continue on B-1 for, when put together, they read continuously.

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

[Śa*]ka-nṛpa-nava-śata-saṁkhyā-vi shu yātēshu tribhir-adhikēshu etc.

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

Section II introduces Dānārṇava-Nṛipakāma (l. 17) stating that by defeating the armies of his enemies and despatching Kāmārṇava to heaven he accomplished all his desires. It then speaks of a chief called Jaṭāchōḷa-Bhīma-nṛpati, giving a number of his epithets, like the following :—*Samgrāma-vijaya, Arasar-abharaṇa, Sukavi-chintāmaṇi, Kirtti-Dilīpa, Saty-āvatāra, Samar-aikavīra, Paragaṇḍa-rākshasa, Dina-kalpadruma, Bhūpāla-Mēru, Achalita-vīrya, Vikrama, Dhanañjaya, Saujanya-dhavalā, Dushṭa-kāl-ānala, Asahāya-Vikrama, Bhuvan-aikadīpaka, Āchāra-Bhagīratha, Kārmuka-Rāmā, Apurāṇa-Dadhichi, Vanit-abhirāma, Abhinav-Āntaka, Sūrya-kulavāsa, Rāja-Makaradhvaṇa, Vikrānta-Chakrāyudha, Samasta-rāj-āgrēya, Gōṇḍala-sāhasa, Māna-sampūrṇa, Raṅga-mṛigēndra, Vīra-Narasimha, Karikāla-Chōḷa, Arirāja-bhishana, Tyāga-mahārṇava*, and *Nara-lōka-Rudra*. Thereafter comes a mutilated passage in Telugu (ll. 40 to 47) which describes some achievements of this chief, namely, Jaṭāchōḷa-Bhīma. The

¹ S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 139, No. 144.

inscription ends by saying that "such a distinguished person was captured by king Rājārāja". It is true that only the initial letter of this name is now preserved, but there is no doubt that it should be read as Rājārāja. We know that it was Rājārāja who was ruling over these parts in the Śaka year 923-4.

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

Though fragmentary, this inscription is very helpful for settling some of the doubtful points in the history of the Chōlas and of the Eastern Chālukyas. We know that Rājārāja I conquered the Vēṅgī country about the 14th year of his reign (A.D. 999) and the Kalinga country in the next year (A.D. 1000). The Tiruvālaṅgādu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I report that he defeated an Āndhra chief named Bhīma¹. We also know that Rājārāja invaded the Vēṅgī and Kalinga countries about A.D. 999-1000. We have to see who this Bhīma, whom he had routed, was. That he was the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya who bore the surname Mummudi-Bhīma and Birudaṅka-Bhīma² seems to be unlikely, for his dates do not go so far back as A.D. 999-1000³. Here it may be noted that the so-called *interregnum* in the Vēṅgī country had just then come to an end and that no Chōla king prior to the time of Rājārāja I had anything to do with the political situation in the Vēṅgī or Kalinga countries. Among the Eastern Chālukyas, we know of no king of the name of Bhīma who came after Dānārṇava and whom Rājārāja I had defeated in A.D. 999. The present inscription enables us to settle the question of his identification definitely, for while revealing his name it states that he was captured by Rājārāja I. Evidently, this chief got possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions in the confusion caused by the deposition of Dānārṇava. Though Dānārṇava was dispossessed of his kingdom about A.D. 973, he appears to have lived till A.D. 1000.

The second point of interest in the inscription is contained in the statement that Dānārṇava slew or defeated king Kāmārṇava, who, to judge from the name, must have been a member of the Eastern Gaṅga line. In this connection, it may be said, that the Vēṅgī and the Kalinga countries were fighting each other for some generations prior to the time of Dānārṇava. King Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-888) claims to have conquered the Gaṅgas and to have received a tribute of elephants from the king of Kalinga⁴. Kollavigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya IV also claims to have conquered the ruler of Kalinga in A.D. 918 and to have ruled over the forests of Trikalīṅga⁵. Vikramāditya II (A.D. 925) is said to have held sway over the countries of Vēṅgī and Trikalīṅga⁶. The fact that Dānārṇava-Nripakāma despatched to heaven or defeated Kāmārṇava, which the inscription under notice has brought to light, is not only new to history but it also proves for certain that the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī and the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga were inimical towards one another. That the Kāmārṇava who was defeated by Dānārṇava must be identified with Kāmārṇava IV, i.e., the father of Vajrahasta IV, may be shown by working backward the period of rule of the Eastern Gaṅga kings from the date of accession of Vajrahasta V which fell in A.D. 1038⁷. Since Madhukāmārṇava, Guṇḍama II,

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 421, v. 82.

² *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1906, p. 68.

³ According to the Ranaṣṭipundi grant Vimalāditya's accession to the throne took place in A.D. 1011, May 10, Thursday. (Above, Vol. VI, p. 349).

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 226.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 104.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

Kāmārṇava V and Vajrahasta IV are reported to have reigned for 19 years, 3 years, 6 months, and 35 years respectively, before the accession of Vajrahasta V, we get A.D. 980 or thereabouts for the end of the reign of Kāmārṇava IV. And since that king is said to have ruled for a period of 25 or 30 years his reign must have lasted from A.D. 950 or 955 to 980. These dates fall within the rule of Dānārṇava which commenced¹ in A.D. 970. It is very likely that the Eastern Gāṅgas made a counter invasion on Vēṅgī which must have eventually resulted in the deposition of the aggressive Dānārṇava and given occasion also to the Telugu Chōḷa chief Bhīma-nṛipa to acquire possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions. Perhaps Dānārṇava continued to live after his deposition, for the Chellūr² plates of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II attribute to him a reign of 30 years, a period that exactly covers his actual reign of three years and the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years which immediately followed it, as reported in other Eastern Chālukya charters. What favoured these events seem to be the internal dissensions that were prevailing in the country for a long time as is clearly disclosed by the rule of kings Yuddhamalla, Bādapa and Tāḷa of the collateral branch of the Eastern Chālukyas. It would not be wrong, therefore, to surmise that the deposed king Dānārṇava applied for help to the Chōḷas against his enemies. In this connection, the following facts revealed by the Chōḷa and the Eastern Chālukya records are worthy of note. Vimalāditya's coronation is stated, in his Raṇastipūḍi grant³, dated in the 8th year of reign⁴, to have taken place in Śaka 933 (A. D. 1011). Since his predecessor Chālukya-chandra Śaktivarman is said to have reigned for 12 years before this date⁵, his accession must be placed in A.D. 999, which is very near the date when the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I invaded the Vēṅgī country. The invasion of Rājarāja I resulted in placing over the Vēṅgī country a member of the direct line of the Eastern Chālukyas, namely, Śaktivarman, whose brother Vimalāditya was married to Kundavā, the daughter of the invading Chōḷa king⁶. In view of these facts it may safely be surmised that the Chōḷas must have helped Dānārṇava at the time of his difficulties. This inference is further supported by the fact that the Chōḷa invader Rājarāja I captured Bhīma-nṛipa, who was then in possession of the Eastern Chālukya dominions, and proceeded straightway against the Kalinga country and subdued it.

The date of the accession of Śaktivarman to the Eastern Chālukya throne being A.D. 999, as shown above, the period of the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years in the Vēṅgī country and the rule of Dānārṇava for 3 years before it, must fall in A.D. 972-3 to 999 and A.D. 970 to 972-3. Dānārṇava's fight with Kāmārṇava and his deposition will have to be placed in A.D. 972-3. It may be observed here, in passing, that the Rāshtrakūṭa power in the Deccan became practically ruined about this time when Siyaka Harsha, the Paramāra king of Mālwa, pillaged their very capital, namely, Mānyakhēṭa, and Taila II, the first member of the revived Chālukya line, ousting the Rāshtrakūṭas, extended his rule right up to the borders of the Eastern Chālukya and the Eastern Gāṅga kingdoms. Possibly it was about this period when there was so much of confusion in the Deccan that the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Bhīma-nṛipa, also called Karikāla-Chōḷa and Jaṭā-Chōḷa, of the solar race, found it possible to capture a portion of the Eastern Chālukya dominion.

¹ [See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 272.—Ed.]

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 56 ff.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 351.

⁴ As copper-plates attribute only a reign of 7 years to this king the 8th year must be counted from the date of his nomination to succession.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 351.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 277.

The Telugu portion of the inscription under publication, though very much mutilated, would inform us that this chief engaged himself in fighting the rulers of Aṅga as well as Kalinga, took possession of a fort which could not, perhaps, be seized by Bēta-Vijayāditya and that he constructed tanks and made gifts to the temple of Bhīmēśvara¹.

TEXT.²

I

- 1 yaksh-ēśvara-prabhṛiti.....m-ēśvarāya dadatā vadataḥ ka ēva
Chōla-Tripētra-vasudhā-patinā samānaḥ l- S[va]sti Śrīma-tarm(tām)=maku
.....
- 2 jānām Mahēśvara-vara-p[ra]s[...].dhān-āmara-Durgā-prasād-āsārīta³- sīmha-
[ma]hā-lāñjhanānām⁴ antaka-Śiv-ālaya-taṭ-ārāma-pravarttana-prabhṛi.....
- 3 pari(i)tānām Chōlānām ku.....[y]āditya-Guṇakāṅga-Chālukya-Bhīma-nṛipa-
raṇṇ⁵-ālamkṛita-Chālukya-vaṁśa-pradīpāyamāna-Kōlīavi-gaṇḍa-pri.....
- 4 dēvyām Gyau(Gau)ryyām Kumāra.....m Bhīm-āpar-āvatārah Bhīma-
parākramaḥ pravarttana-mah-āhavaḥ dig-antam-āntan=darpp-āntaū-jha⁶ yathā
yōga.....
- 5 Dāna-par-ārṇava⁷ tat bhṛi.....V[ai]dumba-prabhṛiti-rāja-rājanya-rāji
rājata⁸-pīṭhaastham=anēka-sahasra-sātakum̐bha-sambhūta-prabhṛi-
- 6 kaṭi-sūtra-prabhṛiti-vichitra.....nēk-ālamkār-ālamkṛitam=ānna⁹-rūpam=amūly-
ānēka-ranna⁵-dyuti-paṭala-virachit-ēndra-chāpam=a¹⁰kṛi.....
- 7 lōkanārtham=avanim=ava.....[bha]kti-nammram rachit-āñjali-putam Bhaga-
vataḥ Paramēśvarasya Paramabhaṭṭārakasya śrīmat-Bhīmē[śva].....
- 8 kanṛipa-nava-śata-saṁkhyā-vi.....shu yātēshu tribhir=adhikēshu cha-
turtthanyayāt=purastān=nirasta saśīti || Bhīmēśvarasya dēvasya Bhī.....
- 9 sya rūpēna. janma-janm-ē[ti].....[dha]raṇipatiḥ Kṛita-yugē Trētā-yugē
Rāvaṇaḥ Bhīmaḥ Pāṇḍu-Prith-ātmajaḥ Kurukula-dhvamaī yugē nva.....
- 10 li-yugē Śauryyādi-dharmamā.....rttum-ēsha nṛipatiḥ Chōla¹¹-Tripētrō-
bhavat l- Bhūtō-bhavan-bhaviṣyan-vā bhūpatir=ddāna-śauryyataḥ.....

II

- 1 nāpi bhaviṣyati l- chintyaū=chintā.....
- 2 lē dhāvan syandana-yādasi sapura.....
- 3 tūrṇ-ōttirṇa-mahārṇavān=a[pu].....
- 4 patasyat Parachakra-bhīma-ripav[ō].....
- 5 traiya-viśāla-maṇḍapa-visa.....
- 6 jēshu Bhagadatta ēva turagē.....

¹ I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., the Kanarese Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for this information.

² From the ink-impressions prepared by Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, B.A.

³ Read -āsārīta.

⁴ Read -lāñjhanānām.

⁵ Read -raṇṇa.

⁶ Read -cha.

⁷ [The reading is -parāvārṇava which might stand for -parāyan-ārṇava.—Ed.]

⁸ Read -rājita.

⁹ Read -ātma.

¹⁰ Can the symbol between °m-a° and °kṛi° be taken as °dha°?

¹¹ Read nṛipatiḥ=Chōla.

- 7 tataṁ Śatakra[tu]r=api svarggan¹=tanō.....
 8 masu sthēyāt(d)=bhuvī yāvad-arkka.....
 9 shu bahushv=ath=āsīt Karikāla.....
 10 śaiśavē Kṛishṇa-nṛipaśya vā[chā].....
 11 bhīhatya mad-ōddhatān apa.....
 12 chukō[pa] sājāta-samagra-manyuḥ.....
 13 ntyai sumukhat-prachandāḥ²nyayūyu.....
 14 śāhalam sva-bhagani³-padam-Andhrama.....
 15 naḥ prāk sāmanta-māny-āṭavika-dri.....
 16 na durnnikhō-dhāt da-jvāla-māruta-vaśād.....ya.....
 17 Dānārṇava-Nṛipakāmō yō yudhi sat-sakala-sainyam=abhihatya-dēśam.....
 18 m-avinōt parinētum=īśaḥ chitram su-dūram=api chāru. rmmantam Kāmār-
 ṇṇavan=divam=ani.....
 19 bhūt vyaktam vyasīmapatatsv=iti vaiparītyā Kāmārṇavam bhuvī nayan.....
 20 t vinayād-anya-bhūpataiḥ⁴. Tyāgēna Karṇṇam=api rūpatayā Manōjam tējō.....
 21 si samad-ān(t)makam yaḥ |- Sa śrīmān-Jaṭāchōḷa-Bhīma-nṛipatiḥ sat-Gaṇḍa⁵-
 Bhūriśravā.....
 22 tha yōgataḥ |- Sasy-āpānya chatu. sya bhūṣhaṇa-chayam Bhī.....
 23 maṇḍali-śikhāmaṇiḥ |- Gaṇḍabhūriśravāḥ |- Saṁgrāma-vijayaḥ |-.....
 24 ga-dhavaḷaḥ |- Arasar-ābharāṇaḥ |- Sukavi-chintāmaṇiḥ |- Śau.....
 25 kirtti-Dilipah |- [Sa]ty-āvatārah |- Samar-aika-vīrah |-Virabhaṭa.....
 26 ..raṅga-mallaḥ |- Paragaṇḍa-rākshasaḥ |- Dina-kalpadrumaḥ |-.....
 27 ndraḥ |- Bhūpāla-Mēruḥ |- Achalita-vīryaḥ |- Chaturāṅga-Rā.....
 28 Vidyādharaḥ |- Vikrama-Dhanañjayaḥ |- Saujanya-dhavaḷaḥ |-.....
 29 nanah |- Dusṭa-kāl-ānalaḥ |- Asa[hāya]-Vikramaḥ |- Kara.....
 30 ..yug-āchārah |- nagēvāya-Bṛihaspatiḥ |- Satya-Ma.....
 31 rāṇanaḥ |- Bhuvan-aika-dīpi(pa)ka[h] |- Āchāra-Bhagīrathaḥ |-.....
 32 Kārmuka-Rāmaḥ |- Atithādityan |- Apurāṇa-Dadhīchiḥ |-.....
 33 ṇaḥ |- Vanit-ābhīrāmaḥ |- Abhinā(na)v-Āntakaḥ |- Sūryakula-vāsaḥ |-.....
 34 Sundaraḥ |- Rāja-Makaradhvaḥ |- Budha-janaupārah⁶ |- Samvyakta-Bhā.....
 35 Vikrānta-Chakrāyudhaḥ |- Samasta-rāj-āgrēyaḥ |- Rāja-kula.....
 36 raḥ |- Gōndala-Sāhasaḥ |- Māna-sampūrṇaḥ |- Kshatriya-kula.....
 37 [ā]raḥ |- Chalarāṅga-Rāmāḥ |- Rāpāṅga⁷-mṛigēndraḥ |- Vira-Narasimhaḥ |-.....
 38 hadēvaḥ |- Karikāla-Chōḷaḥ |- Arirāja-bhīṣhaṇaḥ |- Su.....
 39 ḥ |- Tyāga-mahārṇavaḥ |- Naraḷōka-Rudraḥ [[*] Sakala-bhū.....
 40 sthira-sanniya-ghaṭanadh(y)-Aṁga-Kālimka-patilu nāḷa.....
 41 larallōṭi parikōṭi-Rōḍḍalair-antu māroḍḍa ē.....
 42 liyure kōṭuku Bētunḍu Guṇaka-vijayitunḍu.....
 43 krambu sādhiñchi sōdhiñchi guṇakoni Bhīmēśva.....
 44 ma-ḍḍiyalu gāluktambu diggayalu kaṭi-sūtra-bahu.....

¹Read *svarggan tanō*....²Read *su-mahā-prachandāḥ*.³Read *sva-bhagini*°.⁴Read *bhūpatiḥ*.⁵Read *sad-gaṇḍa*°.⁶Read *Budha-jan-ōḍārah*.⁷Read *Rapa-raṅga*°.

- 45 trōpulu gulliyalun-dutti..mbulu saḍḍulu rachi.....
 46 rāyillana tana rūpu bhaṇḍa nī[rva]ṣiṇḍim gāyamabhamba.....
 47 davikrāyakudayya Ḍākarambi.....
 48 parita||a [i*] Ivaṇai śrī-kō-Rā.....
 49 k[o]ṇḍār

No. 8.—NIVINA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DHARMARAJADEVA.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

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

The **characters** belong to an early type of the Nāgarī script and bear much resemblance to those employed in the Ganjām plates of Nētribhañjadēva.¹ As Kielhorn² has already made a detailed study of the script employed in these records, I shall make here only a few additional remarks. The initial *a* and *ā* are denoted in the present record by two different signs though they seem to have been mixed up; e.g., *āsi(sī)d* (l. 12), *anē(nyē)* (l. 25), *Alatālangha* (l. 34) and *asmī(smin)* (l. 35). For medial *u*, also, there are two signs, one is the ordinary sign for *u* with a rounded curve to the left, as, e.g., in *pāntu* (l. 21) and *bhāsvat(d)-uṣṇāṁśu-* (l. 21), while the other is indistinguishable from the sign of *ū*. The sign for *Avagraha* has also been used, though only once, in *pratiprā(pā)ḍitah(tō)=smat* (l. 42). The *Anusvāra* is marked in two ways: (1) by the usual dot on the top of the letter as in *bhīnam(nnam)* (l. 4), or in *ihvam(ttham)* (l. 8) and (2), occasionally, with a dot and a hook below it both added to the right of the letter as in *a[ja*]srām* (l. 19) and *Phāsikāyām* (l. 31). It may be noted that the latter sign has been used only at the end of a *pāda* or a verse.

The grant is written in incorrect Sanskrit prose and verse and has been very carelessly incised, so much so that, not only have many words been wrongly spelt but letters and even words have been left out in several places. Words like *vēshaika* (l. 40) (for *vaishayika*), *Dikhida* (l. 39) (for *Dikshita*), *Vachcha* (l. 40) (for *Vatsa*), *rishi* (l. 40) (for *rishi*), *tāmra*^o (l. 42) (for *tāmra*^o), found

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII. pp. 293 ff.

² Above, Vol. VII. pp. 101 ff.

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

As regards orthography the following points may be noted. *Ba* and *va* are not distinguished. A consonant is usually doubled in conjunction with a superscript *r*, but exceptions are also found : e.g., *dayālur=narapatir=* (l. 22), *pradarpād* (l. 30), *kala(kālē)yair-bhūta°* (l. 18), etc. Final *n* is changed into *m* in *-vaktrām* (l. 23), *prāptavām* (l. 27), *-bhāvām* (l. 30), etc. ; *n* is used in *prāṇsu* (l. 6), *Kalinga* (l. 8), etc., side by side with *m* in *vamse* (l. 15), *kalamka* (l. 16), etc. Vowel *ri* is wrongly used for *ri* in *samśritas-Trivar°* (l. 31), *tribhuvana* (l. 5), *dharitri* (l. 15), etc. *Rēpha* has been dropped in many places and in all such cases the following consonant has invariably been left undoubled : as, e.g., *kōmalai va(ba)ddhā°* (ll. 1-2), and *dulalita* (l. 18). *Visarga* has been wrongly used in *ivaḥ* (l. 1), *vyatikaraḥ* (l. 3), *apiḥ* (l. 11), and wrongly dropped in *kaṇikā* (l. 3), *-vā(bā)hu* (l. 7), *bhuvō* (l. 9), *ārādhita* (l. 10), *prabhu* (l. 12), *-āsīdhara* (l. 18) etc. Other errors and peculiarities have been noticed in the foot-notes accompanying the text.

The grant was issued by the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Śrīmad-Dharmarājadeva alias Mānabhita* of the Śailōdbhava family from the fortress (*kōṭa*) of Alatā-laṅghapura in the Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala. Its object is to register the gift of the village Nivina, situated in the Khidiṅgahāra-vishaya, to a Brāhman Savaridēva Dīkshita of the Vacnchha (Vat-sa)-gōtra, the Pañcharshi-pravara and anupravara, Chhandōgya-charaṇa and the Kauthuma school (of the Sāmaveda). Lines 42-46 give in detail the boundaries of the gift village. In l. 47 an additional grant of two *timpiras*¹ (of land ?) seems to have been made. The *Dūtaka* seems to have been an *akshapaṭalika* but his name is not preserved. The seal was fixed (*lāñchhita*) by Jayasiṅgha. The name of the engraver is not legible.

Besides the present grant only five other complete records of the Śailōdbhava kings are known.² They are (1) the Ganjām Plates³ of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja, (2) the Khurdā Plates⁴ of Mādhavarāja, (3) the Buguḍa Plates⁵ of Mādhavarman, (4) the Pārikud Plates⁶ of Madhyamarājadeva and (5) the Kōṇḍēḍḍa Grant⁷ of Dharmarāja. Of these, the first two are written completely in prose and the rest, like the present record, are composed partly in prose and partly in verse. Many of the verses found in this record also occur in the Buguḍa, Pārikud and the Kōṇḍēḍḍa Plates.

In the grant under publication, the portion containing the date (l. 47) reads : *Samvat [Vai]-tākha-sudi-prathama-paksha-dviti[yā*]*. Probably we have to restore the commencement as *Samvat [9*]*. From an examination of the plate it becomes clear that the broken space would not allow any numerical sign to be incised before *Vai°*, the whole space being covered by the partly

¹ The word occurs also in the Pārikud Plates (l. 44) in the form *timpira* which Banerji read as *timmira*. Its meaning is not clear. The expression *dvādaśa-timpira-pramāṇa* in the Pārikud Plates suggests that the word refers to measurement of land.

² There are also two incomplete records of this dynasty, viz., (1) Puri Second Plate of Mādhavarman-Sainyabhita alias Srinivāsa, (the Bengali monthly) *Sāhitya* for the year 1319 (B. S.), p. 895 and pl. and (2) Tekkali Plate of the time of Madhyamarāja (III) (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV. pp. 165 ff.). The latter mentions four other rulers after Dharmarāja. I may mention here in passing that the Plate shows the reading *paṭirivō-ḥaparāja* in l. 19. Thus the name should be Allaparāja who was the uncle's son of Rānakshōbha and not a son of Madhya-marāja (II), as understood by H. P. Shastri. Cf. Mr. V. Miśra (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI. pp. 178 ff.) and Mr. S. Rajaguru (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VII, pp. 165 ff.). Here it may incidentally be remarked that Mr. Rajaguru's reading of the date in the Puri Plates is incorrect. The date is evidently regnal.

³ Above, Vol. VI. pp. 143 ff. and Plates.

⁴ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII. pt. i. pp. 282 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. pp. 41 ff. and Vol. VII. pp. 100 ff. and Plates.

⁶ Above, Vol. XI. pp. 284 ff. and Plates.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX. pp. 267 ff. and Plates.

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

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

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

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

¹ Above, Vol. VII. pp. 100 f.

² The name has been read as Strīvara in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant, but I would ascribe the *s* to *sandhi*.

³ His date will be about the middle of the 8th century if Prof. Bhandarkar is right in his assumption that Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjām Plates of Amoghavarsha I (Above, Vol. XVIII. pp. 243 ff.) as being defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda III, was the ruler of Mahākōśala. We know of only one Chandragupta in this family who was the son of Nannadēva and consequently a brother of Tīvaradēva whom Chandragupta appears to have succeeded.

sovereign. But in the present grant Dharmarāja is given the titles *Paramabhāṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* which were borne by independent rulers alone. In our present knowledge of the history of Orissa, it is difficult to say definitely whose subordinates the Śailodbhavas were after the rule of Śaśāṅka was at an end, but it is not impossible that sometime after the breaking up of Harsha's empire Madhyamarāja declared independence and his successor used all the titles befitting an independent ruler. I cannot, however, account for the omission of such titles in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant.

It appears that there has been, from the beginning, a misconception regarding the names of certain Śailodbhava rulers. The name read as Yaśōbhīta till now, should correctly be Ayaśōbhīta. It was pointed out in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant¹ that in l. 22 the plate read *narapatir=Ayaśōbhīta*. This reading is authenticated by the present grant also. Banerji's correction² into *narapatishu Yaśōbhīta* is thus not justified. Wherever this name occurs the *sandhi* seems to have been overlooked. Even Dr. Hultzsch appears to have done this for, in the Ganjām Plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja, he changed the reading into *Mahārāja-Yaśōbhīta* although the inscription gave it quite correctly as *Mahārāj-Ayaśōbhīta*.³

When Professor Kielhorn first published the Buguḍa Plates he was under the impression that Mādhavavarman was the son of Sainyabhīta (II). Dr. Hultzsch pointed out that Sainyabhīta was only a surname of Mādhavavarman II⁴. In the same way, there is nothing in these inscriptions to show that Yaśōbhīta, i.e., Ayaśōbhīta and Madhyamarāja were different persons. Mr. R. D. Banerji in his article on the Pārikud Plates, though accepting the analogy of the Buguḍa Plates, was of the opinion that Madhyamarāja was probably a son of Yaśōbhīta⁵ (i.e., Ayaśōbhīta) II, while Mr. Y. R. Gupte writing on the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant presumed, on the same analogy, that Yaśōbhīta was the surname of Madhyamarāja, though he was unable to prove his point. The difficulty of both the scholars was due to the misunderstanding of a passage in the text. The last *pāda* of verse 12 in the present inscription, which occurs in other grants also, was wrongly read by Banerji as *Madhyamarājādēva-guṇa-dhrid=rājyaṁ pituḥ prāptavān* while the correct reading is *rājyē=pi tat=prāptavān*. The verse under reference simply means that the sages leave their homes and perform various austerities in seeking after *divya-pada* while Ayaśōbhīta II got the same abode, i.e., *mōksha* in his own kingdom.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant Kōṅgōḍa has been identified by Kielhorn with *Kung-yū* (or *gu*) t'o of Yuan Chwang. Cunningham identified Kōṅgōḍa, the capital city of the province of the same name, with Ganjām while Fergusson placed it 'somewhere between Kuttack and Aska'⁶ in the Ganjām district. We find from his records that the Chinese pilgrim journeyed south west from the Oṭa country, through a forest, for over 1,200 *li* and reached *Kung*

¹ Above, Vol. XIX. p. 268, note 2.

² Above, Vol. XI. p. 285, l. 21.

³ On the same analogy it may be possible that the name in l. 12 should be read as Arāṇabhīta. In fact, the internal evidence of the grants of this dynasty shows that the names should be Ayaśōbhīta and Arāṇabhīta. In Khurdā Plates we find *Śrī-Sainyabhītaśya paitra (pautraḥ) prasrita-vipul-ānala-yatasaḥ satatam-ayaśōbhītaśya śrīmatō-Yaśōbhītaśya* etc. Similarly cf. verse 8 of the present grant and note the expression *yuthārtha-nāmā*. For Arāṇabhīta cf. verse 6 in the text of the present record where this bravery in battle is described. (It may, however, be pointed out that the Gaṅga king Hastivarman appears to have borne the *biruda* of Rāṇabhīta—Above, Vol. XVII. p. 332.). In the case of Sainyabhīta we probably have to take the name as a *bahuvrīhi* compound (Pāṇini, II. ii. 23-24) meaning thereby 'of whom the army was afraid.' The epithet *prātāpa-vāri-dri-śaṅga* given to Sainyabhīta in the Khurdā Plates, seems to confirm this explanation.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI. p. 144, note 1.

⁵ Above, Vol. XI. p. 283.

⁶ See Watliors, *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India*, Vol. II. p. 197.

yu-t'o. As the inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava dynasty mentioning Kōngōda-*maṇḍala* have been found at Cuttack, Khurdā, and Ganjām, we may well conclude that all these places were within the province of Kōngōda. In all probability the province extended from the southern bank of the Mahānadi and included within it the northern portion of Ganjām. The country outlying the northern bank of the Mahānadi was probably the *Wu-t'u* or Oṭa (Skt. Ōdra) of Yuan Chwang, while the southern part of Ganjām was within the Kalinga territory. According to the same pilgrim the capital city of *Kung-gu-t'o* was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea. The Ganjām Plate of Śasāṅka mentions that it was situated on the bank of the Śālimā river. I have not been able to find the name elsewhere. The trace of the ancient name may, however, be found in the small river Sālīā which is fed by the Chilkā lake.* This part of the country would answer well to the description of the Chinese pilgrim. But at present no place recalling the name of Kōngōda is found on the bank of this river. The village Kōṅkōda situated in the Rāmagiri Agency of the Ganjām district, however, reminds us of the ancient name of Kōngōda, though the former could not have been the site of the capital city mentioned by Yuan Chwang.

Of the other place-names mentioned in the present record the name of the *vishaya* of **Khiṇḍīṅgahāra** may be recognised in the village Khiṇḍīṅgi in the Kudala *taluk* of the Ganjām district while Nivinā is undoubtedly the village of Nimmina in the same *taluk* where the plates were found.

TEXT.³

[Metres : Vv. 1, 4 and 12, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2, 10, 11 and 14, *Śragdharā* ; vv. 3, 6, 7, 9 and 13, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 5 and 15-17, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

First Plate ; Reverse.

- 1 Om⁴ svasti || Indrōr(ndōr)-ddhauta-mṛiṇāla=[tantubhi]⁵r-īvaḥ(va) śliṣṭāḥ karaḥ[h*] kōma-lai-
- 2 [r*]-va(ba)ddh-āhēr-aruṇa(paiḥ) sphurat-phani - maṇai(nē)[r-ddigdha]-prabhā[sō - m]śubhiḥ
[h*] [Pārvva]tyā[h*] sa-kacha-
- 3 graha-vyatikarāḥ(ra)-vyāvṛitta-va(ba)ndha-ślathā Gaṅg-āmbha[h-pluti-bhinna-bhasma-kaṇi]-
kā[h*] Śaṁbhōr-jjātā[h*]
- 4 pāntu vaḥ|| [1][h*] Śrīmāmbhina (Śrīmān-uchchai)r-ṇṇa(una)bhaṣṭe(tō) gurur-Achalapati
(teḥ) kshō(bhajid-yaḥ) kshamā[yā] gambhīras-tōya-rā-
- 5 śēr-atha divasakarā[d*]-bhasma(bhāsva)d-ālōka-kāri(rī) ; hlādī sarvvasya ch-ēndōs-tṛi
(tri)-bhū[vā]nā-bhava(na-prē)rakaś=ch-i(ā)pi
- 6 vāyō rājā sva(sa) Sthāṇu-mūrttir-jjayati Kali-mala-kshālanō Mādha[vēndrah ||] [2][h*]
Prān(m)śur=mmahēbha-ka-
- 7 ra-pivara-chāru-vā(bā)hu[h*] kṛishṇ-āsva(śma)-sañchaya-viśāla-vivēka-dakshōḥ⁶ (')⁷ rājīva-
[kōmala-dal]-āyata-lō-
- 8 chan-āntaḥ (')⁷ khyātaḥ Kalinga-janitasa(janatās) Pulindasēnaḥ || [3][h*] Tēn-
sthtam(ttham) guṇi[n=āpi] sa[t*]tva-mahatō(tā) na-

¹ See *ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 195.

² See Indian Sheet Atlas, No. 74 (India and adjacent countries series).

³ From impressions and the original plates.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Portions within square brackets are either broken or not clear and have been restored on the authority of other published records belonging to the same family.

⁶ Read *sañchaya-vibhēda-viśāla-vakshāḥ*.

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

- 9 *śṣṭa* *bhuvvōr=mmaṇḍalam** (|)¹ *śaktō=yam** *paripālanāyā(ya)* *jagataḥ kō nāma*
[sa*] *syād=i[ti l]* *pratyādishṭa-vi-*
10 *bh-ūtsavēna* *bhagavā(m)n=ārādhita(taḥ)* [svāśvataṁ]* *tach=chi[tt-ānu]guṇaṁ vi-*
[dhitsur=a] *dīśa[d*]=va(vā)ñchbā[m*]* *Śva(Sva)-*
11 *yambhō(bhū)[r=a]piḥ(pi)* || [4 ||*] *Sa śilā-sa(śa)kal-ō[dbhē]dē** *tēn=ā[py=*
ālōkya] *dhimatā [i*]* [pa] *rikalpitaḥ(ta)-*

Second Plate ; Obverse.

- 12 [*sad-vamśaḥ**] *pra[bhu][h*]* *Śailōdbhava[h*]* *kri[ta]h* [|5||*] *Śailōdbhavasya kula-*
[ō=*Ra*] *nabhita* [ā] *sid anā⁶sakri-*
13 *t-kṛitabhiyām* *vi(dvi)shad-aṁganānām |* *jyōtsnyā(snā)-pravāha⁷-samayē* *sva-*
dhīy=ēva⁸ *sārdham=ā[ka]mpitō naya-*
14 *na-paksha(kshma)-jalēshu chandraḥ ||* [6 ||*] *Tasy-ābhavad-Vivu(bu)dhapāla-sama-*
sya sānum(sūnuḥ) śrī-Sainya[bhita] *iti bhūmi-*
15 *patir=ggariyā[n*]* *yam prāpya nāga-ghaṭa-ghaṭa⁹-lav(b)dha-prasāda¹⁰-vijaya[m*]* *mum¹¹-*
[dē*] *dharitri(tri) |* [7||*] *Tasy=āpi vamś[ē]-*
16 *shu¹¹* *yathā[r*]tha-nāmō(mā) jātō-Yasōbhita* *iti* [kshiti*] *śah(śah) |* [yē*] *na*
*puruḥhō¹²=pi** *śubhē(bhai)ś-charitrē(trair)=mrishṭaḥ* *kalambka[h*]* *kali-nadala-*
17 *na* *syāt¹³ |* [8*||] *Jātō=[tha*]* *tasya tanaya[h* *sukṛitī samasta*]-sīmantini(nī)-nayana-*
śatpada-puṇḍarikah(puṇḍarikah) [|*] *śrī-[Sai]nyabbita i-*
18 *ti* *bhūmipatir=mmahēbha-kumbhasthali(i)-dalana-dula(durlla)līt-āsīdhārī(rah)* [|9||*] *Kala-*
yair¹⁴=bhūta-dhātṛi(tri)-patibhir¹⁵=u-
19 *pachit-ānyai(ne)ka-pāyāvataraiḥ ||* *nitā¹⁶* *yēśām* *kathā-bhi(pi)* *pralayam-abhi-*
matā kīrti-mā(pā)lair=a[ja]srām [|*]*
20 *yajña(jūai)s=tair=Aśvamēdha-prabhritibhir=amarā* *lamvitas¹⁷=triptim=[urvvi]m=udript-ār-*
ātri(ti)-paksha-kshaya-kṛiti-paṭu-
21 *nā Śrīnivāsēni(na) yēnaḥ(na) |* [|10||*] *Tasy-ōtkhāt-ākhl-ārēr=mmarur(d)=iva [ja]-*
nan-ōdbhāsvat(d)-ushnām[śu]=tējāḥ || ¹⁸ *śūrō mā-*
22 *nī(nī)* *dayālur=narapatir=Ayaśōbhītadēvas=tanūjaḥ |* (|)¹⁹ *mātamgāmn(gān)-yō=ti-tu-*
[ngām]²⁰va(ba)hala-mada-mu-

¹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.² Read *n=śṣṭam bhuvō maṇḍalam*.³ Other inscriptions of this dynasty have *śaktō yaḥ*.⁴ Read *śāśvatas=*⁵ Read *śakal-ōdbhēdi*.⁶ Read *āsīd=yēn=ā*⁷ Read *-prabōdha-*⁸ Read *-dhīy=aiya*.⁹ Read *naika-kata-nāga-ghaṭa-vighaṭa-*¹⁰ On the impression the last syllable looks like *ōdam*. But what looks like an *anuvāra* is only a hole in the plate.¹¹ The Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant reads: *vamśē=tha*.¹² Read *prarūdhō-*¹³ Read *Kālī-darpanasya*.¹⁴ Read *Kālīyair=*¹⁵ There are traces of another sign before *pa*. Either it was a mark of punctuation wrongly put or the plate read *aripati* by mistake.¹⁶ Read *-pāp-āvatātrair=naṭā*. The marks of punctuation before *nitā* are unnecessary.¹⁷ Read *lamvitas=*¹⁸ The marks of punctuation are unnecessary¹⁹ *Dauḍa* unnecessary.²⁰ Read *śuagā*.

Second Plate ; Reverse.

- 23 chā(cha)ś=chāru-vaktrām(ktān) prachapdā[m](pān) vaddh=ākaraṣati khinam¹ pu-
nar-api navatē yat-kṛitam(taḥ) sampragalbha(bha)² || 11 ||³
- 24 Kēchid=vṛi(va)nya-mṛigēṇa sārddha⁴[m*] ramatē(ntē) tatām(thā) sthiti⁵-līlayaḥ(yā) |⁶
kēchit(ch)=chōrddh[v*]a-mukhā mayūkha⁶
- 25 kirāṇa-jvāl-āvali-prēkṣaṇaḥ(nāḥ) [i*]⁷ kēchit śāila-guhōdarēṣhu niratā⁸ dhūm-āvali(i)-
pāi(yi)na[h*] a-
- 26 nē(nyē) vāyu-phal-āmvu(bu)-bhakṣa-niratā[h*] kēchi[n*]=nī(ni)r-āhārakāḥ | i[t*]-
tham yōga-jushō vihāya vasati[m*]
- 27 dhyāyanti divyam padam⁹ |¹⁰ chitran(m)Madhyam-arājadēva-triguṇām-dhrid rājyam
pi¹⁰ tat-prāptavām(vān) || 12 || Tasy-ābha-
- 28 vat=sakala-śāstra-viśēṣa-vēdī |¹¹ śrī-Dharmmarāja iti sūnur-adhiti(dhita)-śās-
traḥ | (!)¹² tasy-ā
- 29 ti-nī(ni)rmala-yasāḥ parivardhamāna[m*] pādau Harēr-id(iva) na māyati
martti-lōkyāḥ¹³ || 13 ||¹⁴ Rājyam lavdhā(bdhvā) pra-
- 30 darpād=avigāṇita-tayō¹⁵ Mādhavō jē(iyē)shṭha-bhāvām(vān) |¹⁶ tasyā tasmād=apaś-
tram¹³ kṛita-vishama-mati[r*]=vigra-
- 31 hē Phāsikāyām | yuddha-kṣobhena(na) la(bha)gnō nripatiparam-asau samāsi
(śrī)tas T[riva]r-ākhyāḥ¹⁴ |¹⁵ pa-
- 32 śchām(śchāt)=tēn=āpi sārddham punar-api vijitā(tō) Vindhya-pādēṣhu jirṇāt
(jirṇaḥ) || 14 ||¹⁶ Śau[ryam] śrīr=yauvanam
- 33 rājyam-ēkaikya(ka)m mada-mā(kā)rakam | sarvam śrī-Mānabhitasya nī[rvi]kār-
am=upasthitat(tam) || 15 ||¹⁷ Ala-

Third Plate ; Obverse.

- 34 tālaṅghapura¹⁸-kōtāt | Parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pādānudhyātō(taḥ) Pa-
35 rama-bhatā(tā)rakō Mahārā[jā*]dhirāja¹⁷-paramēśvara[h*] śrī[ma*]d-Dharmmar[ā*]-
jadēva[h*] kuśali || Āmīt¹⁸-Kōṅgō-

¹ Read baddhv=ākaraṣaty=akhinnaḥ.² Pārikud and Kōṇḍēḍḍa grants have yan-nataḥ sapragalbhaḥ.³ Pārikud grant reads : sārddham-ācharaṇaḥ-tathā.⁴ What looks like an anusvara above it is merely a depression on the plate.⁵ Danda unnecessary.⁶ Read sahasra-kirāṇa- as in the Pārikud grant.⁷ Pārikud grant has two verses (12-13) in this connection, while Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant omits one. Here we have only the first half of the previous verse and the whole of the latter, the second half of the former being omitted most probably, by oversight. [Reading given in both is wrong. One should expect something like. Kē chid-vanya-mṛigēṇa sārddham-achiraṇaḥ rēmus=sukhain līlaya—Ed.]⁸ Pārikud and Kōṇḍēḍḍa grants read niyatā.⁹ Read -dēva-guṇa-dhrid rājye=pi.¹⁰ Read marttya-lōkaḥ. The suggestion to read nabhaś-śrīta in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant is not correct. In the Tekkali Plate the reading is na māyī na marttya-lōkē. It is to be noted however that the root mā (in the Div-ādi group) is ātmanēpadi.¹¹ Verses 13-14 of the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant have been omitted from the present record.¹² In the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant also the reading is tayō which has been wrongly read as *tayā ; taya has been used here in the sense of 'protection'.¹³ Read with the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant : dīśād=asmād=apāśum.¹⁴ Read Trivar-ākhyam or Trī as in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant. In the former case, however, the meter suffers.¹⁵ Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant records two more verses after this.¹⁶ The reading of the first letter is not very certain.¹⁷ Ja is written in a smaller letter between rā and pa. Evidently it was inserted later, on finding out the error.¹⁸ Read Āmin=

i

2
4
6
8
10

2
4
6
8
10

iii

12
14
16
18
20
22

12
14
16
18
20
22

iiib

24
26
28
30
32

24
26
28
30
32

[illegible]

48 50 52

48 50 52

- 36 da-maṇḍalē śrī-sāmanta-mā(ma)hāsāmanta-mā(ma)hārājanakarājaka¹ - rājaputtrāḥ(ir-ā)
[ntara*]ṅga-daṇḍanā-
- 37 yaka-[dāṇḍa*]pāsik-ōparika-stakad(stad)(tadāyuktaka—Ed.)-viniyuktaka-sakarāṇa-vyavahā-
rīṇa-nānyāś=cha² vrā(brā)hmaṇa-
- 38 purōg-ādi-vēshaika³-janapadāṁ(dān) yath-ārha[m*] mānaya[ti*] vō(bō)dhayati jñāpa-
yati viditam=astu
- 39 bhavatām Khidīṅgahāra-visha[ya*]-saṁmamādhā⁴-Nivīnā-grāmāt(maḥ) | * Savaridēva-
dikhida ||¹²(dikshita)-
- 40 bhātta(bhāṭṭāya) Vachchha(tsa)-gōtrāya pañcha-risha-pravara-anupravarāya⁵ Kau-
thuka(ma)-śākhāya Chhandō⁶-charaṇāya
- 41 mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś=cha puny(ṇy)-ābhivṛi[d*]dhayō(yē) salila-dhārā-pura[h*]sarēṇa
chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kāla[m*]=a-
- 42 kari(rī)kritya tāmvrā(mra)-śāsā(sa)tvē(nē)na pratiprā(pā)dita(tō)=smat⁷ na kōchit
(kēnachit) vighātita[vya*]m=iti || grāmasya śimā kata⁸
- 43 Pāschima-diśahi(diśi) Tṛikuṭa Jōḍapāpādi vaṇarāi vālmika-vaṁṁka(ṁka)-
sila-vaṇarāi[i*] Uta(tta)ra- diśahi(diśi)
- 44 Tṛikuṭa | Pāṇi-sākha(?)traimaṇivāḍhaivaṇi [i*] Uta⁹(tta)ra-diśahi(diśi) digha-sila [i*]
Pūvēhi (Pūrvasyām) jōḍavaṇarāi
- 45 vaḍa[i*]Pūva-utara-kōṇēhi sōmaṇi¹⁰ Tṛikuṭa | Pūva-dakhiṇ[ē]hi sē...ma Tṛikuṭa |
Pūva-diśahi khō-
- 46 llāḍa[i*]Pūva-dakhiṇa-kōṇēhi vāgha-guhu(guhā?) Tṛikuṭa [i*] Dakhiṇa-diśa pavadi
sila gāḍi savatīḥ ||

Third Plate ; Reverse.

- 47 'paradvau tīmpiraḥ¹¹ || Samvat [9*] [Vai]śākha-sudi-prathama-paksha-dviti[yā [i*]
48 Uktāñ=cha dharmma-śāstrē[i*] Vahubhiḥ (Bahubhir-) [vasu]dhā datām(dattā)
rājā(ja)bhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ[i*]
- 49 rya(ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*]-||¹² tasya tasya [tadā phalaṁ] || [16||*] Sva-
dat[t*]ām para-dat[t*]ām-vā yō ha-
- 50 rēti(ta) vasundharām[i*] sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir-[bhūtvā] pitṛi[bhiḥ*] saha pachyatēḥ
(tē) || [17 ||*] Itikō(Dūtākō)=
- 51 tra mahākshapaṭa[ḷa?] ...dēvō(vaḥ) [pradhānatana(maḥ) ?] | Lāñchhitam Jayasimghēna
52 utkirṇam Chchā[hibhayē ?]nāḥ(na) mitiḥ(iti) ||

No. 9.—TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS.

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

About the beginning of the 10th century A.D. a branch of the Paramāras of Mālwa was founded by Dambarasimha, the younger brother of Vairisimha of Mālwa. The rulers of this

¹ Read -rājānaka.² Read 'hārīṇō= nyāś=cha.³ Read -vaishayika.⁴ Read -sambaddha.⁵ Daṇḍa unnecessary.⁶ Read pañcharshi-pravar-anupravarāya. These five rishis are : Aurva, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya and Aṇṇavāna.⁷ Read Chhāndōgya.⁸ Read 'tō=smābhīr.⁹ Read śimā kṛitā. [Kata, desahi, rāi, etc. are evidently Prakrit formations—Ed.]¹⁰ The first syllable may be read sō.¹¹ The meaning of this expression is not at all clear. The sign at the commencement looks like that of an *avagraha* but it cannot be connected with the previous line.¹² Daṇḍas unnecessary.

family may be called the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa from the name of the territory over which they ruled and which comprised the present Bānswāra and Dungarpur States. These rulers, who were subordinate to the Paramāras of Mālwa, had for a long time their seat of Government at Uthhūṇaka, the modern Arthūṇā in the Bānswāra State in Rājputāna. The two inscriptions edited below belong to the rulers of this family and were found in the Bānswāra State. These documents, together with the one already published,¹ throw much light on the history of this branch of the Paramāras.

A.—PANAHERA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHADEVA OF MALWA :
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1116.

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

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī characters of about the 11th century A.D. But *i* in *iva* (l.20) and *ī* in *Isānēna* (l.2) have forms which are generally found in the inscriptions of an earlier period.³

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

In respect of orthography the following points may be noted : *v* and *b* are not distinguished as in *vāndhavō* (l.8), *valavat* (l.15), etc. ; *s* is used for *ś* in *sumḍārā* (l.9), *klēsam* (l.11), *sirasi* (l.16), etc. and *ś* for *s* in *atr-āsīt* (l.20), *tapasvī* (l.34), etc. ; consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* are usually doubled as in *yair-mmukha* (l.12), *darppō* (l.14), *-ddhāttrī* (l.11), *pa'tra* (l.13), etc. ; *anusvāra* is used for nasals in *śaśāṃka* (l.2), *bhujamga* (l.3), etc. as well as at the end of stichs and hemistichs as in *mahāvalam* (l.26), *phalam* (l.33), etc.

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

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII. p. 80 and above, Vol. XIV. pp. 297 ff.

² Pp. 2 f.

³ Above, Vol. IX. p. 200 and Vol. XVIII. p. 96.

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

The second part commences by saying that in the Paramāra family was born **Dhanika**, who built the temple of **Dhanēśvara** near **Mahākāla** (*at Ujjain*) (vv. 26-27). After him, his brother's son **Chachcha** became king (v. 28). Verse 29 tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost in the present portion of the record, gave battle to **Khōṭṭigadēva** at **Khalighaṭṭa** on the bank of the **Rēvā** (**Narmadā**) in the cause of **Siyaka** and went to heaven. Verse 31 introduces **Satyarāja** who is said to have received a fortune from king **Bhōja** and fought with the **Gūrjaras**. He married **Rājāsri** of the **Chāhamāna** family from whom was born **Limbarāja** (vv. 32-33). His (*i.e.*, **Limbarāja's**) younger brother was **Maṇḍalika**, who took General **Kanha** prisoner and handed him over to **Jayasimha** (vv. 34-37). **Maṇḍalika** is glorified in verse 39 and is said to have built the temple of **Maṇḍalēśvara** (**Śiva**) at **Pāmsulākhēṭaka** (vv. 45-47). This king **Jayasimha** is said to have assigned to the god, for defraying the expenses of worship, one *vimśōpaka*¹ on every bull (*that passed*) on the road and also some land at **Pāmsulākhēṭaka**. **Maṇḍalika** also granted to this temple, for his own spiritual welfare, some lands and a garden behind **Nagna-taḍāga** and (*the temple of*) **Varuṇēśvari** together with some rice-fields as well as lands in the villages of **Naṭṭapāṭaka**, **Pānāchhi** and **Maṇḍaladraha** (vv. 47-52). The date is given at the end as **Vikrama-Samvat 1116** (A.D. 1059). The inscription was engraved by **Āsarāja**, son of **Kāyastha Śrīdhara** of **Valabhī**.

As to the personages spoken of in the inscription, kings **Siyaka**, **Muñjadēva**, **Sindhurāja**, **Bhōjadēva** and **Jayasimhadēva** are the well known Paramāra rulers of **Mālwā**. Up till now only one copper plate inscription² dated V. 1112 (A.D. 1055) of the time of **Jayasimha** (I) has been discovered, so this inscription carries his reign to a further period of some four years. Among the rulers of **Vāgaḍa**, **Dhanika**, **Chachcha**, **Satyarāja**, **Limbarāja** and **Maṇḍalika** are mentioned in the inscription. The names of **Kaṅkadēva** and **Chaṇḍapa**, the two rulers after **Chachcha**, which are found in the **Arthūṇā** Inscription of V. 1136³ are not preserved in the present record. The battle fought against **Khōṭṭigadēva** at **Khalighaṭṭa** (v. 29) is evidently the one mentioned in the **Arthūṇā** Inscription of V. 1136 (verse 19) as being fought by **Kaṅkadēva** against the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** king of **Karṇāṭa**.

From verse 36 of the present record, **Maṇḍalika** who is called **Maṇḍaladēva** in the **Arthūṇā** Inscription, appears to have been the feudatory of King **Jayasimhadēva** (I) of **Mālwā**.

Many of the localities mentioned in this inscription may be easily identified. Thus **Pāmsulākhēṭaka** (vv. 39, 46) is the village of **Pānāhērā** where the inscription was found. **Naṭṭapāṭaka** (v. 50) is the village called **Nāṭawārā** lying about two miles to the west of **Pānāhērā**. **Dēulapāṭaka** is the modern **Dēlwārā** situated about 4 miles south-west of **Jagapurā**. **Bhōgyapura** is the village **Bhagōrā** which stands about 3 miles to the north-west of **Pānāhērā**. **Pānāchhi** is now called **Pānāsī** and is situated at a distance of about 4 miles from **Pānāhērā**. **Maṇḍaladraha** is **Mādaldā** of the present day and is about 4 miles to the west of **Nāṭawārā**. **Nagna-taḍāga** (v. 48) is a tank called **Nāgēlātālāva** and is to be seen at the foot of the temple of **Maṇḍalēśvara** at **Pānāhērā**. **Khalighaṭṭa** (v. 29) was evidently the name of a ford on the bank of the **Narmadā**. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

¹ For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. I. p. 166.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 46.

³ Above, Vol. XIV. pp. 297 ff.

TEXT.¹

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 2 (1) and 52, *Āryā*; vv. 3-6, 8, 11, 13-15, 23, 26, 29, 31, 32, 39 and 60, *Sāraṇavikrīḍita*; vv. 7 and 16, *Vasantatīlakā*; vv. 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 22 and 33, *Sragdharā*; vv. 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 34, 36, 37, 44-51, 53-59 and 61, *Anuśṭubh*; v. 21, *Mālinī*; v. 35, *Sālinī*; v. 38, *Upajāti*; vv. 40-43, *Tōṣaka*.]

1 श्रीं श्रीं नमः शिवाय ॥

धृतगगनसिंधुपटः शैलसुताशालभंजिकासुभगः । जयति जगत्त्रय-
मंडपमूलसंभो महादेवः ॥१॥* जयति शिवो यन्मू[र्ध्नि]
.[१*]—[१२॥]—
—७७—[३—]

2

शोककलया सद्यः प्रपद्यामृतं
वामः प्राप्य सुरां जगाम गरुडासादघोरः सुखं ।
ईशानेन समुद्रमंथनविधौ नेषोक्ततः पद्मगो—७७—७७—७७—
७—७—७—७—[१३॥*]—७७—७७—७७—
—७—७—७—७—

3

तैर्दूमीर्मौसलिताः पुनश्च दक्षिताश्चूडेदुलेखांशुभिः । भूयः स्फारभुजंग-
भोगश(न)रत्नश्लासोर्म्मिभिः संभृताः शंभोः पातु कठोरकंठ ७७—
—७—७—७—[१४॥*]—७७—७७—७७—
—७—७—७—७—

4

ईत्ते कुटुंबं(वं) हरिः ।
मौनाकार्क्ष्य(र्क्ष्य)दयोः स्वसुखाय षट्हे को नाथ मे वर्तते मिथ्याहं
भवतः प्रियेत्थगसुताक्षितो हरः पातु वः ॥५॥* अचास्यर्क्ष्य(र्क्ष्य)द
—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—
७७—७—७—७—[१*]—७७—७—७—[वि*]-

5

तते होमक्रियाप्रक्रमे
कुंडालेः परमार इत्यभिधया दिव्यः पुमानुत्थितः ॥६॥* आसीद-
कुंठभुजदर्पकठोरवैरिकंठास्त्रिर्हलनदंतुरखट्व[धारः१*]—७—७—७—
७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—७—
[१७॥*]—७—७—७—७—

6

मये संज्ञापनार्थं सुहृ-
श्चंडीहामररावचककुभि द्राक्षाडिते दुंदुभौ । वेलुः पीलुघटातुरंगम-

¹ From an impression.

² Expressed by a symbol. [It is preferable to read the symbol as *siddham*.—Ed.]

धमूसंघद्वयोक्तः सामन्ताः कटकाय — ७ ७ ७ — — — ७ —
 — ७ — [॥८॥*] — — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ —
 — ७ नेत्रैर्वैतालैः स्नातुकामै-

7 रमवि(धि)गततलास्तस्य युद्धस्थलीषु ।
 दोईडोचंडखड्गाहतकरटिघटाघोरकंकालकूलाः सद्यः कीलालनद्यः स्फुटित-
 नरशिरःपङ्क — — ७ — — [॥९॥*] — — — ७ — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७
 ७ — — ७ — — ७ — — [उद्य]द्विदंठपोठस्फुटविगलदसृक्-

8 त्तसंप्रामरंगः ।
 राजा श्रीमंजदेवः समन्तानि कृतिनां वां(वां)धवो यस्य कीर्तिः
 कुंजे कुंजे गिरीणां प्रकटितपुष्पकं गीयते किन्नरीभिः [॥१०॥*]
 — — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — — ७ — — — ७ — — —
 — ७ [म]कातरेण मनसा वां(चं)चत्फणामंडलः ।

9 लेभि(ऽ)नंतरमेव सौख्यमतुलं तुच्छाभवद्यन्महो
 त्वंगतु(त्तु)गत्तु(तु)रंगनिहुरखुरचोदोद्गतेः पांसुभिः ॥११॥* सुंडा(शुण्डा)रा
 डाकिनीनां [ह] ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — — ७ — — — ७ — — —
 — — ७ — — [श]तकरटिघटाः सत्वरं जित्वरेण । येन्या(ना)-

10 दीयन्त मूर्ध्नि स्फुरदसिसलिलं पातयित्वा रिसैन्धो
 गृह(ध्र)स्त्रीणां ररं(ध्रुः) श्रुतवहल'वसासीधवो योद्ध(हृ)कंठाः ॥१२॥*
 रंभावा(वा)[हृ?] ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — — ७ — — — ७ — — —
 — ७ ७ — पराक्रमनिधिः श्रीसिंधुराजो नृपः । भेजे यस्य

11 विसर्पिकुंजरघटासंघट्टहेलानम-
 चास्त्रीमंडलभारधारणपरिक्रेशं(शं) भुजंगेश्वरः ॥१३॥* कः स्थातुं क्षमते
 पराक्रम. — — — ७ — — — ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ —
 ७ ७ [ते]प्रोहामगर्व्यं वचः ते दृष्यंतु क[बंध]नामरिप-

12 वः सौ(श्री)र्यप्रतिस्पर्धया
 दध्रे यैर्मुख एव यस्य यस(श)सा विचासितः कालिमा ॥१४॥*
 जाता वागसमंजसा भयव[शा]दुल्लू ७ — — ७ — — — ७ ७ —
 ७ — ७ ७ ७ — [य*]हा गृहे यादृसं(शं) । सु(शु)खा यद्गज-
 दंडपोडितधनु-

13 दंकारमारादृतं
 माढापाणिर्दुपानहः परमभूदै(दे)कैव विहेषिणां ॥१५॥* तस्मादजायत

- सरोरुहपद्मनेत्रो विद्यानि[धिः*] ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — — [1*]
 — — ७ — ७ ७ ७ चंडकपाणदंडव्यापारकोस(श)लविदग्धभुजो नरै-
 14 दः ॥१६[1*]
 सूर्यत्युहामदर्पोत्कटकरटिघटामेदुरे यस्य सैन्ये मेदिन्यामक्षमायामसहभ-
 रधुरा धर्तुमुद्धर्तुकामः । — — — — ७ — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७
 — — ७ — — ७ — — कर्मो मर्मव्यथाभिः समजनि निभुवः(त.)
 प्राणशेषस्तु
 15 [त्रि]षः ॥१७
 [1*] यस्मिन्नुर्वी विजितुं प्रचलति व(व)लवत्तुंगमातंगसैन्यचोभक्षीण-
 प्रवाहाः प्रमथितनलिनोमंडपोद्भौनहंसाः [1] — — — — ७ — — ७
 ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — — ७ — — वैरिस्त्रोवा(वा)प्यूरैर्भीरुषु
 समभव(व)स्तेपि कृपाः
 16 [श्व]लिङ्गाः ॥१८[1*]
 दर्शयन्नात्मनो रूपं विद्यासु(स्फु)रितविभ्रमेः । यत्प्रतापां(वु)दो
 भूत्वा का(दा)नवर्षी प्रजास्रभूत् ॥१९[1*] भुक्ता सि(मि)रसि शङ्खणां
 खड्ग ७ — ७ . . . [1*] ७ — —
 ७ — रियं ॥ २०[1*] तमनु विनतभूभृच्चक्रचूडाक्षितां-
 ञ्चिः प्रतप-
 17 ति जय[मि]हः पार्थिवो माव(ल)वानां ।
 चतुस्तुरगसेनापांशुभिर्यः प्रयाणे कलुषयति चतुर्णामर्णवानां पर्यासि
 ॥२१[1*] यद्वा(वा)हुः सौ(शौ)र्यवेगो ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ —
 — ७ — — — — — ७ — — [अ*]मरयुवतिभिः कीर्यते
 पुष्पवज्रा । ह्रीलाकटासिदंडाहतसु-
 18 भटघटाकंधकंडा^१स्थिरदंड-
 प्रक्षीतद्रुतधाराभूतसमरधरापृष्ठमृत्युत्कवं(व)धः ॥२२[1*] ताः कंडक-
 कपोलकेलिकषण्णुव्यत्कठोर[द्रुमा*] — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७
 — — — ७ — — ७ — [1*] ह्रीर्दण्डविलासदंड(व)ररणचंडासिधाराजलि
 द्वाग्म(व)ज्जति वि-
 19 पञ्चवारणचटाः संप्रामसीमास्थः ॥२३
 [1*] यस्याजौ यमजिह्वाभं खड्गमालोक्य विदधः । अप्राप्तेप्यायुषः
 का त्ममुंचति जीवि(तम्) ॥२४[1*] ७ — — . . .

... [1*] [स*]र्वं पृथ्वीभूतसिचं सुष्टिमध्ये
निवेसि(शि)ताः ॥२५॥

20

अत्राशौ(सो)त्परमारवं[श]विततौ लब्धा(त्वा)न्व[यः] पार्थिवो
नाम्ना श्रीधनिको धनेस्स(श्च)र इव त्यागैककल्पद्रुमः । — — —
— — — — — निन्द्ये स्वकीयं वपुः ॥२६॥ श्रीमहाकालदेवस्स
निकटे हिमपांडु-

21

श्रीधनेश्वर इत्युक्तेः कीर्त्तनं यस्य राजते ॥२७॥[1*] चक्षनामाभवे(व)-
त्व(स)स्माद्भ्रातृसुतुर्महानृपः । रणे . . . — — . . .
— — — [॥२८॥*] — — — — —
— — — ख्याया विख्यातः करवाक्षचातदक्षितद्विदुंभिकुंभस्वस्रः ।
यः श्री-

22

खोट्टि(ट्टि)कदेवदत्तसमरः श्रीसीयकार्ये कृतो
रेवायाः खलिघ[ट्ट]नामनि तटे युध्वा(द्वा) प्रतस्थे दिवं ॥२९॥
. . . — — . . . — — [1*]
. . . — — . . . — — वासिता ॥३०॥[1*] आतः¹
कीर्त्तितरंगिणीस(सु)ल(लु)कितमैलोक्यसीमांतरस्त्यागी

23

सत्यपराक्रमो [गुण*]निधिः श्रीसत्यराजोभवत् ।
यः श्रीभोजनरेंद्रदत्तविभवः सार्धं रणे गुर्जरैः कृत्वा[सं] — — —
— — — — — [॥३१॥*] — — — — —
— — — — — भाग्यभागीरथीमैत्रः(त्तुः) कीर्त्तिषु चाहमान-
महतां वंशीज्जवा लभ्यते । रा-

24

जश्रीः सहजैव येन सहजश्रीमन्मतिः स्वामिना
यस्याः स्वादुपमानमादिपुण्य(षा)पीत[स्त]नी देवकी ॥३२॥[1*] तस्या —
— — — — — स्थातः श्री
लिंघ(व)राजः प्रकटसुभटता(तः) सृष्टिषु ब्र(व्र)ह्मकल्पः [1*] स्वस्थश्री-

25

भूरिदाता नयविनयमहापंडितस्दाहरिष्ठः
स्त्रि(स्त्र)र्ना प्राप्तस्त्रुल्लिख्य क[लि]युगमधिपदेष्टिणी निर्हसित्वा ॥३३॥
भोगत्यागी मृही[त्वा] — — . . . श्रीमह-

¹ Correctly चतः. The first syllable is lengthened for the sake of the metre.

लोक इत्यस्य लघुभ्राताभवे(व)नृपः ॥३४[॥*] सू(गू)रस्त्यागो नर्म-
शीलो दि-

26

पश्चित्

कंदर्पाभिः कामिनीचित्तचौरः । सामंतानां मूर्ध्नि दत्ताञ्जरेको
राजसुवर्णमंडले मंडलोकः ॥३४(३५)[॥*] अपि च ॥ भोज
○ — — ○ — ○ . . . [॥*]
○ — — ○ — ○ . . . ॥३५(३६)[॥*] येना-
दाय रणे कन्ह दंडाधीसं(शं) महाव(व)लं । अपिपितं जयसिंहाय
सा[॥*]

27

गजसमन्वितं(तं) ॥३६(३७)

[॥*] जयस्यसौ श्रीपरमारवंशी यत्र प्रभुः श्रीजयसिंहदेवः । जातः
प्रसा(शा)खासु च यस्य तुंगसामंतपूज्य ○ — ○ — — [॥३७(३८)
॥*] — — — ○ — ○ — — ○ — — — — — — — — —
भक्त्याकार्यत मंदिरं कररिपोस्त्यागुलाखेटके । यस्योत्तु(त्तु)गशिरः-

28

प्रदेशनिहितैर्दीपोत्सवे दीपको-

ईर्ष कल्लमंजयति गयनाभ्यादायसिंहस्थितः ॥३८(३९)[॥*] तृण-
सुष्टिसुपाकृतवानपि यः णि. ○ — ○ — — ○ — — — — [॥*]
○ —
भुवि सौप्यवतीर्य भवेन्नृपतिः
॥३९(४०)[॥*] शरदारुसुदालयमोशकते

29

सुरतेत्यध[नी] दिनमेकमपि । दिवि वर्षसहस्रमुपास्य सि(शि)वं
पुनरव महीपमतः प्रभवेत् ॥४०(४१)[॥*] वृ(वृ)हदाम ○ — ○ —
— [॥*] ○ —
कामयतेपि महेन्द्रपदंसुरनाथमपि खलयेदचिरात् ॥४१(४२)[॥*]

30

यदि पक्षमहेष्टकया तरुभिर्वरसारश(श)लाघटितैर्घटयेत् । निखिला-
मरसे(शे)स्वरघटनया निविसे(शे)द्वि चटपदांशु(शु)रुहः ॥४२(४३)[॥*]
. ○ — — विषाणं ।
प्रासादमथ माषेयं शिव एव करोति यः ॥४३(४४)[॥*]

31

राज्ञा लो(श्री)जयसिंहिन अक्षौ देवाय भक्तिः ।
वृषभं प्रति भोगार्थं मार्गे पिसो(श्री)पक्षो दत्तः ॥४४(४५)[॥*]

- पांसुलाखेटके स्थाने कच्छोक्त ... [१*]
 द्वितीयस्तु दत्तः शंभोः स्वभक्तिना(?)॥४५(४६)॥*] वंदनाख्ये(५)रचष्टे च
 भूमै(मि)-
- 32 भगिदयं तथा ।
 दत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन स्वश्रेया(य)य(से) महेस(श)तः ॥४६(४७)॥*]
 पृष्ठे नमनतडागस्य वरुणेश्व(श्व)र्यास्तथैव च । वाटिका सुभगा दत्ता-
 ॥४७(४८)॥*] एवादितः
 कृत्वा यावच्चंद्रदिवाकरौ । भूमिईत्ता सकेदारा बुध्वा(बुध्वा)
- 33 सांसारिकं फलं ॥४८(४९)॥*]
 नडापाटकग्रामे भूरन्वा देउलपाटके । भोग्यपुरे च पानाद्यामपरा
 मंडलद्रष्टे ॥४९(५०)॥*] एवमेतेषु या[मेषु*]
 [ल*]क्षिता । भूमिः श्रीमंडलीकेन दत्ता श्रीमंडलीकरे ॥५०(५१)॥*]
 एतच्च पु-
- 34 रं ललनानूपुरभंकारमुखरिताभोगं ।
 भोगनिमित्तं शंभोईत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन ॥५१(५२)॥*] पुरेच सत्कद्रव्यस्य
 भूरचष्टादिकस्य च [१*] म
 प्रकल्पितः ॥५२(५३)॥*] तपस्वो(स्त्री) त्र(त्र)चचारि(री) यं(यः)[शु]चि-
 दांता(तो) जितेन्द्र-
- 35 यः ।
 तेनात्र त(न)विः(तिः) कर्त्तव्या वारिकैः सह सर्वदा॥५४*॥-॥४४
 भरतो धुंधुमारच कार्तवीर्यो शिविवे(व)लिः । हरिश्चंद्र(चंद्र)स्तु
 मांधाता नक्षो वेणुर्नृपाद[यः] ॥५५*॥
 जानः(ताः) वरपूरिताः । तंय्यायुषि परिशीले ग[ताः]
 कृता(कार्त्ता)तिकं पुरं ॥५६*॥
- 36 मत्वे[त*]दस्त्रिरं सर्वं राज्यमायुर्धनं नृपैः ।
 न क्षोप्यं सि(शि)वसंबंधि वस्तु स्त्रोक्त(कम)पि यज्ञवेत् ॥५७*॥ यतः
 [१*] भवन्नानाज्यमन्ना(न्न)नायस्त्रितं करजोद[रे] [१*] . . .
 हरिद्विपः ॥५८*॥ विसे(शे)षतः ।
 अस्मद्वसे(शे)ष — — विषये भो-
- 37 क्ताच यी भवेत् ।
 तस्यास्माभिः कृताभ्यर्था (र्चा) सि(शि)वदत्तं न चालयेत् ॥५९*॥ अस्ति
 प्रत्यवनीस(श)चक्रसुकुटस्थष्टादिप्रीठनियः ।¹ श्रीकोटदत्तचतु[र्भ*]-
 — — — — — [१*] [ते*]नेयं स्फुटवर्षपा-
 कपटिमप्रोटेः पदाड[व(व)रैः] संहृष्टा सुम-

38

[व.]प्रवो(वो)धजननी शंभोः प्रशस्तिर्गृहे ॥[६०॥*]

यावच्चांद्री कला शंभोर्द्योतते कूटमंडपे । कीर्त्तिः श्रीमंडलीकस्य तावद-

स्त्वय्या भुवि ॥६०॥[६१][*] संवत् विक्रम- १११६ . . .

[वा]लभ्यकायस्त्रयोधरसुतासराजेनेयमुक्तीरिता(एर्णा?)[सु(य)वा] ॥

B.—ARTHUNA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIJAYARAJA : VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1166.

This record was found at Arthūnā in the Bānswāra state in Rājputāna¹ and is now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer. It consists of thirty-one lines of writing, covering a space of 1' 7½" × 1'. Excepting a few letters, the inscription is well preserved.

The characters are Nāgarī of a type which was common in Rājputāna during the period to which the record belongs. The average size of the letters is about ¼". The letter *i* is differently written in lines 15 and 21.

The language is Sanskrit throughout. With the exception of a few words at the beginning of l. 1 and at the end of verses 25, 26 and 30, the record is written in verse.

In respect of orthography it may be noted that *v* is used for *b* in *vahusō* (l. 2), *vōdha* (l. 12), etc. ; *n* for *ṇ* in *nirṇāta* (l. 7) ; *s* for *ś* in *śāsana* (l. 15), *nasvara* (l. 19), etc. and *ś* for *s* in *śālām* (l. 31). Consonants with a superscript *r* are doubled in *-patēr=nnidhana-* (l. 2), *sarvv-āyurvveda* (l. 7), etc. *Anusvāra* is used for nasals in *Māṇḍalika* (l. 2), *-chāmcharika* (l. 16), etc. Rules of *sandhi* have been frequently violated. *Jihvāmūliya* has been used in lines 29 and 30.

The subject of the inscription is the foundation of a Jaina temple and the consecration of the image of Vṛishabhanātha at the town of Utthūpaka during the reign of Vijayarāja, the Paramāra ruler of Vāgaḍa. After paying homage to Vitarāga in verse 1, the inscription records in verse 2 that Māṇḍalika of the Paramāra lineage killed the general Kanha and Sindhurāja. It then speaks of Māṇḍalika's son Chāmūṇḍarāja as having destroyed the army of the lord of Avanti in the Sthālī country. Verse 3 speaks of his son Vijayarāja, who was a brave and famous ruler and a conqueror of his foes. The inscription then turns to the description of the Jaina family one of whose descendants caused the temple of Vṛishabhanātha to be built. Verses 4-5 inform us that in the territory of Vijayarāja there was a town called Talapāṭaka, the residence of Ambata, a learned Jaina physician and jewel of the Nāgata family. His son was Pāpaka, who knew the whole of Āyurvēda (v. 7). He had three sons, Ālaka, Sāhasa and Lalluka (v. 8). Ālaka was benevolent, well versed in history and a pupil of Chhatrasēna of the Māthura family (vv. 9-11). He had three sons by his wife Hōlā. The eldest was Pāhuka who was well versed in *Sāstras* and who became a recluse (vv. 12-14). His younger brother was Bhūshana, a pious Jaina whose glories are described in verses 15-19. He had two wives, Lakshmi and Sili. By the latter he had three sons, Ālaka, Sādhārana and Sāntimukhya. It was Bhūshana who established this Jaina temple (vv. 20-22). His younger brother was Lallaka. His elder brother Pāhuka had a son named Ambata by his wife Siukā (vv. 23-24). Verses 25-26 and the prose line between them inform us that an image of Vṛishabhanātha was established by Bhūshana in the town of Utthūpaka in the year 1166 of the Vikrama era, while Vijayarāja was reigning in the province of Sthālī and that the image was consecrated on Monday, the 3rd day of the bright

¹ P. R. A. S. W. C., 1908-09, p. 49.

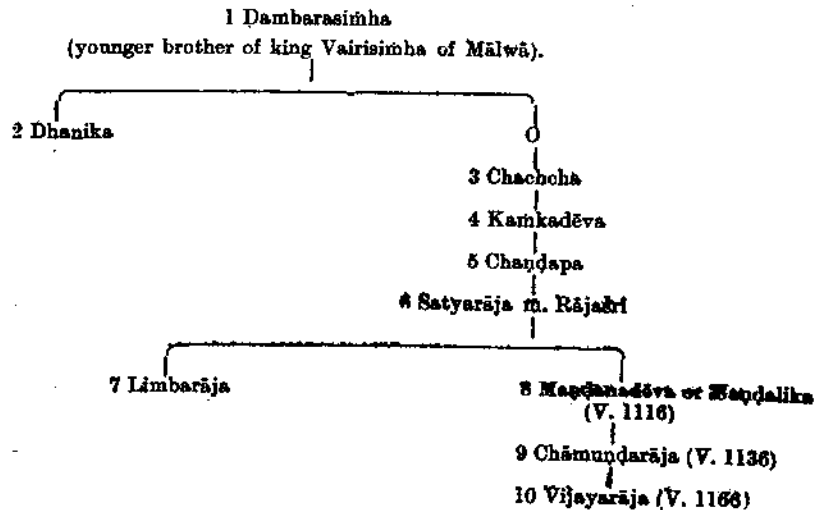
half of **Vaiśākha** of the same year which regularly corresponds to **Monday, the 5th April, 1109 A.D.** The next two verses inform us that 16 verses from the fourth as well as the first verse were composed by the learned **Kaṭuka** while the rest was the work of **Bhātuka** son of the Brahman **Sāvaḍa** who was the son of **Bhāilla** of the **Valla** family. The *prasasti* was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Vāmāna**, son of **Kāyastha Rājapāla** of the **Vālabha** family (v. 29). The inscription was engraved by the *viññānika* **Stamāka**. The *prasasti* practically ends with line 26. The next five lines, which seem to have been added later, are herein styled *ātm-ānusāsana*.¹

As regards the **personages** mentioned in the inscription, much is already known about **Maṇḍalika** and **Chāmuṇḍarāja** from other inscriptions. The inscription **A** says that **Maṇḍalika** took general **Kanha** prisoner and handed him over to king **Jayasimhadēva**, whereas in the inscription **B** he is said to have killed him. Again, in the **Arthūṇa** inscription of **V. 1136**,² **Chāmuṇḍarāja**, son of **Maṇḍanadēva**, is said to have overcome **Sindhurāja**, whereas in the present record **Maṇḍalika** is said to have killed him which would be impossible unless the two **Sindhurājas** were different persons, or the word '**Sindhurāja**' was used in the general sense of 'a ruler of **Sindhu**'. Thus the facts mentioned in inscription **A** and the **Arthūṇa** inscription of **V. 1136** do not agree with those found in the present record.³ The former inscriptions are earlier and, perhaps, more reliable than the present record.

Vijayarāja, in whose time this inscription was written, was the last known ruler of the **Vāgaḍa** branch. No trace has yet been found of his successors. It is known, however, that **Vāgaḍa**, after a few decades, went under the control of the **Guhila** king **Sāmantasimha** of **Mewār**, who established a kingdom there in about **V. 1236 (A.D. 1179)** and thus became the founder of the present State of **Pungarpur** in **Rājputāna**.⁴

As to the **places** mentioned in the inscription, **Utthūṇaka** is the modern **Arthūṇa** which is about 28 miles south-west of **Bānswāra**. **Talapāṭaka** is now a village called **Talavāḍā** lying about 12 miles to the south of **Bānswāra**.

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



¹ [This, I understand from **Muni Puṣyavijaya** of **Pāṭan**, is some small *Digambara* work—Ed.]

² Above, Vol. XIV. pp. 297 ff.

³ See **Dr. Barnett's** remarks in the last para. on page 296 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV—Ed.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII. pp. 101 f.

TEXT.¹

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 13 and 14, *Mālinī*; vv. 2, 5, 6, 22 and 30, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3, 25, 26, 31, 32 and 33, *Āryā*; vv. 4, 11 and 17, *Vasantatīlakā*; v. 7, *Sragdharā*; vv. 8, 20, 23, 24, 27-29 and 34-38, *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 9 and 10, *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 12 and 21, *Upēndravajrā*; vv. 15, 16 and 39, *Śikharinī*; v. 18, *Prithvī*; v. 19, *Harinī*.]

- 1 श्री² ॥ श्री नमो वीतरागाय ॥
स जयतु जिनभानुर्भयराजोवराजोजनितवरविकाशो दत्तलोकप्रकाशः ।
परसमयतमोभिर्न स्थितं यत्पुरस्तात्क्षणमपि चपलासद्वादिख्योतकैश्च ॥१॥
- 2 आसोच्छ्रीपरमारवंशजनितः श्रीमंडलीकाभिधः कन्हस्य ध्वजिनीपतेर्निधनलक्ष्मी-
सिंधुराजस्य च । जग्रे कीर्त्तिलतालवालक इतश्चामुंडराजो नृपो योवंति-
प्रभुसाधनानि व(ब)हुशो हंति ॥
3 देशे स्थलौ(स्थाम्) ॥२॥
श्रीविजयराजना[मा] तस्य सुतो जयति जगति विततयथाः । सुभगो
जितारिवर्मा गुणरत्नपयोनिधिः शूरः ॥३॥ देशेऽस्य पत्तनवरं तल्लपाटकाख्यं
पस्थाङ्गनाजनजिता-
- 4 मरसुंदरोकम् ।
अस्ति प्रशस्तसुरमंदिरवेजयन्तीविस्तारवृद्धदिननाथकरप्र[वा]रं ॥४॥ तस्मिन्नाश-
रवंशशेखरमणिर्निःशेषशास्त्रास्तु(स्तु)धिर्जनेन्द्रागमवासनारसमुधाविहास्यिम[ज्जो]भवत् ।
5 ओमानव(ब)टसंज्ञकः कलिव(ब)हिर्भूतो भिषगा(ग्ना)मणीर्गाईस्थेपि निकंचिताच-
प(प्र)सरो देशप्रतालंजतः ॥५॥ यस्यावश्यककर्म्मनिष्ठितमते[नि]ष्टा वनातिभव-
न्तीवासिवदाहितांजलिपुटा-³
- 6 श्रीराः कृतोपासनाः ।
यस्यानन्यसमानदर्शनगुणैरन्त[श्च]मल्लारिता शुश्रूषां विदधे सुतेव सततं
देवी च चक्रेश्वरा(री) ॥६॥ पापाकस्तस्य स्रुतः समजनि जनितानेकभव्य-
प्रपो(मो)दः
7 प्रादुर्भू-
तप्रभूतप्रविमलधिषणः पारदृष्टा नृतानां [।*] सख्यायुर्वेदवेदी विहितसकल-
रक्षांतलोकानुकांपो ।⁴ निर्वी(स्थी)ताशेषदीपप्रज्ञतिरपगदस्तत्प्रतोकारसारः ॥७॥ तस्य
पुत्रास्तयोभूवन्भूरिशा-
- 8 सविशारदाः ।
आलाकः साहसाख्यश्च लज्जकाख्यः परोनुजः ॥८॥ यस्तवायः सहजविशदप्रज्ञया
भासमानः क्षातादर्शस्फुरितसकलैतिज्ञतत्त्वार्थसारः । संवेगादिस्फुटतरगुण्य-

¹ From the original inscription.² Expressed by a symbol.³ The strokes are redundant.⁴ Danda unnecessary.

- 9 तत्सम्यक्(क्त)भावः ते(वस्त्रो)-
स्त्रैर्हानप्रभृतिभिरपि स्त्रोपयोगीकृतश्रीः ॥८॥[*] आधा[रो] यः स्वकुक्ष-
समितेः साधुवर्गस्य चाभूदध्रे शीलं सकलजनताल्हादि रूपं च काये । पात्री-
भूतः कृतयतिष्ठतीनां ।
- 10 श्रुतानां प्रि(त्रि)यां च
सानंदानां धुरमुदवह्नोगिनां योगिनी च ॥९॥ यो मा[धु]रान्वयनभस्तल-
तिग्म[भा]नोर्व्याख्यानरंजितसमस्तसभाजनस्य । श्रीच्छत्रसेनसुगुरोच्चरणारविंदसे-
- 11 वापरोभवदनन्यमनाः सदैव ॥१०॥
तस्य प्रशस्तामलशीलवत्यां होलाभिधायां वरधर्मीपत्न्यां । जयो व(व)भूवुस्त-
नया नयाक्या विवेकवंतो भुवि रत्नभूताः ॥११॥ अभवदमल-
- 12 वो(वो)धः पा[हु]कस्तत्र पूर्वः
कृतगुरुजनभक्तिः सत्कुशाग्रीयवु(वु)द्धिः । जिनवचसि यदीयप्रभ्रजाले विशाले
गणभृदपि विमुञ्च्येव वार्त्तापरस्य(स्य) ॥१२॥ करणचरणरूपानेक-
- 13 शास्त्रप्रवोचः
परिहृतविषयार्थो दानतोर्थप्रवृत्तः । शमनियमितचित्तो जातवैराग्यभावः कलि-
कलिलविमुक्तोपा(वा)सकी[वो]य प्रभाक्यः ॥१३॥ कनिष्ठस्तस्याभूवुवनविदितो भूषण-
इति त्रियः पात्रं
- 14 कातिः कुलगृहसुमायाश्च वसतिः ।
सरस्वत्याः क्रोडागिरिरमलवु(वु)द्धेरतिरना(?) चमावश्याः कंदः प्रविततकपायाश्च
निलयः ॥१४॥ स्वरः सौख्येण प्रव(व)ल[सुभ]गत्वेन शशभृत् कुवे(वे)रः
संप-
- 15 स्था समधिकविवेकेन धिषणः ।
महोक्त्या मेरुर्जलनिधिरगाधेन मनसा ।^१ विदग्धत्वेनोच्चैर्य इह वरविद्याधर
इव ॥१५॥ जैनैद्रसा(शा)सनसरोवरराजहंसो मौनोद्रपादकमलहय-
- 16 चंचरोक्तः ।
निःशेषशास्त्रनिवहोदकनाथनक्तः ।^२ सोमंतिनीनयनकैरच(व)चारुचंद्रः ॥१६॥
विदग्धजनवत्तमः सरससारशंगारवानुदारश्च(च)रितस्य यः सुभगसौम्यमूर्त्तिः
सुधीः । प्रसाद-
- 17 व(न)परानमहरविलासिनीकुंतल-
व्यप(पा)स्तपदपंकजद्वितयरेणुरत्युन्नतः ॥१७॥ प्रथमधवलप्राये [चै]त्ये गतेपि
दिवं पुनः ।^३ कुक्षरथभरो येनैकेनाप्यसंभ्रमसुवृत्तः । गुरुतरविप-

^१ [Muni Panyavijaya of Pāṭap suggests (पालकोपः—Ed.)]^२ Punctuation unnecessary

- 18 वसुधावस[ह]दुदतारि च
स्विरमतिमहास्त्राणा नीतो विभूतिगिरिः शिरः ॥१८॥ हे भार्ये भूषणस्य स्तः
लक्ष्मीशीलीतिविभ्रुते । पतिव्रतत्वसंबुक्ते चारिचगुणभूषिति ॥२०॥[१०] व [श्री]-
- 19 लिकायामुदपादि पुषान्मनामयोम्यागुहदिवभक्तः ।
चक्षोःसाधारण्यमातिमु[स्या]म्लवंधु(वन्धु)चित्तान्न(ज)विकारमभानून् ॥२१॥ चावुस्त-
तमहोभसारनिहितस्थोकाम्बु(म्बु)वचक्ष(म्ब)र
- 20 संचित्त्वं द्विपकावर्षचंचलतरां लक्ष्म्या च हृदा क्षितिं । आत्मा भावसुनिचया-
त्स्थिरतरे नूनं ७ — ७ सी तेनाकारि मनोहरं जिनमृदं भूमिरिदं
भूषणं(धम्) ॥२२॥ भूषणस्य क-
- 21 निहो(हः) श्रीकृष्णाक इति विभ्रुतः ।
देवपूजापरो निवर्त्तं भातुरादेयकृत्स्नदा ॥२३॥ ज्येष्ठो(हः) पादुकाणामा यः सोऽ-
कायामजोजनत् । शुभकचचसंबुक्तं पुषमन्व(म्ब)टसंज्ञकं(कम्) २४[१०]
- 22 वर्षसहस्रे याते षट्षुत्तरमतेन संबुक्ते ।
विजयमभानोः काली स्वस्ति(स्त्री)विषयमवति सति विजयराजे ॥२५॥ विजयम-
संवत् ११६६ वैशाख शु(शु)दि ३ सोमे हवभनायस्य प्रतिष्ठा ॥
- 23 श्रीहवभनायनाम्नः प्रति[ष्ठितं] भूषणेन विंव(विम्ब)मिदं ।
उत्पूषकनगरस्मिन्निष्ठ जगतो(त्तां) हवभनायस्य ॥२६॥ बुगलं १०॥ तुर्यहता
कसारभ्य हतात्वे(म्बे)तानि श्रीकृष्ण । भाव्यहते-
- 24 न बुक्तानि कृतवान्कटुको बु(बु)धः ॥२७॥
भादलो वल्लवंसे(मे)भूतजः श्रीसावको द्विजः । तत्सुनीर्भाटुकस्त्रेयं निःश्रीवावा-
परा कतिः ॥२८॥ वासभ्यान्वयकाकक्षराजपाक्षस्य
- 25 वसुना ।
संधिविग्रहसंस्थेन सिद्धिता वाम[भि]न वै ॥२९॥ वावहावचरामयोः सुपरितं
भूमौ जनैर्नीयते ।^१ यावद्विष्णुपदी जलं प्रवहति श्रीमन्वास्ति वावच्छात्री । चर्च-
- 26 वृक्षाविनिर्मातं अवचक्षीः वावच्छा(वृ)तं पश्यते तावल्लीर्ति-
रियं चिराय जयतामस्तूयमाना(नर) जनैः ॥३०॥ उत्कोर्त्वा विज्ञानिकसूमा-
केन ॥ संगलं महाश्रीः ॥
- 27 श्री ॥ लक्ष्मीनिवासनिकयं विलोकनिकस(कसु)धं निधाय इदि वीरं ।
आत्मानुयाय(स)नमर्ह व[क्षे] कावचध्यान^२(P)॥११॥(३१) दुःखादि(वि)धेयि नितराम-
भिवाञ्छसि सुखमतोहमध्याजम् । दुःखापहारि सुख-

^१ *Depda unnecessary.*^२ *Perhaps we have to read श्रीवास दीधन^१—Ed.*

- 28 कारमुसा(शा)स्त्रि त[वा]मुम[त]मेव ॥२(३२) ॥
यद्यपि कदाचिदस्त्रिन्विपाकमधुरं तदात्वकटु किंचित् । त्वं तस्मात्मा भेषो-
यथातुरो भेषादुयात् ॥३(३३)॥ जना घनाच्च वाचालाः सुखभाः सुहृथो-
त्थिताः । दुर्ल-
- 29 मा श्रुतरार्द्धस्ते जगदस(स)जिह्वीर्षवः ॥४(३४)॥
परायत्तास्तुष्टादुःखं स्वायत्तं केवलं वरं । अन्यथा सुखिनामानङ्गमा[र्त्ता]
स्तपस्विनः ॥५(३५)॥ उपायकोटिदूरचे स्वतस्तत इतोन्वतः । सर्वतः
पतनप्राये
- 30 काये कीयं तवाय चः ॥६(३६)॥
अवस्वं(श्रं) नस्त्र(श्र)रैरिभिरायुःकायादिभिर्यदि । सास्त्र(शाश्र)तं पदमायाति
सुधायातमवेदि ते ॥७(३७)॥ गंतुमुच्छासनिःस्वासीरभ्यस्यत्येष संततं । लोकः
प्रवर्तितो^१ वाङ्मत्यारमा-
- 31 [नमज*]रामरं ॥८(३८)॥
गलत्यायुः प्रायः प्रकटितघटोयंचय(स)स्त्रिलं चतुः(कः) कायोप्यायुः गतिमभिपतत्येष
संततं । किमस्य(प्य)न्यैरन्यैर्हयमयमिदं जोषितमिह स्थितो भ्रातृत्वानाविस्त(?)-
मिव मनुजे स्वास्तु मरणं(यम्)^२ [॥*] ८(३८) [॥*]

No. 10.—MATHURA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28.

By STEN KONOW.

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

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

The pillar bears an inscription, 14" high and 11" broad, consisting of thirteen lines. The height of individual letters varies between $\frac{1}{4}$ " and 1". The beginning of ll. 12-13 has peeled off. In other respects the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.³

The characters are Brāhmī of the Kushāṇa type. In l. 1, after the word *siddha*, we find the crescent-like stroke with a bar in the middle, which occurs in two other Brāhmī records, in the same position. Bühler⁴ explained it as a stop, of the same kind as the crescent used after

¹ Read प्रावर्तितो.

² मरण is written on the left hand margin with the sign of *kāka-pada* before it.

³ After my manuscript was sent to press, the inscription was published by Mr. Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, pp. 4 ff., and noticed by Mr. Harit Krishna Deb, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp. 117 ff. These papers have not brought me to modify my views.

⁴ *Indian Palaeography*, § 36, C. 5.

the first edicts in the Kālsī version of Aśoka's inscriptions. It is, however, possible that it is used to denote final *m*.

Of numerical symbols we find those for 1, 3, 5, 8, 20, 50 and 500.

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

There are some cases of carelessness. The *anusvāra* is frequently omitted; cf. *siddha*, l. 1, if we should not read *siddham*; *punya*, ll. 9, 11, and several plural genitives. Short vowel is written for a long one in *nivi*, l. 3; *nivi*, l. 11; *yachatra* for *yachchātra*, l. 9; *patina* side by side with *patinā*, l. 3; *pibasitānām*, l. 9, etc. Other mistakes are *tulō* for *tatō*, l. 3; *babhakshitāna* *pibasitānām* for *bubhukshitānām* *pipāsītānām*, l. 9; *anādhānām* for *anāthānām*, l. 8; *sarvāyi* for *sarvāyē*, l. 11; *visarga* before *t*, l. 10, etc.

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

There are, however, numerous **Prakritisms**. Compare *prasthō*, l. 7; *dēvaputro*, l. 10; *ādihakā*, l. 6; *shāhisya*, l. 10; *śālāyē*, l. 6; *prūhivīyē*, l. 11; the frequent shortening of the termination of the genitive plural; pronominal forms such as *ayam* for *īyam*, l. 1; *tam* for *tad*, l. 9; *etam* for *ētaḥ*, l. 8; *dinnā* for *dattā*, ll. 3, 11; *dhāriya*, l. 6; *chatudīsi* for *chaturdīsi*, l. 4, etc.

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

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

The Hidda inscription is dated in the same year as our record, viz., on the 10th Apellaios 28. According to Dr. van Wijk's calculations the corresponding Christian date is the 24th November 155 A.D., and that of our record, the 19th August 156 A.D.

As set out in the introduction to my edition of Indian Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Part I, this dating is based on the assumption that the epoch of the era used in these inscriptions is the year 128-9 A.D., and I am still convinced that it cannot be put earlier, but may be later. The common opinion among scholars in India and Europe is, however, apparently that we must refer them to the historical Śaka era.¹

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

I have no doubt that the former assertion is correct. Dr. Fleet's remarks about this point are unanswerable. The only question is about the individuality of this ruler. I fail to see how it is possible to get away from Dr. Fleet's remark that the Śaka era is emphatically a southern reckoning.² It must have been instituted in commemoration of an event which was of importance in the history of Southern India, but was of no consequence for the development of Northern India. Else it would be difficult to account for the fact that it has not with certainty been traced in northern inscriptions before the year A.D. 862.

As I have stated in the introduction to the *Corpus*, Vol. II, Part I, we have a tradition about its introduction in the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*, to the effect that it was introduced by a Śaka ruler who repeated an older Śaka conquest of Mālava, and uprooted the dynasty of Vikramāditya, the ruler who had, in his turn, overthrown the earlier Śaka conquerors. It is expressly stated that the narrative is an incident, introduced in order to explain the origin of the Śaka era : *ēyaṁ pāsāṁgiyaṁ samakkhāyaṁ Sagakūlajāyanaṭṭhaṁ*. It is evident, therefore, that the author of the text knew a tradition about a Śaka ruler, who effected a reconquest of that part of India, and that this second Śaka conquest was commemorated through the introduction of the historical Śaka era, to replace the reckoning introduced by Vikramāditya.³ And we know from Chinese sources that a similar tradition about a reconquest was known at a much earlier date. For the *Hou Han-shu* states that Yen Kao-chen, i.e., Wima Kadphises, *again* extinguished T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, and, according to Professor Karlgren, the Chinese word for *again* cannot be twisted to mean anything else than *again, afresh*. Now Yen Kao-chen's predecessor, K'iu-tsiu-k'io, i.e., Kujūla Kadphises, did not conquer T'ien-chu, and the word *again* must therefore bear reference to an earlier conquest by kindred tribes. The author of the *Hou Han-shu* had heard about this earlier conquest, and introduced a reference to it, perhaps without noticing that some confusion was, in this way, introduced into the narrative.

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

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

¹ Cf. especially Professor Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 186 ff.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 987 ff.

³ In face of the facts drawn attention to by the late Haraprasād Śāstri, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 320, I do not understand Professor Rapson's remark that Dr. Fleet has proved that "later research, however, has shown that there was no such King Vikramāditya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A. D."

that he effected the reconquest in person. That may have been done by one of his governors or generals, e.g., by Nahapāna. And subsequently the Śaka rulers of those reconquered districts began to date their records from this reconquest, through which their rule had been established.

There are also other considerations which speak against ascribing the introduction of the historical Śaka era to Kanishka. It is hardly possible to deny the justice of the remark made by M. Sylvain Lévi¹ about the defeat of the Yüe-chi Shāhi by Pan-ch'ao and about the Yüe-chi ruler paying tribute to China in A.D. 90, that 'it was not Kanishka, at the apogee of his reign and power, who consented to such a humiliation'.

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

Traditional tales, corroborated by epigraphical evidence, lead to the conclusion that Kanishka added a large territory in Northern India to the Scythian Empire, and it is not to be wondered at that his era was introduced everywhere in the north, though an old Śaka era still lingered on in the North-West, and even seems to have been occasionally used in Mathurā.²

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

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

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

The *puṇyāsālā* is characterised as *prāchinī*, i.e., evidently 'eastern,' perhaps in order to distinguish it from another, western, hall. It is further said to be *chatudīś*, i.e., *chaturdiś*, opening towards the four quarters.

¹ J. A. IX, ix, 1897, p. 26, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, p. 422.

² Cf. the Kaṅkālī Tlā inscription of the year 299, if this is a genuine record.

The principal donor is designated *Kanasarukamānaputra Kharāsālērapati Vakanapāti*.

The first term may be compared with *Kushāṇa[m]putra* in a Brāhmī inscription on the pedestal of a statue found by Pandit Radhakrishna at Māt near Mathurā and described by Professor Vogel.¹ Mr. Jayaswal² has explained this word as 'son of Kushāṇa', taking Kushāṇa to be the name of Wima Kadphises' father, whom he identifies with the *Maharaya Gushāṇa* of the Panjar and the *Maharaja Rajatiraja Khushāṇa* of the Taxila silver-scroll inscriptions. He finds the same name in the *Kuei-shuang-wang* of the Chinese *Han Annals*, which is said to mean, "according to the established Chinese system," 'King Kuei-shuang,' i.e., 'King Kushan', and in the last word of the coin-legend *shaonano shao Kaneshki Koshano*,³ where *Koshano* is explained as *Kaushāṇa* meaning 'descendant of Kushāṇa.' I am afraid that these statements cannot well be upheld.

To judge from estampages which I owe to the kind assistance of the Government Epigraphist the beginning of the Māt inscription is *Mahārājā Rājātirājā devaputrō Kushāṇa[m]putr[ō] shāhi Yamata] khamasya*, essentially as read by Professor Vogel, i.e., a string of titles in the nominative, followed by a name in the genitive, a feature which is well known from other sources'.⁴ Here *Kushāṇa[m]putra* follows after *devaputra*, i.e., 'a gods' son,' and not 'God's son,' and similarly *Kushāṇa[m]putra* might mean 'a Kushāṇas' son,' 'a Kushāṇa scion'. At all events the inscription does not in any way prove the existence of a personal name *Kushāṇa*.

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

Further the form *Koshano* in the coin-legends cannot represent *Kaushāṇō*. The legends are written in Saka,⁵ and in Saka *koshano*, i.e., *kushāṇu*, cannot be anything else than the gen. plur. of a base *Kusha*, which is rendered *Kiu-sha* in the Chinese translation of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, where it is stated that Kanishka belonged to the family of the Kiu-sha.⁶ We accordingly know that the name of Kanishka's family was *Kusha*, and *Kushāṇa[m]putra* might accordingly be two words, *Kushāṇam putra*, a son, i.e., scion, of the Kushas, as proposed by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein⁷ who reads *Kushāṇam putrō*. So far as I can see, that reading is probable, but also *Kushāṇa* can very well be the gen. pl. of *Kusha*. On the other hand, an adjective *Kushāṇa* might be formed from *Kusha*, just as we have Saka *balysāna*, lordly, from *balysa*, lord, and the existence of this derivative is proved by the use of the inflected base *gushāṇa*, *khushāṇa* in the Kharōshthī inscriptions mentioned above.

¹ A. S. I. 1911-12, pp. 120 ff.

² J. B. O. R. S. VI, pp. 12 ff.

³ In the present connexion it is not necessary to give the Greek letters of the legend.

⁴ We do not know this ruler from other sources. If there was an interval between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, as stated by Sir John Marshall, A. S. I. A. R. 1912-13, p. 8, he may have been a successor of the former. Mr. Jayaswal's attempt to show that Wima Kadphises is meant is not convincing.

⁵ E. D. M. G., 68, 1914, pp. 85 ff.

⁶ *Āvaghosa, Sārdhāṇāra*, traduit par Édouard Huber. Paris 1908, p. 158. The Sanskrit original has [ku]ṇ, but the name of the family is not found in the fragment, a. Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kanishka*, Leipzig 1926, p. 67.

⁷ S. P. A. W., 1914, pp. 643 ff.

I therefore think that *Kushāṇa[m]putra* in the Māt inscription must mean 'Kushāṇa-scion.' And similarly I would translate *Kanasarukāmānaputra* in our record as 'the Kanasarukāmāna-scion,' or, 'the scion of the Kanasarukamas', though it is possible that *Kanasarukāmāna* is the name of a person.

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

I am unable to offer any explanation of *Kanasarukāmāna*, *Kanasarukama*, for *saruka* cannot well be separated out and compared with the ethnic name *Saraurae*, mentioned by Trogus,¹ for which other sources have *Sakarauloi*, *Sakaurakoi*, and *Sacaraucæ*.

The other designations of the donor, *Kharāsalērapati* and *Vakanapāti*, i.e., the ruler of *Kharāsalēra* and *Vakana*, are likewise unexplained. *Vakanapāti* is evidently the same title which occurs as *Bakanapāti* in the Māt inscription, where the person who erected the chapel of *Vamatakshama* is described as *Bakanapatina Hum*²..... It is possible that *Bakana*, *Vakana* is the well-known *Wakhān*, which occurs as *Vokkāṇa* in other sources, such as the *Divyāvadāna*. But it would be unsafe to consider this identification as certain. If it should prove to be right, it would perhaps be possible to connect the incomplete *Hum*..... following after *Bakanapatina* in the Mathurā inscription with the old name of *Wakhān* represented by Chinese *Hu-mi*, or that of the capital, Chinese *Ho-mo*.

As pointed out by Chavannes,³ *Badakshān* remained the stronghold of the *Yüeh-chi* down to the fifth century. After their dominion had been established in *Mathurā*, it would be natural for chiefs from the North-West to pay occasional visits to that place, and the use of the Macedonian calendar in our inscription seems to point to a north-western origin of the donor. He was not an Indian, but came from abroad.

TEXT.⁴

- L. 1 Siddham⁵ Samvatsarē '20 8 Gurppiya divasē 1 ayaṁ puṇya-
 L. 2 sālā prāchinī Kanasarukāmāna putrēṇa Kharāsalē-
 L. 3 rapatin[ā] Vakanapatinā akshaya-nīyi dinn[ā] Tu(ta)tō vṛi[ddhi]-
 L. 4 tō māsa-numāsaṁ śuddhasya chatudiśi puṇya-sā[lā]-
 L. 5 yaṁ brāhmaṇa-śataṁ parivishitavyaṁ divasē diva[sē]
 L. 6 cha puṇya-sālāyē dvāra-mu(ū)lē dhāriya sādyaṁ saktunā⁶ ā-
 L. 7 dhakā 3 lavṛiṇa-prasthō 1 śaku-prasthō 1 harita-kalāpaka-
 L. 8 ghaṭak[ā] 3 mallak[ā] 5 ētaṁ anādh[ā]nām⁷ kṛitēna dātavya[m*]
 L. 9 babhakshitāna pibāsītānām⁸ Yach[ā]tra puṇya[*r] taṁ dēvaputrasya

¹ Prol. 41, 42 : Deinde que regnante Scythicae gentes Saraucae et Asiani Bactra occupaverunt et Sogdianae, Reges Thocarorum Asiani interitusque Saraucarum.

² To avoid misunderstanding I may state that I cannot accept Mr. Jayaswal's explanation of these terms.

³ *T'oung Pao* II, viii, p. 187.

⁴ For the facsimile see plate facing page 6, *J. B. O. E. S.*, Vol. XVIII (1932).—Ed.

⁵ Perhaps *siddha*. ⁶ Read *saktunām*. ⁷ Read *anādhānām*. ⁸ Read *babhakshitānām pibāsītānām*.

- L. 10 Shāhisya **Huvishkasya**¹ yēshā[m*] cha dēvaputro priyaḥ tēshām =api
puṇya[m*]
L. 11 bhavatu sarvāyi² cha prithivīyē puṇya[m*] bhavatu akshaya-nivī³
dinn[ā]
L. 12. [r]āka-śrēṇ[i]yē purāṇa-śata 500 50 Samitakara-śrēṇī-
L. 13. [yē cha*] purāṇa-śata 500 50.

TRANSLATION.

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

No. 11.—ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA.

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

In addition to the important inscriptions from **Nāgārjunikoṇḍa** edited by me in this journal,⁴ Mr. Longhurst's excavations on that Buddhist site have yielded some more epigraphical documents which it is my intention to publish in the present paper. As regards the site, on which these records have been discovered, and the peculiarities in language and script noticed in them, I may refer to my previous article.

Ayaka-pillar Inscriptions belonging to Stūpa No. 5.

At the south-eastern foot of the **Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Hill** and about two furlongs from the Great Stūpa or *Mahāchetiya* there is a group of ruined buildings consisting of a monastery (No. 4), a stūpa (No. 5), two apsidal temples and a roofless *maṇḍapa*. The site of the stūpa was marked by a large mound of brick débris overgrown with jungle and locally known as *Itikarālabōḍu*. A pillar inscription from this site published under the letter *G* in my previous paper records the foundation of a monastery by a Queen Bhat(t)idevā, who calls herself the daughter-in-law of Vāsethiput(t)a Siri-Chātamūla, the consort of Māḍhariput(t)a Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a and the mother of Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla, who evidently was the then reigning king. The *vihāra*, which according to this inscription was dedicated to the Masters of the Bahusut(t)iya sect, is no doubt the ruined monastery (No. 4) found on this site.

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

¹ Looks almost like *Puvishkasya*.² Read *sarvāyā*.³ Read *-nivī*.⁴ Vol. XX, pp. 1-37.

tion G. They are, however, valuable, because they settle some doubtful points in the latter inscription which has suffered much from exposure. The new inscriptions, which I call G2 and G3, also supply the full date which is the second year of the reign of King Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla, the sixth fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

The inscription G2 is remarkable, because the method of spelling shows an attempt at greater accuracy than is the case in the other inscriptions. Double consonants are indicated in several instances (*putta*, *saṃkappasa*, *Purisadattasa*, *bhavyāya*, *Bhaṭṭidevāya*) and even in *°patti* where the doubling of the consonant is wrong. In the same way we find a ligature in *Virūpakkha*, *paṭiṭṭhapito*, *Ikkhākunaṃ*, *pakkhaṃ*. This practice, however, is not universally followed; we find a single consonant in *agīthoma*, *savathesu*, *saṃvachharaṃ*, and in the genitive ending *-sa*.

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

Ayaka-pillar Inscription G2.

Transcript.

(L. 1) Siddham namo bhagavato Buddhassa Mahārājasa (l. 2) Virūpakkhapatti-Mahāsena-parigahitassa agihot-[*ā]gīthoma-vājape- (l. 3) y-[*ā]samedha-yājisa aneka-hiraṇṇa-koṭi-go-sata-sahassa-hala-satasaha- (l. 4) [sa-padāyī]sa savathesu apatihata-saṃkappasa Vāsīṭhiputtasa Ikkhā[kunaṃ] (l. 5) Siri-Chāntamulassa sunhāya mahārājasa Mā[tha]riputtasa Siri-Virapuri- (l. 6) sadattassa bhavyāya mahādeviāya [Bhaṭṭidevāya] deyadharāma imaṃ savajātaniyuto (l. 7) viharo achariyānaṃ Bahusutiyāna[m] paṭiṭṭhapito Raño Vāsīṭhiputtasa Ikkh[ā]kunaṃ (l. 8) Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūlassa saṃvachharaṃ bitiyaṃ gimha-pakkhaṃ chhaṭṭhaṃ 6 divasaṃ dasamaṃ 10.

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, a monastery provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahusut[t]iya sect by Mahādevi [Bhaṭṭidevā], (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsī[t]hiputta Siri-Chāntamūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, who is favoured (absorbed?) by Mahāsēna, the lord of Virūpakkhas, the offerer of Agnihōtra, Agniastōma, Vājapēya, and Aśvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Māthariputta Siri-Virapurisadatta. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Vāsī[t]hiputta Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, the sixth 6 fortnight of Summer, the tenth 10 day.

Ayaka-pillar Inscription G3.

Transcript.

(L. 1) Siddham namo bha[gava]to (l. 2) Buddhassa Mahārājasa Vir[ū]pakkhapati-Mahāsena- (l. 3) [pa]rigahitassa agihot-[*ā]gīthoma-vājapey-[*ā]samedha- (l. 4) yājisa hiraṇṇa-koṭi-go-sata-sahassa-ha- (l. 5) la-satasahassa-padāyīsa savathesu apa- (l. 6) tihata-saṃkappasa Vāseṭhiputtasa Ikkhākuna[m] Si- (l. 7) ri-Chāntamulassa sunhāya mahārājasa (l. 8) Mādhariputtasa Ikkhākunaṃ Siri-Virapu- (l. 9) risadattassa bhavyāya mahādeviāya Bha- (l. 10) -ṭidevāya deyadhamo ayaṃ Devī-vi- (l. 11) hār[o] sava-jātaniyuto avariānaṃ [Ba-] (l. 12) husutiy[*ā]na[m] paṭiṭṭhapito Raño Siri-Ehu- (l. 13) vula-Chātamūlassa sa[m]vachhara bitiya gimha-pakha (l. 14) [chhaṭṭhaṃ] divasaṃ dasamaṃ.

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, the Queen's Monastery, provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahu-

suttīya sect by Mahādevī Bhaṭṭidevā (*who is*) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāseṭhiput[t]a Siri-Chāntamūla, of (*the house of*) the I[k]khākus, *etc.*, (see above, sub-G 2), (*and who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍharīput[t]a Siri-Virapurisadat[t]a of (*the house of*) the I[k]khākus. In the second year of (*the reign of*) Rāja Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla, the [sixth] fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

Inscription on carved pillar found near Stūpa No. 9.

Next we have an inscribed carved pillar found underground near stūpa No. 9. This stūpa, measuring 42 feet in diameter, is an isolated monument near a fortified hill which stands on the south-western side of the valley and not far from the river. The pillar which is rounded at the top is carved with five panels placed one above the other. The carving has suffered from exposure; but, as far as we can see, the subject of the reliefs does not appear to relate to the Buddha legend or to any of the *jātakas*. The uppermost panel contains a domed building. The next one shows a corpulent male person, perhaps a king, seated in the midst of four females, one of whom seems to hold a *chāmara*. In the third panel there is apparently the same royal personage,¹ attended by five women, of whom three seated on the floor seem to be making music. The fourth panel shows an elephant mounted by two persons and surrounded by four marching attendants. The man seated on the neck of the elephant must be a *rājā*, as is evident from the parasol visible over his head and held by the attendant sitting behind him. The scene exhibited in the fifth or lowermost relief is very curious. It shows a group of eight men; most prominent among them is a bare-headed corpulent person who seems to hold a staff in his left hand. He wears sandals, but for the rest his dress is remarkably simple. Notwithstanding the plainness of his attire, he must be a king, for behind him we notice an attendant holding a parasol, the emblem of royalty, over his head. On his right there is another attendant holding a vessel in both hands. The other persons of which the group is composed have the appearance of monks. In the midst of the group there is what looks like a heap of stones.² Possibly the supposed stones are intended to be seen in perspective, so that in reality they are meant to be placed in rows on the ground. In that case, however, there is no reason why the legs of the attendant holding the vase should be partly concealed.

The inscription, which we call *L*, is engraved immediately under the last-mentioned panel. It consists of thirteen lines of close writing. The letters are small and partly worn like the carvings above. The result is that in several places the reading is uncertain. The main purport, however, is perfectly clear. The inscription records that the pillar was set up by the sisters, mothers and consorts of King Vāsithiput(t)a Siri-Chāntamūla. The names of these ladies, thirty in number, occupy lines 7-13 of the inscription. It is dated in the twentieth year of the reign of King Chāntamūla's son, King Māḍharīput(t)a Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a.

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

Pillar-inscription L.

Transcript.

(L. 1) Sidham Mahārājasaṃ asamedha-yājīsa aneka-hiraṇa-kotī-padālyisa (l. 2) Siri-Chāntamūlasa putasa rañño Māḍharīputasa [Ikhākunaṃ] Siri-Virapurisadatasa (l. 3)

¹ See my remarks in *A. S. E.*, 1929-30, Epigraphical Section, under Inscriptions from Nāgarjunikonda.—Ed.

² Possibly ingots or gift-money.—Ed.

vasasanaya samvachhara virasaya[m] vāsa-pakham prathama[m] divasa[m] bitiya[m]
 saga-gatasa (l. 4) raño agihot-[*ā]githoma-vājapey-[*ā]samedha-yājisa hiraṇa-koti-go-satasahasā-
 (l. 5) hala-satasahasā-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-samkapasa V[āsi]thiputasa (l. 6) I[Khā]kusa
 [sāmi-]Siri-Chamṭamūlasa sahodar[ā]hi m[ā]tahi mah[ā]devihi Sunitisiriya? (l. 7) Khamdasiri[ya]
 Vijhathavisiriya Mi[sa]siriya Samusiriya [Nā]ga-[va]susiriya (l. 8) [Nā]gasiriya Khamdako-
 tisiriya Mahisarasiya Ratumatisiriya Mūlasiriya (l. 9) Ayakotusiriya Maduvisiriya
 [Nā]gasiriya [Rā]masiriya Golasiriya (l. 10) Velisiriya [E]dhisiriya Kha[m]dasiriya Satilisiriya
 Parajatisiriya (l. 11) Pamditasiriya Sivanāgasiriya Samudasiriya Bapisiriya Nadisiriya
 (l. 12) Ayasiriya Ratusiriya Si[vanāga]siriya subhatarikāhi cha (l. 13) Sarasikāya Kusuma-
 latāya [i]ya[m] *tha[m]bho.

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Mādhariput[t]a Siri-Virapurisadat[t]a of (the house of) the I[k]khākus, the son of Mahārāja Siri-Chamṭamūla, the offerer of an Aśvamēdha, and the giver of many crores of gold, in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the second day, this pillar (has been erected) by the sisters, mothers and consorts of the late Rājan Vāsi-[-]thiput[t]a Svāmin Siri-Chamṭamūla, etc., (see above, sub-G 2), (to wit), by Sunitisiri, Khamdasiri, Vijhathavisiri, Mi[sa]siri, Samusiri, [Nā]ga-[va]susiri, [Nā]gasiri, Khamdakisiri, Mahisarasi, Ratumatisiri, Mūlasiri, Ayakotusiri, Maduvisiri, [Nā]gasiri, Rāmasiri, Golasiri, Velisiri, Edhisiri, Khamdasiri, Satilisiri, Parajatisiri, Pamditasiri, Sivanāgasiri, Samudasiri, Bapisiri, Nadisiri, Ayasiri, Ratusiri, Si[vanāga]siri and by the subhatarikās Sarasikā and Kusumalatā.

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

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

Immediately above the inscription, the pillars were adorned with the carved figures of two recumbent animals, probably lions, turned sideways.⁵ From this we can tell that the two largest pieces (M 1 and 2), where these animals are visible over the lettering, must contain the upper portion of the inscription. One of the small fragments (M 16), too, shows a recumbent animal, perhaps a bull, so that the few aksharas preserved on it must have belonged to the first line of the inscription. By comparing these three fragmentary inscriptions, we arrive at the conclusion that the epigraphical records engraved on the pillars are not identical and do not represent a single text. On the other hand, the preserved portions show recurring passages.

¹ There is anusāra above this letter and the akshara is more like ऋ. The reading might be Karmha.—Ed.

² Prakrit saggaṭa, Skt. svargagata, lit. 'gone to heaven'.

³ It seems to read cha dāya.—Ed.

⁴ Ep. Ind., vol. XX, p. 21, First Apsidal Temple Inscription E, plate III.

⁵ In the same way the pillar on which the inscription G is found bears the figures of two animals (lions?) running to the left. Cf. Ep. Ind., vol. XX, plate V.

which are also found in the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions belonging to the Mahāchetiya and in the first Apsidal Temple inscription *E*. This resemblance leads us to assume that the inscriptions on the pillars of the monastic hall, though somewhat different in their wording, were meant to record the same fact, namely, the foundation of the pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* by the same lady Chāntisiri (or Chātisiri), who was the foundress of the adjoining Mahāchetiya and the Chetiya-ghara or Apsidal Temple. Like these two edifices, the pillared hall, too, was dedicated to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Buddhist sect of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas.¹ The date of the foundation is preserved in the two combined fragments (*M 4*); it is the 15th year of the reign of Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a, the 8th fortnight of the rainy season, the figure indicating the day being lost.

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

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

Reign of King Māthariputta Siri-Virapurisadatta.

6th year.—Mahāchetiya founded by Chāntisiri and dedicated to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect.

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

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

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

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

[20th year.—Five *āyaka*-pillars erected near the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at the village of Velagiri (now Jaggayyapeṭa) by the artisan Siddhattha.]

Reign of King Vāsethīputta Siri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūla.

2nd year.—Monastery (No. 4) founded by Bhaṭṭidevā, the mother of the reigning king, and dedicated by her to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Bahus(s)utiya² sect.

11th year.—Monastery (No. 5), founded by Kodabālasiri, the sister of the reigning king and consort of the king of Vanavāsa, and dedicated by her to the Masters of the Mahāsaka³ sect.

Pillar-inscriptions M1-19.

Transcripts.⁴

Pillar-inscription M 1.

(l. 1) Mahārājasa asamedha-yājisa (l. 2) aneka-hiraṇṇa-koṭi-padāyisa Siri-Chāntamūlāsa
(l. 3) sahodarā bhagini mahāsenāpatisa (l. 4) mahātalavara-Vasīthīputasa Pūkiyānaṁ
(l. 5) Kāmdasirisa bhari[yā] mahātalavari Chāntisiri (l. 6) [a]paṇo jāmātukasa raṇṇo

¹ Sanskrit *Aparavāṇīya* (?).

² Sanskrit *Bahusṛutiya*, Pali *Bahuseutiya*.

³ Sanskrit *Mahāsaka*, Pali *Mahimsāka*.

⁴ Owing to the very incomplete condition of these inscriptions we have abstained from giving translations.

Mātharipu[*ta]sa Ikhāku[nam] (l. 7) [Siri]-Virapurisadatasa āyuvadhanike veja[y]i[ke]
(l. 8) [*apano] cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukhani [*vānathanāya]....

Pillar-inscription M 2.

(l. 1) ¹[Apatihata-sam]kapasa [Vā]si[th]i[puta]sa Pūkiyānam (l. 2) [Kamda]sirisa
bhariyā Khamdasāgaramnaka-mātā (l. 3) [Siri-Virapu]risadatasa āyuvadhanike vejayike
cha (l. 4) atichhitam-anāgata-vaṭamāna[ke] nikapanike cha (l. 5) [mahā]chetiya-
pādamūle Aparamah[ā]vinase[li]yānam pari-[gahe] (l. 6)[bbikhu]saṃghasa
patiṭhapita[m]ti.

Pillar-inscription M 3.

(l. 1) atichhi[tam-anāgata-vaṭamānake] (l. 2) apano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-
sukha-nivānathanāya (l. 3) mahāvihāre mahāchetiya-pādamūle pavajitānam (l. 4) [nānā]desa-
saman-āgatānam mahābhikhu-saṃghasa pa[rigahe] (l. 5) Siri-Virapurisadatasa vasasanāya
saṃva 10 [*+] 5 vā (l. 6) [Aparama]hāvinaseliyānam parigahe sa-chātu[sā]la
(l. 7) [pa]tiṭhapita[m]ti

Pillar-inscription M 4.

(l. 1) [ni]vutam chātusāla-parigahita
(l. 2) [Si]ri-Virapurisadatasa saṃva. 10 [*+] 5 vā. pa. 8 [diva]

Pillar-inscription M 5.

(l. 1) [Kamdasirisa]
(l. 2) [-m]ātā Chāmtisiri apa[ṇo jāmātukasa]
(l. 3) ... [raṃṇo Mātharipu]-tasa Ikhākunam
(l. 4) ... [āyu]-vadhanike vijaya-vijayike
(l. 5) ... [hita-su]kha-nivānathanāya bhagavato
(l. 6) mahāchetiya-pādamūle

Pillar-inscription M 6.

(l. 1) savathesu apat[ihata-sam]kapasa ...
(l. 2) Ikhākūsa Siri-Chāmtamūlasa sa[hodarā ...]
(l. 3) ... [ma]hātalavarasa Vāsiṭhīputasa
(l. 4) ... [mahā]talavari
(l. 5) Mātha[rīputasa]

Pillar-inscription M 7.

(l. 1) ni
(l. 2) Kamdasirisa
(l. 3) Chā[m]tisiri apano

Pillar-inscription M 8.

(l. 1) [asame]dhayājisa
(l. 2) [sata]sahasa-hala-satasahasa-[padāyisa] ..
(l. 3) [apati]hata-samkapasa Vāsiṭhīputa[tasa] ..
(l. 4) [bha]gini mahā[senāpatisa]

¹ There are traces of another line before this. See above, Vol. XX, p. 16, line 4 of inscription O 3.—Ed.

Pillar-inscription M 9.

- (l. 1) ... agihot-[ā]giṭhoma-vā[japeya-]
 (l. 2) ... padāyisa savathesu ...
 (l. 3) ... [Vā]siṭhīputasa Puki[yānaṃ] ...
 (l. 4) ... Ikhākunaṃ Siri-Virapu[rīsadatasa] ..
 (l. 5) ... [a]pano ubhaya-kulasa ...¹

Pillar-inscription M 10.

- (l. 1) na[m] nānādesa-saman-[āgatānaṃ] ...
 (l. 2) api cha apano ubhaya-kulasa at[icchita] ...
 (l. 3) ... nikapanīke parināmetuna ma
 (l. 4) parigahe savani[yutaṃ]
 (l. 5) paṭiṭhapitaṃ

Pillar-inscription M 11.

- (l. 1) nivāṇathanāya
 (l. 2) tasa
 (l. 3) n-āgatānaṃ
 (l. 4) dhiva
 (l. 5) naṃ
 (l. 6) [maṃ]ṭavaṃ

Pillar-inscription M 12.

- (l. 1) -sa vasā- ...
 (l. 2) nikapa[nīke] ...
 (l. 3) parigahe
 (l. 4) vā pa 8

Pillar-inscription M 13.

- (l. 1) ma
 (l. 2) agiho[t-ā]
 (l. 3) neka-hiraṇṇa-koṭi-go[-satasaḥasa]
 (l. 4) [-padā]yi[no]

Pillar-inscription M 14.

- (l. 1) [sa]vajātan[iyutaṃ] chatusāla]
 (l. 2) atano ubhaya-kulasa ...
 (l. 3) [ke] parināmetuna
 (l. 4) pu[ta]

Pillar-inscription M 15.

- (l. 1) [putasa]
 (l. 2) . [mahāceti]ya-[pādamūle] pavaji[tānaṃ] ..
 (l. 3) . [mahābhi]khu-saṃ[ghasa]
 (l. 4) na pari[nāme]tuna

Pillar-inscription M 16.

- (l. 1) [-par]igahitasa

¹Traces of another line are discernible below this line. See line 11 of inscription C 3 above, Vol. XX, p. 16.—Ed.

Pillar-inscription M 17.

- (l. 1) [Siri-]Vira[purisadatasa]
 (l. 2) [ve]jayike api[cha]

Pillar-inscription M 18.

- (l. 1) ... mahāsenapa[tisa] ...

Pillar-inscription M 19.

- (l. 1) [Si]ri-Virapu[risadatasa]

Ayaka-pillar Inscription N belonging to Stūpa No. 9.

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

Transcript.

- (l. 1) ... rinamkānam Mūlasirinaka[sa] Sidhatha- (l. 2) [ka]sa Chadamukhasa
 Pudhinakasa bālika(ā) (l. 3) Mahatuvanika Sidhathāmpikā Jakhana

Addenda and Corrigenda to the previous article.

In the First Apsidal Temple Inscription *E*, translation, read 'stone hall' instead of 'stone shrine' (*sela-mam̐ava[m̐]*) and 'chaitya-shrine' instead of 'chaitya-hall' (*chetiya-ghara*).

The Second Apsidal Temple Inscription *F*, line 3, contains the following passage:—*Kam̐akasele mahāchetiyaṣa puva-dāre sela-mam̐avo*. As explained in the 'Glossary' (p. 35) the text has *Kam̐akasole*; but as in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions errors with regard to vowel-marks are very common, I ventured to correct the word into *Kam̐akasele*, which would correspond to Sanskrit *Kaṇṭakasailē*. Cf. *Puvasele* (Skt. *Pūvasailē*) in the same inscription.

At the time it had escaped my notice that an inscription from Amarāvati¹ contains the genitive singular of the noun *Kam̐akasolaka*, meaning 'a resident of K^o'. As here the vowel-mark attached to the *s* is clearly the *o*-sign, we shall have to assume that, after all, the reading *Kam̐akasole* is correct. The form with *ō* agrees, indeed, more closely with Ptolemy's *Καντακωσσόλα*. The entry in our 'Glossary of Geographical Names' s.v. *Kam̐akasela* should be corrected accordingly.

In this connection it may be pointed out that another Amarāvati inscription makes mention of a locality, probably a town, of the name of *Vijayapura*.² It is, of course, impossible to decide whether this place is identical with the Vijayapuri referred to in the second Apsidal Temple inscription *F*, line 2, in the following passage: *Siripavate Vijayapuriya-puva-disā-bhāge vihāre Chula-Dhammagiriyaṁ chetiya-gharaṁ sa-paṭa-sam̐hāraṁ sa-chetiyaṁ sava-niyutaṁ kāritaṁ uvāsikāya Bodhisiriya*. It may, however, safely be inferred from this passage that the town once situated in the valley of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was named Vijayapuri. For there can be little doubt that the *chaittyaghara* mentioned here is the Apsidal Temple, on the stone floor of which the long inscription is engraved. All details tend to corroborate this assumption. Not only does this building enshrine a *chaitya*, measuring 5 feet in diameter, and is it paved with

¹ J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p. 106, No. 54.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 55, No. 30, plate LVIII.

stone slabs; but, what is more remarkable, it is associated with a monastery (*vihāra*) and both edifices are raised on the southern and higher end of a hill, now known by the name of Nāharāḷlabōḍu, which rises on the eastern side of the valley in which the town of Vijayapuri was once situated.

The 'Glossary' contains the word *Aparamahāvinaseliya* which is the name of a Buddhist sect. It is of some interest that an Amarāvati inscription mentions a locality *Mahāvanasala*.¹ The vowel-marks are not very certain and we may perhaps assume that the correct form of the name is *Mahāvanasala* or *Mahāvinasala*. The inscription in question does not give any clue as to the position of the place, but in all probability it was situated in the lower Krishna valley.

GLOSSARY.

- agihot-āgiṭhoma-vājapey-āsamedha-yāji* (G 2, l. 2; G 3, ll. 3-4; L, l. 4; M 9, l. 1; cf. M 13, l. 2).
achariya (G 2, l. 7), *ajariya* (G 3, l. 11).
aticchūam-anāgata-vaṭamānaka (M 2, l. 4; M 3, l. 1 *ex conj.*).
aneka-hiraṇṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasā-hala-satasahasā-padāyi (G 2, ll. 3-4; M 8, l. 2; cf. M 9, l. 2 and M 13, l. 3).
aneka-hiraṇṇa-koṭi-padāyi (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 2).
Aparamahāvinaseliya (M 2, l. 5; M 3, l. 6).
Ayakoṭusiri (L, l. 9), a personal name.
Ayasiri (L, l. 12), i.e. *Ayyasiri*=Skt. *Āryasri*.
asamedha-yāji (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 1; M 8, l. 1 *ex conj.*).
āyuvadhanike (M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3; M 5, l. 4).
Ikkāku (G 2, ll. 4 and 7; G 3, ll. 6 and 8; L, l. 2 *ex conj.*, and l. 6; M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 3; M 6, l. 2; M 9, l. 4).
ubhaya-kula (M 9, l. 5; M 10, l. 2; M 14, l. 2).
ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāṇathanāya (M 1, l. 8; M 3, l. 2; cf. M 5, l. 5 and M 11, l. 1).
Edhisiri (L, l. 10), a personal name.
Kaṇḍasiri (M 1, l. 5; M 2, l. 2 *ex conj.*; M 5, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 7, l. 2).
Kusumalatā (L, l. 13), a personal name.
Khaṇḍakoṭisiri (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Skandakoṭisiri*, a personal name.
Khaṇḍasāgaramnaka-mātā (M 2, l. 2; cf. M 5, l. 2).
Khaṇḍasiri (L, ll. 7 and 10).
gimha-pakkha (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13; also G, l. 10)=Skt. *grishma-paksha* 'a fortnight of Summer.'
Golasiri (L, l. 9), a personal name. Cf. *Golā* in Bharhut inscription. Lüders' *List*, no. 836; also no. 596.
Chadamukha (N, l. 2), i.e. *Chandamukha*=Skt. *Chandramukha*, a personal name.
chātusāla-parigahita (M 4, l. 1). Cf. *sa-chātusāla*, and *chātusāla* in E, l. 2.
Chāmtisiri (M 1, l. 5; M 5, l. 2; M 7, l. 3).
chhāṭha (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 14 *ex conj.*), i.e. *chhāṭha* 'sixth.'
Jakkana (N, l. 3), a personal name (?). Cf. such proper names as *Yakkadāsi*, *Yakkadina*, *Yakkhi* and *Yakkila*. Lüders' *List*, nos. 329, 211, 254, 500, 344, 376, 580, 546.
jāmātuka (M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 2).
thambha (L, l. 13)=Skt. *stambha* 'pillar'. Cf. *selathambha* in C 2, l. 8.
deyadha(m)ma (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 10)=Skt. *deyadharmā* 'a pious gift'. Also in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37).

¹ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 91, No. 35, plate LVIII. Cf. p. 106, No. 49, plate LX.

Devī(?)-vihāra (G 3, ll. 10-11) 'the Queen's Monastery'

Nadisiri (L, l. 13), i.e. Nandisiri Skt. *Nandīśrī*, a personal name. Cf. the name *Nandisiri* in Nāsik cave inscription. Lüders' *List*, no. 1127.

Nāgavasusiri (?) (L, l. 7), a personal name.

Nāgasiri (L, ll. 7 and 9), a personal name, also found in Jaggayyapeta inscriptions. Lüders' *List*, nos. 1202-4.

nānādesa-saman-āgata (M 3, l. 4; M 10, l. 1 *ex conj.*).

nikapanika (M 2, l. 4; M 10, l. 3; M 12, l. 2), a word of uncertain meaning. Also in E, l. 2.

patipadā in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37). The word apparently indicates the object on which it is found.

Paṇḍitasiri (L, l. 11)=Skt. *Paṇḍitaśrī*, a personal name.

Paraṇḍitasiri (L, l. 10), perhaps=Skt. *Pārijātaśrī*, a personal name.

parināmetuna (M 10, l. 3; M 14, l. 3; M 15, l. 4).

pavajūta (M 3, l. 3).

Pudhinaka (N, l. 2), a personal name.

Pūkiya (M 1, l. 4; M 9, l. 3).

Bapisiri (L, l. 11), a personal name.

Bahusutiya (G 2, l. 7; G 3, ll. 11-12; cf. G, l. 8).

bālikā (N, l. 2) 'a daughter'.

bītiya or *bitiya* (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13; also G, l. 9; L, l. 3)=Skt. *dvītiya* 'second'. Cf. *bīya* and *bīa* (Pischel, *Grammatik*, §§ 82, 165, 300 and 449).

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

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

Bhaṭṭidevā (G 2, l. 6; G 3, ll. 9-10).

bhāriyā (M 1, l. 5; M 2, l. 2) and *bhay(y)a* (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 9)=Skt. *bhāryā*.

maṇḍava (M 11, l. 6 *ex conj.*), i.e. *maṇḍava*=Skt. *maṇḍapa*.

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

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

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

mahāchetiya-pādamūla (M 2, l. 5 *ex conj.*; M 3, l. 3; M 5, l. 6).

mahātalavara (M 1, l. 4; M 6, l. 3).

mahātalavari (M 1, l. 5; M 6, l. 4).

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

mahābhikkhu-saṃgha (M 3, l. 4).

mahāvihāra (M 3, l. 3).

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

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

Misāsiri (L, l. 7)=Skt. *Mīśtaśrī*, a personal name. Cf. the name *Misi*, i.e. *Missi* in F, l. 3.

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

Mūlasiri (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Mūlaśrī*, a personal name.

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

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

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

Rāmasiri (L, l. 9)=Skt. *Rāmaśrī*, a personal name.

- vasasanaya*¹ (L, l. 3; M 3, l. 5), a term of uncertain meaning.
- vāsa-pakha* (L, l. 3) or *vā. pa.* (M 4, l. 2; cf. M 3, l. 5; M 12, l. 4) Skt. *varsha-paksha* 'a fortnight of the rainy season'.
- Vāsīhiputa* or *Vasēhiputa* (G 2, ll. 4 and 7; G 3, l. 6; L, l. 5; M 1, l. 4; M 2, l. 1; M 6, l. 3; M 8, l. 3; M 9, l. 3).
- Vijhāhavisiri* (L, l. 7), a personal name. Cf. the name *Vijha*=Skt. *Vindhya*, Lüders' *List*, no. 579.
- Virūpa(k)khatipati-Mahāsena-parigahita* (G 2, l. 2; G 3, l. 2).
- vihāra* (G 2, l. 7).
- vī(m)saya* (L, l. 3) 'twentieth'.
- vejayike* (M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3; M 17, l. 2) and *vijaya-vejayike* (M 5, l. 4).
- Saka* in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37)=Skt. *Śaka* 'Scythian'.
- saqagata* (L, l. 3), i.e. *sagga-gata*=Skt. *svarga-gata* 'gone to heaven'.
- sa-chātusāla* (M 3, l. 6).
- Satilisiri* (L, l. 10), a personal name. Cf. the name *Sātīla*, Lüders' *List*, no. 259.
- Samudasiri* (L, l. 11), i.e. *Samuddasiri*=Skt. *Samudrasrī*, a personal name.
- Samusiri* (L, l. 7), a personal name.
- Sarasikā* (L, l. 13), a personal name.
- savajālaniyuta* (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 11; cf. M 4, l. 1 and M 14, l. 1).
- savathesu apatihata-samkap(p)a* (G 2, l. 4; G 3, ll. 5-6; L, l. 5; M 2, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 6, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 8, l. 3 *ex conj.*; cf. M 9, l. 2).
- savaniyuta* (M 10, l. 4).
- sa(m)vachhara* (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13) or *saṁva* (M 3, l. 5; M 4, l. 2).
- sahodarā* (L, l. 6; M 1, l. 3; M 6, l. 2).
- sāmi* (L, l. 6 *ex conj.*) Skt. *svāmin*. A royal title found associated also with the name of the Āndhra king Siri-Pulumāvi. Cf. Amarāvati inscription no. 1, Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*, p. 100, pl. LVI, no. 1.
- Sidhatthaka* (N, ll. 1-2), i.e. *Siddhatthaka*=Skt. *Siddhārthaka*, a personal name.
- Sidhatthamnikā* (N, l. 3), i.e. *Siddhatthannikā*, a personal name.
- Siri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūla* (G 2, l. 8) or °*Ehuvuḷa*- (G 3, ll. 12-13).
- Siri-Chāmāmūla* (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 7; L, ll. 2, 6; M 1, l. 2; M 6, l. 2).
- Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a* (G 2, l. 5; G 3, ll. 8-9; L, l. 2; M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3 *ex conj.*; M 3, l. 5; M 4, l. 2; M 9, l. 4 *ex conj.*; M 17, l. 1; M 19, l. 1 *ex conj.*).
- Sivanāgasiri* (L, ll. 11 and 12), a personal name.
- Sunītisiri* (L, l. 6), a personal name.
- sunhā* (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 7; cf. F, l. 3 and G, l. 5)=Skt. *snushā* 'a daughter-in-law'.
- subhatarikā* (L, l. 12), a word of uncertain meaning.
- hiraṁba-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-pudāyi* (G 3, ll. 4-5; L, ll. 4-5).

POSTSCRIPT.

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

¹ Can it be *vasasatāza*?—Ed.

No. 12.—THE CLAY SEALS OF NĀLANDĀ.

By HIRANANDA SASTRI.

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

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

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुन्तेषां तथागतो ज्ञवदत् ।
तेषाञ्च यो निरोध एवं वादी महाश्रमणः ॥

which, we are told, Āsvajit read to Śāriputra, and is usually interpreted¹ as

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

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

श्रीनालन्दासहविहारोयार्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य,

meaning

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

¹ Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 25.

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

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

The seals of King Śarvavarman Maukhari.

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

¹ Vol. XVII, plate facing p. 321. *A. S. R.*, 1922-23, plate XV(d).

² *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India*, Eastern Circle, for 1916-17, p. 43.

³ *Ibid.*, for 1917-18, pp. 446 ff.

⁴ *Journ. B. O. R. Soc.*, Vol. V (1919), pp. 302 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V (1919), p. 303.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate xxxii B.

⁷ *Cf. Fleet, C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 219.

⁸ *Manuśmṛiti* (VIII. 16).

animal. The idea underlying the emblem seems to be that the tampering with the seal is as heinous as the killing of a bull or violating the *dharma*.

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

TEXT.

- 1 Chatus-samudr-ātikkraṇṭa-kirttiḥ pratāp-ānurāg-ōpanat-ānya-rājā(ō)¹ varṇa-āsrama-vyavasthā-
- 2 pana-pravṛtta-chakkras=Chakkradhara iva prajānām=artihara[h*]² śrī³-Mahārāja-Hari-varmmā[||*] Tasya
- 3 putras⁴=tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Jayasvāminī-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām⁵=utpannaḥ śrī-Mahārāj- Ādityava-
- 4 rmmā[||*] Tasya⁶ putras=tat-p[ā⁷]d-ānuddhyātō Harshaguptā-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām-utpannaḥ śrī-Mahārā⁸
- 5 j-Ēśvaravarmmā⁹ [||*] Tasya putras=tat-pād-ānuddhyātā Upaguptā¹⁰-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannō
- 6 Maha(ā)¹¹rājādhirāja-śrī¹² Īśānavarmmā[||*] Tasya putras=tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Lakshmīva¹³
- 7 ti-bhaṭṭārikā-Mahādēvyām¹⁴=utpannaḥ=paramamāhēśvarō¹⁵ Ma-
- 8 hārājādhirāja-śrī-Śarvvavarmmā Maukharīḥ [||*]

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

The seals of Harsha or Harshavardhana.

I may publish here only one of the seals of Harsha of Thānēsar. The Sonpat seal which Fleet reproduced¹⁷ in 1888 must have belonged to some plate which is not forthcoming. The Nālandā specimens so far recovered seem to be the impressions taken from some independent moulds. As we see even nowadays, the originals are only the negatives which, when pressed at the time of sealing documents, give the positives. Several specimens of the seal of Harsha

¹ Like the Aśvīnadh seal both these specimens give °rājā for °rājō.

² The visarga is left out in these seals also.

³ I think it is śrī in all the three documents. Cf. the symbol in line 8.

⁴ The letters putra and the t of sta are lost in A1.

⁵ It is clearly dēvyām in both these seals.

⁶ Letters rmmā tasya are missing in A1.

⁷ The length mark is obliterated in both the seals.

⁸ Both these seals give °Mahā.

⁹ The aksharas j-Ēśvarava are missing in A1.

¹⁰ In both these seals, too, the symbol after u is more like ma than pa; cf. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 220, t. n. 3.

¹¹ The length mark is not to be seen in both the seals. The initial letters mahā(ā)rā are lost in A1.

¹² Both these seals give śrī; cf. the śrī symbol in line 8. The hiatus in śrī-Īśāna¹³ is intentional, evidently.

¹³ The La symbol is clear in both these seals and the reading Lakshmīvatī is pretty certain. Fleet's conjectural reading of this name is therefore correct.

¹⁴ A distinctly gives Mahā¹⁵ though the length mark is not so clear in A1.

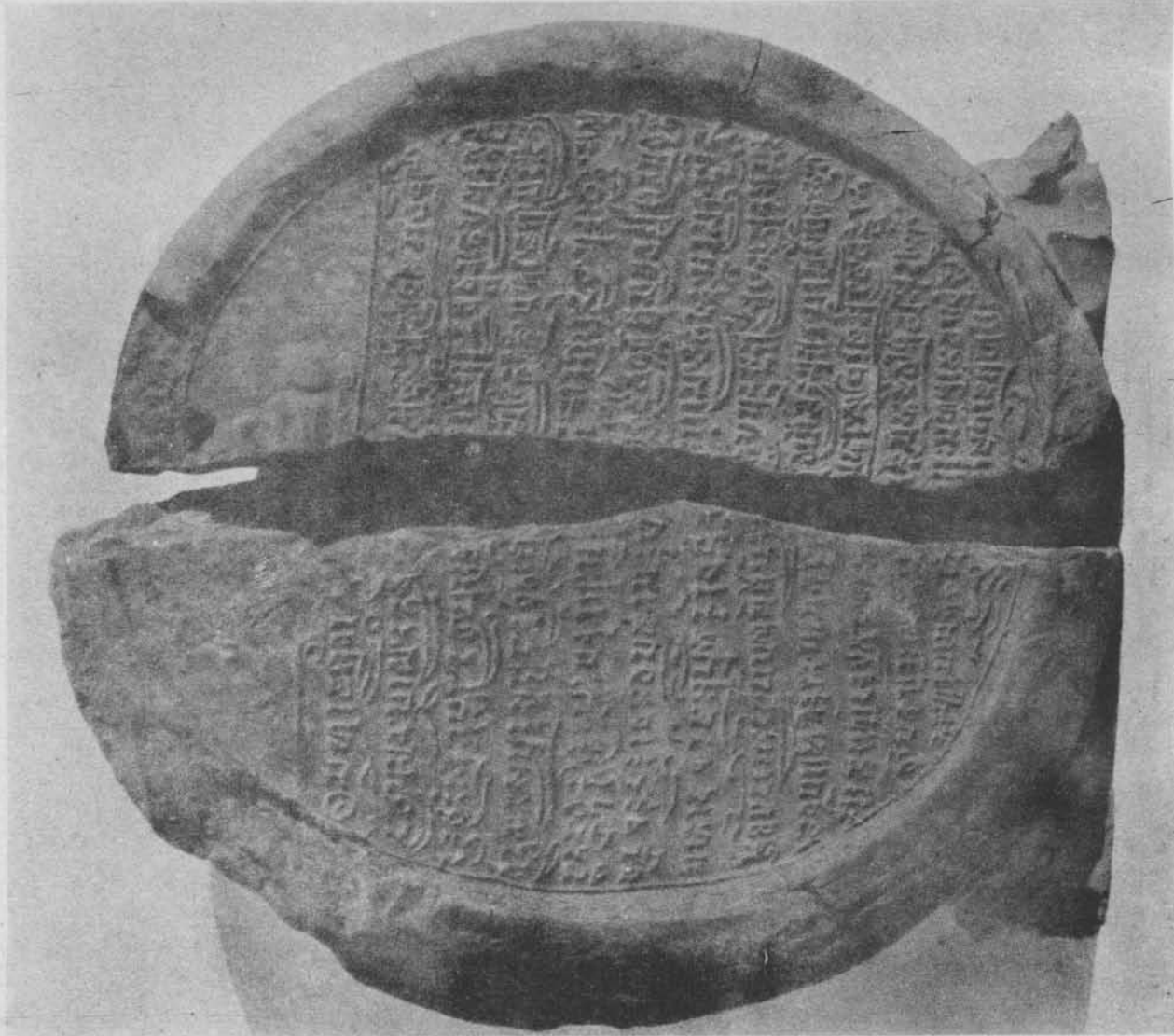
¹⁵ O mark is clear in both.

¹⁶ Vol. XIV, pp. 110 ff.

¹⁷ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 231 f. and plate XXXII-B.

THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA (II).

B



2 4 6 8 10 12

C



HIRANANDA NASTRI.

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

were excavated at Nālandā and are all broken or fragmentary. The one reproduced here, marked B on the plate, consists of two fragments which, when put together, seem to form a complete seal, excepting some letters about the middle of almost every line of the legend and the proper right portion of the upper field, containing the device together with the head of the recumbent bull. Owing to the transverse cut the specimen is broken in twain. The seal appears to have been oval in shape, the axes being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ " and $5\frac{1}{10}$ ", measuring the surface encompassed by the first curve going round the written portion and the emblem. The legend consists of twelve lines of which the five lines at the end are written in letters smaller than those seen in the rest. Evidently, the engraver found that he would not be able to manage the whole legend in the limited space and had to reduce the size of the *akṣharas* after writing out the first seven lines. Like the inscription on the Sonpat seal the legend in this specimen is written in the flowery script of the seals of Śārvavarman. The Sonpat seal is larger and the legend is written in bigger letters. Possibly that also had twelve lines of writing, though they are not distinct on the facsimile given in the *Corpus*. According to the transcript given by Fleet they also ended like the lines in the present specimen. The legend on the seal under notice is, practically, a genealogical table of the family of Harsha or Harshavardhana, the pedigree being identical with what is given in the Madhuban¹ and the Banskhera² copper-plates of this potentate.

TEXT.

- 1 Symbol³ [||*] Mahārāja-śrī-Nara[varddhanas=ta]⁴[sya] puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyāta[h*]
Śrī-Vajrinī-
- 2 dēvyām=utpannaḥ paramādityabha[ktō Mah]⁴ārāja-śrī-Rājyavarddhanah[||*]Tasya
puttras=tat-pā-
- 3 d-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-Apsarōdēvyām⁵=utpanna[h para]⁴mādityabhaktō Mahārāja-śrīmad-
Āditya-
- 4 varddhanah[||*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ⁶ śrī-[Ma]⁴[hā]sēnaguptādēvyām=
u[tpa*]-nnaḥ chatuḥsamu-
- 5 dr-ātikkraṇta-kīr[ttih] pratāp-ānurāg-ōpa[nat-ānya]⁴-rājō varṇṇāsrama⁷-vyavasthāpana-
pravṛtta-
- 6 chakka ekachakkraratha iva prajānām=arttiha[raḥ]⁴ paramādityabhakta[h] parama-
bhaṭṭāraka-
- 7 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Prabhākaravarddhanah[h*] Tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ⁸
atīśayita-
- 8 pūrvvarāja-charitō dēvyām=amala-yaśōmatyām [śrī]-Yaśōmatyām=utpanna[h] parama-
saugataḥ Suga-

¹ See above, Vol. I, pp. 72 f.² See above, Vol. IV, pp. 210-11.³ *Om* or *siddhiḥ*.⁴ Such letters are taken from the Madhuban and the Banskhera copper-plate inscriptions.⁵ Fleet gives *Ma(p)ā(p)dēvyām* instead, but the question marks would show that he was not sure of his reading. The name is clearly Apsarōdēvi.⁶ Possibly the length mark was shown in two ways: by a stroke above the top line, and by projecting the top line onwards and giving a small bend to its end.⁷ Fleet gives *sarv[ra]-varṇa*⁸ in his reading of the Sonpat seal.⁸ The Madhuban and the Banskhera records show *saṁdhi* here—"*utika*".

- 9 [ta i]va parahit-ānurataḥ paramabhattā[raka]-Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Rājyavarddhana-
[h*] ta-
10 sy-ānujaḥ=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramabha[ttā]rikā-Mahādēvi-śrī-Yasōma[tyāra] dē-
11 vyām=[ēv¹-ō]tpannaḥ paramamā[hē]śvaraḥ Mahēśvara iva sarvva-sa
12 tv-ānukampaka[h*] paramabhattāraka-[Mahā]rājādhirāja-śrī-Harshaḥ[||*]

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

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

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

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

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

- 1 Vijit-ārāti-gaṇasya nyāyavatō rāja-
- 2 vṛitti-nipuṇasya sva-guṇ-ābharṇasya
- 3 śrī-Paśupatisirṇhasya la[kshma=edaṁ] [||*]

This may be rendered as :—

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

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

- 1 Purikā-grāma-jā-
- 2 napadasya [||*]

¹ *Ēva* is used for the sake of emphasis—both were uterine brothers.

THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA (III).

D



E



F



and means '(The seal) of the *Jānapada* or Community of the *Purikā*-village.' Obviously, the word *jānapada* is not used here in the sense of '*dēśa*', which is the dictionary meaning of it, but has to be taken in the sense of **community or unit or corporate body**. In the collection at Nālandā I have now found several other '*jānapada*' seals which are being described in the Memoir.

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

Pādapāg-grāmasya [||*]

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

अथ तेनानीयमानम्, ... अतिनिबिडसूत्रबन्धनिक्षिप्तान्तरालकत-
व्यवच्छेदया लिखमालिकया परिकल्पितमूर्धानम्, ... प्रविशन्तं लिखहारक-
मद्राक्षीत्.

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

POSTSCRIPT.

My recent examination of the whole collection has led me to the valuable discovery of several seals representing the Gupta kings *Narasimhagupta*, his son *Kumāragupta*, *Budhagupta* and *Vainyagupta*, and also the kings [Bha]gavachchandra, *Supratishṭhita-varman*, and others. The Gupta seals would show among other points of historical interest that the name of *Kumāragupta*'s mother has to be read as *Mitradēvi* and not *Śrīmatidēvi* or *Lakshmidēvi*, and that of *Puragupta*'s mother, as *Vainyadēvi* not *Vatsadēvi*. All these seals are being fully treated in my forthcoming monograph on Nālandā.

No. 13.—BAIGRAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE [GUPTA]-YEAR 128.

BY RADHAGOVINDA BASAK, M.A., DACCA.

This copper-plate was discovered in 1930 near a wooden structure which surrounded an old well opened by some tenants of Rai Sahib Kumudnath Das, Zamindar of Hili, while excavating a tank at Baigram (P. O. Hili) in the District of Bogra, Rājshāhi Division, Bengal. One more copper-plate, which was found along with it, was taken away by the coolies and has not yet been secured. The document under publication was kept with one Poñatu Ākandar till it was brought to Hili early this year by Babu Krishna Chandra Saha, Manager of the Rai Sahib's estate. Afterwards Babu Jyotirindranath Das, Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, presented it to the Gaṇḍa Research Society, Howrah, and it is now in the possession of that Society. Babu Niradabaran Mishra Chakravarti, Secretary of the Society, brought it to my notice and gave me a set of its estampages on which my reading of the inscription is based. It is very gratifying, indeed, that within the last few years we have recovered eight valuable records of the Gupta period from North Bengal itself (i.e., ancient Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*). Out of these eight documents, seven have already been published, viz., the Dhanaidaha copper-plate inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I: the year 113,¹ the Five Damodarpur copper-plate inscriptions² and the Pāhārpur copper-plate grant of the Gupta year 159.³ The eighth forms the subject of the present paper.

Like the seven charters already published, this inscription is also a deed of sale and registers the purchase by private persons of *khila* (fallow) and *vāstu* (homestead) land belonging to the State for the purpose of donation to a temple. The Faridpur copper-plate grants⁴, marked A, B and C by Pargiter, are also of the same type. The general procedure followed in ancient Bengal for purchasing State lands by private persons as laid down in this grant is identical with that given in the Damodarpur grants or in the Pāhārpur copper-plate inscription. The intending purchaser of a State land had to submit an application to the administrative authority concerned and the Government had to refer the matter to the record-keepers before giving the required sanction.

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

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and are almost similar to those used in the Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2, which also belong to the same period. As in the Damodarpur, the Dhanaidaha and the Pāhārpur copper-plates, here, too, the medial *ā* is at times indicated by means of a hook-stroke attached to the lower right side of an *akshara* as, for example, in *grāmika* (l. 2). The form of *rū* in *rūpakān* (ll. 6 and 14) is also noteworthy. As one would ordinarily expect in the inscriptions of this period, the letter *ḍ* is distinguished from *v* in this document also (see, for example, *Brāhmaṇḍ* l. 2 or *bōdhayanti* l. 3). The sign for the conjunct letters *hm* and *hy* appears to be almost identical. The form of the four-lettered conjunct *ñchchhy* occurring in the word *apaviñchchhya* (l. 19) may be noted. The form of the medial *ē* and *ō* in the letters *m*, *t* and *r* requires attention (see, e.g., *mēkaṁ* in l. 9,

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 345 ff.² *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 59 ff.³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 193 ff.

mōdati in l. 23 and *pachyatē* in l. 22). This form of *ē* is to be found with the letter *s* also, as, for example, in *vasēt* (l. 23). The sign for the lingual *ḷ* is used in *nalābhyaṃ* (ll. 18-19). The form of the final *t* and *m*, often found joined with the preceding letters slightly below the top line, as, for example, in *vasīt* (l. 23), *vasundharām* (l. 22), is also noteworthy. The numerical symbols for 100, 20, 8, 10 and 9 are found used in line 25 and those for 3 and 2 in line 18.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose excepting in the three imprecatory verses found in lines 21 to 25. As in some of the Damodarpur plates (Nos. 1 to 4) and the Faridpur plates (Nos. A, B and C) the superfluous *k* is found in this inscription also, as in *kār[ta]ka* and *ṛitika* (l. 4). *Sandhi* has been neglected in some places, as in *ṇayā acudhrīta* (l. 10) and *cha akshaya* in line 17.

As regards **orthography** the following peculiarities require attention: (1) Consonants are usually doubled before *y*, as in *ḍivārikkya* (l. 6) (but in the same word in line 12 *k* seems to be single) and *pādānuddhyātāḥ*, (l. 1). (2) The consonants *k* and *t* are doubled before the subscript *r*; e.g., *vikkrayō* (ll. 6 and 12) and *kshētrā* (ll. 5 and 11). (3) The consonants *k*, *g*, *t*, *th*, *d*, *y* and *v* are doubled after the superscript *r*; e.g., *ḥchandrārkkā* (ll. 5 and 11), *svarggē* (l. 23), *varitā-māna* (l. 20), *rājārthika* (l. 12), *chaturddīśa* (l. 19), *saṃvyavahārīya* (l. 20) and *pūreva* (l. 23) respectively.

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

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

It is not unlikely that like the Kōṭivarsha of the Damodarpur grants and the Khāḍā(ṭā)pāra of the Dhanaidaha plate, the Pañchanagarī of the inscription under publication was one of the *vishayas* of the old Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti; but I am unable to identify it, nor am I able to locate Trivṛitā and Śrīgōhālī. I cannot say for certain if the village named here as Vāyigrāma

is the village of the same name that is mentioned in No. 4 of the Damodarpur grants. If they are identical, the village must have been situated somewhere on the boundary line between Kōṭivarsha and Pañchanagarī. That Baigram, where this plate was unearthed, is the ancient Vāyigrāma mentioned in this plate (l. 2) cannot be doubted. Consequently it may reasonably be assumed that the localities mentioned in the inscription were situated somewhere near Hili in Bogra. The name Śrigōhālī, however, reminds us of the names Vāṭa-Gōhālī and Nitva-Gōhālī of the Pāhārpur inscription.

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

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

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

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

¹ Dr. Shamasastri's Translation, p. 95. Cf. Mr. K. P. Jaysawal's remarks above, Vol. XX, p. 81.—Ed.

FIRST SIDE.

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The inscription is written in Gupta script on a copper plate. The text is arranged in 14 horizontal lines, corresponding to the numbers 2 through 14 on the left margin. The script is highly stylized and characteristic of the Gupta period. The plate shows signs of age and wear, with some areas of discoloration and slight damage to the surface.

Attention may be drawn to the curious fact that in this new grant we do not find any reference to the Board of Advisers mentioned in the Damodarpur grants Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5, as having aided the *vishayapatis* of Kōṭivarsha in the administrative work of the *vishay-ādhiparāṇa*, the four members forming that Board being (1) the *nagara-śrēṣṭhīn* (the President of the town-guild), (2) the *prathama-sārthavāha* (the representative of the merchant class), (3) the *prathama-kulika* (the representative of the artisan class) and (4) the *prathama-kūyastha* (probably, the chief scribe,—the head of the Government officials). The absence of such a reference in a document of the year 128 G.E. (Damodarpur grant No. 2 of Kumāra-gupta I's reign being also of the same date) belonging to a different part of Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* is difficult to explain, excepting on the tentative theory that Kōṭivarsha (of Damodarpur grant No. 2) was perhaps a more important *vishaya* where Government had to keep better administrative arrangement for the *vishay-ādhiparāṇa* than in Pañchanagarī of this grant, which may have been a newly formed district at the time. It may also be noted that in this inscription we do not come across the name of the *bhukti* Governor known from two of the Damodarpur grants (i.e., Nos. 1 and 2).

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Svasti [*] Pañchanagaryyā Bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ Kumārāmātya-Kula-
vṛddhir=ētaḍ-vishay-ādhiparāṇaḥ=cha
- 2 Vāyigrāmika-Trivṛita(tā)-Śrīgōhālyōḥ Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān=samvyavahāri-pramukhān-
grāma-kuṭumbinaḥ kuśalam=anu-
- 3 varṇya bōdhayanti(ti) [*] Vijñāpayatōra(tō)=tri-aiva-vāstavya-kuṭumbi-Bhōyila-
Bhāskarāv=āvayōḥ pitrā Śivanandi-
- 4 nā kārī(ta)ka-Bhagavatō Gōvinda-svāmināḥ dēvakulas(am)=tad=asāv=alpa(tad=
adō=lpā)-vṛittikaḥ(am) [*] Iha vishayē samudaya-
- 5 bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshētrāṇām=akiñchit=pratīkarāṇām śāsavad=āchandr-ārka-
tāraka-bhōjyānām(nām)=akshaya-nīvyā
- 6 dvi-dīnārikkyā-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō=nuvittas=tad=arhath = āvayōs = sakāśāt=shaḍ=dīnārān=
aṣṭa cha rūpakān=āyī-
- 7 [kri]tya Bhagavatō Gōvindasvāminō dēvakulē [kha]ṇḍa-phuṭṭa¹-pratīsaṁska(skā)ra-
karāṇāya gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-
- 8 sumanasā[m*] - pravarttanāya cha Trivṛitāyām Bhōgi(yi)lasya khila-kshētra-
kulyavāpa-trayaṁ Śrīgōhālyās(ā)=ch=āpi
- 9 tala-vāṭak-ārtha[m*] sthala-vāstunō drōṇavāpam=ēkaṁ Bhāskarasy=āpi sthala-
vāstunō drōṇavāpaḥ=cha dātu-
- 10 m=i[ti] [*] Yatō yushmān=bōdhayāma[h*] Pustapāla-Durgādatt-Ārkkadāsyōr-
avadhāraṇayā² avadhṛita-
- 11 m=ast=iha vishayē samudaya-bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshētrāṇā[m*] śāsavad=
āchandr-ārka-tāraka-bhōjyānām dvi-di-
- 12 nāriky, kulyavāpa-vikkrayō=nuvittatḥ [*] Evamvidh-āpratīkara-khila-kshētra-
vikkrayē cha na kaśchid=rāj-ārttha-
- 13 virōdha upachaya ēva Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānāḥ dharmma-phala-shaḍ-bhāg-āvāptis=
cha tad=diyatām=iti ētayōḥ

¹ Read *aphuṭṭa*. *Phuṭṭa* is evidently a Prākṛit form.² Read "say=āvadhṛita".

- 14 Bhōyila-Bhāskarayōs=sakā[śā*]t=shaḍ=dīnārān=ashta cha rūpakān=āyikṛitva Bha-
gavatō Gōvindasvāminō
15 dēvakulasy=ārtthē **Bhōyīlasya** **Trivṛitāyām** khila-kshētra-kulyavāpa-trayam
tala-vātak-ādy-arttham

Second Side.

- 16 **Śrīgōhālyā[m*]** sthala-vāstunō drōṇavāpam **Bhāskarasy**=āpy=atr=aiva sthalē(la)-
va(vā)stunō drōṇavāpa-
17 m=ēva[m*] kulyavāpa-trayam sthala-drōṇavāpa-dvayañ=cha¹ akshaya-nivyaś(vyā)
tāmra-pattēna dattan ninna²
18 ku 3 sthala-drō 2 tē³ yūyam sva-karshaṇ-āvirōdhi-sthānē⁴ Darvvikarmma-
hastēn=āshtaka-navaka-naḷābhya-
19 m=apaviñchchya chira-kāla-sthāyi-tush-āṅār-ādi(dī)nā[m*] chihnaś=chāturddisō
niyamyā dāsyath=ākshaya-
20 nīvi-dharmmēna(ṇa) cha śasvat=kālam=anupālayishyatha varttamāna-bhavishyāś=
cha samvyavahāryy-ādibhir=ēta-
21 d=dharmm-āpēkshay=anupālayitavyam=iti [f*] Uktañ=cha Bhagava[d]-Vēdavyāsa
mahātmanā [i*] Sva-dattām para-dattām
22 vvā(vā) yō harēta vasundharām [i*] sa viśṭhāyām krimir=blūtva
pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē [||*] Shashtim varsha-saha-
23 srāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [i*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=
ēva narakē vasēt [||*] Pūrva-
24 dattām dvijātibhyō yatnād=raksha Yudhishtira [i*] mahi[m*] mahimatām
śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupāla-
25 namiti(m || i)ti **sam 100 20 8 Māgha di 10 9**

TRANSLATION.

[Ll. 1—3] Bliss ! From **Pañchanagari**⁵ **Kumārāmātya Kulavṛiddhi**, who meditates on the feet of the Bhaṭṭāraka (i.e., the king), informs, after enquiring about their health, the *adhikārāṇa* (court) of the *viśhaya* and the village-householders, along with the Brāhmaṇas and others and the Chief-officers (*Samvyavahārins*) of (the two localities named) **Trivṛitā** and **Śrīgōhāli** connected with the village named **Vāyigrāma**.

[Ll. 3—6] **Bhōyila** and **Bhāskara**, two family headmen residing in this locality, thus apply,—The (building) of the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin founded by Śivanandin, father of us both, is poorly endowed. In this *viśhaya* prevails (the procedure) of sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* of shrubless fallow fields, which do not yield any revenue (to the State), (the lands being purchased) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment, to be

¹ Read ch=āksha°.

² This word put before the abbreviated totalisation of the amount of land purchased does not appear to me explicable. [*Phutṭa* (=Skt. *sphuṭita*) in line 7 would suggest that it might stand for Skt. *nimna* meaning low land.—Ed.]

³ The Pāhārpur plate gives *tad*. (l. 19) which is a much better reading.—Ed.

⁴ [This must be the reading in the Pāhārpur plate also, where in the place of *svakarmanā*° (l. 19) it would be better to read *svakarshaṇā*° as in this plate.]

⁵ This word seems to be the name of the *viśhaya* in charge of Kulavṛiddhi. It may also be suggested that it may have been the name of the district headquarters where the court (*adhikārāṇa*) of the *viśhaya* was situated.

enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure, and free from (the liability of payment of) any kind of taxes.

[Ll. 6—10] So deign to make a grant to (me), **Bhōyila**, of three *kulyavāpas* of *khila* (i.e., waste) land in **Trivṛitā** and one *drōṇavāpa* of *vāstu* (i.e., homestead) land, for (dwelling) site (*śāla*) and paths (*vāṭaka*) in **Śrīgōhālī**, and to (me), **Bhāskara**, one *drōṇavāpa* of homestead land for the purpose of repairs to the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin when damaged or dilapidated and for the performance of the daily worship with perfumery, incense, lamp and flowers, by getting from us an income of six *dīnāras* and eight (silver) coins.

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

[Ll. 13—18] Thus on making an income of six *dīnāras* and eight (silver) coins (*rūpakas*) from **Bhōyila** and **Bhāskara** for the sake of the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin, three *kulyavāpas* of *khila* fields in **Trivṛitā** and one *drōṇavāpa* of *vāstu* land in **Śrīgōhālī** were granted (by sale) to **Bhōyila** and one *drōṇavāpa* of *vāstu* land in the very same place (i.e., Śrīgōhālī) to **Bhāskara**, by the execution of a copper-plate (charter) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment (*akshaya-nivī*), thus the total measurement of land (sold) being three *kulyavāpas* and two *sthala-drōṇavāpas* (stated in figures as *ku* 3 and *sthaladrō* 2, respectively).

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

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

[L. 25] (Here the charter) ends. The year (*saṁ*) 128, the 19th day of Māgha.

No. 14.—MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHASTHAN.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR.

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

Soon after the discovery of this plaque, a very brief account of its contents, I am told, was printed in the columns of a Bengali daily of Calcutta, the *Bāṅga-bāṇī*, though I have not seen it at all. The account which has appeared in the *Liberty*, dated Friday, 22nd April, 1932, p. 4, I was able to see, but it does not touch any important detail of this epigraph. My transcript

and account of it are based upon an impression sent to me by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, and a photograph forwarded later by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Director-General of Archaeology in India. Recently when the plaque was deposited in the Indian Museum, I was able to inspect it personally, and found, what I knew long ago, that it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of carefully examining the original whenever possible, as impressions and photographs are often not enough to enable a scholar to prepare an accurate transcript.

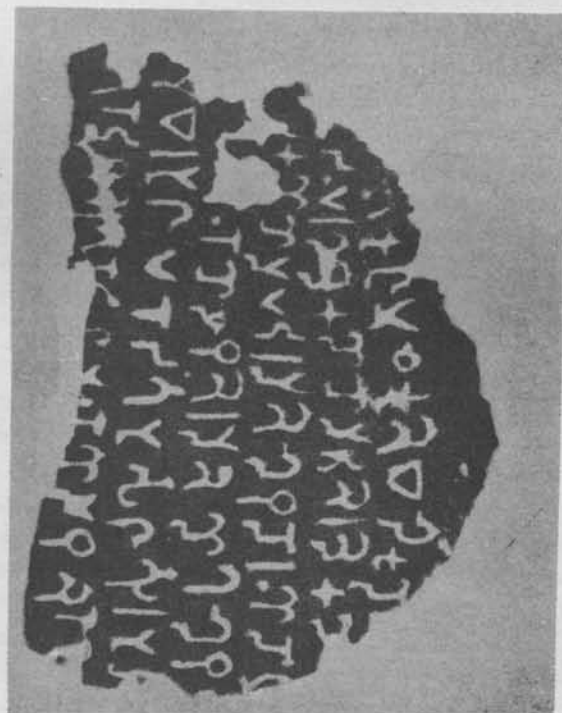
The inscription is incised on a piece of hard limestone which measures $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}'' \times \frac{7}{8}''$. Though it is in a fragmentary condition, yet it is possible to determine, more or less approximately, what was its original extent. That no complete line was engraved after the last line of this fragment can reasonably be inferred from the space remaining blank at the end, which is not less than what we find between any two actual lines of this epigraph. Again a careful examination of the stone shows that the original surface of its sides is still traceable here and there and that many letters, consequently, cannot have been destroyed from the sides. Thus while *etan* is the last word of l. 2, *dhāniyam* is the first word of l. 4. It is thus clear that the sides of the inscription have not been much damaged. One or two letters at the most may have been obliterated from each line whether at the beginning or at the end. Line 1 of our fragment cannot however be really the first line of the original inscription. But even here we may be pretty sure that more than one line could not have been so effaced.

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

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

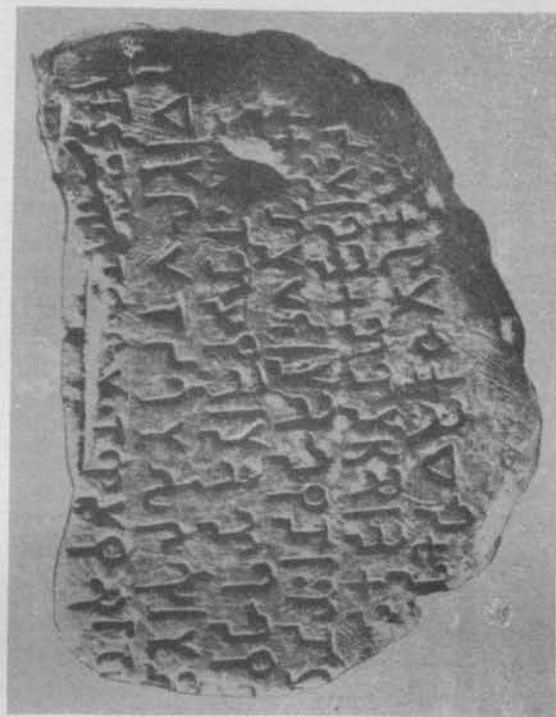
MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHASTHAN.

From an estampage.



ACTUAL SIZE.

From a photograph.



SLIGHTLY LARGER THAN ACTUAL SIZE.

bhishita- | *sha* [*De*] *vanampiyasha* *Piyadashine* | *lājine* | (Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 45). In our inscription, however, it seems to have been properly employed to punctuate divisions or sentences.

The transcript of our record is as follows :—

1. nena Sa[m*]va[m*]giy[ā]nam [Galadanasa] | Dumadina-[mahā*]
2. mâte | sulakhite Puḍanagalate | e[ta]m
3. [ni*]vahiṇisati | Saṁva[m*]giyānam [cha di*]ne [tathā*]
4. [dhā*]niyam | nivahisati | da[m*]g[ā*]tiyāy[i*]k[e] d[evā*]-
5. [tiyā*][yi]kasi | su-atiyāyika[si] pi | gaṁḍa[kehi*]
6. [dhāni*][yi]kehi esa koṭhāgāle kosam [bhara*]-
7. [ṇiye]

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

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

The third word in l. 1 cannot be read with certainty as the upper part of its letters is damaged. It reads like *Galadanasa*—(*Sk.*) *Galārdanasya*. It seems that *Galadana* was a leader or chief of the *Samvaṅgiyas*, to whom something was granted by *sāsana*. The next word, though a little damaged, is pretty certain and reads *Dumadina*. Then followed two letters, the first of which is partially preserved and the second completely lost. Thus first is either *s* or *m*. These two letters together with the first two, namely, *mâte*, of the second line formed one word, which is marked by a *virāma*. Thus the letters intervening between this and the preceding *virāma* may be read either as *Dumadina[sa]* (*a*)*mâte* or *Dumadina-mahāmâte*. The former alternative is less preferable, because the force of *sa* after *Dumadina* is undetermined. Is it a genitive termination, or a part of an individual's name, whatever that may mean? If the former is the case, it makes no

sense. If the latter is the case, according to the language of the record we should have expected *Dumadinase*=*Dumadinese*=*Drumadinēśah*. Thirdly, *amāte* cannot here be equivalent to *amātyō* which in this inscription would run into *amātiye*. All things considered, it is safer to accept the second alternative, and read the two words together as *Dumadina-mahāmāte* "the Mahāmātra (called) Dumadina".

The next letters of the second line placed between two *virāmas* can be read without doubt as *sulakhite Pu[m̃]ḍanagalate*. There can similarly be no doubt as to *Pu[m̃]ḍanagalate* standing for the Sanskrit *Puṇḍranagataḥ*, "from Puṇḍranagara". The change of the Sanskrit *tō*(=*taḥ*) into *te* need not puzzle us. It may be compared to *Ujenite* and *Takhasilāte* of Dhaulī Separate Rock Edict I (Sections AA and BB in ll. 23-4 of Hultsch's *Asoka Inscriptions*). But what does *sulakhite* mean? Here too the ending *te* must be equal to *tō*(=*taḥ*). But what about *sulakhi*? Does it stand for *sulakshi(n)*, or for *sulakshmī(ka)*? Either will suit excellently. The next clause indicated by the *virāmas* contains the two words *e[ta]m̃ [ni]vāhipayisati*=*etaṃ nirvāhayishyati*, "will cause it to be accomplished". The word *etaṃ* here in all likelihood refers to the *sāsana* or grant which must have been specified in the first original line, which has now been obliterated. What the exact nature of this grant was we do not know. But we will hazard a conjecture about it when we come to treat of the ending portion of our epigraph.

The next clause is rather difficult to handle. The first word, however, can be read with certainty. It is *Samva[m̃*]ḡiyānam*. The letter following is either *r* or *ch*. The next letter is lost, but the third is most probably *ne*. This last seems to have been followed by two letters which are now lost. The last word of this clause is *dhāniyam̃*, which occurs in l. 4. No letter seems to have preceded it in this line at least, as remarked above. *Dhāniyam̃* may thus be taken as one word and as equivalent to *dhānyam*= 'paddy'. The whole clause may perhaps be restored to *Samva[m̃*]ḡiyānam̃ [cha] [di*]ne [tathā*] dhāniyam̃*, "and likewise paddy has been granted to the Samvaṃgiyas".

The letters intervening between the next two *virāmas* read *nirahisati*, which does not form a clause but is one word, so that we have to take it along with what is placed in the next pair of *virāmas*. This last comprises letters, some of which have been destroyed and baffle well-nigh all ingenuity at restoration. It consists of two words, the first of which is pretty certain, namely, *dagatiyāy[i]ke*. The other word also ends with *tiyāyikasi* of which *yikasi* is to be found in the next line, i.e., l. 5. *Yikasi* must have been preceded by *yā* in the same line, though it is now effaced. The remaining *ti* must have been engraved in the preceding line and formed the ending letter of that line. Before this *ti* there must have been two letters, of which one only has been partially preserved. This last looks like *ḍ* and comes immediately after the word *dagatiyāy[i]ke*, noted above. But in the case of this letter the joining bar between the two uprights of *ḍ* is very narrow and not as broad as that of *ḍ* in *Pu[m̃*]ḍanagalate* in l. 2, or in *gaṇḍa[ka*]* in l. 5. Possibly, what looks like *ḍ* is the preserved portion of *d*, and this word may perhaps be restored to *d[erātiyā]yikasi*. The whole may thus read *nirahisati da[m̃*]ḡ[ā*]tiyāy[i*]k[e] d[erātiyā*]yikasi* (*nirvahishyati draṃgātyāyikaṃ daivātyāyikē*), and may be translated as follows: "the excess (*atiyāyika*) (of adversity) to the town (*draṃga*) during the excess (caused) by the superhuman agency will be tidied over". It seems that there is a reference here to a *daiv-ātyāya*, that is, to a transgression or adversity caused by the gods or superhuman agents. Further, it seems that this *ātyāya* had overtaken the *draṃga* of the Samvaṃgiyas. This *draṃga* may be Puṇḍranagara itself or some place not far removed from it where the Samvaṃgiyas were settled. Thirdly, it seems that one measure that was devised to combat this adversity was the doling out of *dhānya* or paddy. This shows that the *daiv-ātyāya* that had befallen the Samvaṃgiyas must have been no other than a famine.

The next batch of interpunctuated letters is *su-atiyāyikasi pi*. But these two words by themselves do not form a clause, and have therefore to be taken along with those that follow. Of these only *gaṃḍa* has been preserved in l. 5. At least two more were originally incised in this line, but they have now been destroyed. The next line, which is the last preserved one, has lost at least two letters at the beginning and three at the end, but those that have been preserved can be clearly read as [*y|ikehi esa koṭhāgāle kosaṃ*]. The lacunae may be tentatively filled up as follows: *gaṃḍa[kehi*] [dhāni*]yikehi esa koṭhāgāle kosaṃ [bharaṇiye*]*. The whole may thus be rendered into English: "when there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury may be replenished with paddy and the *gaṃḍakas*". Here two things are mentioned, (1) *koṭhāgāle*=*koshthāgāraṃ*=granary, and (2) *kosa*=*koṣa*=treasury. Corresponding to *kosa* we have the mention of *gaṃḍaka*, which means "a coin of the value of four cowries". The *yikehi*, with which the last line begins, can thus be easily restored to [*dhāni*]yikehi*=*dhānyakāṇi*, as it corresponds to *koṭhāgāle* and as we know it has already been mentioned as being distributed among the *Saṃvāṇḡyās*. What we have thus to understand here is that as soon as the time of superabundance returned, they were to remit *gaṃḍaka* coins into the royal treasury and paddy into the royal granary.

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

The inscription may thus be briefly summed up as follows: It appears that some ruler of the Mauryan period, if not of the Mauryan family, had issued an order to the Mahāmātra stationed at Puṇḍranagara with a view to relieve the distress caused, apparently, by famine to the people called *Saṃvāṇḡyās*, who were settled in and about the town. Two measures appear to have been adopted to meet this contingency. The exact nature of the first is not clear as the first original line of our record has not been preserved. But it may be surmised that this measure consisted of the advance of a loan in *gaṃḍaka* coins to Galadana who, presumably, was a leader of the *Saṃvāṇḡyās*. The Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara was entrusted with the execution of this order. The second measure consisted of the distribution of *dhānya* or paddy from the granary. A wish is then expressed that as soon as these measures are carried out, the *Saṃvāṇḡyās* will be able to tide over the calamity. With the restoration of profusion and affluence they have been asked to return the coins to the treasury and the corn to the granary, in other words, to pay the State back in kind and cash.

We may therefore translate the text as follows:—

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

We now turn to other matters revealed by the critical consideration of our epigraph. The inscription stone, Mr. Chandra told me, was originally picked up near a tank not far removed

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

Our historical gain from a critical study of this record is by no means inconsiderable. In the first place, it places beyond all doubt the identification of Puṇḍravardhana with Mahāsthān, which was proposed by Cunningham half a century ago. In his account of Bhasu Bihar, four miles to the west of Mahāsthān, he remarks that the Buddhist remains at that place corresponded both in description and position with those noted by Yuan Chwang at the *Po-ship-p'o* monastery, which was situated just twenty *li* or four miles to the west of the capital of the country of *Pun-na-ja-tan-na* which transcribed itself into Punnāvardhana but is intended for Puṇḍravardhana.¹ "This city" says Cunningham "the pilgrim places at 600 *li*, or 100 miles, to the east of the Ganges, near Rājmaḥal. Now, this description corresponds exactly with the relative positions of Rājmaḥal and Mahāsthān, the latter being just 100 miles to the east of the former".² The suggestion of Cunningham was shortly thereafter confirmed by the *Karatōyā-māhātmya*, which was first published forty years ago. This *Māhātmya* mentions many holy spots which are all found at present in Mahāsthān. But the *Māhātmya*, though it calls itself *Karatōyā-māhātmya*, purports to describe the sacred sites of Puṇḍra or Puṇḍravardhana-kṣhētra. It is thus evident from it that the present Mahāsthān is identical with the old Puṇḍravardhana. Now, Mr. Prabhas Chandra Sen, who has edited the *Māhātmya* for the second time and for the Varendra Research Society, rightly points out that one verse from it is cited by Sarvānanda (1159 A.D.) in his *Ṭikā-sarvasva* on the *Amarakōṣha* and two in the *Smṛitichandrikā* by Dēvanabhaṭṭa who is himself quoted by Hēmadri (12th century).³ This shows that the *Karatōyā-māhātmya* is a composition which could not have been later than 1100 A.D. We may thus take it that the identity of Mahāsthān with Puṇḍravardhana was known before the twelfth century A.D. But this identity is now placed beyond all doubt by what our inscription tells us. It tells us that two remedial measures to alleviate the distress of a famine were contemplated and that the Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara was charged with the execution of them. One of these measures consisted in the distribution of paddy from the royal granary, which, as shown above, must have been situated in Mahāsthān itself as the inscription speaks of it as *esa koṭhāgāle*. As the *koṭhāgāle* was thus in Mahāsthān and as the Officer who was to dole out paddy from it to the Saṃvamaṅgiyas was the Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara, it is quite clear that Mahāsthān is identical with Puṇḍranagara. And this identity between the two is now established by evidence not of the twelfth century A.D. to which the *Māhātmya* belongs, but of the fourth B.C. to which our record has to be assigned.

The second point of historical interest that we have to note is the manner in which the state in Ancient India endeavoured to combat the ravages of a famine. In this connection one is reminded of what Kauṭilya says in his *Arthaśāstra* : "durbhikṣhē rājā bīja-bhakt-ōpagrahaṃ kṛitā-ānugrahaṃ kuryāt. Durga-sētu-karma vā bhakt-ānugrahēṇa, bhakta-saṃvibhāgaṃ vā," "During a famine, the king may show favour by giving *gratis* seeds (*bīja*) and food (*bhakta*). Either he (may carry out) work in forts and on dams with the distribution of food, or he may distribute food *gratis* (without exacting work)". It will be seen from this passage that the state in ancient times

¹ Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 184-5.

² *J. S. I. R.*, Vol. XV, p. 110.

³ *Varendra Res. Soc.'s Monograph*, No. 2, p. 25.

⁴ IV, 3, 78.

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

Perhaps ours is not the first known inscription which relates to the putting up of a granary as a fortification against scarcity of food. Of practically the same period is a copper-plate found at Sohgaura "about fourteen miles south-east from Gorakhpur". This was first edited by Bühler in the *Vienna Ori. Jour.*, Vol. X, pp. 138 ff and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 261 ff., afterwards by Fleet in *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 510 ff., and lastly by Prof. B. M. Barua in *Ann. Bhand. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XI, pp. 32 ff. A cursory glance at its contents will convince anybody that it refers not to one but two granaries. But the inscription, in spite of the fact that it has been revised thrice, has not yet been properly punctuated, read and interpreted. The last line should have been read *atīyāyikāya no gahitavāya* 'nothing should be taken in excess (of plenty)'. Our record speaks of two *atīyāyikas*, one of which is *su-atīyāyika*. It is this *atīyāyika* which is probably understood at the end of the Sohgaura copper-plate. Similarly, this last epigraph speaks of the granaries being stored with various provisions. In fact, if any fourth scholar makes an attempt to again revise the Sohgaura inscription in the light of our record, he may be able to show that the former also is an order to some Mahāmātra, probably of Śrāvasti, to open the two granaries and distribute their contents when any dire contingency called for it. In fact, the idea of counter-acting the ravages of a famine by the erection of granaries and store-houses is pretty ancient in India and it is not therefore a matter of surprise if the Mahāsthān inscription also adverts to the measures commonly employed by the state to combat the devastations caused by a famine in ancient Bengal.

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

¹ For a more detailed consideration of this point, see D. R. Bhandarkar's *Aśoka* (2nd Ed.), p. 200-1.

in Magadha, which, owing to its outgrowing imperialism, had spread not only over the whole of Madhyadēśa but also over parts conterminous to it. Places like Kālsī in the Dehra Dun District, Dhaulī in the Puri, and Jaugadā in the Ganjām District, where also the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka have been found, were never included in Madhyadēśa, and yet we notice that these recensions are couched in the Madhyadēśa-Māgadhi dialect which had become the *lingua franca* of almost the whole of North India. We now see definitely that this *lingua franca* had spread even to Bengal and was in vogue there as early as the third century B.C. as our inscription conclusively proves it. It is true that Brahmanism took a long long time to spread over Bengal. In fact, there is no evidence to show that Brahmanism had any firm hold over this province earlier than the Gupta period. The *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, no doubt, speaks of the sage Viśvāmitra as having adopted Śunaḥśēpa as his son and caused much chagrin to the first fifty of his hundred sons, who were therefore cursed by him "to live on the borders of the Aryan country".¹ The descendants of these exiled sons of Viśvāmitra, we are further informed, formed the greater bulk of the Dasyus, and one of these Dasyu tribes specified in the *Brāhmaṇa* was the Puṇḍras, who at that time must have been settled round about Mahāsthān and can be still recognised in the Pūros, an aboriginal caste in Bengal.² The utmost that this tradition mentioned in the *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa* indicates is that some scions of the Viśvāmitra family carved tiny kingdoms in the countries of the alien tribes. This does not, however, show that Aryan culture had spread to the Puṇḍra or any other country, far less imbibed by the people there. The Aryan culture seems for the first time to have been disseminated in Ancient Bengal by the Jainas. This is clear from the fact that the Kalpasūtra, an ancient scripture of the Jainas, mentions, not one, but three *sākhās*, of the Godāsa Gapa of Jaina monks, named after the three places in Ancient Bengal, namely, Tāmralipti, Kōṭivarsha and Puṇḍravardhana. Of these Tāmralipti is the same as Tamluk in the Midnapur, Kōṭivarsha, the same as Bāngarh in the Dinājpur, and Puṇḍravardhana, the same as Mahāsthān in the Bogrā District of Bengal. It is curious to note that while Bihār and Kosala were taken up by the Buddha and his adherents, Bengal was selected by Mahāvīra and his followers for their proselytising activities. It is true that no traces of this original Jainism are now left in Bengal. But even as late as the middle of the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies to the Nirgrantha Jainas being numerous in Puṇḍravardhana. Very recently a copper-plate charter was discovered during excavation at Pāhārpur in Bengal, which is dated G.E. 159=477 A.D. and registers a grant for the worship of Arhats at a Vihāra situated not far from this place and presided over by the disciples of the Nirgrantha preceptor Guhanandin.³ No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Jainism, especially Nirgranthism, having been prevalent in Bengal up till the 7th century A.D. And it is these Jainas settled in Tāmralipti, Kōṭivarsha and Puṇḍravardhana, who for the first time and in the pre-Mauryan period appear to have carried Aryan culture to ancient Bengal. This, however, at the most, may explain the employment of the Brāhmī alphabet in our inscription, but the use of the court language of Pāṭaliputra is a clear indication of Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, being included in the Mauryan dominions.

The last point of historical interest that we have now to consider is : Who were the Saṁvaṁgiyas, supposing that was the name really intended ? Saṁvaṁgiyas in the first place reminds us of Saṁvajjis. We know that to the account of *Fu-li-chih*(=Vṛji) by Yuan Chwang a note is added by the commentator, saying that "*Fu-li-chi* was in 'North India', and the north people called it the *Sam-fa-chih* (or Saṁvajji) country".⁴ On this point Beal makes the following per-

¹ For a full discussion of this subject, see *Ann. Bhand. Ori. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XII, pp. 104 ff.

² It is curious that the Puṇḍras of even so late a period as that of the Purāṇas are placed in Chhota Nagpur in *Cambridge His. of Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 317 and Map 5.

³ *Ancient*, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

⁴ Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 81.

tinient comment: "The country of the Vrijjis or Samvrijjis, i.e., united Vrijjis, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vrijjis or Vajjis, one of which, viz., that of the Lichhavis, dwelt at Vaiśālī".¹ Just as the eight confederate clans of whom the Vajjis were once the most important were called collectively the Samvajjis or the United Vajjis, it is not at all unreasonable to conjecture that there were some confederate clans in East Bengal who were similarly conglomerated under the collective term of Samvaṅgiyas. This shows that the most prominent of these at the beginning was the Vaṅgiyas, after whom the confederation was styled the Samvaṅgiyas or the United Vaṅgiyas. The second point to be noted here is that the people of East Bengal are now called Vaṅgas, and it may be asked where was the necessity of coining a name which is an obvious derivative from it, namely, Vaṅgiya. If we now turn to the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purāṇas* and study the chapters dealing with *Bhuvana-viṅyāsa*, we find that they mention the two allied clans, Pravaṅgas and Vaṅgēyas. But be it noted that there is none which has been called Vaṅga. Secondly, the second of these names, namely, Vaṅgēya comes so close to the Vaṅgiya of our inscription, that our inscription being earlier than any one of these *Purāṇas* and being a genuine record of its time, Vaṅgiya must doubtless be considered to be the original name, and the reading Vaṅgēya of the *Purāṇas* thus becomes a corrupt form of it. Again, the fact that Pravaṅgas are coupled with Vaṅgiyas (wrongly called Vaṅgēyas) in these early *Purāṇas* shows that they were confederated clans and fell under the Samvaṅgiyas. And further the reference to the Samvaṅgiyas in connection with Puṇḍranagara goes to indicate that the Puṇḍras also belonged to the Samvaṅgiya confederacy. And just as in the time of the Buddha the capital of the Samvajji confederacy was Vesālī which was the headquarters not of the Vajjis but of the Lichchhavis who were then prominent, it seems that in the time of our inscription the capital of the Samvaṅgiyas was Puṇḍranagara, which was the headquarters, not of the Vaṅgiyas but of the Puṇḍras after whom it was undoubtedly called Puṇḍranagara.

No. 15.—JUBBULPORE KOTWALI PLATES OF KING JAYASIMHADEVA.
KALACHURI YEAR 918.

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

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

The plates measure 14" × 9½", each weighing 6 lbs. There are altogether 40 lines in the record, 20 on each plate, both of which are written on one side. It appears that the writer did not care

¹ *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 77, n. 100.

to mention the name of the engraver who in order to immortalize himself engraved 3 more lines on the back of the second plate in much bigger characters than those of the grant, the letters averaging $\frac{1}{2}$ " against $\frac{3}{8}$ " of the record. In fact, the engraver commenced the record with that size, but after writing 11 letters in the first line he, probably, made a calculation and came to the conclusion that the whole would not go within the two sides of the two plates, so he reduced the size. Had he not made the initial mistake his name also would have come within that space but as it did not, he apparently induced the head of the Department of religion to compose a eulogistic verse about the latter to serve as an excuse for engraving on the reverse of the second plate before he could insert his name.

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

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of a village **Agarā** near **Akharanda** at the time of a lunar eclipse on **Saturday, the full-moon day of Āsvina in the (Kalachuri) year 918**, i.e., the 30th September 1167 A.D. The donor, the P. M. P. **Jayasimhadēva**, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of the three Kaliṅgas, after bathing in the Rēvā (Narmadā) at Tripurī, the well-known Kalachuri capital, made the grant to Paṇḍita Dēlhaṇa Śarmā, son of Paṇḍita Dāmōdara of the Agastya-gōtra, with 3 *pravaras*, in the presence of Self, the Queen Consort Kēlhaṇadēvī, the Heir-apparent, the Prime-minister, the Royal Preceptor Vimalasīva,¹ the Royal Priest, the Head of the Department of religion Paṇḍita Rāghava, the Chief Scribe Thakkura Vatsarāja,² the *Sāṁdhivigrahika* (Minister for Peace and War) Thakkura Puruṣhōttama, the *Pratīhāra* (Chief Warden) Kamalasīmha, the *Duṣṭasādhya* (Mentor of criminals) Padmasīmha, the *Mahāsāmanta* (Generalissimo), the *Akṣhapāṭalika* (Record Keeper³), the Judge, the *Aśvasādhani* (Equerry), the Treasurer and the inhabitants and political bodies of the gift-village for augmenting the religious merits of self and his parents. It appears that all the village rights, including a variety of taxes, were transferred to the donee. The village is given to the extent of its limits with boundaries marked on its four sides, with pasture for cows, with lands and water, with mango and *mahuā* trees, with salt-pits, with mines and quarries, with the right of ingress and egress, with forest and river-bank lands, with trees, groves, creeper and plant gardens and grass, etc., with the river and mountain, with revenue and taxes levied at the resting place or camping ground, with pasture dues, toddy dues and lands not available to tenants, with *Ghāṭa* (river-crossing) dues, village headman's dues and tax for mending the incorrigibles and the District rates.

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

¹ The name suggests that he probably belonged to the line of the Śaiva ascetics of the *Maṭṭamayūra* clan—See Banerji, *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments* (Mem. A. S. I.), pp. 110 ff.

² The two officials Vatsarāja and Puruṣhōttama are mentioned also in the Kumbhi plates—See Banerji, *Haihayas*, etc. p. 29 and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff. and Vol. XXXI, pp. 116 ff.—Ed.

³ According to R. B. Deyarera Sahni (See *Above* Vol. XIV, p. 196 or 'Head of the Office of Accounts'), according to Dr. Barnett (*Ibid* Vol. XII, p. 146).

⁴ It is very likely that *Duṣṭasādhya* are represented by the present day *Dusādhs*, a criminal tribe, as suggested by Dr. Hirananda Sastri.

and of the district or provincial rates appear to indicate abandonment of sovereign rights in favour of the donee. *Duhsādhyaḍāya*, which I take to be a tax for mending the incorrigibles, presents a new feature. So do the *Pravanivāda charī rasavatī kāmata visēnīmāḍāya* which are the fore-runners of the modern dues for occupying camping grounds, for grazing cattle, extracting toddy, and crossing rivers. *Kāmata* was a rigid form of home-farm, which is still referred to in law books, but has become practically obsolete.

On the top of the first plate ६२ is written in small letters, which apparently means दान or gift No. 2 given on the same day.¹ The mark was probably meant for the writer's guidance.

The **genealogy** of the donor as given in the plate starts from the beginning of the creation, that is, from Brahmā born from the Lotus emanating from the navel of Vishnu. Brahmā's offspring was Atri, from whose eye was born the moon. From the latter was born Bōdhana, from whom sprang Purūravas, in whose family Bharata was born. In the latter's family was born that highly glorious Kārtavīrya, who allowed the title of King only to the moon. He was the ancestor of the Haihaya Princes, from whom sprang the Kalachuri race. In that race there was a prince named **Yuvarājadēva**, who purified the town of **Tripurī**, so that it became like Indra's city. Then came **Kōkalla** whose son was **Gāṅgēyadēva**, who died at the foot of the holy fig tree at Prayāga with his 100 wives. His son, the victorious **Karṇadēva**, succeeded him. He founded **Karṇāvatī** and married a **Hūṇa** lady **Āvallādēvi**, from whom was born **Yaśaṅkarṇadēva**. His son was **Gayākarṇadēva** whose consort was **Alhaṇadēvi**. From these were born **Narasimhadēva** and **Jayasimhadēva**, the latter being the donor of this grant. He occupied the *gaddī* during the waning period of the Kalachuri supremacy, for the line came to an end during his son and successor's rule. Jayasimhadēva succeeded his brother Narasimhadēva, who, we know from other records, was on the *gaddī* in 1159 A.D. The present record of Jayasimhadēva, of whose times three other records have been found, brings him nearer to his brother's reign by at least 8 years.

The **geographical** names occurring in the record are the well-known **Tripurī** (present Tewar, 6 miles from Jubbulpore), the river **Hēvā** or Narmadā near it, **Karṇāvatī**, the present Karanbel, a part of Tripurī and the villages **Agarā** and **Akharāuda**, both of which are untraceable at present.

The charter was prepared by an officer called *Daśamūlin* or *Daśamūlika*, named Vatsarāja, son of Dharma and grandson of Abhyuddhara and engraved by the silversmith Tālhaṇa, son of Pālhaṇa of the Kōkāsa family.

TEXT.

[Metres.—*Mālinī*, verses 1, 9, 12; *Aupachchhandasika*, v. 2; *Vasantatilaka*, vv. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16; *Āryā*, v. 6; *Śālinī*, vv. 11, 18; *Indravajrā*, v. 13; *Anuṣṭubh*, vv. 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and *Śardūlavikṛīḍita*, vv. 17, 30.]

First Plate.

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ [१ ॥*] श्रीं नमो ब्र(ज)ह्मणे ॥ जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभी-
सरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानक्षसूतिः । अथ जयति स तस्या-
- 2 पत्यमत्रिस्तदक्षस्त[द*]नु जयति जन्मप्राप्तवानश्विव(ब)न्धुः ॥ [१ ॥*] अथ
वो(बो)धनमादि [रा]जपुत्रं ग्रहया(जा)मातरमजवा(बा)न्धवस्य । अथ
तनयं जनयांव(ब)

¹ Reading seems to be *de* 2 which may be an abbreviation of *deya* 2.—Ed.

² See Hirai's *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (1st edition), Nos. 31, 37, 44.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥ [२ ॥*] पुत्रं पुरुरवसमीरसमाप
सुगुह्वस्य सप्तजलराशिरसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसम-
- 4 भागशतोपभोग्या यस्थोर्वशी च सुक[लत्र]मिहोर्वरा च ॥ [३ ॥*]
अचा[न्यये] किल [शता]धिकसप्तिमेधयूपोपरुहयमुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्तिः । स-
- 5 ताब्धि[न्वि]रह्वरसनाभरणाभिरामविश्वभराशुभरतो भरतो व[व]भूव ॥ [४ ॥*]
हेला[गृहीत]पुनरुक्तस[म]स्तशब्दो गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य
- 6 स कार्तवीर्यः । अचे[व] ईहयनृपान्वयपूर्वपुंसि राजेति नाम शशलक्ष्मणि
अचमे यः ॥ [५ ॥*] [स] हि[माच]ल इव कलचुरिवंशमसू-
- 7 त जगतीश्वता भ[र्त्ता] । सुक्तामणि[भि]रिवामलहत्तैः पूतं महीपति-
भिः ॥ [६ ॥*] तचान्वय नयवतां प्रवरो [नरन्द्रः] पौरद[री]मिव
पुरीं चि-
- 8 पुरीं पुनातः । आसीन्मदान्मनृपगन्धगजाधिराजनिर्मायकेसरियुवा युवराज-
देवः ॥ [७ ॥*] सि[न्हा]सने नृपतिसिंहममुष्यसूत-
- 9 [मारुह]पञ्चवनिभर्तुरमात्मसुह्याः । कोकलमर्षवच[तुष्टय]वी[चि]संचसंचदृक्[च]चतु-
[रंग]चमूपचारं ॥ [८ ॥*] मरकतमणिपद्मप्रौढव-
- 10 चाः [स्मिता]शो नगर[परि]व[दैर्ध्वं] लंघयन्दोर्हयेन[। शिरसि] कुलिश-
पातो वैरि[णां] वी[र]लक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥ [९ ॥*]-
- 11 प्राप्ते [प्रयागव]टमूल[नि]वेश[व[व]श्वो] सार्धं शतेन गृहि[णीभि] रमुच सुक्तिं ।
पुत्रोस्य खड्गदलितारिकरींद्रकुंभमुक्ताफलैः [अ] ककुभोर्चति
- 12 [कर्ष]दे[वः] ॥ [१० ॥*] अर्घ्यं [धा]म त्रे[यसो] वे[दवि]द्याव-
[शी]क[न्यः] स्वःसर्वथाः । किरीटं । [व[व]श्वस्तु] येन [कर्षा]-
वतीति प्रत्यक्षा[पि] अमात[ल]व[व]श्वस्तुलो-
- 13 कः ॥ [११ ॥*] अ [अनि] क[लचुरी]णां स्वामिना तेन ब्रह्मा-
व्यसकलनिधि[लक्ष्म्यां] श्रीमदा[वज्र]देव्यां । अ[शब्द]दुदय[शब्दा]व्य[व]-
सुम्नाब्धि[न्वि]वीचीस
- 14 च अ[रित]शत्रुःश्रीः[त्री] य[शः]कर्ष[देवः] ॥ [१२ ॥*] [नस्यात्मजो]-
भूह[सु]प्रतापः[] श्रीमद्वयकर्ष इति प्रतीतः । यस्याहवेज्ज्वलनवैरि-
चंड[वच]श्वेहा-

First Plate.

[illegible]

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१२३४५६७८९१०१११२१३१४१५१६१७१८१९२०२१२२२३२४२५२६२७२८२९३०३१३२३३३४३५३६३७३८३९४०

१२३४५६७८९१०१११२१३१४१५१६१७१८१९२०२१२२२३२४२५२६२७२८२९३०३१३२३३३४३५३६३७३८३९४०

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१२३४५६७८९१०१११२१३१४१५१६१७१८१९२०२१२२२३२४२५२६२७२८२९३०३१३२३३३४३५३६३७३८३९४०

१२३४५६७८९१०१११२१३१४१५१६१७१८१९२०२१२२२३२४२५२६२७२८२९३०३१३२३३३४३५३६३७३८३९४०

42

- 15 स[पूर्णेव ध]रानुरक्ता ॥ [१३ ॥*] असावल्लहदेव्यां श्रीनरसिंहनरे-
खरं । संवेदन[मि]वेष्ट्यायां प्रयत्नं सुषुवे सुतं ॥ [१४ ॥*]
उच्चैर्हिरण्यकशि-
- 16 पं प्रतिपादनेन प्रीतिं परां विवु(वु)धसं[ह]तिषु प्रकुर्वन् । सौंदर्यसार-
विनिवारितसारगर्व्यश्चित्रं तथाप्ययमहो नरसिंहदेवः ॥ [१५ ॥*]
- 17 तस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिंहदेवः शौर्योऽञ्जलैरपि नृपैः क्रियमाणसेवः ।
यहामलुमयशसेव सुरद्रुमेण व्यद्रावि भूतल-
- 18 तले व(व)लिना प्रलीनं ॥ [१६ ॥*] नष्टं गुर्जरभूभुजा भुजव(व)लं सुक्तं
तुरुष्केण च त्यक्तः कृतलयासकेन सहसा कंदर्पकेलिक्रमः । श्रुत्वा
- 19 श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेराज्याभिषेकं नृपाः संज्ञासादपरेष्यपास्य जगतीं पारं यशु-
र्वारिधेः ॥ [१७ ॥*] परमभट्टारक-
- 20 महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वर परममाहे-

Second Plate, first side.

- 21 श्वर चिकलिङ्गाधिपति निजभुजोपार्जिताश्वपति गजपति नरपति राजचयाधि-
पति श्रीमज्जयसिंहदेव एते विजयि-
- 2 नः ॥ महाराज्ञो श्री केल्लहदेवो । महाराजपुत्र । महामात्य । श्री-
मद्राजगुरु विमलशिव । महापुरोहित । धर्मप्रधान
- 23 पं । श्रीराघव । महाप्रधानार्थलेखि ठकुर^१ ओदशमूलिक । सांधि-
विग्रहिक ठकुर श्रीपुरुषोत्तम । प्रतीहार श्रीकमलसिंह ॥
- 24 दुष्टसाध्य श्रीपद्मसिंह । महासामन्त । अक्षपटलिक । प्रमत्तवार ।
अश्वसाधनिक । भांडागारिक । इत्येतानन्यांश्च प्रदास्यमा-
- 25 न ग्रामनिवासि जम्बपदांश्चाङ्गय यथाहं मानयन्ति वो(वो)धयन्ति समाज्ञापयन्ति च ।
विदितमस्तु भवताम् । संवत् ८१८ आश्व-
- 26 न सुदि पौर्णमास्यां तिथौ स(श)निदिने चिपुर्या सोमग्रहणे रेवायां
विधिवत्त्वात्वा श्रीमहादेवं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रो-
- 27 रामनक्ष पुण्यशोभिहृदये अखरौदसमीपे अगरा ग्रामः स्वसोमापय्यैतच्चतुरा-
घाटविशुद्धः समीपचारः ।
- 28 सजलस्थलः साम्प्रमधूकः सलवणाकरः समर्तोषरः सनिर्गमप्रवेशः सजाङ्ग-
लानूपो वृक्षारामोद्भिदोद्या-
- 29 नद्वणादिसहितः सनदीपर्वतः भागकर प्रवण्णिवाड चरो रसवती कामत
विसेणिमादाय पट्टकलादाय दुःसाध्यादा-

^१ The name of Vatsarāja seems to have been omitted here through oversight or modesty, Vatsarāja being himself the writer of the charter as mentioned below, l. 40 of the text.

- 30 य विषयिकादायादिकृत करिष्यामाणादायैः सह अगस्त्यगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय
पंडित श्रीदामोदरपुत्राय पंडित श्रीदेवहण-
- 31 शर्मणे ब्राह्मणायोदकपूर्वकत्वेन शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः ॥ अत्र चाभ्यर्थना
दातुर्भवति यथा ॥ सर्वानितान्भाविनः पार्श्वे-
- 32 भ्दान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुवृत्तपाणां
काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [१८ ॥*] व.व.हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता
राज-
- 33 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा[भू]मिस्तस्य स्व(त)स्य तदा फलं ॥ [१९ ॥*]
सुवर्णमेकं गामिकां भूमेरप्येकमङ्गलं । हरद्वरकमाप्नोति याव-
- 34 दाभूतसंप्रवं ॥ [२० ॥*] तडागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतं च । गवां
कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥ [२१ ॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
वा यो हरति व-
- 35 सुन्धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ [२२ ॥*]
षष्ठिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
तान्ये-
- 36 व नरके वसेत् ॥ [२३ ॥*] वारिहीनिष्वरग्येषु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
क्षणसर्पास्तु जायन्ते देवव्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वहारिणः ॥ [२४ ॥*] अन्यायेन
- 37 हृता भूमिरन्यायेन तु हारिता ॥ हरतो हारयतश्च दहत्यासप्तमं
कुक्षं ॥ [२५ ॥*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छ-
- 38 ति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [२६ ॥*]
शंखो भद्रासनं [च्छ]त्रं वराखा वरवारणाः [१*] भूमिदानस्य चिह्ना-
- 39 नि फलमेतत्पुरंदर ॥ [२७ ॥*] अस्मिन्वंशे परित्यजे यः कश्चिन्नपति-
र्भवेत् । तस्याहं हस्तलग्नीस्त्रि शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ [२८ ॥*]
- 40 अभ्युदयरस्य पीत्रेण श्रीमद्वर्मास्य सूनूना । लिखितं वत्सराजिन चेदोश-
दशमूलिना ॥ [२९ ॥*] मङ्गलं ॥ महाश्वोः ॥

Second Plate, second side.

- 41 सिद्धम् [॥*] अस्य श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेः श्रेयोर्षवं प्रीणयन्पूरुषः शोत-
मरीचिरचित्तमैरभ्यर्चितः सङ्गैः । विद्याः
- 42 कंदकयस्तर्मांसि दलयन्नित्यं पतिर्यज्वनां भूयाद्भूतिसुखोदयाय विदुषां द्राघोयसे
राघवः ॥ [३० ॥*]
- 43 श्रीकोकासर्वशपाल्लसुतरूपकारताल्लहणेनोत्कीर्णं ॥

¹ Expressed by symbol as in l. 1 above.

No. 16.—NALANDA INSCRIPTION OF VIPULASRIMITRA.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

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

The writing, which is very neatly executed, covers a space of about 19½" by 8¼" and consists of 15 lines. The average size of letters is ¾". The characters are a form of Nāgarī that was current in North-eastern India towards the end of the Pāla period. The only point that calls for notice is the way in which the superscript *r* is indicated, namely by a short slanting stroke attached below the *mātrā*, which, in many cases, is difficult to recognize. Palaeographically the inscription should be placed between the Gayā inscriptions of the time of Nayapāla (cir. 1030 A.D.)¹ and the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Jayachandra (cir. 1183 A.D.).² The record to which it bears the greatest resemblance is the Govindapur inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara in the Indian Museum, dated in Śaka year 1059, i.e., 1137 A.D.³ The inscription, although not dated, may, therefore, be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century A.D.

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

The inscription calls itself a *prastāvi* (l. 15), recording the benefactions of a Buddhist ascetic named Vipulaśrimitra. It opens with an obeisance to the Buddha which is followed by a hymn (V. 1) addressed to the divine Dharmachakra and Tārā. Then it tells us of an ascetic named Karuṇāśrimitra of Sōmapura, who went to heaven when his house was set on fire by an army of Vaṅgāla (V. 2). His disciple was Maitrīśrimitra (V. 3) whose disciple again was Aśokaśrimitra (V. 4) and Aśokaśrimitra's (disciple) was Vipulaśrimitra (V. 5). Vipulaśrimitra made an offering of a casket (*mañjūshā*) at a temple of the god Khasarppana, for the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript and four images at its alms-houses on the occasion of a festival (V. 6), carried out repairs to the monastery of *Pitāmaha* (i.e. Buddha) at Chōyaṇḍaka, and installed an image of Jina Dīpaṅkara (i.e. Dīpaṅkara Buddha) at Harshapura (V. 7). At Sōmapura, he built a temple of Tārā, with an attached court and a tank, effected the reconstruction of cells (V. 8), and, evidently at the same place again, presented a gold ornament for the embellishment of a Buddha image (V. 9). Lastly, he erected a monastery which he made over to the Mītras (V. 10), that is the line of ascetics to which he himself belonged. Where this monastery was erected is not stated; but there is no doubt that it was at Nālandā and identical with the building in whose debris the inscription has been discovered. In Verse 13 the eulogy is stated to have been manifested by Kanakaśrī and Vaśiṣṭha, the former being apparently the composer and the latter the writer or engraver.

Of the geographical terms mentioned in the record, Chōyaṇḍaka and Harshapura are not known from any other sources and for the present remain unidentified. Sōmapura is identical

¹ *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, Pls. XXV and XXVI.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXII and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V (1929), p. 18.

³ *Ate*, Vol. II, p. 330.

with the place of that name occurring in the inscription *śrī-Sōmapurē śrī-Dharmmapālādēva-mahāvihārē*, etc., on certain terracotta sealings¹ discovered by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in his excavations at Pāhārpur in the Rājshāhi District of Bengal. According to the evidence of these sealings, there was a monastery named after the Pāla king Dharmmapāla at Sōmapura which has been identified by Mr. Dikshit with Pāhārpur. This place must have gained considerable repute as an important seat of Buddhism in Northern India during the Pāla period. A Bodh-Gayā inscription² mentions the *mahā-vihāra* or 'the Great Monastery' of Sōmapura. In Taranātha's *History of Buddhism*³ it is stated that king Dēvapāla, the son of Dharmmapāla, built a Buddhist temple at 'Sōmapura'; and, according to the *Pag-sam-ṣon-zang*,⁴ the same king built the Great Monastery of 'Sōmapuri' after his conquest of Varēndrī or North Bengal. It however appears probable from the information supplied by the Pāhārpur sealings that the monastery owed its foundation to Dharmmapāla, and not to his son.⁵ Further references to the monastery at Sōmapura are found in the Tibetan translations of certain Buddhist Sanskrit works, e.g., the *Dharmakāyadīpavidhi* and the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*.⁶ The latter was translated by the great scholar Dīpaṅkara Śrījāna (11th century A.D.) with the help of Viryasimha and Jayasīla at the Sōmapuri-vihāra. The cells renovated by Vipulāśrimitra at Sōmapura must have belonged to the great monastery consisting of some 177 cells, which have now been laid bare at Pāhārpur. Vaṅgāla, which is probably East Bengal, is mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājēndrachōla I⁷ and in the Buddhist Sanskrit text *Ḍākārṇava*.⁸

TEXT.

[Metres :—vv. 1, 2, 8, 10, 12, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; v. 3, Mandākrāntā; v. 4, Śikharīṇī; v. 5, Mālīnī; vv. 6, 11, Vasantatilakā; v. 7, Indravajrā; v. 9, Upajāti; v. 13, Anuṣṭubh.]

- 1 Ōm* namō Buddhāya|| Astu svastyayanāya vaḥ sa bhagavān śrī-Dharmma-
chakraḥ kiyad=yan-nāma śrutavān=Bhavō= 'sthira-vapur=nirjīvam=uttāmyati ! tatra
Śrīghana-śāsan-āmṛita-rasaiḥ saṁsichya
- 2 Bauddhē padē tam dhēyād=apunarbhavam bhagavati Tārā jagat-tārīṇī || [1*]
Śrīmat-Sōmapurē vabh[ū]va Karupāśrimitra-nāmā yatih kāruṇyād=guṇa-
sāmpadō hita-sukh-ādhānād=api prāpi-
- 3 nām, yō Vaṅgāla-balair=upētya dahana-kshēpāj=jvalaty=ālayē saṁlagnaś-
charaṇ-āravinda-yugalē Buddhāya yātō divaṁ || [2*] Tasy=āchchhidra-vrata-
parichitasy=ōchita-smēra-kīrttēḥ śishyō= 'dhrishyaḥ
- 4 sukṛita-ghaṭitō buddhimān buddhimatsu | Maitrīśrīr=ity=upari vīditō mitra-
vat¹⁰ Mītra-nāmā [sa]tvasy=ārthē svam=udayam=upāditsur=utsāhāvān yaḥ ||
[3*] Prāśishyō=py=anvishy=āśraya-

¹ A. R., A. S. I., 1927-28, pp. 105-6.

² Bloch, A. R., A. S. I. 1908-9, p. 168; and Majumdar, *Sakitya-Pariśat-Patrick*, Calcutta, 1923 B. S., p. 71.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, p. 366.

⁴ Ed. Sarat Ch. Das, pp. 111 and 116.

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

⁶ Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Part II, p. 186 and Part III, p. 299.

⁷ Ant., Vol. IX, p. 233.

⁸ H. P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1917, p. 92.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ Read - van-Mitra-

- 5 m=alabhamānair=iva guṇair=adhītaḥ saṁślishtō yatir=amala-śīlaḥ samabhavat |
Aśōkaśrimitrō guṇa-samudayē yasya hṛdayē sahasrair=ashtābhiḥ prativasati
 Sambuddha-jana-
- 6 -nī || [4*] Tad=anu cha **Vipulaśrimitra** ity=āvirāsīd=vipula-vimala-kīrttiḥ
 saj-jan-ānanda-kandaḥ | amṛitamaya-kalābhiḥ kshālīt-āsēsha-dōshaḥ satatam=upa-
 chita-śrīḥ śukla-pa-
- 7 kshē śas=iva || [5*] Śrīmat-Khasarppaṇa-mah-āyatanē prayatnāt¹ mañjūshayā
 vihitayā janani Jinānām | yēna bhramaty=avirataṁ pratimās=chataśraḥ
 sattreṣhu parvvaṇi samarppayati sma
- 8 yaś=cha || [6*] **Chōyaṇḍakē** yaś=cha Pitāmahasya vihārikāyām nava-
 karma chitraṁ | **Harsh-ābhīdhānē** cha purē Jinasya Dīpaṅkarasya
 pratimām vyadhata || [7*] Ashtau yaś=cha mahā-bhayāni jaga-
- 9 tām nirmūlam=unmūlitam Tāriṇyā bhavanam vyadhata sukṛitī śāla-hrad-
 ālamkṛitīm | śrīmat-Sōmapurē chaturshu layanēshv=antar-vahiḥ-khaṇḍayōr=yaś=
 ch=ādhatta navina-karma jagatām
- 10 nētr-aika-viśrāma-bhūḥ || [8*] Adatta hēm-ābharaṇam vichitraṁ Buddhāya
 bōdhau janatām vidhātum | ity-ādī-puṇya-kriyayā sa kālam vaś=iva dīr-
 gham nayati sma tatra || [9*] Kṛitvā tē-
- 11 na vihārikā kṛitavātā=laṅkāra-bhūtā bhuvō **Mitrēbhyō**=dbhuta-Vaijayanta-
 jayinī datt=ēyam=unmilati | yasyām vismṛitavān=nivāsa-rasikaḥ Śāstā tri-
 lōki-patīḥ
- 12 Śuddhāvāsa-nivāsam=arthi-janatā-duḥsaṅchāra-prāntaram || [10*] Hartum Harēḥ
 padam=iv=ājani tatra tatra kīrttir=yayā vasumatī kṛita-bhūshaṇā bhūḥ
 tāvach=chiram jayati nē-
- 13 tra-sudhā sravanti yāvat=sampridhyati na Mamjurava-pratijñā || [11*] Tat-
 tat-kīrtti-vidhau sudhā-nidhir=iv=āmbhōdhau samunmūlitam puṇyam yad-
 bhuvan-āntarāla-tulanā-pātram pavitraṁ ma-
- 14 ma | astu prastuta-vastuvat kara-talē paśyanti viśvam Jinā yatr=śīma-
 padē sthitās=tri-jagatām tat-prāptayē tach=chiram || [12*] Tarkka-śilpa-prasaṅgē
 yau dhāvātō jagatām hṛidi | **Kanaka-**
- 15 **śrīr=Vaśīṣṭhō** vā prāśasti-vyakti-kāraṇau || [13*]

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Adoration to the Buddha !

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

(Verse 2). In the illustrious Sōmapura there was the ascetic Karuṇāśrimitra, so called on account of his compassionate disposition³, abundance of merits, and his efforts towards

¹ Read *prayatnān=mañjūshayā*.

² For this name of Buddha see H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of Sans. Mss. in A. S. B.*, Vol. I (1917), p. 55.

³ The three qualities indicated in the three components of the name, viz., *karuṇā* (compassion), *śrī* (splendour) and *mitratva* (benevolence) are here referred to.

the welfare and happiness of living beings ; who, when his house was burning, (*being*) set on fire by the approaching armies of **Vaṅgāla**, attached (*himself*) to the pair of lotus feet of the Buddha, (*and*) went to heaven.

(Verse 3). The disciple of him, who was celebrated for his uninterrupted religious observances and possessed bright and appropriate fame, was known as **Maitrīśrimitra**. He was invincible (*in argument*), endowed with merit and the talented amongst talented men, and possessed of energy and desirous of his own prosperity for the sake of living beings,¹ like the Sun himself.

(Verse 4). The disciple's disciple (of **Karuṇāśrimitra**) was the ascetic **Aśokaśrimitra** of blemishless character. Good qualities, not finding, as it were, an abode which they sought for, had (at last) taken refuge in him and remained inseparably attached. There in his heart full of good qualities dwells 'the mother of the Buddhas' in eight thousand² (*verses*).

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

(Verse 6). With the casket, executed by him with skill, at the great temple of the illustrious **Khasarppaṇa** (*i.e.*, **Avalōkitēśvara**), the mother of the Jinas (*i.e.*, **Prajñāpāramitā**) incessantly moves about.³ He also presented in the alms-houses⁴ four images on the occasion of a festival.

(Verse 7). He also carried out varied repairs to the monastery of **Pitāmaha**⁵ (*i.e.*, Buddha) at **Chōyaṇḍaka**, and (installed) an image of the Jina **Dipaṅkara** at **Harshapura**.

(Verse 8). In the illustrious **Sōmapura**, with a view to dispel entirely the Eight Great Fears⁶ of the people, that meritorious person built a temple of **Tāriṇī** (*i.e.*, **Tārā**) adorned with

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ The goddess **Tārā** is supposed to have the power to save humanity from eight kinds of fears (*J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 67; *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 20, p. 18). In **Sarvajñamitra's** *Sragdharā-sūtra* eight stanzas are devoted to the description of these eight 'fears' which are shipwreck, lightning, elephant, robber, lion, serpent, fetters and demons. These are also enumerated, but with some difference, in two hymns to **Tārā** in an inscription of the **Chālukya** king **Vikramāditya VI** (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 185, 187) and illustrated in a bas-relief in the **Darbār Cave** at **Kanheri** (*Cave Temples of India*, p. 358, and Pl. LV, fig. 1).

a court and a tank, and further effected the renovation of the inner and outer parts of four cells¹,—(a work) in which alone the eyes of the world found repose.

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

(Verse 10). That meritorious person having made this monastery an ornament of the world, which manifests itself, surpassing in a wonderful manner the palace of Indra, made it over to the Mitras.² The Teacher, the lord of the three worlds, who has a special taste for (good) residences, forgot while here, (even) the abode in Śuddhāvāsa heaven, whose interior is difficult of access owing to the multitude of seekers.

(Verse 11). (His) fame, by which the earth was decorated, arose in various places as if to deprive Hari of his (exalted) position. May that flowing nectar of the eye (viz., his fame) remain triumphant so long as the vow of Mañjurava (i.e., Mañjughoṣha or Mañjuśrī) is not fulfilled.³

(Verse 12). May the pure merit, the (only) measure of comparison (with which is) the ætherial space, that may accrue to me⁴ out of these famous achievements, even as the receptacle of nectar that came out of the ocean, eternally contribute to the attainment by the denizens of the three worlds of the unique place⁵ from which the Jinas (i.e., Buddhas) can visualize the whole universe (as distinctly) as an object under discussion placed on the palm.

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

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

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

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

The inscription edited below comes from **Tiruchchendūr** in the Tinnevely District. Only a few lines of it contained on the first face of the first slab were copied in 1903 and the inscription was registered as No. 155 of that year's collection and as being engraved on a slab, set up in the

¹ [I should prefer to take *chaturshu lyaṇēshu* in the sense of 'on the four groups of cells (forming the monastery).' Actually there are about 45 cells on each side of the monastic quadrangle at Pāhārpur and we have clear evidence of a wholesale renovation taking place about the commencement of the 12th century A.D., both in the inner and outer sides of the monastery. It is some such work carried out on a magnificent scale that must have been 'a singular feast to the eyes of the world'.—Ed.]

² The line of ascetics to which Vipulaśrimitra belonged.

³ In a work called the *Mañjuśrī-Buddha-kheṭṭra-guṇa-vyūha*, Mañjuśrī is supposed to have taken his 'Bodhi-sattva vow': "I do not wish to become a Buddha quickly, because I wish to remain to the last in this world to save its beings."—Poussin, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Art. 'Mañjuśrī'), Vol. 8, p. 405 and n. 2. The idea which, therefore, the writer seems to convey in the above verse is that the donor's fame should last as long as the world endures. Cf. *Kāraṇḍavyūha*:—*Y(T)āvat Avalokiteśvarasya dṛḍha-pratijñā na paripūrītā bhavati, sarva-sattvāḥ sarva-duḥkhēbhyāḥ parimōkṣitāḥ yāvat anutarāyām samyak-sambōdhau na pratishṭhāpitā bhavanṭi, etc.*

⁴ The speaker is evidently Vipulaśrimitra himself.

⁵ This is Sukhāvati. Cf. *Sragdhara-stotra*, verse 37.

second *prākāra* of the Subrahmanya temple in the village. During the field season of 1912, when I happened to inspect the village, I examined this inscription carefully and found that it was an extensive record incised on two sides of two large stone-slabs. On this occasion I took the impressions of the entire record and transcribed it *in situ*, satisfying myself that it was complete. The inscription was again registered as No. 26 of the year's collection for 1912 and an abstract of its contents given on pages 48 and 70 of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year. The written faces of the slabs measure 4' 7" by 2' 6" and 4' by 2' 3".

The left top corner of the first slab is broken and the commencing portion of the first three lines has suffered some damage. But for this, the record is well preserved.¹

The inscription is engraved in the **Vatṭeḷuttu** alphabet of the 9th century A.D. and is in the **Tamiḷ language**. The only **Grantha** letters found used in it are *Śrī* (ll. 1, 111, 135, 160 and 169) and *sai* in *upāsaiyār* (l. 3). The following **palæographical** peculiarities are worth noticing :—The rare letter *āydam* (equivalent to a *visarga*), which is indicated in modern Tamiḷ by three dots, is represented in this record by a horizontal line with a dot marked above and below, like the division-sign (see *aḥgam-āga*, l. 35). Two forms of *ya* occur, one with an inward and the other with an outward loop : for the former see the *ya*'s of *yāṇṇu* (l. 1), *upāsaiyā* (l. 3) and *yār-aḍiyā* (l. 5) ; and for the latter see *ya* in *Mārāya* (l. 1). Long *ū* is generally distinguished from the short *u* as in *nū* of *nūru* (l. 8), or *nū* of *tonnūrr-āru* (l. 10) and *nū* in *nūru* (ll. 12 and 21) ; but in the case of *ku* and *kū*, no such distinction is made. One and the same symbol is employed to represent *po* and *pō* except in l. 43. In line 51, short *po* gets the length stroke. The vowel *u* is hardly distinguishable from *nā*. The cross stroke of *ka* is generally indistinct (see *mūv-aḍukk-āga* in l. 61 and *paḷaṇ-kāṣu* in l. 71) and there are several instances where it is completely absent, as in *śiru-kaḍuḡ-amidu* in l. 42. *Nā* is written as a wavy horizontal line, as in *nāḷi* at the beginning of ll. 25 and 93. In a large number of words found in this inscription, vowels have been used in the middle ignoring the rules of *sandhi* as is the case in the early epigraphs like the Vēlvikkudi plates of Neḍuñḍaiyan. In all places where the word *ivargaḷ* occurs the *r* is elided and this elision is quite common in epigraphs from the Malabar Coast.

The document under notice contains some words of **etymological** interest. One of them is *kāyam*. I think it may be derived from the Sanskrit word *kṣhāra* (pungent) which becomes *khāra* in Prakrit and *kāram* in Tamiḷ. As *ya* is often substituted for *ra*, *kāram* becomes *kāyam* ; cf. *veṅgāram* and *veṅgāyam*, *peruṅgāram* and *peruṅgāyam*. The change of *ra* into *ya* is illustrated by the Tamiḷ adaptation of the Sanskrit words *dvār* and *vārikulyā* which change into *vāy* and *vāykkāl* in Tamiḷ. The word *kāyam* has hitherto been taken to mean exclusively 'asafoetida', but our inscription clearly says that the five spices, pepper, turmeric, cumin, small mustard, and coriander formed the five *kāyams** and thereby proves that the popular meaning of *kāyam* as 'asafoetida' does not cover the full connotation of the word. The word *kāyam* has to be derived from *kārshāpaṇa* through its Prakrit form *kahāpaṇa*. *Polī* is the contracted form of *poliśai* (interest) which occurs in modern Malayāḷam as *palīśa* : these words are derived from the root *poli*, "to increase". Another somewhat puzzling word is *pōttara* (l. 6). It seems to me to be a compound formed from the roots *pō* and *tā* and a contraction from "*pōgumbāḍi tara*" meaning

¹ [The three blanks to be seen in the accompanying plate (i) at the close of ll. 41 to 45, (ii) at the close of l. 96, (iii) at the commencement of ll. 102-105 seem to have been accidentally caused by the falling off of small pieces of the inked estampage.—Ed.]

* The phrase *nitta-nicanda-pala-kāyattakku* occurs in No. 148 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894. Here the phrase "*pala-kāyattakku*" shows that the word *kāyam* was used as a general name for "more than one" article and not for 'asafoetida' alone. Compare the use of the word in "*upp-oḍu ney-pā-rayir kāyam peyḍ aḍiṇṇu kaipp-aṇṇ pēy-chchurayin-kāy*".

"having given to be taken". This mode of forming compounds would seem to be rather rare in Tamil. The word *aḥgam* (li. 35, 58, etc.) is seldom met with in inscriptions; but it may be noted that it has been correctly employed to denote the exchange value of money in grain. Another noteworthy form of a word is *ērri* used in place of *āga*, "in all : together". In this sense the word is rarely used though its significance is quite clear in the common expression *ērri-kuraittu*, "adding together or subtracting". *Nūru* of *nūrr-amidu* occurring in line 64 along with the items betel leaves (*veṇṇilai*) and areca-nuts (*adaikkāy*) is another unusual word. It may be considered a *disaichchol* ('a dialectical word') in Tamil taken from Malayalam where it is still used in the sense of 'slaked lime'. A variant of this word is *nīru* which means "powder, ash" (cf. *nīru-pūlla-neruppu*, "fire covered over with ash"). *Nārāyam* is still another word of etymological interest. It is used in this and many other Tamil epigraphs in the sense of 'a grain measure,' generally made of iron and is akin to Tamil *nārāṣam*¹ denoting an iron nail, used for stringing together leaves of palm leaf manuscripts, an iron style or an arrow made entirely of iron (cf. Sanskrit *Nārācha*=an arrow). Another similar word is *nārāṅgi*, generally spelt as *nādāṅgi*= 'the iron bolt'. The restriction of the terms *nārāṣam* and *nārāṅgi* in Tamil to articles made of iron and a subsidiary use of *nārāṣam* in the sense of 'molten lead or iron' indicate that all these words must have a common old Tamil stem *nārā* meaning "iron" or "metal". The commentary on *nārācha* in the Sanskrit lexicon *Amara* explains it as '*lōhamayo bāṇah* (=an iron arrow)'. Childers explains *nārācha* as "an iron weapon of some sort, an arrow or light javelin". Apparently we have here one of the loan-words for which Sanskrit is indebted to the parent Dravidian tongue. The words *nigadi* and *niṣadi* used in this inscription are analogous to the forms *niṣadam*, *niyadam* and *nittam* in other inscriptions, all of which seem to be derived from Sanskrit *nityam*. Still another rare word, also occurring in the Ambāsamudram epigraph of Varaguna-Mahārāja, is *tumi* of which the meaning can be ascertained from certain references in the Tamil *Saṅgam* works. In line 266 of *Perumbāṇāruppāḍai* occurs the phrase *punnai tumittu*, which has been rendered by the commentator as "cutting the branch of the *punnai* (tree)". It also occurs in l. 72 of *Mullaippāṭṭu* in the same sense. As such, the phrase *kari tumikkavum porikkavum* (l. 26) may be taken to mean "vegetable to be cut into pieces and fried".

The object of the inscription is thus stated : in order to meet the annual requirements of the temple of Subrahmanya-Bhaṭāra, which was the deity in the central shrine (*Tirumūlaltānam*) at Tiruchchendūr, Varaguna-Mahārāja made a grant of 1,400 *kāṣu* and entrusted the amount to three of his officers, viz. Iruppaikkudi-kiḷavaṇ, Śāttamperumāṇ and Aḷarṇnāṭṭukkūṇ, with the stipulation that the money should be lent out and with the interest accruing therefrom, the annual requirements of the temple should be met, the capital always remaining intact.

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

¹ In some of the Tamil inscriptions, this word seems also to be employed to denote "a channel" or "lane". Cf. *Subrahmanya-nārāṣattai vaḷakkum* (No. 155 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 328).

Even in literature it occurs but rarely. The early Tamil commentator Nachchinārkkiniyār annotating text-line 195 of *Perumbānāruppāḍai* states that the preparation called *pulukku* is "what is boiled well" and notes "that it may also mean *kummāyam*". From this statement of the commentator as well as from the requirement of *kummāyam* detailed in this and other inscriptions, it may be inferred that the preparation consisted of well-boiled green pulse, perhaps with the addition of a little sugar. At present it is called *pulukku* in Malabar.

On special occasions, which are said to be three, viz. *1Mārgali-Tiruvādirai*, *Māsi-Makham* and *Vaiyāsi-Viśākham*, some of the items of expenditure have to be doubled.

The inscription is highly important for determining the relative values of money, weights and measures prevalent in South India and furnishes excellent data for reconstructing the economic conditions of the period. The amount of 1,400 *kāṣu* given by the king to the temple at Tiruchchendūr was divided into 16 unequal portions and invested with different bodies. The attached table at the end of this paper shows how the capital was to be distributed, what amount of interest had to be paid in paddy accrued annually from each investment at the rate of 2 *kalam* per year and what expenses were to be met from the interest thus realised. The recipients of the amounts were (1) the *ūrār* of Ālambaṭṭam included in Gaṅgamaṅgalam and the *nagarattār* of Mānavirapattinam, both situated in Valudi-vaṇaṇḍu; (2) the *sabhā* of Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalam in Srivallabha-vaṇaṇḍu; (3) the *sabhās* of Tiṇṇi included in Paraśumaṅgalam, Māramaṅgalam and Teṇṇakku... llur, all situated in Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu; (4) as well as the *sabhās* of Avanipāsēkhamaṅgalam, in Amitaḡuṇa-vaṇaṇḍu and Puliyidai, Kiraṇūr, Śaḡaṅgavikurichechi and Kaḡuṅgōmaṅgalam, all situated in Kuḡaṇaṇḍu. These bodies were required to pay annually interest in grain calculated at 2 *kalam* for one *kāṣu* per year to be brought and measured in the premises of the temple. Further, it will be observed that among the bodies of men with whom the amounts were invested there were the *nagarattār*, the *ūrār* and the *sabhaiyār*. "Nagarattār" is used only in the case of a single place, whose name ended with the termination *paṭṭinam*; it is not unlikely that it represents a commercial guild in a town, as distinguished from "*ūrār*" and "*sabhā*" which must be taken to be non-Brahmanical and Brahmanical assemblies in villages entrusted with certain powers in the administration of the country. In cases of default it was enjoined that a fine, which varied according to the amounts lent out, together with double the quantity at default should be realised (apparently by the bodies) and paid to the temple. The prohibitive rates of fine amounting in some cases to nearly 20 per cent of the capital *plus* the payment of double the quantity of paddy agreed upon to be given must have been intended to safeguard the regular performance of the various functions in the temple. It is expressly stated that the interest in grain should be paid in heaped measures according to a standard metal measure specially used for this purpose. This is the sense that can be given to the phrase *poli nīrai-madi-nārāyam*. Apparently the ordinary measures differed widely from these special measures; thus while a *kurunī* of interest paddy contained 6 *nāḷi* and a *kalam* 15 *kurunī*, the ordinary *kurunī* measure had the capacity of 8 *nāḷi* and a *kalam* of 12 *kurunī*. A *kalam* of interest paddy fell short of the ordinary *kalam* by 6 *nāḷi*. That the measure (*kāl*) used for measuring interest paddy had the capacity of 6 *nāḷi* is made clear by another inscription which has the phrase *palisai kuḡuppadāna aru-nāḷi-kkālāl*.²

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

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

² No. 185 of the Mudras Epigraphical collection for 1895 published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

scarcity of gold bullion or coin at the time of the record. It is worth noting that our inscription states that 3 measures of paddy yielded one measure of rice, while in other inscriptions it is stated that 5 measures of paddy gave 2 measures of rice. As the actual yield of rice from paddy is nearly a half, it must be considered that ample provision had been made in these epigraphs for meeting incidental charges such as wages for the different operations like husking, pounding, etc. The prices of some of the commodities are worthy of note. One *kāṣu* could fetch the following quantities of the various articles, viz. 10 *kalam* of paddy, 1,000 plantains, 7 *tulām* and 65 *palam* of sugar, 20 *tulām* of vegetables, 60 *nāḷi* of *kāyam*, 1,220 *parṇu* of betel leaves, 10,100 areca-nuts, 150 *nāḷi* of flowers, 15 *kaḷaṇṇu* of *karpūram* or 112 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of turmeric.¹

Ancient Tamil works of the *Saṅgam* period mention *kāṣu*, *kāṇam* and *poṇ* among the coins current in South India; but it has nowhere been stated what fraction of a *kāṣu* was represented by a *poṇ* or *kāṇam*. Nachchinārkkiniyār in his commentary on *Jivakachintāmaṇi* states, however, that *kāṇam* means a *poṇ-kāṣu*. The latter word might mean either the coin called *poṇ* or a gold *kāṣu*. As such, it is of interest to observe from this inscription that both *kāṇam* and *poṇ* were gold coins equal in value, each being one-tenth of a *kāṣu*. This ratio between a *poṇ* and a *kāṣu* is obtained from item 8, where we find that 94 *kāṣu* and 5 *poṇ* yielded an interest of 189 *kalam* at the rate of two *kalam* per *kāṣu*. Now applying this value of a *poṇ* in item 1, we find that a *kalam* consisted of 15 *kuṟuṇi*; and from item 2 we obtain that a *kuṟuṇi* contained 6 *nāḷi*, and that a *nāḷi* was equal to 2 *uri*. Item 7 states that for meeting the daily requirements of ten *nāḷi* of flowers, which were sold at 150 *nāḷi* of flowers for one *kāṣu*, or its equivalent 10 *kalam* of paddy, 240 *kalam* of paddy were required annually, from which we gather that a year was treated as consisting of 360 days for purposes of calculation. From the expenditure detailed in items 4 and 8, it is clear that 1 *uri* was equal to 2 *uḷakku* and that 1 *uḷakku* was made up of 2 *āḷakku*. Item 9 makes a provision of 50 *kalam* of paddy for meeting the annual expenses of (1) rice required for *baḷi*-offerings at 2 *nāḷi* per day, (2) 4 *aṇai* of cloth at 2½ *aṇai* per *kāṣu* and (3) 8 *aṇai* of cloth at 2 *aṇai* per *kāṣu*. For (1), 24 *kalam* of paddy were required, and for (2) and (3), 26 *kāṇam* were necessary and this was met from the balance of 26 *kalam* of paddy the mopey equivalent of which was 26/10 *kāṣu* (10 *kalam* being the value of 1 *kāṣu*). Since 26/10 *kāṣu*=26 *kāṇam*, 1 *kāṣu* was equal to 10 *kāṇam*. From items 14 and 15 we learn that 1 *tulām* was equivalent to 100 *palam* and that 1 *kaḷaṇṇu* equalled 10 *kāṇam* by weight. From this inscription we thus obtain the following tables of money, weights, measures, etc. :—

Money.

10 *poṇ* or 10 *kāṇam* = 1 *kāṣu*.

Weight.

10 *kāṇam* = 1 *kaḷaṇṇu*.
100 *palam* = 1 *tulām*.

Measure.

10 *śevidi* or 2 *āḷakku* = 1 *uḷakku*.
2 *uḷakku* = 1 *uri*.
2 *uri* = 1 *nāḷi*.
6 *nāḷi* = 1 *kuṟuṇi*.
15 *kuṟuṇi* = 1 *kalam*.

Number.

4 *aḷukku* = 1 *parṇu*.

¹ See lines 39 ff., 59 f., 110 f., 122 and 197 of the Text given below.

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

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

Among the places mentioned in the inscription and the divisions to which they belonged, occur Vaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu, Kaṇṇṅōmaṅgalam, Māramaṅgalam, Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu, Varaguna-maṅgalam, and Śrīvallabha-vaḷanāḍu which at once indicate that they must have been called after the Pāṇḍya kings Palyāga-śālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peru-Vaḷudi,¹ Kaṇṇṅōn, Māravarman (of which name there were more kings than one), Parāntaka (also called Neḍuṇṇaḍaiyaṇ and Śrivarā), Varaguna-Mahārāja (I) and Śrīvallabha respectively, all of these being reputed names in the genealogy of the Pāṇḍya kings furnished by copper-plates. The inscription also mentions a village Avanipaśēkharamaṅgalam which must have been called after the name or title of a king and as I have shown in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1929-30 (p. 72), this Avanipaśēkhara is identical with Śrīvallabha, the son and successor of Varaguna-Mahārāja I. The mention of the names Śrīvallabha-vaḷanāḍu and Avanipaśēkhara-maṅgalam precludes the possibility of the inscription being one of Varaguna I. We can, therefore, definitely assign the present inscription to the reign of Varaguna II. The Aivarmalai rock inscription places this king's accession in A.D. 862. The date of this record must be a little later than A.D. 874, that being the equivalent of the 13th year of his reign.

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

We know of no other Vaḷudi in inscriptions except this king. It is, however, possible that there was more than one king of this name, e.g., Ugra-Peru-vaḷudi.

The present inscription resembles in many respects the Ambāsamudram¹ record of Varaguna-Mahārāja. Both grants were made with the express object of defraying all the expenses that have to be incurred from day to day and year to year in connection with the religious services in a temple and go into minute details about these. There is a striking similarity in the phraseology of the two. Both state that the principal should remain undiminished and that only the interest should be utilised for meeting the expenses. The annual rate of interest in both cases is identical, viz. two *kalam* of paddy for one *kāṣu*. From the Ambāsamudram inscription, just as in the Tiruchchendūr epigraph, it can be gathered that a *kalam* of interest paddy consisted of 90 *nāli* and a *kuṟuṇi* was equivalent to 6 *nāli*. But the prices of articles varied considerably during the interval between the two grants, some of which have been noted below for easy reference. It is noteworthy that whereas the prices of certain commodities obtaining at the time of the Ambāsamudram inscription had fallen by a third at the time of the Tiruchchendūr record, in certain others (e.g. vegetables) there was a sharp rise of 350 per cent. And since it cannot be said that these fluctuations were due to difference of locality (the two localities not being far removed from each other) the inference is inevitable that the difference is to be attributed to the difference in time between the two records which cannot be less than 40 years.

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

1.	1 <i>nāli</i> of paddy for 2 plantain fruits	A
	1,000 plantains for 10 <i>kalam</i>	T
2.	30 <i>nāli</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāli</i> of ghee	A
	20 Ditto	T
3.	3 <i>nāli</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāli</i> of curd	A
	2 Ditto	T
4.	1 <i>palam</i> of sugar was obtained for 1 <i>nāli</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of paddy	A
	7 <i>tulām</i> and 65 <i>palam</i> for 10 <i>kalam</i>	T
5.	10 <i>palam</i> of vegetables cost 1 <i>nāli</i> of paddy	A
	20 <i>tulām</i> of vegetables cost 10 <i>kalam</i> of paddy	T
6.	6 <i>nāli</i> of paddy for 1 <i>uḷakku</i> of <i>kāyam</i>	A
	1 <i>kāṣu</i> (10 <i>kalam</i>) fetched 60 <i>nāli</i> of <i>kāyam</i>	T

We may now note a few facts concerning the geographical terms that occur in the inscription. At the outset it may be said that all the villages and divisions mentioned are situated in the Tinnevely District. Tiruchchendūr is 18 miles east-south-east of Śrīvaikunṭham on the sea.² Koṟkai and Māramaṅgalam are in the Śrīvaikunṭham taluk and Nallūr and Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalam are in the Tiruchchendūr taluk. Of these, Koṟkai was an important place in the Pāṇḍya kingdom noted for its pearl fishery. Both the author of the *Periplus*³ and Ptolemy⁴ mention it, the former under the name of Kolchi or Korkoy. Mr. R. Sewell states⁵ that Māramaṅgalam is the

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 90.

² Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 313.

³ Schoff's edition, pp. 46 and 237-8.

⁴ Majumdar: *McCrimdale's Ancient India of Ptolemy*, pp. 57-8, 78.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 312. No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 agrees with this inscription in stating that Korkai was in Kuḍa-nāḍu. From an inscription at Akkāśālai (No. 165 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903) we learn that it formed part of Koṟkai and had in it Akkāśālai-Īśvaramuḍaiyār. It is further stated that Korkai was surnamed Madhurāntakanallūr and that it was in Kuḍa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uṭṭa maśūla-vaḷanāḍu which was a district of Rājārāja-Pāṇḍināḍu.

site of ancient Koṛkai and that Akkāśālai is a place not far from it. From the inscriptions of the former place it is seen that it was situated in Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu.¹ As such, it must be identical with the place mentioned in our inscription as being located in the same division. The division Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu itself must have been called after Māraṇḍaiyaṇ *alias* Neḍuṇḍaiyaṇ Parāntaka (circa A.D. 770). It is a point worthy of note that while Koṛkai belonged to the sub-division Kuḍa-nāḍu, Māramaṅgalam, a place quite in the vicinity of it, belonged to a different sub-division. Both Māraṇḍeri and Māramaṅgalam in the Tinnevely District were called in ancient times Māramaṅgalam. While the former was situated in Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu, the latter was in Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu.² Since Māramaṅgalam of our record is stated to have been a place in Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu, we have to identify it with the one near Koṛkai, and not with Māraṇḍeri. Vaḷudai-vaḷanāḍu in which were situated Varaguṇamaṅgalam, Iraṇavālimaṅgalam, Tiyaṃbakamaṅgalam, Gaṅgamaṅgalam and Mānavīrapaṭṭinam, was also called Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu or Vaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu or Vaḷudi-nāḍu and had in it Ālvār-Tirunagari, the birthplace of the Vaiṣṇava saint Nammālvār, and Śrīvaikuṇṭham.³ Varaguṇamaṅgalam is one of the 18 sacred places of the Vaiṣṇavas in the Pāṇḍya country.⁴ It is celebrated in the hymn of Nammālvār⁵ and is known from his days as Varaguṇamaṅgai,⁶ that being a shortened form of Varaguṇamaṅgalam. It is 18 miles north-east of Tinnevely. We have already shown that this place must have been called after Varaguṇa I. Another place mentioned in the inscription is Kīraṇūr. It was the headquarters of a division in later times.⁷ The sub-division Amitaguṇa-vaḷanāḍu occurs in another inscription of Tiruchchendūr⁸ under the name Amudaguṇa-vaḷanāḍu.

¹ Nos. 157 to 161 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. These inscriptions state that Māramaṅgalam was called Dēvendravallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and that it was a *brahmadēya* in Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu, a sub-division of Muḍikonḍāśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu which was a district of Rājaraḷa-Pāṇḍinaḍu.

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

³ Nos. 174 of 1895 and 480 of 1909.

⁴ The 18 places are:—(1) Tirumālirūṇḍōlai, i.e. Alagarmalai, 12 miles north-east of Madura; (2) Tirukkoṭṭiyūr, 27 miles north-east of Mānā-Madura; (3) Tirumayyam, 45 miles to the south of Trichinopoly in the Pudukkottai State; (4) Tiruppullāṇi, 6 miles to the south of Ramnad; (5) Tiruttaṅkal, 13 miles west of Śāttūr; (6) Tirukkūdal, half a mile east of Madura; (7) Śrīvilliputtūr, 22 miles west of Śāttūr; (8) Tirumōgūr, 7 miles north-east of Madura; (9) Tirukkurugūr, i.e. Ālvār-Tirunagari, 19 miles east of Tinnevely; (10) Tulaivilimaṅgalam, i.e. Iraṭṭaittiruppati, 25 miles north of Tinnevely; (11) Śrīvaramaṅgai, i.e. Vānamāmalai, 18 miles south of Tinnevely; (12) Tiruppulinguḍi, 7 miles east of Tinnevely; (13) Tiruppērai, 24 miles east of Tinnevely; (14) Śrīvaikuṇṭham, 16 miles east of Tinnevely; (15) Varaguṇamaṅgai, 18 miles north-east of Tinnevely; (16) Tirukkuḷandai, i.e. Perunguḷam, 26 miles north-east of Tinnevely; (17) Tirukkurunguḍi, 26 miles south of Tinnevely; and (18) Tirukkōḷūr, 26 miles east of Tinnevely.

⁵ This is the 4th stanza of the second ten of the 9th hundred commencing with the words *Puḷinguḍi-kki-dandu Varaguṇamaṅgai-ṇṇu Vāikuṇḍam naru*, etc. The date of birth of Nammālvār as calculated by the late L. D. Swamikannu Pillai is 4th May, A.D. 798, corresponding to Pramāthi, Vāigāsi, śu. 15, Viśākhā, Friday (See his *Indian Ephemeris*). He must thus have been a contemporary of Varaguṇa I, after whom the place was named.

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

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

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

TEXT.

First slab ; First face.

- 1 Śrī Kō Varaguṇa-Mārāyarku yāṇḍu
 2 daṇ-edir¹ paḍiṇ-mūṇṇu ivv-āṇḍu Tiru-
 3 Suppiramaṇ(ṇ)iya-Baṭārar-upāsaiyā-
 4 . iṇa Tirumūlattāṇattu=ppat[ā]rarkku mudal-keḍāmai=ppoliūtṭi-ā-
 5 ga koṇḍu śeluttuvad-āga uḍaiyār-aḍiyār-aiṇa² Varaguṇa-Mārāyar pō-
 6 ttara Iruppaikkūḍi-kilavaṇum Śāttamperumāṇum Alarṛū[r*]-[nā]-
 7 tṭu-kkōṇum aiyaṛatt³-oṇṛā-nālāṅ-koṇḍu-vanda niṛai-kurāiyā=ppa-
 8 laṇ-kāśu āirattu⁴-nā-ṇūru [i*] i-kkāśiṅ=Kuḍa-nāṭṭu=kKoṛkai-ūrār kaiiṇ⁵
 9 mudal-keḍāmai=ppoliūtṭu=kkōṇḍu śeluttuvad-āga vaitta niṛai-
 10 kurāiyā=ppalaṇ-kāśu toṇṇūṛr-ā[ru] poṇṇ-eṭṭu [i*] i-kkāśāl oru-kā-
 11 śukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṛai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga va-
 12 nda nellu nūṛru-ttoṇṇūṛru-mukkalāṇēy oṇḍaḍiṇ kuṇṇi [i*] i-n-
 13 nellāl niyadippaḍi iva[r*]ga[ḷ] koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] nālī
 14 ariśikku mu-nnālī nell-āga=ttiruv-amidiṇukku ariśi[i*] śenṇer-rīṭ-
 15 ṭal oru-pōḍaikkū nā-ṇāli-āga nāṇḍu pōḍaikkū ariśi śenṇer-rīṭta-
 16 l paḍiṇ-aru-nālī [i*] Mārgaḷi-tTiruvādiraiu⁶=Māsi-Makamum Vaiyyāsi-
 17 Viyākamum paḍi irāṭṭi śeluttuvadu [i*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu ku-
 18 ttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy irubatt-aiṇḍu kāśu daṇḍamum pa-
 19 tṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=irāṭṭiyu=kuḍuppadu [i*] i-nnāṭṭu Na[li]-
 20 lūr-ūrār kaiiṇ⁷ mēṇpaḍi⁸ poliūtṭ-āga vaitta niṛai-kurāiyā=ppala-
 21 ā-kāśu nūṛr-aṇḍatt-eṭṭum poṇ[ṇ-āṇṇēy]-kāl [i*] i-kkāśāl=āṇḍuvarai po[li]-
 22 nellu niṛai-madi-nārāyattāl mu-nnūṛru-muppatt-eḷu-kalaṇēy mu-[kku]-
 23 ṇṇi nā-nālī uri [i*] i-nnellāl nigadippaḍi tiruv-amidiṇukku iva[r*][ga]-
 24 l koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa nālī neyy-amidiṇukku irupadi-
 25 [ṇā]li nell-āga=ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka=ppaśuvuṇ=ṇaṇu-neṇ oru-
 26 pōḍaikkū uḷakk-āgavum [i*] kaṛi tumikkavum porikkavum oru-pōḍaikkū ā-
 27 ḷakk-āgavum [i*] nāṇḍu-pōḍaikkū neyy-amidu nālī uri [i*] nālī-ttair⁹ -a
 28 mididiṇukku iru-nālī nell-āga=ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka=ttair⁹-amidu
 29 oru-pōḍaikkū nālī-āgavum kūtṭukku=ttair⁹-amidu oru-pōḍaikkū u-
 30 ri-āgavum nāṇḍu-pōḍaikkū=ppaśuvuṇ=ṇōy-tair⁹ aṇu-nālī [i*] oru-kāśu-
 31 kku niṛai-madi-nārāyattāṅ=paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḷgam-āga [i*] āiram¹⁰
 32 vālai-ppalattinukku oru-kāś-āgavum [i*] eḷu-tulātt-aṇḍatt-aimba-
 33 la-chchaṇkaraikkū oru-kāś-āgavum [i*] irupadiṇ-tulām kaṛi-amidiṇukku
 34 oru-kāś-āgavum [i*] aṇḍu-paḍi-ṇāli kāyattinukku oru-kāś-āgavum
 35 aḷgam-āga [i*] =ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka vālai-ppala-amidu o-
 36 ru-pōḍaikkū nāṇḍu-āga nāṇḍu-pōḍaikkū=kharu-vālai ppala-amidu pa-
 37 ḍiṇ-aru [i*] śaṇkarai-amidu oru-pōḍaikkū oru-palam-āga nāṇḍu-pōḍai-
 38 kku=chchaṇkarai-amidu nāṇ-palam [i*] kaṛi-amidu kāy-kkaṛi oṇṇu pu-
 39 ḷiṇ-gaṇi oṇṇu puḷukku-kkaṛi oṇṇu pori-kkaṛi oṇṇu ēṇṇi¹⁰=
 40 kkaṛi-amidu nāṇḍu-pōḍaikkū oru-pōḍaikkū [p]aḍiṇ-[palam-ā]ga¹¹ nāṇ-

¹ Read *poliyūtṭi*.² Read *āyirattu*.³ Read *kaiyil*.⁴ Read *āyina*.⁵ Read *kaiyil*.⁶ Read *tayir*.⁷ Read *aiy-āyiratt*.⁸ Read *raiyum*.⁹ Read *āyiram*.¹⁰ After *ēṇṇi*, the letters *kka* seem to have been engraved and erased.¹¹ The phrase *paḍiṇ-palam-āga* is a correction from *kkaṛiy-amidu*.

- 41 gu-pōdaikku=kkari-amidu nārpadiṇ-palam [!]* kāyam miḷa[g-amidu]
 42 mañjaḷ-amidu śraka-amidu śiru-kaḍug-amidu kottamba[ri- amidu]
 43 ēṇri-kkāyam aindu [!]* ivai oru-pōdaikku mu-chehevitt-āga nā[ngu-pō]-
 44 daikku=kkāyam ulakkē iru-śevittu¹ [!]* Mār[ga]li-tTiruvādirai² Māsi-Maka-
 45 mum Vaiyyāsi-Viyākamum pādi iratti śeluttuvadu [!]* i-p[pa]-
 46 riśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpa[di] i-ttēvarkkēy aimbadu
 47 kāsū daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-irattiun³-ku-
 48 duṇṇadu [!]* i-nnāṭṭu=chChāliyattu-ūrār kaiṇ⁴ mērpadi
 49 poliṭṭ-āga⁵ vaiṭṭa nīrai-kuraiyā-p[pa]ḷaṇ-kāśu irubattu-nā-
 50 ngu poṇ aindēy-mukkāl [!]* i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuva-
 51 rai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu

First slab ; Second face.

- 52 nārpatt-onbadiṇ-kalaṇēy iru-kuruṇi nāḷi
 53 uri [!]* i-nnellāl niyadippaḍi [ti]ruv-amidiṇukku iva[r*]ga-
 54 ḷe koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [!]* nāḷi=pparuppukku nā-
 55 ḷi-ulakku=ppayaṇ-āgavum nāḷi=ppayaṇrukku iru-nāḷi nell-āga-
 56 vum kummāyattiṇukku=ppayaṇru-pparuppu oru-pōdaikku u-
 57 riṇ-āga nāngu-pōdaikku=chchiru-payarṇru-pparuppu iru-nāḷi [!]*
 58 oru-kāśukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattār=paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḷgam-ā-
 59 ga [!]* āiratt⁶ -iru-nūṇ-irupadu paṇṇu veṇṇilaikku oru-kāś-ā-
 60 gavum [!]* pa[di]ḷāiratt⁶ -oru-nūr-aḍaikkāy-amidiṇukku oru-kāś-āgavu-
 61 m aḷgam-āga [!]* ilai-amidu oru-pōdaikku mūv-aḍukk-āga nāḷ-
 62 gu-pōdaikku veḷḷilai-amidu mūṇṇu paṇṇu aḍaikkāy-a[mi]-
 63 du oru-pōdaikku=ppaḍiṇāṅ-āga nāngu-pōdaikku aḍaikkāy-
 64 amidu aimbatt-āru [!]* nūṇ-amidu vēṇḍuvad-iḍuvadu [!]* Mā-
 65 rge(a)li-tTiruvādirai² Māsi-Makamum Vaiyyāsi-Viyākamu-
 66 m pādi iratti śeluttuvadu [!]* i-ppariśu śelu-
 67 ttādu kuttukkār[pa]ḷi i-ttēva[r*]kkēy aindu kāsū
 68 daṇḍamu[m] paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iratti-
 69 un⁷=kuḍu[p[pa]du [!]* Valudi-valanāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam
 70 Varaguṇamaṇḍalattu=chchavaiyāk(r)-kaiṇ⁴ mērpadi po-
 71 liṭṭ-āga⁵ vaiṭṭa nīrai-kuraiyā=ppaḷaṇ-kāśu nūṇ-oru-
 72 padu [!]* i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvai poli nīrai-ma-
 73 di-nārāyattāl [iru-kala] nell-āga vanda nellu iru-nū-
 74 ṇ-irubadiṇ-kalam [!]* i-nnellāl niyadippaḍi iva[r*]-
 75 gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [!]* nāḷi-neykku iru-
 76 paḍi-nāḷi nell-āga=ttiru-nandā-viḷakku oṇṇiṇukku [ni]-
 77 ya[di] ney uriy-āga=ttiru-nand[ā*]-viḷakku aindiyukku=ppa-
 78 [su]viṇ-ṇaru-ney niyadi iru-nāḷi uri [!]* andiyampō[du]
 79 [ti]ruv-amidu śeygiṇṇu dīpa-mā[lai] kaṭṭa-[p]pāśuvīṇ-ṇaru-ne-
 80 y niyadi ulakku [!]* i-[ppa]riśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpa[di]-
 81 l i-ttē[va]rk[kē]y paṇṇiraṇḍ-arai-kkāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chchelu-
 82 m[ā]du viṭṭa mudal-irattiun³-kuḍuppadu [!]* i-nnāṭṭu-

¹ Read śevirū.

² Read kaiṇi.

³ Read yuṇ.

⁴ Read ʾraiṇum.

⁵ Read poliṭṭ-āga.

⁶ Read ʾiṇḍiṭṭa.

⁷ Read yuṇ.

⁸ Read āyiratt.

⁹ Read ʾṇiṇṇ.

83 ttēvadāṇa-ppiramadēyam Tiyaṁbakamaṅgalam Ira-
 84 [ṇa]vāliṁaṅgalattu=chchavaiyār kaiṇ¹ mēṇpaḍi po-
 85 [li]ūt-āga² vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppalaṇ-kāsu mu-
 86 ppatt-iraṇḍu i-kkāṭāl oru-kāsukku āṇḍuvarai pol[i] nīrai-
 87 madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli arupa-
 88 ttu-nār-kalam [i*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ niyadippaḍi koṇ-
 89 ḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] nāli³=ppālukku iru-nāli ne-
 90 ll-āga=ttirumaṇjaṇam ādi-arula=ppasuviṇ-pāl niya-
 91 di nā-nāli [i*] nāli-ttairukku⁴ iru-nāli-nell-āga-tti-
 92 rumaṇjaṇam ādi-arula=ppasuviṇ-rair⁵ niyadi nā-
 93 nāli i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkāṇpaḍi-
 94 l i-ttēvarkkēy aindu kāsu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-ch-
 95 cheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun⁶=kuḍuppadu

Second slab ; First face.

96 i-nnāṭṭu-kKeṅgaimaṅgalattu-ppaḍum Ālampattattu ā-
 97 rār kaiṇ¹ mēṇpaḍi poliūt-āga² vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppalaṇ-kāsu pa-
 98 di[p-ā]ru i-kkāṭāl oru-kāsukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl i-
 99 ru-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli muppatt-iru-kalam [i*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ
 100 [niya]dippaḍi [koṇ]ḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] ōr-ilan[ru]kku nāli nell-ā-
 101 ga=ttirumaṇjaṇam ādi-arula ilanir valuvai utpaḍa niyadi iru-nāli u-
 102 lakku [i*] nāli-ilanirukku nāl-ilanir-āga niyadi iḍum ilanir eṭṭu [i*] i-
 103 ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkāṇpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy aindu-kāsu da-
 104 ṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun⁶=kuḍuppadu [i*] i-nā
 105 [t]ṭu Māṇavirapa[tti]nattu nagarattār kaiḷiṇ¹ [mē]ṇpaḍi poliūt-āga² vai-
 106 tta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppalaṇ-kāsu nūrr-irupadu i-kkāṭāl oru-kāsuk-
 107 ku ā[ṇ]ḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda ne
 108 llu iru-nūrru nēṇpaḍi-kalam [i*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ niyadippa-
 109 ḍi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] oru-kāsukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattār-
 110 paḍi-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga [i*] nūrr-aimbadi-nāli naṇum-pūviṇukku oru-
 111 kāś-āga [i*] āri-paḷittāmatṭiṇukku niyadi aḷakka-kkaḍava naṇum-pū-ppaḍi-
 112 [nāli] [i*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkāṇpaḍir⁷ i-ttēvarkkēy irūbat-
 113 t-aindu-kāsu da[ṇ]ḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun⁶=kuḍup-
 114 [pa]ḍu [i*] Śirivallabha-valanāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalattu-chchavaiyā-
 115 r kaiṇ¹ mēṇpaḍi poliūt-āga² vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppalaṇ-kāsu toṇ[ṇ]ru-
 116 nāṅgu poṇṇu=aindu [i*] i-kkāṭāl oru-kāsukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattā-
 117 l iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli nūrr-ēṇbatt-ōṇpaḍi-kalam [i*] i-n[ne]-
 118 llāl iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [i*] nāli-chohi[ru]-payarru-ppo-
 119 rikku nāli-uḷakku-ppayaṇ-āgavum [i*] nāli-ppayarrukku iru-nāli-nell-ā-
 120 ga=ppori iḍa niśadam śiru-[pa]yaṇru-ppor⁸ niyadi u[ri]ḷ[ṇu]kku⁹ aḷakka-kkaḍava
 121 śiru-payaru uri-āḷakku oru-kāsukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattār-paḍi-kala-nel-
 122 l-aḥgam-āga [i*] oru-kāṇattukku-ppaḍi[p-o]ru-nāli uḷakku maṇjaḷ-āga-ttiru-
 123 mēṇi pūśi-arula mē-rōl śiraitta paṇru-maṇjaḷ niyadi mūḷakku [i*]
 124 [o]viya[lu]m pāvāḍaium¹⁰ ōr-aṇai oru-kāsu perraṇa oru-muṇai mu-ttiā-

¹ Read kaiṇ.² Read -tāyirukku.³ Read *paḍil.⁴ Read *tiyūt-āga.⁵ Read tair.⁶ Read *viyirukku.⁷ The *h* of *nāli* looks like *ā*.⁸ Read *yur.⁹ Read *yur.

- 125 ga|ukku nāl-anaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāngu-muraikku veṇ-kūrai paḍiṇ-ār-anai [*] i-
 126 ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpāḍil i-ttēvarkkēy irupatt-aindu
 127 kāsū daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun¹=kuḍuppadu [*]
 128 Parāntaka-vaḷanāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam [Parai]śumaṅgala[ttu=tte]u-kilakku Ti-
 129 [ṇi]-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliūtṭ-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppala-
 130 ā-kāsū irubatt-aindu [*] i-kkāsāl oru-kāsukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nā-
 131 rāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu aimbaḍiṇ-kalam i-nnellā-
 132 l iṇ[r*]ga| koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [*] nāli-ariśikku mu-nnāli nel-
 133 l-āga=ttiru-ppalikku niyadi ariśi śennaṇ-ṛiṭṭal oru-pōḍaikku nāliy-āga i-
 134 raṇḍu pōḍaikku ariśi śennaṇ-ṛiṭṭal iru-nāli [*] oru-kāsukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl
 135 paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga śrī-maḍaippa|li-kkaṭṭu mēṇkaṭṭikku-ppuḍavai iṇai i-
 136 raṇḍ-arai-kkāṇam peṇṇaṇa oru-murai aṇu-tiṅga|ukku ir-anaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu iraṇḍu-mu-
 raik-
 137 ku=ppuḍavai nāl-anai [*] kal-puraikku=ppuḍavai iṇai iraṇḍu-kāṇam peṇṇaṇa oru-
 murai mu-ttiṇ-
 138 ga|ukku ir-anaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nā gu-murai[k*]ku=ppuḍavai eṭṭ-anai [*] i-ppariśu
 śeluttādu kuṭ-
 139 tukkārpāḍil i-ttēvarkkēy aindu-kāsū daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa muda-
 140 l=iraṭṭiun¹=kuḍuppadu i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēya[m*] Māṇamaṅgalattu=
 141 chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliūtṭ-āga vaitta nīrai-kuraiyā=ppa-
 142 |aṇ-kāsū nūṇ-aimbatt-iraṇḍ-arai [*] i-kkāsāl oru-kāsukku āṇḍuvarai
 143 poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu mu-nnūṇ-
 144 r-aiṇ-kalam [*] i-nnellāl iṇ[r*]ga| koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [*]
 145 oru-kāsukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga [*] śrī-tūpam
 146 śidāriṇṇukku⁴ vēṇḍum uṇu[ppu⁵] agil-uṭṭaḍa=kkaṇṇūramun=tēnu[m] ni-
 147 yadi arai-kkāṇam vilai peṇa iḍuvadu [*] śrī-karpakkira-agattu-kkaṭṭu mēṇkaṭ-
 148 ṭikku veṇ-kūrai iṇai ēl-arai-kkāṇam peṇṇaṇa oru-murai aṇu-tiṅga|ukku
 149 nāl-anaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu iraṇḍu muraikku veṇ-kūrai eṭṭ-anai [*] nāli-ttair⁶-amidipuk-
 150 ku iru-nāli nell-āga=ttiru-ppalikku=ppaṣuviṇ-rōy-tair⁶ niyadi nāli [*]
 151 taṭṭaḷi koṭṭiga|ukku=kkoṇṇu nellu=ttiṅga| [nā]r-kala[ṇe]y paḍiṇ⁷-ku-
 152 ruṇi nāli uriy-āga ōr-āṇḍu panniraṇḍu tiṅga|ukku vēṇḍum nellu nīrai-
 153 madi-nārāyattāl aimbatt-e|u-kalam⁸

Second slab : Second face.

- 154 i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Teṇṇakku.
 155 llūr-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliūtṭ-āga vaitta ni-
 156 |ai-kuraiyā=ppa|aṇ-kāsū aṇupadu [*] i-kkāsāl oru-kāsukku āṇḍu-
 157 varai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu
 158 nūṇ-irupaḍiṇ-kalam [*] i-nnellāl iṇ[r*]ga| koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-
 159 kkaḍavaṇa [*] oru-kāsukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḥgam-ā-
 160 ga [*] śrī-uḍaiy-āḍai iṇai mūṇṇu-kāsū peṇṇaṇa oru-murai mu-ttiṅga|ukku

¹ Read *yūn .

² Read kaiṇiṇ.

³ Read poliūtṭ-āga.

⁴ Read śidāriṇṇukku.

⁵ The letters in brackets look like ṭṭu.

⁶ Read tair.

⁷ To make up the total of 57 kalam in this item the word paḍiṇ ought to be paḍiṇ-oru.

⁸ There is some blank space in this line after e|u-kalam and space for another line below, in which should have been incised the words i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpāḍil i-ttēvarkkē aimbaḍu kāsū daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun¹=kuḍuppadu.

- 161 ōr-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāngu-muraikku śrī-uḍaiy-āḍai nāl-aṇai [*] i-p-
 162 pariśu śeluttadu kuttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy panni-
 163 raṇḍ-arai-kkāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭi-
 164 uñ¹=kuḍuppadu [||*] Amitaḡaṇa-valanāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam Avaṇi-
 165 paśēkaramaṇḡalattu=chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliūtṭ-āga vaiṭṭa
 166 niṇai-kurāiyā=ppalaṇ-kāśu aṇupadu [*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuva-
 167 rai poli niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūṇṇ-iru-
 168 paḍiṇ-kalam [*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kka-
 169 ḍavaṇa [*] oru-kāśukku niṇai-madi-nārāyattār=paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡam-āga śrī-
 170 uḍaiy-āḍai iṇai mūṇṇu-kāśu perraṇa oru-murāi mu-ttiṇḡaḷukku ōr-aṇaiy-ā-
 171 ga ōr-āṇḍu nāngu-muraikku śrī-uḍaiy-āḍai nāl-aṇai i-ppariśu śeluttādu kut-
 172 tūkkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy panniraṇḍ-arai-kkāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttā-
 173 du viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun⁴=kuḍuppadu [||*] Kuḍa-nāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam Pulṇi-
 174 ḍai-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliūtṭ-āga vaiṭṭa niṇai-kurāiyā=ppala-
 175 ṇ-kāśu nūṇṇ-irupadu [*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṇai-madi-nārāya-
 176 ttāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu iru-nūṇṇu-nārpāḍiṇ-kalam i-nne-
 177 llāl iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [*] oru-kāśukku niṇai-madi-nārāya-
 178 ttāl paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡam-āga śrī-uḍaiy-āḍai iṇai mūṇṇu-kāśu perraṇa oru-
 179 murāi mu-ttiṇḡaḷukku ir-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāngu-muraikku śrī-uḍaiy-āḍai [e]-
 180 ṭṭ-aṇai [*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy irubat-
 181 t-aiṇḍu-kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun⁴=kuḍuppa-
 182 du [||*] i-nnāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam Kiraṇur-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi *poli-
 183 ūṭṭ-āga vaiṭṭa niṇai-kurāiyā=ppalaṇ-kāśu iru-nūṇṇ-ōrubattu-nāngu [*] i-
 184 kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-ā-
 185 ga vanda nellu nā-nūṇṇ-irubatt-eṇ-kalam i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ niyadi-
 186 ppaḍi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa nāḷi-neykku irupadi-nāḷi-nell-āga
 187 tirumaṇḡaṇam āḍi-aruḷa=ppaśuviṇ=paṇu-ney niyadi nā-nāḷi [*] oru-kāśukku
 188 niṇai-madi-nārāyattār=paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡam-āga=ttulā-chchandaṇattu-
 189 kku oru-kāś-āga=ttirumēṇi pūśum sandaṇa-kkuḷambu-chchandaṇam niyadi
 190 mu-ppalam [*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍil i-ttēvarkkē-
 191 y aimbadu-kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=i-
 192 raṭṭiun⁴=kuḍuppadu [||*] i-nnāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam Śaḍaṇḡavikkurich-
 193 ch-chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliūtṭ-āga vaiṭṭa niṇai-kurāiyā=ppalaṇ-kā-
 194 śu-tonṇūṇṇu [*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṇai-madi-nārāyattāl
 195 iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūṇṇ-eṇpaḍiṇ-kalam [*] i-nnellāl niyadi-
 196 paḍi iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaḍu [*] oru-kāśukku niṇai-madi-nāḷi-
 197 yattār=paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḡam-āga=ppaḍiṇ-aṇ-kalaṇju kaṇṇūrattukku o[ru]-
 198 kāś-āga=ttirumēṇi-pūśun=tiruchchandaṇattōḍu kūṭṭi araikkum kaṇṇū-
 199 ram niyadi ēḷ-arai-kkāṇam [*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpaḍil
 200 i-ttēvarkkēy irubatt-aiṇḍu-kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭ-
 201 ṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun⁴=kuḍuppadu [||*] i-nnāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam Kaḍuṇḡōmaṇ-
 202 ḡalattu=chchavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi *poliūtṭ-āga vaiṭṭa niṇai-kurāiyā=ppalaṇ-
 203 kaṇ-kāśu paḍiṇ-āṇḍu [*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṇai-ma-
 204 di-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu muppatt-iru-kalam [*] i-nne-
 205 llāl iva[r*]gaḷ niyadi-ppaḍi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṇa ōr-iḷaṇṇirukku

¹ Read *uñ*.² Read *kaiṇ*.³ Read *poliūtṭ-āga*.⁴ Read *iraṭṭiun*.⁵ Read *Pulṇi*.

No.	No. of lines.	Division.	Name of village.	The body of persons with whom money was invested.	AMOUNT INVESTED.	
					Kāṣu.	Paṇ.
1	8—19	Kuṇḍa-nāḍu . . .	Korkai . . .	Ūrār . . .	96	8
2	19—48	Do. . . .	Nallūr . . .	Do. . . .	168	6½
3	48—69	Do. . . .	Śāliyam . . .	Do. . . .	24	5½
4	69—82	Valudi-vaṇaṇḍu . .	Varaṇḍamangalam . .	Sabhai . .	110	0
5	82—95	Do. . . .	Iraṇavālimangalam included in Triyambakamangalam.	Do. . . .	32	0
6	95—104	Do. . . .	Ālambaṭṭam included in Gaṅgaimangalam.	Ūrār . . .	16	0
7	104—114	Do. . . .	Mānavīrapattinam . .	Nagarattār . .	120	0
8	114—127	Śrīvallabha-vaṇaṇḍu .	Kaṭṭāraimangalam . .	Sabhai . .	94	5
9	128—140	Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu .	Tippī included in Parāntamangalam.	Do. . . .	25	0
10	140—153	Do. . . .	Māramangalam . . .	Do. . . .	152½	..
11	154—164	Do. . . .	Tenṇakka....llūr . .	Do. . . .	60	0
12	164—173	Amitaṇḍa-vaṇaṇḍu . .	Avanipaśēkaramangalam	Do. . . .	60	0
13	173—182	Kuṇḍa-nāḍu . . .	Puliyidai . . .	Do. . . .	120	0
14	182—192	Do. . . .	Kīraṇūr . . .	Do. . . .	214	0
15	192—201	Do. . . .	Śaṇḍaṅgavikurichechi .	Do. . . .	90	0
16	201—210	Do. . . .	Kaṇḍuṅḍamangalam . .	Do. . . .	16	0

INTEREST.					Object for which the interest was utilised.	Fine in case of default.
Rate per <i>kāṣu</i> .	AMOUNT.					
	<i>Kalam</i>	<i>kuṟuṇi</i>	<i>nāḷi</i> .	<i>uri</i> .		
2 <i>kalam</i>	193	9	..	..	For supplying daily 16 <i>nāḷi</i> of rice on ordinary days and 96 <i>nāḷi</i> for 3 days in the year.	25 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	337	3	4	1	For supplying daily 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee, 6 <i>nāḷi</i> of curd, 16 plantains, 4 <i>palam</i> of sugar, 40 <i>palam</i> of vegetables, 1 <i>uḷakku</i> and 2 <i>śevīḍu</i> of <i>kāyam</i> and double this quantity for 3 days.	50 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	49	2	1	1	For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of <i>payaru-paruppu</i> for <i>kummiyam</i> , 3 <i>parru</i> of betel leaves and 56 nuts, together with double the above quantity for 3 days.	5 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	220	..	..	..	For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of ghee for 5 lamps and 1 <i>uḷakku</i> of ghee for 1 chain of lamps.	12½ <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	64	..	..	..	For supplying daily 4 <i>nāḷi</i> of cow's milk and 4 <i>nāḷi</i> of curd.	5 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	32	..	..	..	For supplying daily 8 tender cocoanuts.	Do.
Do.	240	..	..	..	For supplying daily 10 <i>nāḷi</i> of flowers.	25 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	189	..	..	..	For supplying daily 1 <i>uri</i> of <i>pori</i> and 3 <i>uḷakku</i> of <i>mañ-jal</i> and 16 <i>anai</i> of white cloth for the year.	Do.
Do.	50	..	..	..	For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of rice for <i>bali</i> , and for four <i>anai</i> of <i>puḍavai</i> at the rate of 2½ <i>kāṇam</i> for 1 <i>anai</i> and 8 <i>anai</i> of <i>puḍavai</i> at the rate of 2 <i>kāṇam</i> for 1 <i>anai</i> to be supplied during the year.	5 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	305	..	..	..	For supplying daily incense at 1½ <i>kāṇam</i> , for 8 <i>anai</i> of white cloth at 7½ <i>kāṇam</i> each <i>anai</i> for 1 year, for curd at 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy per day and for drummers at 4 <i>kalam</i> 10 <i>kuṟuṇi</i> 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> per month or 57 <i>kalam</i> per year.	Omitted.
Do.	120	..	..	..	For supplying during the year 4 <i>anai</i> of <i>uḍai-āḍai</i> at 3 <i>kāṣu</i> per <i>anai</i> .	12½ <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	120	..	..	..	Ditto	Do.
Do.	240	..	..	..	For supplying 8 <i>anai</i> of <i>uḍai-āḍai</i> at 3 <i>kāṣu</i> per <i>anai</i> .	25 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	428	..	..	..	For supplying daily 4 <i>nāḷi</i> of ghee for an ointment, and 3 <i>palam</i> of sandal at 1 <i>tulām</i> of sandal for 1 <i>kāṣu</i> .	50 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	180	..	..	..	For supplying daily 7½ <i>kāṇam</i> of <i>karpuṛam</i> (1 <i>kāṣu</i> fetching 5 <i>kaḷaṇḷu</i>).	25 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	32	..	..	..	To supply daily 8 tender cocoanuts at 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 coconut.	5 <i>kāṣu</i> and double the quantity at default.

206 nāḷi-nell-āga-ttirumañjaṇam ādi-arula ilanir valuvai utpaḍa niva-
 207 di iru-nāḷinukku¹ nāḷi-ilanirukku nāl-ilanir-āga niyadi idum iḷa-
 208 nīr eṭṭu [i*] i-ppariṣu śeluttādu kuttukkāṇṇaḍi i-ttēvark-
 209 kēy aindu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiun²=ku-
 210 ḍuppadu [i*]

No. 18.—THE BHADRENIYAKA GRANT OF SILADITYA I; G.E. 292.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

These two copper plates were purchased along with five others by the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India from the widow of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha of Bombay. The place where they were found originally is not known.

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

The inscription has not been incised very carefully and consequently it contains many mistakes. Only a portion of it is incised neatly but the engraving of the rest (ll. 13-19) is very thin. It is written in Sanskrit and, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, the whole of it is in prose. The alphabet belongs to the Western variety of the Northern script of the seventh century A.D. As regards orthography, signs for *i* and *ī* have not always been distinguished, probably owing to the carelessness of the writer; *anusvāra* and *visarga* have been omitted in several places, e.g., *sa[m*]śakta* (l. 5), *sāmānya[m*]* (l. 28), *atīśayāna[h*]* (l. 5), *-kāryya-phala[h*]* (l. 7), etc.; *ṇ* is used for *anusvāra* in *vaṇṇa* (ll. 3, 27) and *n* in *ansa* (l. 14) and *anyānt=cha* (l. 18); *n* takes the place of *ṇ* in *pranaḥ* (l. 4). In addition to the usual *daṇḍa* a dot has been used in two places to mark the punctuation, cf. l. 29 after *Vyāsēna* and l. 33 after *Vatrabhāṭṭinā*. The *upadhmaniya* occurs thrice, in ll. 10, 19 and 23, and the *jihvāmūliya* only once, in l. 17. Usually consonants have been doubled when used in combination with the superscript *r*, e.g., *mārgga-* (l. 5), *-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya* (l. 6), etc. The numerical symbols for 2, 4, 10, 90, and 200 are to be found in the last line.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Śilāditya I, who was the son of the illustrious Dharasēna, who was the son of the illustrious Guhasēna, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshippers of Śiva. Like other records of the later kings of Valabhī this inscription also omits the names of the four sons of the *Senāpati* Bhaṭārka in the genealogical portion of it. The grant registered in these plates was issued from the victorious camp at *Dēvisaras* on the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra in 292³ G.E. (circa 610-11 A.D.), and was written

¹ Read *nāḷiy nukkū*.

² Read *iraṭṭiyū*.

³ [The late Mr. Banerji read the date as 290 and it has been so included in the *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1337 (above, Vol. XX, App. p. 181). I, however, read it as 292. It thus becomes the last known date of Śilāditya I. In the interval between this and the next Valabhī grant dated 304 G.E. issued by Dharasēna (III), at least one ruler, viz., Kharagraha, Śilāditya's younger brother, must have ruled. Recently a copper plate issued by this prince has come to light, and apparently he is the *Dātaka* of many of Śilāditya I's grants, including the present one.—Ed.]

by the *Sandhinigrahādhipāṭi* (minister of peace and war) *Divirapati Vatrabhaṭṭi*.¹ The *Dūtaka* was Kharagraha, probably the younger brother of the king and heir-apparent, who succeeded Śilāditya I.

According to this grant, two hundred *pādāvarṭas* of land in the village of Bhadrēṇiyaka in the Bāra-Vanasthali were given for the worship of the Sun-god established in that village. Out of these two hundred *pādāvarṭas*, one hundred lay to the east of the arable land received as a gift and owned by the Brāhmaṇa Prabhandata, to the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brāhmaṇa named) Rudra, to the north of the *daṇḍaka* (chain of hills ?) called Baraṭikā, and to the west of the junction of the boundary of the village of Gōppara-vāṭaka. Of the remaining hundred *pādāvarṭas* the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece² of land (*lava*) at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity (*bhāikṣhaka*), and now made over to the Sun temple along with the other piece of land. The land was granted for the maintenance of the worship (*pūjā*) and its other accessories, viz., bath (*snāpana*), sandal (*gandha*), flowers (*pushpa-mālya*), lamp-oil (*dīpa-taila*), vocal and instrumental music (*vādyā-gīta*) and dances (*nṛitya*), the cost of sacrifices and offerings (*bali-charu-satra*), the maintenance of the servants of the god (*pādamūla*) and the cost of repairing any damages (*khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pratisamkāra*). I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant, viz., Dēvisaras (l. 1), Bhadrēṇiyaka (ll. 19-20, 22), Bāra-Vanasthali³ (l. 22), Baraṭikā-daṇḍaka⁴ (l. 23) and Gōpparavāṭaka (l. 23).

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁶ svasti [*] Vijaya-skandhāvārād=Dē[vi]sarō-vāsakāt prasabha-praṇat-
āmitrāṇā[m*] Maitrakāṇām=atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍala-(l-ā)bhōga-saṁ-
- 2 sakta-prahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpāt-pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgād=anu-
rakta-maula-bhṛita-śrēṇi-pa(ba)l-āvāpta-
- 3 rājya-śriyaḥ parama-māhēśvara-śrī-Bhaṭa(tā)rkakād=avyavachchhinna-rāja-vañśān=mātā-
pitṛi-charaṇ-āravinda-praṇati-pravidhant-āsēsha-kalmashaḥ
- 4 śē(śai)śavāt=prabhṛiti khaḍga-dvitiya-bāhur-ēva samada-para-gaja-ghaṭā-sphōṭana-
prakāśita-satva-nikashas=tat-pratāva⁷-prana(ṇa)t-ārāti-chūḍa(dā)-ra-
- 5 tna-prabhā-sa[m*]sakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-saṁhatis=sakala-smṛitō(ti)-praṇīta-mārgga-
samyak-paripālana-prajā-hṛidaya-rañjan-ānva[r*]ttha-rāja-śabdaḥ
- 6 rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-sashpa(mpa)dbhis=Smara-śasāṅk-Ādrirāj-
ōdadhi-Tridaśaguru-Dhanēśān-atīśayāna[h*] śaraṇ-āśa(ga)t-ābhaya-

¹ [This Vatrabhaṭṭi has also been called Vāsabhāṭṭi (No. 1341 of List) and Vāsabhāṭa (No. 1349). The readings Vatrabhaṭṭi (No. 1337, i.e., the present grant), Chandrabhaṭṭi (No. 1338) and Chatrabhaṭṭi (No. 1345) are misreadings. The members of the family to which Vatrabhaṭṭi belonged seem to have held charge of the War Office under at least eight princes of the Maitraka dynasty for four generations, viz., Skandabhāṭa (apparently the father of Vatrabhaṭṭi), Vatrabhaṭṭi, his son Skandabhāṭa and the latter's son Anahila.—Ed.]

² [If the two dots after *lavam* are to be treated as equivalent to 2, then the two pieces of *Bhāikṣhaka* land together consisted of 100 *pādāvarṭas*.—Ed.]

³ [This though not so specified must have been the *maṇḍala*, probably consisting of the Vanasthali twelve (?). Vanthali, an important place in Junagadh State, may be suggested as the modern equivalent of the place, although it was known as Vāmanasthali in the medieval period.—Ed.]

⁴ [The boundary of Baraṭaka (probably a village) and the way leading to village Bhadrāṇaka as also a well belonging to the god Āditya are referred to in the Dhānk grants of G. E. 290 issued by the same king Śilāditya I. It is likely that the lands mentioned in these two grants lie in the same locality.—Ed.]

⁵ The text is edited from the original plates in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read *prabhāva*.

- 7 pradāna-paratayā tṛṇavad=apāst-āsēsha-sva-kāryya-phala[h*] prārthhan-ādhik-
ārttha-pradān-ānandita-vidvat-suhṛit-praṇaya(yi)-hṛdayaḥ pāda-
8 chār=iva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pramōdaḥ parama-māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Guha-
sēna=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-viṣi-
9 ta-Jāhnavi-jal-augha-prakshālīt-āsēsha-kalmashaḥ prapayī-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-sam-
pad=rūba(pa)-lōbhād=iv-āsṛitaḥ śarabhasam=a-
10 bhigāmikair-ggūpāis-sahaja-śakti-śikṣā-viśēsha-vismātāpit¹-ākṣhila-bala-dhanurddharaḥ=
prathama-narapati-samatisṛiṣṭā[nā*]m=anupālāyitā
11 dharmma-dāyānām mapākarttā² praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām=upaplavānām darśayitā
śrī-Sarasvatyōr=ek-adhivāsasya sya(sam)hat-ārāti-paksha-la-
12 kṣmī-ba(pa)ribhōga-dakṣha-vikramā(mō) vikram-ōpasamprāpta-vimala-pārthiva-śrīḥ
parama-māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Dharaśō(śē)na=tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānu-
13 dhyāta=sakala-di(ja)gad-ānandan-āty-adbhuta-guṇa-samuda[ya*]-sthagita-samagra-dig(ā)-
maṇḍalas-samara-śata-vijaya-śōbhā-sanātha-maṇḍalāgra-
14 dyuti-bhāsūratar-āna(msa)-pīth-ōdūḍha-guru-manōratha-mā(ma)hābhāra=sarvva-vidyā-par-
āpara-vibhāg-ādhibhāga-vimala-matir=api sarvva-
15 tas=subbhāṣita-lavēn=āpi sukh-ōpapādāniya-paritōṣha=samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-
hṛdayō=pi sucharit-ātiśaya-su-
16 vyakta-parama-kalya(lyā)ṇa-svabhāvaḥ khilībhūta-Kṛta-yuga-nṛpati-patha-viśōdhan-
ādhigat-ōdāgra-kūrttir=ddharmm-ānu(nu)parōdh-ōjvalata-
17 rikṣit-ārttha-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-nirūḍha-Dharmmaditya-dvitiya-nāmā parama-
māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Śilādityaḥ=kuśali sarvvan=ē-
18 v=āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drāṅgika-mahattara-saulkika-chaurōddharāṇika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-kumā-
rāmāty-ādīn=anyānā(mā)=cha yathā-samba-
19 dhyamānakān=samājñāpayaty=astu vas=sarūviditam yathā mayā mātā-pitr[ō]ḥ=puṇy-
āpyāyanāya Bhadrē-

Second Plate.

- 20 nīyaka-grāmā(ma)-nīpi(vi)śt-Ādityadēva-pādānām pūjā-snapana-gandha-pushpa-mālya-
dipa-tail-ādy-upayōgāya vādya-gīta-nṛity-ā-
21 dy-arthē vali-charu-satr-ōtsarppāyā pādāmūla-prajīvā(va)nāyā(ya) dēvakulasya
cha khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pratisaṁskārāya
22 cha Bāra-vanasthalyām Bhadrēnīyaka-grāmē pūrvva-simni brāhmaṇa-Prabhandata-
satka-brahma-dēya-kṣhētrāt-pūrvvataḥ Rudra-
23 satka-brahma-dēya-kṣhētrāt-dakṣhiṇataḥ Baratikā-daṇḍakād=uttarataḥ Gōppara-
bā(vā)ṭaka-[grā]ma-simā-sandhēr=aparataḥ=pādāvartta-śataḥ
24 tath=āsminn=ēva grāmē bhaikshakam³ lavam=ētat=pādāvartta-śataḥ bhaikshakam
cha sōdraṅgam sōparikaram savāta-bhūta-pratyāyam sadhānya-
25 kirany-ādēyam sadasāparādham sōtpadyamāna-viṣṭis⁴ sarvva-rājakiyānām=ahasta-
prakṣhēpaṇīyam pūrvva-pratta-brahma-dēya-
26 varjitar bhūma(mi)-chchhīdra-nyāyēn=āchandr-ārkk-āṁṇava-kṣhita(ti)-sarit-parvvata-
samakālīnam dharmma-dāyatayā nīṣṭitām yataḥ u-
27 pari-[li*]khita-sthityā bhujyamānasya na kaiśchid=vyāsēdhē vartti[ta*]vyam=āgāmi-
bhadrā-nṛpatibhir=apy=asmad-vanāajair=anyair=vvā anityā-

¹ Read *vismāpit*.² Read *dharmma-dāyānām* = *apākarttā*.³ [The *visarga* is superfluous or it may be the numerical sign for 3.—Ed.] ⁴ Read *vikāṣikam*.

- 28 ny=aiśvaryyāny=asthiram mānushyam sāmānya[m*] cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=ava-
gachchhadbhīr=ayam=asmad-dāy=ōnumantyavyāh(vyāh) paripālayi-
29 tavyas=ch=ēty=uktam cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna¹ Bahubhir=vvasudhā
bhuktā rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhih [1*] yasya yasya yadā
30 bhūmis=tā(ta)sya tasya tadā phalam || Yān=iha dāridrya-bhayān=narēndrair=
ddhanāni dharmam-āyatani(nī)-mṛi(kṛi)tāni (1*) nirbhhu(bbhu)kta-mālya-
31 pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadita || Shashtim varsha-sahasrāpi svarggē
mōdati bhūmidah [1*] śchchhettā ch=ā-
32 numantā cha tāny=ēva narakō vassēd=iti ||² Dūtakaś=ch=ātra śrī-Kharagrahaḥ
likhitam sandhivigrahādhipi(kṛi)ta-Divirapati-
33 Vatrabhaṭṭinā³ |⁴ Sam 200 90 2 Chaitra-śu 10 4 [1*] Sva-hastō mama ||

No. 19.—THE PIRANMALAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA : ŚAKA 1440.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription¹ is engraved on the south wall of the 'Sundara-Pāṇḍya-maṇḍapa' in the Maṅgaināthēvara temple at Pirāṇmalai in the Ramnad district. The surface of the stone containing the inscription is not specially dressed for engraving, but the record is in a good state of preservation.

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

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

Kaḍamai (1.11). This word is used in Tamil inscriptions and literature in the sense of a tax, mostly on land. It also seems to include any assessment levied on an industry or a profession; cf. the taxes *Śekku-kaḍamai*, *Tōṇik-kaḍamai*, *Tōrik-kaḍamai*, etc.

Kāṇikkai (1.12). This term literally means 'a free gift' or 'voluntary offering'. *Kānuka* in Telugu denotes a tribute paid to a superior. Compare the term *Paḍai-kāṇikkai* which is a contribution made for the maintenance of an army and also the terms *Kāṇikkai-paṭṭipon* and *Nāṭṭuk-kāṇikkai*.

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

Viniyōgam occurring in 1.12 may be rendered as 'a fee collected for a common purpose'; cf. the terms *Nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *Sabhā-viniyōgam*, *Olai-eḍuppu-viniyōgam* and *Vāśal-viniyōgam*.

The present record is dated in Śaka 1440 in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler *Kṛishṇa-dēva-Mahārāya*, 'who conquered all countries'. The astronomical details⁴ of date given in it viz., Mithuna, ba, amāvāsyā, Tuesday, Vṛiddhi-yōga and solar eclipse, point to Tuesday, June 8, 1518 A.D., as its equivalent, when there was a solar eclipse visible in India.

The object of the inscription is to register the tax-free grant of the village *Mētūr* in *Sōla-pāṇḍya-vaḷanāḍu*, by *Ponṇambalanātha-Topḍaimān*, the chief (*arāṣu*) of *Araṇtāṅgi*, for offerings and worship to the god *Nallamaṅgaibāgar* at *Tirukkoḍuṅkunṇam*, during the early morning service instituted after his name in the temple.

¹ Mark of punctuation expressed by a dot.

² Read *vassēd* [1*] *iti* ||

³ No. 201 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ In the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24, p. 59, the cyclic year is wrongly read as *Saumya*, but it can be read as *Vegudhānya* (or *Bahudhānya*) which was current in Śaka 1440.

The importance of the record lies chiefly in the mention made in it of Poṇṇambalanātha¹ Toṇḍaimāṇ, the foremost of the chiefs of Aṇṇantāṅgi. This town, now a terminus of the Tanjore District Board Railway and a taluk headquarter rose to the position of an important principality in the beginning of the 16th century, when there was a general unsettlement in the Pāṇḍya country. The rule of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura was, by this time, restricted to the extreme south of their dominions, comprising the present Tinnevely district, the northern part of the Pāṇḍya territory having been lost originally to the Vāṇakōvaraiyars and latterly to the Nāyakas of Madura. Upon the spoils of the original Pāṇḍya kingdom rose the Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura and the Sēṭupatis of Ramnad, all of whom gradually formed hereditary principalities wielding considerable power in the country. In the struggle of these principalities for power, Aṇṇantāṅgi with its central position soon rose to prominence. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the principality of Aṇṇantāṅgi as made out from inscriptions, of which about 25 have so far come to light, revealing the names of a number of chiefs, whose rule covers a period of nearly a century and half.

In inscriptions, the chiefs of Aṇṇantāṅgi have the distinct appellations 'Aṇṇantāṅgi-arabū' and 'Toṇḍaimāṇ'. The latter title² which is the earlier of the two, means 'the king of Toṇḍai' or 'Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam', i.e., the Pallava country, the traditional capital of which was Kañchi-puram. Several chiefs with this distinguishing title and claiming Pallava descent are met with in inscriptions dating from the 11th century A.D. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas, some chiefs claiming descent from the Pallavas and bearing the title Toṇḍaimāṇ seem to have served as local officers and become potentates in the extreme south. One such chief who lived towards the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. was Karuṇākara-Toṇḍaimāṇ of Vaṇḍuvāṇjēri (i.e., modern Vaṇḍai) in the Kumbakonam taluk, the hero of the Tamil poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. A few other chiefs bearing the title 'Toṇḍaimāṇ' are met with in inscriptions found chiefly in and around the Pudukkōṭṭai State not far from the Aṇṇantāṅgi region. It is possible that they were the ancestors or close forbears of the Aṇṇantāṅgi Toṇḍaimāṇ chiefs. A Toṇḍaimāṇ chief by name Valattu-vālvitta-Perumā³ claiming to belong to Vēṣiṅga-nāḍu, a district to the north-east of the Pudukkōṭṭai State figures in a record from that State, dated in 1201 A.D. A record of the Pāṇḍya king Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśēkhara⁴ also mentions this chief and another⁵ makes provision for the 'Valattu-vālvittāṇ-śaṇḍi' (a service named after the chief) in the 19th year of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara. In the Tamil poem *Kapparkōvai* the hero is a certain Karuṇāṇikkaṇ, a chief of Kappalūr near Pudukkōṭṭai.⁶ He is there styled a Toṇḍaimāṇ and described as a minister and a general of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya. A record from Nandalūr⁷ in the Cuddapah district mentions

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

² Vide *A General History of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, p. 115.

³ No. 355 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No. 438 of 1918 of the same collection.

⁵ *Sen-Tamiḷ*, Vol. VI, p. 318ff.

⁶ No. 594 of 1907.

Tonḍaimāpār *alias* Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār who was a minister of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya. This inscription is dated in the 17th year and the astronomical details given therein point to A.D. 1293, March 14, Saturday, as its English equivalent. It seems very likely that the Tonḍaimāpār referred to in the Nandalūr record is identical with the minister Karumāpikkaṇ mentioned in the Tamil poem. Though these records show that the Tonḍaimāns were among the potentates of the territory around Aṇantāṅgi during the 13th century A.D. none of them assumed the title 'Aṇantāṅgi-arāsu' (lord of Aṇantāṅgi) before the end of the 15th century A.D.

Besides being the Tonḍaimāns or Pallavas, the chiefs of Aṇantāṅgi appear to have been connected in some manner with the Perumāls of Tinnevely, for we find a lithic record from Eṭṭiyattalī¹ in the Aṇantāṅgi taluk mentioning Tirunelvēli-perumāḷ Tonḍaimāpār as the chief of Aṇantāṅgi. This record is dated in the cyclic year Virōdhiṇ and mentions the signatory Niramavalagiyaṇ-Kāḷingarāyaṇ who figures in another epigraph² in the same place dated in Śaka 1364³ (= A.D. 1442) and may therefore, be assigned to A.D. 1469. About this time Jaṭilavarman Arikēsaridēva *alias* Pārākrama-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1420-1463) and his brother Kulasēkharadēva (A.D. 1429-1473) were ruling the Tinnevely and adjoining districts. The Aṇantāṅgi chiefs subsequently came under the yoke of the Vijayanagara Empire and accepted its suzerainty as is evidenced by the present record.⁴ Ēkapperumāḷ, the father of Poṇṇambalanātha-Tonḍaimān, the donor of the present record, seems to have been a very pious ruler, for we find him in inscriptions making gifts to temples and instituting services therein called the 'Tonḍaimān-śandi' after his name. Among the titles of Poṇṇambalanātha, special attention may be drawn to *Kāñchīpuravarādhiśvara* 'the lord of Kāñchī, the best of cities' and *Elu-nāḷaiyil Yīlam-tīrai-koṇḍa-perumāḷ* 'the hero who levied tribute from Ceylon in seven days'. The title *Kāñchīpuravarādhiśvara* assumed by him suggests that the family of Aṇantāṅgi Chiefs claimed Pallava descent. The other title indicates the important part played by the chief in Ceylon on behalf of his overlord⁵. Poṇṇambalanātha calls himself a devotee at the feet of Perumāḷ Āvudaiya-Tambirāṇār⁶. He was in power for over half a century (*circa* 1514-1569 A.D.) and acknowledged the overlordship of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇarāya at least between Śaka 1436⁷ and 1452.⁸ His territory was not confined to the limits of the present Aṇantāṅgi taluk. Inscriptions mentioning him are found in the Pudukkoṭṭai State, in the present Aṇantāṅgi taluk and at Pirāṇmalai in the Ramnad district.

¹ No. 125 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 126 of 1916 of the same collection.

³ In an earlier record (No. 299 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) from Tiruvarāṅgulam, dated in Śaka 1365, Rudhirōdgārī, three chiefs of Aṇantāṅgi, *viz.*, Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷap-Perumāḷ Tonḍaimān, Sūrya-dēvar Sundarapāṇḍya Tonḍaimān and Meṇṇiṇṇa-Perumāḷ Kulasēkhara-Tonḍaimān are mentioned. The Śaka date in the record seems, however, to be wrongly cited for Śaka 1365 for, it is only about this time that we meet with two of the above-mentioned chiefs in other inscriptions. Moreover in this inscription there is a small gap in the date portion to justify this doubt.

⁴ See also Nos. 312 and 313 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 146 of 1903 from Pirāṇmalai is the only record that refers, to the invasion of Ceylon by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. It is dated in Śaka 1440 and also mentions the chief Poṇṇambalanātha-Tonḍaimān. It is known that the predecessors of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya were collecting tribute from Ceylon. Considering the shortness of time (*i.e.*, seven days) within which Poṇṇambalanātha is said to have achieved this feat, it is possible that the reference is only to a successful expedition to Ceylon to collect some arrears of tribute on behalf of his overlord Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Probably this feat of the feudatory was transferred to his overlord in No. 146 of 1903 noted above. An actual invasion of Ceylon during Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign is not necessarily meant.

⁶ Āvudaiya-Tambirāṇār is the name of the god at Āvudaiyārkōyil, a village in the Aṇantāṅgi taluk and associated with the life of the saint Māṇikkavāchaka.

⁷ No. 312 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ No. 240 of 1930 of the same collection.

Ponpambalanātha was succeeded in the Arantāngi principality by Āṇḍiyappa Achyutanāyaka-Tonḍaimān¹ son of Tyāgarasar Narasā-Nāyaka, who had also the titles *achchamarīyādān* and *alaiivilāṇjādān* and whose earliest date so far known is Śaka 1499 (= A.D. 1577), not far removed from the latest known date of Ponpambalanātha, viz., A.D. 1569.

The line of Arantāngi Chiefs is at present supposed to be represented by the Zamindar of Pālayavanam in the Pudukkottai State.²

The chiefs of Arantāngi so far known from epigraphical sources are :—

1. Kulasēkhara-Tonḍaimān³ (1426 and 1443 A.D.),
2. Sūryadēvar Sundarapāṇḍya-Tonḍaimān (1443 A.D.),
3. Malavallapperumāl-Tonḍaimān,
4. Aḷagiya Maṇavāḷapperumāl-Tonḍaimān (1443 and 1453 A.D.), his son
5. Lakkaṇaḍaṇṇāyaka-Tonḍaimān or Lakkappaḍaṇṇāyaka-Tonḍaimān (1453 A.D.),
6. Tirunelvēlpperumāl (1469 A.D.),
7. Ekapperumāl-Tonḍaimān (1481 and 1499 A.D.), his three sons
8. Tirāviṇaitīrttāṇ-Tonḍaimān (1497 A.D.),
9. Āvuḍaiya-Nāyiṇār-Tonḍaimān (1499 A.D.) and
10. Ponpambalanātha-Tonḍaimān (1514-1569 A.D.), his son
11. Varavinōḍa Tonḍaimān (1536 A.D.),
12. Āṇḍiyappa Achyutanāyaka-Tonḍaimān, son of Tyāgarasar-Narasānāyaka (1577 A.D.) and
13. Aruṇāchala Vāṇaṅgāmuḍi-Tonḍaimān, son of Raghunātha Vāṇaṅgāmuḍi-Tonḍaimān⁴ (1713 A.D.).

Of the places mentioned in the record *Mēlūr* is the modern village of the same name about 16 miles north-west of Madurai. *Tirukkoṇṇuṇṇuṇṇam* (i.e., Pirāṇmalai) is said to have been in Tirumalai-nāḍu which must have taken its name from the modern village Tirumalai in the Śivagaṅga taluk. The territorial name *Śōḷapāṇḍya-vaḷanāḍu* is significant and the division must have been formed after the establishment of the Chōḷa viceroys in the Pāṇḍya country, who specially called themselves Śōḷa-Pāṇḍyas

TEXT.

- 1 [Svasti] [[*] Śrīmaṇ-ma[gā]maṇḍaliśuraṇ [ariyarāya]-vibhāḍaṇ *bāshchaikkut-tappuva-rāyira-gaṇḍaṇ kaṇḍa-nāḍu-koṇḍu koṇḍa-nāḍu-kuḍādāṇ pūrva-
- 2 deṣhaṇa⁵-pachchima-uttara-samuddirāḍhi[pati emma]ṇḍalamuṇ koṇḍu eḷundaru-liya śrī]-[Kṛishṇadē[va]-Mah[ā]rāyar prithivī-rāchchiyam paṇṇi-arulāṇiṇṇa
- 3 śakābdam 1440 idaṇmēl Vegu[dhā]ṇya-[varuṣa⁶]m uttarāyaṇattu Mithuna-nāyaṇṇu apara-pashchattu⁷ [a]māvāśīyaiyūm Maṇḍalavāramuṇ Viruddi-
- 4 yōgamuṇ perṇa iṇṇai-nā⁸ Sūriya-giraṇa-puṇṇiya-kālattu Tirumalai-nāṭṭut- Tirukkoṇṇuṇṇuṇṇattu¹⁰ Nāyiṇār Nallamaṇḍaibāgaṇku Ara[n]tāngi-araśu achchamari-

¹ No. 511 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. From the records so far available, it is not possible to say whether Varavinōḍa-Tonḍaimān, the son of Ponpambalanātha succeeded his father as the chief of Arantāngi.

² *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 84.

³ From Nos. 299 of 1914 and 238 of 1930; Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 mentioned above appear to be brothers.

⁴ Known only from a copper-plate record. Vide *Sen Tamil*, Vol. XII, p. 441 ff.

⁵ Read *bāshai*.

⁶ Read *dakshina*.

⁷ The word *varuṣam* is expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read *apara-pakshattu*.

⁹ The *nakṣatra* is not given.

¹⁰ Tirukkoṇṇuṇṇuṇṇam is also known as Dakshina-Kallām in Nos. 193 and 213 of 1924.

- 5 [yāda]-perumā] ¹alaivilaṅjāda-perumā] mugilin-kiḷ-ttiriyum-ḷa-Vaṇṇiyar-miśura-gaṇḍaṇ²
 āṭṭukku-āṇai-vaḷaṅgum-perumā] eḷu-nāḷaiyil Yīlan-tiraikoṇḍa-perumā-
- 6 | kōṇ pāda.....[yāda]-perumā] Kāñchipuravar-ādhiśuraṇ³ Āvuḍaiya-Tambirāṇār-
 śrīpāda-bhaktan Ekapperumāḷ-Tonḍaimānār puttiraṇ
- 7 Poṇṇambalanātha-Tonḍaimānār Nayaṇār Nallamaṅgaibāgarḷu [u]bhaiyamāga kaṭ-
 tina śiru-kālach-chandikku amudupaḍi [śāttu]ppaḍi ulḷiṭṭu
- 8 vēṇḍum nittam-nima[ndaṅ]gaḷukku nam-[pērā]ḷ kaṭṭiṇa Poṇṇambalanātha-Tonḍai-
 mānār-śandiyāga amuduśeyyum-paḍikku ku-
- 9 ḍutta [yi]-ṇṇayinār . . . dēvadāna . . . *nāmattukkāṇiy-āga Sōḷa-Pāṇḍiya-vaḷanāṭṭu
 Mōḷūr peru-nāṅg-ellaikk-ul[paṭṭa]-
- 10 dum sa-hiraṇy-ō[da]ka-dhārā-pūrvam-āga ti[runāmat]tukkāṇi-āga chandr-ādityavar
 śellak-kuḍuttapaḍiālē idukkuḷ ulpaṭṭa⁴
- 11 nidhi-nikshēpa-jala-pāshāṇa-kūpa-[ta]tākādiyum Tambirānārḷē urittāga kaḍavad-
 āgavum ivv-ūrku varum kaḍamai kā-
- 12 nikkai vēṇḍukōḷ viniyōgam marṇum eppērpatta⁵ vari ubā(pā)dhiyum kaḷittuk-ku-
 ḍuttapaḍiālē chandr-ādityava-
- 13 rēlla sarvamānnyam-āga tirunāmattukkāṇi-āga⁶ aṇubhavittuk-koḷḷavum kaḷilum
 sembilum vēṭṭikko-
- 14 ṇḍu tirunāmattukkāṇi-āga chandr-ādityavarēlla aṇubhavittuk-koḷḷavum inda
 ḍaṇṇattukku agitam paṇṇi-
- 15 navaṇ Gaṅgaikkaraiyil kapilāiyum brāhmaṇaṇaiyum mātā-pitāvaiyum guru-
 vaiyum koṇṇa [dō]ṣhattilē pō-
- 16 gaḷkaḍavāṇ-āgavum⁷ inda nēcilē saṇuvamāṇiyam-āgappaṇi aṇubhavittuk-koḷḷavum
 Aṇa-
- 17 tāṅgi-kaṇakku Aḍiyā[r*]kkunallāṅ Kaṇpūrak-Kāḷiṅgarāyaṇ⁸ eḷuttu [||*]

¹ The title '*alaivilaṅjāda*' is not newly borne by this chief. (*Vide* Nos. 208 of 1924 and 173 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.)

² With the title *Vaṇṇiyar-miśura-gaṇḍaṇ* compare the titles *Vaṇṇiyar-āṇai-taviḷḷāṇ* and *Śorimuttu Vaṇṇiyar* assumed by the Sēṭupati Chiefs (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*: Burgess and Natesa Sastri, pp. 73 and 79 and *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. V, p. 13, foot-note 7). Local tradition confirmed by one of the *MacKenzie Manuscripts* says that two feudal chiefs of the Vaṇṇiya caste, who were ruling at Tiruviḍaichchuram near Chingleput, defied the authority of the Vijayanagara king Krishṇadēvarāya. Since these chiefs were turbulent and wielded considerable power, their humiliation was considered to be a real feat by their conquerors. An inscription of Dēvarāya II gives him the title 'the lord who took the heads of the 18 Vaṇṇiyas' (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* No. 11, p. 160). The Vaṇṇiyas who had migrated from India as soldiers accompanying the successive Tamil invaders to Ceylon and settled permanently in the island, gave frequent trouble to the Ceylonese kings as well. The titles of Dēvarāya, Poṇṇambalanātha-Tonḍaimānār and the Sēṭupatis of Ramnad regarding their exploits have reference to the help they rendered to the Ceylonese kings in subjugating the Vaṇṇiyas.

³ The title *Kāñchipuravarādhiśvara* may be interpreted as 'one hailing from Conjeeveram'. The chiefs Pallagaṇḍa-Siddarāśar (*A. R.* 1922, para. 144) and Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla Madhusūdanadēva (*A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* 1923, para. 91) also assumed this title. It may be noted here that this *biruda* borne by Krishṇappa-Nāyaka (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 330), indicates that the original home of the Madura Nāyakas was Conjeeveram. But in the case of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (c. 1251 A.D.) (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 483), this *biruda* was assumed to commemorate his conquest of Kāñchipura and the subjugation of the original Pallava dominion.

⁴ The gaps in this line may be filled with the letters *kku* and *m-tiru*.

⁵ Read *idukkuḷpaṭṭa*.

⁶ Read *eppērpatta*.

⁷ This phrase is again repeated to emphasize the grant made.

⁸ There is a symbol in the inscription after this word. It appears to be a contraction for some such words as *inda dharmam* or *inda grāmam*.

⁹ Read 'Kāḷiṅgarāyaṇ'.

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! While the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kṛishṇadēva-Mahārāya*, who conquered all hostile kings, who chastised the kings that were false to their words, who took every country that he saw and who did not give up any country that he had taken, who was the lord of the eastern, southern, western and northern oceans, who was pleased to come out (glorious) after taking all countries,—was pleased to rule the earth, in the *Śaka* year 1440 expired, corresponding to Bahudhānya, during Uttarāyaṇa, in the month of Mithuna, on Tuesday, when the amāvāsyā of the dark fortnight was current, at the holy time of the solar eclipse and Vṛiddhi-yōga,—on this day, I, *Poṇṇambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṇār*, the son of *Ēkapperumāl-Toṇḍaimāṇār*, the chief of *Araṇtāṅgi*, who knew no fear, who was never perturbed.....¹ who could present an elephant in return for a lamb, who levied tribute from *Ilam* (Ceylon) within seven days, ..., who was the lord of *Kāñchi*, the best of towns, and a devotee at the sacred feet of the god *Āvudaiya-Tambirāṇār*—having given the (land) situated within the four great boundaries of *Mēlūr* in *Śōlapāṇḍya-vaḷanāḍu* as *tirunāmatukkāṇi* with gold and libation of water to last as long as the Sun and Moon, to (the god) *Nayinār Nallamaṅgaibāgar* at *Tirukkoṇḍukunṇam* in *Tirumalai-nāḍu* for the daily requirements of offerings and worship during the *Poṇṇambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṇār-śandi* (service) in the early morning to the god *Nayinār Nallamaṅgaibāgar*, instituted after my own name—(the rights over) its treasures and hidden deposits (in this land), its water and stone and its wells, tanks, etc., shall be exclusively enjoyed by the *Tambirāṇār* (god). And as the taxes including *kaḍamai*, *kāṇikkai*, *vēṇḍukōḷ*, *vinīyōgam* and other dues accruing from this village had been remitted, it shall be enjoyed as a *tirunāmatukkāṇi* (temple land) and a *sarvamānya* (freehold) as long as the sun and the moon last. The deed shall be engraved on stone and copper and the land enjoyed as *tirunāmatukkāṇi*, as long as the moon and the sun last.

He who obstructs this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow, a Brāhmaṇa, (his own parents and teacher on the banks of the Ganges. In the aforesaid manner the land shall be taken possession of and enjoyed as a *sarvamānya*. This is the writing of *Aḍiyā[r*]kkunallāṇ Karpūrak-Kāliṅgarāyaṇ*, the accountant of *Araṇtāṅgi*.

No. 20.—NAVAGRAMA GRANT OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN (G.E. [1198].

By K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., CALCUTTA.

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

The plate measures 5½" in length and 3½" to 3¼" in breadth. It consists of the left half of the first of two plates forming the complete grant, as is clear from a comparison with other grants of Hastin and the portion of the round ring-hole preserved in the centre of the first line, through which the plate appears to have been broken. The missing portion of the plate has been conjecturally restored where possible from other published grants, particularly from the *Majhgawām*² copper-plate of the same prince. The average size of the letters is ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They do not present the nail-headed forms of letters as in the *Majhgawām* plates of Hastin. Attention may also be drawn to the form of *n* without the

¹ The term *mugilin-kīl-thiriyum-Ilā-Vaṇṇiya-mēṭura-gaṇḍaṇ* is left untranslated. The latter part means 'the proud conqueror of the Vaṇṇiyas of Ceylon'. If 'mugilin' could be taken as a proper name like *Mugalaṇ*, the phrase may be construed as "the proud conqueror of the Vaṇṇiyas of Ceylon who were at the beck and call of *Mugilaṇ*."

² Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 106 ff.

loop at the end, and *dh* with an acute angle at the lower left limb as in *Devāḍhya*, l. 2 and *Yajñāḍhya*, l. 10, which are not found in other records of this king.

As regards orthography, the doubling of the *v* and *dh* following *r* as in *pravarddha*², l. 2, *pūrvvāyām*, l. 3 and *°bhīr=vvā* l. 14 and the use of *b* for *v* in *sambatsara*, l. 3 are noteworthy. The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose.

The plate records the grant of a village (?) called Navagrāma¹ in the *rāshṭra* of the Pulinda chief (apparently a feudatory of the *nripati*-Parivrājakas), by the Mahārāja Hastin in the year ninety-eight (increased by hundred). The donees were several Brāhmaṇas³ of the Parāśara-gōtra and Mādhyandina-śākhā (of the white Yajurveda).

The year 198 of the present plate must be considered to be the last date of Hastin whose son and successor Saṁkshobha issued the Betul grant⁴ in the year 199. The earliest known date of Hastin being 156, the year of his Khōh copper-plate,⁵ he must have enjoyed a long reign of over 42 years. The known dates of Hastin (156, 163, 191 and 198) and Saṁkshobha (199, 209) are undoubtedly to be referred to the Gupta era, as the expression *gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktāu* indicates. The range of dates of the contiguous family ruling from Uchchakalpa, viz., 174 and 177 for Jayanātha and 191, 193, 197, 214 for his son Śarvanātha, is not only parallel, but the latter prince was at one time a contemporary of Hastin as recorded in the Bhumarā pillar inscription.⁶ Now assuming that Jayanātha's rule extended for at least one or two years after 177, the period common to the reigns of Hastin (156 to 198) and Śarvanātha (179 to 214) is 179 to 198. The particular year to which the joint record is to be assigned is fixed by the specification of the year as Mahā-Māgha *saṁvatsara* of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter. Now the only Mahā-Māgha *saṁvatsara*, which was current during the period (179-198 G.E.), was that which began in the Gupta year 189, in July 508 A.D.⁷ and the date of the Bhumarā pillar must therefore be approximately October 508 A.D. It is thus impossible to refer the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings to the Kalachuri era (which began 72 years earlier than the Gupta era), as this would entail a reign of at least 70 years for Śarvanātha (191 + 247=438 A.D. to 508 A.D.). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently upheld this view⁸ originally proposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, chiefly owing to the difficulty of finding an intercalary *Āshāḍha* in the year 191 of the Sōhāwal⁹ plates of Śarvanātha, if referred to the Gupta era. The difficulty is not, however, insurmountable, as it is very probable that the succeeding month of *Śrāvaṇa* that has been actually shown as intercalary in the tables attached to Pillai's *Indian Chronology* may have been antedated by a month, according to some *Siddhānta*¹⁰ followed in this locality; or, what is more probable, the month intercalated (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Śrāvaṇa*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul¹¹ plates of Saṁkshobha. It is thus clear that the *dvir-Āshāḍha* of the Sōhāwal plates must be considered to be the same as the first *Śrāvaṇa*, which commenced

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

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

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 ff.

⁴ Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 43 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105 of Introduction.

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

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 129 ff.

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

¹⁰ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 288 ff.

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

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

The reference to Pulinda-rāja-rāshtra in the present inscription indicates that the domain of the chief of the Pulindas must be located within the territory of the *nripati*-Parivrājaka family, and is probably the region comprised of the northern slopes of the Vindhya range. The Pulindas are first mentioned in the *Āitarīya Brāhmaṇa*, along with the Śabarās, with whom they have been always associated and sometimes confounded.¹

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

TEXT.

- 1 Namō Mahādēvāya || Svasty-ashṭanavaty-u[*ttarē-bda-śatē Gupta-nripa-rājya-
bhuktau śri-]
- 2 mati pravassiddhamānē Mah-Āśvayuja-samba(va)tsarē [* . māsa . paksha]
- 3 m-asāyāṁ samba(va)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvāyām n[*ripati-parivrājaka-kul-
ōtpannēna mahārāja-]
- 4 Dēvādhyā-pranaptrā mahārāja-śri-Prabhamjana-[*naptrā Mahārāja-Śri-Dāmōdara-
sūtēna gō-śa-]
- 5 -hasra-hasty-śva-hirany-ānēka-bhūmi-pradā[na] [*guru-pitri-mātri-pūjā-tatparēṇ-
śtyanta-dēva-]
- 6 brāhmaṇa-bhaktē-ānēka-samara-śata-vija[*yina śva-varṣ-āmōda-karēṇa Mahā-
rāja-śri-]
- 7 Hastinā Pulinda-rāja-rāshṭrē Navagrāmakā(kō ?)[*nāma grāmaḥ pūrvv-
āghāṭa-parichohhēda-maryādayā sōdra-]
- 8 āgaḥ sōparikarō-ohāṭa-bhāṭa-prāvśayō [*mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha puny-
ābhivṛddhayaḥ]
- 9 Parāśara-sagōtrēbhyō Mādhyandina-Vā[*jasanēya-sabrahmachāribhyō-mibhyō]
- 10 Brāhmaṇa-Bhaṭṭa-Yajñādhyasvāmi-tat-putra-Bha[*ṭṭa Brāhmaṇa]
- 11 asvāmi-tat-putra-Gōpaya-jñasvāmi-[*Brāhmaṇa yajñasvāmi-tat-putra-]
- 12 Bhaṭṭa-Śaṁbhuyajñasvāmi-Bhaṭṭ-Ēśāna-Ya[*jña-svāmibhyō putra-pautr-ānvay-
ōpabhogyaḥ]
- 13 tāmsra-śśānān-āgrā(a)hārō-tisṛiṣṭa[*ḥ chaura-varjjarḥ | tad=asmat-kul-ōtthair-
mat-pāda-piṇḍ-ō-]
- 14 pajivibhir-vvā kāl-āntarēshv-api na [*vyāghāṭaḥ karaṇiyāḥ | ēvam-ājñaptē
yō]

¹ Varāhamihira, IX-20. Majumdar, *McCrindle's Ancient India*, pp. 156-7, 160.

² *Kāśikāśrautāsāra* (vide Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII. p. 130).

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No. 21.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR.

By PROF. V. V. MIBASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

A.—The Amrāpur Stone Inscription of the reign of Siṅghana—Śaka 1133.

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly sent to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is in a temple of Śiva¹ called Ambikēśvara at Amrāpur (ancient Ambaḍāpura), a village about 28 miles from Buldana in Berar. It is inscribed on a stone built into the wall above the lintel of the door of the *garbhagṛiha*. The whole record which consists of eight lines covers a space of 11" in breadth and 1' in height. The size of letters varies from 1·7" to ·9". The characters are Nāgarī. The initial *a* occurs in *amkatō=pi* in ll. 1-2 and *Am-baḍāpurē* in ll. 5-6, the initial *i* in *Bhāidēva* in l. 7 and the initial *u* in *Dēunāyaka* in l. 5. The medial *ē* is shown in some places by a *prishṭhamātrā* (cf. *Bhāidēva* in l. 7). The language is incorrect Sanskrit. The whole record is in prose. As regards orthography we may note that the letter 't' is doubled in two places after the preceding 'r', viz., *chakravartti* in l. 4 and *kirttanē* in l. 7.

The inscription states that in Śaka 1133 when the cyclic year was Prajāpati, Dēunāyaka was the governor (of the territory round Ambaḍāpura) in the victorious reign of Śrīmat-Pratāpa-chakravartti Siṅghanaḍēva. In that year a person named Maṅgala, the son of Bhāidēva, built a *dhāra* (?) in the temple (*kīrtana*) constructed by Padumaṇa(Pradyumna)sēṭhi who was a resident of Ambaḍāpura.

The date does not admit of verification for want of details; but the cyclic year for Śaka 1133 (expired) [=1211-1212 A.D.] was Prajāpati as stated in the inscription. Siṅghanaḍēva, who bears the title Pratāpachakravarttin in this record, is evidently the Yādava king of that name who ruled at Dēvagiri in the first half of the 13th century A.D.² There are at least three different dates for the accession of this Yādava king, each supported by a number of regular epigraphical dates, viz., 1122, 1129, and 1132 Śaka years. Śaka 1133 (expired) is, however, the earliest certain date of Siṅghana's reign and the present record is also the earliest inscription of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri found in Berār. It is likely that Siṅghana was actually crowned in Śaka 1132 although he may have been associated with government as *Yuvarāja* in the lifetime of his father for some seven years and succeeded him in 1129 Śaka. It is also possible that the last of the 'accession' dates, viz., 1132 Śaka, may have been calculated from some important event in his reign, such as the conquest of the Karnāṭak, which is alluded to in the Dōṇi inscription.³ Anyway he must have won several victories before Śaka 1134, the date of his Mārḍi stone inscription,⁴ and it is reasonable to assume that in one of these early campaigns he annexed the Berārs or the country round Ambaḍāpura where we find the present inscription.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Śākē amka-
- 2 tō=pi⁵ 1133 Prajāpati samva-
- 3 tsarē svasti śrīmat-pratāpa-chakra-
- 4 vartti-śrī-Siṅghanaḍēva-vijaya-rājyē

¹ The inscription is not at the temple of Bhawani as stated by B. B. Hiralal in his *List of inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Edn.), p. 153. The latter is on an eminence at a short distance from the temple of Śiva.

² Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanaree Districts, Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 522.

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

⁴ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 48.

⁵ This expression which means "also in figures" is out of place here, as the date is not expressed in words.

- 5 Dēunāyaka bhōktā[rē¹] Ambaḍā-
 6 purē² vāstavyē Padumaṇasēthi-
 7 kratē³ kirttanē Bhāidēva-putra-Maṅgala-
 8 mṛishe (?) [tō]raṇam i(d*)aṁ (?) — — tā — —

B.—The Bārsi-Tākli Inscription of the reign of Hēmādrīdēva—Śaka 1098.

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

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

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

¹ Read *Dēunāyakt bhōktari*.

² Read *kratē*.

³ Read **pura-vāstavya*.

* The last line is very indistinct.

maṇḍapa. It may, therefore, be presumed that the original image was destroyed when the place was occupied by Muhammadans and the present stones installed at a later date. It is also doubtful if the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of Bhavānī. The benedictory stanza in the beginning of the record is in praise of Hari (Vishṇu). The building is referred to in l. 10 as the temple of Hari (*Hari-vēśma*). It is noteworthy that in addition to the figures of Mahishāsura-mardini and Gaṇapati noticed by Mr. Cousens, images of Narasiṃha and other deities of the Vishṇu cult occur on the door frame of the *garbhagriha* as well as on the exquisitely carved pillars of the *maṇḍapa*, which support the Vaishṇava origin of the shrine. It seems, therefore, certain that it came to be dedicated to Bhavānī, when the original image of Vishṇu had been destroyed and the people had, in course of time, lost sight of the deity in whose honour the temple had been originally erected.

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

The date of the inscription is stated with full particulars as **Thursday, the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month *Vaiśākha* in the *Durmukha Samvatsara*—Śaka 1098,** the *Nakshatra* being *Pushya*, the *Yōga* *Āyushmat* and the *Karāṇa* *Vapi*[ja*]. According to D. B. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the cyclic year for the Chaitrādi Śaka 1098 expired was *Durmukha*, as stated in the record. The seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha*, however, fell on Saturday and not on Thursday as stated in the inscription. In Śaka 1099 (expired) that *tithi* fell on a Thursday and the *nakshatra* was *Pushya* as mentioned in our record, but the cyclic year was *Hemalamba* and not *Durmukha* as required. The date would, thus, appear to be irregular, but there are so many instances of only one detail of the date being stated wrongly in epigraphs. According to the view adopted by D. B. S. K. Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*, the Śaka date, as used at present, denotes *expired* years, but the name of the cyclic year denotes the *current* year. Accepting the discrepancy of one year in the number of Śaka years and treating the cyclic year mentioned in the record as *expired*, we find that *Vaiśākha Śukla Saptamī* in Śaka 1099 (*Durmukha expired*), (i.e. *Hemalamba current*), ended at 12 ghaṭikās (4 h. 45 m.) on Thursday after apparent sunrise and the *nakshatra* was *Pushya* which ended at 51 ghaṭikās (20 h. 25 m.) after apparent sunrise. This combination of a Thursday and the *Pushya Nakshatra* (an *amṛita-siddhi-yōga* as it is called) is considered specially auspicious and probably represents the time when the original image of the deity was installed in the temple. The *karāṇa* for the seventh *tithi* on Thursday was *Vapija*, but the *yōga* was *Śūla* and not *Āyushmat* as stated in the inscription. This discrepancy may be explained away by taking *Āyushmat*

yōga in the derivative sense of 'a conjunction leading to longevity', but the insertion of the expression between the *nakshatra* and *karṇa* rather indicates that it was used in its technical sense of a particular *yōga*. It is also possible that the framer of the record purposely substituted *Āyuhmat* for *Śūla*, as the latter is not an auspicious *yōga*. This discrepancy in respect of *yōga* is not very important; for, as D. B. S. K. Pillai has observed, 'the investigation of *yōgas* is a matter of altogether secondary importance in historical and chronological research.'¹ The date may, therefore, be considered as identical with Thursday, the 7th April 1177 A.D.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces a new line of princes that ruled at Tēkkālī which must be identified with modern Bārsi Tākli in Berār. The founder of the family was one Danturāja. The names of this prince and of Ghatāma who was his descendant are not otherwise known. At the time of the inscription Hēmādrīdēva was reigning. Three persons of this name are known to the history of the Yādava period: (1) Hēmādrīdēva of the Nikumbha family, a feudatory of the Yādavas, who was ruling at Patna in the Chāliśgaon region of Khāndesh sometime after Śaka 1128 (1207 A.D.)²; (2) Hēmādrī defeated by Khōlēśvara, the famous general of Bhillama, as mentioned in the stone inscription dated Śaka 1150 at Ambē³; and (3) Hēmādrī Pandit who was a minister of Rāmadēva Yādava and is mentioned in the Thāṇa⁴ inscription dated Śaka 1194 (1272 A.D.). Of these the first and the third are out of the question—for the former was ruling in Khāndesh and not in Berār, while the latter was only a minister and flourished nearly a century later. Again *prima facie* it appears doubtful if our Hēmādrī who was ruling in Śaka 1098 could be identified with the second prince named above, who was defeated by Khōlēśvara sometime before Śaka 1150. Even if we suppose that the battle in which he was defeated was fought early in the reign of Śiṅghaṇa who ruled from Śaka 1132 to 1169, there is a difference of at least 34 years to be accounted for between the two dates. There is, however, one circumstance which renders this identification possible in the present state of our knowledge. Our inscription mentions that Hēmādrīdēva defeated Rājala, the son of Māluginidēva, who invaded Tēkkālī with a large army. Now two princes of the name Mālugin (or Mallugin) were reigning at the time—(1) Mallugin, the Kalachuri prince who, according to the Mārḍi stone inscription⁵ dated Śaka 1134, succeeded his brother, the Kalachuri prince Sōma or Sōvidēva whose last date is Śaka 1096, and (2) Mallugin, the father and predecessor of the Yādava king Bhillama (Śaka 1109-1113). As to the first alternative, it is clear that the Kalachuri Mālugin was reigning for a short interval between Śakas 1097 to 1098 as we have a record of the second year of his reign dating from Śaka 1096. From other records, we know that his younger brother Saṅkama also began to rule in Śaka 1097 as his second and eighth years were Śakas 1098 and 1104 respectively. The only hypothesis on which this can be explained is that of joint rule by the two brothers. As the present record mentions that Hēmādrīdēva defeated Rājala, the son of Mālugin, this alternative is not entirely ruled out, but it is improbable that the Kalachuris could at this period engage in offensive warfare so far away from their capital, Kalyāṇī. As to the second alternative, we learn from the *Vratakhṇḍa* of Hēmādrī Pandit that Mallugin, the Yādava king, took a town named Parpakhṣṭa from his enemies and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala.⁶ The early Yādava princes were ruling in

¹ *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 20.

² *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 341.

³ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 64.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 198.

⁵ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 50.

⁶ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar *Early History of the Deccan*, Third Edition, p. 179.

Sēupadēśa, corresponding to modern Khāndesh; Parnakhēṭa must, therefore, be situated somewhere to the east of Khāndesh, possibly in Berār.¹ We may note again that Khōlēśvara, a general of the Yādava Singhana, defeated one Hēmādri of Parnakhēṭa.² Putting these references together it seems quite plausible that Mallugi defeated the father or some elderly relative of Hēmādri of the present inscription, while the latter, when he was a mere boy, vanquished Rājala, the son of Mallugi, who was advancing on Tēkkalī with a large army; finally Khōlēśvara defeated Hēmādri early in the reign of Singhana. If Hēmādri was a young man in Śaka 1098, as the present inscription seems to imply, he may have continued to reign as late as Śaka 1132. The other persons mentioned in this record, viz., Bhīllama, Pālama and Māila, were ministers who served the royal family and must not be confounded with some of their namesakes in the dynasty of the Yādavas.³

TEXT.

- 1 श्री⁴ ॥ श्री स्वस्ति श्री शकः १०८८ [दुर्मुख संवत्सरे] वैशाख⁵ मासे
शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्यां गुरौ दिने पुष्यनक्षत्रे आयुष[दि](ति) योगी [वर्षिजकरणे].....
- 2 जयति⁶ तुलसिरक्त[ः*] शंकितो राधयाद⁷ शरणनिहितमू[र्धा] बिंबितस्तवखेषु ।
शिव इति नखरश्मि⁸ श्रुतितैकादशात्मा हरिरविहृत[मूर्त्ती].....
- 3 वा⁹(बा)[डुरु]दग्रभूभृदंशो यशोभूभुवि¹⁰ दंतुराजः । ततस्ततः स्वप्रबलप्रतापव्यर-
ज्वलच्छत्रुरभूडटामः ।[॥*] ¹¹निमीलंमालिनारातिवनितावदनां दुजः । प्राप्ते
ततः । [धर्मा]...रा वापा (?)....
- 4 च [॥*] निवारितो¹² मंत्रिगणेन बाल[ः*] स्वयैर्भटैर्मालुगिदेवपुत्रं । जिगाय
सेनाबहुलत्वदर्पाद्दीडावयो राजलमापतन्¹³ ॥ स्मारं [स्मारं].....याव
श्रीकं पा.....
- 5 धिक्कावाक्या¹⁴ रणविधौ नृत्यत्कबंधनैः¹⁵ व्यालुप्तचित्तिपालमं(म)ण्डलकरादाने दया-
भाषणैः [॥*] कीर्त्तौ चामरवत्तर्मनो लघुतया [यो]....स्वश्री[ध]रेण.....भूमिः क-
- 6 [दा ?] च¹⁶ नवलत्वबलैरुपैता¹⁷ ।[॥*] हेमाद्रिदेववृत्तेः कलितापशब्दं
नेचालि¹⁸ शत्रुनिचयेन कदाचनापि ॥ सोपप्लव¹⁹ चिरकलंकयुतं क्षया[र्त्तं]
.....मोदितं वि.... मण्डलमस्य राज्ञः (॥) तैः¹⁹

¹ There is a village called Pātkhed about 4 miles to the south-west of Bārsi Tūkli, which I would identify with Parnakhēṭa.

² G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol I, p. 64. I read पर्षिजेटीय in place of दाखेटीय. [The name पर्षिजेटी also occurs in an unpublished plate from Berar.—Ed.]

³ Cf. R. B. Hiralal, *List of Inscriptions in G. P. and Berar (Second Edition)*, p. 148.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁶ Read नखरश्मि⁸.

⁷ Read राधयाद⁷.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹¹ Read नीचालि.

¹² Read देशाख.

¹³ Read राधयाद⁷.

¹⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁵ Metre: *Anuśṭubh*. Read मोक्षमालिना⁹

¹⁶ Read 'तापलक्ष'.

¹⁷ Read 'प्रजैर्वाभुन'

¹⁸ Read 'दंष्ट्रा'.

¹⁹ Metre: *Anuśṭubh*.

- 7 ली राजधानी स्त्रा धर्मदुर्म कलौ युगे । वाणारसी कृता तेन विमलैः
सुचरित्रकैः । [[1*] प्रास¹ पुरा विरचितैः सुकृतैः कथंचिद्देहं विज्ञाय नियता
..... स्वजने समस्ताः । [[1*] जज्ञे² राज्ञां प्रज्ञ आ-
- 8 ज्ञाकृद्देष्टां मंत्री मौली³ लभ्यवालभ्यगोत्रः । शूर[1*] श्रीमां⁴ भीष्मभो नाम
तस्माञ्चातः पुत्रः पालमः पुण्यकीर्तिः ॥ ⁵तस्मादभूत्तस्मादलनामधेयस्तत...क्ष्मी ॥
⁶उत्कृष्टेपि गुणे [यस्य..]ज्ञता(ता)ना-
- 9 [प]नीयते । अतिशार्ङ्गेण शार्ङ्गेण ततः समुदपद्यतः⁷ । [[1*] ⁸हरिचरणसरोज-
रक्तचित्त(त्त)क्षपितसमुद्धतपातकप्रचारः तत उदयत गामै(मि)यायदास्वां(स्वान्)
रविरिव ल्लतसां(सं)सक्तां [मिधाविनी] दरिद्रतां⁹ ॥ मा-
- 10 ध्यदिने¹ दिनपतौ हरिवेश्मचूडाचक्रोक्तते विततभक्तप्रितरित्यदिक्के¹⁰ । विष्णो[र्गृ]हं
व्यतिनि¹⁰ तेन पुरेथ तत्र नीलातपत्रमिव यत्र नभो विभाति ॥
टारटं(?) यस्यां दिन....
- 11 प्रस्ताः¹¹ । [[1*] चक्रै¹² स तस्यां जनजीवनार्थ(र्थ)मुत्खातपातालतळ(ळ) तडागं ।
साक्षात्क्षणं लक्षितशेषरूपैः(ः) पापैरपि प्राप्यत यत्र सुक्तिः । [[1*] ¹³प्रसि-
द्धिम[प्र].....मंत्र[कोष्ठनिर्व्या]— —]हर-
- 12 ति लहरिहस्तैर्वेपितासा(शा)दशापि¹² । हसति हसितपद्मेक्षपदं सागराणां ॥¹³
जयति सुकृतमूर्त्ती गामयाजन्तडागं ॥ ¹⁴उत्कीर्णरूपे च सुधांसु¹⁶[विंबे].....
दिरादिष्ट.....
- 13 स्यामिष पीयूषधामा । प्रतिकृतिगतरूपः पुष्टये स्वस्य वापीं [प्रथित-
सुकृतराशिं निर्मि(र्म)मे]
- 14 नामानौ¹⁶ तस्य बंधू बभूवतुः । गुणखानि.....
- 19 [¹⁶तस्य दासस्य दासोहं] मम दतः(त्ति) प्रतिपाद्य[*ताम्] लीया

¹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*. Read प्राप्ति.

² Read मौलीलभ्य°.

³ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁷ Read समुदपद्यत.

⁸ Read °हृत्पदिक्के.

¹¹ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

¹² Metre: *Mālinī*. The amended reading वेपितासा दशापि involves a wrong *sandhi* in वेपिता; आशा; which should have been वेपिता आशा.

¹³ *Dardas* unnecessary.

¹⁶ Read सुधांसु.

⁴ Metre: *Śālinī*.

⁵ Read श्रीमां भिष्मभो.

⁶ Metre: *Anuśubh*.

⁸ Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

¹⁰ Read व्यतिनि.

¹⁴ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

¹⁶ Metre: *Anuśubh*.

No. 22.—SURAT PLATES OF KARKKARAJA SUVARNAVARSHA OF THE GUJRAT RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH ; DATED SAKA YEAR 743.

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D. LITT., BENARES.

The accompanying plates of Karkka Suvarnavarsha, which are being edited here for the first time, were referred to by the late Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī in his *Early History of Gujarāt* which he contributed to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume I, Part I. At page 125 of the above work he briefly refers to their contents but does not give any information about their findspot or the circumstances in which or the person by whom they were discovered. He refers to them as the Surat plates and, therefore, presumably they were found in or near that city. But nothing definite is known about the findspot of the plates beyond what Dr. Bhagwānlāl has said in the above book. I have, therefore, continued his nomenclature of the present record, though I can adduce no definite evidence to connect them with Surat. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Calcutta University, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* and I am accordingly editing them now.

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

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

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation ; the surface has been partly damaged in a few places, but the record is perfectly legible except at the beginning of l. 45 where the first two letters are doubtful. The surface of the plates was not dressed very carefully ; as a result there are depressions some of which look like *anusvāras* (cf. *nēkā* l. 13) and some like medial vowel marks (cf. *vriddhayē* l. 44). In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes ; thus he has crossed out the medial *ā* mark of *khā* in *khāḍga* in l. 40 and of *jā* in *jānmānugam* in l. 55, and in addition to the correction in *kā* in l. 51 he has crossed out the letter *ryyā* so as to change *kāryyā* into *karaṇiyā*. In some cases he has also made up his omissions by supplying the omitted letter or letters either immediately below the preceding or succeeding letter (cf. *ka* of *vrishāmkā* l. 27, *kā* of *mahāsamyugē* l. 32, *pha* of *phalāvāpti* l. 33, *ryyē* in *śauryyēṇa* and *yā* in *sadājhayā* l. 39) or at the bottom of the plate (cf. *ārtārti* at the bottom of the first plate, and *tatkā sāśanadūtā* and *hastēna sva* at that of the third). A *kākapada* is usually, but not invariably, written to draw attention to the corrections. But the plates were not very carefully revised, and as a result, four letters inadvertently omitted in verse 25 remained to be supplied and several wrongly repeated letters, words and groups of words remained to be crossed out. (See notes to ll. 38, 43, 45, 49

52, 55, etc.) The horizontal stroke of *sha* in *shu* in *raṇasarvarishu* l. 3 has been carelessly omitted, whereas it is wrongly introduced in *pra* of *praśishya* in l. 49. Slipshod execution is seen in *parigīyatē* l. 24, where the short stroke to the left of the vertical stroke of *ra*, instead of being engraved at the centre, is relegated to the bottom and is allowed to merge in the medial *i* mark of the letter; in the next letter *gi* the engraver allowed his instrument to slip to the right of the left lower limb of the letter and this unnecessary line meets the medial *i* mark of *gi*. As a result *°rigi* can be recognised only on the plate. The loop at the head of *sthaiḥ* in *sānusthaiḥ* l. 25 must again be attributed to carelessness.

The characters belong to the northern class of the alphabets and are similar to the characters of the Paithan, Wanī-Diṇḍorī, and Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III. There is no admixture of the southern forms to any extent whatsoever, except perhaps the *sha* in *Rāshtrakūṭa* in l. 8, which shows a bend in the left limb, characteristic of the southern alphabets. The general form of the characters is similar to the Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. Attention may be drawn, however, to the medial *ā* sign in the case of *ṭā* and *ṣā* which is a semi-circle open upwards, attached in the latter case sometimes to the central horizontal stroke (cf. *bhājō* l. 19) and sometimes to the topmost one (cf. *taṣy-ātmajō* l. 6). Medial *u* is usually denoted by a small stroke to the left as in the case of *mu* and *shu*; in the case of *ru*, *bhru* l. 4, *tru* l. 8, *Dhru* l. 22, this stroke is transferred to the right owing to the presence of a stroke to the left in these letters; sometimes, however, a curve is attached at the end of the vertical to the left to denote the medial *u*, as in *su*. The final forms of *ma*, *na* and *ta* occur in the record; the first two are denoted by a short slanting stroke attached to the right of the vertical (cf. *yōyam* l. 42, *dharmāṇām* l. 62, *adhikārikān* l. 43), while the last one is denoted by the ordinary form of *ta* without, however, its small vertical and *mātrā*, but with a slanting line placed at a distance to the left (f. *vasēt* l. 54 and *dadyāt* l. 57).

It may be pointed out that the Rāshtrakūṭa records of the period to which our record belongs use three different varieties of alphabets. The purely southern variety, the precursor of the modern Kanarese, is used in the extreme south and is illustrated by the Kaḍaba plates of Gōvinda III¹. In the central and northern portions of the empire two varieties were being used side by side, one the successor of the Valabhī alphabet and the other, the Nāgarī which was gradually displacing the former. The Sāmāngaḍ plates of Dantidurga,² the Talegaon plates³ of Kṛishṇa I, and the Paithan,⁴ Wanī-Diṇḍorī,⁵ and the Rādhanpur⁶ plates of Gōvinda III are all in the Nāgarī script, while the Baroda plates⁷ of the present donor, Tōrkhēḍē⁸ plates of Gōvinda III, and the Baroda plates⁹ of Dhruva I exhibit the successor of the Valabhī alphabet, showing the traces of both southern and northern influence.

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

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

¹ *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 340.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 275.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 157.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 168.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 199.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

⁷ *Ante*, Vol. III, p. 193.

⁸ *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 242.

⁹ *Ante*, Vol. III, p. 54.

unconscious influence of the preceding word *khadgam*. In ll. 47-49 the object of the grant Dhāshu-vāpī is treated sometime as masculine and sometime as feminine.

With respect to **orthography** the following points are to be noted :—(1) *Va* is written throughout for *ba* ; (2) in a conjunct of which *r* is the first member, the second consonant is doubled with very rare exceptions as in *Stambhādibhir-bhuja-valād* l. 31, *arthishu* and *yathārthatā* in l. 33 and *sārtha* and *Prārtha* in l. 39 ; (3) a *visarga* before a following *pa* or *pha* is denoted by the sign for *upadhmāniya* in 4 cases (see ll. 1, 41, 58 and 59), but in 8 other cases the *upadhmāniya* mark has not been used (see ll. 11, 22, 28, 33, 37, 39, 40 and 47). (4) Whether this record uses the *jihvāmūliya* symbol is a knotty question. Cases of a *visarga* followed by a *ka* occur in ll. 7, 10, 14, 19, 23, 38, 42, 50, 57, etc. The conjunct consonant used in all these cases really looks like a *mk* (cf. *mku* l. 38), but that combination is inexplicable. One is tempted to read it as *sk*, but the normal form of *sa* in the present record is different ; we have besides two clear cases of *ska* in *skandhāvāra* l. 44 and *yaśaskara* l. 58 and this form is entirely different from the one seen in the combination of a *visarga* and a following *k*. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that what looks like the form of *m* in the combination of a *visarga* with a following *k* is a symbol for *jihvāmūliya*. It may be pointed out that in several other records the symbol for *jihvāmūliya* is also very much similar to the contemporary sign for the letter *m*. (cf. *Ante* Vol. XVII, p. 329, Mattepad plates, l. 7, Vol. VI, p. 7, Aihole Inscription, l. 17, etc.). (5) The *anuvāra* before a *śa* is denoted by the guttural nasal, cf. *vaśśaiḥ* l. 51 ; in other cases it is sometimes converted to the nasal of the class to which following letter belongs and sometimes denoted by a dot. (6) The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed except in the portion dealing with the locality and its boundary ; see ll. 46-48. The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of the record, excepting the introductory letter *ōm*, is in verse. The verses are not numbered, but at the end of each verse there is a punctuation mark usually consisting of two short vertical strokes, except at the end of v. 38 where we have only one stroke, probably by mistake, and at the end of v. 36 where it is altogether dropped, probably owing to the wrong repetition of a number of letters in the last *pāda* of that verse. There are no punctuation marks to denote the end of the half verse, the only exception being v. 35, where we have the punctuation mark usually used at the verse-end.

The present charter contains the grant of a field to a Jain establishment at Nāgasārikā or modern Nausāri. Ll. 42-47 inform us that when **Suvarṇavarsha Karkkarāja**, the son of Indrarāja, was encamped on the bank of the **Vaṅkikā** he granted on the full moon day of **Vaiśākha** of the **Saka year 743** elapsed (corresponding to **Sunday the 21st of April 821 A.D.**) **Hiraṇyayōgā**, which was apparently the name of a field irrigated by a well belonging to or constructed by a person named Dhāshu, to the Jain teacher Aparājita, who was a disciple of the most revered Sumatī who in turn was a pupil of Maṭṭlavādī¹. It is a pity that the value of the fourth letter of the proper name of the last mentioned personage should be doubtful. The letter can be read as *ri*, *di* or *ḍi*. It is quite clear that the engraver has proceeded to modify *ri*, which he had first written ; whether he has changed this letter to *ḍi* or *ḍi* is not clear. It is obvious that the proper name in question could not have been Malavādī, but Mallavādī ; the former hardly gives any sense, and it is, therefore, quite possible that one *l* may have been inadvertently omitted. Mallavādī, who was apparently the founder of the Jain temple and the attached *Maṭha* at Nausāri, is very probably the same personage who wrote a commentary called *Dharmōttara-ṭippaṇaka* on the *Nyāya-bindu-ṭikā* of Dharmōttarāchārya. Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa has pointed out² that this Mallavādī may have lived either in the first half of the 9th or in the second half of the 10th century A.D. Our charter

¹ The reading is clearly Maladhāri and not Malavādi, to judge from the facsimile—Ed.

² *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 194-5.

shows that the first alternative is nearer the correct date. Since a disciple of Mallavādin's disciple is the recipient of a grant issued in 821 A.D. it is obvious that Mallavādin could not have flourished in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.; he must be placed in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. This conclusion will be untenable if we accept Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's view that Dharmōttarāchārya, on whose work Mallavādin wrote his commentary, flourished in c. 847 A.D. But this view itself is wrong, since it is based upon an unproved assumption that king Vanapāla was ruling in Bengal in c. 847 A.D.

Mallavādin and his disciples belonged to the Sēna-saṅgha, which is described as a branch of the Mūla-saṅgha which constituted the main Digambara Church. According to the *Paṭṭāvalis*, the Mūla-saṅgha branched off into three other sub-sections known as Dēva-saṅgha, Nandi-saṅgha and Sēna-saṅgha sometime in the 1st century A.D.¹ It is with reference to this division into four sections of the main Digambara branch that Mūla-saṅgha is called *chātushtaya* in our grant. The information of the *Paṭṭāvalis* is thus confirmed by epigraphical evidence. There is at present a Jain temple at Nausārī called the Pārsvanātha temple with two *Maṭhas* attached to it, one for the male and the other for the female ascetics. The present temple belongs to the Śvētāmbara sect and its buildings, which are being renovated at present, are said, according to local tradition, to have been built by Vastupāla in the 13th century A.D. Vastupāla may have quite possibly provided buildings to a Saṅgha that was already flourishing in the locality; in that case the antiquity of the Śvētāmbara Jain establishment may antedate the buildings in which it is now located. The Mūla-saṅgha establishment of Nausārī to which Karkka gave the present grant was most probably different from the present Jain temple since it belonged to the Digambara church, which seems to have disappeared in subsequent centuries.

After the syllable *ōm* the record opens with a homage to the gospel of Jinendra in v. 1. The next 39 verses give the Rāshtrakūṭa genealogy of the main branch up to Amōghavarsha I and of the Gujarat branch up to Karkka Suvarṇavarsha. Since most of these verses recur in other published Rāshtrakūṭa records it is unnecessary to give an abstract of their contents here. Attention will, therefore, be drawn only to a few salient points. The genealogy begins with Gōvinda I, the names of his father and grandfather Indra Prichchhakarāja and Dantivarman respectively, which are given in the Konnūr inscription², Sanjān copper-plates³ of Amōghavarsha I and the Daśavatāra cave record⁴ do not figure in this grant. The name of Dantidurga is not passed over in this record, nor is the credit of the overthrow of the Chālukyas given to Kṛishṇa I in preference to Dantidurga as is done in the Waṇī-Diṇḍōri⁵ and Rādhanpur⁶ plates of Gōvinda III, Baroda plates⁷ of the present donor and Kāpaḍvanj plates⁸ of Kṛishṇa II. The bravery of the next ruler Kṛishṇa I is described in the next 7 verses (12-18), but the description is all conventional; his wars with the Gāṅgas and the Eastern Chālukyas are not even referred to, the only historical event mentioned is the overthrow of Rāhappa. The record, however, does not give any clue to the identification of this opponent. The successor of Kṛishṇa I, Gōvinda II, is not passed over as is done in the Baroda plates of the present donor, Kāpaḍvanj plates⁹ of Kṛishṇa II and the Bagumrā plates¹⁰ of Indra III, but the circumstances of his overthrow by his younger brother are not mentioned. The next 6 verses (20-25) describe the career of Dhruva. All these verses, with the exception of v. 25, are already known to us and contain only conventional eulogy. V. 25, however, which, so far as I am aware, does not occur in any other records so far published, is

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 474.

² *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 235.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 157.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

⁷ *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 87.

⁸ *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 242.

⁹ *Ante*, Vol. I, p. 53.

historically important. The expression '*Gāṅgaugha-santati-nirōdha-vividdha-kīrtiḥ*' used in this verse to describe both Śiva and Dhruva clearly refers to Dhruva's victories over the Western Gāṅgas and possibly also over the Pālas and Gurjara Pratihāraḥ. The expression can mean 'One whose fame is increased by the imprisonment of a scion of the Gāṅga family or lineage' and would thus be referring to the imprisonment of the contemporary Gāṅga ruler Śivamāra, which is mentioned in several other records of the Rāshtrakūṭas.¹ It is interesting to note that some of the Gāṅga records also admit indirectly the truth of the Rāshtrakūṭa claim. The Maṇṇe plates, alleged to be issued by Śivamāra's son in 797² A.D., are no doubt spurious, but the statement made in them that Śivamāra was entangled on all sides in difficulties seems to have been based on a genuine historic tradition. The Gaṭṭavādipur plates inform us that Śivamāra put his younger brother Vijayāditya upon the throne who 'like Bharata, knowing the earth to be his elder brother's wife, refrained from enjoying her.'³ This statement, especially the Rāmāyaṇa episode recalled in the simile, makes it clear that Śivamāra was absent from the kingdom probably in the Rāshtrakūṭa prison, and that his younger brother was trying to carry on the struggle against the conqueror in the absence of the *de jure* ruler. In the expression *Gāṅga-ugha-santati-nirōdha*⁴ I further see a reference to Dhruva's campaign in the Gangetic Doab, where according to the Sanjān and Banoda plates, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pāla and Gurjara armies. To the poet's imagination, the mighty forces of the Rāshtrakūṭa invader, crossing the Ganges, may well have appeared to have repeated Śiva's feat of obstructing the flow of the river⁵.

The next 6 verses (26-31) describe the exploits of the next ruler Gōvinda III, but the description is all conventional. The only historical event referred to is the rebellion of Stambha; Gōvinda's brilliant campaigns against the kings of Southern and Northern India are altogether passed over. A verse in the Rādhānpur plates of Gōvinda III states that he had opposed his father's plan of abdication in his favour, pointing out that he was quite content with the *Kaṇṭhikā* or necklace, the insignia of a Yuvarāja. The Kāvi plates,⁶ however, distinctly state that Gōvinda obtained the kingdom from his father at a formal coronation. V. 30 of our record supports the Kāvi plates, inasmuch as it refers to Gōvinda receiving, not his *yauvarājya*, but the imperial title *rājādhirāja-paramēśvaratā*, from his father at the time of his own coronation. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether Dhruva had actually abdicated in the closing years or months of his reign. On the one hand it is possible that the expressions *Rājyābhishēka-kalāsaiḥ* and *rājādhirāja-paramēśvaratām* may have been used rather loosely by the Kāvi and the present plates to denote *yauvarājyābhishēka*; on the other hand, grown wiser by the treatment which he himself had given to his elder brother Gōvinda II, Dhruva may have realised that installation as an heir-apparent was no guarantee against a war of succession and may, therefore, have actually abdicated in favour of his favourite son to avoid the chance of his succession being opposed. Under these circumstances it will be difficult to decide in favour of either of the two alternatives until we get more evidence on the point. Vv. 32-40 refer to Amōghavarsha I, his uncle Indra and the latter's son Karkka, the donor of the grant. All these verses are already known to us from other records, but v. 39 of this record combined with its date gives very valuable historical information. The verse in question tells us that Amōghavarsha I was reinstated on the throne by his cousin Karkka, when a number of Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories had rebelled against him. The rebellion in question was already known, but when it started and how long it lasted we

¹ E.g., Wanī-Diṇḍōri plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 157.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nalamangala, No. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Nanjangud, No. 269.

⁴ [I do not agree that any reference to Dhruva's northern campaigns against the Pālas and Gurjaras is also contained in the expression *gāṅga-ugha*. . . . *kīrtiḥ*.—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 147.

could not know definitely until now. Its time could be given only vaguely as sometime between February 817 A.D. and October 835 A.D. For, the Nausāri plates¹ of the present donor issued in February 817 A.D., while referring to the succession of Amōghavarsha I, do not refer to the rebellion; while the Baroda plates² of his son Dhruva, issued in October 835 A.D., contain a reference to the signal services rendered to his cousin by Karkka in quelling the rebellion of the proud and wilful Rāshtrakūṭas. The date of the present record is 21st of April 821 A.D.; it closely copies the Nausāri grant of the present donor, and the only information it supplies to us about the grantor is his reinstatement of his cousin Amōghavarsha I upon the imperial throne. It is, therefore, clear that the rebellion broke out and was quelled completely between February 817 and April 821 A.D. When Amōghavarsha was restored to the throne he was still a boy of about 12, and the government must have been carried on in his name by some regent, probably by Karkka himself. The present record is thus an almost contemporary document with reference to the rebellion and it gives the credit of quelling it to Karkka; later records of the Gujarāt branch also concur with it in this respect. The recently published Sanjān copper-plates³ of Amōghavarsha I, however, tell us that it was with the help of Pātālamalla that the boy emperor could regain his throne. This discrepancy can be explained in two ways: (1) Pātālamalla may have been another relative or feudatory of Amōghavarsha, who may have co-operated with Karkka in overthrowing the confederacy against the boy emperor. The Gujarāt branch records would naturally ignore him and give the entire credit to Karkka who belonged to it. (2) Or, Pātālamalla may be the same as Karkka, the former being an epithet of the latter. Pātālamalla is obviously a *biruda* rather than a proper name; Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī avers that it was a *biruda* of Karkka, but cites no authority for his statement.⁴ It is not improbable that the late scholar made that statement on the authority of some unpublished Rāshtrakūṭa record (e.g., the Baroda grant of Dhruva II of the Gujarāt branch, dated 867 A.D., which is referred to by him but yet remains to see the light of the day); but so far no published Rāshtrakūṭa record assigns to him that title. I am inclined to hold that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka; had Pātālamalla been a different man, a relative or feudatory of Amōghavarsha, who co-operated with Karkka in restoring him to the throne, it is difficult to understand why the Sanjān plates, which describe in detail the rebellion and the consequent anarchy, should altogether ignore the services of Karkka, while eulogising those of Pātālamalla. It is possible to argue that the omission of Karkka in the Sanjān plates is deliberate; his descendants, who ruled after him in Southern Gujarāt, had rebelled recently against the imperial authority of Amōghavarsha⁵ I and therefore the latter may have naturally ignored the services rendered by Karkka in a grant issued by him, while the memory of the rebellion of the Gujarāt branch was still fresh. This explanation is possible, but I prefer to believe that one day we may find a record showing that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka Suvarnavarsha.

Most of the verses of the present record are already known to us from published records. Vv. 2-21 are identical with vv. 1-20 of the Nausāri grant⁶ of the present donor; vv. 23-24 and 26-28 are identical with vv. 21-25 of the same record. V. 39 occurs in the Baroda plates of Dhruva,⁷ the son of the present grantor, and vv. 22 and 40 occur in the Paṭṭhan grant of Gōvinda III⁸

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 135.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 189.

³ Ante, Vol. XVIII, p. 48.

⁴ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 124.

⁵ The long war lasting for as many as three generations mentioned in the Baroda plates of Dhruva II (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 197) in which Dhruva I lost his life and his son and grandson were ousted from the throne, was fought with a king named Vallabha, who could have been no other than Amōghavarsha I. I have discussed this question in detail in my forthcoming book, 'The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times.'

⁶ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 135.

⁷ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 199.

⁸ Ante, Vol. III, p. 105.

ll. 38-39 and 41-42. V. 25 alone is a new one and its historical significance has been discussed already.

After recording the grant in prose the charter recites the usual imprecatory verses and concludes with a couple of verses in praise of Jainism. The charter claims to contain an autograph of Karkka, but it should have been in proto-Kanarese characters as is the case with his sign-manuals in his Baroda and Nausāri grants. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the duct of the words '*Svabhastōyam mama śrī-Karkkarājasya śrīmad-Indrarāja-sūnōḥ*' really represents that of Karkka's own handwriting. The charter was drafted by Nārāyaṇa, son of *Kulaputraka* śī-Durgabhaṭṭa, who was the chief foreign minister of Karkka. He is obviously a brother of Nēmāditya, who had drafted the two other known copper-plate grants of the present donor,—the Baroda plates of 811-2 and the Nausāri plates of 817 A. D.; for, the latter two documents describe Nēmāditya as a son of the foreign minister *Kulaputraka* Durgabhaṭṭa. The present charter shows that the career of Nārāyaṇa was more successful than that of his brother Nēmāditya, since he succeeded his father in the important post of the Chief Foreign Minister.

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

Sandhivigrahakāri tu bhavēd=yas=tasya lēkhakaḥ
Svayam rājñā samādishtaḥ sa likhēd=rājasāsanaṁ |

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

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

TEXT.¹

[The following metres have been used:—*Anuṣṭubh*:—vv. 2, 24, 32, 41-45 and 49. *Āryā*:—vv. 12-15, 22, 27-29, 33, 40 and 50. *Indravajrā*:—v. 23. *Upajāti*:—vv. 5 and 20. *Gīti*:—v. 8. *Pushpitāgrā*:—v. 48. *Vamśasthaviḷa*:—v. 1. *Vasantatilakā*:—vv. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 25, 26, 30, 36-38. *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*:—vv. 11, 18 and 31. *Sraḡdharī*:—vv. 17, 19, 34 and 35.]

¹ From the original plates.

First Plate.

- 1 चो¹ । त्रिय × पदं नित्यमशेषगोचरं नयप्रमाणं प्रतिषिद्धदुष्यं [1*]
जनस्य भव्यत्वं समाहितात्मनो जयत्यनुभाहि जिनेन्द्रशाशनं² ॥[१॥*] स चो
- 2 व्याहेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [1*] हरस्य यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया
कमलंकृतं ॥[२॥*] आसीद्विपत्तिभिरमुद्यतमण्डलाजो ध³स्तित्रय-
- 3 नभिसुखो⁴ रणसर्वरीषु⁵ [1*] भूपशुचिर्विधुरिवास्तदिगन्तकीर्तिगो⁶मिन्दराज इति
राजसु राजसिङ्गः⁷ ॥[३॥*] दृष्ट्वा चमूभभि-
- 4 सुखी[1*] सुभटाट्टासामुत्तमिदं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं [1*] दृष्टाधरेण
दधता मुकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं कुलं च हृदय*]-
- 5 च निज[च*] सत्वं [18*] खड्ग[1*] करापाशुखतस्य शोभां¹⁰ मानो मन-
स्तस्मममेव यस्य [1*] महाहवे नाम निश्चय्य सदास्त्र-
- 6 यं रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे [५॥*] तस्याब्जजो जगति विन्धुतदीर्घकीर्त्ति-¹¹
रार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी [1*] भूपा-
- 7 स्तु¹²विष्टपनृपानुकृति¹³कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्णराज इति गोत्रमणिवर्च¹⁴भूव [14*] तस्य
प्रभिवकरटच्युतदानद-
- 8 त्तिदन्तप्रहारचचिरोर्जाखितांसपोठः [1*] ज्ञापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुभूतनूजस्य द्वाद्-
कूटकनकाद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[७॥*] तस्योपा-
- 9 र्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्या[1*] भोज्ञा¹⁵भुवश्चतक्र[तु*]¹⁶शट्टशशीदन्ति-
दुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[८॥*] काक्षीयकेर-
- 10 लनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीमौ¹⁷थ्यवज्जटविभेदविधानदर्श [1*] कर्णार्णटकं वल¹⁸मचिन्मय-
जयमन्यैर्भृत्यैस्त्रियस्त्रिर-
- 11 पि यस्माद्वसा जिगाय ॥[९॥*] चमूविभंगमष्टहीतनिशातशस्त्रमश्रान्तमप्रतिहताश्र-
मपेतयत्नं [1*] यो वज्रभं क्षपदि¹⁹ दण्ड-
- 12 वलेन²⁰ जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[१०॥*] आसेतोर्विपुलोपलावलि-
लसज्जोलोर्भिर्भालाजलादाप्रालेयक-²¹

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Read भव्यत्वं.³ Read °शासनम्.⁴ Read °विष°.⁵ Read क्षति°.⁶ Read °नभिसुखी.⁷ The central horizontal stroke of श्च is missing.⁸ Read °जिनेन्द्र°.⁹ Read °सिङ्ग°.¹⁰ Read शोभा.¹¹ Letters तैरार्त्त which were omitted while engraving this line are written at the bottom of the plate. A *śakapadu* above की draws attention to the correction at the bottom.¹² Read स्तुपास्त्रविष्टप°.¹³ See introduction for the symbol of *jīrāmāliya*.¹⁴ Read °वर्चभूव°.¹⁵ Read भोज्ञा.¹⁶ Read °शट्टश°.¹⁷ [नीय here is a variant of हृद in other Rāshtrakūṭa grants.—N. P. C.]¹⁸ Read वल°.¹⁹ Read सपदि°.²⁰ Read °वलेन°.²¹ What looks like an *anaspāra* is a natural depression on the surface of the plate.

- 13 लंकितामलशिलाजालात्तुषाराचलादा¹पूर्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधेय्येनेदं² ज-
गती स्वविक्रमवलेने³का-
- 14 तपनीकृता ॥[११॥*] तस्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजावा⁴धः [1*] श्री-
कर्कराजस्तुर्गहीपतिकृष्णराजोभूत् ⁵॥[१२॥*] यस्य स्वभुजप-
- 15 राक्रमनिशेषोत्सादितारिदिवचक्रं [1*] कृष्णस्येवा कृष्ण⁶चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजस्य
[११३॥*] शुभतुंगतुंगतुरगप्रहरेण⁷दु⁸द्वरविकिरणं[1*] श्रीशेषेपि नभो निखितं⁹
- 16 प्रावृट्कालायते स्पष्टं ॥[१४॥*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीही¹⁰तमजसं [1*]
तत्क्षणमकालवर्षे वर्षति सर्वार्थिनिर्व्व¹¹[प*]णं ॥[१५॥*] र[1]हृष्यमा-
- 17 स्वभुजजातव¹²लावलेपमा¹⁰ञ्जी विजित्य निशितासिलताप्रहारैः [1*] पालिध्वजावलि-
शुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां
- 18 ततान ॥[१६॥*] क्रोधादुत्खातखड्ग¹¹प्रसूतरिपुभ¹⁰यै¹²र्भासमानं समस्तादाजा¹³दुहृत्तवे-
रिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंघोभदत्तं [1*] सौ¹⁴ध्यम्यङ्गारि-

Second Plate : First side.

- 19 वम्नो¹⁵ भयचकितवपुङ्गापि दृष्ट्वैव सद्यो ¹⁶दर्पोधातारिचक्रक्षयकरमगमद्यस्य दो¹⁷हृष्य-
रूपं ॥[१७॥*] पाता यस्य¹⁸रस्युराशिरसनलंकारभाजा¹⁹भु-
- 20 वस्त्रेया²⁰चापि कृतद्विजामरगुरुप्राज्याज्यपूजादरो²¹ [1*] दाता मानभृदप्रसी²²स्युक्तं
योसौ श्रियो मे²³क्षभो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा
- 21 स्थानं जगामामारं²³ ॥[१८॥*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्राततापात्सलीलं जम्भे²⁴
नासीरधूलीधवलितवपुषा वल्लभास्यसदाजौ [1*] श्रीमन्नोविन्दराजो जि-
- 22 तजगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतुस्तस्यासीत्सूनुरेक र लिताराति तेभकुम्भः ॥[१९॥*]
तस्यानुजः श्रीधुवराजनाम्ना मङ्गलानुभावः प्रथितप्रतापः [1*]
- 23 प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रच²⁵[क्र*]कृमेण वा²⁶लार्कवपुर्व्व²⁶भूव ॥[२०॥*] जाते यत्र च
राष्ट्रकूटतिलके समू²⁷तचूडा[म*]णौ गुर्वी तृष्टिरथाखिलस्यजगतस्तुस्वामिनि
प्रत्यहं [1*] [सत्य*] सत्यमिति प्रशा-

¹ The scribe or the composer has joined together the two words in a *sandhi*, without taking notice of the half-verse end, as required by rules of prosody.

² Read °शेनेयं.

³ The punctuation mark is damaged.

⁴ Read निखितं.

⁵ Read °बला°.

⁶ Read °र्भासमानं.

⁷ Read °शर्मा°.

⁸ Read °रस्यु°.

⁹ Read °द्वरः; the word being at the half-verse end, no *sandhi* is permitted.

¹⁰ Read °मानरं.

¹¹ Read °सत्यं°.

¹² Read °हलेनेका°.

¹³ Read इ .

¹⁴ Read °माजौ.

¹⁵ Read °वपु°.

¹⁶ Read °दर्पो°.

¹⁷ Read °माजौ.

¹⁸ Read °वपु°.

¹⁹ Read °वपु°.

²⁰ Read °वपु°.

²¹ भूव was the word probably intended by the poet.

²² Read °वाधः.

²³ Read सनीहित°.

²⁴ Read स्वत्रप्रसूतवपिचये°.

²⁵ Read °शेनेय°.

²⁶ Read दीहृष्य°.

²⁷ Read स्वय्या°.

²⁸ Read वल्लभो.

²⁹ Read वासाक°.

- 24 सति सति आभ्यासमुद्रान्तिकासासीधर्मपरे गुणानृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते
॥[२१॥*] शशधरकिरणनिकारनिभं यस्य यशस्वरन'प्रायसानुस्यैः [1*]
परिणी-
- 25 यतेनुरत्नैर्विद्याधरसुन्दरीनिवहैः ॥ [२२॥*] हृष्टोन्वहं योर्थिजनाय नित्यं
सर्वस्वमानन्दितव'भुवर्णः [1] प्रादाग्रहृष्टो हरति आ वेगाप्राणान्धमस्यापि
नितान्त-
- 26 वीर्यैः ॥[२३॥*] रक्षता येन निश्चेषं चतुरन्धोधिसंयुतं [1*] राज्यं
धर्माण लोकाणां कृता हृष्टि'परा हृदि ॥[२४॥*] योसौ प्रसाधित-
[समुत्त*] सारदुर्मी गांगौ'वसन्ततिनिरोध-
- 27 विद्वत्कीर्त्ति'रात्मोक्ततोक्तद्वर्षाक'विभूतिरुचैर्व्यक्तं ततान परमेश्वरतामिहेकः ॥
[२५॥*] तस्यात्मजो जगति सत्यधितोरुकीर्त्तिर्मी'विन्दराज इ-
- 28 ति गोचललामभूतः [1*] त्यागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रतापक्षन्तापिताहितजनी
जनवक्त्रभोभूत् ॥[२६॥*] प्रिथ्वी'वक्त्रम इति च प्रथितं यस्या-
- 29 परं ज[ग*]ति नाम [1*] यश्चतुर्दधिसीमामेकी वसुधां वधे चक्रे [1२७*]
एकोऽप्यनेकरूपो यो ददृशे भेदवादिभिरिवात्मा [1*] परवल'जलधिमपारं
- 30 तरङ्गदोर्भ्यां रणे रिपुभिः ॥[२८॥*] एको निहँतिरहं गृहीतशस्त्रा मे
परे व'हृद्ये [1*] यो नैवविधमकरोच्चितं स्वप्नेपि किमुताजौ ॥[२९॥*]
राज्याभिषेककलशैर्बलि-
- 31 पिच्य क्लृप्तं राजाभिषाजपरमेश्वरतां स्वयिका [1*] चन्यैर्माहातृपतिभिर्व'भुभि-
र्व'समेत्य स्तब्धादिभिर्भुजकला¹²दवलुप्यमाना [३०॥*] एकोनेकानरेन्द्रहृन्दसहिता-
- 32 व्यस्तान्धमस्तानपि प्रोत्स्था'ता*]सिलताप्रहासविभुस'¹³ कश्च¹⁴ मा¹⁵हासंयुगे [1*]
लच्छो[म]व्यचलां चकार विलस¹⁶क्षममस्थाहिणीं ॥¹⁷ संसीदन्नकिप्रसज्जनमुद्धव-¹⁸

¹ Read 'नराय'.

² Read 'दस्य'.

³ Four letters are missing; the reading given is conjectural.

⁴ The engraver's instrument has slipped to the left of the first vertical in नी.

⁵ Read कीर्त्तिः [1*] आसीदती* ; कीर्त्तिः being at the half-verse end a sandhi is not possible.

⁶ The letter क, omitted while engraving, is written below the line under the letter न between two *kāka-*
*pada*s. A small *kākapada* above the letter न, clear in the plate, draws attention to the omitted letter.

⁷ Read पृथ्वी'.

⁸ Read परवल'.

⁹ Read बहवः.

¹⁰ Read 'वहृ'.

¹¹ The letter व is repeated by mistake.

¹² Read 'मला'.

¹³ Read 'वधुरान्'.

¹⁴ Read बद्धा.

¹⁵ Read महा'. The letter ह omitted while engraving is written below the line between मा and सं.

¹⁶ Read 'लसत्'.

¹⁷ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

¹⁸ Read 'वहृ'.

- 33 भूपभोग्यां भुवि ॥[३१॥*] तत्पुत्रो मते नाकमाकांक्ष्यतारि^१प्रजे [१*]
श्रीमा^२हाराजस^३र्वाख्यः[*] ख्यातो राजाभवदुषैः ॥[३२॥*] चर्धिषु यथार्थता[^४]
यश्चमभि^५ष्टता^६फ^७लासिलव्य^८तो-
- 34 षेषु [१*] वृद्धिनिनाय परमाममोघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[*३३॥] राजाभूत्तत्पिष्टव्यो
रिपुभवविभवो^९भूत्यभावैकहेतुर्ज^{१०}ष्मीवाभि^{११}न्द्रराजो गुणिजनतिकरा^{१२}न्तश्चमत्वा-
- 35 रकारो । रागादन्ध्याभ्युदस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपं सेवमाना राजश्रीरेव चक्रे
स[कल*]कविजनोद्दी^{१३}यतथ्यस्वभावं ॥[३४॥*] निर्व्याणावाप्तवानासहितहितजनो-
- 36 पार्श्व^{१४}माना सुवृत्तं वृत्तं जित्वाभ्यरात्रां चरितमुदयवान्स्वर्धतो हिंसकेभ्यः ॥(१)
एकाकी दृप्तवैरिस्त्वननकृतिसहप्रातिराज्येभ्यः^{१५}हृत्वाटीयमण्डलं
- 37 यस्तपन इव निजस्त्रामिदत्तं ररच ॥[३५॥*] यस्यांगमात्रजयिनः प्रियसाहसस्य
स्त्रापालवेषफलमेव व^{१६}भू[व*] स्वैय^{१७}भुक्तावौ व^{१८} सर्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदे-

Second Plate : Second side.

- 38 वं नावन्दतान्यममरेष्वपि यो ममरेष्वपि यो^{१९} मनस्वी ॥[३६॥*] श्रीकर्कराज
इति रक्षिरा^{२०}तराज्यभारस्त्रारङ्गुलस्य तनयो नयशालिसौ^{२१}र्धः [१*] तस्या-
- 39 भवद्विभ[व*]नन्दितव^{२२}भुसार्थः प्रा^{२३}र्थः सदैव धनुषि प्रथमो^{२४}श्चोर्णा ॥[३७॥*]
दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया^{२५} वा सौ^{२६}र्धेण वीर्येण च कोपि भूपः [१*]
एतेन साम्योस्ति
- 40 न वेति कीर्त्तिस्त्वकीतुका भ्राम्यति यस्य लोके ॥[३८॥*] श्रे^{२७}(स्त्रे)च्छागृहीत-
विषया[न*] दृढसङ्गभाजः प्रोदृत्तदृप्ततरमौलिक^{२८}तराष्ट्रकूटानु^{२९}त्खातस्व^{३०}निज-
- 41 वाहुवलेन^{३१} जित्वा योमोघवर्षमचिरात्स्वपदे व्यधत्त ॥[३९॥*] तेनेदमनिलविद्यु-
च्चंचलमालोक्य जीवितमसारं [१*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यं प्रवर्त्तितो ध-

^१ Read °कम्पितरिपुप्रजे.

^२ Read °महा°.

^३ The usual spelling of this king's name is ऋद.

^४ Read समसीष्ट°.

^५ This letter ता is superfluous.

^६ ऋ was first omitted; it was subsequently written below the line under the preceding letter ता between two vertical lines.

^७ Read °लव्य°.

^८ Read °निद्र°.

^९ Read °निकरा°. A letter first written before ति has been subsequently crossed out.

^{१०} Read °गीत°.

^{११} Read पास्य.

^{१२} Read मण्डु°.

^{१३} Read वभूव.

^{१४} Read सैन्यम् । मुक्ता.

^{१५} Read च

^{१६} Letters ममरेष्वपि यो are repeated by mistake.

^{१७} This letter रा is superfluous.

^{१८} Read °शौर्धः

^{१९} Read °वभू°.

^{२०} Read पार्थः

^{२१} Read प्रथम°.

^{२२} या is written below the line under ता which was originally written after च by mistake but was subsequently crossed out.

^{२३} Read शौर्धेण. The letter र्धे is written below the line between शो and च. ^{२४} Read स्त्रेच्छा°.

^{२५} Read शौर्धिक°.

^{२६} Read कूटान् । उत्खात°.

^{२७} The engraver had first inscribed स्त्रा, but the medial रा stroke was subsequently crossed out.

^{२८} Read वाहुवलेन

- 42 श्रीदायोयम् ॥[४०॥*] - स च समधिगताशेषमहाश¹द्महासामन्ताधिपतिमुवर्ण-
वर्षयो[क*]कराजदेवकुशली सर्वानिव यथास²वध्यमानाग्राहपति-
43 विषया³यपतिग्रामपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तनियुक्तवासावकाधिकारिका⁴रिकमहत्तरादी⁵कान्
समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वक्तुंविदितं यथा मया श्रीवाङ्मकातट-
44 स्थावासितविजयस्कन्धावारस्थितेन मातापितोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभितव्ये⁶
श्रीनागसारिकास्तलसन्निविष्टार्हचैत्याल[या*]यतननि[वह*]
45 सम्ब⁷पुरा⁸भ्यमण्डितवसतिकायाः खण्डस्फुटितनवकर्मचरुदलि⁹दानपूजा¹⁰तथा तथा¹¹
तिव¹²ध्यमानचातुष्टयमूलसंघोदयान्वयसेन-
46 सेन¹³संघमल¹⁴वादि¹⁵गुरोश्चिन्त्यश्रीसुमतिपूज्यपादः¹⁶ तच्छिष्यश्रीमदपराजितगुरोः¹⁷
श्रीनागसारिकाप्रतिव¹⁸हभम्वापाटकग्रामस्थ¹⁹ उत्तरदिशि
47 हिरण्ययोगाभिधाना²⁰ ढाणुवापी यस्या²¹घाटनानि पूर्वतः श्रीधरवापिका दक्षिणतो
वहः²² अपरतः पूरावी महानदी²³ उत्तरतस्त्व²⁴पुर-
48 वापिका²⁵ [।*] एवमियं चतुराघाटोपलक्षिता सधाम्यहिरण्यादेया²⁶ अघाटभटप्रवे-
श्य²⁷सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रवेपणीयः²⁸ आच-
49 म्नाकीर्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनः²⁹ शिष्य³⁰शिष्यान्वयकमोपमो³¹पमोग्यः³² शकृत्प-
कालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु समस्त चिचत्वारिंशद-
50 धिकेषु³³तीतेषु वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां आत्वीदकातिसम्भेन प्रतिपादि³⁴तोष्यो³⁵चितया³⁶
याचार्यस्थित्या भुञ्जतो भोजयतर्क्षतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदि-

¹ Read °शब्द°.² Read °सम्बध्य°.³ This letter या is superfluous.⁴ The letters कारि are wrongly repeated.⁵ Read °दिकान्.⁶ What looks like a second slanting stroke to the left of कृ is a natural crack on the surface of the plate.⁷ Letters सम्ब are indistinct in the plate as its surface is corroded at this place, but the proposed reading is certain, since Sambapura is mentioned below in l. 47 among the boundaries.⁸ After र्त् there is a clear kākapaḍa, but the omitted letters, if any, are nowhere supplied, neither below the line nor at the bottom of the plate. The text, as it stands, is fairly intelligible; there may have been no real omission, the kākapaḍa being a mistake.⁹ Read °दलि°.¹⁰ Read °पूजाय°.¹¹ तथा is wrongly repeated.¹² Read °निवध्य°.¹³ The word सेन is wrongly repeated.¹⁴ Read °सम्ब°.¹⁵ The letter दि is slightly doubtful in the impression, but fairly clear in the original.¹⁶ Read °पादस्तच्छिष्य°.¹⁷ Read गुरवे.¹⁸ Read °वद्वात्मा°.¹⁹ Read °वासस्थो°.²⁰ Read °घाटा.²¹ Read यस्या आघा°.²² Read वद्गोपरतः.²³ Read °नद्युत्तरत°.²⁴ Read सम्ब°.²⁵ Read वापिका.²⁶ Read °देयाघाट°.²⁷ Read °प्रवेष्टासुव°.²⁸ Read °चौयाचन्द्रा°.²⁹ Read °कालीना.³⁰ Read प्रशिष्य°.³¹ The letters लोप are wrongly repeated.³² Read भोग्या.³³ Read °चत्तीतेषु.³⁴ Read °पादिता । अस्या चचित°³⁵ याचार्य

- 51 शतो वा न केनचित्परिपन्थना करणीया¹ ॥ तद्यागामिभृपतिभिरक्ष²इयोरक्षे³र्वा
सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युन्नोत्तान्धनित्वाभ्य-
52 र्याणि दद्यात्सलम्बचलम्ब⁴विन्दु⁵चंचलं च जीवितमाकलय्य सदायनिर्विघ्नेषोयम-
नुमन्त्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च [१*] यथाज्ञानतिभिरपटसाहृत-
53 'तमतिराष्ट्रिभ्यादाष्ट्रिभ्यमानवं वागुमोदेत स पं[च*]भिर्नृपातकैरुपपातकैश्च
'संयुक्तस्वादित्युक्तं च भग[व*]ता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [१*] षष्टिं वर्षस-
54 ह्रस्वाणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [१*] आच्छेत्ता चागुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् ॥[४११*] विन्धाटवीचतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [१*] क्षणाहयो
हि जायन्ते
55 भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये ॥[४२१*] सर्वेषामिव दानानामेकज⁶भ्यानुगं फलं [१*]
हाटकचित्तिगौरीणां नैकजभ्यात्मकं फलं ॥[४३१*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यज्जाद्र-

Third Plate: First side.

- 56 च नराधिप [१*] महीभूमिमता⁷ चोष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपासनं ॥[४४१*]
व⁸हु[भि*]र्जसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्त्वक्⁹रादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य-
[तस्य*] तदा फलं ॥[४५१*] चम्बेरपत्न्यं
57 प्रथमं सुवर्षे भूर्जेष्वपी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [१*] लोकचर्यं तेन भवेच्चि
दत्तं यज्ञाश्चनं गावश्च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[४६१*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा
नरेन्द्रेर्हानानि धर्मा-
58 र्ययस(श)स्कराणि [१*] निर्मास्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु¹⁰पु-
नराददेत ॥[४७१*] इति कमलदलान्धुविन्दु¹¹लोकां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-
जीवितञ्च [१*] इति-
59 विमलमनोभिरात्मनीर्नैर्¹² हि पुरुषैः¹³परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[४८१*] यथा
चेतदेवं तथा साधन¹⁴दाता लिपिद्वस्त¹⁵इत्येन समतमारोपयति ॥ स्वहस्तोयं
मम श्री¹⁶कर्कराजस्य श्रीमदि-

¹ कात्या was first engraved, but it was unnecessarily changed later into करणीया by crossing out the medial का mark of का and the following र्या and adding the letters रणीया.

² Read °इयोरक्षे°.

³ Read °रने°.

⁴ Read लम्ब for चंचलम्ब.

⁵ Read विन्दु°.

⁶ This च is superfluous.

⁷ Originally जा was engraved, but the medial जामark was subsequently crossed out.

⁸ Read वृ°.

⁹ Read °नरा°.

¹⁰ Read °लान्धुविन्दु°.

¹¹ Read °न°.

¹² Read साधन. A kākapaḍa after एव draws attention to the words साधनदाता, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record between two kākapaḍas.

¹³ A kākapaḍa above इत्येन draws attention to the letters इत्येन इ, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record after the word साधनदाता between two kākapaḍas.

¹⁴ A kākapaḍa above न draws attention to the letter श्री, omitted while engraving the line, but written later below the line between न and इ.

- 60 मन्त्रावस्तुतस्तु ॥ लिखितं चैतन्मया महासन्धिविषयाधिपतिना नारायणेन
कुलपुत्रकत्रीदुर्गभट्टचतुर्भा ॥ जीयादुरितविहेवी¹ यास्तनं जि-
61 नयास्तनं [1*] यद्व्यसतमैशानां भेदेन क्लृप्तिमायते ॥[४८॥*] जयति जिनीतो
धर्मोप्यङ्गीयनिकायवत्सलो निम्बं । चूडामन्त्रिव लो[३*]
62 विभाति यत्सर्वधर्मायाम् ॥[५०॥*]

TRANSLATION.

NOTE.—Vv. 2-21, 23, 24 and 26-38 have been translated by Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 142 ff., while editing the Nausārī plates of the present donor. The first two lines of v. 35 which he has declared to be unintelligible continue to be so to me as well. Vv. 39 and 40 have been translated by Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 201-2.

V. 1. Victorious is the gracious gospel propounded by the best of Jinās, which is a perpetual abode of prosperity, which is clear in its entirety, which is based upon the (seven) metaphysical viewpoints (*Nayas*²), which prohibits (*recourse to*) evil ways and which brings about beatitude to one with a controlled mind.

V. 22. Whose (Dhruva's) glory, resembling in colour a mass of lunar rays, is sung with zest by swarms of Vidyādhara damsels seated on the top of the divine (i.e. *Mēru*) mountain.

V. 25. Who (i.e. Dhruva) alone here (in this world) appeared as Paramēśvara (i, supreme ruler; ii, god Śiva;) since he had made his own the paraphernalia and glory of Vṛishāṅka (i, a king named Śiva³; or ii, who had appropriated to himself the high bull banner and ashes), since he was accustomed to take proper care of (or furnish) his strong and towering forts; (or ii, since he was in the habit of decorating (his consort) Durgā who is the very essence of the most magnanimous;) and since his fame had increased by the imprisonment of a scion of the Gāṅga family or by the obstruction of the flowing current of the Ganges (by his armies) (or ii, who had increased his fame by interrupting the continuous flow of the Ganges) (when it was lost in his matted hair).

Ll. 42-48. And now that king śrī-Karkkarāja alias Suvarṇavaraha who has acquired (the right to the use of) all the (five) musical instruments⁴ and who is the chief of great feudatories, notifies, while in good health, to all the provincial governors (*Rāshtrapati*), district officers (*Vishayapati*), village land-lords⁵ (*Grāmāpati*), village headmen (*Grāmakūṭa*), revenue clerks and their subordinates⁶ (*Yukta* and *Niyukta*), the officers among the village elders⁷ (who were the descendants of) the (original) colonisers⁸ (of the villages) (*Vāsāvakamahattarādīkārīn*) and other officers concerned:

¹ Read विहेवि.

² This refers to the famous *Sapta-bhāṅgi-naya* doctrine of Jainism which is a peculiar feature of its philosophy.

³ There seems to be an allusion here to the annexation of Gaṅgavādī whose ruler's name was Śivamāra. It is also possible that this adjective may refer to the use by the Rāshtrakūṭas of the image of seated Śiva as their *Māchhāna*, but then it would not be particularly appropriate for Dhruva.

⁴ These five instruments were *sringa*, *śaṅkha*, *bhāri*, *jaya-ghaṇṭā* and *tamraṭa*. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 96.

⁵ Since both *grāmāpatīs* and *grāmakūṭas* are mentioned, it is clear that one of these terms, preferably the former, is to be understood as referring to village land-lords.

⁶ Since these officers are mentioned after the village headmen and before the village elders, it is likely that they may denote the village accountant and his assistant.

⁷ For the interpretation of *Mahattara* as a member of the village council, see Altekar, *History of the Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 20-22.

⁸ The expression *vāsāvaka* is obscure; it occurs again in the grant of Dantivarma. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 202.) The meaning suggested is only tentative.

Let it be known to you that for the enhancement of the fame and religious merit of myself and my parents was given by me,—while staying in the victorious camp on the bank of the holy Vaṅkikā,—(the field) called Hiranyayōgā (irrigated by) the well of Dhāshu,¹ situated to the north of the village Ambāpātaka, attached to śrī-Nāgasārikā whose boundaries (are as follows):—to the east (the field watered by) the well of Śrīdhara, to the south a stream, to the west the great river Pūrāvī, and to the north the (public) well of Sambapura;—to the glorious preceptor Aparājita, the disciple of revered śrī-Sumati, who was the disciple of Mallavādīn (belonging to) Sēna-saṅgha, a branch of the fourfold Mūla-saṅgha, for the purpose of (daily) worship, cooked rice offerings,² and the repairs and renovation of the monastery (vaśatikā), which is an ornament of Sambapura and is attached to the temple of Arhat, situated within the boundaries of śrī-Nāgasārikā.

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

(Here follow the usual imprecatory verses.)

Ll. 59-62. The donor who has seen (the contents of) this document³ writes in his own handwriting his opinion that this (engraving) is in accordance with (the charter originally granted). This is my own sign-manual, of śrī-Karkkarāja, son of Indrarāja. This (charter) was drafted by me, Nārāyaṇa, the son of Durgabhaṭṭa, of noble extraction, the principal foreign minister.

V. 49. May the system of Jina, which hates evil and which is as efficacious as the thunder bolt in destroying the mountains, (in the form) of other theories, be (ever) successful.

V. 50. Victorious is the Dharma preached by Jina, ever compassionate to the six classes of animate beings and which shines in this world as the crest-jewel of all other religions.

¹ In Gujarāt, fields are often known after the names of the wells irrigating them. The well by which this field was irrigated was apparently constructed by an individual named Dhāshu.

² *Charubali* is enjoined in Hinduism, but not in Jainism. The inclusion of this phrase in the present record is due to the absentmindedness of the drafter, who, accustomed to include this expression in Brahmanical grants where it was appropriate, allowed it to remain in the present grant also, forgetting that it was in favour of a Jain establishment.

³ This sentence is rather enigmatical. If the reading were to be amended as *Śaśanaddīpi-lipimāt* the translation would be 'The (principal) writer (in the secretarial office) of the donor certifies that'

No. 23.—THE CHANDREHE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA : THE KALACHURI
YEAR 724.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The inscription which is edited below was discovered by the late Mr. Beglar, one of the Assistants of the late Sir A. Cunningham, at **Chandrēhi** or **Chandrēhe**,¹ a small village near the banks of the Śōṇa close to its confluence with the Banās. It lies in lat. 81° 32' E and long. 24° 18' N (Rewah Topographical Survey Sheet No. 291 of 1877). The village is situated in the State of Rewah in Baghelkhand Agency of Central India and is noted for the existence of ancient ruins, two buildings among which are still standing, viz., a temple of Śiva and a fine Śaiva monastery.²

The inscription which has already been noticed by Kielhorn³ is incised on two slabs of stone of the same size which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door. Altogether there are twenty-seven lines of writing which are unequally divided, the first slab, marked A in the text below, bearing fourteen lines and the second, marked B, thirteen. The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is on the whole in a very good state of preservation. Except for a few stray letters the writing is clearly legible.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and with the exception of the invocation at the beginning and the second half of the concluding line, which are in prose, the whole of the record is in verse. It has been carefully incised and mistakes are very few, e.g., *śaśvad* for *śatvad* (l. 12) and *-charaṇ-ñjagati* for *-charaṇ-jagati* (l. 16). As regards orthography the following peculiarities may be noticed : *n* is used for *anusvāra* in *hansa* (l. 2) and *dhvansa* (l. 18); consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have not always been doubled, e.g., *r-muni* (l. 10), *kārya* (l. 14), *gurōr-guru* (l. 23), *śatru* (l. 13), *mahīdhre* (l. 18), etc.

The characters belong to the Northern variety of the Indian alphabet of the 10th century A.D. and bear great resemblance to the Bilhari Inscription of the Kalachuri Yuvarājādēva II⁴. The principal peculiarities of this alphabet are the presence of two acute-angled triangles in the lower part of *kḥ*, cf. *śikḥi* (l. 1), the looped form of *ṭh* where the loop is not yet open, cf. *tathā* (l. 1) and the angle at the back of *ḍ*; cf. *ambhōḍē* (l. 1). There is no acute angle in the lower part of *p* or at the bottom of *v*, *m*, and *y*. Two different forms of *ph* have been used, cf. *phani* (l. 1) and *sphāri-* (l. 2). *R* is wedge-shaped and one loop of *l* is longer than the other.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a monastery (*maṭha*) and the excavation of a tank and a well by a Śaiva ascetic named **Prabōdhasīva** who also repaired and re-excavated a well formerly caused to be excavated by his preceptor **Prasāntasīva**. This inscription and the Gurgi inscription of **Prabōdhasīva** provide us with the spiritual genealogy of the Rewah branch of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan whose full genealogy has been discussed elsewhere.⁵

The present record throws light on the date of erection of the temple of Śiva at Chandrēhe which was the first specimen of its kind to be discovered. We learn from verse 17 that **Prabōdhasīva** built a monastery close to the temple erected by his spiritual preceptor **Prasāntasīva** (vv. 21-22). Therefore the temple of Śiva which stands within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery must be the temple erected by **Prasāntasīva**. According to the date given in this inscription the

¹ Cunningham, A. S. I. R., Vols. XIII, pp. 6 ff. and XIX, pp. 90 f.

² P. R. A. S., W. C., 1921, p. 53.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 86, No. 11 and above Vol. I, p. 354, footnote 1. ⁴ Above Vol. I, pp. 254 ff. and plate

⁵ The Hathayas of Tripuri and their Monuments by R. D. Banerji (Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India, No. 23), chapter IV, pp. 110 ff.

monastery itself was built or completed in the Kalachuri Chōdi year 724 (=972-3 A.D.). Thus Prasāntasīva's temple must have been constructed in the earlier part of the tenth century. The date of another ruin near Chandrēhe is also fixed by this inscription. From verse 7 we learn that Prasāntasīva had built another *śrama* near the confluence of the Śōṇa at the foot of the Bhramara hill. The place is still called Bhramarsen and is referred to by Beglar.¹

The date is given in the last line as [Kalachuri] Samvat 724 Phālguna śudi 5. For want of further particulars it is not possible to verify the exact date but it would roughly correspond to March 973 A.D. The *prastāvi* was composed by the poet Dhāmsaṭa, son of Jēika and grandson of Mēhuka. It was written by Dāmōdara, son of Lakshmīdhara and younger brother of Vāsudēva and was engraved by Nilakaṇṭha at the command of *sūtradhāra* Sūraka.

I edit this inscription from the original in the monastery at Chandrēhe which I visited twice with the help of Rai Bahadur B. N. Zutshi, President, and Rai Bahadur Pandit Janki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Home Member, of the Council of Regency, Rewah State.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1, 12 and 13 *Śikharipi* ; v. 2 *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 3, 4 and 8 *Śardūlavikrīṭa* ; vv. 5-7, 9-11 and 18 *Prūṭā* ; vv. 14, 16 and 19 *Haripi* ; vv. 15 and 17 *Vasantatīlakā* ; v. 20 *Anuśṭubh*.]

A.

- 1 Om namaḥ Sivāya || Phari-śvāsa-śyāmō svanad-amara-nady-ambhasi cha yaj-jatā-jūṭ-āmbhōdē nayana-śikhi-vidyud-vilasati | tathā chūḍā-chandra-dyuti-
- 2 nikara-dhār-ēva kakubhaṣaṁ kapālānāṁ mālā tulayati sa Sarvō vijayati || [1]*
Hansa-śyāmāḥ hasita-mahāsaṁ samhatā-Śaṅkarasya sphāri-bhūtā vadanam-abhitō
- 3 māga-charma-āvritasya | kiñchit-kaṇṭha-chohhaṇi-kalushitā mēgha-niryān-mṛigāṅka-chohhaṇyāṁ svachohhāṁ sapadi dadhati sampadam vō dadātu || [2]* Chāri-sam-charaṇa-praviṇa-charaṇa-vyā-
- 4 pārapā-ghṛṇṇita-kaḥṇi-kunḍa-namat-phāṇa-śvara-phāṇam vīrāpa-dig-vārapam | dōr-ddaṇḍa-bhramāṇāḥ-akūḍā-chalita-brahmaṇḍa-khaṇḍam mudē bhūyād-vō niviḍa-
- 5 kvaṇḍ-damarukam Chandi-patē-tāṇḍavam || [3]* Śrīman-Mattamayāra-santatī-iyam Gaṅg-ēva lōka-tṛayam pūyād-yatra Purandaraḥ kṛta-tapā jajñō gurur-bhūbhujām | śiśyas-ta-
- 6 sya Śikhāśivaḥ śikhi-samō-vi(bi)bhraṭ-tapas-tējasā dipatvaṁ vinipāt-āndha-tamaō nirvāpa-mārggō sthitaḥ || [4]* Tatō Madhumati-patēḥ kṛta-mahā-tapā-
- 7 sa-saichayaḥ Prabhāvasīva ity-abhūt-sakala-śaiva-ohūḍāmaṇiḥ | anēka-nṛipa-vanditaḥ sa Yuvarājadēvēna yas-tapō-dhana-patīḥ kṛta-charaṇa-pūta-gō-legnikah || [5]*
- 8 Prasāntasīva-chandramāsa-tad-anu tasya śiśyō-bhavaṭ-temaḥ-pramathan-ōdyāma-pra-kaṭita-svarūpaḥ suohiḥ | va(ba)bhāra guṇīḥ śrīyam kumūḍa-kalpa-śaivōḥu yaḥ samujvala-
- 9 yaṣaḥ-prabhā-dhavalit-ākḥil-āṭṭ-mukhaḥ || [6]* Sa Śōṇa-nada-saṅgamō Bhramāśa-śaila-mūlō-tulam priyāla-vana-samkul[ē] phala-mṛigāla-kand-śānaḥ | chakā-
- 10 ra viditam janair-muni-sakhaḥ prasānt-śāramam sva-pāda-pada-pamktibhiḥ pavita-bhūtalō yaḥ kṛti || [7]* Dēv-ōdyāna-gat-āndra-samsadi mudā gandharva-vidyādhara-

¹ Cunningham, A. S. I. R., Vol. XIII, pp. 14 f.

² Read *Harsha*.

- 11 r-ānandāya cha Dhūrjātēḥ ślathayatā vādy-ādaram Nandinā | līlā-lōlita-maulinā
kara-galad-valgēna yasy=ōchchakair=Bhāsvat-sārathinā tathā
- 12 prati-Tapaḥ sa(śa)śvad=yasō giyatē || [8||*] Prabōdhaśiva ity=abhūt=sakala-śiṣhya-
vargg-āgrapīḥ sa tasya Madana-dvishāḥ Paraśurāma-nāmā yathā | yasāḥ-
khachita-
- 13 diā-mukhō guṇi-janāya vittam dadan(un)=piṇḍikṛita-vasundharō vijita-śatru-varggāś-
cha yaḥ || [9||*] Udagra-śikhi-tarppaṇa-pragunīt-aika-pāṇiḥ kṣaṇam Kumāra
- 14 iva sarvvadā parihṛit-āṅganā-sangamaḥ | samunnata-mahābhṛiti prakāṣit-ātma-śakti-
kramō Manōbhava-ripu-priyō vihita-dēva-kāryas=cha yaḥ || [10||*]

B.

- 15 Vicārya nikhil-āgamān=vidhi-samādhi-vu(bu)ddh-Bēvarah priyāla-phala-mūlak-āmalaka-
śāka-śālūka-bhuk | Nad-ōkshita-dharā-talē guru-jan-ānu-
- 16 kārī tapas=charamū-jagati¹ vismayam vyadhita vā(bā)la-bhāvē=pi yaḥ || [11||*]
Mahābhṛin-mūrdh-āgra-pragunatara-pādaḥ samudayī dadhan=mitratvam yas-timira-
bhidu-
- 17 ram kāryam=akarōt | tathā sandhy-ārambhē nikhīla-jana-vandyaḥ kim=aparam
pratāpāna vyāpnōt=tri-bhuvanam=api prāpta-mahimā || [12||*] Guru-grāva-grām-
ōtkhana-
- 18 na-dalana-dhvanśa(dhvaṁsa)-vidhinā mahādhṛē=dhvānam yō vyadhita jaladhau
Rāghava iva | sarit-srōtaḥsv=ēvam vipina-gahanēshv=adbhutamakaram jagaty=
āścharyam hi prathaya-
- 19 ti mahat-karmma mahatām || [13||*] Jadatara-maruch-Chhōṇasy-āmbhaḥ-kapair=ayam=
āśramō mṛiga-pati-mahā-dhvānai rātrau pratidhvanit-ām(b)arah | śikhari-
śikha-
- 20 ra-prānta-prānkhad-dvirēpha-payōdharō janayati janē vidyuch-chhāṅkām mah-ausha-
dhi-rōchishā || [14||*] Chumv(b)anti vānara-gaṇā mṛiga-śatru-pōtān=simhi-stanam
piv(b)ati ch=ā-
- 21 ttra śisur=mṛigasya | vairam nijam pariharanti virōdhinō=nyē sarvvasya sāmyati
manō hu tepō-vanēshu || [15||*] Guru-kṛita-sur-āgāsād=ārād-amum ma-
- 22 tham=unnatam svakam=iva yasāḥ śubhr-ābhr-ābham viśālām=achikarat | anugiram=
athō Sindhu-prakhyam tadāgam=achikhanat=prachura-salilam kūpaṁ ch=ātra
- 23 Pravō(bō)dhaśivaḥ śamī || [16||*] Śrīmat-Prasāntaśiva-kāritam=attre kūpaṁ kālēna
sīrṇa-patit-ākṣhila-dāru-pūram | bhaktyā gurōr=guru-śilā-rochanā-
- 24 vichitram sō=chikarat=tad=anu dāram=achikhanach=cha || [17||*] Va(Ba)bhūva bhuvi
Dikahitō vihita-kīrttanō Mēhukaḥ sa asj-jana-gaṇ-āgrapīr=sjanayat=sutam
- 25 Jāikam | tatas=tv=Amarik-ōdarē samabhavat=kavir=Dhāmsataḥ prasastim=akarōd=asau
vikāṣa-varṇa-va(ba)ndhām=imām || [18||*] Paśupati-jāṭ-jāṭa-bhrāntē him-ā-
- 26 dri-śilā-tala-akṣhita-salilā chañchad-vichi-pavitṛita-bhūtalā | vrajati saritām nātham
yāvad=Bhagīratha-vartmanā sura-sarid=ivam tāvat-kīrttiḥ sthīr-āstu bhuvi sthī-
tā || [19||*] La-
- 27 lōhmīdhara-sutaḥ khyātō Vāsudēv-ānujaḥ sudhīḥ | imam Dāmōdarō=lēkhīt=prasastim
prevar-ākharām(m) || [20||*] Sūtradhāra-Sūrāk-ājñay=ōtkirṇā Nilakanthēna || Samvat
724 Phālguna-śudi 5 ||

¹Read charam-jagati.

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. *Om! Adoration to Śiva! Victorious is that Śiva (Śarvva) in whose piles of matted hair, (being like) a cloud and in the humming waters of the divine river (Ganges), dark with the hissing of snakes (on Śiva's body), flashes the lightning (in the form) of the fire of (his third) eye and whose garland of human skulls elevates the quarters even as the shower of the collected effulgence of the moon on (his) crest.*

V. 2. May the mass of lustre of the laugh of Śaṅkara clad in an elephant skin which is as white as the geese which is spread around his face and which is slightly darkened by the reflection of his (dark or blue) neck (and) which (therefore) bears the clear splendour of the moon¹ emerging from a cloud, bring you prosperity.

V. 3. May the Tāṇḍava dance of the lord of Chaṇḍī (i.e., Śiva) give you pleasure, which caused the hood of the lord of the snakes (viz., Śeṣha) to be bent down owing to the hollow on the earth revolving on account of the movements of the feet (of Śiva) skilled in practising the *chārī* step (in dancing), which (dance) put to flight the elephants of the cardinal points on account of the revolutions of his rodlike arms, which (dance again) suddenly caused commotion in parts of the universe (and) which (was accompanied by the) deep sound of the *ḍamaru*.

V. 4. May the uninterrupted succession of the illustrious **Mattamayūra** (clan) purify the three worlds, like the Ganges; in which (clan) was born **Purandara**, who had performed austerities (*tapas*) and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (was) **Śikhāśiva** (who was) like the fire, (and) who through the lustre of his austerities became a lamp (lit. bore the qualities of a lamp) illuminating (lit. standing on) the path of final beatitude and having destroyed the intense darkness (of ignorance).

V. 5. After him (who was) lord of **Madhumati** came **Prabhāśiva** who had accumulated great austerities (to his credit), who was worshipped by many kings, who was the crest-jewel of all Śaivas (and who) was made to accept the earth, sanctified by his feet (i.e., was induced to settle in his territory by free gifts of land, etc.,) by **Yuvarājadēva**.

V. 6. Thereafter came his disciple **Praśāntaśiva**, (who like) the moon, (was) pure, whose real self was manifested in his attempt to dispel ignorance (or darkness), who whitened all the quarters with the rays of his bright fame, and who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Śaivas, as the moon bestows splendour on the fibrous night lotuses.

V. 7. He, the virtuous, whose food was fruits, the stalk of the lotus and (edible) bulbs, who had the Munis as his companions, and who had sanctified the face of earth by his footsteps, built an incomparable hermitage, well-known to the people, at the confluence of the river **Śōṇa** and at the foot of the **Bhramara** hill covered with dense forest of **Priyāla** trees.²

V. 8. Whose fame was incessantly sung with delight in every (month of) **Māgha**³ in a high tone by **Gandharvas** and **Vidyādhara**s, in the assembly of **Indra** in the celestial garden and by **Nandin**, who for the pleasure of Śiva relaxed his attention to instrumental music, (to enable the God to hear his devotee's fame sung) (and by) the charioteer of the sun who tolling his head (from one side to the other) in an ecstatic mood let the reins of the horses slide from his hands.

V. 9. **Prabōdhaśiva** was the foremost among all his (Praśāntaśiva's) disciples, just as **Paraśnrāma** was of the enemy of **Madana** (i.e., Śiva), who had conquered all enemies, who had

¹ [Apparently the moon with the slight dark spot on its surface is likened to the splendour of the laugh, while the cloud in the vicinity has its counterpart in the elephant skin—Ed.]

² *Buchanania Latifolia*.

³ [This month being the occasion of the Śiva-rātri festival is particularly sacred to Śiva—Ed.]

placed the earth under obligation by bestowing riches on the qualified (*and*) who had adorned the faces of the quarters by his fame.

V. 10. Who betimes, was like Kumāra (*i.e.*, Kārttikēya), whose one hand was manifested in pouring libations on high tongues of fire (*as Kumāra's one hand was engaged in pacifying his fierce peacock*), who had always abjured the company of women, who had shown the effect of his own power (or ~~weapons~~) on exalted kings (or *high mountains*), who was devoted to (Śiva), the enemy of the mind-born (*i.e.*, Kāma) (*as Kumāra was the favourite of Śiva*) and who had performed (*all*) the duties towards the gods (*just as Kumāra carried out the slaughter of the demon Tāraka, a duty imposed upon him by the gods*).

B

V. 11. Who, after investigating all the scriptures acquired the knowledge of God through meditation and performance (*of religious duties*), who living on greens (*śāka*), roots of water plants (*śālūka*) and fruits such as *āmālaka*, *priyāla* as well as roots (*mūla*), caused the world to wonder by practising austerities, even in (*his*) boyhood on the bank (*lit. on the surface of land*) washed by the river (*Śoṇa*), imitating his spiritual preceptor.

V. 12. Who, having obtained greatness acted in a friendly manner (*or as the sun*) setting his auspicious foot on the heads of (*worshipping*) kings (*just as the sun, having reached high altitude emits his powerful rays on the peaks of mountains*) (*and*) performed the duty of dispelling ignorance (or *darkness*), who was worshipped by all in peaceful undertakings (*just as the sun is worshipped by all at the beginning of three Sandhyās*). What more (*to say*)? He has pervaded the three worlds with his prowess (*just as the sun spreads heat over the three worlds*).

V. 13. Who, through the expedients of excavating, breaking and ramming masses of heavy¹ stones built a wonderful way through mountains, through rivers and streams (*as also*) through forest and thickets, as Rāma (*did*) through the sea. The achievement of the great proclaims great wonder in the world.

V. 14. At night, this hermitage (*āśrama*) causes to the people the semblance of lightning on account of the phosphorescence of plants (*growing near it*), resembling lightning, (*that*) of clouds on account of the (*dark*) bees flying at the sides of mountain peaks, (*that of thunder*) on account of roars of lions causing the skies to echo (*and that of showers*) on account of the air being cooled by the sprays of the waters of the *Śoṇa*.

V. 15. In this place herds of monkeys kiss the cubs of lions, the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness; so other (*lower animals*), who are (*natural*) enemies, take leave of their antipathy; indeed, in forests devoted to austerities the minds of all become peaceful.

V. 16. Near the temple built by his preceptor, the calm Prabōdhāśiva caused to be built this high and big monastery (*maṭha*) (*which was white*) like his own fame, resembling the white clouds; he also caused to be excavated, close to the mountain, a well with copious water and a tank, called the *Sindhu*.

V. 17. On account of his devotion for his preceptor he caused to be deeply re-excavated (*and re-built*) with beautiful masonry of heavy stones, the well, which was excavated by Prasāntaśiva, at this place, (*but which*) had become dilapidated on account of (*the passage of*) time, and full of wood.

V. 18. There was a Dīkshita named Mēhuka whose fame was known in the earth. He who was the foremost among good men, begot a son named Jēika in the womb of Amarikā. To him was born the poet Dhānśaṭa. He composed this *prastāvi* of difficult composition.

¹ [The process of road-making described here is strikingly similar to that adopted by modern engineers in metalling roads and we may thus conclude that 'macadamizing' was well-known in Hindu India. The word *wig* must be taken to mean here 'crushing' or 'ramming' of the road metal and apparently survives in *Hindi* *गुग्गु* and *Bengali* *গুগু* = a rammer.—Ed.]

V. 19. Let this fame (*of this work*) last as long as the divine stream (*i.e.*, Ganges) wandering through the mass of matted hair of Śiva, with its waters shattering over the rocks of Himādrī (*the Himālayas*), whose billowing waves purify the earth, proceeds to the ocean (*lit. lord of rivers*) along the path (*shown by*) Bhagīratha.

V. 20. This *prasaṣṭi* was written, in excellent letters, by the learned and famous Dāmōdara, who was the younger brother of Vāsudēva (*and*) the son of Lakshmidhara.

Inscribed by Nīlakaṇṭha according to the orders of the (*master*) mason Sūrāka. The year 724, the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna.

No. 24.—THE NALA INSCRIPTION AT PODAGADH; 12TH YEAR.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The record edited below was discovered¹ in the spring of 1922 by the late Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, the then Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and myself when we were touring in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam district, Madras Presidency. We had gone thither to examine the Telugu inscriptions at Koṇḍakambēru² in the Malkangiri Agency, brought to the notice of the Department by F. G. Butler, Esq., I.C.S., the Assistant Agency Commissioner at Kōrāpuṭ, and the Nāgarī inscription at Doḍra,³ a village situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Poḍāgaḍh, reported by Mr. Burrows, the late Forest Officer, Jeypore, in the year 1916-17. Our attention was drawn to the inscription at Poḍāgaḍh by the Duffadar of the Umarkōṭ Thāna office who accompanied us as our guide. It was no small surprise to us to be led at the end of our tedious journey to the slab bearing the inscription⁴ leaning against the natural rock at a height of 40 feet from the ground level. This was a veritable epigraphical oasis in the deserted and barren Agency tracts.

The approaches to the hill are thickly shaded by the tall teak trees of the forest. Within a furlong from the foot of the hill, as we approached it, we observed some *satī* stones (nearly a dozen) lying scattered in a group which gave us hopes of some useful discovery. Not far from this spot was a ruined Śiva temple with fallen roof and dilapidating walls and entrance, with the Nandin (bull), Gaṇēśa and other associate minor sculptures lying about it. There was a well-watered pond also within a few yards of it embowered by a thick-set bamboo grove. All these human associations brought home to us the impression, suggested by the discovery of the Nāgarī inscription at Doḍra, that the Agency tracts are now only a fallen country like the adjoining state of Bastar.⁵ The provenance has been described at some length only with a view to indicate the extent of the decadence that has come over a country, which, judging from its few known inscriptions and monuments, once enjoyed a civilised and cultured life in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The Agency tract seems well worthy of a systematic study by scholars owing to the wealth of antiquarian and ethnographical material it contains, although it has now relapsed into primeval jungle.

¹ [Sewell in his *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I (p. 317) refers to an 'inscription on the rock in Dēvanāgarī characters at Poḍāgaḍa,' which is possibly the same as the present inscription though his information, derived from local sources, appears to have been rather inaccurate. The stone door-way referred to in his account as being close to the inscription is probably the entrance to the ruined Viṣṇu temple referred to in verse 5 of the inscription.—Ed.]

² Nos. 286 and 287 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for the year 1922.

³ No. 282 of the same Collection.

⁴ No. 283 of 1922.

⁵ For the inscriptions of this State, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 160; Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.; Vol. XII, p. 242; see also R. B. Hiralal's *List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.

The Poḍāgaḍh hill and village shown as 'Poragarh' in the *Imperial Gazetteer Atlas* (Vol. XXVI), Plate 42, lie on the north-western frontier of the Jeypore Agency bordering on the Bastar State. The way to the hill and the inscribed slab lie from the Nowrangpur side, through the village of Bhaṇḍārigūḍa which is only a small cluster of insignificant huts. The inscription has been reviewed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22, page 95, where a plate of the record has also been given.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit verse. The epigraph consists of twelve or possibly thirteen verses of which the first is a variety of the Āryā metre while the others excepting verse 9 (which is Vamśasthavila) are Anuṣṭubh. The inscription begins with the expression "Siddham". Verse 1 contains a glorification of Hari in His aspect as the essence of victory. Verses 2 to 4 describe the recovery of the lost sovereignty by Prince [Skanda?]varman,¹ son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, and his repopulation of (the capital) Puṣhkari. Verses 5 and 6 record his foundation of a [pā]damūla or foot-print of Viṣṇu, for the worship of which he made the gift of a holding and of some money in the shape of *bhūri-dakṣiṇā* the proceeds of which were to be availed of for the feeding of Brahmins, ascetics and the destitute. In verse 7 the holding is made permanently tax-free in the name of the Puruṣa (Highest Being) and non-interferable by state officials. Verses 8 and 9 give (apparently) the warning of the sinfulness involved in the violation of the charity and the promise of salvation, through the grace of (god) Vāsudēva, to those that conform to the good path of kings and maintain the donation. Verse 10 gives the date of the setting up of the inscribed monument, perhaps under the personal supervision of the prince, as the 27th day of the Mādhava (i.e., Vaiśākha) month in the 12th year. Since we have no materials to determine the exact date of the commencement of king Bhavadatta's or his son's reign it is difficult to give the English equivalent of the date. We may, however, for the present, reasonably refer it to the 12th year from the date of accession of or the recovery of the lost crown by, prince [Skanda]varman. Verse 11, which is partly damaged, mentions the General (*sēnāpati*) Pritibhāgavata(?) who is described as devoted to his master. He was probably the executor of the charter like the *ājāpti* of the Eastern Chālukya and the *sādhivigrahika* of the other copper-plate records. The writer of the record is said in verse 12 to be Jānturadāsa, the son of Chauli, and the engraver is probably the person mentioned last, viz., Viśvarūpa, son of Aja.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern type of alphabet and closely resemble those of the Tālagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarma² which has been assigned by Professor Kielhorn to the first half of the 6th century A.D.³ and those of the Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta of the Mālava year 493.⁴ The comparatively more developed forms of the letters *ja, ṭha, dha, ba, ma* and *ya* and more ornamental signs of the secondary *ṣ, ṛ* and *ya* employed in the Kadamba inscription, suggest an earlier date for our record. The *anusvāra* is marked by a small round loop in the Tālagunda inscription while in our record it is denoted only by a point which also shows its earlier character. The record may therefore be assigned to the latter half of the 5th century A.D. The letter *ta* is written without the loop which is found in *na*, as in the inscription referred to. The final *m* is denoted by a

¹ The name is much blurred in the estampage and I have given here only the most probable reading. But I do not feel quite certain of the correctness of the restoration.

² Bhavadatta of the present record can be tentatively identified with Bhavattavarman of the Rithapur plates. The suffix *varman* which is certainly applied to the son's name has been apparently dropped in the father's name owing to metrical difficulties. In the Rithapur plates the dropping of *da* of Bhavadatta is obviously a scribe's mistake.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 24 and plate opposite page 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pl. XI.

miniature *ma* written after the previous letter and near its bottom, e.g., *siddham* in line 1, *Pushkarim* in line 4, etc. The *jihvāmūliya* is employed in one case, viz., in *jananyāḥ-kṛitā* (l. 4). The *upadhmanīya* is employed in the compound words *pīṭh=pitāmaha* (l. 4), °*maḥ=pārthiva*° (l. 10) and [*bhartu*]*h=pr*° (l. 13). The consonant following the *rēpha* is, in some cases¹, doubled as in almost all early records but aspirates² following it are left single. The consonant preceding the *rēpha* is also doubled in a few instances (e.g., *vikrama* in l. 2; *vyatikramēd-yō* in l. 10). The word *mukhya* is written as *mukkhya* (l. 2).

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first stone record of the Nala dynasty hitherto discovered. The Nalas have been known directly only from the Rithapur³ copper-plates of Bhavattavarman and indirectly by the mention of their defeat by the early Chalukyas of the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian Era. The Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman I (A.D. 567-597) claims to have destroyed them.⁴ He is also stated to have destroyed the residence (*nilaya*) of the Nalas. They are described as the traditional enemies of the Chalukyas⁵ at whose hands they suffered defeat like the Mauryas of the Kōṅkaṇ.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar speaking of the family of Nalas defeated by Kirtivarman I remarks 'over what province it ruled we do not know'. Dr. Fleet depending upon the mention of the *Nalavādi-vishaya* made in a copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I of about A.D. 657 thinks that there is a probable indication that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of the Bellary and Karnūl districts.⁶ The mention of the Nalas in the Aihole inscription may be taken to indicate that they were the enemies of the Chalukyas on the north-east while the Mauryas of Kōṅkaṇ and the Kadambas of Vijayanti were their enemies on the north-west and the south-west respectively. The provenance of this inscription and of the Rithapur plates localises them in the southern part of the Central Provinces and Berar including the Bastar State. On the extreme east the kingdom might have included the northern part of the Jeypore Agency (Vizagapatam district) from which our inscription comes.

The town *Pushkarī* mentioned in the inscription (probably the capital of the Nalas) cannot be identified.

TEXT.*

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ हरिणा जितं जयति जेष्यती[त्वे]षा गुणस्तुतिर्न[हि] सा [१*]
ननु भगवा[नेव]
- 2 जयो जेतव्यं चाधिजेता [च] ॥ [१*] श्रीनलान्वयमुक्त्वस्व विद्वन्मघपित
द्विषः [१*]
- 3 नृपतेर्भवदत्तस्व सत्पुत्रेणान्वसंस्त्रिताम् ॥ [२*] भ्रष्टामाज्ञाय राजर्षि
- 4 गुह्यामावास्व पुष्करीम् [१*] पितुःपितामहानाञ्च जनन्याःस्त्रि(ज्ज)तिना [ततः] [॥१*]

¹ *rājarddhim* (l. 3), *pūjārtham* (l. 6), *sarvataḥ* (l. 8), *visarjitam* (l. 8).

² *śrīpatēr-Bhavaddattasya* (l. 3) and *dharmārthanā* (l. 5); but cf. *pūjārtham* in the above note.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 4.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Davangere No. 1; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 11.

⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 181.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁸ From inked stampages prepared by myself.

⁹ It is also possible to read as सत्पुत्रेणान्वसंस्त्रिताम्.

- 5 कृत्वा ध[र्मा]र्यनेभ्याशानि(मि)दमात्महितेविद्या [1*] पादमूलं कृतं विज्यो [राजा
श्री[स्कन्दव]-
- 6 क्रीणा ॥ [४*] पूजार्थमस्य चेवेह सोदकभूरिदक्षिणम् [1*] पुष्पाय
पुरं [द] . . .
- 7 कर्तारका[म्]¹ ॥ [५*] सचोपभोज्यं विप्राणां यतीनाञ्च विशेषतः [1*]
[दीनानाम]प्यनाथानां . . .
- 8 च सर्वशः ॥ [६*] सप्रवेशं भट्टेष्टेदं सदा करविसर्जितम् । श्री[चक्रदो]-
खपुत्र[1*]य . . .
- 9 यथोचित[म्] ॥ [७*] स्थितिचेयं पुरो वहा धर्मा द्वाभे निवे[शि]ता [1*]
यद्येमां ज्ञापये[त्सं]ख्यामाज्ञापा[त]⁴ . . . [८*]
- 10 व्यतिक्रमेद्यो हि महीपते[1*] स्थिति[म्] कुलाधम[प]पार्थिवकिल्बिषवम्पि[त्] [1*]
- 11 समन्वियाद्यच्च [नरेन्द्र]सत्पथम् स वासुदेवाच्च[य]भापुयाच्चिर[म्] ॥ [९*]
- 12 द्वादशेष्टे नरेन्द्रेण माधवे मासि चोत्तमे [सप्तविंशे] दिने पुष्टे
- 13 स्तभ्योयं [गा]हितस्त्रयम् ॥ [१०*] प्रीतिभागवते[नै]वम् भर्तु[प]प्रिय[चा] . .
- 14 सेनापतिना कल्पिता मालिनेहास्यदुहिना ॥ [११*] . .
- 15 लिखितं [चौ]लिखतुना भक्त्या [जा]तुरदासेन [१२*]
- 16 [आ]जेन विश्वरूपेन(ण) निर्गुणेन गु[ह्ये]विद्या [१३*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Victory ! The praise of (His) qualities (in) such (words) as " Hari was victorious, is victorious (and) will be victorious," is not that (i.e., appropriate). For, verily, the Divine (Hari) is himself the conquest, the object to be conquered and the conqueror.⁷

(Vv. 2 to 4). This foot-print (or *sanctuary*)⁸ was made by the illustrious king [Skanda]-varman, the noble son of king Bhavadatta—who was the foremost (*scion*) of the glorious Nala family (and) repelled his enemies by his valour—(on) having reclaimed the lost royal prosperity which had fallen into other hands (or was *unsettled*) and having re-peopled the deserted (*town of*

¹ Read तारकम्. [There is no room for more than three letters at the end of the sixth line. The second half of the fifth verse may therefore be possibly restored as पुष्पाय पुरं दत्तमवाचन्द्राकर्तारकम् ॥—Ed.]

² [Read सुलोपभोज्यं.—Ed.]

³ The Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman have the expressions सप्तद्वारविजयः and सर्वकारविसर्जितः (above, Vol. XIX, p. 103, ll. 12-13 of the text. Cf. also above, Vol. XI, p. 2, l. 9 of the text).

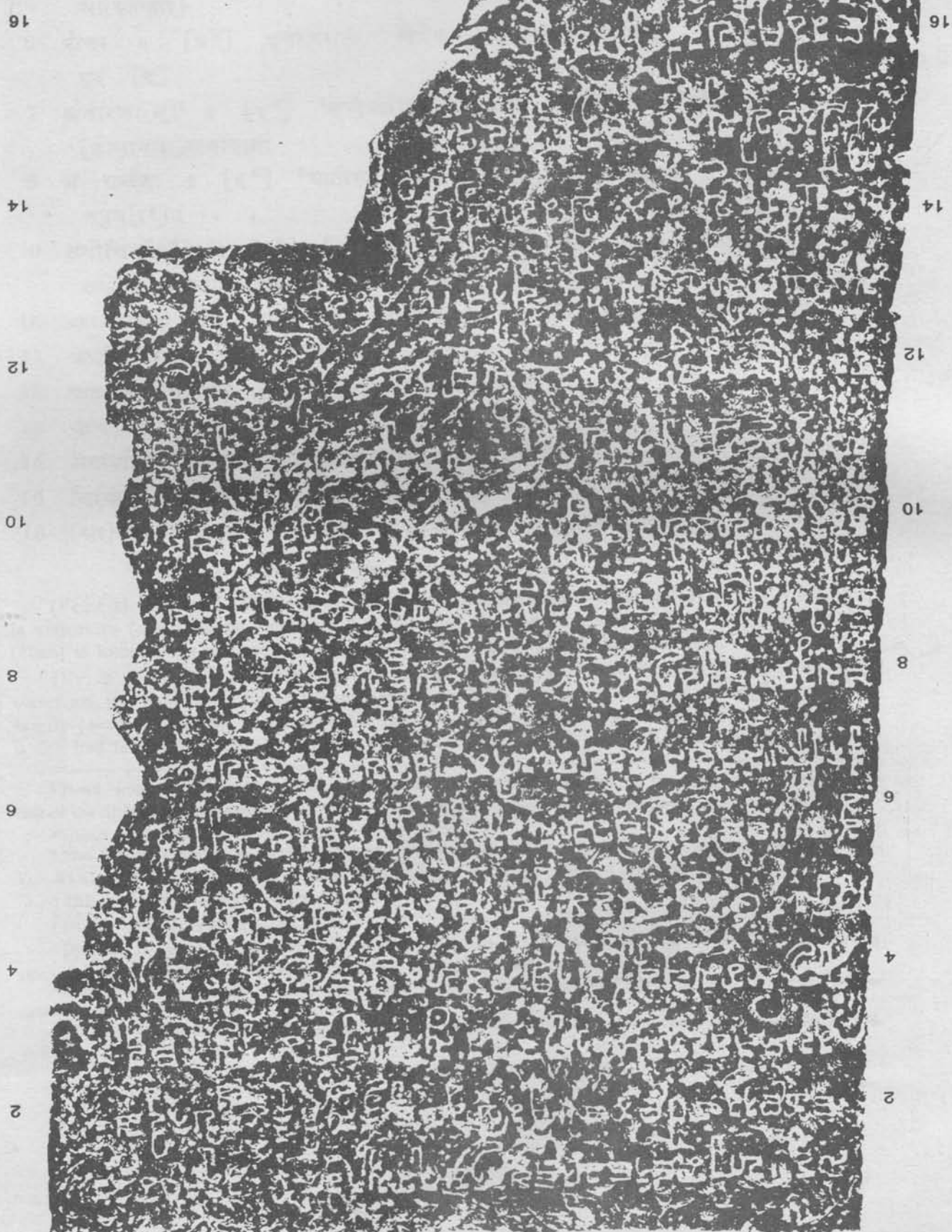
⁴ This might be restored as सहापासकमदुते.

⁵ [Read [स्थि]तिभागवतेनेवा.—Ed.]

⁶ [Reading is कल्याणमालि*. One *pāda* is apparently lost at the ends of the lines 14 and 15. The existing two *pādas* in l. 15 seem to be the second and first *pādas* respectively of an *Anuṣṭubh* half-verse.—Ed.]

⁷ Compare this statement with the description of Viṣṇu as "*vijaya jeta*" given in verse 16 of the *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma*.

⁸ [The word *pādamaṇḍala* is evidently used here in the sense of a sanctuary; see above, Vol. XI, No. 19, p. 103.—Ed.]



Pushkari, with the hope of obtaining religious merit for his father, other ancestors and mother and desiring welfare for himself.

(Vv. 5 and 6). And for His worship in this (*temple*), with (*libation of*) water and with abundant *dakṣiṇā* holding (*pura*)¹ for the Supreme Being (*Puruṣa*) to last as long as the Sun and the stars. The proceeds have to be used entirely for the (*free*) feeding in a *śatra* of Brahmans, especially of ascetics, of the poor and of the destitute.....

(V. 7). This (*holding*) (*shall remain*) impenetrable to State servants and permanently tax-free to the son of the noble [Chakradrōṇa].....as may be suitable.

(V. 8). This order (*of the king*) was composed and recorded on the pillar in front (*of the temple*). Whoever causes damage to this (*shall incur*) great sin.

(V. 9). Whoever transgresses the order of the king, that low-born (*one*) will commit offence against the king; he who will conform to the good path followed by kings will for long find refuge in (*god*) Vāsudēva.

(V. 10). This pillar was caused to be planted by the king, personally, on the sacred twenty-seventh day in the excellent month of Mādhava (*i.e.*, Vaiśākha) in the twelfth year (*of his reign*).

(V. 11). Thus was promulgated (*the ordinance*) on all sides (*i.e.*, everywhere) by the General Pṛtibhāgavata (*who was*) devoted to his master (*and it*) was composed by Mālin of poor intellect (*alpabuddhi*).²

(Vv. 12 and 13). (The edict) has been written with devotion by Jānturadāsa, the son of [Chau]li,³ (*and engraved* ?) by Viśvarūpa, the son of Aja (*who is*) devoid of qualities (*and aspires for good qualities* ?).

No. 25—A NOTE ON TILAKWADA PLATES OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJADEVA OF V. S. 1103.

By D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., SATARA.

These plates were discovered in 1917 in Tilakwādā, a peṭā mahāl under Sankheḍā, in the Baroda State, in the bed of the river Narmadā and are now preserved in the oriental section of the Baroda Central Library. They form the last two of the three plates which made up the complete grant. The late Mr. J. S. Kuḍāḷkar, M.A., Curator of Baroda State Libraries, exhibited them and read an article on them at the First Oriental Conference held in Poona in November 1919 which was subsequently published in its Proceedings,⁴ and again in his own Journal, now extinct, called *Library Miscellany*.⁵ The present note deals specially with the historical bearings of the plates;

The first of the extant two plates begins with the description of a sovereign named Bhōjadēva, who is said to have destroyed all the enemies by his great valour. His feudatory was Sū(Śū)rāditya born in the family of the Śravaṇabhadrās and who had migrated from Kānyakubja (modern Kanauj). Sū(Śū)rāditya was helpful to Bhōjadēva in making his rule firm by slaughtering the (enemy) warriors in the battle with Sāhāvāhana as well as the warriors of other princes. Śūrāditya's son was 'Jasōrāja who was enjoying Saṅgamakhēṭamaṇḍala.

¹ Though the word 'pura' generally means a 'town' or a 'city', it appears in certain inscriptions to have a special reference to the tax-free lands possessed by temples or Brahmans. The latter are referred to in Kanarese inscriptions as 'Brahmapuri' or 'Brahmapura'; see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kadur Nos. 10, 125; Vol. XI, Chitaldrug No. 12; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 47; Vol. V, pp. 18, 22, 150; and Vol. VI, p. 202, Text l. 23. Dr. Kielhorn suggests that it might have been some establishment set up for Brahmans.

² This epithet as also *nirguṇa* in the next line is prompted by modesty.

³ [Probably Chau]li of this record is the same as Chulla, the writer of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 103)—N. P. O.]

⁴ Vol. II, pp. 319 ff.

⁵ Vol. VI.

The charter records the grant by Jasōrāja of the village Vīḍhaja and one hundred (measures) of land in the village Ghaṇṭāpalli to a Śaiva ascetic Dinakara for the worship of Ghaṇṭeśvara (Śiva). The writer of the grant was Sōhika, son of the Kāyastha Aiyala of the Vālabhya family.

The inscription being incomplete gives us no clue as to the antecedents of king Bhōjadēva, whose feudatory issued the present grant. But there can be no doubt that Bhōjadēva mentioned here is the famous *Paramāra* king of the same name. The earliest date so far found for Bhōja is V. S. 1076 from the Bānswārā plates¹ and the latest is V. S. 1099.² The latest date of Vākpati Muñja is V. S. 1050.³ He was succeeded by Sindhurāja and the latter by Bhōja, evidently, some time before V. S. 1076, the date of the Bānswārā plates. For Bhōja's successor Jayasinha, we have V. S. 1112 as the earliest date in his Māndhātā plates.⁴ It is evident therefore that Bhōja died some time before V. S. 1112 and after V. S. 1099. If there is any truth in the popular tradition that Bhōja ruled for 55 years, we shall not be far from truth if we assign to Bhōja's reign the approximate period from V. S. 1055 to V. S. 1110. The Bhōjadēva of the present record of V. S. 1103 must therefore be identical with the *Paramāra* Bhōja. The contemporary Chaulukya ruler of Northern Gujarāt was Bhīma I, but his rule does not seem to have extended much to the south and east of his capital. In the Lāṭa country (Surat and Broach Districts) another Chaulukya family was ruling which did not acknowledge the power of the Chaulukyas of Anahilapāṭana as may be seen from the Surat plates⁵ of Kīrtirāja of Śaka 940 and of Tribhuvanapāla of Śaka 972. We know also that the *Paramāras* were not new to the province of Gujarāt in the time of Bhōja. For the two grants⁶ of the *Paramāra* Siyaka of V. S. 1005 recently found at Harsola in Ahmadābād District and the incomplete grant⁷ of V. S. 1026 of the same king found in Ahmadābād show us that that part of Gujarāt at any rate was in the hands of the *Paramāras* during the time of Siyaka.

At Kalavāṇa in the Nāsik District an undated grant⁸ of the time of Bhōja is found which leaves no doubt that Bhōja's power was at this period acknowledged there. It moreover speaks of Bhōja's defeating the kings of a number of countries including Lāṭa and Gujarāt. In the Beṭmā plates⁹ of Bhōja of V. S. 1076 the village granted may probably be located in Gujarāt. All these indications point to the fact that the *Paramāras* were connected with Gujarāt¹⁰ in the early days of the rise of their family and had gained influence over a considerable tract of country under king Bhōja in Gujarāt and elsewhere in its neighbourhood.

No account is given of Sāhāvāhana who was among other kings subdued by Bhōjadēva with the help of Śīrāditya. Sāhāvāhana no doubt stands for the word *Chāhamāna* as the change

¹ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 182 ff.

² From a MS. of *Rājamarigatān*.

³ From a MS. of Amitagati's *Subhāshitaratnasandōha*.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 48.

⁵ Kielhorn's List No. 354 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 241 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 178 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff. See also my note on the grant published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, p. 222. There is reason to believe that the date of this grant, which mentions a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra, must be confined to V. S. 1102-1104 and was therefore nearest to the date of the present grant.

⁹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 322 ff.

¹⁰ In fact I am led to believe that the *Paramāras* had no footing in Mālwa before about V.S. 1027, a short time before Siyaka sacked Mānyakhēṭa as is known from the *Pāyalaṭṭakāṭi-Nāmanāla* of Dhanapāla, since the Pratāpādhi inscription of Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla of V. S. 1003 shows that Mālwa was governed by a Pratihāra governor. See above, Vol. XIV, p. 177.

of *sa* to *cha* and *va* to *ma* is common. The Chāhamānas of Nāḍol were hereditary enemies of the Paramāras of Mālwa; Chāhamāna Śōbhita, son of Lakshmaṇa is styled lord of Dhārā in an inscription¹ which showed that he had defeated Vākpati Muñja, the king of Dhārā, and become for some time the lord of the city and the surrounding country. Śōbhita's son, Balirāja, again, is said to have routed the army of Muñjarāja.² Chāhamāna Anahilla of the same family is said to have slain Śāḍha, a general of king Bhōja.³ To avenge this defeat and death of his *daṇḍanāyaka* Bhōja might have waged a war with the Chāhamāna king and defeated him with the help of Śūrāditya of our inscription.

Though the actual construction in the record may be taken to denote that Śūrāditya of the Śravaṇabhadra family, whose son issued the present grant, had migrated from Kanauj, it is equally possible that the family of Śūrāditya had migrated from Kanauj at an earlier date. We know that the Pratihāras of Kanauj were sovereign lords of Gujārāt for some time as is evidenced by the Waḍhwān plates of Mahipāla⁴ and the Ūnā plates of Mahēndrapāla.⁵ In their palmy days it is not surprising if some fortune seekers⁶ like the ancestor of Śūrāditya founded a principality in Gujārāt. The name Śravaṇabhadra of his family denotes that it was probably a Kshatriya family like the Uttamabhadra family of Saka Ushavadāta's Nāsik inscription.⁷

The reason why this grant, though it belongs to the time of the sovereign Bhōja, does not contain the usual relief⁸ of *Garuda* of the Paramāra family must no doubt be that the record was issued by a feudatory of Bhōja and that the latter had nothing in fact to do with the actual issuing of the grant. The Kaḷavaṇa plates also, issued by a local authority under a feudatory of Bhōja do not contain the usual *Garuda* and snake seal of the Paramāras.⁹ It must at the same time be noted that more space in the record is devoted towards the praise of the sovereign family than of the family of the actual donor of the grant.

The grant was issued on **Monday, the Amāvāsya (śōma-parvan) day of the month of Mārgaśīras in the year 1103 of Vikramāditya.** The Christian equivalent of the date, as kindly calculated for me by Mr. K. N. Dikshit is most probably **Monday, the 11th November 1045 A.D.** taking the month as the *Pūrṇimānta* and the year as a *Southern Vikrama Year*, which should be ordinarily prevalent in the locality in question.

No. 26—KHAROD INSCRIPTION OF RATNADEVA III—CHEDI SAMVAT 933.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab affixed to the temple of Lakṣmeśvar (Lakshmaṇaśāvara) in Kharod, a village in District Bilaspur, C. P., 37 miles from the district headquarters. It has been noticed¹⁰ before but is published here for the first time. It contains 28 lines of writing covering a space of about 3' broad by 1' 5½" high. The size of the letters is about ½". The writing has suffered a good deal the whole way down, particularly, towards the proper left. The

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 308.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 68.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 1.

⁴ In a number of plates found of this period the donees are said to have migrated from *Madhyadēśa*.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 78. [The recently discovered Narwal plates of Vākpati-Muñja contain references to Śravaṇabhadra as a locality from which certain Brahman donees originated. Again, some of the names of Brahmins in the same grant end in—*āditya*. It is therefore not improbable that Śūrāditya belonged to a Brahman family originally from Śravaṇabhadra, that may have settled in Mālwa.—Ed.]

⁶ Similarly the Kaḷavaṇa plates of the feudatory of Bhōjadēva do not contain the *Garuda* relief and other peculiar features of Paramāra grants. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff.

⁷ See *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. VI, p. 226.

⁸ Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vols. VII, p. 201 and XVII, p. 43; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 221; *PNAS. W.O.*, 1903-04, pp. 53 f.; Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd edition), pp. 117 f.

⁹ Above, Vols. IX, p. 71 and XI, p. 67.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 183.

characters are Nāgarī of the 12th Century A.D. The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of *Om namah Śivāya* at the beginning and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The verses are all numbered, their total being 44. The orthography does not call for any special remark with the exception of the facts that *avagraha* has been frequently used where necessary and *v* and *b* have not been distinguished.

The inscription is important as it gives a complete genealogy of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur down to Ratnadēva III. It has been noticed by several scholars but owing to the damaged condition of the stone the information so far given was meagre and unsatisfactory and also contained several errors. I cannot claim to have deciphered the whole record but I have been able to make out with a fair amount of certainty all that is important in it. The inscription is divided into two parts, the first containing verses 1-19 and the second verses 20 to the end. Like several other records of this dynasty the present record is Śaiva. The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva and the third that of the Moon to whose race the Kalachuri family is said to belong. The next verse brings in the princes of the Haihaya lineage of whom **Sahasrārjuna** is said to have imprisoned "the overlord of Lankā." In verse 5 **Kōkalla** and his eighteen sons are mentioned after whom comes **Kaliṅgarāja**—one of the younger if not the youngest of **Kōkalla**'s sons—who by propitiating **Baṅkēśvara** or **Siva** obtained the overlordship of **Tummāṇa**. He was followed in regular descent by **Kamala**, **Ratnadēva (I.)** and **Prithvidēva (I.)**. Verse 6 speaks of **Prithvidēva**'s son, **Jājalladēva (I.)** who defeated in battle **Bhujabala**, the lord of **Suvarṇapura**. In the next two verses are described the exploits of his son and successor **Ratnadēva (II.)** who defeated the king **Chōḷagaṅga**, the lord of **Kaliṅgadēśa**. His son was **Prithvidēva (II.)** who is credited with defeating the king **Jaṭṭśvara** (vv. 9-10). His son was **Jājalladēva (II.)** (vv. 11-12). After his death his elder brother (?) **Jagaddēva** 'came from the Eastern countries' and became king (v. 13). The next verse (v. 14) speaks of the able rule of this king. Verse 15 gives the name of his wife as **Sōmalladēvi**. Their son was **Ratnadēva (III.)** who is glorified in the next three verses (vv. 16-19).

The second part, an imperfect account of which was given by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar¹ for the first time, begins with verse 20 in l. 15. It gives the pedigree of **Gaṅgādhara**, a minister of **Ratnadēva (III.)** and also an account of his various charitable and pious deeds. There was one **Dēva-dhara** belonging to **Kāśyapa-gōtra**. His son was **[Rāja]dēva**. The name of his wife occurs in l. 16 but is now not quite legible. Probably her name was **Jivā**. They had a son named **Gaṅgādhara** who afterwards became a minister of **Ratnadēva (III.)**. The rest of the inscription is devoted to the praise of **Gaṅgādhara**'s virtues and records his benefactions. It appears from verse 25 that when the kingdom of **Ratnadēva** was in a critical situation, most probably when the king was engaged in fighting a powerful adversary, **Gaṅgādhara**, through his wonderful ability, restored the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. We also learn from verse 27 that it was through the advice of this capable minister that **Ratnadēva** made his kingdom free from all foes. **Gaṅgādhara** had two wives named **Rānmā (?)** and **Padmā**. The former gave birth to two sons **Prada** and **Jijāka** while the latter had one son born to her named **Khaḍgasimha**. Verses 30-40 mention a series of charitable and pious acts performed by **Gaṅgādhara**. He built a temple of **Śiva**, which is evidently identical with the **Lakṣneśvar** temple at **Kharod** where the inscription is found. To the south of this temple he constructed a *maṭha* made of well seasoned wood for the habitation of the ascetics. He also built, evidently at the same place, a beautiful *maṇḍapa* for **Śauri (Viṣṇu)**. On the top of a hill to the west of **Ratnapura**, he constructed a temple of **Ekavīrā** which resembled a *Pushpaka*.² In the forest of **Vaḍada (vanē Vaḍadē)**³ he built a *maṇḍapa* for 'the enemy of the

¹ PRAS. W.C., 1903-04, pp. 53 f.

² For a description of *Pushpaka* see P. K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 113-14. [The temple of *Ekavīrā* still exists on a hill to the west of *Ratanpur*—Ed.]

³ Bhandarkar reads *Nēvaḍadē* and Hiralal Panavardē.

(three) cities', i.e., Śiva, as well as extensive temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇeśa. In the fortress (*durga*) he built a temple for the goddess Durgā. He also seems to have dedicated a shrine to the Sun (*Ravi*) at a place the name of which is not clear and also erected a Śiva temple at Pōratha. To the north of Ratnapura he built a temple for Ṭuṇṭā(=Ḍhūṇḍhi ?)-Gaṇapati. He also had tanks excavated in the villages of Tipuraga (?), Girahali (?), Uluvā and Sēṇā[da ?]rā. Besides the above-mentioned pious donations he raised a beautiful flower garden at Nārāyaṇapura and also a *sarva-satrī* or public almshouse abounding in savoury food and drink.

The *prasaṣti* was composed by Kumārapāla of the Haihaya lineage who appears to have had a younger brother of the name of Jalhaṇa (?). It was written by himself on the slab and engraved by one Nātū who was clever in this art. The Kumārapāla of this inscription is evidently identical with the Kalachuri Kumārapāla, the composer of the Śeorinarayan¹ and Malhār² inscriptions. According to the last verse it seems that a part (*kalā*) of the inscription was composed by the *Śrēṣṭhin* Ralhaṇa who was the minister in charge of religious endowments (*Dharma-karm-ādhikārin*) in the reign of Ratnadēva (III).

The date of the inscription is given in the last line as Chēdī samvat 933 without any further details and would correspond to 1181-82 A.D.

In most of the inscriptions of the Ratanpur rulers a reference is made to Kōkalla and his 18 sons. Kielhorn seems to have taken him to be Kōkalla (I),³ the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. We know from the Benares Plates of Karnadēva⁴ that Kōkalla (I) was contemporary of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, Vallabharāja or the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇarāja II and the Chandēlla Harsha. He would thus belong to a period between 860 and 900 A.D. as has been pointed out by Kielhorn.⁵ But according to the Amōdā Plates⁶ of Prithvidēva I, Kōkalla whose son was the founder of the Ratanpur branch, 'took treasures of the Karnāṭa, Vaṅga, Gūrjara, Kōṅkaṇa and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turushka and Raghu families.' The absence of any names of these kings renders the identification difficult, but the reference to Turushkas is very significant. If this term has been used in a broad sense to refer to the Muhammadans (which is very probable) and if the exploits mentioned in this inscription are not due to a mere poetical exaggeration, then the reference cannot be to Kōkalla I of the Tripurī family as he belonged to a period anterior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India. A still better clue is afforded by another reference in verse 9 of the same plates that 'having churned the king of Utkala with emaciated water he (i.e., Kamalarāja, son of Kōkalla II) made over the goddess of wealth (*Śrī*) to his overlord Gāṅgēyadēva'.⁷ This latter prince can be no other than Gāṅgēya Vikramāditya, the son of Kōkalla II.⁸ The reference to Gāṅgēya's defeating the Utkala king is found also in the Goharwā Plates of Karnadēva.⁹ Again, according to the present inscription, Kalīṅgarāja appears to have been a younger son of Kōkalla while according to the Amōdā Plates of Prithvidēva I, which is the oldest known record of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur, the eldest son of Kōkalla became the ruler of Tripurī and the others were made petty chieftains and Kalīṅgarāja is mentioned as the descendant of one of the younger sons of Kōkalla. The latter pedigree

¹ Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 122, No. 203 and *PRAS W.C.*, 1903-04, pp. 52 f.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 42.

³ See Index to *Inscriptions of Northern India*, above, Vol. V, p. 107.

⁴ Above, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 78 ff.

⁷ I am unable to accept Hiralal's explanation that 'Kamalarāja endeavoured to equal Gāṅgēyadēva in prosperity.'

⁸ R. B. Hiralal has not identified the Utkala prince who was defeated by Kamalarāja. The pun on the words *kahīṇāda* and *Gāṅgēya* shows that the prince referred to was probably Kāmārpava, the father of Vajrahaṣṭa.

⁹ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.

is found in other records of the Ratanpur kings and may therefore be accepted as correct. Suvarṇapūra of verse 6 is probably identical with Sonpur on the Mahānadi, the present capital of the homonymous state now transferred to Bihār and Orissa from C. P. But we are not aware of Bhujabala the ruler of Suvarṇapūra from any other source. Suvarṇapūra is mentioned in the Sonpur plates¹ of Kumāra Sōmēśvaradēva and the Jatesiṅga Dūṅgri Plates² of Mahāśivagupta which show that Sonpur was at an earlier time under the suzerainty of the Sōmavamśi rulers of Trikalīṅga. Only two chiefs of Sonpur are mentioned in the Sonpur Plates, viz., Abhimanyudēva and Sōmēśvaradēva.³ This as well as other inscriptions of the rulers of Ratanpur show that their relations with the Eastern Gaṅgas, their immediate neighbours on the east, were not friendly. Chōḍagaṅga, the lord of Kaliṅgadēśa who was defeated by Ratnadēva II, is identical with the Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The king Jaṭēśvara who was defeated in battle by Prithivīdēva II is no other than Kāmārṇava, the son of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga as we know from an inscription⁴ in the *āsthāna-maṇḍapa* at the Mukhalīṅgam temple dated Śaka 1070.

My reading of verse 13 in the text throws some new light on the genealogy of the Ratanpur kings after Jājalladēva II. Kielhorn and following him, Hiralal, were under the impression that Sōmalladēvi was the wife of Jājalladēva II and that Ratnadēva III was their son. No other inscription of Jājalladēva mentions the name of his wife. But in verse 13 of the present inscription it is clearly stated that after the death of Jājalladēva II, Jagaddēva, probably his elder brother, came from the eastern countries and became king. The reading appears to be *jyāyān=asya* and not *=putrō* or *=sūtō*. If Jagaddēva was the son of Jājalladēva the succession would have been in quite a natural order. But if Jagaddēva was the elder brother of Jājalladēva and thus the eldest son of Prithivīdēva, as the reading of verse 13 appears to show, I do not understand why he did not become king after the death of his father Prithivīdēva II. The most plausible explanation seems to be that Jagaddēva was all the time engaged in a conflict with the Eastern Gaṅgas and was thus obliged to be absent from the capital and that owing to his long absence Jājalladēva took the reins of government in his own hands. The verse under consideration seems to imply that Jājalladēva's death took place somewhat suddenly and that was probably the reason why Jagaddēva hastened back from the eastern countries to take charge of the government.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription several have already been identified by Hiralal. Thus Tummāṇa, the original capital of the Ratanpur Kalachuris, exists under the name of Tumāna in the Lāphā Zamindari of Bilāspur. Suvarṇapūra, as has been pointed out already, may be Sonpur. Rātnapūra is the present Ratanpur and Nārāyapūra and Pōratha are still known by the same names (the latter as Portha) and are situated, respectively, about 20 miles S. W. and 30 miles N. E. of Kharod. The name read as Vanavātūda by Hiralal, I have read as *vana Vādada* which may be Balodā⁵ near Kharod. If the reading Sēṇādarā is correct, it may be identified with the present-day Sendri between Bilāspur and Ratanpur. Uluvā is probably the same as Ulba in Raipur District. I cannot identify the other places mentioned in the inscription.

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff.

² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 52 ff.

³ B. C. Majumdar identifies this Sōmēśvara with the king defeated by Jājalladēva as mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription (above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.). Hiralal, however, identifies this latter Sōmēśvara with the Nāgavarṇaṅ king of Bastar. If Mr. Majumdar is correct in his identification, then Bhujabala would be only a *virūda* of Sōmēśvara.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 1044.

⁵ [Baloda, 30 miles north of Kharod, must be the Vādada of this record. Being the headquarters of a forest range, it is aptly called *vana*. Baloda (or Baloda Bazar, as it is called) is the headquarters of a Tahsil in Raipur District, but there is no forest in its immediate vicinity.—Ed.]

In editing the Amōdā Plates of Prithvidēva I, Hiralal suggested that the term Vaṅkēśvara, which is found in the present inscription also, might refer to an 'aboriginal' local deity¹. In Sanskrit and Prākṛit *vaṅka* has the same meaning as Skt. *vaṅka* and the latter is a name of Rudra according to the *Anēkārthasāra* of Lharaṇidāsa. Thus Vaṅkēśvara may signify Śiva and the word *īśvara* added after Vaṅka would point to the same conclusion. This explanation seems quite justified as we know that the Kalachuris of Ratanpur were adherents of the Śaiva faith.

I edit this inscription from an impression found amongst those received from the office of the Director General of Archæology in India by the Government Epigraphist for India.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 25, 26, 42, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 2, *Śikharinī*; vv. 3, 30, 41, *Sragdharā*; v. 4, *Bhujāṅgaprayāta*; vv. 6, 8, 36, 38, 39, *Āryā*; vv. 11, 13, 15, 17-19, 27-29, 31-35, 37, 40, 43, 44, *Anuśṭubh*; v. 12, *Mālinī*; v. 16, *Mandākrāntā*; v. 20, *Upajāti*; vv. 21, 23, 24, *Vasantatilakā*; and v. 22, *Vamśasthāvila*.]

- 1 Ōm namaḥ Śivāya || Kalyāṇāni karōtu Parvvatasutā-pāpi-graha-prakra[mē]
dēvaḥ kēli-kalā-nidhis=trijagatā[m] Dakṣ-ādhvara-dhvaṁsakaḥ | yaḥ kaṇṭha-
dyuti-vāsasā jana-[driśā] — — — — — [Gau]rī-vaktra-nirīkṣa[nāya]
- 2 [vi]dadhē mugdh-ēndu-dipa-tvishā ||1|| Kriyād=vaḥ kalyāṇam niravadhi vidhātus=
trijagatām samunmilan-nil-ōtpala-dala-ruchinām sahacharī | ruchih kaṇṭhasy=
ōchchair=achala-tanayā-vaktra-kamala-prasarppat-[saurabhyē tura-madhukar-ā-]
- 3 — — — [tir]=iva ||2|| Jīvātuh kairavāṇām=amṛita-rasa-dharī(ras=) sūpakarāḥ surāṇān=
tārāṇām prāpa-nāthaḥ kusuma-sara-kathā-'dhyāyinām Pīthamarddhaḥ | ādarśō
dig-vadhūnām [pri]tthu-gagana-sarō-rā[jahāṁsas]= — — — — — nārī śrīngārō — — — — —
- 4 — — — [ra]-ruchir=abhūd=Atri-nētrāt=sudhāmśuh ||3|| Dharitribhujō Haihayā[s=ta]sya vamśē
va(ba)bhūvur=yasah prāpa yēshām=udāram | bhujā-jyā-latā-va(ba)ddha-Lamk-
ādhināthaḥ **Sahasrārjjunō** vira — — — — — ||4|| [Śrī-Kōkalla-nripas ?]=tad-
anvaya-bhavas=ta-
- 5 t-sūnavō=sṣṭādaśa khyātō [hy=ē ?]shu laghuḥ **Kaliṅganripatir=vVaṅkēśvar-ārā-**
dhanāt | Tummān-ādhipatih sutō=sya **Kamalah śrī-Ratnarājas=tataḥ Prithvi-**
dēva-narēśva[rō]=bhavad=ataḥ [kshōṇ-īśa]-chūdā-manih ||5|| [**Jā**jalladēva-]
nripatis=ta-
- 6 t-sūnur=abhūt=Suvarṇapura-nātham | **Bhujava(ba)lam=ava(ba)lam chakrē nija-**
bhuja-va(ba)lataḥ samikē yaḥ ||6|| Āsit=tat-tanayō nay-ōchita-matih kshōṇ-īśa-chūdā-
mani-srē(śrē)ṇī-saṅcharaṇa-[pravu(bu)ddha ?]-charaṇaḥ [śrī-Ratnadēv-āhvayaḥ] |
lōk-ālō-
- 7 ka-gir-īndra-kandara-darī-viśrānta-vidyādhari-vaktr-ēndu-dyuti-jāla-[pām]sa(su)la-yaśō-rāśih
pravir-āgrāṇih ||7|| Yaś=Chōḍagaṅga-nripatim 'Kaliṅga-dēś-ādhipa[m] gaj-
ādhiśam | samiti **Jaṭēśvara** — — — — — [kṛitak-Āśvayujō=ntikañ=cha(?)—] ||8||
- 8 **Prithvidēva-nripas=tataḥ** samabhavad=yan-mauli-[dē]ś-ōllasad-ratn-ārchchir-nichayēna
rañjitam=Umābharttuḥ pad-āvja(bja)-dvayam | jivā yēna **Jaṭēśvarō** nara-
patih samkhyē sva-dōr-vvikra[maih] — — — — — ||9||
- 9 Gaṇḍ-ōdbhēdi-mad-āmvu(bu)-ni[rjita]-kari-tyā — — — — — vyājataḥ kiṁ vāchyah sa
jagat-trayī-maṭha-kṛit-āvāsō yaśas-tāpasah | yasy=ō[dvē]lana-kīrṇa-bhūti-kaṇikā-
ja[-na paritē śasi ?] — — — — — dhī-Him-ādri-kūṭa — — — — — ||10||

¹ See above, Vol. XX, p. 77.

- 10 Tasmāj-Jājalladēvō='bhūj=janānām janak-ōpamaḥ | ajaśaṁ yad-guṇa-grāmaḥ
varṇayanti mahi[bhū]jaḥ ||11|| Atha kila [ha]ta-daivād=rājñi Jājalladēvē
Kalachuri-kula-chandrē vra(bra)hma-sā¹ — — — [jaga]d=idam=a[pa-rākam]
sarvvatō-dy-ā[n]dhakāraṁ kali]-ka-
- 11 lita-vivēka-vyasta-lōkam=va(ba)bhūva ||12|| Jyāyā[n=asya] Jagaddēvas=tataḥ prāg-
dēvato='ñjasā | samētya rājy-ādhipatir=vva(bba)bhūv-ādbhuta-vikramaḥ ||13||
Chaurair=a — — paṁ prayātam=a — — — yaiḥ [prabhinnam] — — — — —
— — — — — da-
- 12 [ri]-kōṇē='ribhiḥ samsthitam | tasmin=śaurya-[vi]lāsa-dāna-rasikē rājya-sthitē bhūpa-
[tau] [vyā]ghrād=apy=adhi[kām va]nē [na] kurutē bhitiṁ=janaḥ paryaṭan
||14|| Lakshmīr-iva Mur-ārātē Rativat=Pushpadhanvanah | rā[jūah] Sōmalla-
dēvi[=ti] — — — — —
- 13 bhavat ||15|| Putras=tābhyām (tayōa-) tridaśa-vaṇitā-gīta-kīrttiḥ prithi[vy]lām=āsīd=āsā-ku-
hara-viharach-chāru-kīrtti-pratānaḥ | — — — r-vittikṛita-sura-taruḥ saṅgar-ōddā-
ma-[vai]ri — — — [śri] — — — pa-dayitō [Ratna]dēvaḥ pravīraḥ ||16|| — — — — —
— — — — —
- 14 [mri]g-ākshi-nayan-ōtsavam | svatō='dhikam hriy=ēv=āsīd=anaṅgō Makaradhvaḥ ||17||
Saṁskṛit-ādi-pada-nyā[sam] vaichitr[y]a-chitra-dāyinā | jhivā raṅg-āṅgaṇē yaśya
narina[rti] ? — — kritā (?) ||18|| [Rājadhāni] dharā-bharttus=tasya — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — —
- 15 m=abhūd=atimanōharam ||19|| Chha || Gōtrē='bhavat=Kāśyapa-nāmadhēyē kalā-nidhir-
Dē[va]dharō dharāyām | ya[thā] dhar-ōddhāra-vidhau dhurīṇē Haris-tathā
sō=pi vipad-gatānā[m] ||20|| Putras- — — — — — — — — — — —
iti — — — — — pa-
- 16 yōdhiḥ | śāstrēṣhu śāstra-nivahēṣhu paraṁ pravīṇō-nēn-ōpamānam-iha kō-pi
na samjagāma ||21|| — — — sam siddhi-nimi[tt]a[m=uttamam] pativratānām
dhuri samsthitā priyā | va(ba)bhūva [Jiv=eti ?] viśuddha-śi — — [ksha]mā
griham [sachcha]ritasya tasya² ||22|| Tābhyām=ajā-
- 17 yata guṇ-ōtkara-ratna-sindhur-Gaṅgādhārō='dbhuta-matiḥ sujan-aika-va[m](bān)-
dhuḥ | dhanyasya yat-kṣhapam=ap=iha parōpakārād=anyat-kadāchid=api na
vyasanam=va(ba)bhūva ||23|| Yan-mānasam sukṛita-śila-day-ō[paśānti] — — —
[mauli ?] — — — — — — — — — — — [lō ?]-
- 18 bha-trishṇ-ādibhiḥ paratō(ta) ēva kṛitō nivāsaḥ ||24|| Kōśē nāsam=upagatē gaja-
va(ba)lō kṣhīṇē='tirīṇē janē durbhikṣh-ōpapatim gatē janapadē dīnām
daśām=āsritē | yēn=ō[chchaiḥ] padam=āpadām — — — — — śri-Ratnadēva-
[prabhō rājyaḥ] maṁ[dava(ba)lā] — — — kṛitā³
- 19 punaḥ saptaṅga-saṁpūrṇatām⁴ ||25|| Dhairy-audārya-vivēka-vikrama-yaśaḥ-sauśīlya-
śāstrāṇy=athō śaucha-āchāra-parām=ananya-sadpūṣiṁ Chāpakya=vidyā-matī[m]
dṛishṭvā [ch=siva] nitānta-[tripta]-manasā śri-Ratnadēvāna yaḥ sarvv-
ā[chā]ra-dhurī[ṇa] śha vihitāḥ prādhāny-amātyē padē
- 20 ||26|| Yaśya maintrēṇa sarvvatra nirjit-ārāti-maṁḍalaḥ | śri-Ratnadēva-bhūpālāś-
chakrā rājyam=akṣṭakam ||27|| Rā[ṇma] ?-Padm-ābhīdhē [cha dvē] bhāryā
bhakti-parāyaṇē | va(ba)bhūvatuh sad-ā[chāra]-pavitrita-kula-dvayē ||28|| Ēk-ātra
Prada-Ji[ā]kau sushuvē tanay-ōttamau | sūhā(ha)-

¹ [The lacuna may be filled up as 'gujyam-āptē.—Ed.]

² A syllable at the end appears to be missing.

³ Read *akṛitā*.

⁴ *Śaśmy-amātya-sukṛit-kōśa-rākhya-durga-balāni cha*. These are the seven constituent parts of a kingdom.

[illegible]

- 21 vi[kra]mam=anyā cha Khaḍgasimham=ajījanat ||29|| Ālōky=ānēna vidyut-tati-
taralatar-āsāra-tāruṇya-[dadhnīm] Lakshmīm=a — ◡ m=ēvaṁ cha [ji]ta-mṛigadṛśām
pṛitim=a[py]=aṅganānām | — — — k-ā[pta]yē [tat=punar]=iha sukṛitair=[dri]ṣṭa — —
pta-vō(bō)dhād=ētach=chakrē navīnaṁ sahaḥa-śubha-ma-
- 22 tir=mmaṇḍapaṁ Bhūtabharttuḥ ||30|| Maṭhaḥ kaṭhōra-kāshṭh-aughair=atr=aiv=
ākāri dhimatā | dēva-dakṣiṇa-dig-bhāgē nivāsārthan=tapasvinām ||31|| Kāritam
vistrīta[m] Saurī-maṇḍapaṁ¹ puṇya-kāriṇā | Gaṅgādharaṇa [dharanēr=bhū-
shām]=ēv=ātisundarām ||32|| Śrīmad-Ratnapurē chā-
- 23 ru pratichyām Pushpak-ōpamam | akarōd=akavīrāyā maṇḍapaṁ giri-mūrdhani
||33|| Maṇḍapaṁ vanē Vāḍadē² [Po]r-ārātēr=vinirmitam | Hara-Hēramvayōś=
chakrē tatr=aiva vi[sa(śa)d]-ālayau ||34|| Dēvi-Durgā-griham durgē Ravēḥ
Paha[takē(?) purē] | Pōrathē bhavanam Sambhōr=a-
- 24 bhrāmkaśam=achikarat ||35|| Ratnapurasy=ōdichyām diḡi Tūmtā-Gaṇapatēr=asau
chakrē | maṇḍapaṁ=aśēsha-vāñchita-phala-dātūr=vighṇa-hantus=cha ||36|| ||³
Saras=[Ti]puruga-[grā]mē nirmala[m*] vikach-ārvu(bu)jam | tathā Girahali-
[grāmē] sphārām pushkarīṇim=api ||37|| ◡◡◡◡◡
- 25 kṛitam=analam sarasija-ruchiram sadā jagat-sēvyam | tāp-āpaham=uru-harim=iva
[U]luvā-grāmē saras=chakrē ||38|| Guṇjan-muñja-madhuvrata-chaya-chumvita-vika-
cha-paṇkajām=akarōt | pushkarīṇim=a[pi] śōbha]na-Sēṇā[dā]r-ā[bhi]dha-[grā]mē ||39||
Mishṭ-āna-pāna-sampannā[m sa]-
- 26 rvasatrī[m] vyadhād=asau | Nārāyaṇapurē pushpa-vāṭikām=api śōbhanām ||40||
Yāval=llāvatīnām nayana-sarasija-prānta-samsthō Manōbhūr=yāvan=Maināka-
paksh-āvila-chaṭula-chalad-vīchi-mālāḥ payōdhiḥ | chandr-ārkkau yāvad=ētau
gagana-tala-samud[d*]yōtamānu prabhātas=tā-
- 27 vad=Gaṅgādharaṇasya pravara-guṇa-nidhēḥ sthairyatām=ētu kīrttiḥ ||41|| Dakṣhō
lakṣhaṇa-nirṇa(rṇa)yē kavi-kalā-sarvva[sva]-viśrāma-bhūs=chhandah-sundara-vu-
(bu)ddhir=adbhuta-matiḥ sāhitya-Chāṇakyaḥ | khyātō Haihaya-varṇasabhūḥ
kavi-vṛiṣhā yasy=ānujō Ja[lhaṇa]s=tēn=ākāri Kumārapāla-kṛitina [ch=ēyam ?]
- 28 prāsastir=mmudā ||42|| Aksharair=mauktik-ākārais=tēn=aiv=ālēkhi kautukāt | [Nātū]-
nāmnā samutkīrṇā śilpa-vijñāna-śālinā ||43|| Śrēṣṭhinā Ralhaṇēn=ātra
dharmma-karm-ādhikāriṇā | kṛitā kalā kalāpajña-jana-suśruta-vu(bu)ddhinā||44||
Chēdi Samvat 933 ||*|| Maṅgalam=astu ||

No. 27.—THE UDAIYARGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN; A.D. 988.

By PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS.

This inscription⁴ is engraved, along with some other Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century A.D., on the west wall of the central shrine in the Anantīśvarasvāmin temple at Uḍaiyārguḍi, a hamlet of Kāṭṭumannārkōyil, in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot District. The village is celebrated in the hagiology of South Indian Vaiṣṇavism as the birth-place of Nāthamuni and his grandson Yāmunāchārya, also called Ālavandār, the spiritual preceptor of Rāmānuja. In the inscriptions, the place is called Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the same as the Vīranārāyaṇapuram of Vaiṣṇava literature and our inscription further describes

¹ Read *Sauri*. Probably the length is introduced for the sake of the metre.

² The metre is irregular here.

³ Here in this and the next line enough space for 3 or 4 letters is left uninscribed.

⁴ No. 577 of 1920. *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1920-21, part II, paragraph 31.

it as a *brahmadēya* on the Northern bank (evidently of the Coleroon). Most probably, it was an *agrahāra* founded by Parāntaka I Viranārāyaṇa (A.D. 907-53), whose inscriptions are also found in the Anantīśvara temple.¹

The inscription consists of eight lines of almost equal length, and occupies a space of about 12' by 1½'. Except for the loss of some letters at the end of the first and second lines, it is in a fair state of preservation. The size of the letters is on an average well over an inch, some of the ligatures being 2" high. The characters employed are Tamil and Grantha. The writing is of the regular type found in the Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century. The chiselling of the letters is very good and hardly excelled in its beauty by any stone inscription of the period outside the Tanjore temple. In general appearance, our inscription strikingly resembles the Tamil part of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla², allowance being made for the difference in the material on which the inscriptions are engraved. The loops in *ṛ* are fully developed; but not so in *ṛ̣*. Medial *ā* and *r* are clearly distinguished though not always; the first two lines contain several instances where the distinction is maintained, while *r* is written exactly like the subsidiary *ā* in *pēraṇṇamāridum* and *māmaṇmāridum* in line 3, and in *ālvār* in line 7. Medial *ī* and *ū* are sometimes, but by no means always, distinguished from *i* and *u* by loops, the loop indicating length in *ī* being placed at the end of the left arm of the curve indicating *i* instead of at the end of the right arm as at present. The long *ī* is best seen in the letters *Srī* and *Vī* and in *ṇī* in *taṇṇīr* (line 7). The long *ū* is sometimes indicated by the short *u*-sign attached to the main letter and followed by the *ā*-sign as in *malaiyaṇṇūrāṇ* in line 2 and *nūṇṇorupatti* in line 6; the regular sign with the loop occurs in *Koṭṭaiyūr* in line 4, *mūvaridum* in line 5, and twice in *Veṇṇaiyūr* in line 6. Though the length of these medial vowels is not always indicated in the inscription, I have added it in my readings where necessary. The letter *y* is invariably written in the Grantha form as in some of the Uttaramēṇūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I and in the Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla. The *puḷḷi* is not marked.³ Ligatures are almost invariably in Grantha form; *lla* is written in two forms in line 6—*Palla* and *Malla*—in the one case, a Grantha *la* placed over a Tamil *la* and in the other, two Tamil *la*-s placed one above the other.

As regards orthography, a tendency to omit *r* is noticed in such forms as *ivagaḷ* (lines 2 and 3 and 4). The only other features calling for notice are the insertion of *y* in *mīy-piḷḷāgai* in line 5.

The language of the inscription is Tamil. The construction of the second sentence (ll. 1-4), the most important in the whole inscription, is much obscured by its faulty grammar. It gives a list of the names of some persons involved in treason, and of their relatives, but the first five names in the list are in the nominative case, while the remaining eight are virtually in the genitive as indicated by the possessive suffix *idum* attached to each of them and by the phrase summing up the whole (*irvaṇaiyar*) being clearly employed in a possessive sense. Line 4 also contains a similar confusion of case endings.

The object of the inscription is to record an endowment by Araiyaṇ Bharataṇ *alias* Vyālagajamalla-Pallavaraiyaṇ, the son of Nakkaṇ Aravaṇaiyāṇ *alias* Pallava-Muttaraiyaṇ, the lord of Veṇṇaiyūr. The aim of the endowment was to provide for the supply of drinking water in a *maṇḍapa* before the temple in which the inscription is engraved, and for the daily feeding of fifteen Brahmans. The endowment took the form of land, and in the narration of the

¹ Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1920-21, part II, para. 24 and Appendix B, Nos. 539, 547, 549, etc.

² South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 128. [While in the Uttama-Chōla plates, the letter for *r* is almost a plain vertical stroke without any curve at the top as in the sign for medial long *ā*, in the present inscription the symbols for both of these have a curve at the top, usually open on the proper right side.—C. R. K.]

³ [The *puḷḷi* is marked in a few cases: e.g., see *maṅgalattu p-peruṅguri p-peru* in l. 1, though in the rest of the inscription it is not so.—C. R. K.]

circumstances of the purchase of the land by the donor, the important historical fact is disclosed that **Āditya II Karikāla** fell a victim to assassination at the hands of some persons who, to judge from their names and titles, must have been highly placed Brahman officials of the army.¹

The inscription opens by stating that in the **second year of Kō-Rājakēsarivarma**, a letter (*śrīmukham*) was sent by the Emperor to the Great Sabhā of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ (line 1). The letter is next reproduced (lines 1-4). It recounts that Sōmaṇ, and his younger brothers Ravidāsa and Paramēśvara had been found guilty of treason (*drōhikaḷ-āṇa*) for their murder of Karikāla Śōḷa 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya' (ll. 1-2); the properties² of these three persons and their relatives specified (ll. 2-3) were to be taken over³ by Brahma-śrīrājaṇ of Koṭṭaiyūr and Chandraśēkhara-bhaṭṭa of Puḷḷamaṅgalaṃ (l. 4); the Sabhā (*tāṇḡaḷum*) were to arrange, in co-operation with these two persons, for the sale at current prices of all these lands and to remit the proceeds to the Treasury in accordance with the king's order (l. 4). The letter concludes with the statement that it was written out by Kurukāḍi Kilāṇ (l. 4). In accordance with this letter, the lands of Rēvadāsa⁴ (either the second of the traitors named above or more probably his *uḍappiṇḍāṇ* Malaiyanūrāṇ), Rēvadāsa's son and his mother, situated in the western *piḍāḡai* of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ (line 5) were bought from the *sabhā* by Bharataṇ *alias* Vyāḷaḡajamaḷlaṇ. The property purchased comprised, according to an old measurement (*paḷambaḍi*), two (*vēḷi*) and three quarters and one-twentieths, and six residential houses (line 6), and the price paid was 112 *kaḷaṇḡu* of gold (lines 6-7). In the month of **Mēsha** in this year, on a **Sunday** which was a **Pūraṭṭādi** day, Bharataṇ gave this land and these houses to be utilised in the Anantīśvara temple for the purposes specified (lines 7-8).

The astronomical details given in line 7 will be seen, from a reference to Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, to be correct for **Sunday, the 15th April, A.D. 988**, which would fall in the third regnal year of Rājarāja I, whose accession has been fixed by Kielhorn between 25th June and 25th July 985 A.D.⁵ The regnal year cited in our inscription is the second, and this must be understood to be, not the current, but the expired year. The chronology of the record, its reference to the murder of Karikāla 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya', *i.e.*, Āditya II, the elder brother of Rājarāja I, and its palaeographical peculiarities alike point to the identity of the Rājakēsari of this inscription with Rājarāja I who began his rule in A.D. 985. In fact there is no other Rājakēsari in the period after Āditya II whom the facts recorded in the inscription suit so well.

The interval between the close of the reign of Parāntaka I and the beginning of that of Rājarāja I is still one of the rather obscure periods in Chōḷa history. The order of succession of the kings who ruled in this period is far from clear, and the length of each reign does not lend itself to precise determination. There is no doubt, however, that the immediate predecessor of Rājarāja

¹ [There is nothing to suggest that the officials belonged to the army.—C. R. K.]

² See n. 1, p. 170 *post*.

³ The expression *perattandōm* makes it appear like a gift to these two persons. But in view of what follows this cannot be understood literally. [The expression has to be read as '*perittandōm*' in the sense of 'nominated': cf. *S. I. J.*, Vol. III, p. 404, l. 128 and p. 429. If the sense intended were 'obtaining' the original should be *peru*.—C. R. K.]

⁴ The second of the traitors named at the beginning of line 2 is called Ravidāsaṇṇa Pañchavaṇ-Brahmā-dhirājaṇ. The name given in line 5 is Rēvadāsa, a slightly different form, though it is possible that the sign of medial *e* preceding *ra* in the beginning of line 2 or at the end of line 1 has not come out in the impression. But Rēvadāsa is here called a Kramavitta and has the *alias* Malaiyanūrāṇ, facts which strengthen the doubt that he may be different from Ravidāsa of line 2. But the preceding phrase *i-śrī-mukhallin mēppaṭṭa* means 'that the same man is mentioned in the letter reproduced earlier in the inscription; and this may be a reference either to Ravidāsa or Malaiyanūrāṇ of line 2. [The surname 'Malaiyanūrāṇ' clearly proves that the reference is to the latter of the two persons.—C. R. K.]

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, App. 2, p. 22.

I was Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōla, who had a reign of about sixteen years (A.D. 969-85).¹ Of Āditya II, the Parakēśari 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya,' we have inscriptions bearing the fifth regnal year.² He was the son of Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōla, and it is generally admitted that the period of his rule must lie between the end of Sundara-Chōla's reign and the commencement of that of Uttama-Chōla. The latter was the son of Gaṇḍarāditya and most probably a baby at the time of his father's death.³ This was doubtless the reason why the succession passed to a junior branch of the family, and Ariñjaya, his son Parāntaka II, and his son Āditya succeeded one after another. After Āditya, we find Uttama-Chōla ruling for sixteen years before the crown passed to Āditya's younger brother Rājarāja. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I seem to furnish a clue which, when interpreted with the aid of the present inscription, enables us to trace the probable course of events. Verses 69 and 70 of these plates state that though on the death of Āditya, the people, in their eagerness to witness the destruction of the increasing darkness of *Kali*, desired Arumolivarman, i.e., Rājarāja, to take up the reins of government, he, the true Kshatriya, did not desire to rule his kingdom so long as his paternal uncle coveted it, and that Arumoli was made the *Yuvarāja* by Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōla who became king.

Though the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates and other Chōla records tell us nothing of the manner of Āditya's death, the reference to the increasing darkness of *Kali* looks like a thinly veiled allusion to the state of anarchy that prevailed at the sudden demise of the late king. The people's wish to have Arumoli as king, Arumoli's unwillingness to accept the throne when his paternal uncle coveted it, and the recognition of Arumoli as heir-apparent, may be taken to indicate the troubles of a disputed succession ended by a political compromise by which Uttama-Chōla was indeed to enjoy the fulfilment of his heart's desire, but the succession was to revert to the ruling line, viz., that of Ariñjaya. A certain Madhurāntaka Gaṇḍarādittaṇ is found in the service of Rājarāja I, and it is probable that he was a son of Uttama-Chōla. If this view is correct, he must be taken to have acquiesced in his exclusion from the succession which was the direct result of Arumoli having been made the *Yuvarāja* at the time of Uttama's accession. Apparently the choice before Arumoli after his brother's death was between a civil war with his paternal uncle and a compromise such as the one actually adopted; Arumoli preferred the latter course, and his wisdom seems to be commended in the phrase *Kṣatradharmāthavēdi* (v. 69) of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Malaiyaṇūr* and *Koṭṭaiyūr* cannot be identified without more details: *Puḷlamaṅgalam* may be the same as *Puḷlamaṅgai*, a village near Paṣupatikōyil, about nine miles south of Tanjore. *Veṇṇaiyūr-nāḍu* may be the same as the subdivision of Vaḍagarai-Rājendrasimha-vaḷaṇāḍu in the *Śōlamaṇḍalam*.⁴ If that is so, *Veṇṇaiyūr* must be included in the list of villages in the *nāḍu* given by Venkayya.

I edit the text from a set of estampages received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Kō-Rājakēśarivarmmarkku yāṇḍu 2-āvaḍu Vaḍagarai-brahmadēyam Śrī-Viranārāya[ṇa]-chchaturvvēdimarṅgalattu-pperuṅguṇi-pperumakkaḷukku Chakravartti-śrīmukham Pāṇḍiyaṇai=ttalai-koṇḍa Karikāla-Sōḷaṇai=kkoṇṇu drōhika-[l=ā]*ṇa Sōma[ṇ].....*ṇambi

¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Nos. 135, 136 and 144.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 204.

³ *Ibid.*, p. [14].

⁴ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, II Introduction, p. 24.

* The stone is damaged here but there can be no doubt about the missing letter.

* There is a gap of seven or eight letters here. They must form the rest of the name of the first *drōhi* followed by *ivaṇ*.

- 2 Ravidāsaṇ-āṇa Pañchavan-Brahmādhiraṇum ivan-rambi Paramēśvaran-āṇa Irumuḍi-
chchōla-Brahmādhiraṇum ivagaḷ-uḍappiranda Malaiyaṇū¹rāṇum ivagaḷ=tambi-
mārum=ivagaḷ-makkaḷidum ivar-brāhmaṇim[ār]².pērālum=i.....³ramattam
- 3 pēraṇṇamāridum=ivagaḷ-makkaḷidum=ivagaḷukku=ppillai-kuḍutta māmaṇmāridum tāyōḍ-
uḍappiranda māmaṇ māmaṇmāridum⁴=ivagaḷ-uḍappiranda penḷalai
vēṭṭāriṇavum=ivagaḷ-makkaḷai vēṭṭāriṇavum=āga ivv-āṇaiivar [muḷi]yum
namm-āṇaikk=uriyavāru Ko-
- 4 tṭaiyūr Brahmaśrīraṇum Pullamaṅgalattu Chandraśekhara-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum pera-
ttandōm tāṅgaḷum=ivagaḷ-kaṅkāṇiyōḍum=ivagaḷ śōṇṇavāru namm-āṇai-
kk=uriyavāru kuḍiyōḍu kuḍipēṇum vilaiḱku viṇru=ttālattiḍuga ivai
Kuru[kāḍi]-kiḷāṇ-eḷutt=ēṇru⁵ i-ppariēu vara i-
- 5 śrimukhattiṇ mēppaṭṭa Malaiyaṇūraṇ-āṇa⁶ Pāppanachchēri Rēvadāsa-kramavi-
ttaṇum ivan-magaṇum=ivan-rāy Periyaṇṇai-choḷāṇiyum=i-mūvaridum=āṇa
nilam śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chchatu[r]vvēdimaṅgalattu mīy-paḍāgai Dēvaṇmaṅgalam=
āṇa paṭṭila nilam śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chchatu[r*]-vvēdi-
- 6 maṅgalattu sabhaiyār-pakkaḷ Vēṇṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu Vēṇṇaiyūr-uḍaiyāṇ Nakkaṇ-Ara-
vaṇaiyāṇ-āṇa Pallava-Muttaraiya-magaṇ Barataṇ-āṇa Vyāḷagajamalla-
Ppallavaraiyaṇēṇ-i-nnilam paḷambaḍi iraṇḍē-mukkālēy=oru-māvum=agamaṇai-
y-āṇum=āga i-nnilamum=i-mmaṇaiyum nūṇ=ōrupatt-i⁷?
- 7 ru-kalaṇju poṇ kuḍuttu vilai-koṇḍ=ivvūr-Tiruv-Anantēśvarattu Bhaṭṭārakar-
kōyililēy=ivv-āṭṭai Mēsha-nāyaru Nāyaru-kkiḷamai-perra Pūraṭṭādi-ṇāṇru
chandr-ādityavat āḷvār-kōyil-muṇbu [Mūvā]yirattarunūṇruvaṇāṇa nilaiy-
ambalattu taṇṇir-aṭṭum brāhmaṇan-oruvaṇukku ni[śa]-
- 8 dam padi-nāḷi nellum-aṭṭaivaṭṭam=oru kāsum niśadam padinaiyvar brāhmaṇar=
uṇḍaḍaṅkum=āga paḍiṇāru ivarūḷēy=aiyvar śivayōgikaḷ=u[ṇṇ]avum vaiyṭṭēṇ
Araiyaṇ Bharataṇ-āṇa Vyāḷagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyaṇēṇ i-dha[r]mmam
rakshikīṇra mahā-sabhaiyār-śrī-pāḍaṅgaḷ=ēṇ-talaimēḷaṇa[||*]

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Hail ! Prosperity ! (In the) second year of (the reign of) King Rājakesarivarmān, the order of the Emperor (*addressed*) to the members of the Great Assembly of Śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-pachaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* on the North bank :

¹ Length is marked by the sign for secondary ā.

² The signs for ā and r are lost just below the missing letter noticed in note 5 above.

³ A gap of the same length as at the end of line 1.

⁴ Cancel the second māmaṇ.

⁵ Read *kiḷāṇ*.

⁶ See n. 4, p. 167 *ante*.

⁷ The length of subsidiary ū in nū is expressed by the sign for subsidiary ā. The letters poṇ and ti seem to have been corrected from the original pōru and ti.

Il. 1-2. Sōman, his younger brother Ravidāsa *alias* Pañchavaṇ Brahmadhīrāja, and his younger brother Paramśvaraṇ *alias* Irumūdicchōja Brahmadhīrāja have been guilty of treason as they murdered Karikālaśōja who took the head of the Pāṇḍya ;

Il. 2-4. We have ordered that the (*properties* ?)¹ (of these persons), of their brother Malaiyaṇūrāṇ, of their younger brothers and sons, of their wives, of the elder brothers of their father and their children, of their fathers-in-law (*i.e.* of their uncles who have given their daughters in marriage to them), of their uncles who are brothers of their mother, of the persons who have married their sisters, and of their sons-in-law²—these (*properties* ?) shall, in accordance with our command, be obtained³ by Brahmasīrīrāja of Kottaiyūr and Chandratēkhara-Bhaṭṭa of Pullamaṅgalam.

Il. 4-7. You shall,⁴ in the presence of these (*two*) persons and in pursuance of what they say and in pursuance of our command, sell at the prevailing price⁵ and remit (*the amount*) to the treasury.⁶ This is the writing of Kurukāḍi-kiḷāṇ. When this (*letter*) was received, the lands of the three persons, *viz.*, Malaiyaṇūrāṇ *alias* Rēvadāsa-Kramavittāṇ of Pāppanahchēri, who is mentioned above in the letter, his son, and his mother Periyanaṅgai-chchāni, these lands in the *paṭṭu* known as Dēvanmaṅgalam in the western *piḷḍagai* of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and including, by the old measurement, two and three quarters and one twentieth (*of a vēli*) and six residential houses,⁷ these lands and these houses, were bought of the members of the Sabhā of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam by me, Bharataṇ *alias* Vyālagajamalla-Pallavaraiyaṇ, son of Nakkaṇ Aravanaiyaṇ *alias* Pallava-Muttaraiyaṇ, (a resident) of Veṇṇaiyūr in Veṇṇaiyūr-nāḍu, after payment of one hundred and twelve *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold.

Il. 7-8. In the month of Mēsha in this year, on the Pūratṭādi day which was a Sunday, I, Araiyaṇ Bharataṇ *alias* Vyālagajamalla-Pallavaraiyaṇ, endowed these (*lands and houses*) in order that, as long as the sun and the moon endure, one Brahmin, who supplies water in the (*manḍapa called*) Three-thousand-six hundred *alias* Nīlaiyambalam in front of the Ājvār shrine in the temple of Tiru-Anantīśvarattu-Bhaṭṭāraka of this village, may get ten *nāḷi* of paddy every day and one *kāṭu* in a year, and that fifteen Brahmins may be fed every day, (*provided that*) among these sixteen⁸, five *śivayōgis*⁹ shall be fed. The sacred feet of the members of the *maḷṇasābhā* who protect this charity (*will be borne by me*) on my head.

¹ The gap after *āga ivanaiśar* and before *yam* in line 3 greatly obscures the meaning. The space is just enough for two letters, and I think the first of them is most probably *mu*. Some word like *muṇi* in the sense of 'portion' or 'share' may be suggested. The general sense is, however, clear from what follows, and I have followed this in filling the gap in the translation with: (*properties* ?). No. 112 of 1911 is another instance of the confiscation of the properties of persons found guilty of treason (*drōhikaḷ*) in the reign of Rājaraḷa III.

² Literally, 'of those who have married their children'.

³ [See *ante*, p. 187, f. n. 2.—C. R. K.]

⁴ The pronouns '*āga*' and '*ivai*' are at first puzzling; but a little consideration shows that the former must refer to the members of the Sabhā to whom the letter is addressed, and the latter to the two persons to whom a part of the confiscated rights was assigned by the king. What this exactly was is not clear on account of the gap noted above—n. 1. I have understood *Kaṇkāni* in its abstract sense. Though *Kaṇkāni* also means 'superintendent,' the meaning hardly suits the present context. [The expression means 'under the supervision of these people'—C. R. K.]

⁵ Literally, 'at the price which one peasant gets from another'.

⁶ That *ilāṇ* means 'treasury' will be seen from the following: '*Nūṇam viṇṇu pāṇḍi-kulāśai-māṇḍar dāṇḍa-tālatṭu iduga eṇṇu śrīṇukam vara āka tonṇūru kām māṇḍar dāṇḍa-tālatṭu vaittu*' (No. 553 of 1921); and '*Variyilittā poṇ kaḍavar muṇṇiṇṇu irādu purāṇjāyṇdu pōṇmatyil pōṇaravam pōmāru pōkkaṇṇu tātṭu vaittu taravu kēṭka eṇṇu mahā-sabhaikkū-kkaḍaiyṭṭu vara*.' (No. 379 of 1922).

⁷ '*Āḷam*' and '*maṇai*' occur in the sense of 'house' and 'house-estate' respectively in the Uttaramūṇṇi inscriptions of Parāntaka I.

⁸ [This number includes also the water Brahmin—C. R. K.]

⁹ See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 382.

No. 28.—THE PALANPUR PLATES OF CHAULUKYA BHIMADEVA (V. S. 1120).

By K. N. DIXSHIT, M.A., CALCUTTA.

These plates were received from Palanpur by Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., LL.B., of 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, who brought them to me for decipherment and for the preparation of impressions. They consist of two unusually thick ($\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ ") plates joined together by a ring $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, passed through a hole $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter in the middle of the edge of the longer side. Only the inner side of the plates is inscribed, in all there being 15 lines of bold writing. The dimensions are $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " of which about $\frac{1}{4}$ " of the rim has been raised on all sides to protect the writing. The thickness of each plate is $\frac{1}{4}$ " but there are two knobs on either side of the ring where the thickness is about half an inch. The plates weigh $106\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The characters of the record are Dēvanāgarī and the language Sanskrit prose calling for no special remarks. The engraving is full of mistakes. The document refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Bhīmadēva* (I) apparently of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujarāt, who was encamped at Ilā, its object being the grant of 3 *halas* of land at a village named Varapāvādā to a Mōḍha Brāhmaṇa named Jānaka. The boundaries of the land are specified as: 'to the east, the way to the village Vāra-Asavali; to the south, the village Pādra; to the west, the way to Chhīndriyālā; to the north, the field of Kēsava and Vālaṇa'.

The date of the grant is mentioned as the *fifteenth of the bright half of Pausa in the Vikrama year 1120*. It is further stated that the grant was made by Bhīmadēva, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana parvan* or winter solstice. Now the particular coincidence of the full-moon day of Pausa and the *uttarāyana* occurs neither in any of the possible equivalents of Samvat 1120, taking the year as northern or southern, current or expired; nor within a few years on either side. It is therefore apparent that either the details of the date are wrong or that the actual date of issuing the grant was somewhat later than the date of the donation. In the latter case, it is probable that the date of issue of the grant was 6th January 1064 A.D. while the *Makara-saṅkrānti* or *uttarāyana* which occurred on 25th December 1063 A.D. was the occasion of the king's donation.

The date of the grant is interesting inasmuch as it is the last recorded date of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva. According to Mērutuṅga in his *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, Bhīmadēva's accession took place in V. S. 1078 (1022-3 A.D.), which must be regarded fairly accurate, inasmuch as we have V. S. 1076 as the last recorded date of his predecessor Durlabharāja. From the testimony of the Muhammadan chroniclers it is apparent that Bhīmadēva was the ruler of Gujarāt and Southern Kāthiāwār at the time of the well-known sack of the Sōmanātha temple in 1024 A.D. (circa 1080 V. S.). The first epigraphical date for Bhīmadēva known from his Rādhanpur¹ and Muṇḍaka grants² is V. S. 1086. The next reference is in the Mount Abu Vimala³ temple inscription, where it is stated how in V. S. 1088 (1031-2 A.D.) Vimala, who had been appointed *daṇḍa-pati* by Bhīmadēva, founded the temple. The duration of the reign of Bhīmadēva as given by Mērutuṅga was from V. S. 1078 to V. S. 1120, but practically no records of the latter part of his long reign have survived. The date of another donation made at the Vimala Shah temple by a minister of Bhīmadēva in V. S. 1119⁴ can now be definitely accepted as made within the monarch's reign and life-time. The date of the accession of Bhīmadēva's successor Karṇadēva is given by Mērutuṅga as V. S. 1120; *Chaitra sudi 3 Śanau*. It is clear that this date can be reconciled with

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff.² J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 49.³ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 48ff.⁴ Above, Vol. XIX, List of Northern Inscriptions, No. 137.

that of the present grant, only on the supposition that the year used was the Southern Vikrama year commencing with the month of Kārtika. Bhīmadēva must therefore have died during the period between Pausa and Chaitra of the Southern Vikrama year 1120. On verification, however, the date of Karṇa's accession as given by Mērutuṅga appears to work out regularly only for Saturday, 12th March 1065 (=Southern V. S. 1121), which is more than a year removed from the date of the present grant. The first epigraphical dates for Karṇa are those provided by his Navsāri¹ grants dated Śaka 996 and V. S. 1131 (=1074 A.D.).

The writer of the grant was Kēkkaka, the son of the Kāyastha Vaṭṣēvara, who appears to belong to a family of hereditary scribes of the Chaulukyas. Thus we know the Kāyastha Vaṭṣēvara to be the writer of the Rādhanpur grant of Bhīmadēva and Kēkkaka himself to be the writer of the Navsāri¹ and Sūnak² plates of Karṇa. The Dūtaka was the illustrious Bhōgāditya, the minister of peace and war, who also figures in the Navsāri plates.

Of the geographical names, Ilā, the place of the king's encampment, can possibly be identified with the modern Ilol, a petty state in the Mahikanṭha Agency, to the south-east of Pālanpur. The ending -ol of place names in North Gujarāt (e.g., Halol, Kalol, Palol) is to be considered the local equivalent of pur, through ur and ul. Ilāpura can thus be a good Sanskrit equivalent to Ilol. I am unable to identify the other places.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ Vikrama-Samvat 1120 Pausa śudi 15 ady=ēha kāla Ilā-
- 2 vāsita-śrīmad-vijayi-kāṭakē samasta-rāj-āvali-virāji-
- 3 ta-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Bhīmadēvaḥ svabhujyamāna-Dhāpadā-
- 4 hāra-pathakē samasta-rāja-purashān⁴ janapadāmś=cha bōdhaya-
- 5 ty=astu vaḥ samaviditam yathā ady=ōtvarōyaṇa⁵-parvaṇi Mahēśva-
- 6 ram=abhyarchya pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yasō⁶-bhivṛddhayē Mōḍha-Brā-
- 7 hmaṇa-Jānakāya Varanāvāḍa-grānē(mē) Pātū-satka-kshētrē | Vī-
- 8 vuka-satka-kshētrē cha iti hala-trayasya halam 3 bhūmī⁷

Second Plate.

- 9 śāsanam⁸=ōḍaka-pūrvam=asmābhiḥ pradattā=⁹ syāmś=cha⁹ pūrva-¹⁰
- 10 sām(syām) Vāra-Asavali-grāma-mārgaḥ | dakṣiṇasyām grāma-Pādraṁ | pa-
- 11 śchimāyām Chhīmdriyālā-mārgaḥ | uttarasyām Kaśava¹¹-Vālapayōḥ
- 12 kshētram=iti chatur-āghāt-ōpalakṣhitāyāḥ bhūmēr=asyāḥ pa-
- 13 ripanṭhanā kēn=āpi na kāryā | lisi(khi)tam=idam śāsanam kā-
- 14 yatu¹²-Vaṭṣēvara-suta-Kēkkakēna | Dūtako=¹³tra mahā-sām-
- 15 dhivigrahika-śrī-Bhōgāditya iti¹³ śrī-Bhīmadēva¹⁴ ||

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXVI, pp. 252 ff.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 317 ff.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read purushān.

⁵ Read -ōtvarōyaṇa-.

⁶ Read -yasō.

⁷ Read bhūmīḥ.

⁸ Read śāsanēm.

⁹ Read syāmś=cha.

¹⁰ Va looks like da.

¹¹ Read Kāśava-.

¹² Read yastu.

¹³ The symbol after i either stands for a punctuation mark or abbreviation of śi

¹⁴ Read Bhīmadēvaḥ.

१ विक्रमराक्षस १२० पोतश्रि १५ अश्वदत्तकाल उला
 २ वासिने श्रीमहि रुद्रिक सनमनराजावलीति राजि
 तमदा राजाति राजश्री श्रीमद्वः सत्तु सन्मानतलरा
 ४ दाने पक्षिकि सनमनराजा पुनरा नून पयथातातय
 तशुतः मतिदिने यवा अश्वत्थो यत्त पर्वणि मद्रु
 ६ पमरा र्चयित्वा रात्नतथ पुण्य यत्तारुद्र उयत्ता दत्त
 द्यपजातकाय वरुणा वाडया नपाद्रु सक्त विवा
 ८ बुक्त सक्त सत्त वः तिद त वय सा दत्त ३२ मी

शास्त्रनामादकसर्वमस्त्वा ॥ लिः प्रदत्ताः स्थाः प्रदुर्
 १० स्थाः कुरुष्वस्ततलियाममार्गः शरत्किं स्थाः यामपादप
 १२ स्तिमायां लीदियाः प्रामार्गः उतुपंश्याः कशववाभनयाः
 १४ लिः प्रमितिः तत्रायाः पल्लवितायाः तन्मरुताः य
 रिपं प्रनाकनायिनवां योः लिः प्रमितिः शसतं क
 यतुवद्विधुप्रसुनाकककनः हनकाः प्रमदासा
 तवियदिकथीः शिवादिपुष्टं श्रीरुमदेवा ॥

No. 29—HALDIPUR PLATES OF THE PALLAVA CHIEF GOPALADEVA.

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

The existence of these plates was brought to the notice of Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, by Mr. S. V. Haldipur, B.A., LL.B., M.B.E., Officer Supervisor, Judge Advocate General's Department, Army Headquarters, Simla. They were discovered several years ago when digging in the garden belonging to Mr. Haldipur's family in Guddehittal at Haldipur, a village in the Honavar Taluka of the North Kanara District, Bombay Presidency. I now edit the inscription engraved on them from ink-impressions as well as the originals kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. K. N. Dikshit who obtained the plates on loan from the owner.

The plates which are in an excellent state of preservation are three in number, each measuring about $6\frac{1}{4}$ " in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness. The first and the third plates bear writing only on one side while the second is written on both the sides. Their rims are slightly raised in order to protect the writing from damage. They are strung together on an almost circular ring which has a diameter of about $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of the ring are soldered on to the back of the seal which is circular in shape, with a diameter of about 1". Together with the ring and the seal the plates weigh 96 *tolas*.

On the seal is shown in bold relief the figure of a rampant lion facing the proper right. The head of the animal is erect, its mouth open, the right forepaw raised and the tail twisted over its back. The Uruvapalli¹ grant of the Pallava king Vishṇugōpavarman and the Pikira² grant of Simhavarmān of the same dynasty bear on their seals the figures of the same animal. In the monolithic shrine at Śīyamaṅgalam³ excavated by the Pallava king Mahēndravarmān I and the Uṇḍavalli caves, also attributed to the Pallavas⁴, we find representations of the lion. The figure in the Uṇḍavalli caves bears a striking resemblance to that found on the seal of the present grant.⁵ Thus the emblem of a Pallava chief on the present seal confirms the view expressed by the late Mr. V. Venkayya⁶ that "along with the recumbent bull usually associated with the emblem of the Pallavas, the lion was also the Pallava crest at some period of their history."

The characters of the inscription belong to the southern type which were in use in the Kanarese country during the eighth century A.D. The writing is beautifully executed and there are hardly any mistakes in engraving. The characters are round and upright unlike the longish and slanting ones found in Early Chālukya grants. In general appearance the alphabet of our grant is certainly earlier than that of the Maṇṇe Plates⁷ of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III dated Śaka 732, and the plates of the same king bearing the date Śaka 726⁸. It closely resembles the characters of the Ālupa inscriptions of Udiyāvāra⁹ in the South Kanara District which the late Dr. Hultzsch has assigned to about A.D. 800 and those of the Kovaḷaveṭṭu grant¹⁰ of the Western

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 338 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plate facing p. 50.

² Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

³ *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 232, f. n. 6.

⁴ Longhurst: *Pallava Architecture*, Pt. I, p. 5.

⁵ Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 33; the author is, however, of the opinion that the caves were the work of the Viśṇukunḍins.

⁶ *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 232, f. n. 6; see also above, Vol. XI, p. 343.

⁷ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 82.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, plate facing p. 126.

⁹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 15 ff. and plates.

¹⁰ *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1927, plates facing pp. 106 and 107.

Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa for whom we have a sure date in Śaka 710¹ and who began to rule, according to the Dēvarahaḷli plates², if they are accepted as genuine (and I think they can be), in A.D. 726. But the most striking resemblance the present grant bears in respect of palaeography is to the Anṇigeri inscription³ of the 6th year of the reign of the Early Chālukya monarch Kirttivarman II (i.e., A.D. 752), the form of every letter except *l* being exactly alike in both the records. As regards individual letters in the present epigraph, we have the initial vowel *a* in *anēka* (ll. 3 and 4), *aṇunūrvuru* (l. 7), *ardham* (l. 14), *aṇunūru* and *agrahāra* (l. 17). The initial *ā* occurs only once in *Arīda* (l. 8). The curves at the ends of these two letters have not yet closed completely at the top. The initial *i* consisting of two dots below a double curve occurs thrice in *Iḍevēṭṭa* (l. 13), in *īdu* (l. 16) and *itah-param* (l. 17). Initial *ē* occurs in line 13 and *o* in line 16. Among medial vowels *i* is distinguished from *ī* by a small loop in the circular *i* sign (cf. *Lakṣmī* with *nivāsa*, l. 3). Medial *u* is marked in two ways; when it is attached to the letter *r* it is denoted by a hook bending downwards at the proper left of this letter but in other cases it is denoted by a U-shaped symbol at the bottom of the letter to which it is added (cf. *puruṣa* and *guṇa* in line 3). In medial *ū* the length is indicated by the addition of a downward curve. No distinction is made between short and long *e* and *o*. Medial *ai* is made up of two strokes, one attached to the serif or the *talakatṭu* of the consonant and the other to the letter itself, both placed on the proper right (e.g., *Kai* in *Kaikēya*, l. 2). Medial *o* is merely a combination of the *e* and the *ā* strokes, the one on the proper right and the other on the proper left of the consonant. Among the consonants, the epigraph contains the letters *ñ*, *j*, *b* and *l* which along with *kh* (not found here) furnish, according to Dr. Fleet, the leading test letters in determining the approximate period of undated records. The *ñ* which occurs only once in *teṅkaṇṇā* (l. 12) differs from *j* only in the absence of the centre prong. We have *j* in *rāja* (l. 2), *jana* (l. 4), *rājēna* (l. 6), *gōtraja* (l. 8), *jamali* (l. 16) and as a second member of the conjunct consonant in *peḷjavasi* (l. 14). *B* appears twice, first in *bāhu* (l. 5) and a second time in *koṃbe* (l. 15). All of them are of the earlier type found in records prior to the ninth century. *L* is used more frequently and though it is of a cursive type, the down-stroke of the letter on its proper right side is not yet prolonged up to the top of the letter on the left (e.g., *vallabha* and *Pallava* in line 1, *vipula* in line 4, *tale* in l. 8, etc.). According to Fleet this form of *l* cannot be placed much before A.D. 800 in records coming from Western India.⁴ But it should be noted that this cursive form of the letter already appears in the Rāygaḍ Plates⁵ of the Early Chālukya king Vijayāditya dated Śaka 625 and in the Bopgaon Plates⁶ of the same king dated Śaka 640. The record includes final *n* (l. 9) and *r* (ll. 10, 17 and 18). Lingual *ḍ* can be distinguished from the dental *ḍ* by the lower part of the letter turning upwards and ending in a loop as in *ḍu* of *paḍuvannā* (l. 12) and *ḍe* of *mūḍe* (l. 16). But the distinct form of *ḍ* is not shown in *nḍa* of *Chandamahāsēna* (l. 5) and *nḍam* of *karsapiṇḍam* (l. 15) and, as Fleet has remarked, "it was seldom, if ever, the early practice to use the distinct form of the *ḍ* in the combination *nḍ*".⁷ The Dravidian *r* as well as *ḷ* are represented in the record, the former in *aṇunūrvuruṃ* (l. 7), *Neydalgere* (l. 13), *nūriṇaga*, (l. 14), *nūrirpattentu* (l. 15) and *aṇunūru* (l. 17) and the latter in *kaḷani* (l. 11), *Peramaḷe* (l. 12), *Gārapāḷi* (l. 12), *aḷivōr* (l. 17) and *aḷidōrā* (l. 18) and as the first component of the conjunct consonants in *īḷdu* (l. 10) and *peḷjavasi* (l. 14). These two letters differ considerably from their later varieties used, for instance, in the

¹ *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 42.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, pp. 232 ff. and plates.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, plate between pages 16 and 17.

⁶ From ink-impressions in the possession of Mr. K. N. Dikshit.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 303.

Mantrawāḍi¹ and Sirūr² inscriptions of Amōghavarsha I while they are almost exactly similar to those in the Annigeri inscription³ and the Kendūr Plates⁴ of Kirttivarman II and the Hattimattūr inscription⁵ of Kṛishṇa I. Thus paleographical considerations point to the middle of the 8th century A.D. as the probable period of the present record.

The language of the inscription is **Sanskrit and Kanarese**. Lines 1 to 6 are written in Sanskrit prose and the rest in **Kanarese prose which may be considered among the oldest specimens of the language**. Particular attention may be drawn to the following linguistic and grammatical features. The accusative termination *ān* as in *bhāgamān* (l. 9), *-idān* (l. 17) and *Vāraṇasiyūmān* (l. 18) is found only in early records like the Paṭṭadakal inscription of Vikramāditya II⁶ in which we find *dēgulamān* (l. 2), *ūtān* (l. 8) and the Bādāmi inscription⁷ of Maṅgalēśa which has *ūtodān* (l. 3). In later records this case suffix is *an* or *aṁ*. In masculine nouns ending in *a* the dative termination *ge* is preceded by *n* as in *gōtrajange* and *Paṇyārānge* (l. 8). With this we may compare the datives *namrānge* and *oḍeyonge* found in the Udiyāvāra inscription⁸ of Raṇasāgara and Śvētavāhana, and *mādhuryyange* (l. 5) in the inscription of Kappe-Arabhaṭṭa of about the 8th century at Bādāmi.⁹ In other inscriptions of this period the nasal *ñ* takes the place of the dental *n*¹⁰ (cf. *Dharegīśānge* in the Udiyāvāra inscription of Prithvisāgara¹¹). The genitive suffix is long *ā* and not short *a* as found in later records (e.g., *Kāsampalliyā* in line 9 and *Neydalgeriyā* in line 13). Instances of this form of the genitive are found in the Lakshmēśvar pillar inscription¹² of the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (II) (cf. *Porigeriyā*, *soṛageyā*, etc.), but obviously it is seldom used in records of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi.¹³ The peculiar forms *vaḍagaṇṇā* (l. 11), *paḍuvaṇṇā*, *teṅkaṇṇā* (l. 12) and *mūḍaṇṇā* (l. 13) (which denote the four points of the compass) involving a double *ṇa* are, so far as I am aware, found nowhere else either in epigraphical or literary Kanarese. Characteristic of the archaic nature of the language are the verbal nouns *apponge* (l. 8) and *alidorā* (l. 18), with which may be compared the words *apporṅge* and *envodu* in the Lakshmēśvar inscription referred to above and *uḷidorge* and *parājīsidorā* of the Paṭṭadakal Inscriptions of Vikramāditya II¹⁴. The adverb *uḷlappinam* meaning 'as long as (they) exist' is another archaic formation¹⁵. The word *kaḷani* which denotes a wet land or a rice field is not generally found in epigraphical records later than the 10th Century. With the rather rare expression *bhukt-ānubhuktam* used in the sense of 'to be in continued enjoyment' we may compare *bhukt-ānubhōgam* of the Lakshmēśvar pillar inscription. The imprecation found in the present grant, viz., those who destroy this will go to the world of those who destroy *Vāraṇāśi*, etc., occurs

¹ Above, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 201.

² Below, plate facing p. 208.

³ Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 204.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 203.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 161.

⁹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 18 and 19.

¹⁰ According to the *sūtra atāḥ-chaturthyās-trītiyō-nusvāra-pūrvah-pūnisi* of Nāgavarma's *Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa* R. Narasimhachar's edition p. 28, *sūtra* No. 62), the earliest extant Kanarese grammar of the 12th century A.D. the dative termination *ge* is preceded by an *anusvāra*. It is thus evident that the forms used in our grant had become obsolete by the time of this grammarian.

¹¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 20.

¹² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 189.

¹³ It may be noted, however, that the genitive suffix long *ā* and the accusative suffix *ām* are allowed optionally by Nāgavarma in the *sūtras dīrgh-ādēśash-śaṣṭhyā yathēśham* (*Bhāṣābhūṣaṇa*, No. 67) and *dvītiy-āntasya vā svarē* (*ibid.*, No. 68) but the examples he cites to illustrate the latter appear to be from the works of two writers who lived before him, viz., Haripāla and the poet Bhuvanāikavīra.

¹⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

¹⁵ On this word Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar has kindly written to me as follows:—"Usually we have the adverb *uḷḷinam* but here the form is *uḷlappinam*. May it be for *uḷḷar-appinam*?"

also in lithic records of an early period (cf. The Udiyāvara Inscription of Vijayāditya).¹ The significance of certain incomes, the halves of which were granted to the donee, viz., *koḷaguppe peljavasi*, *kānasoppu* and *vāral* is not quite clear. I may suggest, however, that *koḷaguppe* may denote a heap (*kuppe*) made up of the share due to the state on every *koḷa* (a measure of capacity) of the produce. *Javasi* may mean a tax in kind on *javasa* (Skt. *yavasa*) meaning meadow grass; *peljavasi* would then be a tax levied on big (*meadows of*) straw. *Kāna* or *kān* means forest and *soppu* means foliage in Kanarese. *Kānasoppu* may therefore be a tax on the foliage of the forest used by the cultivators for manure and other purposes. In Tamil *vāral* means spoil²; and it is not unlikely that it had the same connotation in Kanarese. The words *karsa-piṇḍam*³ and *kombe-gāroḍam* are obscure and do not occur in any of the Kanarese inscriptions so far published.

The orthography of the record does not call for any remarks except that *-entu* has been engraved for *-enṭu* in line 15, that the name of the donor is written as *Gōpala*⁴ instead of *Gōpāla*⁵ in line 16, that *ha* has been written for *hā* in lines 5 and 18 and that there appears to be a superfluous *anusvāra* at the end of the word *paḍeyam* in line 16. These mistakes are apparently due to the engraver.

The donor of the grant was the Pallava chief *Gōpālādēva* who also bore the surname *Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya* (l. 1). It is clear that he belongs to the well-known lineage of the Pallavas as he is twice described as *Pallavarāja* (ll. 1 and 6) and, as noted above, uses the lion-crest of the Pallavas. The phrase *Kaikēya-varṇa-ōdbha-ōddhata-pradhāna-purusha* (l. 2) might only indicate that he was connected with the *Kaikēyas* probably on his mother's side. In line 5 we are told that he was the son of *Chañḍamahāsēna* and that he was the lord of the city *Payvegundu*. The record does not tell us anything more about the donor beyond bestowing some ordinary praise on him. The object of the grant was the equal share (i.e., half) of the village *Kāsaṃpaḷli*, (l. 9) along with certain incomes, the details of which are given (ll. 14-16), to *Siṅgitale-Paṇyāra* of the *Hārita-gōtra* (l. 8). Similar instances of the endowment of a moiety of the taxes (*ardha-dāna*) also occur in Nos. VI and VIII of the inscriptions of Udiyāvara.⁴ As we learn from line 17 that the village had six hundred pieces of land the portion granted must have consisted of three hundred pieces. The grant was made in the presence of the *mantri*, the *purōhita*, the *śrīkarana* the one-thousand and the six-hundred. The last two were probably the *mahājanas* (the Brahmanical Assembly) and either the *nāḍu* (non-Brahmanical Assembly) or the *nagara* of the place. As *Kāsaṃpaḷli* appears to be a village it is likely that it did not have the *nagara* or the merchant guild. The reference to such bodies merely by their numbers is not uncommon.⁵

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 23.

² I am indebted for this suggestion to Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhaachar.

³ Since *karsa-piṇḍam* is specified as 128 it appears to me that it denotes the gift of a lump sum (*piṇḍa*). If so, *karsa* may be taken to be the *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *karṣa* (= *kārṣāpana*). *Karsapiṇḍam* would then mean the *kārṣāpanas* paid in a lump unlike the taxes noted above, of which the donee was to receive a half. This explanation seems to gain strength by the use of a somewhat similar expression in an inscription, of the 11th year of the Chālukya king *Pratāpachakravarti Jagadēkamalla II* (No. 503 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915); the passage runs as:—*anna tōhiya manneyavam kanikey-āya-dāya śarva-āya-buddhi varṣam-prati han-neraḍu gadyānāma piṇḍ-ādānvāgi oḍumbuttu dhārā-pūrvakam mādi koḷḷu*. Here the twelve *gadyānus* (gold coin) were granted as a lump sum.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21 and 23.

⁵ An inscription of about the 7th or 8th century at Aihole (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 287) calls the five hundred *mahājanas* of the place as simply the 'five-hundred'. The 'mahājanas of Chimehili' in the Gadag Taluka who are stated to be fifty-six in a Rāshtrakūṭa record of Śaka 819 (No. 104 of the Bombay-Karnatak Collection for 1926-27) are referred to merely as the 'fifty-six' in another lithic record of the same place (No. 101 of the same collection). Similarly while the one-thousand *mahājanas* of Lokkigundi are designated as such in an inscription (No. 51 of the same collection) of that place, another inscription (No. 52 of the same collection) describes them as the 'one-thousand'.

Till now no Pallava chief was known to have ruled in North Kanara or on the West Coast. Since there is little doubt that Gōpālādēva was only a feudatory chief, it is not likely that he was directly related to the imperial Pallavas of Kāñchi who continued to rule till the Chōla King Āditya I took possession of their territory towards the close of the 9th century A.D.¹ The only family that claimed connection with the Pallavas of Kāñchi and is known to have been flourishing in the 8th century was that of the Nolamba-Pallavas. But their sway was then confined to portions of Tumkur and Chitaldroog Districts in Mysore and part of the Anantapur District in the Madras Presidency. Chaṇḍamahāsēna, the father of Gōpālādēva figures in this record for the first time. The only Chaṇḍamahāsēna known to Epigraphy was a Chāhāvāṇa and is referred to in an inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 898 from Dhōlpur.² A Chaṇḍadaṇḍa of Kāñchi is, however, known to have been defeated by the Kadamba king Ravivarman in the 6th century.³

The Kaikēyas who seem to have given a princess of their family in marriage to Chaṇḍamahāsēna of the present record are known to have contracted similar matrimonial alliances with the Ikshvākus⁴, probably of the Telugu country, and the Early Kadambas of Banavāsi. The wife of Krishnavarman I of the Kadamba dynasty was a Kaikēya princess⁵ and Mṛigēśvaravarman, the brother of Ravivarman was married to Prabhāvatī who "was born in the noble Kaikēya family".⁶ On the authority of the Purāṇas Pargiter places the Kaikēyas in the Panjab⁷ but no information is available as to when and how they came to the south.

The record is not dated but, as shown above, it can be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the middle of the 8th century. Other internal evidence also supports this view. We know that Satyāśraya was a distinctive and well-known *biruda* of the Chālukya kings and among the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi there were two kings of the name Vikramāditya. The surname Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya of the donor of the present grant would therefore lead one to infer that either Gōpālādēva himself adopted the name of his overlord the Chālukya Vikramāditya, most probably the second of that name, or that Chaṇḍamahāsēna who owed allegiance to the Chālukya king named his son after his suzerain. This grant might therefore either belong to the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733-34 to 746-47; or in the absence of mention of any paramount sovereign it may not be impossible that it was issued at a time when the central authority of the Chālukyas had become weak and, along with other feudatory chiefs, Gōpālādēva also tried to assume independence. The Chālukya power had not only waned towards the end of the reign of Kirttivarman II, the latest date available for whom is A.D. 757, but a portion of their territory had also been conquered by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga. But it was Kṛishṇa I who dispossessed the Chālukyas of all their territory and established the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy by 'transforming into a deer the great boar' which was the emblem of the Chālukyas.⁸ Since Kṛishṇa I must have ceased to rule sometime between 772, the date of his Bhāṇḍak plates⁹ and 775, the date of the Pimpri plates of Dhārāvārsha,¹⁰ the final overthrow of the Chālukyas may be placed somewhere about 770. Thus our record may have to be allotted to a period between 735 and 770.

¹ A. S. R., 1906-07, p. 239 and above, Vol. XIX, p. 84.

² No. 12 of Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. But we know of an earlier Chaṇḍamahāsēna who was the king of Avantī and father of Vāsavadattā so well known to Sanskrit literature.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 161.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 13.

⁶ *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1911, p. 35.

⁷ *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 264 and 293.

⁸ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 391.

⁹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff. Gōvinda II for whom we have no dated records seems to have ruled only for short time before 775.

Of the places mentioned in the grant Payvegundu can be identified with Haigunda, a village about 12 miles east of Honavar, on the bank of the river Śarāvati. Peramale has probably to be identified with the modern village Heravali which lies at a distance of about six miles north-west of Haigunda; and Tanvaḷḷi may be the same as the present Tumbolli, also close to Haigunda.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ Svasti [!*] Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-prithuvī(thvī)-vallabha-Palla-
 2 va-rāja-Gōpālādēvasya Kaikēya-vamś-ōdbhav-ōddhata-pradhāna-pu-
 3 rushasya anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṃkṛita-prasēvyā-Lakshmi-nivā-
 4 sa-vaksha-sthalsaya anēka-raṇa-vipula-śatru-jana-prabhañjana-ka-
 5 ri-kar-ākāra-bāhu-dvayasya Chaṇḍamahā(ā)sēna-putrasya Payve-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 gundu-pur-ēsvarasya Pallava-rājēna datta¹ [!]* Mantri-purōhita-śrīkara-
 7 ṇamun sāsirvvarun arunūrvvarun sahitam tamma prasāda-paran=a-
 8 pponge Ārida(Hārita)-gōtrajange Simgitale-Panyārange Kāsampa-
 9 ḷiyā sama-bhāgamān chandra-sūryar=ulappinaṃ sarvva-viruddha-ra-
 10 hitam Gōpālādēva[r*] koṭṭar bhukt-ānubhuktaṃ salutt-iḷdudu [!]*

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 11 Māne-dāṇamun Palage-gaṇṭam modal-āge kaḷaniyūn vaḍagaṇṇā sime
 12 Peramale paḍuvaṇṇā sime Tanvaḷḷi Gārapāḷi teṅkaṇṇā sime
 13 Neydalgereyā ēri mūḍaṇṇā sime Iḍevettadā vaḍaga-
 14 ṇṇā nīriṇaga ॐ Koḷaguppe peḷjavasi ardham kānasoppin=ardham
 15 vāral-arūṭam larsa-piḍam nūr-irpatt-entu(ṇṭu) koṇbe gāroḍam pa-

Third Plate.

- 16 ḍeyam meṇṭa(eṇṭu) mūḍe jamaḷi ondu ॐ Idu Gōpa(ā)ladēvarā da-
 17 tti itaḷ-param=idān=aḷivōr i arunūru bhūmi agra-
 18 ha(ā)ramun Vāraṇāsiyumān=aḷidorā lōkakke salvār [!]*

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-6. Hail! This is the gift of the Pallava chief Gōpālādēva *alias* Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, who was the favourite of Fortune and Earth, the chief among the exalted personages born of the Kaikēya family, who was adorned with a multitude of virtues and whose breast was the abode of the (goddess) Lakshmi, who had a pair of arms which resembled the elephant's trunk in shape and which had destroyed the hosts of enemies in several battles, who was the son of Chaṇḍamahāsēna and the lord of the city of Payvegundu.

Ll. 6-10. Gōpālādēva, attended by his minister, the *purōhita* (family priest), the *Srikarana* (officer of Accounts), the one-thousand (*mahājanas*) and the six-hundred (*nāḍu*) granted, free from all opposition, to Simgitale-Panyāra of the Hārita-gōtra who had earned his (Gōpālādēva's) favour the equal share (i.e., half) of the village Kāsampaḷi (*to be enjoyed*) as long as the sun and the moon exist. (*This estate*) was in (*his*) continued enjoyment.

¹ Read *Pallava-rājanya dattib.*

[illegible]

6
 7
 8
 9
 10

12
 14

Ll. 11-14. (*The portion granted was as follows*) :—The house site and the rice-fields beginning from (*the place called?*) Palace-gaṇṭa. The northern boundary (*of this was*) the (*village*) Peramaḷe, the western boundary (*consisted of the villages*) Taṇvaḷḷi and Gārapāḷi, the southern boundary (*was*) the embankment of the (*tank called*) Neydalgere and the eastern boundary (*was*) the lake on the north of (*the hill called*) Iḍevetta.

Ll. 14-16. (*Besides this*) he was granted one half of the incomes *koḷaguppe*¹ and *peḷjavasi*, one-half of *kāna-soppu* and one-half of *vāral* and a lump sum of one hundred and twenty eight *karsa* (= *kārshāpana* ?).....² and a pair of eight *mūḍes*.

Ll. 16-18. This was the gift of Gōpālādēva. He who destroys this will enter the world of those who destroy this *agrahāra* comprising six hundred lands and Benares.

No. 30.—TWO UNPUBLISHED VALABHI GRANTS.

By D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

A.—Bantia Plates of Dharasena II [Valabhi-] Sarhvat 257.

While examining the old records of the Watson Museum, Rājkot, I found two impressions of two plates of a Valabhi grant hitherto unpublished. On the cover of the impressions the late Mr. Vallabhji H. Acharya, formerly Curator of the Watson Museum, had made the remark that the impressions were given to him by a vernacular school master of the village Bantia, in the Bāntwā *tāluka* in the south-west of Kāthiāwār, in 1904. It seems that the late Mr. Acharya was not successful in obtaining the original plates. My efforts to trace them have not yet been successful. But considering the importance of the inscription I think it proper to publish it here with the help of the impressions only.

Unfortunately the impressions were not properly taken and being kept in the files for the last 22 years the paper has become very fragile. It is clear, however, that the two plates were in a perfect state of preservation, and formed a complete grant. Each plate measures 12½" by 8" and contains two holes meant for the rings. The first plate contains 17 and the second 15 lines of writing.

The characters are those usually used in Valabhi grants. As regards orthography it is sufficient to note that the name of the grantor king is spelt as Dharsēna (l. 15) instead of Dharasēna as is usually found in the grants. The symbols of *Jihvāmūliya* and *Upadhmānīya* are used only once in l. 15 and l. 30 respectively. The word *bhuktā* (or *dattā* as in some grants) is left to be engraved after *bahubhir-vasudhā* in l. 30. The record is however generally free from mistakes.

The record opens with the name of the place, viz., Valabhi from which the grant was issued. Then as usual the genealogy of the Maitraka family from Bhaṭārka, the founder, to Dharasēna II, the donor of the present grant is given with poetical description of each ruler, which is identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasēna II. The donee is a Brāhmaṇa named Dēva-datta, of Śāṇḍilya-gōtra and Maitrāyaṇīya-Śākhā (l. 20).³ The property granted consists of a village named Bhaṭṭaka- (or Bhadraka) patra (dra ?) in the northern part (*uttarapaṭṭā*) of Kaṇḍinyapura in the Surāshṭras (ll. 11, 17, 18). The purpose for which the grant was made is, as usual with grants to Brāhmaṇas, for the maintenance of the five sacrificial rites (l. 20). The names of officers (ll. 15-16) who were addressed by the grantor king as also the privileges (ll. 18-19) accompanying the enjoyment of the grant are the same as in the grant of Dharasēna of Sam

¹ For the explanation of these terms see above p. 176.

² The meaning of *koms gāroḷam* is not clear.

³ The place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa is not mentioned.

252¹. The grant was written by Skandabhata, the minister for peace and war (l. 31), and the Dūtaka was Chirbbira (l. 32). The date of the grant is the **fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of (the Gupta-Valabhī) Saṃvat 254** (l. 32) when there was a solar eclipse (*Sūry-ōparāga* l. 22).

Both the Dūtaka and the writer in this grant are the same as in the seven grants² of Dhara-sēna II of Saṃ. 252. In his grant of Saṃ. 269 however the Dūtaka was a different person.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grant it is well known that Valabhī is modern Valā in Kāthiāwār. The village of Kaunḍinyapura can be identified with Koḍinār in south Kāthiāwār. The village Bhaṭṭakapat(d)ra in the Surāshṭras cannot be identified.

Of Dhara-sēna II as many as twelve grants are known : seven³ of these are of Saṃ. 252, one⁴ of Saṃ. 269, two⁵ of Saṃ. 270 and the remaining two⁶ being fragmentary do not give the dates. The most interesting point about the date of the present grant is the mention of a solar eclipse on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in Saṃ. 254. Though as many as 9 grants were issued by Valabhī kings on the *amāvāsyā*-day (mostly on the *amāvāsyā* of Vaiśākha), it is only this grant that makes mention of a solar eclipse. It is also probably the **earliest mention of an eclipse in an epigraphical record**. According to Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. I, part I, pp. 220 f.) there was a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra (*i.e.*, Vaiśākha according to the *Pūrṇimānta* calculation) on **19th March 573 A.D.** which may be taken to be the date of the grant.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 श्री स्वस्ति [1*] वलभीतः प्रसभ-⁷

.

15 पालिवशीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराजधर्सेन⁸दुशली सव्वनिवायुक्त

.

17 वासये सुराद्रेषु

Second Plate.

18 कौलिन्ध[पुर]उत्तरपदे भट्टकपच(द्र)ग्रामस्थोद्वजः

20 मैत्रायणिकसम्राजचारिणाण्डिष्यसगोत्रब्राह्मणदेवदत्ताय बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाम्निहोत्रा-
तिथिपंचमहायाज्ञिका-

21 नां क्रियाणां समुत्कर्षणार्थमाचन्द्रार्कव्यसंरिचि(ति)समकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रा-
न्वयभोज्यः पूर्व-

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 80.

² See n. 3.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XV, p. 187; VII, p. 68; VIII, p. 301; XIII, p. 160; *Skt. and Pkt. Insors. of Kāthiāwār*, p. 35; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. IV, pp. 38 ff. and Above Vol. XI, p. 80.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 9.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (N. S.), p. 66; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 70.

⁶ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (N. S.), pp. 24 and 21.

⁷ As the text is practically identical with that of the Palitana grant of Saṃ. 252 (Above, Vol. XI, p. 80) only the most important portion is given here. It may be noted that the names of Bhaṭṭaka, Dr̥ṣasimha, Dhruva-sēna, Bharapada and Guhasēna, are recorded in the lines 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 12 respectively.

⁸ Read वरुह.

22 भुज्यमान[वत्येह] सूर्योपरागे उदकसर्माण ब्रह्मदेयो निवृष्टः

1

31 दिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ।
लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतस्कन्दभटेन ॥

32 स्वहस्ती मम महाराजश्रीधरसेनस्य ॥ दू चिर्बिरः सं २०० ५० ४ ।
वैशख^२ व १० ५ ॥

B.—Bhavnagar plates of Dharasena III—[Valabhi-] Samvat 304.

Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. (retired), kindly gave me information of the plates edited here, which are lying with a grain merchant named Dipasang Kānāji in Bhāvnagar in Kāthiāwād. Through the good offices of Prof. Narasimhaprasād Bhaṭṭa of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti Bhavan, Bhāvnagar and other friends I have been able to purchase them from the owner.

The plates are two in number each measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$. They contain 24 and 20 lines of writing respectively, which is in an excellent state of preservation. Each plate contains two holes as are commonly found with Valabhi plates and meant for the insertion of copper rings holding both the plates together. But both the rings, one of which must have contained the usual Valabhi seal, are missing. The characters are those usually found in Valabhi grants. They are neatly engraved though not in perfect straight lines. The writing is almost free from mistakes. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

At the beginning of the record is mentioned the military camp, Khēṭaka-*pradvāra* from which the grant was issued by Dharasēna III, the son of Kharagraha, who was the younger brother of Śilāditya. The introductory portion containing the description of each ruler from Bhaṭārka, the founder of the family, to Dharasēna III, the donor of the grant, is practically identical with that in the grant of Dhruvasēna II of Sam. 310³. The grantor king bears only the epithet *parama-māhēśvara*. The donee is a Brāhmaṇa named Mitrayaśas, son of Brāhmaṇa Viśṇuyaśas, of Ātrēya-gotra and a follower of Atharva-Vēda, resident of Hastavapra. The property granted to him recorded in the grant consists of the following :—

- (1) 100 *pādāvaras* of land called Kōlikā, ploughed by Kuṭumbī Gōmīyaka and situated in the north-west quarter in the village Amākarakūpa in the Hastavapra-*dhāra* in the Surāshṭrā⁴-*viśaya*. The boundaries of the field are : to the south, the village cattle-track ; to the west, the junction of the boundary of the village Chūṭikā (with that of the village Amākarakūpa) ; to the east,⁵ the rising ground of a stone quarry (and) to the north, the field called Pālāsika (?) of the Kuṭumbins Chārabhaṭaka and Ghandravaka, as well as the field belonging to Kariraka in the north of the Rōhidaka-*māla* adjoining the Ariahṭijikā-*sthalī*.
- (2) A ploughed field of Kuṭumbī Kapardiyaka in the north-west quarter in the village Dabhaka in the Kālāpaka-*pathaka*. It lies to the west of the field Avakṛiṣṭi (i.e.,

¹ The usual imprecatory verses and injunctions.

² Road वेग्राह.

³ It is well known that in grants beginning with and later than the year 286 the names of the rulers between Bhaṭārka and Guhasēna are dropped. See above, Vol. XI, p. 175 and J. B. B. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. I, p. 24.

⁴ The word is generally used in the masculine but in a few cases it is used in the feminine as in the present case. Cf. above Vol. XVII, p. 108.

⁵ It may be seen that the boundaries are not given in the proper order.

unploughable land ?), to the north of the field of Khudḍaka, to the east of the field of Nanḡuvaka, (and) to the south of the junction of the boundary of the village Bhaḍāsaka (with that of the village Ḍabhaka).

- (3) In the same village in its south-east quarter an irrigation well with an area of eighteen *pādāvartas*, dug by Kuṭumbī Kapardiya of the same village. It lies to the west of the field irrigated by (*prachchihā*) the Khajjūri well, to the north of the field of Šōssaka and a canal, to the east of the play-ground (and) to the south of the old way by the side of Ḍabhaka.

- (4) Similarly in the village Hastihridaka in the Sirāvātākāka-*sthalī* in its southern quarter seventy superfluous (*ulbana*) *pādāvartas* of the field of Kuṭumbī Nāgilaka, to the west of (the temple of ?) Śaṅkarikā . . . (i.e., goddess Bhavānī) built by the villagers, to the north of the field of Khachchabbaya, to the east of the junction of the boundary of Sauvīraka, to the south of the limit of the field irrigated by (*prachchihā*) the well called Siridraha.

The Dūtaka, who executed the grant was the prince *Sāmanta* Śilāditya and it was written by Vatrabhaṭṭi, the chief secretary and the minister for peace and war.

The record concludes with the date the seventh day of the bright half of Māgha of (Gupta-Valabhī) Saṁvat 304 and the sign-manual (of the king).

The historical importance of the inscription lies in the fact that no date was hitherto found between Saṁvat 292,¹ the latest date of Śilāditya I and 310,² the earliest date of Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya. Although we know that two rulers (*viz.*, Kharagraha (I) and Dharaśēna III) had ruled in the intervening period, no record was so far found of either of them. The present grant gives us a record and a date for one of these rulers³ and partly fills up the gap existing between Saṁ. 292 and 310.

The Dūtaka of the present grant, *viz.*, *Sāmanta* Śilāditya, is the same as is found in the earlier grants of Dhruvasēna II-Bālāditya. The writer Vatrabhaṭṭi is mentioned in the grants of Śilāditya-Dharmāditya beginning with the year 286 and also in the grants of Dhruvasēna II-Bālāditya at least up to the year 313. From Saṁ. 320 to 330 his son Skandabhata succeeded him as the keeper of records and writer of grants and from 334 to 365 Anahila the son of Skandabhata. We know that another Skandabhata (probably the father of Vatrabhaṭṭi) was the writer of the later grants of Guhasēna beginning with the year 246 and in all the grants of Dharaśēna II from 252 to 270 just before Vatrabhaṭṭi. The office was thus held by four generations in this family for at least 120 years.

The following places are mentioned in the record: *Surāshṭrā* mentioned as a *viśaya*, *Hastavapra* mentioned as an *āhāra*, *Kālāpaka* mentioned as a *pathaka*, *Sirāvātākāka* and *Arish-tijjikā*, mentioned as *sthalis* and *Amākarakūpa*, *Ḍabhaka*, *Bhaḍāsaka*, *Hastihridaka* and *Chūṭikā* all these mentioned as villages. Of these *Surāshṭrā* is the old name of the Kāthiāwār peninsula. Though in later times and at the present day *Soratha* denotes only the southern part of Kāthiāwār, it appears that eastern Kāthiāwār was once included in *Surāshṭra* since *Hastavapra*, which is modern Hāthab⁴ in Bhāvnagar State is said to be in *Surāshṭrā*. *Kālāpaka*

¹ Above, pp. 117 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 12.

³ Very recently Mr. Gadre, the present Curator of the Rajkot Museum has discovered a grant of Kharagraha dated Saṁ. 297 *cf. Ann. Rep. Watson Mus.* 1931-32, p. 7.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, App. p. 49.

which is mentioned in the grants of Sam. 310 and 326 and perhaps also of 286 is modern Kālāvāṇa, 60 miles north-west of Porbandar.¹ The other places cannot be identified.

The expression Khēṭaka-*pradvāra* seems to denote that the king had probably encamped just outside (*pradvāra*) the city of Khēṭaka. The use of the word *pradvāra* is also found used in connection with Valabhi itself, the capital of the dynasty, in the Dhānk² grant of the year 290 as विजयस्कन्धावारादलभोप्रहारहोस्ववासकात्. It is also found used in a Gurjara grant³ of Śaka 417 as भरुकच्छप्रहारवासकात्. In fact, the use of *pradvāra* in the ancient grants would appear to be analogous to that of the modern *parā* which is added to the names of several towns in Kāthiāwār to indicate the precincts or suburbs in the vicinity.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारादखेटकप्रहारवासकात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुल्य-
लसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहार⁴

Second Plate.

- 25 निखिलप्रतिपक्षदण्डोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानः सकलनृपतिमण्डला-
भिनन्दितशासनः पर-
26 ममाहिंश्वरः श्रीधरसेन X कुशली सर्वानिव यथासंबध्यमानकान्समाम्नापयत्यस्तु वो
विदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः
27 पुण्याप्यायनाय हस्तवप्रवास्तव्याभेयसगोत्राथर्वणसब्रह्मचारिणे ब्राह्मणविष्णुयशःपुत्र-
ब्राह्मणमित्रयशसे सु-
28 राट्टाविषये हस्तवप्राहारे अमाकारकूपग्रामे पूर्वोत्तरसीन्नि गोमियककुटुम्बिकष्ट
कोलिकाचेत्रपादावर्त्तशतं यस्थाघाटनानि
29 दक्षिणेन ग्रामगोसरपथः अपरतश्चूटिकाग्रामसीमासन्निः पूर्वतः पाषाणस्थलिकाम-
स्तक(कं) उत्तरेण चारभटकचंद्रवककुटुम्बिकेच
30 पालशिकं तथा अरिष्टिज्जिकास्थलीप्रत्यासन्नरोहिडकमालादुत्तरतः करीरकसत्कचेच २
तथा कालापकपथके उभकग्रामे
31 उत्तरांपरसीमायां कपहि(हिं)यककुटुम्बिकष्टसीता अवल्लधिचेत्रादपरतः खुडुकचेत्रा-
दुत्तरतः नण्णवकचेत्रात्पूर्वतः भडासक-
32 सीमासन्वेर्दक्षिणतः तथात्रैव ग्रामे पूर्वदक्षिणसीन्नि कुटुम्बिकपर्दियकाट(कर्तृ)कल्लष्टा
अष्टादशपादावर्त्तपरिसरा वापी-खञ्जूरि [वापी]

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 237.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 82.

⁴ For the portion ll. 2-24 omitted here as being common with other Valabhi plates, cf. above, Vol VIII, pp. 196 ff., 198 ff.

- 33 प्रचीहाया[.*] अपरतः शोक्ककचेववहादुत्तरतः खेलपाव्या-पूर्वतः डभकाङ्गे पुराण-
कगामिमार्गाहक्षिणतः तथा सी[रावा]टाका[क]
34 स्थत्यां हस्तिहृदकग्रामे दक्षिणसीमि नागिलककुटुम्बिचेचोखणपादावर्त्ता सप्ततिः
ग्रामीणनिर्मितशङ्करिकार्य्या[परतः]
35 खच्चव्यचेत्रादुत्तरतः सौवीरकसीमासन्धेः पूर्वतः सेरिद्रहवापीप्रचीहामर्यादाया
दक्षिणतः एवमेतद् सोद्रङ्ग¹
42 नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकीच राजपुत्र सामन्तशीलादित्यः ॥ लिखितं चेदं सन्धि-
विग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवच टिना ॥ सं ३०० ४
43 माघ शु ७ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

No. 31.—THE PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.

By VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The inscription² published below is engraved on the south wall of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine of the Sundarēśvara temple at **Pallavarāyanpēttai** near Mayavaram in the Tanjore district. It is in a fair state of preservation though the inscribed surface is broken in certain portions and especially in ll. 9 and 10, thereby slightly obscuring the sense of the record. Some of the words lost can, however, be restored from the context.

The record is written in the **Tamil** language and script of the 12th century A.D. **Ortho-**
graphical peculiarities are very few. Some of the words used in the inscription, however, deserve to be noticed. The word *Kōyir-kottu* (l. 6) may be rendered as 'the palace establishment,' *kōyir* meaning 'palace' and *kottu* a 'division' or 'establishment.'³ The word *agambadi-niyāyam* (l. 6) may be explained as 'the body of armed men and women employed in the inner apartments of the palace.' The first part of the compound implies 'those that are attached to the inner circle,' in which sense, the word is, however, now obsolete. The significance of the term *turai* (l. 6) is not quite clear. From the context it seems to denote 'a division' or 'a department.' In this sense it lingers to the present day in masons' vocabulary. *Mun-ēval* (l. 7.) may be taken to denote the class of officers who first receive the royal commands and communicate them to others for execution. The word *virundāṅgal* (l. 21), not ordinarily found in inscriptions, means 'a married woman.' The term *uḷvari* (l. 28) may be explained as 'an extract from the tax-register issued by the State to a person for the actual enjoyment of a grant.' The *uḷvari*-documents are invariably issued over the signatures of the revenue officers of the State.

The inscription is dated in the **eighth year** of the reign of the **Chōla king Rājakēsari-varman Rājādhirājādēva** (II) and begins with the words '*kaḍal-śūḷnda*,' etc., which usually introduce this monarch in his inscriptions. The **object** of the record is the grant of an *uḷvari*

¹ The portion ll. 36-41 contains the usual privileges accompanying the gift of a land and the imprecatory verses.

² Registered as No. 433 of 1924 in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24. The inscription is noticed in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIX, p. 57, but the readings and the interpretation given there require great alteration.

³ [The word means also 'a household' or 'family' see Winslow's *Tamil-English Dictionary*.—C. R. K.]

regarding the estate of **Tiruchchirrambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambi** *alias* **Pallavarāyar** of Kārigai-Kuḷattūr, which had been made tax-free on his death. In giving an account of this Pallavarāyar, who appears to have been a trusted officer of Rājārāja II, the inscription recounts his services to the crown in connection with the Chōla succession and the Singhalese invasion of South India in the latter half of the 12th century A.D.

The record, which is mainly historical in character, may be divided into three sections. In the first are stated the circumstances under which Pallavarāyar brought in Rājādhirāja II and placed him on the throne; in the second, the help rendered by the Chōla king to the Pāṇḍya refugee Kulaśekhara, Pallavarāyar's victory over the Singhalese army and the restitution of Madura to Kulaśekhara are detailed at length; and in the third section, are recorded the demise of Pallavarāyar, the grant of tax-free lands to his relatives and their distribution among them by **Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappaṇ** *alias* **Pallavarāyaṇ** and the final grant of an *uḷvari* for this, signed by royal officers.

From the inscription, we are given to understand that the Chōla king Rājārāja II having had no male issue for a long time, the question as to who should succeed him came up for consideration and the king himself selected **Edirili-Perumāḷ**, the son of **Neriyuḍai-Perumāḷ** and the grandson of Vikramaśōḷadēvar, residing at Gaṅgaikondāśōḷapuram, and appointed him as his successor by investing him with the crown. However, soon after making this selection, Rājārāja II had two sons born to himself, but before any arrangements could be made for their succession, the king passed away. At the time of the king's demise his sons (*pillaiṇal*)¹ were aged one and two years respectively and the minister Pallavarāyar escorted them to Rājārāpuram along with the harem² from the stronghold at Āyirattai. Then in accordance with the original intention of the departed king this officer placed on the throne **Edirili-Perumāḷ**³ under the title Rājādhirāja (II) with the consent of the *uḍaṇ-kūṭṭam* and the *nāḍu* in the fourth year of installation.⁴ Since the inscription is damaged at this portion, more information is not available about the prince selected.

¹ The common term *pillaiṇal* is to be interpreted here as 'male children', because in this inscription daughters are clearly distinguished as *pen-makkaḷ* (l. 21).

² [If the daughter of Pallavarāyar, who is described as 'the wife of Rājārājadēva with her sons' (l. 26) and to whom by far the largest share of his property has been allotted in this inscription (as many as 8 out of 40 *vēḷi* of land), is the same as the queen who bore two sons to Rājārāja II in the last three years of his life, we can understand how Pallavarāyar could obtain the control of the harem and household of the late king. His tactful removal of the king's infant sons (probably his own grandchildren) to a place of safety and his helping the former king's successor-designate to the throne during their minority must have been prompted alike by his anxiety for the safety and good government of the realm as by personal considerations for his own daughter and grandchildren.—Ed.]

³ There could have been no grounds for resentment since only a member of the elder branch of the royal family was chosen for the throne.

⁴ No. 337 of 1914 from Maḍattukōyil in the Pudukkōṭṭai State belonging to Rājādhirāja II gives the date '2nd year, Makara 7, Monday, Svāti', corresponding to A.D. 1162, December 3, Monday. Prof. Kielhorn has fixed the date of accession of this king between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. According to the present inscription, Rājādhirāja II was invested with the crown over three years earlier, i.e., in 1160-61 A.D. His second year, therefore, would be 1161-62 and the Maḍattukōyil grant was probably issued while Rājādhirāja was a crown prince. A record from Punganūr in the Onitoor district (No. 209 of 1931-32) gives the date '14th year which was equal to the 12th year of Rājādhirājadēva', thus counting the date from the time of his nomination.

[There are, however, three other inscriptions (Nos. 571 of 1907, *above* Vol. X, p. 127, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) the dates of which work regularly for the year 1166 A.D. as the first year of Rājādhirāja II's reign; on the other hand there is at least one record (No. 96 of 1920) according to which Rājārāja II was ruling till 25th December 1163 A.D., i.e., about 8 months subsequent to the date of his successor's accession as fixed by Kielhorn. The resulting confusion can possibly be cleared up by future discoveries.—Ed.]

Though Rājārāja II had no sons at the time he selected Edirili-Perumāḷ to succeed him, it is clear from the inscription that he did not die without leaving an heir-apparent to the throne. Since it is said that the princes were one and two years old respectively at the time of Rājārāja's demise, when Edirili-Perumāḷ was crowned king as Rājādhirāja, they must have been 17 and 18 years old respectively and therefore fit to assume the reins of government in A.D. 1178, which was the last year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II and the year of accession of his successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. It is, therefore, likely that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III was one of the two sons of Rājārāja II and that during the former's minority,¹ Rājādhirāja II was brought in to rule the Chōḷa country. The fact that the inscriptions of Rājārāja II and those of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III commence with the identical eulogistical expressions 'Pū-maruviya'² and 'Puṇal-vāyttu,'³ etc., also lends support to this view.

After crowning Edirili-Perumāḷ under the title Rājādhirāja, the next service of Pallavarāyar to the Chōḷa kingdom was in connection with the war of the Pāṇḍya succession⁴ waged by the two rival claimants Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya for the throne of Madura. The inscription states that the forces of Ceylon entered the Pāṇḍya country in large numbers and forced its king Kulaśēkhara to leave his territory, whereupon this king is said to have sought the shelter of the Chōḷa king, entreating him to get back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar undertook to lead the Chōḷa army into the Pāṇḍya country, to restore Kulaśēkhara to the throne, to decapitate the Singhalese commanders and nail their heads on the gates of Madura⁵ so as to inspire terror in the enemy's camp. Kulaśēkhara⁶ is stated to have stayed in the Chōḷa country for some time before he started with the necessary forces to win back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar carried out all his undertakings and as a result of his invasion the Singhalese forces were driven out of India and Kulaśēkhara was installed on the throne of his forefathers.

Only three other records of Rājādhirāja II refer to this war, viz., one from Ārpākkam⁷ in the Chingleput district, dated in the 5th year; another from Tiruvālaṅgaḍu⁸ near Madras, dated in the 12th year; and the third from Tirumayānam⁹ in the Tanjore district, dated also in the 12th year.

¹ Copper-plate No. 23 of 1916-17 which belongs to Rājārāja II as the ruler of the Vēṅgi country couples the Śaka year 1091 (= A.D. 1169) with the 23rd regnal year. We know that Rājārāja II was not alive in A.D. 1169 and that the Chōḷa country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here as a continuation of Rājārāja's reign. Incidentally, however, we see from the record that the Chōḷa hold on the Vēṅgi country was not lost even after the death of Rājārāja II, whose very rule over this part of the country was doubted (*A. R.* for 1917, para. 26).

² *A. R.* No. 173 of 1908; also *A. R.* for 1909, para. 50.

³ *A. R.* No. 154 of 1907. For similar commencement with the introduction of predecessors, see *A. R.* for 1913, para. 33, and *A. R.* for 1924, p. 102.

⁴ This war is detailed at length in chapters 76 and 77 of the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* and its authenticity is borne out by inscriptional evidence. The chronicle is one-sided in its version, inasmuch as it assigns victory to the Singhalese general, but from Tamil lithic records we find that the Singhalese general was not only routed but that the heads of this general and of his subordinates were cut off and nailed to the gates of Madura by the Chōḷa general. The help that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara received from Rājādhirāja II is mentioned at considerable length in the *Mahāvamsa*, which fact is also corroborated by the present record.

⁵ Such gruesome acts are not uncommon in the warfare of the Tamils (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 37 and 68).

⁶ In this connection it may be noted that Kulaśēkhara sought help from his uncle, the Koṅgu king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, who also seems to have taken an active part in the restitution of his nephew to the Pāṇḍya throne (*A. R.* No. 336 of 1928). The *Mahāvamsa* also corroborates the help received by Kulaśēkhara from the king of Koṅgu. The chronicle states that 'Kulaśēkhara gathered together the forces of Tirinavela and those also of his mother's brethren which were at Ten-Koṅgu and Vaḍa-Koṅgu' (Wijesinha's translation p. 245).

⁷ No. 20 of 1899 of the Madras Epigraphical collection and *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, p. 188 ff.

⁸ No. 465 of 1905 of the same collection.

⁹ No. 261 of 1925 of the same collection.

These epigraphs confirm and supplement the information given in our record and are, therefore, valuable sources for the history of this war, our knowledge of which, in the absence of any reference to it in Tamil literature, has been hitherto wholly based on the one-sided account of the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*. In this war the two Chōla generals that took prominent part were, Pallavarāyar mentioned in our present record, and after him, Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan *alias* Anṇan Pallavarāyan, the officer who distributed the lands among the former's relatives. After detailing the events recorded in the present inscription, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu epigraph sets forth that Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan *alias* Anṇan Pallavarāyan counter-acted the subsequent machinations of the Singhalese king. Finding that his attempts to place Vira-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍya throne were frustrated by the intervention of the Chōla king and that his own generals were defeated and killed, the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu¹ mobilised his forces in his camps at Ūrātturai,² Pulaichchēri,³ Mātōttam,⁴ Vallikāmam,⁵ Maṭṭivāḷ⁶ and other places and was busy preparing his ships for a naval attack. Hearing of this, the Chōla king summoned Śrīvallabha,⁷ the nephew of the king of Ceylon and a previous claimant to the throne of Iḷam, supplied him with what was necessary and helped him to enter Ūrātturai, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāḷ and other places with large forces with the result that Pulaichchēri, Mātōttam and other villages were destroyed, the elephants stationed therein were captured, more than 20 *kūdam* of land in extent from east to west and 30 *kūdam* of land from south to north in Iḷa-maṇḍalam was devastated, and among the Singhalese chiefs that were stationed in the region, some were killed and others taken captive. The general Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan *alias* Anṇan Pallavarāyan then sent for these captives, the booty and the captured elephants and presented them to the Chōla king.

At this stage, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription states that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara, ignoring the good done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Iḷam and conspired with him against the Chōlas. In furtherance of this policy, he drove to the north of the river Veḷḷāru the Chōla generals Rājarāja-Kaṇkuḍiyarāyan, Rājagambhīra-Aṇḍukōṭṭināḍālvāṇ and others that were

¹ Parākramabāhu (A.D. 1153-1186), the greatest ruler of Ceylon, is remembered chiefly for his activities in building cities, constructing and restoring large tanks and for his imperialistic attempts to extend his authority over Southern India. There is a statue of this king, carved on a rock at Polonnaruwa.

² Ūrātturai is now known by the Dutch name Kayts and is situated on an island to the west of Jaffna. In Singhalese works the place is called Hūrā (or Ūrā)-tōṭa and in the *Mahāvamsa* it is referred to by the name Sūkaratittha. It was an important port in the time of Parākramabāhu.

³ Pulaichchēri is the same as Pulacēri of the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 83, V. 17).

⁴ Mātōttam is the Mahātitttha of the Pāli chronicles. In Tamil inscriptions it is called Rājarājapuram (S. I. I. (Texts), Vol. IV, Nos. 1412 and 1414). It is now known as Māntai or Tirukkēdiśvaram and is situated about 6 miles to the east of Mannar. There was a temple called Rājarāja-Īśvarattu-Mahādēva in this village (A. R. for 1913, para. 21).

⁵ Vallikāmam may be identified with Valikkāmam about 5 miles to the south-east of Mannar. The village is called Vālikagāma in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 83, V. 17).

⁶ Maṭṭivāḷ may be identified with Maṭṭuvil, a village about 10 miles to the east of Jaffna. A sea-port of this name is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 60, V. 34).

⁷ The assistance rendered by Śrī-Vallabha to the Chōla king is not noticed in the *Mahāvamsa*. In the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription it is clearly stated that Śrī-Vallabha was the nephew (*marumagan*) of the Singhalese king. He was the son of princess Mittā, sister of Parākramabāhu (see genealogical table facing page 59, *Ep. Zeylonica*, Vol. II). His father Mānābharana was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon, and before the latter ascended the throne, there was a protracted struggle between the two claimants for sovereignty. Mānābharana was in the end worsted, but his son does not seem to have been reconciled to the conqueror. It may be said that the Jaffna kings had been the allies of the Chōla emperors and so, when help was needed, Śrī-Vallabha readily embraced the opportunity. It is not certain whether Śrī-Vallabha went to the assistance of the Chōla king with the connivance of Parākramabāhu. It cannot also be affirmed whether the treachery of Kulaśēkhara, which stands unexplained in the inscriptions, is in any way to be traced to Śrī-Vallabha.

stationed in the Pāṇḍya country, and also removed the heads of the Ceylonese generals that had been previously nailed to the gates of Madura by Tiruchchirāmbalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ. Some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulaśēkhara,¹ hinting that the Singhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōḷa king. It was therefore, decided to reinstate on the Pāṇḍya throne Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the former protégé of Ceylon and a claimant to the throne of Madura. Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ was directed by the Chōḷa king to proceed with the necessary forces. When he had successfully accomplished his object, the general was granted 10 *vēli* of land in Rājārāyaṇ-Palaiyanūr, according to the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu record. All the above events are also recorded in the Tirumayāṇam inscription which appears to be an almost exact copy of the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu inscription. Both of them are dated in the 12th year and 157th day; the Tirumayāṇam inscription is, however, very fragmentary, but it has helped to fill in certain lacunæ in the text of the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu record. The reason why the same inscription should be engraved in two distant places as Tiruvālaṅkāḍu (Chingleput district) and Tirumayāṇam (Tanjore district) is not quite clear.

Of the **persons** figuring in the present inscription, the most important is Tiruchchirāmbalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ who took an active part in the coronation of Rājādhirāja II and in the war of the Pāṇḍya succession. From the Ārpākkam epigraph we learn that his father was Ediriliśōḷa-Śambuvarāyaṇ. He seems to have died before 1171 A.D., the date of the present record. Next in importance to Tiruchchirāmbalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ stands **Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka**. He was entrusted with the command of the Singhalese army by the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu, when Parākrama-Pāṇḍya sought his assistance against Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya. Before Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka could start for India, Parākrama-Pāṇḍya had been murdered, but the Ceylonese general succeeded in besieging Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍya country, and in forcing Kulaśēkhara to flee from his kingdom. Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ who effected the distribution of lands among the relations of Tiruchchirāmbalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ seems to have been an important officer and general both under Rājārāja II and his successor Rājādhirāja II. The several persons noticed in the record as the relatives of Pallavarāyaṇ are obscure and are, therefore, not easily identifiable. The signatories to the *uḷvari*, **Chēdirāśar**, **Vāpādhirāśar**, **Śiṅgaḷarāyaṇ**, **Niḷagaṅgaraiyaṇ** and the royal secretary **Mṇavaṇ-Mūvēndavōḷāṇ** appear to have held office even in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, the successor of Rājādhirāja II.

Among the **places** mentioned in the inscription **Kārigai-Kuḷattūr**, the native place of Pallavarāyaṇ, deserves notice. The Tamil prosodist Amudasāgarar commenced and completed his work *Kārigai* in this village, which, therefore, came to be known as Kārigaikulattūr.² It is stated to have been in Āmūr-kōṭṭam which roughly comprises the eastern portion of the present Chingleput taluk. There are two villages in this taluk bearing the name Kuḷattūr, one near Tirukkachchiyūr in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam and the other near Tiruppōrūr in Āmūr-kōṭṭam and the village mentioned in our record may be identified with the latter. In the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I, Kaṇḍan-Mādhavaṇ,³ a descendant of the chief who patronised Amudasāgarar, was

¹ The chronicle describes Kulaśēkhara as 'a powerful king,' 'cunning in the art of war,' 'a terror to his enemies' and as 'skilled in devising means such as reconciliation, etc., to prevail against the enemy.' We find that Kulaśēkhara was driven out of Madura by A.D. 1168 (Ārpākkam inscription) and that he was reinstated on the throne by A.D. 1171 (Pallavarāyaṇpēṭṭai record). By A.D. 1175 (Tiruvālaṅkāḍu inscription) he had been de throne and Vira-Pāṇḍya crowned in his stead. It is, therefore, clear that Kulaśēkhara could have occupied the throne only from about 1171 to 1175 A.D.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 87.

³ *Ibid.* p. 64.

in charge of this village, but it is not certain if he was in any way related to the Pallavarāyar of our record. **Jayaṅkoṇḍasōla-maṇḍalam** and **Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōla-puram** are well known to Tamil epigraphy. **Ayirattali** was a quarter of Niyamam, a village situated close to Paḷamānēri in the Tanjore district. The village is also mentioned in the '*Viṇḍōḷiyam*' of Buddhāmitra and mentioned as 'a place of thousand temples.' **Rājādhirājaṅ-Kuḷattūr** probably formed a portion of the present village Pallavarāyanpēttai which is known in inscriptions as Kuḷattūr and must have been called Pallavarāyanpēttai later to perpetuate the name of the Chōḷa general. **Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu** was evidently named after the surname 'Virudarājabhayaṅkara' of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I.¹

TEXT.

16. Svasti śrī [||*] Kaḍal-śūḷnda Pār-mādaruṇ Pū-mādaruṇ=Kalai-mādaruṇ=aḍal-śūḷnda
Pōr-mādaruṇ=Chīr-mādaruṇ {amarṇdu-vāḷa}²
- 2 nār-kaḍal-śūḷ puvi-ēlum pār-kaḍal-pōl³ pugaḷ parappa ādiyugamṇ=ēṇ[ṇa]⁴ sōdimuḍi
punaṇḍaruḷi aṇu-śamaiyamum
- 3 aṇm-būdamum neṇiyil niṇṇu pārīppat⁵-Te[n*]navaruṇ=Chēralaruṇ⁶ [Śiṅgaḷa]ru=mudalāya
maṇ[ṇavargaḷ] ti[rai] sumandu van[d-iraiṇi] śū[vippa⁷ūḷi] śēṅḷol eḷu-p[ā]rum=inid=
aḷippach=chem=po vī-
- 4 ra-siṇḷiḷasāpattu Uḷaguḍai-Mukkōkkiḷṇaḍigaḷōḍum viṇṇirundaruḷiya Kōv=Irājakēsari=
panmar-āṇa⁸ [Tribhu]vanachchakravartigaḷ⁹ Śrī-Rājādhirājadēvarkku yāṇḍu
eḷṭāvaḍu¹⁰ ||||
- 5 Jayaṅkoṇḍasōla-maṇḍalattu Āmūr-kōṭṭattuch=Chirukunṇa-nāṭtuk=Kārigaik-Kuḷattūrk-
Kuḷ[ḷa]ttuḷāṇ **Tiruchchirrambalam-Uḍaiyāṇ** Perumānambiyār=āṇa **Pallava-**
- 6 **rāyar** Periyadēvar **Rājarājadēvar** pērttu kōyir-kottum=āvark=kudirai-agambaḍi-niyāyam
uḷḷitta turaigaḷukkum mudaligaḷum=āy mudaligaḷ=ōpādi kāriyat-
- 7 tukkuṇ=kaḍavarum=āy eḷi¹¹lā variśaigaḷum muṇ-ēval uḷḷittu mudaligaḷ perakkaḍava
ēṇṇaḷaḷum peṇṇu niṇṇu Periyadēvar¹² tūṇji-aruḷip=pillaiḷaḷ[lu]kku oṇṇum iraṇḍum
tirunakshatram=ā-
- 8 gaiyāl **Ayirattali**p-paḍaividum viṭṭup=pōdavēṇḍip=pōḍuḷgira-iḍattut=tiruv=antapuramum
...¹³ āraṅgaḷum uḷḷi[t*]tāṇa ellām parigarittuk={kūṭṭi}k=koḍu-pōṇḍu Rāja-
- 9 [rā*]ja[pu]ra[t*]tīlē irunda iḍa[ttukku] [śūḷn]da iḍaṇ...yaru migudi-p.....[ra]ttu uḍaṇ-
kūṭṭatt[ā].....[rā]lum eḷāk=[kalakka].....[Śō]arājyat¹⁴ tukku....yē iruppār]
kāraṇavaruḍ.....
- 10 vēṇḍip=purattu ellā aḍaivu kēḍugaḷum va[rāda] iḍattu in.....lum parigarittu iv.....
Periyadēvar eḷundaru[li]....¹⁵ n[ā]lilē tiru-abhi[shēgattuk]ku uriya pillaiḷaḷ iṇṇiyō
...[rukki]-

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 152.

² *Amaṇḍuvāḷa* is another reading for *amarṇdu vāḷa* (No. 58 of 1906).

³ For *pōl* some inscriptions read *śūḷ*.

⁴ Other readings are *ādiyugam vandadēna* (No. 20 of 1899) and *ādiyugam āmenna* (No. 474 of 1905).

⁵ *Vandu pārīkka* is another reading (No. 20 of 1899).

⁶ No. 20 of 1899 gives in addition *Koṇṇaṇarum Pallavarum*. ⁷ No. 465 of 1905 has *vantiṇḍich-ḷēvippa*.

⁸ No. 20 of 1899 has *parakēsari-varman*; *āṇa* in *panmarāṇa* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

⁹ Some inscriptions have *Maduraiyum Iḷamum koṇḍaruḷiya* in addition (cf. No. 474 of 1905) *chēka* in *chchakravartigaḷ* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

¹⁰ The letter *ya* is inserted between *ri* and *ḍē*.

¹¹ The gap may be filled up with the letters *pariv*.

¹² *Jya* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

¹³ The word *yirunda* may have been lost here.

- 11 rapaḍiyai pārttu [mu]ṇ-nāḷilē kāriyam irundapaḍi vi.....¹ ś[e]ydu Gaṅgaiko[ṇ*]da-śōlapura.....² daruḷi iru[k*]kīra piḷḷaigalai ..³yāṇam paṇṇu....⁴ḍaiyār Vikk[i]ramaśōḷadēvar-pēraṇār
- 12 Neṇiḍaipperumā[!]-tirumagaṇār Ediril[i]pperumāḷaip=peri.....⁵[ji]-aruḷiṇa nāḷilē maṇḍai kavi[p]pittu...⁶ dār-āṇavārē ivarait=tiru-abbi[shēgam paṇṇu]vikkak=kaḍ-avarā[ga]...⁷tu nālān=tirunakshatrattilē Rājādhirāja*dēvar e-
- 13 nṛu tiru-ā(a)bhishēgam paṇṇuvittu uḍaṇ-kūṭṭamum nāḍu-k*oṇruppaṭṭuch=chellumpaḍi paṇṇi[vitt-aruḷi]ṇār {i*} miḡai śeyyādaḍi[yum] pari[ga]rittu ivargaḷ el....¹⁰ū=chērap=piḍittup=paṇi aḷagid-ā-
- 14 gach=cheyvad-orupaḍiyum paṇṇi {i*} Iḷattān Pāṇḍi-nāṭṭilē paḍaigalūn=kāraṇavar-āṇāraiym[!]¹¹ migudip...¹²viṭṭu i-ṇnāḍu kaikkolḷak=kaḍavan-āgaṇ=paṇṇiṇa i...¹³ [P]āṇḍiyaṇār Kulaśēkharadēvar
- 15 ta[m]muḍaiya rājyam¹⁴ viṭṭuch=Chōḷarāja[!t*]tilē pugundu eṇṇuḍaiya rājya¹⁵m nāṇ perumpa[di=ppaṇ]ṇavēṇum=en[ru] ś[o]ḷḷa ivar Uḍaiyār....¹⁶ var perumpaḍi paṇṇa-kaḍa-
- 16 var=āgavum inda rājya*tti[!lē pugun]du {vanaku} kaikkonḍa Ilaṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyakaṇ-ullittāraik=konṇu Pāṇḍiya[r*]gaḷ=i-
- 17 ruppāṇa Madurai-vāśalilē ivar[gaḷ] talai taippikkak=kaḍavarāgavuṇ=cholli ippaḍiellān vinṇappa[ṇ*]=cheydu tiruvuḷḷam=āṇapaḍiyē Pāṇḍiyaṇār Kulaśēkharadēvar Śōḷarāja*ttil irunda nāḷil ivarkku vē-
- 18 nḍuvaṇav=ellān=kuraiv-aṇa-cheydu parikarittu balattālum¹⁷ arttattālum urśāga¹⁸[t*]tālum Pāṇḍi-nāḍu kaikkonḍu tāṇ=choṇṇapaḍiyē Ilaṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyakaṇ-ullittāraik=ko ru ivargaḷ-talai
- 19 Madurai-vāśalilē taippittu Pāṇḍiyaṇār Kulaśēkharadēvar Madurai(yi)lē pugukaikkuch=chey[!y*]ya-vēṇḍuvaṇavum vaṇ....[jyat]tu śeyvittu ivarai Madurai(yi)lē pugaviṭṭup-Pāṇḍi-nāḍu Iḷa-nāḍ=āgāḍa-
- 20 paḍi parikarittuch=Chōḷa-rāja*m śeṇra-paḍi[kku] iḍāgat=Topḍai-nāḍum Pāṇḍi-nā¹⁹ḍum śellumpaḍiyum paṇṇi rāja-kāriyaṇ-konḍu nirvagikka=kkaḍava ma....ku-ttaṇ-kaṭṭa-ḷai=iṭṭu=k[kāri]yaṇ=konḍu-śeluttinapaḍiyē tamakku pi-
- 21 nbum i-kkaṭṭaḷaiyilē kāriyaṇ=chelvadorupaḍi kāriyaṇ=konḍu śel[va]ttā[!t*] nīrka [!t*] ivar viyādi-pattu iṇriyē oḷindamaiyil ivar-virun[daṅga]ḷukkum makkaḷukkum ivargaḷ-virundaṅgaḷukku[m*] makkaḷukkam peṇ-makkaḷukkum tāyārkkum uḍa-

¹ The letters *ṇappaṇ* may be inserted here.² The letters *pira* may be inserted here.³ The letters *yadēvar-tūn* may be inserted here.⁴ The letters *nichchayil* may be inserted here.⁵ The expression intended was probably *nāḍum-oṇruppaṭṭu*.⁶ The letters *lōraiym* may be inserted here.⁷ The letters *pōda* may be inserted here⁸ *Jya* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.⁹ The letters *Kulaśēkharadē* may be inserted here.¹⁰ The letter *ba* is written in *Grantha* characters.¹¹ The letter *sā* is engraved in *Grantha* characters.¹² There is an extra secondary length after the letter *nā*.¹³ The letters *tiḷḷ eḷun* may be inserted here.¹⁴ The letters *vittu U* may be inserted here.¹⁵ The letters *ppōn* may be inserted here.¹⁶ Engraved in *Grantha* characters.¹⁷ The letters *ḍattu* may be inserted here.

- 22 npiṇḍāḷukkum ivaḷ-mak[kaḷukku]m ivargaḷ-vaṅgattārkkum Virudarājabhayaṅkara-
vaḷanāṭtuk=Kuṟukkai-nāṭtu ivar-kāṇiy-āṇa Chō[ḷ]ēndiraśiṅganallūril paḷam=peyar
tavirn[du yā]ṇḍu eṭṭāvadu-muda[ḷ] antarāyam pāṭṭam=utpaḍa i-
- 23 raiyiliyāy vēru-piṇḍa Rā[jādhī]rājan¹-Kuḷattū[r] nilam nārpaḍiṟru-vēli [*] in=nilam aṇu-
bavikkumpaḍikku Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalattu Mēṇmalaip-Paḷaiyaṇūr-[nāṭtu]p=
Paḷaiyaṇūr-uḍaiyāṇ Vēdavaṇam-uḍaiyāṇ Am-
- 24 maiḷppaṇār-āṇa Pallavarā[yaṇ] niḷchchayi(t)ttapaḍiyāy aṇubavikkum viruṇḍaṅgalil
Śiṟṟalattūruḍaiyāṇ-magaḷukku nilam mū-vēli[yu]m Ālināḍuḍaiyāṇ-magaḷukku
nila[m] mū-[vēliyum ivaḷ]-makkaḷ v[ēḷ]kaippa...ṇgaḷ² mūvarkku
- 25 pērāl nilam iru-vēliy=āga...³ aṇu-vēliyum Neṟkuṇṇāṅ-kilār Kaḷappālarāyar-magaḷukku
nilam mū-vēliyum ivaḷ-makkaḷil Alagiyaḍēvaṇukku nilam mū-vēliyum peṇ-[makkaḷu]-
kku pērāl nilam iru-vēliy=āga nilam aṇuvēli-
- 26 yum Ambar Aruvandai Kāliṅgarāyar-magaḷukku nilam mū-vēliyum makkaḷil Śēṭṭa[ṇ]*⁴
Tirunaṭṭamāḍi Virana[mbi] Dēvaṅ(k)gu[ḍaiyā]ṇ-magaḷukkum ivaḷ-magaḷukkum nilam
iru-vēliyum Rājārājadēva⁵[r]-viruṇḍaṅgaḷukkum makkaḷukkum nilam eṇ-vēliyum
tāyār Vaippū-
- 27 ruḍaiyār-magaḷārkkum nilam vēliyum u[ḍaṇ]-piṇḍa peṅgalil Viḷiyūruḍaiyāṇukku pukka
peṇṇukkum iva[ḷ]-magaḷukkum nilam iru-vēliyum āga ni[lam] nārpaḍiṟru-vēliyum
antarāyam pāṭṭam-utpaḍa iṇaiḷi-
- 28 iṭṭamaikku||—uḷvarikku eḷuttittār ||—Nandiyarāyar ||—Amarakōṇār ||—Kaṇakarāyar ||—
Mūvēndarāyar ||—Jiṇattara[yaṇ]||— Viśaiyarāyar||— Puravuvvari-Śrīkaraṇa-
nā[yakam]||— Śiṟukuḍaiyāṇ||— Kuṇṇāṅkilāṇ||— Kāṇūr-kilavaṇ||— Nariya[nū]r-
Uḍaiy[ā]ṇ||—
- 29 Puravuvvari-Śrīkaraṇattu Muḡave[t*]ṭi Īṅgai-Uḍaiyāṇ ||—Ārūr-Uḍaiyāṇ ||—Tattainallūr-
Uḍaiyāṇ||— Śiṟunallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— ippaḍikku piraśāḍaṇcheyd⁶-aru[ḷiṇa] Śri-
mugaṭ-tukku eḷuttittār Chēdirāśar||— Vāṇādhira⁷[va]rāśar
- 30 Rā[ja*] rā[ja*] Viḷupparayar ||—Śiṅgaḷarāyar ||—Nilaṅgaṇarayar||— Dipattarayar ||—
eḷudināṇ tirumandira-ōlai Miḡavaṇ Mūvē[ṇḍa]vēḷāṇ ||—

TRANSLATION.

Ll. 1-8. Hail! Prosperity! In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Rājakēśarivarman alias the glorious Rājādhiraḷadēva, the emperor of the three worlds, when he was pleased to be seated along with (his queen) Uḷaguḍai-Mukkōkkiḷāṇaḍigaḷ on the throne of heroes, made of pure gold, having been pleased to put on the lustrous crown (so that) the Goddess of the Earth surrounded by the sea, the goddess (residing in) the flower (i.e., Lakshmi), the Goddess of Learning, the Goddess of War endowed with power and the Goddess of Prosperity all lived in amity as in the first yuga, (his) fame, white as the milky ocean, spread in the seven worlds surrounded by the four oceans, the six systems of philosophy (flourished), the five elements stood in their respective positions protecting the people, such kings as the Teṇṇavar (Pāṇḍyas), Śērālar (Chēmas), Śiṅgaḷar (Singhalese) came carrying (with them) tribute and made their obeisance (to him), and his hoary sceptre well protected the seven worlds;

¹ The word Rājādhiraḷa is engraved in Grantha.

² The gap may be filled with the letters ṭṭa pe.

³ The word intended was perhaps Śēṇḍa.

⁴ The letter sa is engraved in Grantha characters.

⁵ The letters dhī and rā are engraved in Grantha characters.

⁶ The word nilam may be lost here.

⁷ The letters Rājārāja are engraved in Grantha.

When **Kuḷattulāṅ Tiruchchirrambalamuḍaiyāṅ Perumānambi** alias **Pallavarāyar**, (a resident) of **Kārigai-Kuḷattūr** in **Śirukunṇa-nāḍu**, which was a subdivision of **Āmūr-kōṭṭam**, a district of **Jayaṅṇaḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam**, who had received all honours (*varisai*) (such as) the position of the Palace-Comptroller of the big household of **Periyadēvar** (i.e., the senior king) **Rājarājadēva** the headship of the several departments (*turaigal*) of the body of armed cavalry, retinue, etc., and was managing such of the affairs as had been allotted to the chiefs, receiving all (*high*) dignities attainable by the officers such as *muṇ-ēval*, **Periyadēvar** (i.e., **Rājarāja**) passed away. His (**Rājarāja**'s) sons (*pillaiṅal*) (being then) aged one and two years, it became obligatory for them to leave the citadel of **Āyirattali**. And while they were moving, he (**Pallavarāyar**) safely escorted the harem including all their retinue and conducted them to **Rājarājapuram**.

L. 9. Damaged.

Ll. 10-13. protected them warding off all possible danger from outside. Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (exact) state of affairs, as it (then) stood, (was intimated to the king) and (having brought) the princes residing at **Gaṅgaikondaśōḷapuram**, and at the time of **Periyadēvar**'s demise, he (**Pallavarāyar**) had **Edirilipperumāl**, son of **Neriyuḍaipperumāl** and the grandson of **Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōḷadēvar**, who had already been invested with a crown and was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (king) under the title of **Rājādhirājadēva** in the fourth year (of his installation) and made the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* (assembly) and the *nāḍu* (chamber) follow him without any dissensions. Thus, (he) brought all (parties) together so that there might be no transgression. (In this way he) creditably discharged one of his commissions.

Ll. 14-24. While the king of Ceylon sent a large contingent of forces along with many chiefs into the **Pāṇḍya** country so as to effect the capture of this kingdom, the **Pāṇḍya** (king) **Kulaśēkhara** left his dominions and entering the **Chōḷa** country requested (the king) to get him (back) his territory; (whereupon **Pallavarāyar**) represented to (the **Chōḷa** king): that **Uḍaiyār** [**Kulaśēkhara**]dēva should be made to get back the kingdom, that **Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka** and others who had entered and taken possession of this (**Pāṇḍya**) kingdom should be killed and (that) their heads should be nailed on to the gates of **Madura**, the capital of the **Pāṇḍyas**. When the royal sanction was obtained (thereto), he (**Pallavarāyar**) unsparingly did all that was necessary for (the **Pāṇḍya** king) **Kulaśēkhara** and guarded (him) during his stay in the **Chōḷa** kingdom; captured the **Pāṇḍyā** country with (the aid of) his army, resources and zeal; and, as promised, killed **Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka** and others and nailed their heads on to the gates of **Madura**; (he) made all necessary arrangements for the entry of the **Pāṇḍya** king **Kulaśēkhara** into **Madura**; and by making him (**Kulaśēkhara**) enter (his capital) **Madura**, prevented the **Pāṇḍya** kingdom from becoming a **Singhalese** possession; and made the **Toṇḍai-nāḍu** and the **Pāṇḍi-nāḍu** subject to him (i.e., the **Chōḷa**), as was his own (**Chōḷa**) country.

When (**Pallavarāyar**) was thus in the height of power, having taken upon himself the management of the country and having appointed persons capable of bearing the burden of the administration even after him (i.e., after his death) in the same manner as it used to be done (during his lifetime) through his orders issued to capable officers administering the kingdom, he fell ill and died. (Thereupon), his estate, 40 *vēli* in extent, in **Rājādhirājaṅ-Kuḷattūr** situated in **Kuṟukkai-nāḍu**, a division of **Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu**, which was separated in the 8th year of the king, from **Chōḷēndraśiṅganallūr** after discarding its old name, and being exempted from all taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*, (was distributed¹ among) his wives, sons, their wives and children, (his) daughters and mother, (his) uterine sister, her children and their relations, by **Palaiyaṅūr-Uḍaiyāṅ**

¹ It is noteworthy that in this distribution of lands, all the near relatives of the deceased are provided for.

Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan alias Pallavarāyaṇ of Mēṇmalaip-Palaiyaṇūr in Jayanṅonḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam for enjoyment (*as follows*) :—

Ll. 24-28 . Among (<i>Pallavarāyaṇ's</i>) wives (a), (b), (c) and (d).	(a) to the daughter of Śirālattūr-Uḍaiyāṇ.	three <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land.
	(b) to the daughter of Ālināḍ-Uḍaiyāṇ.	three <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land.
	(c) to the daughter of Neṇ-kunṇaṇ-kiḷār Kaḷappā-rāyaṇ.	three <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land.
To the three married daughters of (b) above.	....	six <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land at two <i>vēḷi</i> per head.
Among the sons of (c) above	to Āḷagiyadēvaṇ	three <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land.
To the (<i>three</i>) daughters of (c) above	....	six <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land at two <i>vēḷi</i> per head.
	 (d) to the daughter of Ambar Aruvandai Kāḷiṅgarāyaṇ.	three <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land.
To the daughter of the son of (d) above, Śe[ti]ta[ṇṇa] Tirunattamāḍi Virana[mbi] Dēvaṅḍaiyāṇ and her daughter.	....	two <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land.
To the wife of Rājarājadēvaṇ (who must have been another daughter of Pallavarāyaṇ from (d) above) and her sons.	....	eight <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land.
To his mother	the daughter of Uḍaiyār.	one <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land.
Among his sisters	to the wife of Valiyūr-Uḍaiyāṇ and her daughter.	two <i>vēḷi</i> (of) land.

On the whole 40 *vēḷi* of land was thus distributed, free of taxes, including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*.

Ll. 28-30. The signatories to the *uḷvari* (are) :—

Nandiyarāyaṇ||— Amarakōṇṇār||— Kaṇakarāyaṇ||— Mūvēndarāyaṇ||— Chīṇattara[yaṇ]||— Viśaiyarāyaṇ||— The *Puravu-vari Śrīkaraṇa-nāyakam* are :— Śirukuḍaiyāṇ||— Kuṇṇaṇkiḷāṇ||— Kāṇūr-kiḷavaṇ||— Nariyanūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— The *puravuvu-vari Śrīkaraṇattu Mugaveṭṭi* are :— Iṅgai-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Ārūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Tattainallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Śirunallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— For the royal order that was issued, (*the attestors are*) :— Chēdirāśar||— Vāṇādhira [va]rāśar Rā[ja*]rā[ja*]viḷupparaiyaṇ||— Śiṅgaḷarāyaṇ||— Nīlagaṇḍarāyaṇ||— Dipattarāyaṇ||— (*This royal order*) is the draft of the royal secretary Mīṇavaṇ Mūvē[ṇḍa]vēḷāṇ ||—

No. 32.—TWO BRICK INSCRIPTIONS FROM NALANDA.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

The Buddhist *sūtra* forming the subject of this article is found in duplicate on two incised bricks which were discovered in 1924 by Mr. J. A. Page, the then Superintendent of the Central Circle, in small votive *stūpas* near the main *stūpa* at Nālandā.¹ The inscription on Brick A begins on the top surface and is continued on three sides, the right hand side and the bottom

¹ See *A. S. I. An. Rep.*, 1923-24, p. 74.

surface being left uninscribed. The writing on the top surface covers a space of $11\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and $8\frac{3}{4}$ " in breadth while the breadth of the inscribed sides ranges from 1" to $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The inscription consists altogether of thirty-one lines of writing of which twenty-two lines are incised on the top surface and three on each of the three other sides. Brick B, which contains twenty-three lines of writing, is inscribed only on the top surface, the inscription covering a space which measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times$ 8". In A, the portions of writing coming in the middle of the top and the left hand side are damaged while the inscription on B is in a fair state of preservation. The letters in both A and B are not uniformly executed, their average size being from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch approximately.

Before proceeding with the discussion of palæography, I may point out that the two documents under discussion hold a peculiar position as epigraphs. It appears that the letters have not been inscribed in the same way as inscriptions on stone or copper-plates. It is clear from the shape of the letters that the scribe has engraved the text on the brick with a stylus or similar sharp instrument. Thus we have to consider the documents more in the nature of manuscripts than inscriptions and, as one would expect in such records, the writing is in a much more cursive hand than one would ordinarily find in inscriptions. The characters found on these records belong to the Gupta script of a comparatively later period, more strictly to the period of transition from the Gupta to the acute-angled stage and may be ascribed to the sixth century of the Christian era. As to their palæography the following points may be noticed : of the initial vowels the lower portion of *a* and *ā* shows a curve open to the left and the sign for the length of *ā* is expressed by a hook attached to the foot of the right vertical. *I* is denoted by three dots and in *ē* the apex of the triangle is pointed downwards. Of the consonants, single *k* is written in the same way as in the Gupta period and does not yet show a loop on the left but such loops are noticed in places in ligatures (cf. *saṃskāra* in l. 3, *skandha* in l. 11, etc.). The triangle of *kh* stands at the right of the vertical and not to its left as found in the acute-angled alphabet, but in common with the latter the third as well as the central horizontal line of *j* are slanting downwards and *d* has a serif in the lower end. In *ṇ* the right stroke has not yet become vertical as we find from the 7th century onwards, though a loop has been attached to its left. *Bh* is as in the Gupta period¹ and has not yet formed the triangle on the left. *Y* is tripartite with a hook to the left which led up to the later bipartite *y*. *D* is rounded at the top of the middle vertical touching the right and the left limbs. Lingual *ḷ* occurs twice in the document (cf. *khula-khula*, B l. 19), a peculiarity not found in later documents. The *Virāma* is denoted by a stroke above the consonant (cf. *katamat*, ll. 10, 11, 15) and the superscript *r* is denoted by an angular stroke on top evidently owing to cursive forms of letters.

The language of both the documents is Sanskrit which is on the whole correct. Rules of *sandhi* have not been strictly adhered to. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the following points. Consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have at times been doubled, e.g., *vahirdhā* (B l. 6), *pūrvvakam* (A l. 14), *avakkrāntir* (A l. 21). *Sk* is frequently written as *ks* in A, e.g., *saṃksāra* for *saṃskāra* (A l. 3, etc.). *V* and *b* have not been distinguished except in *kubja* (B l. 19; A l. 23). Two different marks of punctuation have been used, one, the ordinary mark represented by a small curve (∩) like a comma written horizontally, and the other, a rare one, denoted by two vertical lines (cf. B l. 15 after *cha* and A l. 30 after *iti*). The former has been shown in the transcript below, with a *daṇḍa*.

The text of the *sūtra*s as found in both the bricks is substantially the same. I have given below only the text of B, which is the better preserved of the two documents, while the slight differences in reading, occurring in A, have been noticed in the foot-notes. They contain the text of the well-known *Pratītyasamutpāda* or *Nidāna-sūtra* as well as its *avbhanga* or division.

¹ Cf. the inscription of Tōramāpa, C. I. I. Vol. III, Pl. XXIII-A.

The *sūtra*¹ portion is found in Buddhist literature both in Pāli and Sanskrit,² while the *vibhaṅga* portion is closely connected with the *vibhaṅga* found in the Nidāna Saṃyutta.³ B does not give any colophon while at the end of A we find only *Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samāptaḥ*.

In addition to these records, several other bricks and terracotta slabs containing the Nidāna-sūtra have been found at Nālandā. But none of them is complete and they contain only a fragment of the *sūtra* and sometimes that of the *nirōdha*⁴ portion as well, but none contains the *vibhaṅga* as found in the two records under discussion. All are written in a cursive hand (No. S. 3, Reg. 237 of the Central Circle, being the most cursive), just as the two documents dealt with here. Of these, No. S. 3, Reg. 237 contains seven fragmentary lines of the *sūtra* and Brick C seven such lines of the *nirōdha* only. No. S. 3, Reg. 242 is inscribed on both sides (of which portions of five lines only remain on each side) and contains fragments of the *sūtra* with its *nirōdha*. No. S. 3, Reg. 236 originally contained the *sūtra* with its *nirōdha* which was repeated thrice. Only at the end of the *nirōdha* portion we find an additional sentence which reads *iyam samyak-prakṛitir-asamskrītā nīyam-āvakkṛā[nīr=iti]*.

Inscriptions containing the text of the Nidāna Sūtra have also been found in places other than Nālandā. Bricks with this *sūtra* inscribed on them have been discovered at Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces.⁵ Besides these we find the text inscribed on the Kasiā copper-plate⁶ and the Kurram casket.⁷ Of these the first two are written in the Gupta script and Sanskrit language while the third is written in the Kharoṣṭhī script and a Prākṛit dialect. Palaeographically all the three appear to belong to a period earlier than that of the two Nālandā bricks under discussion, the Kurram casket being the earliest in date. The text in Pāli is not also unknown. A manuscript with leaves of gold but resembling in every way a palm-leaf manuscript, has been discovered within a relic chamber unearthed at Hmawza⁸ in Prome District of Lower Burma. The writing is in the South Indian Script of the 6th or 7th century A.D. then in common use in Burma and the language is Pāli. The manuscript contains, among other extracts from the Piṭakas, the text of the Pañichcha Samuppāda Sutta.

The text of the *sūtra* on the Gopalpur bricks and the Kasiā copper-plate is on the whole identical. Both contain the positive and the negative arrangements of the 'Propositions of the Theory of Causes', here technically termed as the *āchaya* (i.e., collection) and the *apachaya* (the loss) of Dharma, the latter corresponding to the *nirōdha* portion of the *sūtra* as found in Pāli and Sanskrit texts. The text of the Kurram Casket contains only the positive arrangements of the *sūtra* and is termed *Pañichasamupade* (Skt. *Pratītyasamutpāda*). The interest of the present

¹ This has been shown in the text in italics for facility of reference while the rest is the *vibhaṅga*.

² See *Vinaya Pitaka* (ed. Oldenburg), I, pp. 1 ff.; *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, II, pp. 1 ff., etc.; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, pp. 190, 257; *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 300, 547; *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 1; *Lalitā Vistara* (ed. Lefmann), p. 347. In most of these texts we find the positive as well as the negative (*nirōdha*) arrangement of the *Pratītyasamutpāda*.

³ *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 2 ff.

⁴ The twelve-fold *Pratītyasamutpāda* or the propositions of the Buddhist Theory of Causation are often found in their 'positive and negative' arrangement. It is essential for a Buddhist to study and learn the respective links in this chain of causation and to understand it in its positive and negative arrangements, both forward and backward (Pāli, *anuloma* and *paṭiloma*). For an explanation of this theory cf. Oldenburg, *Buddha* (English translation), pp. 223 ff.; Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 155 ff.; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 47 ff.; Th. Stecherbatsky, *The Doctrine of the Buddha*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 876 ff., etc.

⁵ *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, p. 99.

⁶ *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1910-11, pp. 76 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 17, and *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 155.

⁸ *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1926-27, p. 200.

records, however, lies in the fact that they contain the positive arrangement of the *sūtra* and also a *vibhaṅga* or division which is not met with in other records so far discovered. Besides this the present text has an interest of its own. As has been pointed out by Dr. Bagchi in his notes appended below, it was the same text which was translated by Yuan Chwang in 661 A.D., i.e., three years before his death. Recently Prof. G. Tucci has published the fragments of the *Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā*, a commentary on the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* by Vasubandhu¹ (circa 4th or 5th century), a work which was already known through its Tibetan translation. But it will be of great interest to observe that the text on which Vasubandhu, himself a teacher at Nālandā for some time, wrote a commentary, must have been the same as that now published. Thus the Nālandā text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* reveals to us the original Sanskrit text of a *sūtra* of great importance which was so far known only through translations.

It is to be noted that all these documents containing the text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* were found imbedded in *stūpas*. Of these the Kasiā copper-plate and the Kurram Casket contain the names of donors. The former was the gift of one Haribala who deposited it in the (*Parī*)-*nirvāṇa-chaitya* while the inscription on the latter informs us that the casket contained the corporeal relics of the Buddha and the *Pratītya-samutpāda* was written 'for the honouring of all beings'. The present records and the Gopālpur brick inscriptions contain no names of the donors. Now the question that naturally arises is this: what was the object of writing down the Nidāna Sūtra and depositing it in the *stūpas*? It was done obviously for the sake of gaining merit, but why was the Nidāna Sūtra selected above all others? We know that among the Buddhists there are four classes of objects of worship—(i) the corporeal remains of the Buddha, (ii) objects used by the Buddha himself such as staffs, bowls, pieces of articles forming his robes, etc., (iii) objects indirectly connected with the Buddha and thus regarded as holy such as the *bōdhi*-tree, *chaitya*, etc., and (iv) *Dhamma* as preached by the Buddha. I-tsing also gives us some interesting information on this point. "The priests and laymen in India," says the Chinese pilgrim, "make Chaityas or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper, and worship it with offerings wherever they go. Sometimes they build Stūpas of the Buddha by making a pile surrounding it with bricks. They sometimes form these Stūpas in lonely fields, and leave them to fall in ruins. Anyone may thus employ himself in making the objects for worship. Again when the people make images and Chaityas which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks and stone, or when they heap up the snowy sand (lit. sand-snow), they put in the images or Chaityas two kinds of Śāriras. 1. The relics of the Great Teacher. 2. The Gāthā of the Chain of Causation."² The *gāthā* referred to by I-tsing is the well-known Buddhist formula *ye dhammā* etc. supposed to have been spoken by Āsvajit to Śāriputra.³ Prof. Oldenburg and Rhys Davids pointed out long ago⁴ that this stanza alludes, undoubtedly, to the Nidānasūtra, 'which explains the origination and cessation of what are called here *dhammā hetu-ppabhavā*'. The Sanskrit version of this stanza is extensively found on Buddhist votive gifts such as images,

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 613 ff. Prof. Tucci in the text published by him has underlined the portion quoted from the *sūtra*, but on comparison with the Nālandā text it will be observed that his division of the original text and the commentary is not everywhere correct. Moreover, I do not agree with him that in Vasubandhu's work *vibhaṅga* was 'the name of the various chapters each corresponding to a particular *nidāna*' (*ibid.*, p. 612, n. 1). The text commented on by Vasubandhu is identical with that obtained at Nālandā and contained at the beginning the Nidāna Sūtra followed by the *vibhaṅga* in connection with each *nidāna*. Thus he is not right in giving the title *Avidyā-vibhaṅga* to the first section of the work which deals only with the *sūtra* portion.

² I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (translated by J. Takakusu), p. 150.

³ See *The Vinaya Piṭaka* (ed. Oldenburg), I, p. 40.

⁴ See *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIII.

tablets, plaques, etc., throughout the Buddhist world.¹ The blessings derived from putting in the images or *chaityas* the *śarīras* mentioned above are abundant.² The authentic relics of the Buddha were always scarce and must have been more so after the early centuries of the Christian era. That is why we find in the *stūpas* at Nālandā and other places only tablets containing the Nidānasūtra, which was part of the *Dhamma* preached by the Buddha himself. To a Buddhist this *sūtra* is next in sacredness only to the four venerable truths (*ārya-satyāni*) and is very important since a proper understanding of this leads to the way of Nirvāṇa. Nāgārjuna said in his *Suṅgillēkha*, "Even though fire should be burning above our head, . . . we ought to waste no time in putting it out, but should keep in view perpetually our Final Liberation (*Mōksha*), reflecting on the truths of the 'Chain of Causality'."³ It is no wonder, therefore, that this *sūtra* is considered as of paramount importance and has so frequently been found deposited in the votive *stūpas* raised by the Buddhist monks as well as laymen.

The following text is transcribed from impressions and photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Central Circle. As the Chinese translation, an English rendering of which has been appended below by Dr. Bagchi, followed the Sanskrit original quite closely, I have not given a separate translation of the Sanskrit text but have noticed the slight differences found in places in the foot-notes to Dr. Bagchi's translation.

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham⁴ [*] Ēvaṃ mayā śrutam=ēkasmin=samayē Bhagavān=chChrāvastyāṃ viharati sma Jētavanē Anāthapiṇḍadasy=ārāmē⁵ mahatā bhikshu-saṃghēna sārddham=arddha⁶-trayōda⁷śabhir=bhikshu-śataih [*] Tatra Bhagavān bhikshū-nām=ā[ma*]ntra-
- 2 yatē⁸ sma Pratītya-samutpādasya vō bhikshavaḥ ādi[m*] vō dēśayishyāmi vibhaṅgaṃ cha⁹ tach=chhri[ṇu*]ta¹⁰ sādhu cha sushṭhu cha manasi kuruta bhāshishyē Pratītya-samutpādasya=ādih katamaḥ [*] yad=ut=āsmiṃ=sat=[i]dān bhavaty=asy=ōtpāda(dā)¹¹d=ida-
- 3 m=utpadyatē¹² yad=ut=āvidyā-pratyayāḥ saṃskārāḥ¹³ saṃskāra-pratyayaṃ vijñānaṃ vijñāna-pratyayaṃ nāmarūpa[m] nāmarūpa-pratyayaṃ śaḍ-āyatanaṃ śaḍ-āyatana-pratyayaḥ sparśāḥ (rśaḥ)¹⁴ sparśa-pratyayā vēdanā vēdanā-
- 4 pratyayā trishṇā trishṇā-pratyayā(ya)m=¹⁵upādānaṃ upādāna-pratyayō bhavaḥ bhava-pratyayā jātiḥ jāti-pratyayā jarā-maraṇa-śōka-paridēvā-duḥkha-āurmanasy-ōpāyāsāḥ saṃmbha(mbha)vanīty¹⁶=ēvam=asya kēvala-

¹ [The latest finds of this kind are from Nālandā and Pāhārpur excavations, where thousands of tiny clay votive *stūpas* have been discovered in the relic chamber of small *stūpas*, each encasing little clay seals inscribed with the Buddhist creed.—Ed.]

² I-tsing, *A Record etc.*, p. 151.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ A reads *ardha*.

⁵ There is a small stroke above *tra* in both which may be accidental.

⁶ A reads correctly *āmantra*.

⁷ A reads *chhriṇuta* correctly.

⁸ Here and in several other places A reads *saṃkṣa*.

⁹ A has *pratyayaṃ*.

¹⁰ Translated by I-tsing in his *Record*, p. 151.

¹¹ The record A has a mark of punctuation here.

¹² A has *āgaṇ=cha*.

¹³ A reads *dā* correctly.

¹⁴ A has correctly *sparśaḥ*.

¹⁵ A reads *saṃbhavanīty*.

- 5 *sya mahatō duḥkha-skandhasya samudayō* [bha]vati¹ [*] Ayam=uchyatē Pratyaya-samutpādasy=ādīḥ [*] Vibhaṅgaḥ katamaḥ [*] Avidyā-pratyayāḥ saṃskārāḥ [*] Avidyā² katamā | Yat=pūrvvāntē³ ajñānaṃ aparāntē³ ajñā-
- 6 naṃ pūrvvānt-āparāntē ajñānaṃ adhyātmam=ajñānaṃ va(ba)hirdhā ajñānaṃ addhyātma-va(ba)hi[rddhā] ajñānaṃ karmaṇy=ajñānaṃ vipākē ajñānaṃ karma-vipākē ajñānaṃ Vu(Bu)ddhē ajñānaṃ Dharmē ajñānaṃ Saṃghē ajñānaṃ⁴ duḥkhē
- 7 ajñānaṃ¹ samudayē ajñānaṃ nirōdhē ajñānaṃ¹ mārgē ajñānaṃ¹ hētāv=ajñānaṃ¹ hētu-samutpannēshu dharmēshv=ajñānaṃ¹ kuśal-ākuśalēshu sāvady-ānavadyēshu¹ sēvitavy-āsēvi-
- 8 tavyēshu hīna-praṇīta-kṛishṇa-śukla-sapratibhāga-Pratītya-samutpannēshu dhar-mēshv=ajñānaṃ¹ shaṭsu vā punaḥ sparś-āyatanēshu yathābhūta-saṃpratīvē-(bē)dhē iti | Yat=tatra tatra yathābhū-
- 9 tasy=ajñānaṃ=adarśanam=anabhisamayāḥ tamaḥ saṃmōhaḥ avidyā-āndhakāram=iyam=uchyatē avidyā | Avidyā-pratyayāḥ saṃskārā iti [*] Saṃskārāḥ katamē [*] Trayaḥ saṃskārāḥ [*]
- 10 Kāya-saṃskārāḥ vāk-saṃskārāḥ manaḥ-saṃskārā iti | Saṃskāra-pratyayaṃ vijñānam=iti | Vijñānaṃ katamat [*] Shaḍ=vijñāna-kāyāḥ [*] Chakshu[r-vi]jñānaṃ śrōtra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-manō-vijñānaṃ [*]
- 11 Vijñāna-pratyayaṃ nāma-rūpam=iti⁴ | Nāma katamat [*] Chatvāraḥ arūpi-ṇaḥ skandhāḥ [*] Katamē chatvāraḥ [*] Vēdanā-skandhāḥ saṃjñā-s[k]andhāḥ saṃskāra-skandhāḥ vijñāna-skandhāḥ [*] Rūpaṃ katamat [*]
- 12 Yat=kiñchid=rūpaṃ sarvvaṃ tach=chatvāri mahābhūtāni | Chatvāri cha mahābhūtāny=upādāya it=īdam cha rūpaṃ pūrvvakaṃ cha nāma tad=aikadhyam=abhisamkshipya nāma-rūpam=ity=uchyatē [*]⁵ Nāma-rūpa-pratyayaṃ shaḍ-āya-
- 13 tanam=iti | Shaḍ-āyatanam katamat [*] Shaḍ=adhyātmikāny=āyatanāni [*] Chakshur-ādhyātmikam=āyatanam⁶ śrōtra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-manaḥ[*]⁶-adhyātmikam=āyatanam | Shaḍ-āyatana-pratyayaḥ
- 14 sparśaḥ iti [*] Sparśaḥ katamaḥ [*] Shaṭ=sparśakāyāḥ [*] Chakshuḥ-saṃsparśaḥ śrōtra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-manaḥ-saṃsparśaḥ [*] Sparśa⁷-pratyayā vēdan=ēti | Vēdanā katamā | Tisrō vēdanāḥ [*] Sukhā
- 15 duḥkhā aduḥkh=āsukhā cha || Vēdanā-pratyayā trishṇ=ēti | Trishṇā katamā [*] Tisra[*]⁸=trishṇāḥ [*] Kāma-trishṇā⁸ rūpa-trishṇā⁸ arūpya-trishṇā cha | Trishṇā-pratyayaṃ=upādānam=iti | Upādānaṃ katamat [*]

¹ A has a mark of punctuation here.² A reads *ity=avidyā*.³ A reads *pūrvvāntē* and *aparāntē* here and in the next line.⁴ A reads wrongly *m=ati*.⁵ A has a punctuation mark here.⁶ A reads *manaḥ*.⁷ A reads wrongly *sparśaḥ*.⁸ A has the correct reading *Tisra*.

- 16 Chatvāry=upādānāni [*] Kām-ōpādānam¹ dṛiṣṭy²-upādānam¹ śīla-vrat-ōpādānam¹ ātma-vād-ōpādānam³ | Upādāna-pratyay[ō] bhava iti [*] Bhavaḥ katamaḥ [*] Trayō bhavāḥ [*] Kāma-bhavaḥ rūpa-bhavaḥ arū⁴-
- 17 pya-bhavaḥ [*] Bhava-pratyayā jātir=iti | Jātiḥ katamā | Yā tēshām tēshām satvānām tasmims⁵=tasmimn(smin)=satva-nikāyē jātīḥ sam-jātir=avakrāntir⁶=abhinirvṛtīḥ prādurbhavaḥ skandha-pratīlambhō dhātu-prati-
- 18 lambhaḥ āyatana-pratīlambhaḥ skandhānām=abhinirvṛtīḥ jīvit-ēndriyasya [prādu]-rbhavaḥ [*] Jāti-pratyayam jarā-maraṇam iti [*] Jarā katamā | Yat=tat=[kh]lātayam pālityam valī-prachuratā
- 19 jirṇatā bhugnatā kubja⁷-gōpānāsi-vaṅkatā tila-kālakā-chita-gātratā |⁸ khula-khula-prasvāsa-kāyatā purataḥ prāg-bhāra-kāyatā |⁹ daṇḍa-vishkambhaṇatā |¹⁰ dhandhatvam mandatvam hāniḥ pari[hā*]ṇiḥ *
- 20 indriyānām paripākaḥ paribhēdaḥ samskāragām purāṇībhavaḥ jarjarībhavaḥ iyam=uchyatē jarā | Maraṇam katamat [*] Yā tēshām tēshām satvānām tasmāt=tasmāt=sa[tva]-nikā-
- 21 yāt chyutīś=chyavanataḥ bhēdō=ntara-hāṇiḥ āyushō hāniḥ ūshmaṇō hāniḥ jīvit-ēndriyasya nirōdhaḥ skandhānām nikshēpō maraṇam kāla-kriyā idam=uchyatē maraṇam=iti [*]
- 22 Idam cha maraṇam pū[r]vikā cha jarā tad-ubhayam=aikadhyam=abhisam-kshipya jarā-maraṇam=ity=uchyatē | Ayam=uchyatē Pratītya-samutpādasya vibhaṅgaḥ [*] Pratītya-samutpādasya ādi[m*] vō
- 23 dēśayishyāmi vibhaṅgañ=cha iti vō yad=uktam=idam=ētat=pratyuktam [*] Idam=avōchad=Bhagavān=[ātta]manasaḥ¹⁰ stē bhikshavō Bhagavatō bhā-shitam=abhyānandam ti (dann=iti)|¹¹

No. 33.—A NOTE ON THE PRATITYA SAMUTPADA SUTRA.

By P. C. BAGCHI, M.A., D. ès-lettres ; CALCUTTA.

The small Sanskrit Buddhist text here published by Dr. Chakravarti is of considerable interest for the student of Buddhism. The colophon of the text contained in one of the bricks runs thus—*Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samāptaḥ*. The text contains an enumeration of the causes of "dependent production," their definition and division (*vibhaṅga*). The complete title of the text was apparently, either *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* or *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra-vibhaṅga*.

Though the original text was unknown till now we were acquainted with it through the fragment of a commentary of Vasubandhu discovered from Nepal and published by Prof. Tucci.¹² Only six leaves of the complete manuscript were found in the admirable collection of His Holiness the Rajaguru Hēmarāja Śarmā. They contain fragments of Vasubandhu's commentary on the five *vibhaṅgas* : *avidyā*, *vedanā*, *trishṇā*, *upādāna* and *bhava*. This commentary is preserved

¹ A has a punctuation mark here.² A reads wrongly *dṛiṣṭi-upā*.³ A reads *cha* after this.⁴ A reads *ārūpya*.⁵ A reads *parihāniḥ*.⁶ A reads at the end =*abhyānandam=iti* || *Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samāptaḥ*.¹² A fragment from the *Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā* of Vasubandhu, J. R. A. S., 1930, pp. 611-623.⁵ A has *tasmim tasmimn*.⁶ A gives *krāntir*.⁷ A also gives *kubja*.⁸ Mark of punctuation unnecessary.¹⁰ Read *manasas=it*.

in its entirety in the Tibetan collection (Cordier, *Catalogue* p. 365). A gloss on the commentary of Vasubandhu made by Guṇamati is also preserved in Tibetan in the same volume of the *Bstan agyur*. The title of Vasubandhu's work as preserved in Tibetan is *Pratītya-samutpāda-vibhaṅga-nirdeśa* but it was also commonly known as *Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā* (see the fragment published by Tucci).

The Nālandā text is also preserved in a Chinese translation. It is No. 628 *Yuan ki king* of Nanjio's Catalogue in which Nanjio has inaccurately restored the title as *Nidāna-sūtra*. The translation has been published in Taishō Edition of the Tripiṭaka, Vol. II (Āgama), pp. 547-548 (No. 124). The translation was prepared by Hsuan Tsang on the 9th day of the 7th month of the year 661 A.D. The *K'ai yuan she kiao lu* (Tokio Ed. p. 70b 11) mentions this translation on the authority of an unknown source called *Fan king tu* and says that it is a different translation of the 46th chapter of the Ēkōttarāgama. The text is found in the Taishō Tripiṭaka Vol. II, p. 794 *Fang niu king*. The Ēkōttarāgama was translated into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadēva in 383 A.D. A separate translation of the same text was made by Kumārajīva a few years later—viz. the *Fang niu king*.¹ The same text is also found in another translation in the Chinese Saṃyukta-Āgama (Taishō II, p. 342, Ch. 47, Nos. 1248-1249). An examination of the texts shows that Saṃyukta 1248 is identical with the Chullagopālaka-suttanta and Saṃyukta 1249 with the Mahāgopālaka-suttanta of the Pāli Majjhima (Nos. 34 and 33). To this latter correspond also the text translated by Kumārajīva and that of the Ēkōttara. But I fail to understand why the Chinese sources, and after them the Japanese editors, think that the Chinese version of the Gopālaka-sutta is a different translation of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*. Even a superficial examination of this text will show that it has no fundamental relation with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*.

Dr. Chakravarti has suggested a relation of the Nālandā text with the Desanā and Vibhaṅga of the Pāli Saṃyutta, II, pp. 1 ff. The Desanā consists of two parts, *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its *nirōdha*. The first part of the Desanā which deals with the *Pratītya-samutpāda* is almost identical with the corresponding part of the Nālandā text but the portion dealing with the *nirōdha* is not found in the Nālandā text. Besides, though the Vibhaṅga portion is fundamentally the same in both the texts, in the Saṃyutta text it is given in an inverse order beginning with the *jarā-maraṇa*. Moreover the Vibhaṅga portion in the Saṃyutta is much more amplified than that in the Nālandā text. The Saṃyutta text (including the *Pratītya-samutpāda*, its *nirōdha* and its *vibhaṅga*) really corresponds with section 298 of the Chinese Saṃyukta (Taishō Ed. II, pp. 85 ff.) which was translated by Guṇabhadra in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. The original text of the Saṃyukta had been brought to China from India by Fa Hien in 414 A.D.² The Sanskrit original of the Desanā (the *Pratītya-samutpāda* and *Nirōdha* portions only) was discovered by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in a copper plate inscription found at Kasiā (ancient Kuśinagara). It was published by Mr. F. E. Pargiter in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* 1910-1911, pp. 71 ff. A comparison of the Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the Desanā shows that the Sanskrit text was the original on which the Chinese translation was based. The formula, *yad=ut=āsmīn=sat=idam bhavaty=asy=ōtpādād=idam=utpadyatē*, which occurs in the Kasiā and Nālandā text is not found in the Pāli Desanā but occurs in the Chinese translation. The Chinese text of the Saṃyukta has on the whole greater affinities with the Nālandā and Kasiā texts of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its *Vibhaṅga* than with the Saṃyutta text of Desanā and *Vibhaṅga*.

¹ Nanjio 627, Taishō Ed. II, p. 546; Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique* I, p. 196 "Sūtra on a pastor".

² See Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, pp. 347 and 382.

It is however clear that the Nālandā text did not exactly belong either to the Saṃyukta or to any other Āgama. Though the translation of Hiuan Tsang is included in the Āgama volume of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, it does not precisely form part of any of the Āgamas there. It is printed there at the end of the Saṃyuktāgama. It probably shows that Hiuan Tsang himself as well as the later Chinese writers on the Tripiṭaka had some doubts about the canonical character of the text. As Vasubandhu in all probability flourished towards the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. and commented on the text, it must have been in existence before that time.

The *Pratītyasamutpāda* formula is mentioned in very ancient texts. The *Sūtrālamkāra* of Āśvaghōṣa, now preserved only in a Chinese translation made by Kumārajīva, narrates the story of the conversion of the Brahman Kauśika of Pāṭaliputra. This Brahman while searching sacred texts in the house of his relative came upon a Buddhist text called the "Sūtra of the twelve Nidānas," a study of which impressed him so much that he adopted the Buddhist faith.¹

The chronology of the texts therefore stands thus :—

Kurram text (<i>Pratītya-samutpāda</i>) ²	Circa 100 A.D.
Sūtrālamkāra Text (<i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i>)	Circa 100 A.D.
Chinese Saṃyukta text (<i>Pratī</i> ° and <i>Vibhaṅga</i>) translated by Guṇabhadra in	414 A.D.
Kaśiā text (<i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i>).	Circa 450-475 A.D.
Nālandā text (<i>Pratī</i> ° and <i>Vibhaṅga</i>)	Circa 500 A.D.

This analysis, it seems to me, throws some light on the formation of the Canon. It shows that the Āgamas were still in the process of formation, even shortly before the time of Vasubandhu (fifth century A. D.). In that case we must assume that the formation of the Pāli Nikāyas had not then been completed, as the Saṃyutta text of *Desanā* and *Vibhaṅga* not only embodies all the elements of the texts just analysed (viz. *Pratītya*°, *Nirōdha* and *Vibhaṅga*) but its *Vibhaṅga* is much more developed than in the Sanskrit text. The late date of at least parts of the Pāli canon, as established in this case, has also been hinted by other scholars.

I give below an English rendering of the Chinese text (No. 628 *Yuan ki king* of Nanjio's catalogue) which closely corresponds to the Sanskrit text recovered from Nālandā.

The discourse on the chain of Dependent Production.

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Śrāvastī and residing in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jēta forest with innumerable³ Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men. At that time the Lord said to the assembly of monks,—I will (Oh monks) promulgate to

¹ The text ran thus—"The ignorance produces the *samskāras*, the *samskāras* produce the knowledge, the knowledge produces *nāmarūpa*, the latter produce the six senses, the six senses contact, contact thirst, thirst attachment, attachment existence, existence birth, birth old age, death, suffering and sorrow. If ignorance is suppressed, the *samskāras* are suppressed, the *samskāras* suppressed the knowledge is suppressed, the knowledge suppressed the *nāmarūpa* is suppressed, the *nāmarūpa* suppressed the six senses are suppressed, the six senses suppressed contact is suppressed, contact suppressed thirst is suppressed, thirst suppressed attachment is suppressed, the attachment suppressed the existence is suppressed, the existence suppressed the birth is suppressed, birth, death, suffering and sorrow, all are suppressed" (E. Huber, *Sūtrālamkāra*, Paris, 1908).

² For a Prākṛit text inscribed on the Kurram Casket, see Sten Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, C. I. I., Vol. I, pt. I, No. LXXX.

³ [The Skt. text refers to 680 monks, but not to 'Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men.'—Ed.]

you the meaning of the fundamentals¹ of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its different derivatives. You ought to listen to it and bear it in mind perfectly well.² I will explain³ it to you to-day.

The assembly⁴ of the monks expressed its willingness saying—‘ We shall all be happy to hear it ’.

Buddha said—How many are the fundamentals of the *Pratītya-samutpāda*? This being, it becomes; this producing, it is produced.⁵ Nescience is the cause of constituents (*sarīskāra*), constituents are the cause of consciousness (*viññāna*), consciousness is the cause of individuality (*nāmarūpa*), individuality is the cause of six sense-organs (*ṣaḍāyatana*), the six sense-organs are the cause of contact (*spaṁsa*), the contact is the cause of sensation (*vedanā*), sensation is the cause of thirst (*trishṇā*), thirst is the cause of attachment (*upādāna*), attachment is the cause of existence (*bhava*), existence is the cause of birth (*jāti*), birth is the cause of old age and death (*jarā-maraṇa*). They produce sorrow, lamentation, pain, troubles and anxieties.⁶ This is called the origin (*samudaya*) of all that is suffering (*duḥkha-skandha*)⁷. Such is the import of the fundamentals of the chain of dependent production.

How many are the derivatives⁸ of the chain of dependent production? We have said that nescience is the cause of constituents. How manifold is the nescience? It is nescience in the past, nescience in the future and nescience in both the past and the future; it is nescience inside, nescience outside and nescience both in and out; it is nescience in action, nescience in its maturation (*vipāka*) and nescience both in action and its maturation; it is nescience in the Buddha, nescience in Dharma and nescience in Saṅgha. It is nescience in pain, nescience in its origin, nescience in its annihilation, and nescience in the path (*mārga*). It is nescience in cause and nescience in its fruit (*phala*).⁹ It is nescience in all *dharma*s that are produced from causes. It is nescience in what is good and what is not good. It is nescience in what is offensive and what is not offensive. It is nescience in what ought to be practised and what ought not to be practised. It is nescience in what is low and bad and what is noble¹⁰ and good. It is nescience in what is black and what is white. It is nescience in different parts. It is nescience either in

¹ In Chinese we have a word which literally means “origin”, “commencement”, etc., which is regularly used for *ādi*. *Ādi* is here used in the sense of “primaries” and *vibhaṅga* in the sense of “secondaries”. *Vibhaṅga* is translated in Chinese by “division”, “classification”, etc. It is here used in the sense of “secondaries”. So I have translated the two words as “fundamentals” and “derivatives” respectively. Vasubandhu in his commentary already referred to explains *ādi* as *uddēśa* and *vibhaṅga* as *nirddēśa*. The Kasiā text has *apachaya* instead of *vibhaṅga* as in that text the *nirddēśa* is described instead of *vibhaṅga*.

² Chinese *ki shen*. ‘*ki*’ means “to the highest point”, “with perfection”, etc., and *shen* means “well”, “good”. The expression evidently translates Skt. *sādhū cha sukhū cha*. Before *sādhū* the Kasiā text has *apachayam cha* instead of *vibhaṅgam*.

³ Chinese has literally—“To-day by making distinction I will tell you”.

⁴ [This does not occur in the Skt. text from Nālandā.—Ed.]

⁵ This formula does not occur in the Pāli text of *Samyutta*. The Chinese literally means: “(It) relies on its becoming, therefore it becomes. It produces, therefore it is produced”. The Kasiā text has got the formula in the same form as it is found in the Nālandā text. Tucci (*J. R. A. S.*, 1930, p. 614) has collected a number of references to this passage. Śālistamba ap. de la Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des douze causes*, p. 71; *Prasannapadā*, p. 9 (and note 7 by the editor); *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, p. 285.

⁶ The Nālandā text: *sōka-paridēva-duḥkha-daurmanasy-ōpāyāsāh*.

⁷ *Skandha* is used here in a collective sense, meaning “all that is comprised under *duḥkha*, i.e., suffering”. The phrase *kevalassa dukkhakkhandassa samudaya* with reference to the *Pañichcha-samuppāda* is very common in Pāli. See *Pāli Dictionary* (Stede and Rhys Davids), *sub. verb*. The compilers translate the phrase as “origin of all that is suffering”.

⁸ The Kasiā text has naturally *dharmānām apachayaḥ* instead of *vibhaṅga* as what follows in that text is not the derivatives of the chain but means of their destruction (*nirddēśa*).

⁹ [This is not found in the present *Sūtra*.—N. P. C.]

¹⁰ [This pair of words stand for *hina* and *pranīta* respectively.—N. P. C.]

what is produced from causes (*pratītyasamutpanna*) or in the six sense-organs. It is nescience in the insight into real nature of things. Similarly wherever there is nescience in the real nature of things, wherever there is no¹ observation and no introspection and wherever there is doubt, nescience and obscurity it is called *avidyā*.

How many are the constituents? The constituents are of three kinds—of body (*kāya-saṃskāra*), speech (*vāk*) and mind (*manāḥ*). These are called the constituents.

How many are the elements of consciousness (*viññāna*)? The collection of consciousness consists of six :—(i) eye consciousness (*chakshur-viññāna*), (ii) ear consciousness (*śrōtra*°), (iii) nose consciousness (*ghrāṇa*°), (iv) tongue consciousness (*jihvā*°), (v) body consciousness (*kāya*°), (vi) mind consciousness (*manō*°). Such are the consciousnesses.

The consciousness is the cause of individuality (lit. name and form). How many are the names? They are four, having no aggregate of form (*rūpa-skandha*) :—(i) aggregate of sensation (*vēdanā-skandha*), (ii) aggregate of perception (*samjñā-skandha*), (iii) aggregate of constituents (*saṃskāra-skandha*), (iv) aggregate of consciousness (*viññāna-skandha*). How many are the forms (*rūpa*)? All that has form is so called—all the four great elements (*mahā-bhūta*) and all that is created by the four elements. The latter are the forms and, the former, the names which are put together, abridged into one and called *nāma-rūpa*. Such is the individuality or *nāma-rūpa*.

Nāma-rūpa is the cause of the six sense organs (*ṣaḍ-āyatanas*). What are the six sense organs? The six internal (*adhyātma*) sense organs are :—(i) the internal organ of the eye, (ii) the internal organ of the ear, (iii) the internal organ of the smell, (iv) the internal organ of the tongue, (v) the internal organ of the body, (vi) the internal organ of the mind. Such are the six sense organs.

The six sense organs are the cause of contact (*sparśa*). How many are the contacts? The collection of contacts (*sparśa-kāya*) consists of six :—(i) the contact through the eye, (ii) the contact through the ear, (iii) the contact through the nose, (iv) the contact through the tongue, (v) the contact through the body, (vi) the contact through the mind. Such are the contacts.

Contact is the cause of sensation (*vēdanā*). How many are the sensations? They are of three kinds :—Pleasant sensation, painful sensation and indifferent sensation (lit. not-painful and not-pleasant).

Sensation is the cause of thirst (*trishṇā*). How many are the thirsts? They are of three kinds :—sensual thirst (*kāma-trishṇā*), thirst relating to form (*rūpa*) and thirst not relating to form (*arūpa*). Such are the thirsts.

Thirst is the cause of attachment (*upādāna*). How many are the attachments? There are four attachments :—(i) attachment arising from the sense desires, (ii) attachment arising from the visual sense, (iii) attachments arising from 'belief in rites',² (iv) attachment arising from "belief in soul-theory".

Attachment is the cause of existence (*bhava*). How many are the existences? They are of three kinds : sensual existence (*kāma-bhava*), corporal existence (*rūpa*) and incorporeal existence (*arūpa*). Such are the existences.

Existence is the cause of birth (*jāti*). How many are the births? When in particular classes of beings there is birth of particular beings, there is becoming and production,³ there is becoming of the *skandhas*, there is acquisition of *dhātu*, *āyatana* and *skandha* and there is becoming of the faculty of life it is birth (*jāti*).

¹ [This is more or less a free translation of the Sanskrit text.—N. P. C.]

² Literally all arising from righteous conduct and religious observances.

³ [Note the four words *samjāti*, *avakrānti*, *abhinirvṛtti*, and *prādurbhāva* in the Sanskrit text, cf. with this the inscription 'Bhagavato okrānti,' the descent of Bhagavat, on the 'Bharhut pillar, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 325, No. 98.—N. P. C.]

Birth is the cause of old age and death (*jarā-marāṇa*). Of what nature is the old age? It is the baldheadedness and decay, shrinking of the skin, gradual (*physical*) diminution and ruin, hunchbackedness, crookedness, spread of black spots on the body, quick respiration, body stooping on the front, leaning on sticks, mental trouble, mental debility, loss and diminution, decay of the sense of organs and their dissolution, rotting of the *samskāras*, and demolition of the body organs. Such is old age. What is death? It is the falling off of particular beings in their respective groups. Death is complete dissolution and cessation from existence, it is the abandonment of life and (*vital*) fire, complete extinction of the faculty of life, dissolution of the *skandhas*. Death is the arresting of the product of time. The latter is death and the former is old age both abridged together is called *jarā-marāṇa*.

Such is the meaning of the derivatives of the chain of dependent production.¹

No. 34.—ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTIVARMAN (II.) ; THE SIXTH YEAR.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

The stone inscription forming the subject of this paper was copied by me during the field season of the year 1928-29 at Annigeri (or more correctly Annigere) a village in the Navalgund Taluka of Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency and a Railway station on the Hubli-Guntakal section of the M. & S. M. Railway. Though at present a small village, Annigeri appears to have been an important town from early Chālukya times down to the Muhammadan period. In the 9th century it was the chief town of the Belvola three-hundred district administered by Dēvaṇṇa-ryya, an officer of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I.² Under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Hoyasaḷas it continued to be known as the *rājadhāni-paṭṭaṇa* or the capital town.³ Several other inscriptions of successive periods prove the importance of the place down to the time of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh of Bijāpur in Śaka 1567.⁴ In Sanskrit records the place is called Anyata-tāka, obviously a Sanskritized form of the Kanarese name Annigere. The present inscription which is the earliest record at the place is engraved on three faces of a small pillar set up in front of the Banaśaṅkarī temple. As it refers to the construction of a *chēdiya* (Skt. *chaitiya*) it may be surmised that this pillar does not belong to the Banaśaṅkarī temple.

The record is fairly well preserved except for the first two lines on its first face. But the king's name can be read in l. 1 as Kirttivarmma and the rest, being the usual preamble can be supplied from other inscriptions. The alphabet is Kanarese of the 8th century A.D. written in a neat upright hand. Among initial vowels, the record contains *ā* in *āṇaneyā* (l. 5), *i* in *idaṇa* (l. 10) and *o* in *ond-* (l. 4). Medial *ī* is distinguished from *i* by a small loop in the circle denoting the *i* sign (cf. *geyd-ī* in line 8 with *chēdiya* in line 9). Medial *u* is a hook on the right in *ku* (cf. *Kuppa* in line 11) while it is a U-shaped stroke at the bottom in other letters (cf. *Jēbulagēri* in l. 7). The length in *ū* is marked by the addition of a downward curve to the *u* sign as in *ndū* of *gāmunḍū* (l. 8). The *e* sign is marked as in older inscriptions by a stroke to the left added to the *alekaṭṭu* as in *ne* of *āṇaneyā* (l. 5). Among consonants the inscription has four of the test letters *kh*, *j*, *b* and *l*, (*ñ* alone being absent) all of which present early forms. *ḍ*

¹ [The concluding portion of the Sanskrit text is not evidently found in the Chinese translation.—N. P. C.]

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 100 and Vol. VII, p. 204.

³ See, for instance, Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1928-29, Nos. 187 and 180.

⁴ Same collection No. 202.

is distinguished from *d* both when it occurs singly and when it forms a ligature with *ṇ* (cf. *ḍi* of *māḍisidon*, l. 9 and *ṇḍū* of *gāmunḍū*, l. 8.) The Dravidian *r* is found thrice, in *ra* of *āraneyā* (l. 5) and *idara* (l. 10) and in *ri* of *nirisiḍā* (l. 12); and final *n* is found in *°nāman* (l. 14). The language of the record is archaic Kanarese. Attention may be drawn to the accusative suffix *ān* (e.g., *chēḍiyamān*, l. 9) and the genitive suffix *ā* (*āraneyā*, l. 5) and the form of the verb *māḍisidon* (l. 9). The orthography is free from any faults except for the use of long *ū* for the short in *gāmunḍū*. There is no distinction between short and long *e* and *o*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *chēḍiya*, i.e., (*chaitya* or Jain temple) by **Kaliyamma** who was holding the office of the headman of **Jēbulagēri** and the erection in front of it of a sculpture by a certain **Koṇḍisulāra-Kuppa** whose other name was **Kirttivarmma-Gōsāsi**. The latter is clearly the name of his master (*prabhunāman*) as stated in the last line. The writer was one **Diśāpāla**.

The record is dated in the **sixth year** of king **Kirttivarmma-Satyāśraya**. The title **Satyāśraya** affords enough proof to show that the king belonged to the early Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi and as the epigraph is on palaeographic grounds assigned to the 8th century A.D. Kirttivarmma of our record must be the second king of that name. Since his initial year has been fixed by the late Dr. Fleet as 746-47 the date of our record would be **751-52 A.D.** Only two stone inscriptions and two copper-plates of this king have so far been published. Of them the Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription¹ and the copper plates are throughout in Sanskrit and the damaged Āḍūr inscription² is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kanarese. The present inscription is thus the first complete Kanarese record of this king.

Attention may be drawn to the rare Kanarese expression **ond-uttaram** (increasing by one) occurring in this inscription. So far as I know this word is found only in two other Rāshṭrakūṭa records, viz., the Nīḍagundi inscription³ of Amoghavarsha I and the Veṅkaṭāpur⁴ inscription of Krishna II. Fleet, while editing the former inscription has remarked that this expression denoted an elliptical system of reckoning the regnal year of a king in which there was 'an omission of some kind or the other whether intentional or accidental'. This supposed omission was in his opinion the word *aruvattaneya* (i.e., sixtieth); for "with a cycle of sixty years actually in use an elliptical method of designating years in excess of the number of sixty in such a case as this one is perfectly intelligible and admissible," but it was difficult to recognise anything rational in an elliptical expression being used for the years eleven, twenty-first, thirty-first, etc. According to Fleet, the full expression as it ought to be was, therefore, *ond-uttaram aruvattaneya varsham* meaning 'the sixtieth year increased by one' or the sixty-first year of the reign of the king to whom it belonged. The learned scholar's conclusion was apparently influenced by the fact that the only record containing the expression known to him was an undated record of a king who reigned for over 60 years. But the present inscription and the Veṅkaṭāpur record referred to above belong to kings whose reigns did not last so long and can be referred respectively to the 6th year of Kirttivarman (II) and to Śaka 828 (which was the 29th regnal year of Krishna II). The explanation offered by Fleet is thus entirely out of place and *ond-uttaram* must therefore be interpreted in some other way. The context in which it occurs in the three records would show that it is an exact counterpart of the widely used expression *uttar-ṣṭtaram*, viz., in

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, p. 69.

³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 212.

⁴ No. 82 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27. The name of the king is wrongly given as Amoghavarsha for Akalavarsha (Krishna II).

conjunction with the word *rājyaṃ* or *rājyābhivṛddhi*.¹ *Ond-uttaram* can therefore be understood as an idiomatic expression synonymous of *uttar-ōttaram*, denoting 'progressively'.

Jābulagēri mentioned in the inscription appears to be a part of the town of Anṇigere.

TEXT.

First Face.

- 1 Svasti [|| *] Kirtti[va]rmma-[Satyā]śraya
- 2 śrī-prithu[vī-vallabha] mahārājā-
- 3 dhirāja paramēśvara bhaṭārara
- 4 rājyaṃ ond-uttaram-abhivṛddhi sa-
- 5 le āraṇeyā varshaṃ prava-

Second Face.

- 6 rddamānam-āge Jā-
- 7 buḷagērige Kali-
- 8 yamma gāmuṇḍū(u)-geyd-ī
- 9 chēdiyamān-māḍisidon
- 10 idaṇa munde Koṇḍi-

Third Face.

- 11 śulara-Kuppa Kirttivarmma-
- 12 gōśāsiya niṣisidā
- 13 kirttana ⑥ Diśāpālasya li-
- 14 khitaṃ ⑥ Prabhunāman ⑥

No. 35.—TWO STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF KRISHNA II; SAKA 805.

By N. LAKSEMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These two inscriptions¹ were copied by me in the year 1926-27 in the villages of *Soraṭūr* and *Sirumṇja* both in the Gadag Taluka of the Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency. *Soraṭūr* (ancient *Sarataṭvura*), where a battle was fought between the Hoysala king Ballāla II and the Yādava king Bhīllama has already been fully described by the late Dr. Fleet on p. 176, Vol. XIII of this journal. *Sirumṇja* which is three miles north of *Soraṭūr* does not seem to have enjoyed any importance. The inscription at *Soraṭūr*, which I shall call *A*, is incised on a slab set up in front of the Venkaṭēśa temple and is in an excellent state of preservation. The *Sirumṇja* record, which is called *B* in the sequel, is on a hero-stone near the village school and is damaged to some extent, particularly in lines 3 and 4.

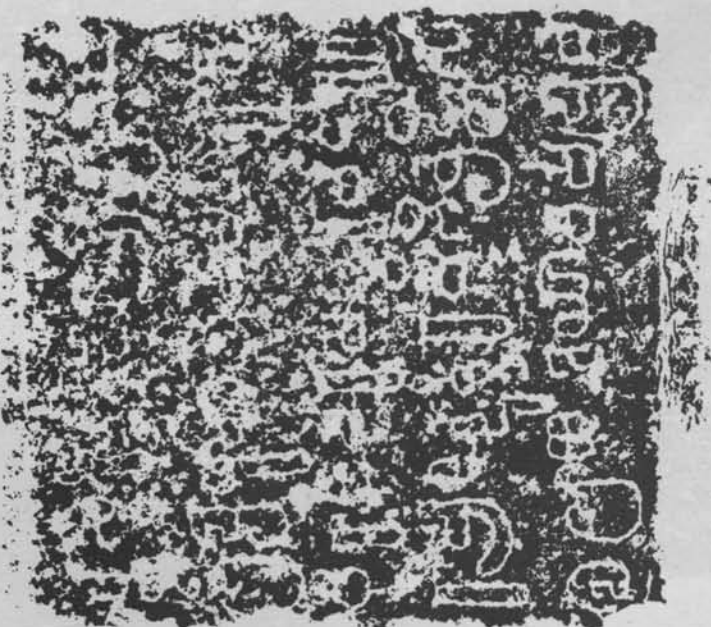
The alphabet is *Kanarese* quite regular for the period to which the records refer themselves. Attention may be drawn to the following features which present themselves in this transitional period when the script underwent some radical changes:—the earlier form of initial *i* consisting

¹ This will become clear by a comparison of the three records using *ond-uttaram* with some inscriptions where *uttar-ōttaram* occurs:—(1) Anṇigere Inscription: (rājyaṃ ond-uttaram=abhivṛddhi sale); (2) Niḍagundi inscription: (ond-uttaram rājyaṃ-geyyutt-ire); (3) Venkaṭāpur Inscription: (rājyābhivṛddhiy-ond-uttaram sale); (1) Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 18): (uttar-ōttara-pravarddhamāna-rājya-paṇchama-śrī-varshē); (2) *Sirūr* Inscription of Amoghavarsha I (above, Vol. VII, p. 206): (pravarddhamāna-samvatsaramgaḷa-ayvatt-eragum-uttar-ōttaram rājya-ābhivṛddhi salutt-ire); (3) Rōṇ Inscription of the same king (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 186): (rājyaṃ-uttar-ōtt(ā)aram=abhivṛddhiyol).

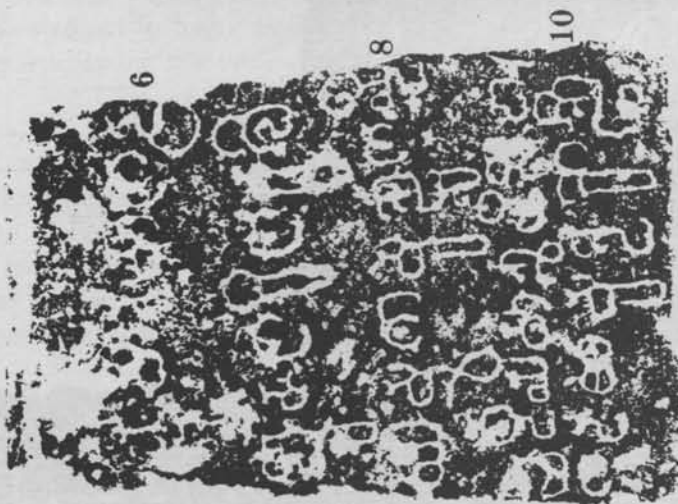
Nos. 73 and 69 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1923-27.

ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTIVARMAN II — 6th YEAR.

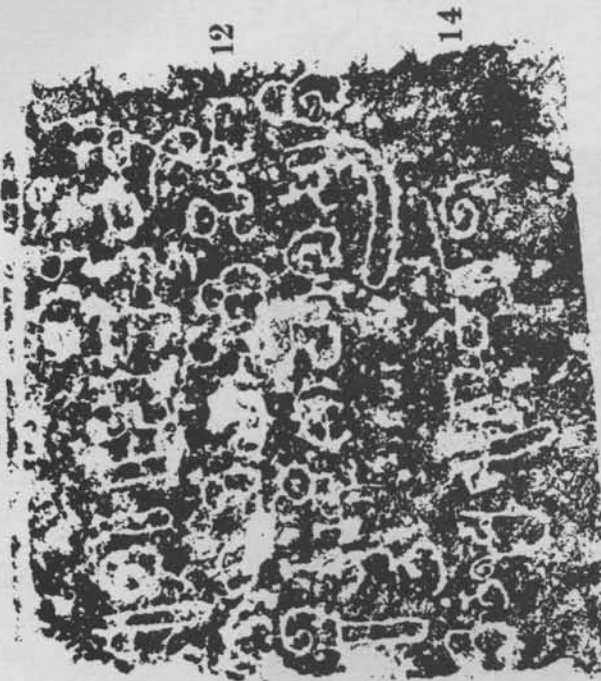
FIRST FACE.



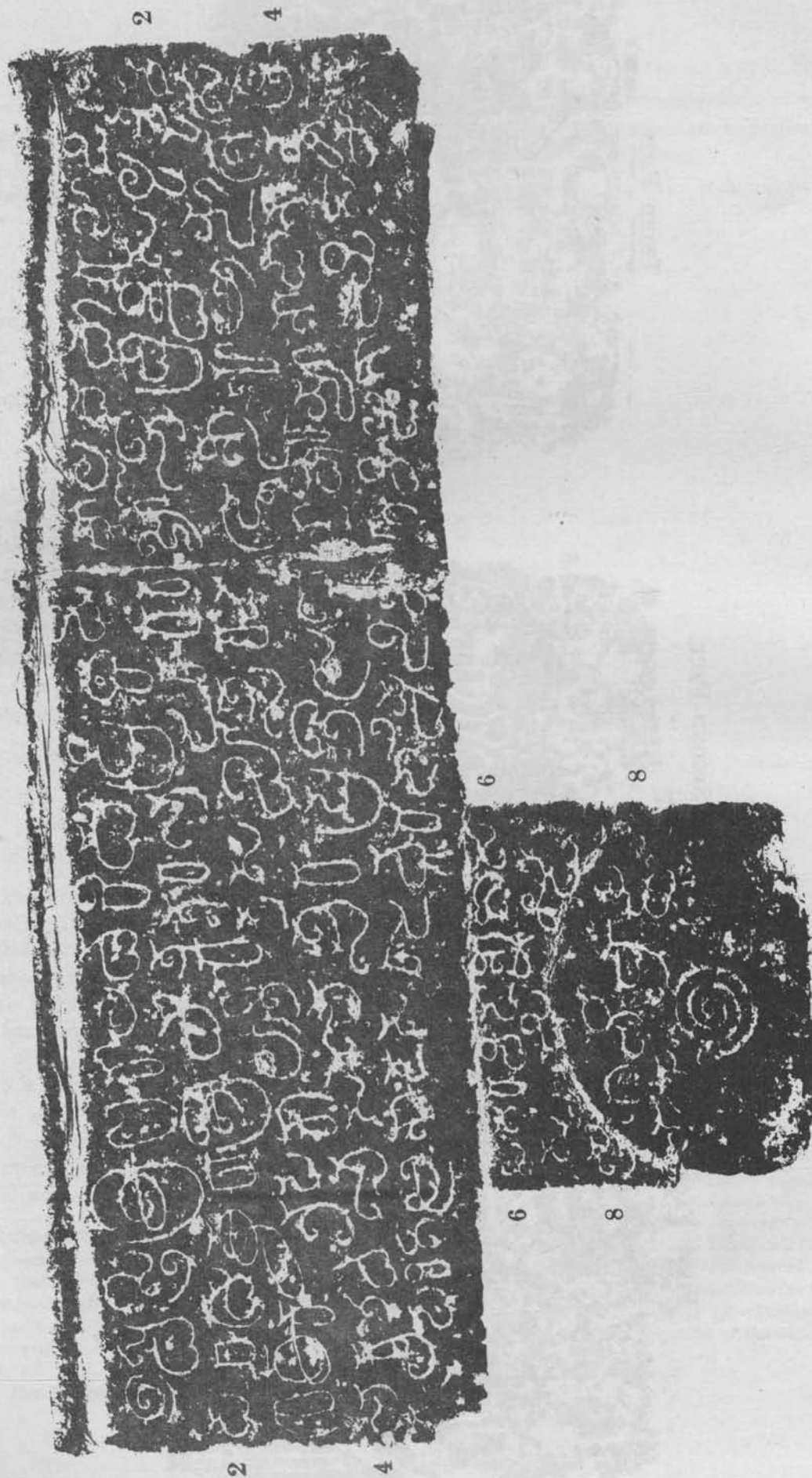
SECOND FACE.



THIRD FACE.



SORATUR INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNA II—SAKA 805.



of two curves with two dots below still persists (see *Indapayya* l. 4 of A); medial *e* is expressed in two different ways (i) by the addition of a downward stroke at the left of the *talēkaṭṭu* as in earlier records (cf. *mē* of *paramēśvara* in l. 2 of A) and (ii) by a superscript mark as in *ge* of *Purigeṛe* (l. 5 of A) and *de* of *Puḷide* (l. 4 of B). As in older records no distinction is made between medial *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. While in A, the later cursive form of *j* is used throughout, only the earlier form is found in B (cf. *ja* in *raja* l. 1 of A with *rāja* l. 1 of B). The letter *l* is of the later cursive type with the miniature of the earlier type in the centre. Both the special Dravidian consonants *r* and *ḷ* are much more developed than in records of the eighth century (e.g., *Purigeṛe* and *iḷḷu* in l. 5 of A and *niṛisido* and *Puḷide* in l. 4 of B). The lingual *ḍ* cannot be distinguished from the dental *d* in both the records.

The language of the inscriptions is **Kanarese prose**. Attention may be drawn to the nominal verb *nāḍayisu* (assemble) from the noun *nāḍu* which is a rare formation. Another interesting and still unexplained word is *gōsāsa* occurring in l. 7 of A. Dr. Fleet has suggested¹ that it might be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *gōshāṭha*. That the word is connected with Sanskrit *gō* (cow) has already been pointed out by him. In the Soratūr record (A) the occurrence of the expression *stan-ābhiciriddhi* (prosperity of the udders) immediately after the mention of the gift of *gōsāsa* confirms this view. But Fleet's suggestion that the word may mean a cow-shed is not correct for, it is not possible to derive *gōsāsa* from *gōshāṭha*; it is more probable that the word is an abbreviation or Kanarese rendering of *gō-sahasra*. This is strengthened by the fact that a certain Kōsigara Kōṭeyamma who is described as a *gōsāsi* in one of the inscriptions of Belāgi² in the Mysore State is described in another record³ of the same place as *gōsahasram-āḷḍam* (i.e., who was the manager or the keeper of *gōsahasra*). The mention first of a gift of *gō-sahasra* and then of a *gō-sāsa* is not found in the Chinchli inscription⁴ as supposed by Fleet. In other epigraphs from the Bombay-Karnatak we have similar references to the gifts of *gō-sahasra*.⁵

As regards **orthography**, B is free from any errors except the use of *s* for *ś* in *saka* (l. 2), but A is full of mistakes. Unnecessary lengthening of letters such as *Paramēśvarā* for *Paramēśvara* (l. 2) and *Indāpāyyā* for *Indapayya* (l. 4) is very common in the record. *R* is used for the vowel *ri*, in *prithuvī*, (l. 1) and *rriddhi* (l. 2).

The inscription A records the gift of a *gōsāsa* by a certain Chidanna made in the presence of the Fitty (*mahā-janas*) of *Saraṭavura* who had assembled together when *Indapayya* was governing the *nāḍu* district). As we are told that *Saraṭavura* was situated in the *Purigeṛe-nāḍu* the district which *Indapayya* was administering was evidently *Purigeṛe*. From other inscriptions we know that this was a three-hundred district or a district comprising 300 villages. *Indapayya* who was in charge of this district is introduced to us here for the first time. B is a hero-stone recording the death of a certain *Eṛeyamma* in a cattle-raid at *Nivudi* and the setting up of the stone by *Guṛeyamma*, the younger brother of *Puḷide-gāvunḍa*.

Both the epigraphs refer themselves to the reign of **Akālavarsha** and are dated in the **Saka year 805** and A gives, in addition, **Sōbhakṛit** as the corresponding cyclic year. Thus the English equivalent of the date is A.D. 883-84. **Akālavarsha** of the records whose proper name **Kannara-bhaṭāra** is also given in A is no other than the Rāshtrakūṭa king **Krishna II** the successor of **Amoghavarsha I** for whom the latest date known so far is A.D. 877-78. The earliest

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 255.

² *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1920, p. 182, No. 79.

³ *Ibid.* p. 151, No. 78.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 255, f. o. 2.

⁵ See, for instance, No. 148 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27 and No. 11 of the same collection for 1928-29.

date hitherto available for Kṛishṇa II was A.D. 888.¹ The present records thus furnish the earliest date for this monarch leaving only a gap of six years after the last known year of Amōghavarsha.

Of the places mentioned *Saraṭavura* is the modern Soraṭūr where inscription A was found. *Nivudi* has probably to be identified with Nigadi, a village about 8 miles south-west of Dharwar.

TEXT.

A

- 1 ☉ Svasti Śrī[]* Akālavariṣhā(varsha) prithuvī(prithvī)-vāllava(vallabha)
mārajādi(mahārājādhi)rā[]ja
- 2 paramēśvarā(a) śrīmat-Kannara-bhaṭ[ā]rara rāḡy-ābhivri(vri)ddhi saluttum=i-
- 3 re Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātita-sambhā(va)tsaramgal-eṇṭu-nūr-āydā(ayda)ne[ya*]
Sō(śō)-
- 4 bhakrit embha(ba) sambha(va)tsaram pra[va*]rttise Indāpāyyārṇ(Indapayyam)nāḡān-
ā]utt-i-
- 5 re Purigere-nāḡa Saraṭavuraḡ-ā(a)yvadimbarum=iḡdu nāḡayise Māna-
- 6 sigara-Chidā(da)ṇṇa[m*] gōsā-
- 7 sam=iḡdo[m]
- 8 stan-ābhivriḡddhi[]*
- 9 nama[h] (☉)

B

- 1 Svasty=Akālavariṣhā śrī-prithuvī(prithvī)-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara
bhaṭār[ā]
- 2 [sa]kala-rāḡy-ābhivriḡddhige saluttum=ire Sa(śa)ka-varsham=eṇṭu-nūrā
- 3 aydaneya varsham pravarttisutt-ire [Kadalekadhi]pāṇṇā Eṇṇammar Nivudi-
turugo[o]=kā-
- 4 di sattom[] Ī kalla Pulide-gāvunḡa[na*] tamma Guṇṇamma nṛisido ||

No. 36.—THE JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III—THE YEAR 347.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

These plates were discovered, along with the plates of Silāditya IV of the year 387, at Jesar, a village in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāthiāwār. They were sent for inspection to Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey in 1915 and his summary of the inscription will be found in his Annual Report for the year.²

The record is incised on two plates, of copper of equal size, the rims of which are slightly raised. There are two holes in each plate, through one of which is passed a long thick wire of copper. The ends of the wire are joined together by the seal of the Maitrakas of Valabhi bearing the bull couchant and the ancient legend *Śrī-Bhaṭakkaḡ*. The second ring is missing. The plates measure 15" × 11½" and are now preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhāvnagar. As the impressions taken in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's time were not legible, these plates were obtained on loan

¹ Above, Vol. XIII, p. 188.

² This letter *sa* which is much smaller than the rest was omitted first and inserted later on.

³ P. R. A. S. W. C., 1915-16, p. 55, para. 10.

from the Bhāvnagar State through the Honourable Agent to the Governor of Bombay in Kāthiāwār.

There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing on these plates which are evenly distributed. The average height of letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate. The characters of the inscription show unmistakable influence of the south, especially in the forms of *h* and *l*. Two forms of *l* have been used side by side: (1) the northern angular form with the base line and (2) the round southern form in which the base line is no longer existent. The base line of *h* also has disappeared. The text is almost an exact copy of the usual text used in other later Valabhī grants such as the Alina Plates of Śilāditya VI¹, without any variation and does not contain any additional historical information.

Like other later Valabhī grants this record also mentions Bhatārka but passes over his sons. The next descendant of Bhatārka, mentioned in the text, is Guhasēna, the son of Bhatārka's fourth son Dharapaṭṭa. Then comes Guhasēna's son Dharasēna II, his sons Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I. The latter was succeeded by his son Dharasēna IV. The succession then devolved upon Dhruvasēna III, the son of Dērabhaṭa who was one of the younger sons of Śilāditya I. Dhruvasēna III was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha II. This prince was succeeded by his elder brother's (Śilāditya II's) son Śilāditya III, the donor of the present grant. The genealogical portion occupies the first forty-six lines. Unlike the text of the Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV, the text of this inscription is almost free from mistakes.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant by the king himself, of one hundred *pādāvarṭas* of land in the village of Kukkapadra in the *pathaka* of Kalāpaka in (the country) of Surāshtra to a Brāhmaṇa, with two names Śaggaḷa and Prakāśa, who was a Dīkṣita, an inhabitant of Valabhī and an immigrant from Pushyaśāmbapura. He was the son of Śāmbadatta, belonged to the Kauśika-gōtra and was a follower of the *Yajurveda*. The land granted consisted of three pieces of which the first was the largest measuring seventy-three *pādāvarṭas*. The piece lay towards the western boundary of the village and its boundaries were:—On the east the *Brahmadēya* field of the Upādhyāya or preceptor, on the south the three royal wells, on the west a field named or belonging to Bhāsiyaka and on the north the Vanśatikā river. A new word *prachchihā* which is also met with in other Valabhī plates² occurs in connection with the above mentioned three wells, and apparently denoted 'a field irrigated by a well'.

The boundaries of the second piece, known as Bappula which consisted of twelve *pādāvarṭas* of land and which was situated on the south western (boundary of the village), were:—On the east the field of the Brāhmaṇa ghañchaka, on the south the field of the Brāhmaṇa Tatta, on the west the field of the Brāhmaṇa chaṭṭa, and on the north the rivulet (*Sāriṇī*). The third piece was called Lusaṇikā. It was situated on the eastern boundary (of the village) and consisted of fifteen *pādāvarṭa* measures of land. Its boundaries were:—On the east the boundary of the village of Kaṇṇasōmaka, to the south the *prachchihā* of the well called Śirādaṇḍaka, on the west the *prachchihā* of the well called Dhōraka, and on the north the river Vanśatikā. The grant also contained the well called Dhōraka extending over twenty-five *pādāvarṭas*. The boundaries of this well were:—To the east the piece of land called Lusaṇikā, to the south the *prachchihā* of the well called Śirādaṇḍaka, to the west the *prachchihā* of the well called the Pippala and on the east the crest (*śikhara*) of the village (i.e., the mound on which the village was situated). The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the prince (*Rājaputra*) Dhruvasēna. It was written by the chief scribe (*Divirapati*) Anahila son of the chief scribe, the *Sandhi-*

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 173 ff.

² Cf. the unpublished Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV and J. B. B. R. A. S. (N.S.), Vol. I, p. 74, l. 49, and above, p. 184.

vigrādhikṛta the illustrious Skandabhaṭa. The date of the grant is the (Gupta) year 347, the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha corresponding to 666-67 A.D. The donor Śilāditya III is the brother's son of his predecessor Kharagraha II. With the exception of Valabhī and Surāshtra, which are represented by modern Wāḷā and Sorath in Kāthiāwār, I am unable to identify any other locality mentioned in the inscription. The inscription is edited from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹ Svasti[!]* Vijaya-skandhāvāra[t*] Pundhikanaka-vāsakā[t*] prasabha-praṇat-
āmitrāṇām Maitrakānām².....

Second Plate.

- 47 mushṇann=abhimukhānām=āyūnshi dvishatām Paramamāhēś-
varaḥ śrī-Śilādityaḥ-kusalī sarvvān=ēva samājñāpayaty=astu vas=sarvviditām
48 yathā mayā mātā-pitrōḥ puṇy-āpyāyanāya Pushyaśāmbapura-vinirggatta-tach-
chāturvvidya-sāmānya-śrī-Valabhī-vāstavya-Kauśika-sagōtra-Adhvaryyu-sabrahmachārj-
49 Brāhmaṇa-Sūmbadatta-putra-Brāhmaṇa-Saggaḷa-Prakāśa-dvināma-Dikshitāya Surāshtrēshu
Ka(ā)lāpaka-pathakē Kukkapadra-grāmē bhū-pādāvarṭta-śata-parimāṇam
50 tri-khaṇḍ-āvasthitam kshētram yatra prathama-khaṇḍam apara-sīmni tri-saptati-
bhū-pādāvarṭta-parimāṇam yasy=āghāṭanāni pūrvvataḥ upādhyāya-brahma-
dēya-kshētram dakṣhiṇataḥ
51 rājakiya-vāpī-traya-prachohihā aparataḥ [Bhāṣiyaka]-kshētram uttarataḥ Vanśa-
tikā nadī tathā dviṭiya-khaṇḍam apara-dakṣhiṇa-sīmni Bappuḷa-samjñitam
dvādaśa-bhū-pādāvarṭta-parimāṇam
52 yasya pūrvvataḥ Brāhmaṇa-Ghaṇḍaka-satka-kshētram dakṣhiṇataḥ Brāhmaṇa-
Tatta-kshētram aparataḥ Brāhmaṇa-Chaṭṭa-satka-kshētram uttarataḥ sārīṇi
tathā pūrvva-sīmni
53 tri(tri)ṭiya-khaṇḍam Lūsanika-samjñitam pañchadaśa-bhū-pādāvarṭta-parimāṇam yasya
pūrvvataḥ Kaṇṇasōmaka-grāma-simā dakṣhiṇataḥ Sirādaṇḍaka-samjñita-vāpinā
prachchihā
54 aparataḥ Dhōrika-samjñita-vāpī-prachchihā uttarataḥ Vanśatikā nadī tathā
śtat-sīmny=ēva Dhōrika=samjñitā pañcha-viṇṣati-bhū-pādāvarṭta-parisarā vāpī
55 yasyāḥ pūrvvataḥ Lūsanikā-samjñita-kshētra-khaṇḍam dakṣhiṇataḥ Sirādaṇḍaka-
samjñita-vāpinā³ prachchihā aparataḥ Pippala-vāpī prachchihā uttarataḥ
56 grāma-sikhara ēvam=idam=āghāṭana-viśuddham vāpī-kshētram sōdraṅgam sōparikarash
sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāyam sa-dhānya-hirany-ādēyam sa-dasōparādham sōtpadya-
māna-vi-
57 shṭikam sarvva-rājakiyānām=ashasta-prakabēya(pa)ṇiyam pūrvva-pratta-dēva-brahma-
dēya-rahitam bhūmi-chehhidra-nyāyēn=āchandr-ārkk-ārṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvata-
sama-kālīnam pu-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² The portion of the text (lines 1 to 47) omitted here is in common with other grants of Śilāditya III, cf., for example, Lunsadi plates, above, Vol. IV, pp. 76 ff.

³ The termination *nā* after *vāpī* may either be taken as a corruption of Sanskrit *nā*, in which case Sirā and Daṇḍaka may be two separate wells; or more likely a precursor of the modern Gujarati *penadve* termi-
nation—Ed.]

- 58 tra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyam-udak-ātisaggēpa¹ dharmma-dāyō nisīṣṭaḥ yatō=sy-
 ōchitayā brahmadēya-sthityā bhuñjataḥ kṛishataḥ kaishayataḥ pratidīsatō
 vā na kaishid-vyasādhā
- 59 varttitavyam=āgāmi-bhadra-nripatibhir=apy=asmad-vāṇśajair=anyair=vvā anityānya
 aśvāryāny=asthīraṁ mānushyath sāmānyañ=cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagach-
 chhadbhir=ayam=asmad-dāyō-numantavyaḥ paripālayitavya-
- 60 ś=ch=ēty=uktañ=cha[[*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[s]=Sagar-ādibhi-
 [h][*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam|| Yān=iha
 dāridrya-bhayān=narēndrair-ddhanāni dharmm-āyatanī-kṛitāni [*] nirbbhukta-
 mālya-pratimāni tāni kō nā-
- 61 ma sādhuḥ=punar=ādadīta || Shashṭi[m] varshā-sahasrāni svarggē tishṭhati
 bhūmidah [[*] āchēhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vassēt² [||*]
 Dūtakō=tra Rājaputra-Dhruvasēnaḥ||
- 62 Likhitam=idam Sandhivigrah-ādihikṛita-Divirapati-śrī-Skandabhaṭa-putra-Divirapati-
 Śrīmad-Anahilēn=ēti || Sam 100 40 7 Vaiśākha-va 15 Sva-hastō mama ||

No. 37.—SAKTIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

BY DHIRENDRA CHANDRA GANGULY, M.A., PH.D., BENARES.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of Lakshmanasēna, the fourth king of the Sēna dynasty, who held sway over Bengal during the latter part of the 12th and the early part of the 13th century A.D. The other grants of this king, already known to us, are the Anulia copper-plate, the Govindapur copper-plate, the Tarpandighi copper-plate, and the Madhainagar copper-plate, all of which have been included by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in his book entitled "Inscriptions of Bengal", Vol. III. The same book also refers to a short inscription of Lakshmanasēna's reign, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Chāṇḍī, in the city of Dacca.

The new copper-plate was lying in the house of late Mr. Siva Chandra Chatterjee, in the village of Saktipur, in the Sadar-Subdivision of the Murshidābād District, Bengal, where it is said to have been worshipped for a long time by a widow, now dead. It is now lying in the Museum of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya-Parishat who obtained it through Mr. Satkari Chatterjee. The inscription was first edited by Mr. Ramesh Basu in the Bengali magazine conducted by the Sāhitya-parishat (Vol. XXXVII, pp. 216 ff.). Mr. Basu's paper embodies the transcript of the inscription with some introductory notes. As there are some gross errors in his reading, I re-edit this inscription with the kind permission of the authorities of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya-Parishat.³

This is a single plate inscribed on both sides, and measures 1' 6½" long and 1' 2" broad. A seal representing an effigy of Sadāśiva is attached on the top of it with nails. The plate contains altogether 58 lines, 29 on each side. The letters are quite distinct and hardly offer any difficulty in reading. There is some vacant space in line 26 after *yathā*, and in line 55 after *viś-
 ṭhāyām*, each of which can provide a letter. There is also some vacant space in line 54 after *vrajēt*, which can accommodate two letters. The first three letters of the word *vinimayēna* in line 46 are indistinct.

¹ Read *-ōtisarggēpa*.² Read *vassēt*.³ I acknowledge my gratitude to Mr. N. K. Bhattachāy, M.A., and Mr. R. G. Dasgupta, M.A., for the help they have rendered me in writing this article.

The characters are proto-Bengali of the type found in Lakshmanasēna's grants. *K*, *t*, *n*, *m*, *y*, *v* and *śh* have already assumed the forms of the modern Bengali characters. The forms of some individual letters call for special remarks. *V* is not always uniformly written (*cf.* ll. 7 and 9). Sometimes *p* and *y* (ll. 5 and 7), *v* and *r* (ll. 7 and 9), and *r* and *c* (ll. 4 and 11) are indistinguishable. The forms of the letters in this inscription and that on the Anulia plate are not always identical. Special attention is drawn to the conjunct letters *ṇḍ*, and *ṭh*.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written both in verse and in prose. Lines from 1 to 17 and from 50 to 58 are in verse, with the exception of *om namo*, etc., at the commencement, the date at the end and the lines 17 to 50 which are in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *v* denotes both *v* and *b*. The word *duḥkha* is written as *dukha* (l. 3) as in the Anulia plate. *Tripurārinātha* is written as *Tripurārīnāha* (ll. 57-58). The consonant following the superscript *r* is doubled, as for example, *svargga*, *°r-vvasudhā* (ll. 51, 52, 54), etc. The words *buddhvā* and *dattvā* are respectively written as *buddhā* (l. 56) and *dattā* (l. 12).

The inscription records a grant of Lakshmanasēna, the son of Vallālasēna, grand-son of Vijayasēna, and the great-grand-son of Hēmantasēna. The Deopara inscription¹ of Vijayasēna tells us that Sāmantasēna was the father of Hēmantasēna. Hēmantasēna was the first king of the family. The same inscription² mentions Hēmantasēna's wife as Mahārājñī (the great queen). The Barrackpur inscription³ of the same king designates Hēmantasēna as Mahārājādhirāja. Nothing is known from our inscription regarding the military achievements of Lakshmanasēna. But the Madhainagar copper-plate⁴ of the king records that when he was a crown-prince, he seized the fortune of the King of Gauda, defeated the Kings of Kalinga, and Kāśī and subdued Kāmārūpa.

The object of the inscription is to record that King Lakshmanasēna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, granted to a Brāhman named Kuvēra 89 *drōṇas* of land, comprising a part of Nīnāpātaka, and the whole of the five *pātakas* of Rāghavahatṭa, Vārahakōṇā, Vāllihitā, Vijahārapura, and Dāmaravaḍā, all situated in the Kumārapura-chaturaka, in the Madhugirimāṇḍala, attached to Kumbhīnagara, in the Dakṣiṇavithī of Uttara-Rāḍha, in the Kaṅkagrāmaśbhukṭi. The lands comprising Vārahakōṇā, Vāllihitā, Rāghavahatṭa, and part of Nīnāpātaka were contiguous, and were bounded in the east by the extensive lands of Mālikuṇḍā along with Aparājōlī; in the south by Bhāgaḍikhaṇḍakshētra, in the west by the cow-track of Aḥchhamā and in the north by the Mōra river. The two *pātakas* of Vijahārapura and Dāmaravaḍā which were off from the above lands, were again contiguous. They were bounded on the east by Chākalijōlī; on the south by Vipravaddhājōlī, on the west by Lāṅgalājōlī, and on the north by the cow-track of Parajāna. The income of all the lands granted was five hundred (*Kapardaka-purāṇas*).⁵ The inscription tells us that the above grant was made in exchange of Kshētrapātaka, which yielded five hundred (*Kapardaka-purāṇas*), and which had been given by King Vallālasēna to the Gayāl⁶ Brāhman Haridāsa on a previous occasion. It appears from this that on the aforesaid day of the solar eclipse the king, through mistake, gave Kuvēra the Kshētrapātaka. But shortly after, when it was brought to his notice that the latter had already been given by his father to Haridāsa, he annexed to Government (*kōśhīhikṛitya*) the above-mentioned six *pātakas*, which were of equal value with the previous grant and made them over to Kuvēra in exchange of the Kshētrapātaka.

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 305 ff. and *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 52, l. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵ Though not specified, this unit of money may be supplied from other inscriptions of the period.

⁶ [The priests at Gayā are still known by the name of Gayāl or Gayāval Brāhman—Ed.]

The inscription furnishes us with the names of some hitherto unknown territorial divisions in Bengal. In the early times, modern Bengal was divided under four geographical units, viz., Varēndrī, Rāḍha, Vaṅga, and Samatāṭa. Varēndrī represented North Bengal or the modern Rājshāhi Division and Rāḍha comprised South-west Bengal. Rāḍha or Rāḍhā was further divided into Northern and Southern Rāḍha. The former was bounded by the Ajaya in the south, the Bhāgīrathī in the east and the north, and the Santal Parganas in the west. This comprised the whole of the present Birbhum District, and part of the Murshidābād District.

The highest administrative unit was a *bhukti*, which was divided between *maṇḍalas* and *vishayas*. The exact relation between a *maṇḍala* and a *vishaya* cannot be fixed, the evidence on the subject being of a conflicting nature; most of the inscriptions from Bengal, however, refer to *maṇḍala* as a subdivision of *vishaya*. The divisions of a *maṇḍala* were *khaṇḍalas*¹ and *vīṭhis*.² The Nālandā* plate of Dēvapāla states that Kumudasūtra-vīṭhī was within the Gayā-vishaya. The Naihati plate⁴ of Vallālasēna refers to a *vīṭhī* which was within the jurisdiction of a *maṇḍala*. This suggests that *vīṭhī* was a division of a *maṇḍala* and a subdivision of a *vishaya*. The relation between *khaṇḍala* and *vīṭhī* is not known. The division of *vīṭhī* seems to have been a *khāṭikā*. The Khalimpur plate⁵ of Dharmapāla mentions a *khāṭikā* named Vēsanika. The Govindapur plate⁶ of Lakshmanasēna refers to a *khāṭikā*. Between *khāṭikā* and *chaturaka* was a unit called *vṛitta*. *Vṛitta* was divided into *chaturaka*,⁷ *chaturaka* into *grāma*⁸ and *grāma* into *pāṭaku*.⁹

From the records of the early Sēna kings, we know of only two *bhuktis* in Bengal, viz., Pauṇḍravardhana and Vardhamāna. During the period of the Guptas and the Pālas the Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* comprised only the Rājshāhi Division,¹⁰ but during the Sēna period it included a number of other territories within its jurisdiction such as Vaṅga (approximately the Dacca Division), and the Presidency Division¹¹ east of the Bhāgīrathī. The Vardhamāna-*bhukti* originally comprised parts of the District of Murshidābād west of the Bhāgīrathī and the whole of the Districts of Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Hughli, and Howrah.¹² The Naihati plate of Vallālasēna,¹³ issued in the 11th year of the king's reign (circa 1171 A.D.), states that Uttara-Rāḍha formed a *maṇḍala* within the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*. But the present grant of Lakshmanasēna, issued in the 6th year (circa 1183 A.D.) of his reign, refers to Uttara-Rāḍhā as situated within the Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti*. This suggests that some territorial re-arrangements must have been effected during the intervening period, probably early during Lakshmanasēna's reign. The Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti* which is known for the first time from this inscription, must have been of recent formation and it is probable that the conquests of Lakshmanasēna in the direction of Bihār must have made this an administrative necessity. It seems to have taken over the Northern Rāḍha tract from Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, although we know from the Govindapur grant, that the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

² The *Dēvipurāṇa* describes Mathurā as a *vīṭhī* (Chapt. LXVI, V. 73).

³ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 321.

⁴ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 74, l. 38.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 253.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 96, l. 34.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112, l. 40; p. 146, ll. 48-49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170-171.

⁹ *Gauḍa Lēkhamālā*, p. 135, V. 29.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XV, p. 140; *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 233.

¹¹ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 63, 137.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 97.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 71 ff.

latter *bhukti* was in existence in the 2nd year of Lakshmanasēna. The Ajaya which was the boundary between northern and southern Rāḍha must then have been the boundary between the two *bhuktis*. The Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti* appears to have extended into the Santal parganas and Bhāgalpur on the north-west of Uttara-Rāḍha. On the north-east it could have extended very little beyond the river Ganges.

[The place Kaṅkagrāma from which the *bhukti* took its name can be identified with Kāṅkjol (24° 48' N. Lat. 87° 48' E. Long.) just beyond the northern limits of the Murshidābād and Bīrbhum Districts of Bengal. Cunningham¹ calls it 'an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rājmaḥal and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank.' Its situation 'on a jutting point of the old high bank of the Ganges' must have given it a strategic importance. According to Cunningham, 'the province in which it is situated was called Rāḍha by the Hindus'. But as northern Rāḍha formed part of the southern subdivision (*vīṭhi*) of the Kaṅkagrāma territory (*bhukti*), the latter appears to have overlapped Rāḍha. Besides the antiquities noticed by Cunningham, there are other important antiquities at Kendua in the neighbourhood of Kāṅkjol, which indicate that the place was of considerable importance in the pre-Muhammadan period. There can therefore be little doubt about the proposed identification.

The name of the ancient Madhugiri-*maṇḍala* may be recognised in the present Mahuāgaḍhi, an isolated hill, in Santal Parganas rising to a height of 1,657 feet above sea level and situated about 22 miles to the south-west of Kāṅkjol and 20 miles north-west of Kumhira.—Ed.]

Of the other localities mentioned in the inscription, *Kumbhinagara* may be identified with the modern Kumhira, in the Rāmpurhāt P. S. of the Bīrbhum District. The river *Mōra* is the modern Mor (also known as Mayūrākshi) which flows through the Bīrbhum District. *Kumārapura* still retains its ancient name and is situated in P. S. Maureswar about 3½ miles north of the Mor. *Vārahakōṇā* is the modern Barkunda in P. S. Suri, about ½ a mile north of the Mor and 1½ mile from the Sainthia railway station of the E. I. R. Loop line. The words *kōṇā* and *kuṇḍā* are changeable according to the usage in the Bīrbhum District. The modern village of Baharpur in the Labpur P. S. of Bīrbhum District probably represents the ancient *Vijahārapura*. Mr. N. K. Bhattasali identifies *Nimā* and *Vāllihitā* with the modern villages of Nima and Balutī in P. S. Maureswar, on the north bank of the Mor, 4 miles north-east from Sainthia and 5½ miles west of Kumārapur. He also identifies *Achchhamā* with the modern village of Ammo in P. S. Suri, ½ a mile north of Sainthia and *Parajāṇa* with that of Palijana, a village on both sides of the Mor, in P. S. Labpur and P. S. Maureswar, about 5 miles north-west of Baharpur. The villages of Barkunda, Nima and Balutī are now on the north bank of the Mor when the inscription tells us that they were to the south of this river. This shows that the Mor, which is a restless river constantly shifting its sandy bed, has since changed its course. The dried-up bed of the modern Kāṇā river, passing north of Nima and Balutī, was most probably the ancient course of the Mor during the Sēna period. [*Bārkōṇā* would be a better equivalent of *Vārahakōṇā* and a well-known ancient locality exists under this name close to Panchthupi in the Kandi Subdivision of Murshidābād. In the vicinity are also to be found Nima and Balutī, and the river Mor drags on its course at some distance to the south.—Ed.]

The Śaktipur inscription refers to the land measurement of *drōṇa*.¹ From the other records of the Śēna kings we know that several *drōṇas* made one *pāṭaka*. *Drōṇa* was again divided into *āḍhaka* or *āḍhavāpa*, *āḍhaka* into *unmāna*, and *unmāna* into *kāka* or *kākinika*.² *Drōṇa* is still used as a land measure in Bengal. All these measurements were governed by a linear standard known as "*nala*". The standard of the measurement of *nala* was not uniform all over Bengal, and differed according to the custom and practice of a particular locality. The present grant makes mention of *Vṛishabhaśaṅkara-nala*. *Vṛishabhaśaṅkara* being an appellation of Vijayasēna,³ the *nala* used in this inscription might have been introduced by and named after him. The Barrackpur grant of Vijayasēna refers to *Samatāṭiya-nala*.⁴ The Govindapur copper-plate⁵ of Lakshmanasēna which records the grant of a village in the *Vardhamāna-bhukti*, refers to a standard of *nala* consisting of 56 cubits, prevalent in that region.

The donee Kubēra was the son of Ananta, grand-son of Prithvidhara and great-grand-son of Aniruddha. From an early dynastic calendar used by the *ghaṭakas* (match-makers),⁶ we gather that there were in the time of Lakshmanasēna three brothers⁷ named Dēvala, Vāmana and Kuvēra, sons of Dharmāmśu, grand-sons of Pithō and great-grand-sons of Aniruddha. If Pithō is a contraction of Prithvidhara⁸ (as is very likely) and Ananta is taken to be another name of Dharmāmśu, the Kubēra of the present record may be identical with the youngest of the three brothers. The other two, Dēvala and Vāmana are said to have received honor as "Kulin" (High class Brāhmins) from Lakshmanasēna but Kuvēra is said to have forfeited this privilege, owing to his marriage with the daughter of Hāsyā Gāṅgulī, a degraded "Kulin" who had accepted the gift of a golden cow from Vallālasēna.⁹ The loss of 'Kulinism' does not however seem to have prevented the Brāhman from receiving gifts at the hands of the king.

The date of the inscription was read by Mr. Basu as Sam 3, the 2nd day of Śrāvaṇa. Mr. Bhattasali (with whom I concur) corrects it as Sam 6, the 7th day of Śrāvaṇa.¹⁰

[The supposition that the king first granted by mistake some land already in the enjoyment, of another donee, on the occasion of the solar eclipse, and subsequently exchanged it for another seems to be corroborated by the fact that except in 1163 A.D. (which is too early for Lakshmanasēna) there was no solar eclipse on the 7th day of (solar) Śrāvaṇa, throughout the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. In 1183 A.D. the seventh day of Śrāvaṇa fell on Sunday the 3rd July, while a solar eclipse occurred on Monday the 23rd May. The intervening period of about six weeks can be explained by the supposition that the mistake took some time to be detected, reported to the authorities concerned and rectified. In 1185 A.D. a solar eclipse occurred about two months before the 7th day of Śrāvaṇa and in 1180 A.D. over three weeks after the date. The year 1183 is thus the most plausible equivalent of the present date, which corroborates the conclusion

¹[*Drōṇa* is the same as *drōṇavāpa* of the Gupta period plates in Bengal, cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 61. The *pāṭaka* of the Śēna period was however a larger unit than the *kūḷavāpa* of earlier plates, as the former equalled at least 10 *drōṇas*, while the latter was made up of 8 *drōṇavāpas*.—Ed.]

² *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 78, 90, 104.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 136, l. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97; *tad-dēśīya-samvayavahāra-śaṭpañchākata(t)-hasta-parimāna-nalēna*.

⁶ *Baṅgēr Jātīya Itihāsa*, by N. N. Basu, *Brāhmaṇakhanda*, p. 140.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁸ [Cf. Pithorā for Prithvirāja.—Ed.]

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 162. I am indebted to Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerjee, M.A., of the Manuscript department, Dacca University, for drawing my attention to this passage, contained in an early match-maker's calendar.

¹⁰ Cf. the numeral "3" in the Anulia plate, l. 56, and in Sāhitya-pariśat copper-plate of Viśvarūpasēna, l. 55, and the numeral '6' in the latter l. 50.

that the date of Lakshmanasēna's accession was 1178 A.D. arrived at from the date of Śrīdhara's *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛita*, which is stated to be Śaka 1127 and the 27th year of Lakshmanasēna's reign.—Ed.]

The *dūta* of the grant was the *Sāndhivigrahika* Tripurārinātha. The Govindapur plate,¹ dated Sam 2, the 28th day of Bhādra, the Anulia plate,² dated Sam 3, the 9th day of Bhādra, all belonging to Lakshmanasēna state that the *Sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta was the executor of these grants. Apparently he was succeeded in that office by Tripurārinātha between the 3rd and 6th years of Lakshmanasēna's reign.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 सिद्धम् [१*]³ ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥ विद्यु[द्य]त्र भणियुतिः फणिपतेर्वा[र्वा]-
लेन्दुरिन्द्रायुधं वारि स्वर्मातरङ्गिनी सि-
- 2 तशिरोमाला व(व)लाकावलिः [१*] ध्यानाभ्यास[स*]मीरणोपनिहित(तः) त्रेयोहुरोद्धूतये
भूयादः स भवार्त्तितापभिदु-
- 3 रः शम्भोः कपर्दीम्बु(म्बु)दः⁴ ॥[१॥*] चानन्दोम्बु(म्बु)निधौ चकोरनिकरे दुर्द्ध-
च्छिदात्यन्त(न्ति)को कङ्कारे हतमो-
- 4 हता रतिपतावेकोद्धमेवेति धीः [१*] यस्यामी चन्द्रतामनः समुदयन्वाद्य प्रकाशा-
ज्जगत्य-
- 5 त्रिध्यानपरम्यरापरिणतं ज्योतिस्तदास्ताम्बुदे⁵ ॥[२॥*] सेवावनम्रवृपकोटिकिरोट-
रोचिर-
- 6 स्बु(म्बु)ससत्पदनखद्युतिवक्त्रोभिः[१*] तेजोविषज्वरमुषो द्विषतामभूवन् भूमीभुज(जः)
स्फुटमथौष-
- 7 धिनायवंशे⁶ ॥[३॥*] चाकौमारविकस्रैर्हिंशि दिशि प्रस्यन्दिभिर्होय्यः-
प्रालेयैररिराज⁷वक्त्रनलि-
- 8 श्रुानोः⁸ समुन्मीलयन् [१*] हेमन्तः स्फुटमेव सेनजननचोत्रस्य⁹ पुष्पावलीशालि-
स्नाध्यविपाकपीव-

¹ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 172 and 91.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

⁷ *Ripudāya* in Anulia and Govindapur plates.

⁸ Read *nalina-mānā*.

⁹ *Kālīr-ogha* in Anulia and Tarpanighi plates.

- 9 रगुणस्तेषामभूदंशजः¹ ॥४॥* यदीयैरद्यापि प्रचितभुजः स्फुट²सहचरैर्यशोभिः
शोभन्ते परिधि-
- 10 परिणद्धा इव दिशः [1*] ततः काञ्चीलीलाचतुरचतुराभोधिलहरीपरीतोर्वीभर्ता³
जनि विज-
- 11 यसेन[1*] स विजयी⁴ ॥५॥* प्रत्यूहः कलिसम्पदामनलसो वेदायनैकाध्वगः
संग्रामः श्रितजङ्गमा-
- 12 क्षतिरभूदज्ञालसेनस्ततः [1*] यद्येतोमयमेव शौर्यविजयी दत्तौषधं⁵ तत्क्षणा-
दक्षीणा रचयाञ्च-
- 13 कार वयगाः स्वस्तिन् परेषां श्रियः⁶ [६॥*] संभुक्तान्यदिगङ्गनागणगुणाभोगप्रलोभाहि-
शामीशैरंश-
- 14 समर्पणेन घटितस्तत्तत्प्रभावस्फुटेः [1*] दोरुभक्षपितारिसङ्गररसो⁷ राजन्यधर्माश्रयः
श्रीम-
- 15 कृष्णसेनभूपतिरतः सौजन्यसीमाजनि⁸ ॥७॥* शश्वह(ह)न्वभयाहिमुक्ताविषयास्त-
न्मात्रनिष्ठीकृत-
- 16 स्वान्ता यान्तु कथं न नाम रिपवस्तस्य प्रयोमाज्ञयम् [1*] यैरात्मप्रतिबिम्बि-
(बिम्बि)तेपि निपतत्पत्रेपि⁹ चञ्चत्-
- 17 शेष्यद्वैतेन यतस्ततोपि सपरो देवः परं वीर्यते¹⁰ ॥८॥* स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुर-
समावासितश्रीम-
- 18 जयस्कन्धावारात् । महाराजाधिराजश्रीवज्रालसेनदेवपादानुध्यात¹¹ । परमेश्वरपर-
- 19 मभट्टारकपरमवैष्णवमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमकृष्णसेनदेवः कुशली । समुप-
- 20 गताशेषधराजराजन्यकराश्रीराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहापुरोहितम-
- 21 हाधर्माध्यक्षमहासान्निविप्रहिकमहासेनापतिमहामुद्राधिकृत¹²स्तरङ्ग-
- 22 ह(ह)हदुपरिकमहाक्षपटलिकमहाप्रतीहारमहाभोगिकमहापीलुपतिमहा-

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Read *bhuja-tējaḥ* as in other inscriptions.

³ Read *chatur-ambhōdhi*.

⁴ Metre : Śikharipi.

⁵ Read *dattu-aushadham*.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ *Kaṣyapāri* in the Govindapur plate.

⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁹ Mr. Beau remarks that the word *nipatat-patri-pi* is missing. But the word is clearly engraved.

¹⁰ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹¹ *Danda* unnecessary ; read *-dhyāta* Para°.

¹² Read *kṛit-danta*.

- 23 गणस्वदीःसाधिकचौरौहरणिकनौवलहस्यश्वगोमहिवाजाविकादिव्यापृतकगौस्मि-
 24 कदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविष[य*]पत्थादीन् अभ्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनोध्यक्ष-
 प्रचारो-
 25 ज्ञानिहाकीर्तितान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् चैत्रकरांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्
 यथाहं मान-
 26 यति बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवताम् यथा श्रीमधुगिरिमण्डला-
 वच्छिन्नकुम्भीनगर
 27 प्रतिवक्षः कङ्कग्रामभुक्त्यन्तःपातिदक्षिणवीथ्यामुत्तररादायां¹ कुमारपुरचतुरकी पूर्व
 अप-
 28 राजोलीसमेतमालिकुण्डापरिसरभूः सीमा दक्षिणे ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्थलीयभागडीखण्डलेख
 सीमा
 29 पश्चिमे अष्टमागोपथः सीमा उत्तरे मोरनदीसीमा इत्यं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः
 षट्त्रिंशद्भूद्रीणात्मक[ः*]

Reverse.

- 30 सम्वत्सरेण सार्धशतहयोत्पत्तिकः वारहकोणावाग्नहिहितानिमापाटकसम्ब(ब्ब)न्विभूद्रो-
 31 षचतुष्टयोपेतपाटकद्वयसमेतराघवहृष्टपाटकस्तथाचतुरकी पूर्व चाकलियाजो-
 32 लीसीमा दक्षिणे विप्रवहाजोलीसीमा । पश्चिमे ब्राह्मलजोलीसीमा । उत्तरे
 परजाण-
 33 गोपथः सीमा इत्यं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नपञ्चाशद्भूद्रीणात्मकः सम्वत्सरेण सार्धश-
 34 तहयोत्पत्तिको दामरवडासमेतविजहारपुरपाटक एवमेतद्व(ह)यविलिखित-
 35 नामसीमं स्वसीमावच्छिन्नं देवब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणादिभूव(ब)हि[ः*]गोपथाद्यभू² वास्तुभू-
 सहितं वृषभश-
 36 हरनलेन उ(ज)ननवतिभूद्रीणात्मकं सम्वत्सरेण पञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकं राघवहृष्ट-
 वारह-
 37 कोणानिमावस्थितखण्डलेभूद्रीणचतुष्टयात्मकवाग्नहिहितापाटकदामरवडा-
 38 पाटकसमेतविजहारपुरपाटकमेतत् षट्पाटकं सभाटविटपं सजलस्थलं सग-
 39 र्त्तोषरं सगुवाकनारिकेलं सद्यदशापराधं परिहृतसर्वपीडं अष्टभट्टप्रवेश-
 40 मकिञ्चित्प्रगाढं दृणपूतिगोचरपर्यन्तं । अनिरुद्धदेवशर्माणः प्रपौत्राय
 41 भूमीचरदेवशर्माणः पौत्राय अनन्तदेवशर्माणः पुत्राय शाण्डिल्यसगोत्राय शा-

¹ [Cf. *Dakshināmāka-vāṭikā* in the Paharpur plate, above Vol. XX, p. 61.—Ed.]

² Probably we have to read *gopāthādy-asāra-bhā-bahit-cha*. [Cf. I. 38 of Tarpanighi copper-plate. *Inscriptions of Bengal* III, p. 102.—Ed.]

REVERSE.



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- 42 शिखासितदेवताप्रवराय सामवेदकौटुम्भशास्त्राचरणानुष्ठायिने आचार्य्यश्री-
 43 कुबेरदेवशर्मणे पुष्पे अहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टा-
 44 रक्तसुहृष्ट मातापिचोरात्मनश्च पुष्पयशोभिष्टव्ये । श्रीवज्रालसेनदेवप्रदत्त-
 45 गयासम्प्रा(त्रा)ज्ञाचरिदासेन प्रतिगृहीतपञ्चमतीतपत्तिकच(चे)चपाटकाभिधानशास-
 46 नो(न)[विनिम]यिन एतद्राघवहृष्टादिषट्पाटकमालेकमुपरिलिखितप्रमाणं पञ्चमती-
 47 तो'त्यप्तियोषं छे(चे)चपाटकं कोठीकृत्य चक्रे पुनर्व्रा(न्व्रा)ज्ञाय श्रीकुबेराभिधानाय
 सूर्यप्रदं
 48 एतन्नमुष्ण्वाचन्द्रार्कं चितिसमकालं यावद्भूमिच्छिद्रव्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य दत्त-
 49 मन्त्राभिस्तद्वज्रिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यम् [1*] भाविभिरपि कृपतिभिरपहरणे
 नरकपात-
 50 भयात् पातने धर्मगौरवात् पातनीयं [1*] भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः
 श्लोकाः । भूमिं
 51 यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माक्षौ नियतं
 स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥[८॥*]
 52 च(च)भूमिर्बुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
 [तस्य] तदा कल(लम्)* ॥[१०॥*] चास्कोट-
 53 यन्ति पितरो वक्षायन्ति पितामहाः[1*] भूमिदाता कुले जातः स नञ्जाता
 भविष्यति ॥[११॥*] षष्टिं वर्ष-
 54 सहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आचिता चानुमन्ता च तान्मेव नरकं
 व्रजेत् ॥[१२॥*] स्वदत्ता
 55 परदत्ताम्ना यो हरित वसुन्धरा [1*] स विद्यायां क्षिमिर्भूत्वा पित्रभिः सह
 पच्यते ॥[१३॥*] इति कमल-
 56 दत्ताम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [1*] सकलमिदमुदा-
 हृतञ्च बुधा न हि
 57 मुखैः परकीर्तयौ विलोप्याः ॥[१४॥*] श्रीमन्नारायणसेनचोचीन्द्रः सान्निविषहि-
 कम् [1*] विपुष-
 58 रिनाह(च)मकरोत् कुबेरकक्षं शासने कृतम् ॥[१५॥*] सं ६¹⁰ आश्वदिने ७¹¹
 श्रीनिमहाशानि [1*]

¹ This is redundant.

² Metre : Anushtubh.

³ Metre : Anushtubh.

⁴ Read buddh.

⁵ Basu reads 2.

⁶ Metre : Anushtubh.

⁷ Metre : Anushtubh.

⁸ Metre : Panktiya.

⁹ Basu reads 2.

¹⁰ Metre : Anushtubh.

¹¹ Metre : Anushtubh.

¹² Metre : Upagiti.

No. 38.—THE TIRUMUKKUDAL INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., COIMBATORE.

Of the collection of over twenty thousand inscriptions made by the Epigraphical Department in the Madras Presidency, the inscription edited here is unique in several respects. It is one of the biggest inscriptions known so far; it registers certain historical facts not known or noticed till now; it gives an insight into the details of the working of the official machinery and shows how the king's birth-day, the days of the natal star of persons of note, and festivals of public rejoicing were celebrated; it records provisions made for the maintenance of an educational institution and a hostel; above all, it furnishes detailed information, such as is available from no other source, regarding the upkeep of a hospital, the medicines stocked therein, the number of beds provided for in-patients, the endowment for a staff of nurses, physician, surgeon and compounder, and the provision for inferior servants such as the washerman, the potter and others that attended to the needs of the patients. In presenting the record, I have strictly confined myself to offering such remarks and suggestions as are required to elucidate the text.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple of Venkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ at Tirumukkūḍal in the Madhurantakam taluk of the Chingleput district. It was discovered and copied by me during the field season of 1915-16.¹ There is a notice of it in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year.² The village of Tirumukkūḍal derives its name from its situation at the confluence of the Pālār with two of its tributaries, the Vēgavati and the Cheyyār. The word 'tirumukkūḍal' means 'the confluence of three sacred (streams)'. The temple of Venkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ is picturesquely situated on a prominence on the bank of the combined river which at this place is naturally very broad. The spot is an ideal one for the erection of a temple, college, hostel and hospital. At the time of the record, all these were actually combined in one building with separate apartments for each section and located here as the inscription gives us to understand. Tirumukkūḍal is about two miles from Palaiya-Śivaram, a small station next to Walajabad in the Conjeeveram-Chingleput section of the South Indian Railway, and has to be reached by crossing the river. On the opposite side of the river is a small hillock on which stands another Vishṇu temple which is sometimes frequented by pilgrims visiting Conjeeveram and about which there is a reference in our inscription under the name Tiruvēṅkaṭamalai.

The temple of Venkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ is an ancient one. It has been in existence from the time of the Pallava king Vijaya-Nripataṅga-vikramavarman of the ninth century A.D. as evidenced by a record of the 24th year of his reign found on a slab supporting a beam in the inner enclosure.³ According to this inscription, the god is called **Vishṇu-Bhaṭāra**. It was known by the name of Tirumukkūḍal-Ālvār and Mahā-Vishṇu during Chōḷa times,⁴ while a later epigraph calls it by the name Venkaṭēśvara-svāmin.⁵

The inscription under publication consists of 55 lines of writing and is engraved in two sections. In the first section the lines are very long and run to a distance of 55 feet. The entire space covered by the inscription is 540 square feet. The record is written in the **Tamiḷ language** and alphabet, and the **characters** belong to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. A few Grantha letters are used mostly in words of Sanskrit origin. The inscription is fairly well preserved, though in some places a few letters are badly damaged. One or two small inscribed slabs have fallen off

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, para. 4 on page 4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 118f.

³ No. 179 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1915.

⁴ Nos. 169 and 182 of the same collection.

⁵ No. 187 of the same collection.

and their places are filled up by plain ones. In the second section, a few pillars have been inserted in later times close to the inscribed wall and these obstruct a part of the inscription. Though the letters so obstructed have not come out in the impression, yet they have been read from the stone.

Regarding the orthography of the record the following peculiarities deserve to be noted. The letters *n* and *ṇ* have been quite indifferently used. The wrong employment of the former not only before *n* and *r* but also at the end of words is noticeable in many places, e.g., *yannanṇanṇai* (l. 4), *Vimayanṇanṇai* (l. 4), *magan* and *marravan* (l. 1). Similarly we find the incorrect use of *ṇ* before *t* and at the commencement of words, e.g., *sāmaṇṭa* (l. 2), *maiṇḍarum* (l. 2) and *ṇuḷamba* (l. 4). There are several instances where the sandhi rules have not been observed: e.g., *Irugaiyaṇ-dēvi* (l. 1), *pōriṭ-Daṇḍa°* (l. 4), *tammir-ti°* (l. 4), *Kēṣavaṇ-Da°* (l. 2) and *Sūttukkallir-jaya* (l. 9). In the first three cases here cited, the *t* and *d* should have been changed into *r*, in the fourth, *ṇ* should have been omitted and in the fifth *r* should have been replaced by *l*. A few mistakes of spelling also occur, e.g., *ṇintum* for *niṇṇun* (l. 1), *nāṭṭinai* for *nāṭṭidai* (l. 1) and *pūṇar* for *pūṇar* (l. 1). The use of certain words and phrases deserves notice, e.g., *Putpagappiḍi* 'the name of a royal elephant' (l. 3), *kēṭṭini*, (l. 6), *kachchāṇa* (i.e., *gadyāṇa*) (l. 11), *cholliya pōkki*, (l. 6), *mudal taviṇḍu*, *mudal eḍuttu*, (l. 11), *vīrasēlai* and *daṣabandam* (l. 11).

The inscription opens with the historical introduction commencing with the words *tiru-vaḷar*, etc., in which are chronicled, in greater detail than hitherto known, the political events that took place in the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājakēśarivarman alias Virarājēndradēva up to the sixth year, the date of the record. It states that the king, while he was seated on the throne called Rājēndrasōḷa-Māvalivāṇarājaṇ in his palace named Sōlakēraḷaṇ-tirumāḷigai at Gaṅgaikoṇ-ḍasōḷapuram, was pleased to order that the amount of 75 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold which the residents of the *dēvadāna* village of Vayalaikkāvūr had been paying towards the maintenance of a feeding house (*sālā*)—together with certain customary dues raised from the same village which had been assigned as a *sālābhōga* to the temple of Mahā-Vishṇu at Tirumukkūdal in the second year of the king's predecessor Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva 'who took Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, and defeated Ahavamalla twice on the battle field'—should be entered in the accounts from the current year as a tax-free *dēvadāna* to be utilised for the expenses (*nimanda*) of the god. This royal order (*kēḷvi*) of the king was committed to writing by an official whose designation was *tirumandiravōlai* (Royal Secretary) and attested to by three others designated *tirumandiravōlai-nāyayam* (Chief Royal Secretary). When this royal mandate was received, certain officials who may be called the authorising officers (*ēva!*) gave the command and this was seconded by thirty-eight persons belonging to three sections or departments of the state, viz., six of *uḍaṇkūṭṭam* (Royal attendants or aide-de camps), twenty-eight of *viḍaiyil*, i.e., those who issue permits, and four of the *naḍuvirukkalai* (arbitrators). Thereafter thirty-two officers of the Accounts Department belonging to ten¹ different sections assembled together, of whom four persons authorised the entry, one read the order, another made the entry and still another issued the revised account. The entry made by the officers was to the following effect:—

The gift to the temple of Mahā-Vishṇu at Tirumukkūdal consisted of (1) 75 *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold which the residents of Vayalaikkāvūr were paying for the *sālā*, (2) certain specified dues on the said *dēvadāna* village, and (3) 72 *kaḷaṇṇu*² and 9 *maṇḍjāḍi* of gold which formed a prior *dēvadāna*

¹ These ten sections are:—(1) *puravuvartiṇaiṇkaḷam*, (2) *varippottagam*, (3) *puravuvarti-ṭiṇaiṇkaḷa-kaṇḍāṇi*, (4) *mugaveṭṭi*, (5) *terippu*, (6) *taravu-sāttu*, (7) *palaniyāyam*, (8) *variyaḷiḍu*, (9) *varippottaga-kaṇakku* and (10) *paṭṭōlai*. Of these, the first may be taken to mean 'General Accounts,' the second 'Tax-Register,' the third 'Examiner of General Revenues,' the fourth 'Index Keeper,' the fifth 'Receipts,' the sixth 'Opening and Closing Accounts,' the seventh 'Old Arrears,' the eighth 'Entry in Tax-Register,' the ninth 'Accountant of Tax Register,' and the tenth 'Keeper of the Royal Orders'.

² 1 *kaḷaṇṇu* = 20 *maṇḍjāḍi*; 1 *maṇḍjāḍi* = 2 *kuṇṇi* = 10 *mā*.

gift. Of these, items (1) and (3) amounted to 147 *kalāñju* and 9 *mañjādi*. The income on this, at the rate of 16 *kalam* of paddy by the *rājakesari* measure, per *kalāñju*, amounted to 2359 *kalam*, 1 *padakku*, 3 *nāli*, 1 *ālakku* and 3 *sevidu*¹. This when converted into *arumolidevan* measure gave an excess of 884 *kalam*, 2 *tūni*, 3 *nāli* and 1 *ālakku* after providing for *kālvāsi*, *kālaḷavu-kūli* and *korraḷavu-vāsi*, calculated at the rate of 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 4 *nāli* of *arumolidevan* for each *rājakesari kalam*. Thus, the paddy income in favour of the temple on these two items alone came to 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūni*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāli*, 1 *uḷakku* and 3 *sevidu*. The third item (No. 2) amounted to 216½ *kāsu* and 2 *mā*. It was made up of 36½ *kāsu* obtained by converting 1½ *kalāñju* of gold derived from the taxes or fees *ūr-kalāñju* (=1 *kalāñju*), *kumara-kachchānam* (=1 *kalāñju*), *mīn-pāṭṭam* (=3½ *kalāñju*) and *kīḷirai-pāṭṭam* (=5½ *kalāñju*) together with the incomes of 28½ *kāsu* and 4 *mā* from *daśavandam*, 25½ *kāsu* and 3 *mā* from *māḍaikkūli*, 3 *kāsu* from *mudal-selavu*, 1½ *kāsu* from *vaṇṇakkakkūli*, ½ *kāsu* from *tarippuḍavai*, 1½ *kāsu* from *tiṅgalmērā* and 118 *kāsu* from *vēḷikkāsu*.

Then are detailed the items of expenditure to be defrayed from this income of 3243 and odd *kalam* of paddy and 216½ *kāsu* and 2 *mā* of money. The table appended hereto* will indicate how the incomes of paddy and money were expended annually in the temple and the institutions attached thereto. It may be stated here that the provision made in this inscription is (1) for meeting the various expenses connected with the temple, (2) for the maintenance of a Vēdic school with a hostel and (3) for the upkeep of a hospital. As regards the first, the record provides for offerings to be made to the god Ālvār, three times daily—morning, noon and night,—for offerings to be made to the deity Śrī-Rāghavachakravartin, i.e., Rāma at noon (nearly 601 *kalam*); for sandal-paste and its ingredients *karpūra* and *kunkuma* and for lamps (68½ *kāsu*); for special offerings to be made on the occasion of the festivals in the months of Aippasi, Māsi, Kārttigai as well as for the hunting festival and Jayantyaṣṭamī (the birth-day of Kṛishṇa) (28 *kalam*, 1 *kurunī* and 5½ *nāli*); for a grand offering to be made on the occasion of the king's birth-day anniversary falling on the asterism Āślēsha in the month Āvaṇi (6 *kalam*, 5 *kurunī* and 2 *nāli*); for purchasing cloth to cover the images of gods and for offerings to be made on the birth-day asterism (*Pārāḍam* in the month of Kārttigai) of the **Vaiśya Mādevaṇ Dāmayaṇ**, who built the *Jāṇanātha-maṇḍapa* in the temple (6 *kalam*, 5 *kurunī* and 2 *nāli*); for the expenses to be met on the occasion of taking the deity *Vēṇṇaikkūttālvān*, i.e., Kṛishṇa in procession on the day of *Tiruvōṇam* in the month of *Puraṭṭāsi* of every year (5 *kalam*); for meeting the expenses of feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on various festive occasions (88 *kalam*, 11 *kurunī* and 4 *nāli*); for payments to be made to an astrologer for announcing festivals, the songster for reciting the *tiruvāymoḷi* hymns, the cultivators that looked after the flower-garden of *Virāṣōḷaṇ*, the *Vaikhānasa-dēvakaṇṇis* (priests worshipping the deity according to the *Vaikhānasa* mode), accountant, potter and washerman attached to the temple (382 *kalam* and 6 *kurunī*); for repairs to be executed annually in the *tiruchchurumāḷigai*, i.e., the inner enclosure (40 *kalam*) and for purchasing cloth for various servants (13½ *kāsu*).

Then follow provisions made for the maintenance of a Vēdic college in this temple. One teacher taught the Rīg-Vēda and received annually 60 *kalam* of paddy and 4 *kāsu*; another taught the Yajur-Vēda and was paid a similar fee. A Bhaṭṭa expounded *Vyākaraṇa* and *Rūpāvatāra*† he got annually 120 *kalam* of paddy and 10 *kāsu*, i.e., a little more than the combined honorarium paid to the two Vēdic teachers. The hostel attached to the college fed daily 60 persons consisting of 10 Brahmins who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmins who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmins and students who studied the *Vyākaraṇa* and the *Rūpāvatāra* and 10 Mahā-pāñcharātra, 8

¹ The following are the relative capacities of the measures mentioned here :—1 *kalam* = 12 *kurunī* or 3 *tūni* or 6 *padakku*; 1 *kurunī* = 8 *nāli*; 1 *nāli* = 2 *uri*; 1 *uri* = 2 *uḷakku*; 1 *uḷakku* = 2 *ālakku* and 1 *ālakku* = 3 *sevidu*.

² See p. 229 f. below.

³ On *Rūpāvatāra*, see my remarks, above Vol. XVIII, p. 66.

Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, 5 Vaikhāṇasas and 2 of another class the name of which is lost in the inscription. The feeding expenses, inclusive of the cost of mats and oil for lamps and for bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year, and wages of cooks and maid-servants who served the students and the teachers, came to 1642 *kalam* and 6 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy and 37½ *kāṣu*. From the fact that the hostel fed not only the students studying the R̥g-Vēda, the Yajur-Vēda, the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpāvatāra but also a certain number of Mahā-Pāñchrātras,¹ Śiva-Brāhmaṇas and Vaikhāṇasas, it may be inferred that the āgamas and tantras—such as the Pāñcharātra, Śaiva and Vaikhāṇasa—were also taught.

The word *Śiva-Brāhmaṇa*² occurs very frequently in South Indian inscriptions and it has been generally taken to mean those belonging to the Śaiva religion; but our inscription seems to indicate that it has the special significance of one studying the 'Śaiv-Āgama' referring as it does to a class of students of the school. It is interesting to find that the students in the hostel were provided with mats to lie on and lights for night study and were given oil for bath once a week throughout the year. The appointment of the maid-servants was meant for keeping the premises clean. As the education imparted was mostly religious in character, it is but natural that the temple was the principal centre of education, as we know from this and other inscriptions. One of the epigraphs of Uttaramallūr belonging to the reign of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I (A.D. 1013 to 1045) registers a gift of land as *Paviṇiya-kīḍaiṇṇuram* and stipulates that the men who enjoyed the income from it should live in the village and teach the Vēda.³ Another inscription of the same time⁴ registers a similar gift of land as *Taiṭṭiriyā-kīḍaiṇṇuram*, i.e., for teaching the students of the *Taiṭṭiriyā-Śākhā*. In the temple at Tiruvorriyūr near Madras, there was built a pavilion known as the *Vyākaraṇa-dāna-maṇḍapa* wherein was expounded Pāṇini's Grammar. Besides the provision made for the study of the Vēdas, Grammar and the Āgamas (*Vēda-vṛitti*, *adhyayana-vṛitti* and *Bhaṭṭa-vṛitti*), there are numerous inscriptions in the Madras Epigraphical collection which refer to gifts made for the maintenance of persons expounding the Mahābhārata, Sōmasiddhānta, Prabhākara and the Mīmāṃsa (Apūrvas). By far the biggest college established for the study of the Vēdas and grammar and known to us from inscriptions, existed in the 11th century A.D. at a place called Enṇāyiram in the South Arcot District, which contained as many as 370 students studying the various subjects.

The last item of expenditure was for the maintenance of a hospital wherein were treated students living in the hostel, and temple servants that were sick. This hospital was provided with 15 beds, and was in charge of a physician who was paid annually 90 *kalam* of paddy and 8 *kāṣu* in addition to a grant of land, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital of Virasōḷaṇ, the servants attached to the institutions and the teachers and students of the Vēdic college. Besides the physician, there was one surgeon who received 80 *kalam* of paddy, two persons for fetching medicinal herbs who were paid 60 *kalam* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu*—these persons also supplied fire-wood and attended to the preparation of medicines,—two nurses who received 30 *kalam* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu*, and attended on the patients and administered medicines, and a

¹ The Pāñchrātra was so called because it had five Saṁhitās, viz., Pāraṁśēvara, Sāttvata, Viśvakaśna, Khagēśvara and Śrī-Paushkara. According to the *Varāha-Purāṇa* the persons eligible to study *Pāñchrātra* are the first three classes and it was one of the four means of realising God, the other three being *Vēda*, *bhakti* and *yajña*.

² *Śivadvija* and *gurukkal* are terms employed even now to denote persons conducting worship in Śiva temples.

³ *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. VI, No. 312. *Kīḍai* in Tamil means a teacher and *paviṇiya*, a term that is not explained in dictionaries, is connected phonetically with *Baṭṭarika*. As such, the provision made must be for teaching the R̥g-Vēda.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 316.

barber who received 15 *kalam* of paddy probably for performing minor operations in addition to his professional duties. The sick ration consisted of 1 *nālī* of rice per head per day. Besides the above, a provision of 2½ *kāsu* for a lamp to be kept burning in the hospital during nights, 15 *kalam* of paddy for the water-man and 40 *kāsu* for stocking medicines was also made. The medicines stored in the hospital were :—

- (1) Brāhmyam-kaṭumbūri, (2) Vāsā-harītakī, (3) Gō-mūtra-harītakī, (4) Daśa-mūla-harītakī, (5) Bhallātaka-harītakī, (6) Gaṇḍīra, (7) Balākēraṇḍa-taila, (8) Pañchāka-taila, (9) Laśunādy-ēraṇḍa-taila, (10) Uttama-karnādi-taila, (11) Śukla . . . sa-ghṛita, (12) Bilvādi-ghṛita, (13) Maṇḍūkara-vaṭika, (14) Dravattī, (15) Vimala, (16) Sunētri, (17) Tāmraḍi, (18) Vajrakalpa, (19) Kalyāṇaka-lavaṇa and (20) Purāṇa-ghṛita.

Of these medicines¹, No. (1), if it refers to *Brāhmya-rasāyana*, is described in verses 38 to 54 of *Charaka-Saṁhitā*, chapter I, and *Aśtāṅgahṛdaya*, chapter XXXIX, verses 15 to 23. The ingredients that enter into the composition of this medicine are 44 in number. The preparation is as follows :—1,000 *chebulic myrobalans* and 3,000 fresh *embellie myrobalans* together with 250 *palas* of the five *pañchamūlas* (i.e., of 25 roots) are boiled in 10 times the quantity of water till the whole is reduced to one-tenth. The liquid is then strained and the decoction taken. In it the powder of myrobalans without the nuts is thrown. To the mixture is added the pulve of 4 *palas* each of *maṇḍūka-parṇa*, *pippali*, *śankhapushpi*, etc., and 1,000 *palas* of sugar-candy together with 2 *āḍhakas* of oil and 3 *āḍhakas* of ghee and the whole boiled in slow fire until it reaches the consistency of an electuary. 320 *palas* of honey are then added and the whole well churned. This medicine, says the author, sharpens the intellect, removes fatigue, improves memory and gives longevity and strength. As these are the essential requirements of a student, it naturally heads the list of medicines intended mostly for them.

No. (3) of the medicines is noticed in the 67th verse of chapter IX of *Charaka*- and in chapter VI of *Suśruta-Saṁhitā*. From the text we gather that *Gō-mūtra-harītakī* is simply *chebulic myrobalans* soaked in cow's urine for one night. Suśruta states that if it is taken with honey in the morning, it will cure internal piles. It may also be noted that in the treatment of *Pāṇḍu-rōga*, Vāgbhata (chapter XVI) says that *harītakī* taken with cow's urine removes jaundice. The text giving this information is adopted from *Charaka*.

No. (4) is described in the *Aśtāṅgahṛdaya*, chapter XVII, verses 14 to 16, which state that the medicine is prepared by taking the decoction of the *daśamūla* (ten roots), putting in it 100 *chebulic myrobalans* and one *tulā* of jaggery and boiling the whole into a *lēhya* and mixing with it the powder of *trijāta*, *trikaṭu*, and a little of *yava-tūkaja* and when cooled adding half a *prastha* of honey. This medicine is said to be capable of curing dropsy, fever, diseases of urinary organs, tubercles, rheumatism, hæmorrhages, colour in the urine, wind, sperm disease, lung disease, distaste for food and enlargement of the spleen.

If by No. (6) is meant *Gaṇḍīrādyarishṭha*, it is described in verses 27 to 29 of *Charaka-Saṁhitā*, chapter XVII. The ingredients that enter into the preparation of this medicine are (1) *gaṇḍīra* (*solanum verbasifolium*), (2) *bhallātaka* (*semicarpus anacardium*), (3) *chitraka* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (4) *vyōsha* (pepper, *piper longum* and dry ginger), (5) *brihati-dvaya* (*solanum indicum* and *solanum canthocarpum*), and (6) *vēdaṅga*. Two measures of each of these are taken and cooked with 8 measures of *kūrchika-mastu*, i.e., water taken by straining curdled milk in the fire of cakes of cow-dung. When reduced to a third and cooled, the liquid has to be strained and mixed with 8 measures of *prākṛita-mastu* and 100 *palas* of sugar-candy, *plumbago zeylanica* and *piper longum*.

¹ For some of the references to chapter and verses relating to Indian medicine, which are incorporated in this note, I am indebted to Mr. P. S. Ramaswami Aiyer of Gopichettipalayam.

and then to be used after keeping it for ten days. This medicine is said to cure dropsy, fistula, hæmorrhoids, *krimi* (worms), skin disease, disease of urinary organs, different forms of leanness, wind and hiccuph.

Pañchāka-taila (No. 8) may be identical with *Taila-pañchaka* described in Charaka under *gulmas*. The five ingredients of this medicine are gingely oil, liquor, cow's urine, viniger and *yavūgraja*. By the last is perhaps meant the liquid strained from green barley shoots reduced to ashes mixed with four times the quantity of water. This medicine is said to be capable of curing tubercules.

Bilvādi-ghṛita (No. 12) is dealt with in the chapter on *Grahaṇī-chikitsā-prakarana* of *Yōgarat-nākara*. The drugs that enter into the medicine are (1) *bilva* (*aegle marmelos*), (2) *agni* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (3) *chavya* (*piper chaba*), (4) *ārdraka* (ginger), (5) *śrīṅga-bēra* (a variety of double ginger), (6) ghee and (7) *chhāga-dugdha* (goat's milk). The first five are subject to the process of *kwātha* and *kalka* and mixed with (6) and (7) and cooked. This medicine cures dropsy, distaste and *grahaṇī*.

Verses 70 to 75 of chapter XX of Charaka and verses 15 to 20 of chapter XVI of *Aṣṭāṅga-hridaya* deal with *Maṇḍūkara-vaṭika* (No. 13). The drugs that compose the medicine are *tripphala*, *triyūṣhaṇa*, *musta*, *vēḍaṅga*, *chavya*, *chitraka*, *dārvi*, *tvāṅ*, *mākshika*, *granthika* and *dēva-dāru*. Two *palas* each of these substances are powdered and cooked in eight times the quantity of cow's urine and then the fine powder of *maṇḍūra* equal to double the quantity of the other *chūrṇas* are added and pills made of the size of *udumbara* (*ficus glomerata*) and taken with butter-milk. This medicine cures anæmia, skin disease, dropsy, phlegm, piles or hæmorrhoids, jaundice, spleen and diseases connected with urinary organs and spleen.

According to one authority, the ingredients that compose *Vimala* (No. 15) are *śaṅkha*, *priyaṅgu*, *nēpālī*, the *trikaṭu* and the *triphalas*. Another gives the ingredients as *madhuka*, *maṛicha*, *pippalī*, *lōdhra*, *taru-rajani* and the *tripphala*. This medicine is said to remove from the eyes *timira*, *paṭala*, *kācha* and *kaṇḍu*.

The preparation of the *vartti* known as *Sunētri* (No. 16) is described in the *Sahasrayōga* under *nētrarōga-prakarana*. A large number of drugs such as the three acids, the three fruits, *plumbago zeylanica*, *almus integrefolia*, *embelia ribes*, white lotus, liquorice, rock salt, camphor, conch, *achorus calamus*, *gairika*, the two kinds of sandal, *lāksha*, *lōdhra*, copper sulphate, *pīlarōhinī*, enter into the composition of this medicine. It is said to be capable of curing all kinds of eye diseases such as *kācha*, *pushpa*, *paṭala*, *vraṇa*, *dāha*, *rāga*, *kaṇḍu*, *timira*, *kukkima*, and *adhimāmsa*.

The preparation of *kalyāṇaka-lavaṇa* (No. 19) is given in verses 29 and 30 of the chapter on *Arśa-rōga* in the *Vṛindamādhava*. The ingredients are the *Bhallātaka* group, the three fruits, *danti* and *chitraka*, i.e., *plumbago zeylanica*, in equal parts with twice the quantity of *Saindhava* salt.

The historical importance of the present record lies in the valuable information it gives regarding the king's exploits in the island of Ceylon, besides the facts known from other inscriptions¹. The historical introduction of Virarājendra's inscriptions begins in three different ways. In two sets of records it commences with the words *tiru vaḷar*, etc., and furnishes complete information regarding his military exploits, while one set of inscriptions begins with the words *vīramē tuṇai* in which these heroic deeds are referred to in brief. A few records of the former type supply us with a list of appointments made and honours conferred by the king on his relations. In some places the smaller historical introductions supplement the information given in the longer ones. A study of all the records of Virarājendra so far known would

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 32 ff. and 193 ff. where Dr. Hultzsch has exhaustively dealt with the historical facts of Virarājendra's reign.

show that he was crowned king immediately after his victorious return from the battle held of Kūḍal-Saṅgama. Since the three campaigns against the Western Chālukyas in the regions of Gaṅgavāḍi, Vēṅgi and Kūḍal-Saṅgama find mention even in a second year record of the king, they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 which was the year of his accession to throne as calculated by Professor Kielhorn¹. It is therefore fairly certain that in this very year his elder brother Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva died which gave the occasion for Virarājēndra to proceed straight from the last campaign to the capital and have his coronation ceremony celebrated along with his queen Ulagamulududaiyāl as stated in his epigraphs. It is plain that the series of campaigns against the Western Chālukyas must have been begun by Rājēndradēva and completed by Virarājēndra after the former's death. King Virarājēndra started his career, it may be noted, by making his position secure by conferring honours on his relations.² Virarājēndra's dealings with Pottappi, an un-named Kōraja king, as well as the younger brother of Jananātha³ and Virakēśari,⁴ the son of the Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha are mentioned in a record of his fourth year,⁵ and as such might have taken place in about A.D. 1065. About the same time the Chōla king being invited to fight a combat by Āhavamalla through a war messenger, advanced against him and defeated him a second time in the very field appointed by himself. Then taking a vow that he would not return before he recovered possession of the Vēṅgi country, he directed his arms to that quarter, accomplished his object and thus fulfilled his elder brother's desire,⁶ and then had his anointment of victory *vijay-abhishēka* performed.⁷ The Vēṅgi country was first invaded by Rājarāja I (985-1013 A.D.) and was again overrun by Rājēndra-Chōla I⁸, but it appears that his successors Rājādhirāja I and Rājēndradēva did not assert their right over it. This neglect on their part to hold the reins tight in the Vēṅgi country gave room to the Eastern Chālukyas to throw off the Chōla yoke. Rājēndradēva seems to have realised the necessity of bringing this tract back under the Chōlas but he died without effecting it. The Kanyākumārī⁹ inscription clearly refers to this neglected patrimony of the Chōlas, won back by Virarājēndra. It says:—

भ्रातृभ्यां समुपेक्षितं जनपदं वंशक्रमाभ्यागतं क्रान्तं वैरिमहेश्वरैरतिबलैर्वैज्जोन्कलिङ्गानपि ।
जित्वा शङ्खपरंपरामतिबलां हित्वा च भोतान्बह्विहीमान्बलमक्षितिपतिः क्षेमेण तं सोन्वयात् ॥
Before 1067 A. D., the Chōla sovereign burnt the city of Kampili, set up a pillar of victory at a place called Karaḍikal (which must be different from another pillar set up on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra as reported in our inscription), gained victories at Bezvada, got back Kanna-kuchchi (Kānyakubja), took the head of the Pāṇḍya, levied tribute from the Chēra, defeated Vijayabāhu and brought Ceylon under subjection. Proceeding again to the north, he defeated a number of chiefs who were fighting under the banner of the Chālukyas, set up a third pillar of victory at Śūṭṭukkal, gained victories at Chakkarakōṭṭam and Kāvi and destroyed the Kālīṅga country.¹⁰

¹ See for instance *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. V, No. 976.

² *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, p. 33 and also No. 976 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ Jananātha has been taken to be the king of Dhārā for which there is no warrant.

⁴ By considering Virakēśari as the son of Śrīvallabha, I differ from Dr. Hultzsch. The achievements noted in this paragraph were accomplished by the end of Rājēndradēva's reign. (See No. 20 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 339.

⁷ These additional facts are recorded in No. 82 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1892. See also No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, and Nos. 98 of 1892 and 132 of 1902.

⁸ That this king himself was engaged in subduing the countries of the *Uttarāpātha* is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhirāja I found at Enpāyiram (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1918, p. 145).

⁹ *Transcove Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 148, v. 77.

¹⁰ These achievements are noticed in inscriptions of the 8th year of the king's reign. See for instance the present record and No. 83 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1898.

Regarding the location of Virarājendra's pillars of victory in the Chālukya country, Karaḍikal is referred to in a Nanarese inscription¹ from Uchchangidrug in the Bellary district as Karaḍikal-nāḍu of which the village of Nandavāḍige is said to be the face. Nandavāḍige and Karaḍikal may, therefore, be identified with Nandavāḍige and Karaḍi, two villages in the Hungund Taluka of the Bijāpur district on the border of the Nizam's Dominions situated to the south of the Kṛishṇa river. They are only at a distance within 5 miles of each other.

As noted above, the most important historical facts gathered from our inscription relate to the war with Ceylon. It is stated that 'Virarājendra despatched a number of vessels to Ceylon, commenced a war in that island which was protected by the sea, routed the Singhalese army; and as there arose a great tumult, when it was reported that Kurukulattaraiyan and other feudatories fell in the field, king Vijayabāhu ran away and the Chōla king got possession of his queen and crown along with his family treasures and gems and made Laṅkā his own.' This event, which, as we have pointed out above, happened in A.D. 1066, is of importance for the synchronism it affords to the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, where the causes that led to the war and further details connected with it are narrated at great length. According to the chronicle, the name Vijayabāhu was assumed by Kittī² when he became sub-king. Almost in the first year of his reign he was defeated by a Chōla sovereign and forced to take refuge in a fortress on the hills.³ He is then said to have obtained help from the ruler of the Ramañña country and to have dwelt at Tamalagāma. About the 11th year of his reign the Singhalese scornfully set at naught the authority of the Chōlas and vexed the Chōla officers of revenue. And when the Chōla king heard of it, he was greatly provoked and sent a large army under his general against Ceylon. The general landed at Mahātitttha, slaughtered the people of the various parts of the country and brought them under subjection. Vijayabāhu now built a fortress at Pulatthapabbata, fought with and killed the Chōla general and proceeded to Pulatthi with a large army. When the Chōla king was informed of these tidings, he desired to take Vijayabāhu captive, went to the sea-port himself and sent a larger army than before to the island. The lord of Laṅkā, hearing this, sent his general who encountered them at Anurādhapura and fought a great battle. But many of Vijayabāhu's men fell in the field and the people went over to the Chōla side. Thereupon Vijayabāhu left the city of Pulatthi and fled away to Villikahana. When he was told that the governor of the Chōlas pursued him even there, he went away to Vaṭagiri, built a fortress at its foot, made war for three months and drove back the Tamils.⁴

Of the two wars noted above as having been waged by Vijayabāhu with the Chōlas, it is fairly certain that the latter is the one alluded to in the extract given from our inscription of Virarājendra as having been fought with him in about A.D. 1066. Of the other war which took place 11 years previously, we have also epigraphical confirmation in Tamil records. It is the one recorded as having been waged by Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva, the predecessor of Virarājendra, in A.D. 1055. Rājēndradēva's inscriptions state that he despatched a war-like army into the southern region, seized on the battle-field the two sons of Mānābharana and captured Laṅkā. Thus our inscription enables us to say that Vijayabāhu's accession took place in about A.D. 1055, that he fought with Rājēndradēva in that very year and that in A.D. 1066 he had to meet Virarājendra's forces. From the Singhalese account we learn the cause of the war and the different places which witnessed the scene of action. Except these two wars, Vijayabāhu had no further encounter with the Chōlas till late in his reign, i.e., in the 30th year corresponding to A.D. 1085 when Kulōttuṅga was the Chōla ruler.

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, p. 197.

² He is said to be the eldest son of Magalana. It is stated that the latter was well versed in the ways of the world and was known to all men as "the great lord". He greatly loved the order of priesthood and was the habitation of many lasting virtues.

³ Wijesinha's translation, Ch. LVIII, pp. 97 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

From this inscription it is further learnt that while most of the articles of daily use were obtained by exchange of paddy, there were some which could be had only for cash. A few articles were sold both for grain and money. Among the articles that were obtained exclusively for money may be mentioned sandal-paste, *karpūram*, *kuṅkumam*, honey and turmeric. The purchasing power of one *kāśu* was 8 *palams* of sandal, 576 *palams* of sugar, $\frac{1}{2}$ a *kaḷaṇṇu* of *kuṅkumam*, 2 *nāḷi* of honey or 200 *palams* of turmeric. The price of cloth varied according to the size. Oil and sugar were obtained both for money and paddy. The price of oil was 20 *nāḷi* per *kāśu*; 10 *palams* of sugar were obtained in exchange for 16 *nāḷi* of paddy; and 1 *kāśu* fetched 576 *palams*.

Cereals and vegetables were generally obtained by exchanging paddy. It is seen that milk, curds and salt had the same value and could be had by giving twice the quantity of paddy. Ghee, pepper and cumin were highly prized and they required 32 times their measure of paddy. Un-husked green pulse exchanged with twice the quantity of paddy, while clean pounded pulse required 4 times the quantity of paddy. To get a certain measure of rice, $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the quantity of paddy is provided for. This seems to include wages for husking and cleaning.

Betel-leaves, areca-nuts, plantain fruits and cocoanuts were sold by number. A bundle of 80 betel-leaves formed a *kaḷḷu* or *paṇṇu* and its price was 2 *nāḷi* of paddy. A *nāḷi* of paddy had the purchasing power of 5 areca-nuts or 2 plantain fruits; and 1 *kuṇṇu* of paddy was exchanged for 3 cocoanuts.

The geographical names that occur in this inscription are easy of identification. *Gaṅgapāḍi* (l. 1) is the Western Gaṅga territory comprising 96,000 villages with its capital at Talakkāḍ or Talakāḍu. *Vēṅgai-nāḍu* (l. 1) is the East coast littoral ruled over by the Eastern Chālukya kings. *Tuṅgapattirai* (l. 1), on whose bank a pillar of victory was set up, is the Tuṅgabhadra. *Kūḍal Saṅgama* (l. 1) or *Kūḍal* (l. 4), where more than one battle was fought between the Chōlas and the Chālukyas, is a place at the confluence of the rivers Kṛishṇā and the Pañcha-Gaṅgā.¹ *Kōsalai* (l. 2) is the ancient territorial division of Kōsala. *Gaṅgaimānagar* (l. 4), *Gaṅgāpuri* (l. 7) or *Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram* (l. 10) is identical with the last-mentioned place in the Uḍaiyārpālayam Taluk of the Trichinopoly District. It was founded by Rājendra-Chōla I (A.D. 1010-1045) and made the capital of the Chōla dominions. The temple here is of the model of the great Pagoda at Tanjore built by Rājārāja I (A.D. 985-1013). *Irattapāḍi* (l. 5) or *Rattapāḍi*, 7½ lakhs, is the country of the Rattas. *Karandai* (l. 5) has been identified with Inchal-Karaṇḍi, in the neighbourhood of Kūḍal-Saṅgama.² *Kuntaḷa* (l. 5) is certainly the Western Chālukya territory.³ *Viśaiyavāḍai* (l. 6) is undoubtedly the modern Bezvada. The seven *Kaliṅgas* (l. 6) form the territorial division on the East coast, north of Vēṅgi, ruled by the Eastern Gaṅgas. *Ḥam* (l. 7) or *Ḥaṅgai* is Ceylon. *Chakkarakkōṭṭam* (l. 9) has been identified with Chakrakōṭṭa in the Bastar State. I am not able to trace *Sōnaiyanagar* (l. 9) and *Kāvi* (l. 10). *Imaiyam* (l. 10) is another name for the Himālayas and *Sētu* (l. 10) is the southernmost point of India near Rāmēśvaram. *Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam* is no other than Madhurāntakam, a station in the S. I. Railway and the Headquarters of a Taluk in the Chingleput District. Tirumukkūḍai, though 10 miles away from it, was included in it in ancient times perhaps for administrative purposes. *Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam* is the name given to the ancient Pallava territory of Tonḍai-maṇḍalam during the days of Rājārāja I, who bore the designation of Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōla. *Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam* is one of the 24 districts of it. The village of *Vayalaikkāvūr* (l. 11) and *Ālpākkam* (l. 43) are very near Tirumukkūḍal. *Minarkuḍi* in *Idaiyaḷa-nāḍu*, a sub-division of Vijayarājendra-vaḷanāḍu in *Sōḷa-maṇḍalam* (l. 52) *Ayaṇḍampākkam* in *Āguḍi-nāḍu*, a sub-division of *Puḷar-kōṭṭam* in *Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam* (l. 53 f.), *Rājasundari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam* in another sub-division of the same province, are other geographical names that occur in this epigraph.

¹ Above, XII, p. 298.² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*

Details of Expenses.

No.	Item.	Rate.				Total expenses for the year.				
		Kal	ku	na	ul	Kal	ku	na	ul	śe
Daily expenses.										
1	Śirukālai-sandi	0	5	5	3	171	6	6	0	0
2	Akkaraḍalai	0	9	3	0	223	1	4	0	0
3	Night, Pāl-pōṇagam	0	3	1	0	93	9	0	0	0
4	For Śrī-Rāghavachakravartin	0	1	6	0	52	6	0	0	0
Special occasions and festivals.										
5	Aippaṭi festival . . . . .	....	....	....	....	7	0	0	0	0
6	Māṣi festival . . . . .	....	....	....	....	7	0	0	0	0
7	Hunting festival . . . . .	....	....	....	....	7	1	0	0	0
8	Jayantyaṣṭami . . . . .	....	....	....	....	3	0	6	0	0
9	Kārttigai-Kārttigai . . . . .	....	....	....	....	3	11	7	0	0
10	King's Birthday . . . . .	....	....	....	....	6	5	2	0	0
11	Birth-day of Vaiḍya Mādavaṇ Dāmayaṇ . . . . .	....	....	....	....	6	5	2	0	0
12	Puraṭṭāṣi-Tiruvōṇam . . . . .	....	....	....	....	5	0	0	0	0
13	Feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on Amāvāsyā days . . . . .	....	....	....	....	19	4	4	0	0
14	Do. during Procession to Tiruveṇḡaḍamalai . . . . .	....	....	....	....	8	8	3	0	0
15	Do. during Procession from Tiruveṇḡaḍamalai . . . . .	....	....	....	....	8	8	3	0	0
16	Do. during Puraṭṭāṣi Tiruvōṇam . . . . .	....	....	....	....	8	8	3	0	0
17	Do. during Aippaṭi festival . . . . .	....	....	....	....	17	4	6	0	0
18	Do. during Mārgaḷi festival . . . . .	....	....	....	....	8	8	3	0	0
19	Do. during Māṣi-Makham . . . . .	....	....	....	....	17	4	6	0	0
						134	11	5	2	0
Services.										
20	Tiru	0	0	6	0	....	....	....	....	....
21	Tiruvāymoli Songster	0	3	0	0	....	....	....	....	....
22	Gardeners	0	4	0	0	....	....	....	....	....
23	Special Tiru	0	1	0	0	....	....	....	....	....
24	Vaiḡhāṇasa Dēvaṇṇi	0	1	0	0	....	....	....	....	....
25	Accountant	0	1	0	0	....	....	....	....	....
26	Potter	0	1	0	0	....	....	....	....	....
27	Washerman	0	0	4	0	....	....	....	....	....
28	Tirumukkuḍai Pērayan	0	0	4	0	....	....	....	....	....
						382	6	0	0	0
29	Repairs . . . . .	....	....	....	....	80	0	0	0	0
School.										
30	Rig-Vēda teacher	0	2	0	0	....	....	....	....	....
31	Yajur-Vēda teacher	0	2	0	0	....	....	....	....	....
32	Vyākaraṇa teacher	0	4	0	0	....	....	....	....	....
						240	0	0	0	0
33	Hostel Expenses of 60 Students	3	10	6	0	1,402	6	0	0	0
34	Hospital	1	0	1	0	365	7	4	0	0
35	Waterman	0	1	0	0	15	0	0	0	0
36	Nāmaḡoham and cardamom . . . . .	....	....	....	....	20	10	0	0	0
37	Dakṣiṇā, betel-leaves, etc. . . . .	....	....	....	....	1	4	2	3	3
						3,242	8	6	1	3

Details of Expenses—contd.

No.	Item.	Rate.	Total expenses for the year.
		kal ku na ul	kal ku na ul
	<i>Money Expenses.</i>		
38	Sugar for Akkāradalai	20 <i>kāṣu</i>	....
39	Sandal-paste and its ingredients	46 "	....
40	Oil	22½ "	....
41	Kārttigai	1½ "	....
42	King's Birthday	7½ "	....
43	Dāmayan's Birthday	6½ "	....
44	Tiru	1 "	....
45	Songster	4 "	....
46	Dēvakanmi	4 "	....
47	Accountant	4 "	....
48	Pērayan	1 "	....
49	Rig-Vēda teacher	4 "	....
50	Yajur-Vēda teacher	4 "	....
51	Vyākaraṇa Bhaṭṭa	10 "	....
52	Cook	6 "	....
53	Maid-servant	2 "	....
54	Mate	2 "	....
55	Oil (for students)	9½ "	....
	<i>Hospital.</i>		
56	Physician	8 <i>kāṣu</i>	....
57	Fuel and herbs	2 "	....
58	Nurses	1 "	....
59	Medicines	40 "	....
60	Oil (hospital)	2½ "	....
61	Māḍavan Dāmayan	1 " 7 mā	....
	An item of 7 <i>kāṣu</i> is lost in the original. With this, 216½ <i>kāṣu</i> and two mā are made up.		

NOTE.—The quantity of sugar required daily for *akkārādālai* is 32 *pālam*. Hence the requirement for a year of 360 days comes to 11,520 *pālam*. Since 1 *kāṣu* fetched 576 *pālam* of sugar, the amount of money required for sugar is 20 *kāṣu*.

The requirement of sandal-paste for a year at ½ *pālam* per day is 180 *pālam*. This at the rate of 8 *pālam* per *kāṣu* amounted to 22½ *kāṣu*. The requirement of *kaṭpūram* for the same item is 11½ *kaṭāṇṇu*; and this at the rate of ½ *kaṭāṇṇu* per *kāṣu* comes to 22½ *kāṣu*. Another ingredient for this item is *kunkumam* which cost 1 *kāṣu*. Thus the total for this item amounts to 46 *kāṣu*.

TEXT.

1 [Svasti Śrī] [*] [Tiru]-va[ar]-tira[-]puyatt=iru-nila-valaiyan=taṇ maṇi-ppūṇ-ena-ttā[ṇgi]=ppan-
maṇi-kkoṭṭa-ven-kuḍai-ñi[al]¹ kuvalaiyatt=uyiṇḡalai=pperṭa tāyi[ṇum] pēṇi marṇ-
u[lay]=arai-ka[al]-arai[ar] taṇṇ-a[ḍi-ñi[al]]¹=oduṇḡa u[rai]-pilatt=uḍai-Kaliy=oduṇḡa mu[rai]
śeydu virai-malar-tteriyal Vikkalaṇ-ṇaṇṇoḍu vari-śilai-ttaḍa-kkai mā-sāmantarai=
k[Kaṇ]ḡap[ḍi]=[k*]kaḷattidai-nin[ṭu]n=² Tuḍ[ga*]pattirai puga-tturatti[āṇ]ḡ-avar
Vē[ṇ]ḡai-[nan]nāṭṭinai³ miṭṭum=avan viṭṭa tāṇḡ-ar[um]-peru[-]vali-ttaṇḍu [keḍa-t]tākki
[mā-ḍaṇ]ḡa-nāyakaṇ Sām[an]ḍarājaṇai=cheberr=avan si[ra]ṭṭiṇaiy=aruttu [mā]ṇṇ-avan=
oru-[maḡa]-ḡi[ya] Irugayan-dēvi Nāḡalaiy-ennu[n]=t[ō]ḡaiy-añ-chāyalaṇ mugattoḍu
[mū]ḡku-ve[ṇ]-ḡ[ka]ḷki pagaitt=edir mūṇṇām viśaiyilum [ś]eṇḡ-amar-poruvan-ḡa-kkaruḍi-
ppa-pūṇa⁴ Kēḷai[saṇ]gamatt=Āhavamallaṇ makkaḷ-ḡi[ya] Vikkalaṇ Śiṇḡaṇa-

¹ Read *ñi[al]*.² Read *ḡai*.³ There is some correction here in the original. Read *siṇḡun*.⁴ Read *ḡar*.

2 p enṭ-ivar tammo[du] enṭ-il sāmantarai veṇṭ-aḍu-tūṣi muṇ vītṭu=tṭaṇ=ruṇai m[ai*]n[du]daru[ṇa]=
tāṇum piṇṇ-aḍutt=irundu vaḍa-kaḍal-eṇa vaguttav¹=a-ttāṇaiyai=kkāḍa-kaliṭṭ-onṭā[li]=
kkalakki aḍal-puri-Kōśalai-Siṅganai=kkōḍi-ppaḍai taṇ muṇ tūṣi-veṇ-kaliṭṭoḍuṇ=
tupittu=kKēṣavaṇ-Daṇḍanāyakaṇ Kettaraṣaṇ tiṇḍiṭal-Mārayaṇ tīṭal Pottaraṣaṇ
Irēchchayaṇ iḡal-ṣey-poṭ-Kōḍai Mūvēndi enṭār taṇ-aḍu-tuppiḷ-anēga sāmantarai=
chchinnā-piṇṇaṇ=cheydu piṇṇai-mudaliy=āgiya Muḍuvanaṇ oḍa viritta talaiyoḍu
Vikkalan oḍa ṣeru-ttoliḷ-a[li]ndu Siṅga[ṇa]ṇ oḍa aṇṇal mudaliḡa[ṇa]iva[ru]m
mā-pōr-ppaṇṇina pagaḍ=iḷand-oḍa naṇṇiṇa Āhavamallaṇum=avaṭku muṇṇ-oḍa=[tt]aṇ
vēga-veṇ-kaliṭṭiṇai vigakka² vāḡai-koṇḍ=āṅg-avar tāramum=avar-kula-daṇamuṇ=
chaṅṅun=toṅṅalun=tāraiṇum pēriyūm mēḡaḍamba-

3 ramum³ veṇ-chāmaraiyūṇ=chūkara-kkōḍiyum makara-tōraṇamum=ottaga-niraiyūmm=ulōk-
āṣaṇamum [puṭ]paga-ppiḍiyum poru-kaliṭṭ-ittamum pāy-pari-ttōḡaiyoḍum paṭittu=
chchēy-oli-viraṣiṇhāsana[m] p[ā]r toḷav=ēri eḷil-taru-Ulagamuḷuḍuḡaiyārum⁴ vāṣai-
maṇi-makuṭam ēyṇdu kuṣai-koḷ tattu-mā-puravi-pPottappi-vēṇḍaṇai vāraṇa-vaḷai-
kaḷar-Kēraḷaṇraṇṇai=[t]tār-Śa[ṇa]nādan-rambiyai=ppōr-kaḷatt=alaṅgal-śūḷ-paṣun-
talaiy=arindu puḷaṇ-kaḷar-Rēṇṇavan Śrīvallaḷan magāṇ ṣiṭuvanaṇ min-ṇavil-maṇi-
muḍi-Viraḷēṣariyai [ma]ḍa-varaiy-onṭāl=udaippittu=tṭaṇ⁵ kaiyil Śēralar tammoḍu
ṣēṅṭiraiyar kulam vēṇ-paṇind=ōḍi mēḷ-kaḍal viḷa vāraṇa-pōr-aḍaṇiḡ=chelutti
Vāriyil=enṭ-arun-kaliṭṭiṇ⁶ Irattarai=kkavarṇaḍa kaṇṇiyar kaliṭṭoḍuṇ=katti=ppaṇṇa-
ppiḍiyoḍum=āṅg-avar=iḍu⁷ tīṭai tanta vēḷa-[ni]rai koṇḍu śūḷi-puṇal-koṇḍ-[ā]ṭ-kuru⁸.

4 miṭ-kuritta vem-pōriṭ⁹=Daṇḍanāyakaṇ tammiṭ¹⁰-tiṇḍiṭal Vill¹¹ iyannaṇaiyūm Vāṇjippayaṇai¹²
. ¹³ḡu mada-kaliṭṭu ¹⁴ṇḍār.
Āśōkaiyan tannaṇiyūm tiṇḍiṭar-Chattivaṇṇaiyūṇ=Chanduvigraha-pPat[tiya]ṇaṇ-
[raṇṇaiyū]m [a]-ttagu tēm-arū-teriyav-Vima[ya*]n-raṇṇai śē-madi-Vāṅṅaraṇaiyūm
nāma-vēḷ-Kaṇṇaṇai Nūḷambaṇai=kKāḍavar-kōṇai vamb-uyar¹⁵-mada-śāṇai¹⁶-Vaiyduṇ-
barāṣaṇaiy=iru[n]-¹⁷talaiy=arindu perum-punaṇ-ra[n]ādu-Gaṅṅaimānagar taiyittapiṇ¹⁸
tiṅḡaḷil vaḷi-varu-Śaḷukki i-ppaliyoḍum vāḷva[di]ḷ śāvadē śāla-ṇaṇṭ-enṭu ēvam-
uṇṭ-unṇiṇa śindaiyaṇ-āḡi muṇṇam pudalvarun=tāṇu[m*] muduḡu-koḍutt=udaiṇdu
Kūḍalē kaḷam-eṇa=kkuḡittu=kKūḍalil=vā[rā]ḍ-aṇṇiṇar manṇavar-allarḡaḷ pōr-pperum-
paḷi-ppiraṭṭar-āḡav=enṭ=iy-

¹ The letter *va* may also be read *a*.

² *vilakki* is the reading in Nos. 20 and 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III.

³ Delete the *ra*.

⁴ The letter *vi* looks like *mi* in the original.

⁵ *Udagaiyil* is the reading in the Takkōlam inscription, while No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, has *Uta*

gaiyil.

⁶ This letter is badly formed and looks like *mi* in the original.

⁷ *Viḍu* is the reading in the *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, No. 30.

⁸ *Kondār-kurumir* is replaced by *kond-āṭṭ-uravir* in No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III.

⁹ Read either *pōril* or *pōriṭ-ṭa*.

¹⁰ Correct it into *tammil* or *tammir-riṇḍi*.

¹¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, No. 30, has *Malli*.

¹² *Vāṇji* is replaced by *Maṇji* in No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III.

¹³ Some letters are completely worn out here. The gap may be filled up with the syllables *yum pi*,

¹⁴ Read *piramādēṇṇaiyūm ta* in the gap.

¹⁵ *Vamb-uyar* is replaced by *maṇṇu* in No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III.

¹⁶ Read *yānai*.

¹⁷ Between *ta* and *lai* there is some empty space.

¹⁸ *Mia* is another reading.

- 5 āvarum=ariyav=e|udiya śapadamē varum=elai vidaiyoḍuṅ=kuḍuttu Irattapādi¹-pipirattaril mē-tagu Gaṅg[ā]-kKe[t]taṇaiy=ēva āṅg-avan vand=āḍi vaṇaṅgiy=a-vvāchakamum=uraittalun=chindaiyu[m*] mugamun=tiru-ppuyam=iraṇḍum ēnd-eḷil-ugaviyōr²=iru-maḍaṅgu poliya=ppōnd=ap-pōr-kalam pu[gu]ndu Karandaiyil Vallavar-[k]ōṇai [va]ravu kāṇād=avan śolliya nāḷiṇ-mēlum=oru-tiṅgaḷ ³pātt-iṇid-irunda-piṇṇai pērtt=avan kā[l] keḍav=ōḍi mēl=kaḍaliḷ-ōḷittalun=Dēvanādanuṅ=Chittiyuṅ=Kēśiyum mūvarum tani-ttan mudugiḍa=ppāv-arum Irattappādi ēl-arai ilakkamum mura-ttōḷil=āḍakki muḷaṅgeri [mū]tti veṇ-kada⁴-ppuliy=ēri viyandu viḷaiyāḍa=tTuṅgapattirai-kkarai Jayabattira-ttūṇ nānila[m pa]ra[śa] nātti mēnāḷ vaṇdav=a-ppirattapāi Vallavan-ākki-[ch]chundara-kkaṇḍigai śūtti⁵ a-kKuntala[t*]-t-araiśanu[m*] makkaḷum ai-mmaḍi aṇji=ttan⁶
- 6 puraiśai-yāṇaiyir=pulai-kkaiyir=piḷaitt=ivv-ulag-elām=ariya ḍḍiya-pariś=oru-palagaiyir=paḷud-aṇav=e|udi=chchātti[ṇa]v=uraiyuṅ=Chaḷukki padamum=ēṇra pūttala-māvoḍu=ppuṭṭil pērttun=tān=kai-kkoṇḍa [V]ēṇḍ[ai]-ṇan-[n]āḍu ⁷mīttukkōṇḍ-alāl miḷgilaṅ=kēttiṇi vallaṇ-āḷil vandu kakk-eṇru śōl-eṇa=chcholliya pōkki ellaiy-āṅg-aḍuttav-a-ttāṇai eḷil Vijayavāḍaiyōḍ-aḍutta pēr-āṇṇ=ivandu āṇṇi=ttāḍutta Jananāḍapaiyu[m Tippa]raisaṇaiyu[m*] mudalāḡav-uḍaiyav=a-pperuṅ-chēṇaiyāi aḍaviyir=pāchchikkōḍāvi[riyi]ṇ-ṇan pōdaga nīr=unṇa=kKaliṅgam-ēḷuṅ=kaḍand=a-ppuli-valam-poṇitta-imaiya-Mahēndiratt-aḷavu[m*] mē-varuṇ=tāṇai-ttāvaḍi śelutti=ttāṇ pūṇ-kaḷark=āḍaikkalam pugunda paḍaikkala-ttāḍa-kkaiy Vijaiyāḍittarḷ=aruḷi viśaiyoḍu mīṇḍu viṭṭa kaliyūm
- 7 pūṇḍa jaya-ttiruvoḍuṅ=Gaṅgāpuri pugund-aruḷi āṅgē Rājādhiraṇ Rājarājan-eṇa-ttarāpadiyar-āḡa=ttamaṇiyatt=iyarri a-ppaḍi-maṇṇar=āḍi toḷud-ena iṇa-maṇi-ppidatt=irutti mu[ṇai]yidai Vēṅgai-ṇan-nāṭṭidai=[k]koṇḍa iru-ṇedi-ppirakkam varaiśaiyir=kātti āḷiyu=nigalamuṅ=kaḷarri āṅg=avar vāḷiya viradamum=aruḷi ḷḷa-ttalai kaḍal-aḍaiyāḍu pala-kalaṅ-cheḷutti⁸ mā-pperun-tāṇaiy=ēṇra-kkappuḍai-kka[ḍa]ḷ-valaiy-araṇattu vel-śaman-tuḍaṅgiy=a-chChīṅgaḷa-chchēṇai maṅga=ppaiṇ-kaḷar-Kurukulattaraiyaṇum=urum-eṇa=pporu-śiṇattu-tā[r*]-śāmantanum paṭṭu-viḷa-kkett-uḍaind=āṇṇād=ōr-ōśai=ttaraiyir=ōḍa=ttarāpadi Vijaiyabāhuvuṇ=tiśai-keḍav=ōḍa [ma]ṇṇ-avan dēviyai=pparri ve[n]ru mudalāḡiya āḷa-pperuṅ-kula-dana-maṇi-iṇam muḍiyōḍum vāri=ttiṇi-maḍil-Ilaṅgaiyūn-taṇaḍēy=ākki
- 8 Teṅgagan=tāṇḍi=kKoṇḍaiyil mīṇḍum=a-chChalukki paṇḍaiyil iratti pagattōḍum viḍu taḍuttu kaṇḍaril madi-Nāgaiyan Mārayan Manumakkaṇḍayan kattaṅ-giḷa kkūrru kavadiḡai=kKāmayan Koṇḍayan Āchchīdaran paṇkollu muiyatti-kko yan mudaliṇar mada-maḷai[y]-pporum-iḍi mudukittu vāśiy=ōḍa=kKo oṭṭumaḍaiyan mudaliṇar pāda-sāmantarōḍ=aiyṇ-kaḷiṇ=iland=ōḍa āḍaṇ-purav-ilāṅ-kariyūm=arivaiyar-kulāttōḍum=agappaḍa=ppidittu=ppaṇḍu pōla=pparaṇiyuṅ=koṇḍu taṇḍāl-amaiya Tuṇnamārāyaṇ-ṇaṇum=a-ppāḡāna Kēśavan yōḍaiyūm paḍaḡiṇ-iḍan-taṅgu Siṅgaṇan sāgaṇanil chaḷukki tan viśa n daṇḍaṇāyakar araśi śilai=ttiṇḍ-eri Śōḷiyavaraṇ-ēṇru ēl-pari-yāṇai mikkuṇum-andara-pūśa purakki-
- 9 gal Pulī-Śūttukkallir=jayastamba nātti=tte taṇ mudal sāmantarai-ch[Ch]akkara[kō]ttattu ta śanai-kKaliṅgam-iḍaiya

¹ Read -ppi.² yōḍ-iru is the reading in No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III.³ Read -pariś.⁴ No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, reads kaḍiṇ.⁵ kaṭṭi is another reading.⁶ The passage from a kKuntalaḷa to tan is omitted in No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III.⁷ The letter mī is so formed as to be mistaken for the Grantha ki.

paḍai-kkaḍal-ēvi vaḍa-tisai-chChakkarakōttattu mikk-uḍaṇṇ-eḷunda Chaḷukkiyan-
āpaiyai¹=kkana[l-eri] nūri=chChōṇay[ya]nagar śilai-chChōmayan Eriyaman vāma-
vél-Ādittapanman-rām-ivar kurai-ttalai-kkuḷāttōḍuṇ-kunippa-ttaraippa . . ād-
achcha pa² Maliyum Śagaiyan . num vach-
chira-ppaim-pūṇ-Manumanum³ [Vai]dumbanun=Dēvanāḍanun=Dēviko⁴
 nṇagaḍam-eṭṭum pagudiyum oṭṭaga-ttogudiyum . *rigala-ppariśandi-
ppagudiyum varisaiyir=koḷlaiyil kū patt=u-

10 *llaḷind=ōḍu nāḍaṇ-dēvi Kāviyil vāli-maṇ-ṇaḍuṅga . n Kāḷiyappa-
iyun=tambiyu . vichchada mudal tumbayavadi-
kuḷun=tōgaiyar-iṭṭamum mā-kkalatt=agappaḍa=ppidittu ti . kurra . lamayan
makkaḷaiy=oduḷki ellai kaḍandu nilaiy-iṭṭu-kkaḷagā-ppiliy-irudaḷ-kiḍanda vaḍa-
tisaiy-Imaiyattoḍuṇ-kiḍanda Sētu varambāga=chcheṇḡōl śelutti⁵
 vēda-nidiyai viḷakki mid-uyar vira-ttāṇi-kkoḍi tiyāga-kkoḍiyōḍum=
ērpavar varug-eṇṇu nīrpa=kkōttoḷil=urimaiyin-eydi araiśu viṇṇ-irundu mē-varu-Manu
nēri viḷakkiya kōv=Irājakōsarivanmar-āna *m[u]ḍaiyār śri-Vīrarājēndradē-
varkku yāṇḍu aṇḷāvadu Caṅgaikoṇḍasōḷapurattu=chChōlakēraḷan-tirumāḷigaiyil
Rājendraśōḷa-Māvalivānarājanil eḷundaruḷiy-irundu Jayaṅgoṇḍasō.

11 la-maṇḍalattu=kKaḷattūr-kkōttattu-ttāṇi[yū]r śri-Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṇ-
galattu=tTirumukkūḍal Mahāvishṇukkaḷ dēvadānamā[y] varuginṇa Kāliyūr-
kkōttattu=ttērōḍu-Paruvūrnāṭṭu Vayalaikkāv=ūragaga⁶ śālaikk=iruttu-varuginṇa
ponn=eḷupatt-aṇ-kaḷaṇḡum i-chchālaikku=chchālābōgamāy varuginṇa[pa]ḍi Irattap-
pāḍiy=ēl-araṇḡ-ilakkamuṇ=koṇḍu Āhavamallaṇaiy-irumaḍi ven-kaṇḍu Uḷagu[y*]yak-
koṇḍ-arulṇadēvaṇk=iyāṇḍ-iraṇḍāvadu mudal tavirndu vellān vagaiyil mudal-eḍuttu
i-pponṇ=eḷupatt-aṇ-kaḷaṇḡum ivv-ūrāl vandav=ūrkaḷaṇḡuṇ=kumarakkachchānamum
vaṇṇārappārai[yu]m mīn[pā]ṭṭamun=tattārappāṭṭamum=ullīṭṭa kiḷṇai-ppāṭṭamum
vēlikkāśun=tiṅgaḷ-mēramum muttāvaraṇamum taṇṇipudavaiyum valaṅgaiy=idaṅgai-
maga[u]maiyn=daśabandamu[m*] māḍaikkūliyum viraśēlaiyum⁷=ullīṭṭa pāṭṭa-

12 ṇgaḷ-utpaḍa=tTirumukkūḍal Mahāvishṇukkaḷ[u]kku vēṇḍu[m*] nimandaṅgaḷukk=iruppa-
dāga yāṇḍ=aiṇḡ[ā]vadu dēvaḍ[ā]ṇa mudal dēvaḍāṇa iṇaiy-iliyāga variyil=ida-
ttiruvāymoḷind-arulṇār-eṇṇu Tiru[ma]ndiravōlai Kshatri⁸yi[ś]ikhāmaṇi-valaṇāṭṭu=
pPaṇaiyūr-ṇāṭṭu Nērvāyil⁹ Nērvāyil-uḍaiyān Tāḷi Tiruppaṇāṅāḍuḍaiyāṇ-āṇa
Vāṇavan Vallavaraiyan-eḷuttināḷun-Tirumantravōlai-nāyagam Pāṇḍiyanārum Rāja-
rāja-Brahmamārāyarum Vīrarājētra¹⁰-Gāṅgaiyarājaṇ=oppināḷum pugunda . kē[vi]
variyl=iṭṭu-kkolgav-eṇṇu Villavarājaruṇ=Kaliṅgattaraiyarum Viḍaiyil Rājētra¹¹.
vayirāgarachchōḷarum Pāṇḍiyanārum ivvōrgaḷ=ēvinapaḍiyēy=Uḍankūṭṭattu
adigārigaḷ Vīrarājētra¹²-Brahmadhirājaruṇ=Chōḷa-Brahmamārāyaruṇ=Chembaiyan
Śittirājarum Atiśayaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāruṇ=Jayaṅgoṇḍasōḷa-Viḷupparaiyarum Utta-
maśōḷa-pPallavaraiyarum Viḍaiyil-

¹ Read *tānai*.

² Here is an unwritten space which cannot be filled up.

³ Between the second *ma* and *num* there is some unaccountable space in the original.

⁴ Here also there is some vacant space.

⁵ The dot may be replaced by the letter *pa*.

⁶ The unwritten space at the beginning of this line cannot be filled up.

⁷ Space for about 8 letters are left blank.

⁸ For *mu* read *u*.

⁹ Read *vārargaḷ*.

¹⁰ Read *śāhai*.

¹¹ Read *Kshatriya*.

¹² This word is written below the line.

¹³ Read *ndra*.

- 13 adigaṛaṃ] Kāḍavarājaruṇ=Kāvērivallaba-Mūvēndavēlārum Iṭṭarai[ya]ruṇ=Chōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Virarājendra-Majavarājarum Valavan-Mūvēndavēlārum Rāja-uttama-Mūvēndavēlārum Rājarāja-kka[ḍi*]ḡairājaruṇ=Jayaṅḡondaśōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Rājēntaśōla¹-Apukka-pPallavaraiyaruṇ=Chembiyan-Brahmamārāvaruṇ-Chundaraśōla-pPallavaraiyaruṇ=Jayaṅḡondaśōla - Vayaṇṭṭaraiyaruṇ=Jayaṅḡondaśōla-chChēpāmuga-Mūvēndavēlāruṇ=Chōla-Viḷupparaiyaruṇ=Jayaśiṅga-kulakāla-Viḷupparaiyarum Virarājēnta¹-tTiruvindaḷūr-pāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēlārum Rājarāja-Viḷupparaiya-Virarājēnta¹-Varaḡuṇarājarum Kṣhatṛiyaśiṅga-Mūvēndavēlārum Uttamaśōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Pārmanṇu-kulādipa-Mūvēndavēlārum Irattakulakāla-Mūvēndavēlārum Uttama-Pāṇḍiya-Mūvēndavēlā—
- 14 rum Virāśōla-pPallavaraiyaruṇ= . . ṇa . . ri . . . -Mūvēndavēlārum Muḍi-koṇḍaśōla-Mūvēndavēlārum Valavarāditta-Mūvēndavēlāruṇ-Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōla-pPallavaraiyaruṇ=Nāḍuvirukkum Uṇupattūr Yajña-baṭṭaruṇ²=Sāvyaṇa-Siva[ḷā]jjāti-baṭṭaruṇ=Kaṛippuṇattu-chChōlādēva-baṭṭaruṇ=Kaṛippuṇattu Anantaṇārāyaṇa-baṭṭaruṇ=ēva=pPuravuvāri-tiṇai-kkaḷattu-kkaṅḡāṇi Kulaiya-divākara-Mūvēndavēlārum Arindaman Puraṅgarambai-nāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Rājarāja-chChēnni-nāḍu-kiḷavanum Virāśiṅga-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Aḷaḡiyaśōla-Viḷupparaiyaṇum³ Puravuvāri-tiṇai-kkaḷaṇ=Chalukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Vāṇavan-Viḷupparaiyaṇum Valavarāja-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Avaniṇārāyaṇa-Mūvēndavēlāṇuṇ=Jiṅḡāntaka-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Varippottaḡam Pālāiyuṇ⁴-kiḷa-
- 15 vaṇum Mugavēṭṭi Jayaṅḡondaśōla-dDamaṇūr-nāṭṭu-Viḷupparaiyaṇum *[Ā]damaṅga-lamuḍaiyaṇum Atirājēnta¹-pPallavaraiyaṇuṇ=Kūndaḷ-kiḷāṇuṇ=Terippu Iṅgaik-kuḍaiyaṇum Māttūruḍaiyaṇum Valavaśūḷamani-Mūvēndavēlāṇuṇ=Taravusāṭṭu Śōlādīvākara-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Pulikiḷāṇum Palaniyāyam Paṭṭāḷamuḍaiyaṇum Sēmbiyan-Miḷalaivēlāṇum⁵ Araiyamāṇum Variyiliḍu Avai[p]āla-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Arindaman-Viḷupparaiyaṇum Varippottaḡa-kkaṇku=chChāṅḡāṭṭimaṅḡalamuḍaiyaṇum Valavan-Viḷupparaiyaṇu[m*] Paṭṭōlai Śiṇupākkiḷāṇum Maṇarpākkiḷāṇuṇ=Kēḷi-variyl-iḍuvitta Puravuvāri-tiṇai-kkaḷaṇ=Chalukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Śiṅḡā-āntaka-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Mugavēṭ-
- 16 ṭi Śōlamā[r]tṭāṇḍa-Mūvēndavēlāṇuṇ=Kūndaikiḷāṇum Vāsittān-varippottaḡa-kkaṇku=chChāṅḡāṭṭimaṅḡalamuḍaiyaṇum Variyiliṭṭān Śōla-maṇḍalattu=pPuravuvāri-tiṇai-kkaḷattu-kkaṇku=chChōḷamāṇikka-Mūvēndavēlāṇum Paṭṭōlai-eḷudiṇān Virāśōla-Nēnmali-nāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēlāṇum irundu yāṇḍ-aṇḡāḷadu nāḷ munṇūru-nārpatt-eṭṭiṇāḷ variyiliṭṭa pon eḷubatt-aṇḡ-kalaṇḡum(m)=i[v]v-ū-aḡaṇḡalukkum vandav=i-ppāṭ-ṭaṅḡalum munbu i-ttēvar dēvaḍānamāy varuḡiṇḡa pon eḷubatt-iru-kalaṇḡēy-onbadu-maṇḡāḍiyum āḡa=ppon=pūru-nārpatt-eḷu-kalaṇḡēy-onbadu-maṇḡāḍikku=ppon kalaṇḡ-iṇukku Rājakēsarīyāl nēllu=ppadiṇ-aṇḡ-kalam-āḡa vanda nēllu iraṇḍ-āyirattu munṇūru-aṇḡbatt-onbadin-kalaṇḡ padakku munṇāliy-āḷakkē-
- 17 mu-chcheviḍum ivaiyirukku Arumōḷidēvan-marakkāl-ākki-kkāl-vāsiyuṇ=kāl-aḷavu-kūli-yuṇ=korraḷavu-vāsiyum utpaḍa Rājakēsarīyāṇ-kalam Arumōḷidēvan-marakkālāḷ kalaṇḡ tūṇi nā-nāliy-āḡa vāsiy-ēṇuṇ=nēllu eṇṇūru-ēnbattu-nāṇ-kalaṇḡēy-iru-tūṇi mu-nṇāliy-āḷakkum āḡa vāsiy-ēṇṇiy=Arumōḷidēvan-marakkālāḷ nēllu mūv-āyiratt-iruṇṇūru-nārpattu-mukkalāṇḡ iru-tūṇi-ppadakk-arū-nāliy-uḷakkē mu-chcheviḍum ivv-ūrāl vandav=ūr-kkaḷaṇḡu pon kalaṇḡuṇ=kumara-[k]kachchāṇam pon kalaṇḡum

¹ Read *ndrg.*

^aThis word is engraved below the line.

* This word may also be read *Pada*.*

¹ Read-baffrum.

* Read over.

* This word is engraved below the line.

min-pāttam pon mu-kkaḷaṇṇē-kāluṇ-kilirai-ppāttam pon aiṇ-kāḷaṇṇē-mukkālun
āga=ppon paḍiṇ-oru-kāḷaṇṇiṇāl māḍai paḍiṇ-eṭṭēy-eḷu-māviṇār=kāsu muppatt
āṇaraiyūn-daṣavandaṇ-kāsu irubatt-eṭṭaraiyē nāl-māvu[m*] māḍaikkūli kāsū irubatt-
aiṇṇē mu-

18 kkālē mūṇṇu-māvum mudalē-śelavu kaṇakkinpaḍi kāsū mūṇṇum vappakka-kkūlikku=
kkāsū onṇ-araiyūn=tari-ppuḍavaiyār=kāsū mukkālun[m mu]ttāvaraṇattār=kāsū
mukkālun=tiṅgalmērattār=kāsū onṇ-araiyūm vēli-kkāsukku=kkāsū nūṇṇ-orubatt-
eṭṭum āga=kkāsū iruṇṇṇ-orubatt-ār-araiyē iraṇḍu-māvukku i-ttēvarku vēṇḍun=
nimandaṇ-cheydapaḍi [*] Ālvārku=chchirukālai-chchandiy-onṇukku=pparuppu-ppōṇa-
gattukku ariṣi kuṇṇukku aiṇṇ-iraṇḍ-ākki neḷu=ppadakkū nā-nāḷiyum paruppu nā-
nāḷikku=ppayaṇṇu kuṇṇukku neḷu=ppadakkum puḷukku-kkaṇṇiy-amud-onṇukku
neḷu nāḷiy-urium pori-kkaṇṇiy-amud-onṇukku neḷu nāḷiy-urium=tayir-amud-urikku
neḷu nā-nāḷiyūn=neyy-amud-āḷakkukku nel nāḷiyum upp-āḷakkukku nell-uḷakkum
āḍaikkāy-amudu vēṇṇkāy-aṇṇukku nel nāḷiyum ve-

19 ṇṇilaiy-irubadukku nell-urium āga=chchandiy-onṇukku nel aiṇ-kurūṇi aiṇ-nāḷi mūḷakkum [*]
uchchiyampōḍu śandikku akkāraḍalai-pōṇagam¹ Virāśōḷaṇukku ariṣi nā-nāḷikku
nel kuṇṇiy-iru-nāḷiyum paruppu nā-nāḷikku=ppayaṇṇu kuṇṇukku nel padakkū=
ppāl-aṇṇu-nāḷikku nel kuṇṇi nā-nāḷiyūn=ney nāḷikku nel tūṇiyum vāḷaippaḷam
eṭṭukku nel nā-nāḷiyum āḍaikkāy-amudu vēṇṇkā[y*] aṇṇukku nel nāḷiyum
vēṇṇilaiy-irubadukku nell=urium āga akkāraḍalai-ppōṇagattukku nell=iru-tūṇi
kuṇṇi mu=nāḷiy-urium [*] idukku nāl onṇukku=chcharkarai muppatt-iru-palamāga
nāl mu[n*]nūṇṇ-arupadakkū=chcharkarai paḍiṇ-ōr-āyiratt-aiṇṇūṇṇ-irubadin-pala-
ttukku=kkās-onṇukku=chcharkarai aiṇṇūṇṇ-eḷubatt-aṇṇu-palamāga=kkāsū irubadum [*]
iravai-sandikku=ppāl-pōṇagattukku ariṣi nā-nāḷikku nel kuṇṇiy-iru-nāḷiyum pāl
nā-nāḷikku nel kuṇṇiyum porikkaṇṇiy-amud-onṇukki²

20 nel³ nāḷiy-urium porikkaṇṇiy-amidukkum pōṇagattukku=neyy-āḷakkukku nel nā-
nāḷiyum āḍaikkāy-amudu vēṇṇkāy-aṇṇukku nel nāḷiyum vēṇṇilaiy-irubadukku nell-
urium āga iravai-sandikku nel mu-kkurūṇiyē [eḷu]*-nāḷiyūṇ=[*]Ji(Śrī)-Rāgavachecha-
krava[r*]tikku uchchiyampōḍai śandi onṇukku ariṣi nā-nāḷikku nel kuṇṇiy-
iru-nāḷiyūn=neyy-amuduṇ=kāṇiyamudum āḍaikkāy-amudum uḷḷiṭṭinavaiyirukku
neḷu nā-nāḷiyūn=āga nel kuṇṇiy-aṇṇu-nāḷiyum Ālvārku=chchandaṇakkāppukku=
chchandaṇan=nāl-onṇukku arai-ppalam-āga nāl munṇṇṇ-arubadukku=chchandaṇam
nūṇṇ-eṇbadin-palattukku kās-onṇukku=chchandaṇam e[ṭṭu-ppalam-ā]ga=kkās=irubatt-
iraṇḍ-araiyūm mēṇṇaḍikku=kkarpūra-ppottaraṣu nāl-onṇukku aṇṇu-māv-āga nāl
munṇṇṇ-arubadukku=kkarpūram paḍiṇ-oru-kāḷaṇṇē-kālukku=kkās-onṇukku=kkar-
pūram=arai-kkaḷaṇṇ-āga kās-iru-

21 batt-iraṇḍ-araiyūn=kuṇṇumattuk[ku]=kkās-onṇum [*] Ālvārku=ttiru-nundāvilakk-iraṇḍukku
nāl-onṇukku=ēṇṇaiy-urium irā-ttiruchchurru-māḷigaiyilē viḍiyum-āḷavum=eriyum
vilakku mūṇṇukku=ēṇṇaiy-uḷakk-āḷakku mēṇṇaḍiyil eriyum sandi-vilakku=ppattu-
kku vilakk-onṇipukk=ēṇṇai oru-śevide-kāl-āga ēṇṇai uḷakkēy-iru-śevide-araiyūm-
āga nāl-onṇukku ēṇṇai nāḷiy-āḷakkēy-iru-śevide-araiy-āga nāl munṇṇṇ-arubadukk-
ēṇṇai nā-nūṇṇ-aimbatt-iru-nāḷiy-urikku=kkās-onṇukku=ēṇṇaiy-irubadūṇṇ-āga=kkās-
irubatt-iraṇḍ-araiyēy-araikkālum [*] Aippaṣi-ttiruṇṇāḷi tiruviḷāy-eḷund-a[ru*]ḷum Aḷagi-
yamaṇavāḷar nāl eḷiḷ=amudu-seyya=ppōḍ-onṇukku ariṣi . pada-
kkukku neḷu aiṇ-kurūṇiyūn parupp=urikku=ppayaṇṇu nāḷikku nell-iru-nāḷiyum
porikkaṇṇiy-amud-onṇukku nel nāḷiyum puḷukku-kkaṇṇi onṇuk-

¹ This word is engraved below the line.

² The e sign of ne is in the previous line.

³ Read *ṇṇukku*.

⁴ *kkurūṇiy-oru* is what is required.

- 22 ku nel nāliyum miḷagu-kaṟi onṟukku nel nāliyum miḷag-iru-śevīḍ-araikku nell-iru-nāliyu n-neyy-āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyun=tayir nālikku nell-iru-nāliyum upp-uḷakkukku nell-uriyum āḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy=añ[ju]kku nel nāliyum veṟḷilaiy-irubadukku nell-uriyum-āga=ppōḍ-onṟukku nel eḷu-kuṟuṇiy-āga=ttiruvīḷav=eḷundaruḷu-nāḷ ēḷi eḷundaru[lu*]m pōḍu paṇṇiraṇḍukku nell=eḷu-kala[m*] [!]* munnēy Māsi-ttiruṇāḷ-eḷundaru[lu*]m pōḍu paṇṇiraṇḍukku mēṟpaḍiy-ākki nell=eḷu-kalamum [!]* i-ttirunāḷ=iraṇḍilum Virāṣōḷan tiru-ṇandavanattir=tiruvēṭṭaiy-eḷundaruḷu[m*] nāḷ-onṟukku=pperun-tiruv-amud-ariśi kalattukku nell=[iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadakkum parupp-amud-iru-nālikku=ppayaṟu nā-nālikku nel kuṟuṇiyum porikkaṟiy-amud-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum puḷukku-kkaṟiy-amud-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum miḷagu-kaṟiy-amud-onṟukku nel kuṟu-
- 23 niyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum upp-iru-nālikku nel nā-nāliyum ney nālikku nel tūṇiyum tayir kuṟuṇikku nel padakkum āḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkā[y] nāṟpadukku nel kuṟuṇiyum veṟḷilai=ppaṟṟ-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum āra¹ nāḷ-onṟukku nel mu-kkalanē tūṇi-ppadaku nā-nāliy-āga=ttiruvēṭṭaiy-eḷundaruḷu-nāḷ iraṇḍukku nell=eḷu-kalanē kuṟuṇiyum [!]* Jayantyaśṭami-nāḷ Veṇṇai-kkūttāḷvāṇukku perun-tiruv-amudukku ariśi tūṇi-ppadakkukku nel kalanē mu-kkuṟuṇiyum parupp=iru-nālikku=ppayaṟu nā-nālikku nel kuṟuṇiyum porikkaṟiy-amud-onṟukku nel nā-nāliyum puḷukku-kkaṟiy-amud-onṟukku nel nā-nāliyum miḷagu-kaṟiy-amudukku nel nā-nāliyum [miḷag-iru-śe]*viḍ-araikku nell-iru-nāliyum upp=urikku nel nāliyun=tayir-amudu nā-nālikku nel kuṟuṇiyum neyy-amud=uḷakkukku nel kuṟuṇiyum āḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy-irubadukku nel nā-nāliyum veṟḷilai=ppaṟṟ-on-
- 24 ṟukku nell-iru-nāliyum āga=pperun-tiruv-amudukku nel kalanē iru-tūṇi aiñ-nāliyum [!]* aṟṟai-nāḷal=amudu-śeyd-aruḷa appattukk-ariśi kuṟuṇiy-iru-nālikku nel mu-kkuṟuṇi oru-nāḷi[yum] paruppu nālikku=ppayaṟ-iru-nālikku nel nā-nāliyun=neyy-urikku nel padakkum śaṟkaraiy-irubadin-palattukku nel tūṇiyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyuñ=chīragam-iru-śevīḍ-araikku nell-iru-nāliyum upp=uḷakkukku nell-uriyum=tēṇkāy=āṟukku nel padakku[m*] āḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy-irubadukku nel nā-nāliyum veṟḷilai=ppaṟṟ-onṟukku nell-iru-nāliyum āga appav-amudu[kku*] nel kalanē kuṟuṇi oru-nāliy-uriyum [!]* i-tternvil=eḷundaruḷu[nāḷ]=amudu-śeydaruḷa vāḷaippaḷa[m*] muppatt-iraṇḍukku nel padakkun=tayir-amudu nā-nālikku nel kuṟuṇiyum āga Jayantyaśṭamikkku nel mu-kkalanēy-aru-nāliy-uriyum² [!]* Kārttigai=kKārttigai-nāḷ perun-tiruv-amudukk=ariśi kalattukku nell-iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadaku=pparupp=iru-nālikku=ppayaṟu nā-nā-
- 25 ḷikku nel kuṟuṇiyum porikkaṟiy-amud-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum puḷukku-kkaṟiy-amud-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum miḷagu-kaṟiy-amud-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum puḷiñ-kaṟiy-amudukku=ttayir kuṟuṇikku nel padakkuñ=chaṟkarai paḍin-palattukku nel padakkum vāḷaippaḷam=irubadukku nel kuṟuṇiy=iru-nāliyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum uppu nāliy-urikku nel mu-nāliyun=neyy-amudu nālikku nel tūṇiyun=tayir-amudu kuṟuṇikku nel padakkum āḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy aiṁbadukku nel kuṟuṇiy-iru-nāliyum veṟḷilai=ppaṟṟ-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum āga nel mu-kkalanēy-iru-tūṇi mu-kkuṟuṇiy-eḷu-nāliyum [!]* i-nāḷiḷ viḍiyum-aḷavun=tiruvuṇṇāḷ-igaiyilun-tiruchohuṟṟumāḷigaiyilum eriyum viḷakk-iru-nūṟṟukku viḷakk=onṟukk-ṇṇaiy-āḷakkāga ṇṇaiy-irubatt-ai-ññālikku=kkās-onṟe-kālum [!]* Uḍaiyār-āṟi-Vīrārā-jāṇṭradēvar³ aṭṭai-ttirunāḷ Āvaṇi-ttiṅgaḷ tiruv-Āyilēyattil Āḷvarkku=ttirumaṇja-

¹ Read āga.² Read uriyum.³ This portion is badly damaged.⁴ Read "ndra".

- 26 nattukku=ttirumuḷaiy-aṭṭa=ppayaṟu nālik[ku] nell=iru-nāliyun=tirumuḷai-kkīl=aṭṭa nel padakkuṇ=kalaśam nūṟṟ-eṭṭu=chchūḷa nūl=oru-palattukku nel kuṟuṇiyum aḍikkīl-aṭṭa nel tūṇi-[ppa]dakkun=tiruchchuṇṇattukk=ariśiy=iru-nālikku nel nā-nāliyun=ney nā-nālikku nel kalanēy tūṇiyun=tayir [nā]-nālikku nel kuṟuṇiyum pāl nā-nālikku nel kuṟuṇiyum [*] arrai-nāl perun-tiruv-amudukku ariśi kalattukku nellu iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadakkum paruppu nā-nālikku=ppayaṟu [kuṟu*]ṇikkul nel padakkum puḷukku-kkaṟiy-amud=onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum pori-kkaṟiy-amud=onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum miḷagu-kariy-amud=onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum uppu nālikku nell=iru-nāliyum puḷiṇ-kariy-amudukku=ttayir kuṟuṇikkul nel padakkum ney nālikku nel tūṇiyum aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟṟuḷukāy mu-ppadaku nel kuṟuṇiy=iru-nāliyum veṟṟilai-kkaṭṭu mūṇṟukku nell=aru-nāli[yu*]m puḷiṇ-kariḷukku=chchaṟkarai padin-palattukku nel pa-
- 27 dakkum vāḷaippaḷam=irubadukku nel kuṟuṇiy=iru-nāliyum āga nell=aru-kalanē aiṇ-kuṟuṇiy=iru-nāliyum [*] i-ttirunāḷaiḷ=ttirumuḷaiy-aṭṭa=ppāḷigai-śūḷa=ppuḍavaiy=onṟuṇ=kalatṭin-mēḷaḍi=ppuḍavaiy=onṟum tirumaṇjaṇam¹-paṇṇum=āchāri[ya]ṇukku uḍukkavum uttari[ya]mum=iḍa=ppuḍavaiy=iraṇḍum=āga=ppuḍavai nālukku=kkās=onṟun=tirumaṇjaṇam¹=āḍiy-arūḷa=ttēn nā-nālikku=kkās=araiyum kuḷakundan maṇjaḷ=aimbaḍin-palattakku=kkāsū kālum snapana-dravyaṇḡaḷ kolḷa=kkās=araiyum tiru-maṇjaṇam¹-āḍināl śāṭṭa pariśaṭṭam=onṟukku=kkās=onṟum snapanam-paṇṇuvikkum āchāriyaṇukku dakṣiṇai kās=onṟum arrai-nāḷāṟ²=tiruvōlakkaṇ=chēvikka vanda Śrī-Vaiśṇavavarkkun=tiruv[āy]moḷi vi]ṇṇappaṇ=cheyvārkuṇ=kuḍukkum pariśaṭṭav=uru=ppattukku=ttaniy=onṟu kāsū kāl-āga=kkās=iraṇḍ-araiyum [*] ittirunā[*] ṣollun=tiruvukku=ppariśaṭṭattukku=kkās=araiyum [*] ittanmamun=tiruchchuṇṇamāḷigaiyuṇ=Jananāḍan-maṇḍapamuṇ=cheyvi-
- 28 yṭṭa Vaiśyan Mādavan, Dāmayan piṇanda Kārttigai-ttiṇḡaḷ=pPūrāḍatti-nāl=ttirumaṇ-juṇattukkum³ perun-tiruv-amudukkun=nell=aru-kalanēy aiṇ-kuṟuṇiy=iru-nāliyum ippaḍikkul=ttirumaṇjuṇattukku³ vēṇḍuvana kolḷavum pariśaṭṭam peruvārkkul=ppariśaṭṭaṇ=kuḍukkavum mēṟpaḍiy-āga=kkās=ārē-kālum [*] Purattādi=tTiruvōṇatti-nāl Veṇṇaikkūttālvāṇ Jananāḍan-maṇḍapatt=elund-arūḷināl appa-amudukk=ariśi aiṇ-kuṟuṇikkul nel kalanē [nā]-nāliyuṇ=chaṟkarai mu-nṇūṟṟu-ppalattukku nell=iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadakkum ney mu-nṇālikku nel kalamum miḷagukkuṇ=chāgattukkum uppukkum nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum aḍaikk[āy-a]mud=enbadukku nel=ppadakkum veṟṟilai=kkatt-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum [ā]ḡa nel aiṇ-kalamum [*] amāvāsyaiyil Ālvāṇ tīrttham prasāḍittāl tīrttham=āḍa-vandār puṇambīl Jananāḍaṇ-maṇḍapatt=unṇum Śrī-Vaiśṇavar irupadinmaṇku=ppērāl=ariśi nāliy-uriy-āga ariśi mu-kkuṟuṇi-
- 29 y-aru-nālikku nell=iru-tūṇi kuṟuṇi mu-nnāliyum puḷukku-kkaṟiy=onṟukku nel ai-nāliyum miḷagu-kariy=onṟukku nel ai-nāliyum puḷitta-kariy=onṟukku=ppuḷiy-utpaḍa nel=kkuṟuṇiy-oru-nāliyum ilai-kkaṟikkul nell=iru-nāliyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum upp=iru-nālikku nel nā-nāliyum neyy=ūḷakkukku nel=kkuṟuṇiyum mōṟ padakkukku nel=kkuṟuṇiy-iru-nāliyuṇ=chaṟkarai nār-palattukku nel=kkuṟuṇiyum veṟuṇkāy nārpadukku nel=kkuṟuṇiyum veṟṟilai=ppaṟ-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum aḍuvān=oruvāṇukku nel=kkuṟuṇiyum āga amāvāsyai onṟukku, nel=kkalanēy=elū-kuṟuṇi mu-nnāliy=āga amāvāsyai panniraṇḍukku nel=ppattonbaḍin-kalanē tūṇi nā-nāliyun=Tiruvēṇḡaḍamālai=(t' tīrttham-āḍa=pperuṇ-kūṭṭamāy vandu Jananāḍan-maṇḍapatt=unṇum Śrī-Vaiśṇavar nūṟṟuvarkku=ppērāl ariśi nāliy-

¹ Read *janam*.² Read *nāḷāḷ*.³ Read *tirumaṇṭana*.

- uriy-āga ariśi kalanē tūṇi=ppadakk-aṇu-nālikku nel mu-kkalanēy=iru-tūṇi=ppadakk=eḷu-nāliyum payaṇu kuṇuṇikkku nel=ppadakkum pulukku-kkaṇiy=onṇukku
- 30 nel mu-kkuṇuṇiyum miḷagu-kkaṇiy=onṇukku nel mu-kkuṇuṇiyum pulitta-kkaṇiy onṇukku=ppuḷiy=uṭpaḍa nel=ttūṇiyum ilai-kkaṇiy=onṇukku nel=kkuṇuṇiyum miḷagu nūḷa-kkukku nel mu-kkuṇuṇiyum uppu=kkuṇuṇikkku nel=ppadakkum neyy=iru-nālikku nell=iru-tūṇiyum mōr kalattukku nel tūṇi=ppadakkum puliṇ-kkaṇikkku mōrukku nel tūṇi=ppadakkum śaṅkarai irubatt-iru-palattukku nel tūṇiyum veruṇkāy=iru-nūṇukku nel aiṇ-kuṇuṇiyum verṇilai=ppaṇṇ-eṭṭukku nel=ppadakkum aḍuvār=iruvarkku nel tūṇiyum ṣuṇṇāmbukku nel nā-pāliyum virag-iḍuvān=oruvanukku nel=ppadakkum ilai-kkaṇiy-iḍuvān=oruvaukku nel=ppadakkum āga nel eṇ-kalanēy-iru-tūṇi mu-nṇāliyum [1*] ivargaḷ tīrttham-ādi miṇḍu vandāl Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nūṇruvarkku mēṇpaḍiy-ākki nell=eṇ-kalanēy=iru-tūṇi mu-nṇāliyum [1*] Puraṭṭādi=tTiruvōṇatti-nāl tīrttham=āḍa vāṇḍa Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nūṇruvarkku mēṇpaḍiy=ākki nell=eṇ-kalanēy=iru-tūṇi mu-nṇāliyum Aippaśi=ttirunāḷil=ttiruvilāṇ-eḷundaru[1u*]=nāl=āṇil nāl onṇil=unṇum Śrī-Vai-
- 31 shṇava(r)r-irubatt-aiṇj-āga nāl-āṇil=unṇum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nūṇṇ-aimbadum tīrttham-āḍum-anṇ=unṇum Śrī-[Vaiṣṇavar=ai]mbadum āga n[e]ḷu-kalanē tūṇiy=aṇu-nāliyum [1*] Mārgaḷi=ttiruv-ēkāḍaśiyilun=āḍaśiyilun=Tiruvāymoḷi kēṭka vāṇḍa Śrī-Vaiṣṇavarkk=i nell=eṇ-kalanēy=iru-tūṇi mu-nṇāliyum [1*] Mā-
- 32 śi-Maga-ttirunāḷil i-mmaṇḍapattil=unṇum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar-iru-nūṇruvarkku mēṇpaḍiy-ākki nel paḍi[n-eḷu-kalanē tūṇi]y¹=aṇu-nāliyum [1*] tiru
²vāṇukku nāl=onṇukku nell=aṇu-nāliyum kās=onṇum Tiruvāymoḷi viṇṇappaṇ-cheyvār=iruvarkku=ppērāl nellu=kku ³ṇukku nel mu-kkuṇuṇiyum pērār=kās-iraṇḍ-ā-
- 33 ga-kkāśu nālum Viraśōḷan-tirunaṇḍavanam uḷappār nāl⁴varkku=ppērāl nel=kkuṇuṇiy-āga nāl=onṇukku nel tūṇi =⁵ttiruv-utsavaṇgaḷukkun=tirumaṇjunaṇgaḷukkum⁶ nāt=cholli nāl-ōlai tūkkun=tiruvukku nāl=onṇukku nel kuṇuṇi ⁷[ri]ḍayir-ēṇṇi=kkaḍamai taṇḍi nimandaṇ-chelutti
- 34 niṇkum Vaikhānasa dēvakanmi[y-oru]vāṇukku nāl=onṇukku nel kuṇuṇiyuṇ=kāśu nālun=⁸kaṇakk-eḷudi niṇkuṇ=ka ⁹ḷ=onṇukku nel kuṇuṇiyuṇ=kāśu nālun=Āḷvārku=ttirumaṇjunaṇgaḷukkukku¹⁰ vēṇḍuṇ=kalaśamun=tirumaḍaippaḷḷikkun=Jananā-ḍaṇ-man ¹¹kiḍaigaḷukkun=Śāstraṇkum Ātula-śālaikku vē-
- 35 ṇḍuṇ=kalam-iḍuṇ=kūśavaṇukku nāl=onṇukku nel kuṇuṇiyum Āḷvārku=ppariśattamuṇ=Jananāḍan-maṇḍapattil=ōḍu ¹²ōṭtu=kkēṭpārkkum ātulaṇkum oliikkum=iraṇkollikku[m*] nāl=onṇukku nel nā-pāliyum Jananāḍan-maṇḍapamun Ātula-śālaiyum nimanda ¹³kun=tirumeykāvalē Tirumukkūḍaṇ-Pēraiyaṇukku
- 36 nāl=onṇukku nel nā-pāliyuṇ=kās=onṇum tiruchchurumāligai pudukkuppuṇattukku nel nāṇḍadin-kalamuṇ=ja ¹⁴-maṇḍapattil Ri(Ri)g-vēdam=ōḍuvippān=

¹ The letters in brackets have been filled up by referring to the stone. They are obstructed by a pillar and have not come out in the impression.

² The portion of the wall before this, represented by dots, is replaced by an uninscribed slab.

³ Read *tirumaṇjana*.

⁴ The portion before this is obstructed by a pillar.

⁵ The letters have peeled off.

⁶ For dots read *śaśāṭṭa*.

- oruvapukku nāl=onrukku nel padakkum Yajur-vēdam=ōduvippan=oruvapukku
nāl-onruk[ku nel] padakkum ivargaḷ=iruvarkum pērār=kāśu nāl-āga=kkā-
- 37 ē=ettum Vyākaraṇamum Rūpāvat[āram]um vakkāṇikkum Bhaṭṭan=oruvapukku nāl=
onrukku nel tūṇiyum kāśu pattum R[ig-vēdam ō]¹dum Brāhmaṇar
padinmarum Yajur-vvēdam ōdum Brāhmaṇar padinmaru[m] Vyākaraṇamum
Rūpāvatāramuṇ=kētkum Brāhmaṇaru[m*] chāttirar=irupadinmarum Mahā-Pāṇ-
[charāttirar=oru]¹padinmarum Śiva-Brāhmaṇar mūvarum Vaikhānasar aivarum
- 38 ti . . . mār-iruvaram āga ōduv[ārum] ōttu-kkēlpārum=āga aṇupadinmarkku=
ppērāl=ariśi nāli-y-urīy-āga nāl=onrukk=ariśi tū]²ni mu-kkuṇiy-iru-nālikku
nell=iru-kalanē tūṇiy-oru-nāliyum payaru nā-nālikku nel kuṇiyum puḷukku-
kkaṇikku nell-aṇu-nāliyum ilai-kka-
- 39 ṇikku nel mu-nnāliyu[m] mīlagu-kkaṇikku nel kuṇiyum puḷitta-kkaṇi[k*]ku puḷiy-utpaḍa
nel kuṇiyum mīlag-uḷakk-āḷakkukku nel nā-nāli]²yum uppu nālikku nel
kuṇiyum ney nālikku nel tūṇiyum mōr tūṇi-ppadakkukku nel mu-kkuṇiy-
yum veṇṇūkāy-aṇubadukku nel kuṇi[nā-nā]³iyum veṇṇilai par-iraṇḍukku
nel nā-nāliyum
- 40 Vayalaikkāvūr-niṇṇu ariśi koḍuvandu viṇagum=ilaivum=iṭṭu=ttanṇir=attiy=adu-madaiyar
mūvarkku=ppērāl kuṇiy-āga [nāl-on]²rukku nel mu-kkuṇiyum pērār=kās-
iraṇḍ-āga=kkās-āgum i-nmaṇḍapatt-uṇṇuṇ=chāttirarkkuṇ=kidaigaḷukkum paṇi-
śeyyum peṇḍuga[{-iruvark}]³ku=ppērāl nellu nā-nāli-y-āga nāl-onrukku
- 41 nel kuṇiyum pērār=kās-onr-āga=kkās-iraṇḍum chāttirarkkuṇ=kidaigaḷukkum ātular-
kkum kiḍakka=ppāy=eḷupat[taindu]kku=kkās-iraṇḍum kiḍaigaḷukkuṇ=chātti-
rarākkun=talaikk=aṭṭa=chchaṇiy-onrukk=eṇṇaiy=iru-nāli-y-āga āṇḍ-onri=chapi aimbatt-
onrukk=[eṇṇai]¹ nūṇṇ-iru-nālikkum Jananādan-maṇḍapatt=ōttu-
- 42 kkētpārkku irāy-eriyum viḷakk=onrukk=eṇṇai uḷakk-āga āṇḍ-onrukk=eṇṇai toṇṇūru-
nāliyu[m ivv-e]⁴ṇṇai nūṇṇ-toṇṇūṇṇ-iru-nālikku=kkās-onrukk=eṇṇaiy=irupadi-
nāli-y-āga=kkās=onbad-araiyēy-araikkāluṇ=Jananādan-maṇḍapat[tukku]⁵=ppudukkupp-
gattukku nel nāppadin-ka[lamu]m [!]⁶ ātu-
- 43 [la]r-sālai Virāśōḷanil vyāḍippaṭṭu=kkiḍappār padinaiyarkku=ppērāl=ariśi nāli-y-āga
ariśi kuṇiy-eḷu-nālikku nel [tūṇi ai]⁷nāli-y-urīyum vyāḍippaṭṭu=kkiḍapparkkum
pala-paṇi-nimaṇḍakkāṇarkkum kiḍaigaḷukkuṇ=chāttirarkkum vaidyaṇ-cholla=kkāṇiy-
āga=ttanakkun=tan [vargga]⁸tārkum peṇṇuḍaiya Ālappākkattu Savarṇṇan
- 44 Kōḍaṇḍarāman Āsvatthāma-Bhaṭṭapukku nāl-onrukku nel mu-kkuṇiyum kās-
ēttuṇ=chaliyakkiriyai-paṇṇuvā[ṇ-oruva]⁹ṇukku nāl-onrukku nel kuṇiyum ātu-
larkku marundugaḷukku vēṇḍu[m*] marundu paṇittum viṇag-iṭṭum pariyāram-
paṇṇuvār=iru[varu]kku=p[pērāl]⁵ nāl-onrukku nel kuṇiy-āga nel padakkum
pērā-
- 45 p=kās-onrāga=kkās-iraṇḍum ātularāku vēṇḍum pariyāram paṇṇi marund-aḍum peṇḍu-
gaḷ-iruvarkku=ppērāl=a[riśi nā]⁷-nāli-y-āga nāl-onrukku nel kuṇiyum pērār=kāś-

¹ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. They have been filled up by referring to the stone.

² This is filled up by calculation.

³ Here is an obstruction by pillar. Read from stone.

⁴ Here is an uninscribed slab. The inscribed slab should have contained the letters in brackets.

⁵ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and they have been filled up *in situ* from stone.

⁶ The syllables in brackets have been filled up as the inscribed stone is here replaced by a plain one.

⁷ Lost in the original and have been supplied by calculation.

- araiy-āga=kkās-onṟum ātularkkuñ=kidaigaḷukkuñ=chāttirarkkum vēṇḍum paṇi-
śey[yum nā]¹viśan=oruvanukku nāl-onṟukku nel nā-nāli
- 46 yum [l*] āturaśālai Viraśōlanil āṇḍ-onṟill=iḍu[m*] marundu Brāhmyam-ka[ḍumbūri]y=
onṟum karuṇḡāy niṅga ippaḍi ḍum Vāsā-haritakī=ppaḍiy=
iraṇḍum Daśamūla-haritaki paḍiy=onṟum Bhallātaka-haritaki paḍiy=onṟum
Gaṇḍiram [paḍi]y¹=onṟum Balākeraṇḍa-tailam tūṇiyum Pañchā-
- 47 ka²-tailan=tūṇiyum Laśunādy³-ēraṇḍa-tailan=tūṇiyum=Uttamakarnādi-tailan=tūṇiyum=U
. [pa]ḍakkuñ=Suk ⁴śā-ghritam pada-
kku[m*] Bilvādi-ghritam padakkum Maṇḍū[ka]ra-vaṭakam iraṇḍ-āyiramum Dravatti
nāliyum Vimalai iraṇḍ-āyiramum Sunētriy⁵=iraṇḍ-āyiramun=⁶Tamrādiy=iraṇḍ-āyira-
mum Vajrakalpan=tūṇi-ppa
- 48 dakkum Kalyāṇa-lavaṇan=tūṇi-ppadakkum ivaiy=aḍugaikku vēṇḍum marun[du*]gaḷu-
kkum ne [rai]yum tē ⁷yum ulliṭṭana
koḷlavum āṇḍu-tōṟum Purāṇasarpai pudaikka=ppaśuvi[n*] ney padakkuñ=koḷlavum
(k)kāśu nāṟpadum [ātura]⁸śālaiyill-irāy=eriyum viḷakk-onṟukk=enṇaiy=āḷakk-ā-
- 49 ga nāl mu-nṇūṟṟ-aṟupadukk=enṇai nāṟpatt-ai-nūḷiḷḷikkū kāś-iraṇḍē-kālum Jananādan-ma-
. ⁹nbiḷ taṇ ¹⁰yapukku=pPaṅguniy-uttiran=
tuḍaṅgi=pPuraṭṭādi=tTiruvōṇatt-aḷavum parambāi-ūra=ttanṇir koḍuvandu vai[ttu=
chchāy]¹¹ppān oruvaṇukku nāl-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiy-ā-
- 50 ga nāl nūṟṟ-eṇbadukku nel padinaḷi-kalamum ēlattukkum ilāmachchattukkum
nell=iru¹² ¹³padakkun=ta ¹⁴nyāham
paṇṇina Brāhmaṇarkku¹⁵-tdakshiṇaikkum veṟṟilai veṟuṅkāyikkum nel kalanē tūṇiy-
iru-nāli mūḷak[kē mu]¹⁶-chcheviḍum Vayalaikkāvūr kāṇiyuḍaiya Mādhavan Dāma-
- 51 yan varggattārkku=pPuraṭṭādi=tTiruvōṇatti-nāl kuḍukkum [pa]riśaṭṭam iraṇḍukku=
kkās-onṟey=eḷu-mā ¹⁷mūv-āyiratt-irunūṟṟu-nāṟpattu-mu-
kkalanēy=iru-tūṇi-ppadakk=aru-nāliy=uḷakkē mu-chcheviṭṭukkum kāś=iru-nūṟṟ=oru-
batt-ār-araiyēy=iraṇ[ḍu-mā]¹⁸vukkum [l*] ikkāś=udavāviḍil kāś-onṟukku=tTaṇḍavāṇiyō-
- 52 ḍ-okkum pon kāśu-niṟai-kkāl iḍuvad-āgavum[l*] ippaḍi yāṇḍu āṟvadu nimandañ=cheyda-
paḍi in ¹⁹umiḍattu chā[tti]ra-kkaṇkāṇiyōḍum kiḍai-
kkaṇkāṇiyōḍum śellakkaḍavad-āga nivandam śēḍapaḍikkū kallu veṭṭuvittār i-
n[nāḍu kūru]²⁰śeyda adigāriḡaḷ Śōla-maṇḍalattu Vijaiyarājēnta²¹-va-
- 53 lanāṭṭu Iḍaiyaḷa-nāṭṭu [Miṇa]²²ṟkuḍaiyān Paśuvati Tiruvaraṅgadēvanār=āna
Rājēnta²³-Mūvēndavēḷār Pāṇa] . . . ²⁴ēva=kkallu veṭṭuvittāṇ Jayaṅḡoṇḍa-

¹ The letters in brackets have been read *in situ*.

² The letter *ka* was supplied by examining the original stone.

³ The syllables *śunādyēra* have been read *in situ*.

⁴ Here and in the following an inscribed slab is replaced by a plain one.

⁵ The syllables *nētriyi* have been restored by reading on the spot.

⁶ Read *Tām*.

⁷ The letters *ātura* are entered below the line.

⁸ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been read from stone.

⁹ The syllables lost here must be *padin kalanēy=iru-tūṇi*.

¹⁰ Read *dda*.

¹¹ A pillar obstructs these two letters.

¹² The syllables in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. Restored from stone.

¹³ Read *ndra*.

¹⁴ The two syllables are lost in the original.

¹⁵ The syllables *ēva=kkā* have been filled up from the stone, though obstructed by a pillar.

śōla-maṇḍalattu=pPular-kōṭṭatt-Āgudi-nāṭṭu Ayandampākkattu Iṟaivēṭṭin
Kumara-Pāsūr=kkattan=āpa¹ Virarājētra²-chChembiyadarayan[!]³ Inda danma[m*]
śeyvitta Dāmayanār

54 maga[n] Dāmayan Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōla-āna Sēnāpatigaḷ Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōla-Danmapālarkku
ivar tambiyār Dā n-āpa Sēnāpatigaḷ Virarājētra²-Danmapālarkku-
māy idu kallu vēṭṭuvittāṇ Jayaṅkoṇḍasōla-maṇḍalattu Puḷal-kōṭṭattu . . . r-
nāṭṭu [Śā] turvēdimaṅga[la*]ṭṭu Brāhmaṇan Māṅgaḷūr Namaśsi-
vāyadēvaṇ magan

55 Taḷuvakkuḷaindān-āna Abhimānamēru-Brahmamārāyaṇ [!]⁴ I-dharmam(m) śrī-Madhurān-
taka-chchatu[rvēdimaṅga]⁵ṭṭu Mahāsabhaiyār rakshai [!]⁶ Śrī [||]

Abstract of Contents.⁴

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*With the aid of*) his strong shoulders, (*wherein the goddess of*) Prosperity resided, (*the king*) bore the circle of the wide earth as (*lightly as*) his jewel of gems ; under the shade of (*his*) victorious white parasol (*set with*) numerous gems, (*he*) protected the living beings of the earth more (*tenderly*) than the mother who bore (*them*) ; (*he*) conducted (*his*) rule (*so as to cause*) other kings (*wearing*) ankle-rings to seek shelter under the shadow of his feet and (*forced*) the rent Kali (*age*) to retire to (*its*) abysmal abode. (*He*) drove from the battle-field of Gaṅgapāḍi the great feudatory chiefs (*sāmantas*) whose strong hands (*carried*) tightly-bound bows, (*and forced them*) along with Vikkalan (*who wore*) a garland of fragrant flowers to enter the Tuṅgabhadrā. (*He made such an*) attack (*as to cause*) the destruction of the irresistably great and powerful army which the Vallabhan had again despatched into the fine country of Vēṅgi ; and fought⁵ with Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Chāmuṇḍarāja and cut off his head and severed the nose from the face of his (*i.e.*, Chāmuṇḍarāja's) incomparable⁶ daughter called Nāgalai (*who was*) the queen of Irugaiyan and (*who*) resembled a peacock in beauty.

Himself and his sons, who assisted him, remaining behind in close quarters, he sent forth an army, which victoriously fought against countless *sāmantas* along with the (*two*) sons of Āhavamalla called Vikkalan and Śiṅgaṇan at Kuḍal-Saṅgama on the great waters, whither they had rushed forth enraged, resolving to advance forward and fight for a third time ; and with (*his*) rut elephant, he agitated that army (*of the enemy*) which was arrayed in battle like the Northern ocean ; he cut to pieces in front of his banner-troop Śiṅgan of Kōśalai who was fighting with his furious elephants and vanguard ; he (*also*) cut to pieces Kēśavaḍaṇḍanāyaka and Kettaraśān, Mārāyaṇ of great strength, the powerful Pottaraśān and Rēchchayan, Poṟkōḍai and Mūvēṇḍi who were fighting (*fiercely*), and many (*other*) unknown *sāmantas* who offered (*him*) battle. Then Muduvaṇan, who was the commander,⁷ fled ; Vikkalan fled with his hair dishevelled ; Śiṅgaṇan fled leaving off the field-work ; all the other chiefs of the elder brother⁸ dismounted from the male elephants on which they were fighting the great battle and fled ; and Āhavamalla, who was thus put to shame,⁹ ran before them (*all*). He then separated his swift-footed and fierce elephant, put on a garland of victory and seized the (*enemies'*) wives, their family treasures,

¹ The letters *tan-āna* are obstructed by a pillar.

² Read *ndra*.

³ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been restored by reading from the stone.

⁴ Prof. Hultzsch has translated the introductory portion on pp. 36ff. of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

⁵ The word *ṣerravan* is a compound of *ṣerru* and *avan*.

⁶ May be taken to mean also 'the only daughter.'

⁷ The word may be rendered also 'who was the father of his wife'.

⁸ *Annaḷ* may also mean 'the king'.

⁹ The word *nappina* means also 'who was in close quarters'.

conches, parasols, trumpets (*tārai*), big drums, canopies (*mēghaḍambara*), white fly-whisks (*chāmaras*), the boar banner, the ornamental arch (*makara-tōraṇa*), a herd of camels, the metal throne, the female elephant called Pushpaka, a herd of war-elephants together with a collection of prancing horses; (*he then*) ascended the powerful lion-throne of great splendour, being bowed to by all the world, and along with his beautiful queen **Ulagamuḷuduḍaiyāl**, put on the victorious crown set with gems.

He cut off in battle field the beautiful heads, wearing flower-garlands, of the king of **Pottapi** whose horse was unsteady under the bridle (*kuṣai*), and of the **Kēraḷa** (*king*) wearing ankle-rings and (*powerful on account of his*) elephants¹ as well as of the younger brother of **Jananātha** adorned with wreaths²; (*and he also*) trampled under the feet of a single rut elephant **Vira-kēsari** who wore a crown (*set with*) lustrous gems and who was the young son of the Pāṇḍya king **Śrīvallabha** wearing gold ankle-rings.³

He put forth his elephant (*force*) in the field and uprooted with his hands the family of the Chēras along with their infants, and caused them to run and plunge into the Western ocean. At Vāri, he tied up the Raṭṭas, who had numberless elephants, along with the elephants belonging to their ladies who coveted (*them*)⁴; and received also a herd of elephants which they paid as tribute together with female elephants and trappings.

In a hot battle pitched on the bank of a river of whirling water⁵ he cut off the heads of the following Daṇḍanāyakas:—Villiyannan⁶ of great valour, Vaṇjippayan⁶, who possessed a rutting elephant, Aśōkayan (*who wore a cool*) garland, Śattiyannan of brilliant valour, Pattiyannan (*the minister of*) peace and war, Vimayan, who wore a honey-dribbling garland, Vaṅgāraṇ of great wisdom, the Gaṅga (*king*) of dreadful lance, the Nuḷamba (*king*) and the king of the Kūḍavas as well as the Vaidumba (*king*) who owned highly furious and rutting elephants.

After he had reached the great city (*called after*) the great river Gaṅgā, the Chāḷukya (*king*) who came from the race of the moon, felt the sting and thought 'it is better to die than live with such disgrace' and choosing as battle-field the very Kūḍal, where his sons and himself had been made to retreat, wrote, so that all might know, a letter embodying (*his*) vow—"those who do not come to Kūḍal through fear are no kings but are disgraceful liars in war," handed it over with an oral message to the Gaṅga chief Kettan renowned among the liars of Raṭṭappāḍi and asked him to take it; and when he came, bowed at the feet of, and delivered the message to (*the Chōḷa king*), his (*i.e.*, the latter's) mind, face and glorious two arms began to glow doubly on account of the increasing joy and he advanced forth and entered the field, and not finding the approach of the king of the Vallabhas at **Karandai**, stayed there delightfully for one month more after the appointed day, and then he found him run away until his legs became sore and hid himself in the western ocean, and each of the three (*chiefs*) Dēvanāthan, Siddhi and Kēsi turned their backs.

(*The Chōḷa king*) subdued the powerful activity of Raṭṭappāḍi 7½ lakhs, hard (*even for bards*) to sing and set crackling fire on it; and set up a pillar of victory (*jayabhadra-tūṇ*) on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra so that the world⁷ praised him and the fierce and angry tiger (*the crest of his race*) mounted on it and sported joyfully.

¹ *Varaṅgi* is the reading in No. 20 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, and it has been taken as a proper name. The reading *vāraṇa* is better since the Chēras are noted for their elephant forces. cf. 'palyānai-kō-kKaṇḍan.'

² Instead of *Dhāra*, it is preferable to read '*tār*.'

³ See note 6 on page 37 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

⁴ Hultzsch has rendered the passage thus:—"tied up in stables the Raṭṭas, whose elephants were numberless, along with the elephants of the Kanniyan which he had seized."

⁵ This rendering somewhat differs from that given in the *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 68.

⁶ Maḷiyannan and Maṅgippayan are the readings in No. 30 of the same Volume.

⁷ *Aṇṇiḷan* means 'four kinds of lands, i.e., *kuṇṇiḷi*, *mullai*, *pālai* and *neydal*—grassy, forest, sandy and coast tracts' and hence 'the world'.

He made the liar, who had advanced against him on a previous occasion, a Vallabha and fastened on him a *kaṇṭhikā*. He caused to be depicted beautifully on a board how the **Kuntala** king and (his) sons ran five times to the full knowledge of the world mounted on an elephant which had a cord (round its neck) and a hole-bearing hand.

Vowing not to return until he fulfilled the word that he formerly uttered, viz.—that he would destroy the state of the Chālukyan (lordship), and their stables wherein was locked up the flower of his horse troops (?) and recover the Vēṅgi country which the Chālukya had taken,—he sent (the following) word to be announced “Hear this and if you have (any) power, come and protect yourself”.

When the array of his army which was advancing towards the (enemies') boundary had reached the great river close to the beautiful city of **Vijayavāḍai** (i.e., Bezvāda), he (the Chōla) drove into the forest the great battalion which had at its head Jananāḍaṇ and Tipparaiṣaṇ; caused his elephants (*pōḍakam*) to drink the water of the Gōḍāvari; crossed the seven Kaliṅgas, and led his swelling elephant forces (*tānai-tāvaḍi*) as far as the snow-covered Mahēndra (mountain) on whose right side was carved the tiger mark and bestowed (that country) on Vijayāditya of broad arms wearing weapons of war who sought shelter at his feet (which were adorned with) flowery anklets.

Returning fast, he graciously entered (the city of) Gaṅgāpuri leaving off the Kali and bringing the goddess of victory which had attached (itself) to him. There, he assumed the *damaniga* as the lord of the earth (under the titles) Rājādhirāja and Rājarāja. The kings of the earth bowing at his feet, he sat on a pedestal set with choicest gems; exhibited in order the immense wealth, which he had brought from the fine country of Vēṅgi, removed the *āli* and *nigaḷa*¹ and fulfilled his vow.

(Putting forth) a number of ships (laden with) excessively large forces on the ever swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (the Chōla king) began to wage a war in **Ṭṭam** (i.e., Ceylon) which cast a gloom on that army of the Singhalese wherein Kurukulat-taraiyaṇ who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (the charge of the Chōlas) with the result that **Vijayabāhu**, the king (of the island) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (the Chōla king) took his queen captive, conquered carried away immeasurably large family gems along with fine crowns and made **Laṅkā** with its impregnable walls his own.

Crossing back the southern region, (the Chōla king) obstructed at **Koṇḍai** where the Chālukyan king again sent against him double the number of elephants which he had put forth on a former occasion. Among those that were seen (there) were the intelligent Nāgaiyaṇ, Mārayaṇ, Manmagandayaṇ, ... Koṇḍayaṇ, Aḥchidaraṇ and others. These ran away showing their backs and making such an uproar (in their flight) that resembled the noise of thunder during heavy rains. Ko. oṭṭumaḍaiyaṇ and others lost their elephants and ran along with the commanders of infantry (*pada-sāmantas*). The Chōla king caught hold of prancing horses and young elephants as well as a galaxy of women that were seen (in the field) and received as before a *paraṇi*. Tuṇnamārāyaṇ, ... , Kēsavaṇ, ... , who were subdued by his forces the sound , Siṅgaṇaṇ, who was resting under a flag, ... and (he) planted a pillar of victory at Puli-Sūttukkal, where, getting up a hill and mounted on a vehicle (*yāna*) drawn by seven horses, the chief known (by the name) **Śōḷiyavaraiyaṇ**, ... -daṇḍanāyaka fought. He sent

¹ The word *nigaḷa* is phonetically connected with the skt. *nigāḍa* 'fettors or shackles': and thus may be construed to convey the idea of 'armour.'

forth a (very) sea of army in **Kaliṅgam** his chief feudatories at **Chakkarakōṭṭam** and destroyed by heavy fire the elephant (*forces*) of the Chālukya king which appeared in great numbers at Chakkarakōṭṭam in the North. The bowman Sōmayan of **Sōṇaiyanagar**, Eriyaman, Ādityavarman of fearful trident,—these with clusters of heads that were cut off,— Malli, Sōgaiya n, who wore ornaments set with diamonds, Vaidumba, Dēvanātha, Dēviko along with herds of camels and the reward of ornaments were looted in order and ran with broken hearts. The wife of nathan trembling with fear, **Kāliyappai**, his younger brother and others together with crowds of their ladies wearing *tumbai* garlands, fell in his hands in the great field of **Kāvi** and were caught.

Removing the sons of lamayan, (*the Chōla king*)[†] crossed the boundary and fixed the limit, wielded his sceptre from the **Himālayas** in the northern quarter, where the tiger ever lies in ambush, up to the **Sētu** (in the south); propagated the Vēdic lore, assumed possession of kingly duties, invited suppliants and raising aloft the banner of heroism and the banner of liberty, sat in Royal state and exemplified the path of the great Manu. (*He*), i.e., king **Rājakesarivarman** *alias* **Uḍaiyār** the glorious **Virarājēndradēva**, in the fifth year of his reign was pleased to be seated on (*the seat called*) **Rājēndrasōla-Māvalivāṇarāja** in the Royal palace of **Sōlakērajan** at **Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram**.

Vayalaikkāvūr in **Tēroḍu-Paruvūr-nāḍu**, (*a sub division*) of **Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam** was a *dēvadāna* of (*the temple of*) **Mahāvishṇu** at **Tirumukkūḍal** in the prosperous **Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam** (*which was*, a free village in **Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam**, (*a district*) of **Jayaṅḡonḷachōlamanḍalam**. The residents of this village were paying 75 *kaḷaṅḡu* of gold for the feeding house (*śālai*). This amount of 75 *kaḷaṅḡu* of gold was deducted from the accounts and assigned to the temple in the second year of the reign of **Ulaguyyakkondaṇḍarajinadēva** who took **Rattappāḍi** 7½ lakhs and who twice saw the back of (i.e., defeated) **Āhavamalla**. This (*amount*) together with the taxes accruing from the village, viz., *Ur-kaḷaṅḡu*, *kumārakkachchāṇam*, *vaṇṇārapparai*, *mīnpāṭṭam*, *taṭṭārappāṭṭam*, etc., forming the *kīḷṇaipṭāṭṭam*, *vēlikkāṣu*, *tiṅḡalmērā*, *muttāvaraṇam*, *tarippuḍavai*, *valaṅḡai* and *iḍaṅḡai-maganmai*, *daśabandam*, *māḍakkūli*, *virasēṣkai*, etc., forming the *pāṭṭam*—were ordered, by the king to be entered in the accounts, in the fifth year of (*his*) reign, as a tax-free *dēvadāna* gift to meet the requirements of the (*god*) **Mahāvishṇu** at **Tirumukkūḍal**. This Royal mandate (*kīḷṇai*) was written by **Tirumandiravōlai Tāḷi Tiruppaṇaṅ-gāḍuḍaiyān** *alias* **Vāṇavan Vallavaraiyan** of **Nērvāyil**, in **Paṇaiyūr-nāḍu**, (*a sub-division*) of **Kshatriyasikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu** and signed by **Tirumandiravōlai-nāyagam Pāṇḍiyanār**, **Rājarāja-Brahmamārāyar** and **Virarājēndra-Gāṅgaiyarāja**. That it may be so entered in the account was ordered by **Villavarāja**, **Kaliṅgattaraiyar**, **Viḍaiyil Rājēndravayirāgarachchōlan** and **Pāṇḍiyanār**; and further endorsed by (1) the *Uḍankūṭṭam* officers **Virarājēndra-Brahmādhirāja**, (2) **Sōla-Brahmamārāyar**, (3) **Śēmbiyan Śittirāja**, (4) **Atiśayaśōla-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (5) **Jayaṅḡonḷaśōla-Viḷupparaiyar**, (6) **Uttamaśōla-Pallavaraiyar**, (7) the *Viḍaiyil* officers **Kāḍavarāja**, (8) **Kāvērivallabha-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (9) **Ilattaraiyar**, (10) **Śōla-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (11) **Virarājēndra-Maḷavarāja**, (12) **Valavan-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (13) **Rāja-uttama-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (14) **Rājarāja-Kaḍigairāja**, (15) **Jayaṅḡonḷaśōla-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (16) **Rājēndrasōla-Aṇukkappallavaraiyar**, (17) **Śēmbiyan-Brahmamārāyar**, (18) **Sundaraśōla-Pallavaraiyar**, (19) **Jayaṅḡonḷaśōla-Vayaṇāṭṭaraiyar**, (20) **Jayaṅḡonḷaśōla-Sēnāmuga-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (21) **Sōlaviḷupparaiyar**, (22) **Jayaśiṅga-kulakāla-Viḷupparaiyar**, (23) **Virarājēndra-Tiruvindaḷūrnāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (24) **Rājarāja-Viḷupparaiya-Virarājēndra-Varaḡuṇarāja**, (25) **Kshatriyaśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (26) **Uttamaśōla-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (27) **Pārmāṇṇu-kulādipa-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (28) **Rattakulakāla-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (29) **Uttamapāṇḍiya-Mūvēndavēḷār**, (30) **Viraśōla-Pallavaraiyar**, (31)

..... -Müvëndavēlār, (32) Muḍikonḍaśōḷa-Müvëndavēlār, (33) Valavarāditta-Müvëndavēlār, (34) Gaṅgaikonḍaśōḷa-Pallavaraiyar, (35) Naḍuvirukkum Uṇuppuṭṭūr-Yajña-Bhaṭṭa, (36) Sāvyaṇa-Śivalajjādi-Bhaṭṭa, (37) Kaṇippurattu-Śōḷadēva-Bhaṭṭa and (38) Kaṇippurattu-Anantaṇārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa.

Then the following persons being present viz., *Puravuvartiṇai*kaḷattu-kaṇkāṇi Kuvalai-yadivākara-Müvëndavēlār, Arindaman-Purangarambaināṭṭu-Müvëndavēlār, Rājarāja-Seṇṇināḍu-kilavan, Virāśiṅga-Müvëndavēlār, Aḷagiyāśōḷa-Viḷupparaiyan, *Puravuvartiṇai*kaḷam Śaḷukki-kulakāla-Müvëndavēlār, Vāṇavan-Viḷupparaiyan, Valavarāja-Müvëndavēlār, Avaniṇārāyaṇa-Müvëndavēlār, Śiṅgaḷāntaka-Müvëndavēlār, *Varippottaḡam* Pālaiyūr-kilavan, *Mugaveṭṭi* Jayāṅgonḍaśōḷa-Damaṇūrṇāṭṭu-Viḷupparaiyan, Ādamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṇ, Atirājēndra-Pallavaraiyan, Kūndalkilāṇ, *Terippu* Īṅgaikkudaiyāṇ, Māttūrudaiyāṇ, Valavaśūḷamaṇi-Müvëndavēlār, *Taravusāṭṭu* Śōḷadivākara-Müvëndavēlār, Pulikilāṇ, *Palaviyōyam* Paṭṭālamuḍaiyāṇ, Śembiyan-Miḷalaivēlār, Araiyamāṇ, *Variyiliḍu* Avanipāla-Müvëndavēlār, Arindaman-Viḷupparaiyan, *Varippottaḡa-kaṇakku* Saṅgattimaṅgalamuḍaiyāṇ, Valavan-Viḷupparaiyan, *Paṭṭōlai* Śirupākkilāṇ, Maṇarpākkilāṇ, *Kēlvi-variyliduvitta* *Puravuvartiṇai*kaḷam Śaḷukki-kulakāla-Müvëndavēlār, Śiṅgaḷāntaka-Müvëndavēlār, *Mugaveṭṭi* Śōḷamārtāṇḍa-Müvëndavēlār, Kūndalkilāṇ, *Vāṭittāṇ variippottaḡa-kaṇakku* Saṅgattimaṅgalamuḍaiyāṇ, *Variyiliṭṭāṇ* *Puravuvartiṇai*kaḷattu-*Kaṇakku* Śōḷamāṇikka-Müvëndavēlār of Śōḷamaṇḍalam, *Paṭṭōlai-eḷudinaṇ* Virāśōḷa-Nenmaḷi-nāṭṭu-Müvëndavēlār,—all these being present, in the fifth year and three hundred and forty-eighth day (of the king's reign), it was entered in the accounts, that for the 75 *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold, the abovementioned *pāṭṭams* accruing from the village, the 72 *kaḷaṇḷu* and 9 *maṇḷāḍi* of gold previously granted as *dēvadāna* to this god, making a total of 147 *kaḷaṇḷu* and 9 *maṇḷāḍi*, the income in paddy by the *rājakēsari* measure at 16 *kalam* per *kaḷaṇḷu* was 2359 *kalam*, 1 *padakku*, 3 *nāḷi*, 1 *āḷakku* and 3 *seviḍu*. This when converted into *arumōḷidēvaṇ* measure, at the rate of 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, and 4 *nāḷi* of *arumōḷidēvaṇ* for a *kalam* of *rājakēsari*, became, inclusive of *kālvāsi*, *kāḷaḷavukūḷi* and *korraḷavuvāsi*, 884 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 3 *nāḷi*, and 1 *āḷakku* of paddy in excess, thus making a total of 8243 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāḷi*, 1 *ūḷakku* and 3 *seviḍu* of *arumōḷidēvaṇ*.

The taxes accruing from this village, viz., 1 *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold by *ūrkaḷaṇḷu*, 1 *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold by *kumarakachchāṇam*, $3\frac{1}{2}$ *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold by *mīṇpāṭṭam*, $5\frac{1}{2}$ *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold by *kiliraippāṭṭam*, in all 11 *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold, equivalent to 18 *māḍai* and 7 *mā*, or $36\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu*, together with $28\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu* and 4 *mā* by *daśabandam*, $25\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu* and 3 *mā* by *māḍaikkūḷi*, 3 *kāṣu* by the account of *mūdal-tilavu*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu* by *vaṇṇakkakūḷi*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu* by *muttāvarāṇam*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu* by *tiṅgaḷmēra*, 118 *kāṣu* by *vēḷikkāṣu*, made a total of 216 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu* and 2 *mā*.

Here are detailed the following expenses to be met in the temple from the above said income of paddy and *kāṣu*.

For one *śiṅukālai-śandi* offering to the Ālvār :—

(L. 18). One *padakku* and four *nāḷi* of paddy for one *kurūṇi* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of *paruppu* (broken green pulse) or 1 *kurūṇi* of *payaru*, 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *puḷukkukarī* (boiled curry), 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkarī* (fried curry), 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *uri* of curd, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of ghee, 1 *ūḷakku* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of salt, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 5 *kurūṇi*, 5 *nāḷi* and 3 *ūḷakku* of paddy for one *śandi*.

For the *akkāraḍalai* offering at the Virāśōḷaṇ :—

(L. 19). 1 *kurūṇi* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of *paruppu* or 1 *kurūṇi* of *payaru*, 1 *kurūṇi* and 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 6 *nāḷi* of milk, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of ghee, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 8 plantain fruits, 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *kurūṇi*, 3 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for the *akkāraḍalai* offering. The sugar required for this for a year of 360 days, at 32 *palam* per day is 11,520 *palam*, which at the rate of 576 *palam* of sugar for 1 *kāṣu* cost 20 *kātu*.

For the offering of *Pālpōnagam* at night :—

(L. 19f.) 1 *kurūṇi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of milk, 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee for *pōnagam* and *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kurūṇi* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for the night offering.

(L. 20). For the offering at noon to Śrī-Rāghavachakravarti :—

1 *kurūṇi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for ghee, curry and areca-nuts, thus making a total of 1 *kurūṇi* and 6 *nāli* of paddy.

For sandal-paste to the Ālvār :—

180 *palam* of sandal are required for a year of 360 days at $\frac{1}{2}$ a *palam* per day and this quantity at 8 *palam* of sandal for 1 *kāṣu*, costs 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu*. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāḷañju* of *karpūra* are required for a year of 360 days at 5 *mā* per day and this costs 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu* at $\frac{1}{2}$ a *kāḷañju* of *karpūram* for 1 *kāṣu*. And 1 *kāṣu* is required for *kuṅkumam*.

(L. 21.) For lamps :—

1 *uri* of oil for 2 perpetual lamps to the Ālvār, 1 *ulakku* and 1 *ālakku* of oil for 3 lamps to burn in the inner circuit of the temple till dawn ; 1 *ulakku* and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍu* of oil for 10 twilight lamps, at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍu* of oil for 1 lamp, thus making a total of 1 *nāli*, 1 *ālakku* and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍu* of oil per day. The oil required for a year of 360 days is 452 *nāli* and 1 *uri*¹, which, at 20 *nāli* per *kāṣu*, cost 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu*.

(L. 21.) For Aippaṣi festival to Aḷagiyamaṇavālar :—

5 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 1 *padakku* of rice, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of *paruppu*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍu* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of curd, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of salt, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, making a total of 7 *kurūṇi*. Thus, for the 12 occasions of the seven days of the festival the paddy required is 7 *kalam*.

(Ll. 22-23). For the Māṣi festival at the same rate as above is 7 *kalam* of paddy.

For offerings during the hunting festival in the garden of Virasōḷaṇ :—

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of salt, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurūṇi* of curd, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *parṇu* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for an occasion. Hence for the 2 hunting festivals, the paddy required for offering is 7 *kalam* and 1 *kurūṇi*.

(Ll. 23-24). For offerings during *Jayantyaṣṭamī* to Veṇṇaiḷkūttālvār, i.e., Kṛishṇa.

1 *kalam* and 3 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 6 *kurūṇi* of rice, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍu* of pepper, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd, 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of ghee, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *parṇu* of betel leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, and 5 *nāli* of paddy. For *appa-amudu* to be offered on the same occasion 3 *kurūṇi* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *kurūṇi* and 2 *nāli* of rice, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *uri* of ghee, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 20 *palam* of sugar, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 2 *nāli*

¹ By calculation, the requirement for the year is only 427 *nāli* and 1 *uri*. It is not understood how the inscription gives an excess of 25 *nāli*.

of paddy for $2\frac{1}{2}$ *seviḍu* of cumin, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 6 cocoanuts, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *parṇu* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 1 *kuruni*, 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy. For offering to be made when the deity is taken on procession in the street, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 32 plantain fruits and 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of curd. In all, the provision made for the *Jayantyashṭamī* was 3 *kalam*, 6 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

(Ll. 24-25). For offerings to be made on the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kārttigai :—

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 2 *nāḷi* of *paruppu*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruni* of curd required for 1 *puḷingari*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kuruni* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of pepper, 3 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruni* of curd, 1 *kuruni* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 50 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 2 *parṇu* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 2 *tūni*, 3 *kuruni* and 7 *nāḷi* of paddy. $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu* was provided for obtaining 25 *nāḷi* of oil for burning 200 lamps in the central shrine and in the inner circuit, at the rate of 1 *āḷakku* for a lamp.

(Ll. 25-26). Expenses to be met on the birth-day asterism *Ayilēya* (*Āślēṣha*) in the month Āvani, of king Virarājendra, are as follows :—

3 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of green pulse required for sprouting at the *tirumañjanam*, 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed below the sprouts, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *palam* of thread to wrap round 108 *kalāṣas* (pots), 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed under the *kalāṣas*, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 2 *nāḷi* of rice required for powder, 1 *kalam* and 1 *tūni* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of ghee, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of curd, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of milk, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice required for an offering to be made on that day, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāḷi* of *paruppu*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of pepper, 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruni* of curd required for 1 *puḷingari*, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of ghee, 1 *kuruni* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts, 6 *nāḷi* of paddy for 3 *kāṭṭu* of betel-leaves, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar required for *puḷingari* and 1 *kuruni* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, thus making a total of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kuruni* and 2 *nāḷi* of paddy.

(L. 27). For this festival are required one *puḍavai* (cloth) for covering the *pāḷigai* kept for sprouting, one *puḍavai* for being placed above the *kalam*, two *puḍavai*—consisting of one loin cloth and one upper cloth—for the *āchārya* who performs the bathing ceremony of the god, thus making in all four cloths which cost one *kāṣu*. A provision of half a *kāṣu* for 4 *nāḷi* of honey, quarter *kāṣu* for 50 *palam* of turmeric, half a *kāṣu* for purchasing *snapana-dravyas*, one *kāṣu* for one *pariṣaṭṭam* to be used after bathing, one *kāṣu* for the *dakṣiṇā* of the *āchārya* performing the bathing ceremony of the god, two and a half *kāṣu* for purchasing 10 *pariṣaṭṭam* at the rate of quarter *kāṣu* for one *pariṣaṭṭam*, to be presented to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas that served in the *Tiruvōlakkam* and those who recited the *Tiruvāymoḻi* hymns on the occasion, half a *kāṣu* for one *pariṣaṭṭam* to be presented to the astrologer (*tiru*) who announced the festivals, thus making a total of seven and a quarter *kāṣu*.

(L. 28). For the bathing of the god and for the great offering to be made on the day of *Pūrṇam* in the month of Kārttigai which was the birth-day of the *Vaiṣya* Mādavan Dāmyan,

who built the inner enclosure of the temple and the Jananātha-maṇḍapa, a provision of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kurunī* and 2 *nāli* of paddy was made together with 6½ *kāṣu* for purchasing the necessary things for the *tirumañjana* and for presenting cloths to those that should get them.

(L. 28). For Purattāsi-Tiruvōṇam when Veṇṇaikkūttālvār is taken in procession to the Jananātha-maṇḍapa :—

1 *kalam* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 5 *kurunī* of rice, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 300 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kalam* of paddy for 3 *nāli* of ghee, 3 *kurunī* of paddy for pepper, *sākkas* and salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 80 areca-nuts and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *kaṭṭu* of betel-leaves thus making a total of 5 *kalam* of paddy.

For feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa on *amāvāsya* days when the god presented *tīrtha* :—

(Ll. 28-29). 2 *tūni*, 1 *kurunī* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for 3 *kurunī* and 6 *nāli* of rice, for 20 persons at 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* each, 5 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 5 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kurunī* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷitta-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari* (leaves), 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of salt, 1 *kurunī* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of ghee, 1 *kurunī* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *padakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kurunī* of paddy for 4 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kurunī* of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, 1 *kurunī* of paddy for 1 cook, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 7 *kurunī* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for each *amāvāsya*.¹ For 12 *amāvāsya*s, the provision made was 19 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 4 *nāli* of paddy.

(Ll. 29-30). For feeding 100 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa on the occasion of the *tīrtham* at Tiruveṇḍamalai :—

3 *kalam*, 2 *tūni*, 1 *padakku* and 7 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūni*, 1 *padakku* and 6 *nāli* of rice at 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* each, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurunī* of green pulse, 3 *kurunī* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 3 *kurunī* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 1 *puḷitta-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 1 *kurunī* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari*, 3 *kurunī* of paddy for 3 *uḷakku* of pepper, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurunī* of salt, 2 *tūni* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of butter-milk, 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for butter-milk to the *puḷiṅgarī*, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 22 *palam* of sugar, 5 *kurunī* of paddy for 200 areca-nuts, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 8 *parru* of betel-leaves, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 2 cooks, 4 *nāli* of paddy for lime, 1 *padakku* of paddy for one that supplied fire-wood, and 1 *padakku* of paddy for one that supplied *ilai-kari* thus making a total of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūni* and 3 *nāli*.

When the party returned from Tiruveṇḍamalai after *tīrtham*, 100 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas had to be fed at a cost of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūni* and 3 *nāli* of paddy.

(Ll. 30-32). For feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas that came on the occasion of Purattāsi-Tiruvōṇam, a provision of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūni* and 3 *nāli*, calculated at the above rate, was made.

17 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 6 *nāli* of paddy were provided for feeding 150 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on the 6 days of the Aippaṣi festival, at 25 persons for each day and for feeding 50 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on the day of the *tīrtham*. A quantity of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūni* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas that came to hear the *Tiruvāymoli* hymns on the days of the *ekādaśi* and *dvādaśi* in the month of Mārgaḷi and 17 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 6 *nāli*, calculated at the above rate, for feeding 200 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the *maṇḍapa* on the occasion of Māsi-Makhā, were also provided.

¹An item of expenditure amounting to 5 *nāli* is omitted.

(Ll. 32 to 43). 6 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day for 1 *tiru*, 3 *kuruni* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* per day, at 1 *kuruni* and 4 *nāli* and 2 *kāṣu* each, for 2 persons who recited the *Tiruvāymoḻi* hymns, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 4 persons who cultivated the flower-garden of Virasōlan at 1 *kuruni* each per day, 1 *kuruni* and . . . of paddy per day to 1 *tiru* who brought the calendar and announced the sacred festivals and bathing days, 1 *kuruni* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* per day to 1 Vaikhānasa-dēvakanmi who demanded from the appointed persons their dues and had the expenses met, 1 *kuruni* of paddy and 4 *kāṣu* to 1 accountant who entered the accounts, 1 *kuruni* of paddy per day to 1 potter who supplied the necessary pots to the temple kitchen, Jananātha-maṇḍapa, the teachers and students, to the hospital as well as the *kalāṣas* to the Ālvār, 4 *nāli* of paddy per day to one washerman who washed the *pariṣaṭṭam* of the gods and the cloths of the Vēdic teachers and students as well as of the persons in the hospital, 4 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day to Tirumukkūḍal-Pēraiyan who kept watch in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa and the hospital, 40 *kalam* of paddy for the repairs to be executed in the *tiruchchurumāligai*, i.e., the inner enclosure of the temple, 1 *padakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Rīg-Vēda in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa, 1 *padakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Yajur-Vēda, and 8 *kāṣu* to these two at 4 *kāṣu* each, 1 *tūni* of paddy and 10 *kāṣu* per day to one Bhaṭṭa who expounded the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpavatāra, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūni* and 1 *nāli* of paddy per day for feeding 60 persons in all—consisting of 10 persons who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmanas who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmanas and *Chhātras* who heard the expounding of the Vyākaraṇa and Rūpavatāra, 10 Mahāpāñcharātras, 3 Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, 5 Vaikhānasas and 2 . . . at the rate of 1½ *nāli* of rice to each person amounting in the aggregate to 11 *kuruni*, and 2 *nāli* of rice per day, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of *payaru*, 6 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷukku-kari*, 3 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari*, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *puḷitta-kari* including tamarind, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* and 1 *āḷakku* of pepper, 1 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of salt, 1 *tūni* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 3 *kuruni* of paddy for 1 *tūni* and 1 *padakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kuruni* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 60 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, 3 *kuruni* of paddy per day and 6 *kāṣu* to 3 assistant cooks, at 1 *kuruni* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* each, who brought rice from Vayalaikkāvūr and supplied daily fuel, leaves and water, 1 *kuruni* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* per day to 2 maid-servants—at 4 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* each—who attended on the *Chhātras* and *kiḍai* that were fed in the maṇḍapa, 2 *kāṣu* for purchasing 75 mats for the *Chhātras*, *kiḍai* and the *ātulas* (i.e., the sick), to lie on, 9½ *kāṣu* for purchasing 192 *nāli* of oil, at the rate of 20 *nāli* of oil per *kāṣu*, to meet the requirement of 102 *nāli* of oil to the *Chhātras* and *kiḍai* for their oil baths during the 51 Saturdays of the year at 2 *nāli* of oil per Saturday and 90 *nāli* of oil for lamps to students at 1 *uḷakku* of oil per night and 40 *kalam* of paddy for the repairs to be executed to the Jananātha-maṇḍapa, were provided.

(Ll. 43-45). The expenses for the hospital of Virasōlan are :—

1 *tūni*, 5 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *kuruni* and 7 *nāli* of rice for feeding 15 in-patients at the rate of 1 *nāli* each, 3 *kuruni* of paddy and 8 *kāṣu* per day to Savaṇṇan Kōṇḍarāman Āsvatthāma-Bhaṭṭan of Ālappākkam, who had obtained land to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital, to the several *nimandak-kāras*, i.e., the persons bound to the temple for supplying daily requirements, and to the teachers and students (attached to the temple), 1 *kuruni* of paddy per day to one who performed surgical operations, 2 *kuruni* of paddy and 2 *kāṣu* per day to 2 persons, at 1 *kuruni* and 1 *kāṣu* each, that gathered medical herbs, supplied fuel and attended to the preparation of medicines, 1 *kuruni* of paddy and 1 *kāṣu* per day to 2 nurses, at 4 *nāli* of paddy and ½ *kāṣu* each, that attended on the patients and administered medicines, 4 *nāli* of paddy per day to one barber who served the patients, teachers and students, were provided.

(L. 46.) The medicines to be stocked in the hospital of Virasōlan for the year are :—

1 measure of Brāhmyan Kaḍumbūri, ... of exclusive of *karuṅgāy* (nut), 2 measures of Vāsā-haritaki, 1 measure of Daśamūla-haritaki, 1 measure of Bhallātaka-haritaki, 1 measure of Gaṇḍiram, 1 *tūṇi* of Balākēraṇḍa-taila, 1 *tūṇi* of Pañchāka-taila, 1 *tūṇi* of Lasunādyēraṇḍa-taila, 1 *tūṇi* of Uttamakarnādi-taila, 1 *padakku* of
 . . . , 1 *padakku* of Su sa-ghṛita, 1 *padakku* of Bilvādi-ghṛita, 2000 Maṇḍū-karavatakas, 1 *nāli* of Dravatti, 2000 Vimala, 2000 Sunētri, 2000 Tāmrādi, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of Vajrakalpa and 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of Kalyāṇa-lavaṇa.

An amount of 40 *kāṣu* (is provided) for purchasing these, (procuring the) medicinal herbs, purchasing and for 1 *padakku* of bovine ghee required to be kept under the earth annually for Purāṇasarpi.

(L. 48.) (There had been provided) 2½ *kāṣu* for purchasing 45 *nāli* of oil which was required for a year of 360 days for a lamp, at 1 *ālakku* per night, to be kept burning during night in the hospital, 15 *kalam* of paddy for 180 days from Paṅguni-Uttiram to Purattāsi-Tiruvōṇam at 1 *kurūṇi* of paddy per day, to one who brought water and poured it . . . to be stocked in front of Jananātha-maṇḍapa; 20 *kalam*, [2 *tūṇi*] and 1 *padakku* of paddy for cardamom and artemisia; 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, 2 *nāli*, 3 *ulakku* and 3 *seviḍu* of paddy for the *dakṣhiṇā* to be paid to one Brahman that performed *puṇyāha* (i.e., purification ceremony) and for betel-leaves and areca-nuts; and 1 *kāṣu* and 7 *mā* for (purchasing) 2 *pariṣaṭṭam* (cloths) to be presented on the day of Tiruvōṇam in the month of Purattāsi to Mādavan Dāmāyan of Vayalaikkāvūr and his descendants.

(L. 51.) (This is the account of expenses) for the paddy income of 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāli*, 1 *ulakku* and 3 *seviḍu* and the amount of 216½ *kāṣu* and 2 *mā*.

If this (amount of) *kāṣu* were not available (owing to any default), for every *kāṣu* (of default) there shall be paid gold weighing one quarter by the Daṇḍavāṇi.

(L. 52.) Thus in accordance with the *nimanda* laid down in the sixth year (of the king), it (i.e., the inscription) was engraved so that the stipulated expenses might be met under the supervision of the *chhātras* and teachers. Paśupati Tiruvaraṅgadēvanār alias Rājendra-Mūvēndavēlār of Miṇarakuḍi in Iḍaiyaḷa-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Vijayarājendra-vaḷanāḍu, (which was a district) of Chōḷa-maṇḍalam, the *adhikāri* (officer) who conducted the settlement of this nāḍu, having commanded, Iṇaivēṭṭin Kumara-Pāsūrkattan alias Virarājendra-Sēmbiyadaraiyan of Ayaṇḍampākkam in Aḡuḍi-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Puḷar-kōṭṭam, (which was a district) of Jayaṅgaṇḍasōḷa-maṇḍalam, had it engraved. On behalf of Dāmāyan Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōḷan alias Sēnāpati Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōḷa-Danmapāla, the son of Dāmāya who made this charity, the former's younger brother Dāma alias Sēnāpati Virarājendra-Danmapāla, Taḷuvakku-laindān alias Abhimānamēru Brahmanmārāyan, the son of the Brahman Māṅgaḷūr Namaśśivāya-dēva of [-cha]turvēdimāṅgalam in -nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Puḷar-kōṭṭam of Jayaṅgaṇḍasōḷa-maṇḍalam, had (the order) engraved on stone. This charity shall be under the protection of (the members) of the great assembly (*mahāsabhā*) of Śri-Madurāntaka-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam. Prosperity.

No. 39.—KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134.

BY STEN KONOW.

Kalawān is the name of a site near ancient Takshaśilā where Sir John Marshall has been conducting excavations during the winter 1931-32. It is situated about three miles to the south-east of Sirkap, on one of the many flat-topped eminences jutting out on the north side of the Margalla hills.

Sir John there found remains of a monastery and a *stūpa*-chapel with Gandhāra sculptures in good style.

The *stūpa* was eight-sided and stood in the eight-sided apse of the chapel, which was originally roofed over, like the apsidal chapels at the Chir Tope and in Sirkap, but its plan differs somewhat from the ordinary apsidal temples.

Under the foundations of the *stūpa* was found a copper-plate, which can confidently be stated to have been deposited at the time of its erection. It proved to contain a **Kharōshthī** inscription in five lines, and Sir John has, with his usual skill, succeeded in cleaning it, so that every detail is clearly visible in the excellent photographs which he was good enough to give me when I met him in London in May, 1932¹.

The inscription is of considerable importance, and Sir John therefore allowed me to publish a preliminary account in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1932, pp. 949 and ff.

The letters are of the same kind and type as in the Taxila silver scroll of the year 136. They consist of dots punched into the plate, and the execution is comparatively careful. There is, however, a superfluous dot in the upper right-hand corner of *thu*, the last *akshara* of l. 2, and, on the other hand, the loop denoting ante-consonantic *r* is incomplete in *sarvasti*, l. 4, only three dots having been punched in, while the wrong subscript *v* in *-svatvaṇa* instead of *-satvaṇa*, l. 5, may be due to a slip in the original draft.

The alphabet is Kharōshthī, of the same type as in the silver scroll, cf. *inter alia* the short projection of the vertical bar of *sa*. Of individual characters we may note the rare *akshara* *chha* in *Chhaḍatīlāe*, l. 2, the very distinct *tśa* in *samvatśaraye*, l. 1, and the superscript line which we know from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript and the Kharōshthī documents from Central Asia, and which is also found above *sha* in the word *tasha*, Skr. *trishṇā*, in the Kurram casket inscription, while the Kanhiāra record uses a dot in the word *Krishayaśa*, Skr. *Krishayāśas*. In the *Corpus* I have rendered this line or dot with a dash, writing *tash'a*, *Krish'ayaśa*, respectively. In our inscription the line occurs in the word *sh'ushachi*, Skr. *snushakābhyām*. Professor Rapson has shown² that *sha* with the superscribed line stands for *shṇa* in Central Asian documents, and it is possible that the *n* was actually sounded. I shall therefore write *shṇushachi*, but I am by no means certain that this writing is a correct rendering of the sound.

Of numerical symbols we find those for 1, 3, 4, 10, 20 and 100.

With regard to the shape of individual letters, it will be seen that the bottom of *ka* is angular in *graha*, *gaha*, l. 2; *putrehi*, l. 3; *shṇushachi*, l. 4; *hotu*, l. 5, but rounded in *graha*, l. 3. We may further note the upward bend of the bottom of *ta* in the compounds *tva*, l. 5, and *tśa*, l. 1; cf. the *tva* of the silver scroll and the *tśa* of the Patika, Pāja, and Sue Vihār inscriptions. The post-consonantic *r* is usually more or less rounded; cf. *gra*, ll. 2, 3; *tra*, ll. 1, 3; *dra*, ll. 2, 4; *dhra*, ll. 2, 4; *pra*, ll. 2, 5; *śra*, l. 1. It is, however, angular in *gra*, l. 5; *bhra*, l. 3. Ante-conso-

¹ [Sir John Marshall while sending me the photographs for preparing the facsimile tells me that the copper-plate measures 8·85 by 2·65 inches and weighs 879 grains.—Ed.]

² *Kharōshthī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 321.

nantic *r* is denoted by a loop in *sarva*, l. 5, while the incomplete akshara in *sa[r]va*, l. 4, is more like the old form, with a curved cross-bar instead of the loop.

The *anusvāra* is noted in the usual way in *samvatsaraye*, *Chandrabhi*, l. 1; *Nandivadhaneu*, l. 3; *Jivamandipa*, l. 4, but omitted in *Idrue*, l. 4. A redundant *anusvāra* is found in *Dhrammasa*, l. 2, while l. 4 has *Dhramae*.

The language is the North-Western Prakrit which we know from other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions and from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript. The phonetical system is broadly the same. The vowel *ri* is represented by *ra* in *grahavati*, Skr. *grihapati*, ll. 2, 3, but by *a* in *gahathubami*, Skr. *grihastūpē*, l. 2. Intervocalic *k* has disappeared in *uasā*, Skr. *upāsikā*, l. 1; *shyushachi*, Skr. *smushakābhyām*, l. 4, and *pratiā*, Skr. *prāptikāyā*, l. 5, but is represented by *y* in *samvatsaraye*, Skr. *samvatsarakā*, l. 1. Intervocalic *g* appears as *k*, i.e., probably a voiced guttural fricative, in *-nikamo*, Skr. *-nigamam*, l. 5. Instead of *-ch-* we find *y* in *ayariēa*, l. 4, and, similarly, also twice *ya* for the enclitic *cha*, l. 4, but *cha*, l. 3. If *Saita* represents Skr. *Sachitta* this *ya* has regularly disappeared before *i*. Intervocalic *ja* becomes *ya* in *puyae*, Skr. *pūjāyā*; *puyaita*, Skr. *pūjāyitvā*, l. 5, but remains in the name *Raja*, l. 4, which I cannot explain. In *ajasa*, l. 1, *-j-* denotes the voiced *s*, i.e., *z*. Intervocalic *t* is usually preserved, but was probably pronounced as *d'*; cf. *grahavati*, Skr. *grihapati*, ll. 2, 3; *dhita*, Skr. *duhitā*, l. 2; *dhituna*, Skr. *duhitrā*, l. 3; *hotu*, Skr. *bhavatu*, l. 5, but *bhraduna*, Skr. *bhrātūrā*, l. 3. In the unaccented prefix *prati* it has been dropped, evidently in consequence of the absence of stress, in *prastiveti*, Skr. *prastishthāpayati*, l. 2; cf. *prehavetiye* in the Taxila gold plate; *prehavide* in the Jamālgharī inscription. Intervocalic *d* disappears, probably after having become a fricative, in *sarvastivādāna*, Skr. *sarvāstivādānām*, l. 4. Intervocalic *p* regularly appears as *v*, which is dropped after *u*; cf. *uasā*, Skr. *upāsikā*, l. 1; *grahavati*, Skr. *grihapati*, ll. 2, 3, but becomes *b* as in some other Kharōṣṭhī records in *thuba*, Skr. *stūpa*, l. 2. As in the silver scroll, the dental *n* has throughout been replaced by *ṇ*. The compound *ry* becomes *ria* in *ayariēa*, Skr. *āchāryēa*, l. 4, and *y* in *bhaya*, Skr. *bhāryā*, l. 2. The same double treatment is also found in other Kharōṣṭhī records. Similarly we have *nivāṇa* for Skr. *nirvāṇa*, l. 5, but *sarva*, ll. 4, 5, as in the silver scroll. The transposition of *r* in *Dhrama*, Skr. *Dharma*, ll. 2, 4, is also known from other sources, but has not been met with in other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions. New is also the assimilation of *s(ṇ)* to the ensuing *śh* in *shyushachi*, Skr. *smushakābhyām*, l. 4.

Of inflexional forms I shall only mention the peculiar* instrumentals fem. *dhituna*, Skr. *duhitrā*, l. 3, and *shyushachi*, Skr. *smushakābhyām*, l. 4. They seem to be coined after the pattern of masculine nouns, but we have no right to characterize them as simple mistakes. They were evidently used in the dialect, and Pischel's valuation of the stray Prakrit examples of fem. instr. plur. in *ehi*¹ should be modified.

After the date, with which I shall deal below, the inscription goes on to record that the female worshipper (*upāsikā*) *Chandrabhi* (Skr. *Chandrābhī*), the daughter of the householder (*grihapati*) *Dhramma* (Skr. *Dharma*), the wife of *Bhadravala* (Skr. *Bhadrapāla*) puts up relics in the 'house-*stūpa*' (*grihastūpa*) at *Chhaḍasīla*.

The term *gahathuba* (Skr. *grihastūpa*) is new, but evidently means a *stūpa* standing in a *griha*, i.e., a roofed building. For we have already seen that our *stūpa* was situated within a chapel that had been roofed over.

Chhaḍasīla, on the other hand, must be the name of the district, or of an old village or town in the immediate vicinity of the monastery to which our *stūpa* belonged. It cannot well be a synonym of *Takshasīlā*, though the last part of the two names, *śīlā*, is evidently the same. For, in the first place, the new site does not seem to belong to ancient *Takshasīlā*. *Chhaḍasīlā*

¹ *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 376.

is designated as *rathanikama*, Skr. *rāṣṭranigama*, which seems to mean a country-town or market town, and can hardly denote the capital.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,¹ Takshaśilā was founded by Bharata as the residence of his son Taksha, but Buddhist sources show that the first part of the name was felt to be derived from the base *taksh*, to chop, cut off. According to the 22nd *avadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* the town was formerly called Bhadrāsīlā, and in one of his *jātis* the Buddha was born as Chandraprabha, king of Bhadrāsīlā, and as such cut off his own head and gave it to a needy Brāhman. In the Aramaic inscription found at Taxila the name has been translated with *naggārūḍā*, i.e., according to the late Professor Andreas,² "carpenter's craft," as if the real form were *Takshaśīlā*. *A priori* it is quite possible that *Takshaśīlā* means "carpenter's rock", or "chop rock", "a detached rock". And the new name *Chhaḍaśīlā* seems to support the latter explanation. For its first part, *chhaḍa*, can very well correspond to Sanskrit *chhaṭā*, mass, lump, a continuous streak. The Margalla hills, on which Chhaḍaśīlā was situated, form a continuous range, while the Takshaśīlā ridge consists of several more or less detached hills. Chhaḍaśīlā can accordingly mean a place situated on a massy ridge, and Takshaśīlā a town on or below a detached hill. The name occurs as *Ch'o-l'o-she-lo* in v. 33 of Saṅghavarman's Chinese translation of the *Mahāmāyūri* (A.D. 516), which Professor Lévi³ wants to restore as *Chhardaśīlā*.

In establishing the relics Chandrabhi was associated with her brother Nandivardhana, her sons Śama and Saṭa (i.e., perhaps Sanskrit *Sachitta*), her daughter Dharmā, her daughters-in-law Rajā and Indrā, her grandson Jīvanandin, and her teacher. We may note that Dharma's granddaughter was called Dharmā, and that the element *nandin* is found both in the name of Nandivardhana and in that of his sister's grandson Jīvanandin.

The text has, in l. 4, *ayariena ya*, which can only mean 'and (with) her āchārya'. It is, however, possible that the original draft had *ayariāna sarvastivāṇa parigrahe*, in the acceptance of the *Sarvastivāda* teachers; cf. *acharyana sarvastivadana parigrahāmmi* on the Kurram, and *acharyana sarvastivatina pratigrahe* on the Kanishka casket. But also the Lion Capital has *sarvastivat(r)ana parigrahe*, without *ayariana*, and the text as it stands gives good sense.

The final portion of the record contains a blessing on the *rathanikama*, Sanskrit *rāṣṭranigama*, evidently Chhaḍaśīlā, and on all beings, terminating in the wish for Nirvāṇa, as in the silver scroll.

The inscription is dated *saṃvatśaraye 134 ajasa Śravaṇasa masasa divase treviṣe*—23, in the year 134 . . . on the twenty-third—23, day of the month Śrāvaṇa, i.e., it is about two years older than the silver scroll of the year 136, for the shape of the letters clearly shows that the same era is used in both records.

The crucial word in this date is the genitive *ajasa* preceding the name of the month, and it is clear that this *ajasa* is identical with the genitive *ayasa* preceding *ashaḍasa* in the silver scroll.

In my edition of the latter in the *Corpus*, I have discussed the various explanations given of this word, and proposed to explain it as corresponding to Sanskrit *ādyasya* and as characterizing the month as the "first" Āshāḍha because there was, in that particular year, a second, intercalary, Āshāḍha. This being the only inscription of the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records containing any clue to a scientific calculation of the era, I sought the co-operation of the well-known Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk, who was good enough to investigate the matter, whereafter I made his calculations the basis of the chronological system proposed as a working hypothesis in the introduction.

¹ VII, 101, 10 f., cf. *Raghuvamśa*, xv, 80.

² *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1931, p. 13.

³ *J. A.*, XI, v, 1915, p. 39.

The chief importance of the Kalawān epigraph is that it enables us to test this explanation and other attempts at translating the crucial word.

If my explanation were right, we should have to assume that there was an intercalated Śrāvāṇa in the year 134 and an intercalated Āshāḍha in the year 136, and this double indication would make it possible to arrive at almost certain results with regard to the epoch of the era, if the system of the *Siddhāntas* had already come into being.

Dr. van Wijk has again been good enough to come to my assistance. He has pointed out that such a state of things is impossible, unless we were to assume that the year 134 were reckoned as current and 136 as elapsed, so that the interval between the two dates could be about three years. It seems to me that we have no right to make such an assumption.

In such circumstances it becomes necessary to admit that my attempt at arriving at a dating of the older series of Kharōṣṭhī records through astronomical calculations was a failure, and the meaning of the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* remains just as doubtful as when the Taxila silver scroll was discovered.

The Kalawān inscription helps us, however, to eliminate certain possibilities. Since the consonant of the base word *aya*, *aja* can be written both *y* and *j*, it cannot correspond to Sanskrit *y* or *ry*, because *-y-* remains as *y* or is dropped, and *ry* appears as *ry*, *riy*, or, occasionally, as *y* in the North-Western Prakrit.¹ We cannot, therefore, think of *ayasya*, an irregular genitive of the pronominal base in *ayam*, this, or of *āryasya*.

It is also impossible to derive the word from *ādya*, belonging to to-day (*adya*). It is conceivable that *ādya*, first, might become *āja* and further *āya*, because the connected words *ādi* and *ādika* would tend to preserve the long *ā* and prevent the regular change of *ādya* to *āja*. But no such counteracting influence would be at work in the case of *ādya* from *adya*. Even the development of *ādya*, first, to *āja*, and further to *āya*, is *a priori* very doubtful. And now that we know that there cannot be any question of a "first" Śrāvāṇa or Āshāḍha, as opposed to a "second", intercalated one, the explanation becomes extremely unlikely, the more so because no reasonable sense can be made out of such an addition.

The use of *j* side by side with *y* in one and the same word seems to show that we have to do either with an old single intervocalic *j* or with a voiced *s*-sound, a *z*. In other words, *ayasa*, *ajasa* must be the genitive of *aja* (*āja*) or *aza* (*āza*). I am unable to find any possible word *aja*, *āja* which could suit the case, and, so far as I can see, we must return to the explanation originally proposed by Sir John Marshall,² that *ayasa*, *ajasa* means "of Azes," the double writing *aya*, *aja* being parallel to the doublets *kuyula*, *kujula* of the name of the first Kadphises king.

Sir John took the word *ayasa* in the silver scroll to characterize the era used in the record as instituted by Azes. "The absence of any titles attached to the name of Azes," he said, "is exceptional, but will hardly occasion surprise when it is borne in mind that his era had been in use for more than a century, and that his dynasty had been supplanted by that of the Kushans." Professor Rapson³ took the same view, and added that "Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings' in this inscription without prejudice to the house then actually reigning".

The late Dr. Fleet⁴ has, so far as I can see, definitely proved that the addition *ayasa* cannot be explained in this way: "From the vast mass of inscriptional material which is now available I cannot quote a single record in which the name of a real king (I mean, of course, excluding

¹ cf. *Corpus*, pp. cv, cvii.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 973 ff.

³ *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 582.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 997, 998.

the fictitious Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana), whether living or dead at the time of the record—or even of any official—is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another. And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word *ayasa* does not give a proper name.” “Even if the word *ayasa* stood before the statement of the years, so that the translation would actually be ‘(in) the year 136 of Aya,’ this record would still, on the analogy of every known early Indian record, place Aya in the year 136 of some era not founded by him.”

If therefore the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* in the silver scroll and the Kalawān records means “of Azes,” as I believe it does, it must be explained in a different way, and I believe that a clue can be found in another Taxila inscription.

During the excavations at Sirkap in the winter 1926-27, Sir John Marshall found a worn silver vase of duck shape, bearing a Kharōshthī inscription round the neck. Photographs and impressions were sent to me after the manuscript of my edition of Kharōshthī inscriptions in the *Corpus* had been sent to press, and I could not do more than give a short account of the record.¹ In my reading it begins *ka 191*, and I was not able to give a satisfactory account of the initial *ka*.

In his review of my edition² Professor Thomas proposed to read *saka 191*, because “we seem to detect before the *ka* a sign which presents a great resemblance to *sa*.” Mr. Hargreaves was good enough to ask his deputy, Mr. Dikshit, to make a careful examination of the original, and he reported that no trace of any letter can be found. A plaster cast was prepared for my use, and this cast shows distinct traces of a *sa*, in the same way as the photograph reproduced on Plate XVI d of the *Corpus*, and I have no doubt that here mechanical reproductions are more reliable than our eye, and that we must actually read *saka 191*.

Professor Thomas is certainly right in maintaining that *saka 191* is a clear reference to an era designated as a Saka institution, and if we substitute the fuller form *saṃvatśaraye 191 sakasa*, in the year 191 of Saka, we would have an exact parallel to *saṃvatśaraye 134 ajasa*.

Saka in the silver vase inscription is not the name of an individual ruler, but a dynastic designation, characterizing the era as connected with Saka rule, and the parallelism points to the conclusion that *ayasa*, *ajasa* should be explained in a similar way. The word has been added in order to show that the era was different from another reckoning, that connected with Saka rule, and itself introduced or adopted by another, non-Saka, dynasty.

The successors of the Sakas in Taxila were the Pahlavas, and among them the Azes kings must have been better known than the rest. The Azes coins are more numerous than all other coins found at the ancient site, and they seem to have been “struck and restruck for the best part of a hundred years,” as Sir John Marshall has been good enough to tell me. To the Takshashilā people, therefore, the name of Azes would naturally be well known, and become almost tantamount to a designation of the whole dynasty, especially after the Pahlavas had been ousted by the Kushānas. If it was found necessary to characterize the era used under Parthian rule, it would therefore be natural to do so by adding the word “of Azes”, without thinking of any individual king, but only of the late dynasty: “in the year so-and-so, Azes style”.

If this explanation is right, it follows that the addition *ayasa*, *ajasa*, does not characterize the era as instituted by Azes, but simply as connected with Parthian rulers. And as a matter of fact there are no indications to show that the Parthians introduced an era of their own, or any feature in the dates of records issued under Parthian rule which makes us think of the era as Parthian.

The Parthians brought Greek institutions and notions with them, and in a Parthian era we should expect to find traces of the Greek calendar. It is, however, noteworthy that in India

¹ *Corpus*, pp. 81 f.

² *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 4.

the Macedonian month-names have only been traced in records connected with the Sakas and the Kanishka dynasty, and in no inscription of the Parthian period.

We have, on the other hand, an Indian tradition to the effect that an Indian era, the so-called Vikrama era, was instituted by an Indian king of the name or *biruda* Vikramāditya, to commemorate his victory over the Sakas in Mālava, and I am unable to see why it should not be accepted. The Vikrama era would, in other words, start from the overthrow of Saka rule in Central India.

This event would naturally lead to a Saka exodus, and if the Sakas subsequently invaded Mathurā, it would be natural for them in later times to start their chronology from the time when they became masters there, in which case their reckoning must coincide with the new national Indian era which was gradually established in Mālava. And this era would have great chances of being adopted by the Parthian rulers, who supplanted the Sakas in the north-west, just as Vikramāditya had done in Mālava.

The Taxila silver vase inscription of the year [sa]ka 191 shows, it is true, that an older, Saka, era remained in use, also during the Parthian period. For Jibonika-Zeionises, during whose reign the vase was manufactured, belongs to that period. It is even probable that he was himself a Parthian and not a Saka, if the last part of his father's name Manigula is Iranian *varda*, for Iranian *v* does not seem to become *g* in old Saka. But the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103 shows that the other reckoning was soon introduced side by side with the old one, and, to judge from other records, such as the Panjtār and the Taxila silver-scroll inscriptions, it gradually became the usual one.

It might be objected that the Parthians would, *a priori*, be more likely to adopt a Saka than an Indian era. For they were foreign invaders, of Iranian stock, just as the Sakas. And it has often been maintained that they were so closely associated with the Sakas that the two can hardly be distinguished.

I have never been able to accept that view. We know that Sakas and Parthians had constantly been at war with each other before any of them founded an Indian empire. The Sakas were hardly pressed by Mithradates I. They reasserted themselves under his successors, but were again reduced by Mithradates II. And shortly afterwards Parthian rulers replaced the Sakas in north-western India.

These Parthian rulers came to north-western India at a time when the Sakas of the Parthian kingdom had been brought to subjection. The conquest of the Saka realm in India was a consequence of the supremacy they had already acquired, and there was no occasion for commemorating it by establishing a new era. The old Saka era therefore continued to be used. But at about the same time, or probably a little later than Azes' accession, the new reckoning, which coincided with the national Indian Vikrama era, gradually spread northwards and westwards, also to Parthian India.

Sakas of course continued to live in India under Parthian rule. But we have no indications to show that they identified themselves with the Parthians. When later on the Kushānas entered on the stage, they took up again the Saka tradition, and they were probably themselves Sakas. Their conquest, beginning with an attack on the Parthians and culminating in the sack of Sirkap, shows that they did not look on the Parthians as their associates and kinsmen. But just because the era current under Parthian rule was not a Parthian institution, it was left alone under the new rulers.

So far as I can see, we must therefore refer the dates not only of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, but also of the Panjtār record of the year 122, the Kalawān plate of the year 134, and the Taxila scroll of the year 136 to the Vikrama era, and if we reckon with elapsed Kārttikādi years, these dates would then roughly correspond to A.D. 46, 65, 77 and 79, respectively

With regard to the reckoning used in the Jihonika inscription, it is evident that it is the same as that of the Patika plate, and it is probable that also some other records should be referred to it.

Such is the case with the Maira well inscription of the year 58, if it actually contains the name Moa, i.e. Moga; with the Mānsehrā inscription, which seems to be dated in the year 68, and which mentions a certain Lia, who may have something to do with the Kshatrpa Liaka of the Patika plate; with the Shahdaur inscription of the *rājan* Damijada, whose name reminds us of that of the Western Kshatrpa Dāmaysada, and perhaps with the Fatehjang, Loriyān Tangai, Jamālgarhī, Hashtnagar, and Skārah Dheri inscriptions of the years 68, 318, 359, 384 and 399, respectively.

With regard to the epoch of this old Saka era, various dates have been suggested. Sir John Marshall,¹ once thought of ca. 95 B.C., but is now inclined to go back to the middle of the second century; the late Mr. Banerji² suggested ca. 100 B.C., Mr. Jayaswal³ ca. 123, and Professor Rapson⁴ ca. 150. It seems to me that the last mentioned scholar cannot have been far from being right.

The Jihonika inscription was found on a silver vase, which was much worn when it was buried at the sack of Sirkap. It may have been about twenty-five years old at that date. The Kushāna conquest of Takshasilā, which led to the destruction of Sirkap, can roughly be dated ca. A.D. 65. At the time of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, i.e. A. D. 46, the ruler was the Parthian Gondophernes. And we know that other Parthian rulers intervened between him and the Kushānas. Moreover, I cannot accept Professor Rapson's⁵ criticism of my reading and interpretation of l. 5 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription *erjhuna Kapasa puyae*, in honour of Prince Kapa, i.e. Kujūla Kadphises. On the stone I could not see traces of letters between *Kapa* and *sa*. If I am right, Kujūla's career of conquest had not begun in A. D. 46. At the time of the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, i.e., A. D. 65, on the other hand, the Kushāna power had become established, and at the date of the silver-scroll inscription of the year 136, i.e. A. D. 79, the sack of Sirkap seems to have been an event of the past. If we assume that the Jihonika vase was made about A. D. 40, the epoch of the era would be 191—40, i.e. about 150 B.C.

In that case the Patika plate would be dated in the year 150—78, i.e. about 72 B.C. Patika was then evidently a young man, without any official position or title.⁶ If he were then about twenty years old and about sixty-five when he appears as Mahākshatrpa on the Lion Capital, the date of the latter would be about 25 B.C. At that time there was another Mahākshatrpa in Mathurā, viz. Rājula, who had a son, the Kshatrpa Śoḍāsa. The latter may have been about twenty-five years old, and it would be reasonable to assume that he was about sixty-five at the time when he appears as Mahākshatrpa in the Āmohinī tablet of the Vikrama year 72,⁷ i.e. A. D. 15. Such calculations are, of course, not decisive. But they raise a certain presumption in favour of an epoch about 150 B. C.

¹ J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 986.

² Ind. Ant., xxxvii, 1908, p. 67.

³ J. B. O. R. S., xvi, p. 240.

⁴ The Cambridge History of India, i, p. 570.

⁵ J. R. A. S., 1930, p. 189.

⁶ As seen by Professor Thomas, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6, the final sentence of the plate must be read as *mahadanapati Patika saja uvajhae[na] Rohinimitreya ya imalme[na] samgharame narakamika*, the great gift-lord Patika together with the *upādhyāya* Rohinimitra, who is overseer of works in this Saṃghārāma. There is, accordingly, no mention of the title *jatira* as proposed by me, *Corpus*, p. cviii f.

⁷ I cannot agree with Professor Rapson, *Acta Orientalia*, xi, pp. 260 ff., that the St. Andrew's cross symbol in the tablet stands for 40. It seems to me that Professor Lüders, *Acta Orientalia*, x, pp. 118 ff., has proved that it must be read as 70. The manuscript fragments where the symbol is used in that way came from North-Western India, and I do not quite understand Professor Rapson when he says that they are "somewhat distantly removed in place, if not in time, from the Mathurā inscriptions."

And it would seem to be quite intelligible if the Sakas had introduced an era of their own about that time. We know from Chinese sources that their southward march and invasion of Ki-pin coincided with the Yüe-chi conquest of the Ta-hia country, which is stated to have been effected ca. 160 B. C. The Sakas must then have come into contact with the Greek and with the Parthians, whose King Mithradates I (ca. 171-138 B. C.) is stated to have extended his empire to the Indus and to have brought force to bear on the Scythians. This would naturally lead to the Sakas trying to consolidate their power and to their introducing an era of their own, in imitation of the Greek, who used the Seleucidan era. Under Mithradates' successors they were more than able to hold their own, until Mithradates II (123-88 B. C.) succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over them.

The pressure thus exercised on the Sakas seems to have led to their invasion of the Indus country.¹ In the Saka year 58, i.e. about 92 B.C., we apparently find the Saka king Moga mentioned in the Maira well inscription, and ten years later perhaps a Saka chief Lia in Mān-sehrā, while Moga again appears in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, i.e. about 72 B.C. How long he remained in power, we do not know, but he seems to have had a fairly long reign.

The Saka empire, however, soon broke up. In Mālava it was, according to an Indian tradition, brought to an end by an Indian ruler, known as Vikramāditya, and in the North-West we soon find the Parthian ruler Azes, who may have risen to power about the middle of the first century B.C.

The Kushānas, who made an end to the empire founded by Azes, are known to us from Chinese sources. We there learn about their gradual rise to power. At first we hear about them as forming a principality, Kuei-shuang, near or within the Ta-hia country conquered by the Great Yüe-chi.

We are told about five such principalities, each under a *hi-hou*, viz. Hiu-mi, the present Wakhān; Shuang-mi, the present Chitrāl; Kuei-shuang, apparently immediately to the north of Gandhāra, or Gandhāra itself; Hi-tun, the present Parwān on the Panjshir, and Kao-fu, i.e. Kābul.² The *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-taiu-k'io (Kujūla Kadphises), attacked the four other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang (i.e. he assumed the title "Kushāna-king"). He further invaded An-si (i.e. the neighbouring Parthian realm) and seized Kao-fu. Moreover he triumphed over P'u-ta (unidentified)³ and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. He died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen (i.e. Wima Kadphises) became king in his stead. He again (anew) extinguished (conquered) T'ien-chu (i.e. the Indus country) and appointed a general there for the administration.

We are distinctly told that these events belong to the period Kien-wu (A. D. 25-55) and later, and that they had been related by Pan-yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A. D. 107-125).⁴ Kujūla Kadphises cannot, therefore, have started on his career before A. D. 25, and the whole development narrated in the *Annals*, including Wima Kadphises' reconquest of T'ien-chu, had been concluded in A.D. 125.

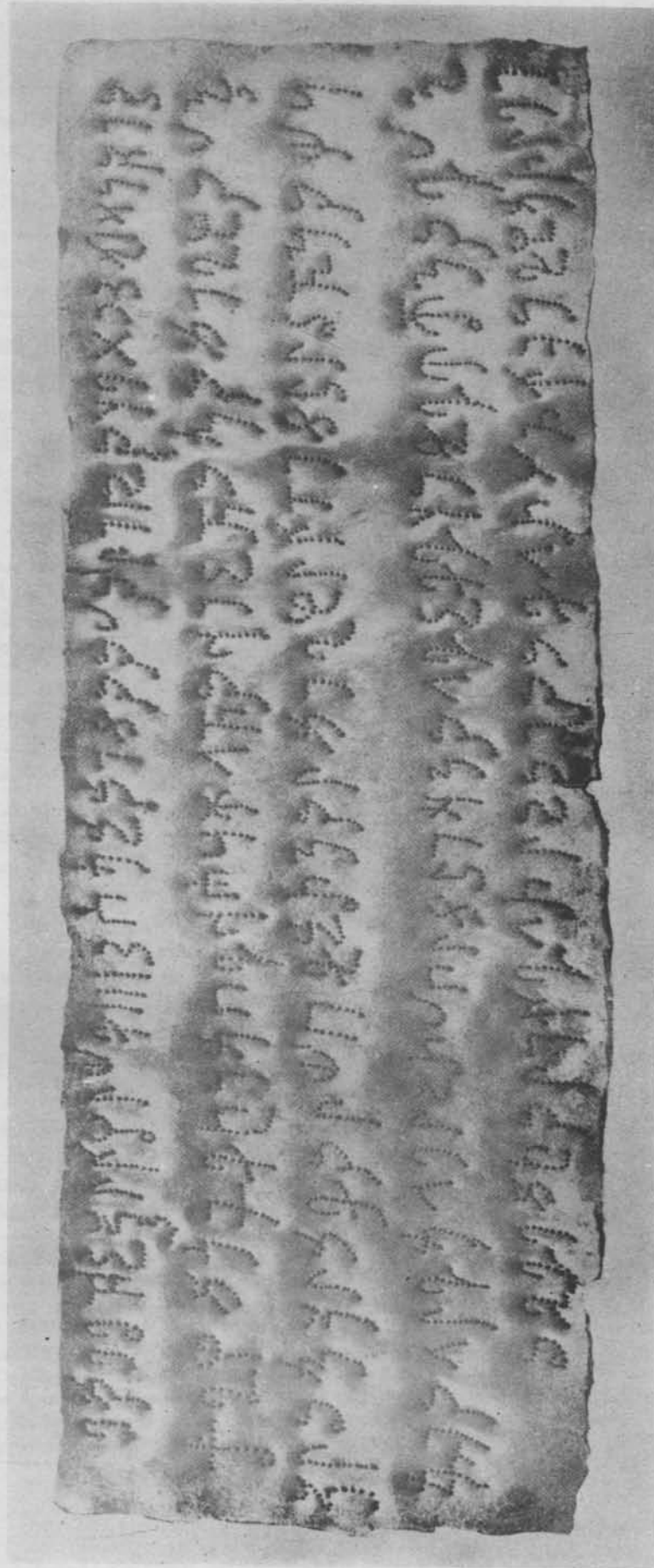
¹ Otherwise Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 568.

² Cf. Marquart, *Iranische*, pp. 242 ff. According to the Hou Han-shu Kao-fu should be replaced by Tu-mi.

³ The Tang pronunciation of the name was, according to Karlgren, Nos. 760 and 956 Buk-dāt. Ten miles east of Kābul we find the small village Butkhāk, at the place where the two routes to Kābul from the east meet. It is mentioned by Baber, *transl.* by John Leyden and William Erskine, II, p. 130, and the name is said to mean "idol-dust," with reference to the legend that Mahmud of Ghazni here broke up the idols he brought from Hindustan. That sounds like a popular etymology, and if the place is old, Butkhāk might be a corruption of an old Bukdāt. But it is more likely that P'u-ta was some part of Arachosia.

⁴ Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 168.

KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134.



HITRANANDA SASTRI.

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

The Kalawān inscription has, as we have seen, shown that the era used in the Kharōshthī inscriptions connected with these events must be the so-called Vikrama era. We can, accordingly, state that Kujūla Kadphises' attack on An-si and conquest of Kao-fu cannot be placed before some time after A. D. 46, because then Gondophernes, who was not the last Parthian king, was still ruling.¹ Less than twenty years later, in the year 122, i.e. A. D. 65, we find a *maharaya Gushāna*, a title which recalls the Hou Han-shu statement about Kujūla Kadphises styling himself Kushāna King, mentioned in the Panjtār inscription. If this ruler was, as some scholars think, Wima Kadphises, we should have to draw the inference that his father, who was more than eighty years old at his death, was no more alive, and that he had, consequently, achieved his chief result, the victory over the Parthians, when he was a septuagenarian. That is, so far as I can see, an impossibility, and the chronology which the new inscription allows us to draw up seems to clear up the disputed question about the identity of the Kushāna ruler mentioned in the Panjtār and silver-scroll records. He can only be identified with Kujūla Kadphises. And if he was still alive in A. D. 79, Kanishka, the successor, or one of the successors, of his son Wima Kadphises, cannot have founded the historical Śaka era.

The Kalawān inscription is also of importance for the chronology of Gandhāra art. The sculptures found in the chapel, which cannot be older than A. D. 77, are stated to be of good style, and it is not *a priori* likely that they are older than the chapel itself. We can, accordingly, in this case approximately date some specimens of good Gandhāra art. If the Loriyān Tangai, Hashtnagar and Skārah Dheri image inscriptions of the years 318, 384 and 399, are referred to the old Śaka era and roughly correspond to A. D. 168, 234 and 249 A. D., respectively, we should be able to survey the development of Gandhāra sculpture for more than 150 years. The Mamāna Dheri pedestal of the Kanishka year 89 would then be only slightly older than the Hashtnagar image, because it seems impossible, in view of the chronological result indicated above, to assume an earlier epoch of the Kanishka era than towards A. D. 130.

TEXT.

(L. 1). Samvatsaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śravaṇasa masasa divase treviṣe 20 1 1 1 imeṇa kshuṇṇa Chandrabhī uasia (l. 2) Dharmmasa grahavatīsa dhīta Bhadravalasa bhaya Chhaḍaśīlaś śarira praistaveti gahathu- (l. 3) bami sadha bhraduṇa Namdivaḍhaṇa grahavatīsa sadha putrehi Śameṇa Saitṇa cha dhītuṇa cha (l. 4) Dharmas sadha shṇushaehi Rajae Idras ya sadha Jivanandīna Śamaputrena ayariṇa ya sa[r]vasti- (l. 5) vaṇa parigrahe raṭhanikamo puyāṭa sarvas(v)atvaṇa puyae ṇivaṇasa pratīae hotu.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 134 of Azes, on the twenty-third—23. day of the month Śrāvaṇa, at this term the female worshipper (*upāsikā*) Chandrābhī, daughter of the householder (*grihapati*) Dharma, wife of Bhadrāpāla, establishes relics in Chhaḍaśīla, in the chapel-*stūpa*, together with her brother, the householder Nandivardhana, with her sons Śama and Sachitta and her daughter Dharmā, with her daughters-in-law Rajā and Indra, with Jivanandin, the son of Śama, and the teacher, in acceptance of the Sarvāstivādas, having venerated the country-town, for the veneration of all beings; may it be for the obtainment of Nirvāṇa.

¹ That does not, however, preclude that Kābul might already have been associated with the Kushānas at an earlier stage, before the attack on the Parthians. Such a previous connection may be reflected in the Kujūla-Hormaeus coins and in the notice in the older Han *Annals* about Kao-fu being one of the five Ta-hsü principalities. But the Parthian conquest of Kābul made an end to that state of things.

No. 40.—KOLAGALLU INSCRIPTION OF KHOTTIGA ; SAKA 889.

By N. LAKSMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

The stone which bears this inscription¹ was found at **Kolagallu**, which is a railway station on the Guntakal-Hubli section of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. A very brief note on its contents has appeared in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for the year 1913-14.² This is the earliest record of the **Rāshtrakūta** king **Khottiga** so far discovered and I edit it below from the estampages kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is written in ordinary **Sanskrit** and in **Nāgarī** characters closely resembling those of the **Dēolī**³ and the **Karhād**⁴ plates of **Kṛishṇa III**. The average size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{4}$ " to 1". The **ē** sign is written in two ways—(1) by a slanting stroke at the top of the letter and (2) by a stroke beginning at the top of the letter and running down to its bottom on the left side. With the exception of lines 1 to 3, which give the date, the whole of the record is in verse. It may be remarked here that the syntax of verse 5 is faulty. The word *hēmayashtyāsanō* stands by itself without any connection with the rest of the verse and the verse has no predicate. The form *rik-sāmair* (l. 29) is grammatically wrong. The rules of *sandhi* are not observed in *purushō kumārō* (l. 31) and *grāmē abhishiktaḥ* (l. 33). Apparently this is due to the requirements of the metre. The scanning of the first *pāda* of verse 21 is not in conformity with the rules of prosody for it has one syllable in excess of the actual number required. The text of the inscription contains some technical expressions like *danḍāsana* and *lōhāsani* (l. 35), the exact import of which is not quite clear. Neither *lōhāsana* nor *danḍāsana* finds place in the verse which enumerates the five *yōgic āsanas*,⁵ viz.,

पद्मासनं स्वस्तिकास्यं भद्रं वज्रासनं तथा ।

वीरासनमिति प्रोक्तं क्रमादासनपञ्चकम् ॥

The word *Kapardin* which generally means **Siva** is here possibly used for **Kārttikēya**. Verse 18 would show that this epithet was applied to the sage **Gadādhara** also. In respect of **orthography**,⁶ the following points may be noted : (1) A superfluous *anusvāra* is sometimes used before double *n* or before *n* followed by a consonant (e.g., *tasminn-ādhipatyam* in l. 20, *vidvānn* in l. 38, *kaṁny-eva* in l. 42, *anāṁnyāsrūtā* in l. 50 and *sāmāṁnyō* in l. 68) ; (2) the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *saravanē* (l. 23) ; (3) the letter *v* is used in place of *b* in *Ativala* (l. 72) and *vrahmachārībhiḥ* (l. 79) ; (4) the consonant *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* as in *rik-sāmair* (l. 29) and *vice versa* as in *anāṁnyāsrūtā* (l. 50) and *dēvapriya* (l. 52) ; (5) the letter *sh* is used for the *jihvāmūliya* as well as for the *upadhmāniya* as is seen in *mallash-kurutē* (l. 63), *prītiś-kapardinaḥ* (l. 77), *chakshush=Purushō* (l. 31) and *vāpyash=Pārvalī* (l. 55) ; (6) the corrupt or **Prakrit** form *samvachhara* is used instead of *samvatsara* in lines 1 and 2.

The record is dated **Śaka 889 expired, the year Keshava, Sunday, the Sixth (tithi) of the bright half of Phālguna**, when king **Kṛishṇa** had died and **Khottigadēva** was ruling. This **Khottiga** is no other than the homonymous **Rāshtrakūta** king of **Mālkhēḍ**, the half brother and successor of **Kṛishṇa III**.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of the images of **Kārttikēya** and other gods at the village of **Kolagala** by the **Brahmachārin Gadādhara**. Verses 2 to 8 glorify

¹ No. 236 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² Part II, para. 36.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.

⁴ See *Sūdakalpadruma* under *āsana*.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.

the god Kārttikadēva (Skanda) and his *āsana* made of gold. His prowess in destroying the demon Tāraka and his brilliant form are then extolled (vv. 9 to 12). Verse 13 describes the ascetic Gadādhara as a *lōhāsani* belonging to the Śāṇḍilya-gōtra and as a crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country. The next verse tells us that he was born in the village Taḍā and that he was the illuminator of the Varēndrī country. Verse 15 is devoted to the praise of his learning and devotion. We learn from verse 16 that he set up the images of the Sun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahēśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka and that he constructed a tank, a monastery and some wells. According to the following verse, these acts of charity established his fame in heaven. Verse 19 states that he was conducting the administration of the realm of the god Kārttikēya. Verse 22 gives the ancestry of the poet Madhusūdana who composed this *prakāśi*. In the last verse Gadādhara beseeches future *Brahmachārins* to have the same love as himself for the god Kapardin.

The importance of this epigraph chiefly lies in its date which corresponds regularly to A.D. 967 February 17, Sunday, the *tithi* commencing at 66 of the day. The earliest correct date hitherto found for Khottiga is Śaka 890, Vibhava, Jyēsthā śuddha 1, Thursday¹ (A.D. 968 April 30, Thursday). Our record is thus earlier than this by one year. It is also important in another way for, as Khottiga was the successor of Kṛishṇa III, it helps us to ascertain Kṛishṇa's last date.

But before proceeding to determine the date of Kṛishṇa's death, I think it is necessary to discuss the date of his accession which has not yet been properly fixed. The Karhāḍ grant² of A.D. 959 describes at length the conquests of Kṛishṇa III which were achieved by him after he was crowned king; but the Dēōlī plates³ whose date is approximately 30th April A.D. 940 makes no mention of any of them. On the other hand the account given in them ends with his coronation. It is very likely, therefore, that Kṛishṇa came to the throne shortly before the date of the Dēōlī plates. And the earliest known regular date of this monarch is Śaka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti, Vyatīpāta, Monday⁴ (A.D. 939 December 23, Monday). But the Isāmudra inscription⁵ of his father Baddega Amōghavarsha III is also dated in Śaka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyana-saṅkramaṇa. It has to be noted, however, that this latter date does not admit of verification as neither the week day nor the nakshatra is cited. Now, only one of the following two inferences can be drawn from these dates viz., (1) that Amōghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III were ruling jointly or (2) that the date which does not admit of being tested is not correct. That Kṛishṇa III became king only after his father's death is stated in unequivocal terms in the Dēōlī and the Karhāḍ plates. And Kṛishṇa's record of 23rd December 939 gives him such titles as *Mahārājadhīrāja* which are indicative of paramount authority. It follows, therefore, that Baddega must have died before this date, which, as stated above, is the earliest available for Kṛishṇa III. Hence the first alternative viz., that Kṛishṇa and his father were joint rulers has to be rejected and the date of the Isāmudra inscription has to be regarded as incorrect. But as has been shown by Kielhorn⁶ long ago there are several instances where Uttarāyana-saṅkramaṇa is wrongly quoted while other details are given correctly. We may not be wrong, therefore, if we leave out of account the Uttarāyana-saṅkramaṇa of the Isāmudra inscription and take as correct the only other detail contained in it, viz., the cyclic year Vikārin. Then, Baddega would still be on the throne in the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 50. An inscription of this king found at Hunavalli (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 531) is dated Śaka 890, Prabhava, Chaitra, śuddha puṇṇama, Ādityavāra, Saṅkrānti. But the details of the date given here do not work out correctly.

² Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Pt. ii, p. 420.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 476.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. XI, Cd. 77.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV p. 293; see also the dates of the Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 114 of 1913, 113 of 1913, 118 of 1913, 475 of 1914, 478 of 1914 and 291 of 1918 calculated by the late Dewan Bahadur Swamikaanu Pillai in his *Indian Epigraphic*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 35 ff.

year Vikārin which began on 23rd February A.D. 939. In all probability, therefore, Kṛishṇa succeeded his father after this date. Thus the initial year of the reign of Kṛishṇa III would fall between 23rd February and 23rd December A.D. 939.

Now let us ascertain the last date of Kṛishṇa. Our inscription tells us that Khottiga was holding the reins of government on 17th February A.D. 967, after Kṛishṇa's death. Consequently, the latter ruler must have died before this date. And the latest date that we now have for Kṛishṇa is 6th March A.D. 965¹. Several inscriptions in the Tamil country are dated in the 28th year of his reign and thus prove that his rule lasted for not less than 28 years.² Since, as shown above, he ascended the throne after 23rd February A.D. 939 he must have occupied the throne till some time after 23rd February A.D. 966, when his 28th year began. The wording of the present record, viz., परलोकां गते तन्निवासा कृष्णवृषे निधौ राज्ये खोट्टिगदेवस्य (ll. 4-5) would indicate that Kṛishṇa's death had occurred not long before the date cited in it (i.e., A.D. 967 February 17). This surmise is further strengthened by the fact that another record of Khottiga which is later by 4 years does not contain any reference to Kṛishṇa's death, because it was by that time an event which had taken place long ago.³ The passage in it which introduces the king runs as : पालयति सति प्राप्ते खोट्टिगे राज्ञि मेदिनी. We may, therefore, conclude that Kṛishṇa III ruled from A.D. 939 to 966-67. From what has been said above, it also becomes clear that the last year of Kṛishṇa's reign was the 28th year.⁴

Gadādhara who installed the images mentioned above appears to have been an ascetic of great repute as can be seen from the high praise bestowed upon him in the record. As stated above, the realm of god Kārttikēya was under his administrative charge. In another inscription of Kolgallu of A. D. 964, this tract of territory is called Kārttikēya-tapōvana and we are told that he had full control over it and that he was ruling it from Kolgallu.⁵ We learn from an inscription at Kudatini⁶ that this person set up in that village an image of Skandā. It thus appears that he was an ardent devotee of this god. We do not know when this celebrity came from Varēndri to the Kanarese country but this much is clear that he rose to this eminence on account of his learning and other qualities. It is possible, however, that Kṛishṇa III met and brought him to the south during the second northern expedition which, as I have shown elsewhere,⁷ took place in A.D. 963-64.

All that we know about Madhusūdana, the author of this inscription, is that he was the son of Atibala and grandson of Rishi, that he was a *dvija* of the Karmāra-kula and that his ancestors emigrated from Tarkāri. As the preserved portion of the last verse of the Kudatini epigraph, referred to above, is an exact copy of the 22nd verse of our record, the former also appears to have been composed by this same Madhusūdana. I am not able to identify him with any of the poets of this name who flourished in this period.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Varēndri "is identified with that part of Bengal which is now called Rājashāhi".⁸ As to Tarkāri, there seem to be a number of places of this name⁹ but the Tarkāri of the present inscription is, I think, the famous

¹ Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 113 of 1929-30.

² See, for instance, Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 364 of 1902, 125 of 1906 and 159 of 1921.

³ Same collection No. 44 of 1904.

⁴ The date of the Kijūr record which has been wrongly read as the [3]0th year (Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 232 of 1902) was after re-examination found to be the 20th year.

⁵ Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914, Pt. II, para. 36; No. 234 of 1913.

⁶ Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 44 of 1904.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 289.

⁸ Above, Vol. I, page 305 f. n. 2.

⁹ See Ind. Ant., Vol. LX, pp. 16-17.

Takāri, 16 miles north-west of Gayā. Taḍā, where Gadādhara was born, has perhaps to be identified with the modern village Tara lying at a distance of about 12 miles south-east of Dinajpur in Bengal. Kolagala is, doubtless, Kolagallu where the inscription was discovered.

TEXT.¹

[Metres : vv. 1 to 15, 16 to 21 and 23, *Anuṣṭubh* ; 15 and 22, *Śārdūlavikṛīḍitam*.]

First Face.

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री ॥*॥ शकनृपकालातीतसंवह(स्व)²[रा]-
- 2 छ(ष्ट)शताशीतिनवाधिकचयसंवह(स्व)रे फाल्गु-
- 3 णशुक्लपञ्चाशदिने प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥ प-
- 4 रलोकं गते तस्मिन्नात्मा कृष्णनृपे नि[धौ] ॥*
- 5 राज्ये खोद्विगदेवस्य धर्मसेतुः कलौ यु-
- 6 गे ॥[१*] त्रैलोक्यव्यक्तरूपाय विख्याताय
- 7 [यश]स्विने ॥*॥ स्वामिकार्तिकदेवाय सर्वज्ञा-
- 8 य नमोन्नमः(नमः) ॥[२*] ज्ञानशक्तिधरं देवं श्रीम-
- 9 द्बुद्धात्मजं शुभं ॥*॥ सर्वलोकहितं शान्तं
- 10 नमामि परमेश्वरं ॥[३*] सुरसेनाधिपञ्चे-
- 11 छस्त(स्था)स्य सत्त्वं महात्मनः ॥*॥ नृपवन्तु विपु-
- 12 लां कीर्तिं सर्वपापविनाशनीं ॥[४*] हेमय-
- 13 ष्ठा(ष्ट्या)सनोय³ . त्रिगुणाः⁴ शौर्यं कपर्दिनः ।
- 14 [हि]जम्बेष्ठगदापाणेः शश्वतं धर्मकी-
- 15 र्त्तनं ॥[५*] उत्पादितं प्रयत्नेन रत्नानेकै-
- 16 र्विशोभितं ॥*॥ तेजसा शुभ्रमत्यन्तमिन्द्राद्यै-
- 17 र्वदितं सुरैः ॥[६*] दिव्यरूपासनं रम्यं
- 18 पूष्णेन्दुरिव निर्मलं ॥*॥ पापघ्नं वेधसा सृ-
- 19 ष्टं कामरूपि सुखावहं ॥[७*] स्थित्वा दंडा-
- 20 सने तस्मिं(स्मि)न्नाधिपत्यं दिवौकसां ॥*
- 21 कृतं द्वादशनेत्रेण सोयं देवेश-
- 22 रांगभूः ॥[८*] हेमस्य नलिनीगर्भं षष्पु-
- 23 खौ द्वादशेक्षणाः ॥*॥ जातस्त(श)रवणे वा

¹ From inked estampages.

² The letter छ is engraved below the line.

³ Possibly this has to be corrected into हेमयष्टासनस्य.

⁴ Read त्रिगुणान्.

- 24 लो विष्ठात्मा परमेश्वरः ॥[८*] चद्रव(म)-
 25 अतयवधो यस्तारकचासुराधिपः [1*]
 26 क्रीडया निष्ठतोनेन द्वादशार्क[च]-
 27 येन सः ॥[१०*] भुवि द्यौरेक(द्यव्येक) एवायं [देव ?]
 28 स्तेजोमयः कृती । द्विजास्यम्यवृष्टं[त्वे]-

Second Facs.

- 29 वं रि(रु)क्तामैर्वेदपार-
 30 गाः ॥[११*] विष्णतयश्च-
 31 मुरुषो कुमारो^१ वि-
 32 मृतोमुखः^२ [1*] श्रीम-
 33 लोखगलपामि च-
 34 भिषिक्तः शुभे दि[ने] ॥[१२*]
 35 लोहासनी च ग्राहि-
 36 लस्युतपस्वी गदाध-
 37 रः [1*] विहङ्गनाम्नयो
 38 विहा(हा)गौडपूडाम-
 39 चिर्गुणी ॥[१३*] स्वर्गवास-
 40 निमित्तार्थं तडाया[मो]-
 41 ल(ल)वेन तु [1*] स्थापितो
 42 दिव्यमन्त्रेण वरेन्दु-
 43 द्योतकारिणा ॥[१४*] क-
 44 क्षीर्यस्व परेभ्य एव भ-
 45 वने कं(क)न्येव दातुं स्वि-
 46 ता विद्या यस्य समस्त-
 47 जन्मुचितस्तद्दीपप्र-
 48 सेवामया [1*] भक्तियस्व
 49 पतिव्रतेव वनिता स्त-
 50 ज्ञानदत्त(न)म्यान्(त्रि)ता त-
 51 लो लक्ष्मि गदाधरा[य]

^१ Read: पुत्रः कुमारो.

^२ This reminds one of the Vedic *akṣman* विश्ववृष्टत विश्वो मुखी विश्वो वाक्वत विश्वमयात् । संवाक्वा अक्षति
 अक्षमिवाहा कृती ज्ञानवन् देव एवः ।

FIRST FACE.

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14
 16
 18
 20
 22
 24
 26
 28

SECOND FACE.

३०
 ३२
 ३४
 ३६
 ३८
 ४०
 ४२
 ४४
 ४६
 ४८
 ५०
 ५२

THIRD FACE.

54
56
58
60
62
64
66
68
70
72
74

FOURTH FACE.

76
78
80

52 [व]सुधादेवपु(प्रि)याया-

53 [नि]शं ॥[१५*]

Third Face.

54 [इ]होपरं(रि) तथैवाकीं वेधा विष्णुर्म[हे]-

55 अरस्तुगमठिकावाप्यध्वती

56 च विनायकः ॥[१६*] [सु]ष्टे स्थापिता[:*] कीर्ति-

57 विदिता स्वर्गवासिनां [१*] यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठा

58 देवानां कृता अमेज धीमता ॥[१७*] सुरे-

59 न्द्रभुवने कीर्तिं गायन्त्यपरसस्य-

60 दा [१*] जयत्यसौ कपर्दी च सृगांकव-

61 दनो मुनिः ॥ [१८*] राज्यं श्रीस्वामिन[:*] स्वा-

62 ने विद्वद्भिप्रोपकारकं [१*] दुर्भिक्षमज्ञ-

63 ञ्जुवते यथा वैरोचनो बलिः ॥[१९*] स्वा-

64 मिभक्षारक्षसाय वरपामचिर-

65 म्मनः [१*] च[तो] न दत्ता वसुधा इय-

66 कृत्वा विधेयतः ॥[२०*] नृहीत्वा परिमि-

67 ता(प्रमिता) दत्ता भूमिर्या सतिसोदका [१*] विप्रे-

68 भ्यक्षा न इतव्या सामां(मा)न्धो धर्मसा-

69 गरः ॥[२१*] श्रीकर्मारकुलाद्वयद्विज-

70 वरपामस्तु(धामास्तु) तर्कारितो निष्क्रम्य क-

71 मनिर्मलसमभवत्तस्मिन्वि[ष्य]-

72 डितस्तत्पुत्रप्रधितः क्षितावतिव(व)-

73 सस्तस्मादभूदय(य)स्तुतस्तेन श्रीम-

74 धुसूदनाख्यकविना यस्ता प्रश-

75 क्षितः कृता ॥[२२*]

Fourth Face.

76 गदाधरेण सञ्चितं

77 यथा प्रीतिष्कपर्दि-

78 नः [१*] तथान्वैरपि क-

79 तव्या भविष्यन्न(त्र)ज्ञ-

80 चारिभिः ॥[२३*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 3.) Hail ! Prosperity ! On Sunday the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of the (*month*) of Phālguna in the (*cyclic*) year Kshaya, when eight hundred years increased by eighty nine had elapsed since the time of the Śaka King, the installation (*ceremony*) was performed.

(Verse 1.) During the reign of Khottigadēva—the king named Kṛishṇa of excellent qualities having gone to heaven—(*this*) bridge of religious merit (*was erected*) in the Kali age.

(V. 2.) Adoration to the omniscient god Kārttikadēva who has a form which is manifest in the three worlds, who has obtained great fame and is glorious.

(V. 3.) I bow to that Supreme Lord who bears the (*weapon called*) Jñānaśakti, who is the son of the celebrated Rudra, is the auspicious and the peaceful One and the benefactor of the whole universe.

(V. 4.) The chief of the commanders of the army of the gods—let people hear the valour of the high-souled One and his wide fame which is capable of destroying all sins.

(V. 5.) (*Let people hear*) the three *guṇas* and the prowess of (*that god*), who possesses a *yashṭyāsana* made of gold, viz., Kapardin, (otherwise of the ascetic with the matted hair) who holds in his hands the best of birds and the *gadā* and the meritorious act (*of the best of Brāhmins Gadādhara*) which is eternal.¹

(Vv. 6 and 7.) His seat of heavenly form, created with special effort, decked with many gems, extremely pure in its lustre, worshipped by Indra and other gods, which is capable of destroying sins, which was created by (*god*) Brahmā and which can assume the desired form is comfortable.

(V. 8.) Seated in that *daṇḍāsana* was wielded the generalship of the (*army of*) the gods by the twelve eyed (*god*). Such is the issue of the lord of gods (*i.e.*, Śiva).

(V. 9.) This six faced, twelve-eyed boy, the soul of the universe, the supreme lord was born in the womb of the lotus of gold in the *śaravaṇa* grass.

(V. 10.) That Tāraka, the lord of demons, who could not be slain by Rudra, Brahmā and other (*gods*) was destroyed in sport by this (*god*) who has the twelve suns as his eyes.

(V. 11.) He is the only (*god*) on earth and in heaven who is eternal, who is full of brilliance and who has accomplished his purpose. Thus do the twice-born who are well-versed in the Vēdas praise him well by Riks and Sāmans.

(V. 12.) This Kumāra, the eye and the face of the universe (*i.e.*, who has eyes and faces pervading the whole universe), the *Purusha* was anointed at the illustrious village Koḷagala on the auspicious day.

(V. 13.) The learned and virtuous Gadādhara, the crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country, who is a *lōhāsani* (*ascetic*), who is a Śāṇḍilya and who has practised great austerities is the refuge of learned men.

(V. 14.) By him who was born in the village of Taḍā and was the illuminator of (*the country of*) Varēndrī was (*the god Kumāra*) consecrated with divine hymn with a view to attain an abode in heaven.

(V. 15.) Prosperity be ever to that Gadādhara, who is dear to Brāhmins, whose wealth resides in his house only to be bestowed on others like an unmarried girl, whose learning is pure and beneficial to all beings like the glow of a lamp and whose devotion (*to god*) resorted to none but himself like a chaste wife.

¹ There seems to be a *ślēṣha* here upon the words Kapardin, *dvija-brāhṇa* and *gadā-pāni* describing the greatness both of god Kārttikēya and of the ascetic Gadādhara.

(Vv. 16 and 17.) And besides (*the god named above*) the Sun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahēśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka (*all these gods*) were installed on beautiful pedestals and a tank, a monastery and wells were constructed. Since the consecration of the gods was performed in this village by this learned man, his fame became well known to the dwellers in heaven.

(V. 18.) This sage who has the face of the moon is victorious and has matted hair (Kapardin) the heavenly nymphs ever sing his praises in the abode of Indra.

(V. 19.) This Durbhikṣhamalla (*i.e.*, the destroyer of famine) conducts in the realm of the illustrious Svāmin (Skanda) the administration, which is beneficial to the learned and the Brāhmins, like Bali, the son of Virōchana.

(V. 20.) This excellent and ancient village is the property of the worshipful Svāmin. It is especially on this account that no land (*here*) is parcelled out and given.

(V. 21.) The land which is taken possession of, measured and granted with sesame and water to Brāhmins should not be snatched away : (*this is*) the common (*rule of the*) ocean of Dharma.

(V. 22.) A family immigrated from Tarkāri, the village of the excellent twice born Karmāra community and became pure in successive generations. In it (*was born*) the scholar Ṛishi ; his son was Atibala renowned in the world ; by the poet Madhusūdana the son born to him, (*i.e.*, Atibala) was this excellent *prastā* composed.

(V. 23.) Just as love was entertained by Gadādhara¹ towards (*god*) Kapardin, so also should it be done by all the future *Brahmachārins*.

NO. 41.—THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS.

By A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, B.A., AND N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A.

A

CHIMAKURTI PLATE OF VEMA.

This plate was secured on a loan from the Karnam of Chīmakurti in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District in the year 1920². It is a single copper plate with no rim, oblong in shape and a little broken at the bottom. It is 10½" in length and 6½" in breadth. There is a very small hole at the top of the plate to allow a string to pass through. Only one side of the plate bears the writing. At the top of the plate are engraved the figure of a *liṅga* and a bull facing it. The weight of the plate is 37 tolas.

The inscription on the plate is written in Telugu characters and language except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. The alphabet and orthography of the document bear close resemblance to those of the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya-Vēma³ and the Phiraṅgipuram inscription of Kōmaṭi-Vēma⁴ though these two are later in point of time. It is therefore likely that the present document is a later copy of the original, though it is nowhere stated so. There seems to be no objection, however, to take the historical facts contained

¹ The word *वर्ति* seems to be superfluous.

² No. 5 of App. A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 318 ff.

in it as correct, for the *birudas* of king Vēma found here, which give all the historical information, are almost similar to those found in his Amarāvati inscription¹.

The inscription records the grant of the village Rāmatūrttham situated in the Śrīśaila-bhūmi and the Ammananibhōlu-sīma as a *sarv-āgrahāra* to Chittamūri Timmana-Bhaṭṭa who was the son of Kāmēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka and who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Yajuś-sākhā and Āpastamba-sūtra. Besides this the donee was granted a fourth portion of the produce of the wet lands, betel-leaf gardens and sugar cane fields, of each of the five villages Chīmakurti, Bhīmēśvaram, Pulikoṭṭa, Mailavaram and Kumārapuri and a sixteenth portion of the produce of the remaining three-fourths. A fifth part of the money income (*suvarṇ-ādāya*) (of these villages) and the water of the Pedda-cheruvu (big tank) were to be given to him. Over and above these the donee was to receive one-tenth of the produce of the other villages (in the division ?) and land at the rate of 200 *kuṇṭa* measured by a pole of 16 *bāru* in big villages and 100 *kuṇṭa* in small villages. It is interesting to note that the present Karnam of the village Chīmakurti who is now in possession of this copper-plate claims to be a lineal descendant of the donee and is still enjoying some of the gifts registered in the plate.

The date of the document is Śālivāhana Śaka year 1257, Yuva Kārttika śu. 12, Thursday, Manvādi. This is the earliest record of the king being earlier by 10 years than the Madras Museum plates² of the same king. If the cyclic year Dhātu is substituted for Yuva the details of the date would correspond to A.D. 1336 October 31, Thursday.

The importance of the document lies chiefly in the fact that some of the king's *birudas* mentioned in it would, if they are properly interpreted, yield new information about the history of the Redḍi chiefs. For instance, *Chamchumala-chūrakāra*, or *Chemjimāla-chūrakāra* as given in the Amarāvati inscription, means "one who reduced the hill fort of Chemji or Gingi." How Vēma could reduce this fort will be shown below. Another *biruda* *Rāchuridurgavibhāla* means "the destroyer of the fort of Rāchūru" i.e., Raichur in the Nizam's Dominions. A third title in the list *Kaliṅ-garāya-māna-mardana* means "one who destroyed the pride of the King of Kalinga."³ The title *Manniyarāya-mṛiga-vēṇṭakāra* means "one who hunted like deer the chiefs of Manniya hilly country". The term *Manne* is generally applied in later Telugu literature to the hilly tracts near the eastern ghats in the Godavari, Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts. Similarly the titles *Voḍḍiyarāya-nirbhūma-dhāma* and *Janturnāṭarāya-halla-kallōla* signify victories over the kings of the Voḍḍiya (Odhra) country, the modern Orissa, and the Janturnāḍu which is perhaps the modern name of Dantapura-nāḍu. Dantapura was an early capital of the Gaṅgas of Kalinga, from which, for instance, the Narasāpaṭam plates of Vajrahasta II were issued. The title *Pāṇḍyarāya-gaja-simha* means "one who was a lion to the elephant in the form of the Pāṇḍya King" suggesting thereby that the king probably routed the Pāṇḍyas. The title *Appaya-Gōpaya-diśāpatta* seems to signify some victory won by the king or his immediate ancestors over the chiefs called respectively Appaya and Gōpaya. The Tiruvēndipuram inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III dated in his 15th year⁴ records the victories of two Hoysala generals *Jaganobbagaṇḍa* Appaṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka and Samudra-Gōpaya-Daṇḍāyaka over the Pallava chief Kōpperuṇḍiṅga who overcame the Chōḷa sovereign Rājarāja III and had for a time kept him prisoner at Śēndamaṅgalam. The chiefs that are referred to

¹ S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 243.

² Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.

³ Some of these titles are explained in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1900, page 22.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 160 ff.

in the title *Appaya-Gōpaya-diśāpāṭṭa* of Vēma seem to be identical with the Hoysala generals of the Tiruvēndipuram inscription.

The exploits referred to in the titles of Vēma must have been achieved by him or by his ancestors while they were the subordinates of the Kākatīyas. During the days of the decline of the Chōlas all the neighbouring powers attempted to capture as much of the territory as possible. The Pallava general Kōpperuñjiṅga who endeavoured to establish for a time an independent kingdom extended his conquests over the territories of the Chōlas of Nellore and other chieftains as far north as Drākshārāma where an inscription of his is found. The Chōlas of the Nellore District who had the titles Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōla and Gaṇḍagōpāla extended their kingdom to the south and, for a time, occupied Kāñchipuram and Tōṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Against these Sundara-Pāṇḍya led an expedition from the South and celebrated the anointment of heroes at Vikramasimhapuram (Nellore). The Kākatīya sovereign Gaṇapati led an expedition first in aid of one of the Telugu Chōla chiefs of Nellore and later on to Conjeevaram, where his inscriptions are found. After Gaṇapati his daughter Rudrāmbā and later her grandson Pratāparudra continued the campaign on Conjeevaram. The triumph claimed in these *birudas* over the Pāṇḍya king and the Hoysala generals Appaya and Gōpaya should also have been won during this period of constant warfare. Similarly, the victories over Kaliṅgarāya, Oḍḍiyarāya, the Janturnātarāya as well as the reduction of the fort of Rāchūru should have been achieved in the wars of the Kākatīyas against the surrounding countries.

The inscription also says that Vēma founded many *agrahāras* on the banks of the rivers Brahmapuṇḍī (the Guṇḍlakammā), the Krishṇavēṇī, i.e., Krishṇā, the Gōḍāvarī and the Mahānadī, and laid out gardens in the vicinity of various towns. We are further informed that he gave food in charity houses (*śāstras*) in many holy places and built steps to the famous shrines of Śrīparvata and Ahōbala. Vēma is called in this inscription the lord of the Eastern Sea, the establisher of the sole sovereign (*ēka-rāya-sthāpān-āchārya*) and the only ornament to the throne (*ēka-simhāsana-ālamkāra*).

B

PACHCHANI-TANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

Next in chronological order comes the *Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparru* grant of Anna-Vēma. It is registered as copper-plate No. 6 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20. The set of plates on which the grant is engraved was borrowed from M. R. Ry. Devi Hanumacharlu of Koḍitāṇḍiparru, in the Tenali Taluk of the Guntur District, in the year 1919.

This grant is written on five oblong copper-plates which have slightly raised rims but no ring or seal attached to them, though holes for passing a ring are to be seen in them. The plates measure $9\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and a little over 4" in breadth and weigh 88 *tolas*. The inscription is written in Telugu script and Sanskrit language. The portion giving the boundaries of the village (ll. 47-72) is, however, in the Telugu language. Plates iib, iiib, ivb, and vb are marked with the numerical symbols 2, 3, 4 and 5. As to the palaeography of this grant only one feature may be noticed specially: The letters of this grant as well as of the following one (C) appear more archaic than those of A although the latter professes to be much earlier than either B or C.

The donor of the grant is Anna-Vēma who is here called the son of Prōlaya-Vēma, i.e., Vēma of the previous grant. The record opens with an invocation to the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. The second verse is devoted to the praise of the Sun and Moon. The next verse says that a caste was born from the lotus feet of Viṣṇu which evidently means the Śūdra caste—

padbhyaṃ Sūdrō-bhijāyata. In it was born Prōlaya-Vēma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Śrīśaila and made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmadri (v. 4). He performed various meritorious deeds and defeated several hostile Kings (vv. 5 to 8). To him were born two valorous sons namely Anna-Vōta and Anna-Vēma (v. 9). Anna-Vōta, the elder, is said to have exhibited great prowess on the battlefield and to have ruled the Āndhra country extending from the eastern portion of Śrīnaga (i.e., Śrīśaila) to the eastern ocean (vv. 10 and 11). The Telugu work *Vishṇu-purāṇam* tells us that this Annavōta defeated a chief called Rāvutu Kōśa near the river Kṛishṇavēṇī before the very eyes of god Amarēśvara. The work also says that king Pōta had some literary works written by poets of the Vennalagaṇṭi family and got them dedicated to him. Sūrana, the author of this Telugu work belonged to this family. Anna-Vōta's younger brother Anna-Vēma who was a great warrior ruled over his father's kingdom after the death of his elder brother (vv. 12 to 15). The genealogy of the donee is then given. In the *gōtra* of Hārīta there was a pious Brāhman named Nṛisimha who was a lion to the elephants, viz., the disputants (v. 16). His son was Bhīmēśvara-Sōmayājīn who had performed many Vedic sacrifices (v. 17). His son was Pōtibhaṭṭa; to him was born Guṇḍayāryya whose son was Peddi-Vidvān, the crest jewel among astronomers (v. 18). To this Peddi-Vidvān king Anna-Vēma granted, on the date specified, the village Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparru (v. 19). Then follows a description of the boundaries of the village (ll. 47 to 73). After three imprecatory verses, the concluding verse of the grant tells us that this edict was composed by Bāla-Sarasvatī, the court poet of Anna-Vēma. The inscription ends with the king's signature **Pallava-Tripētra**.

The details of the date recorded in the inscription are the Śaka year counted by *rasa* (6), *ratna* (9) and *Bhāskara* (12), i.e., 1296, Nabhasya (Bhādrapada), full moon, Tuesday, lunar eclipse. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the English equivalent of this date is A.D. 1374 August 22, Tuesday, when there was a lunar eclipse.

The grant under publication does not say anything new about the donor king Anna-Vēma. The donee Peddi-Vidvān seems to have been a great scholar in astronomy. He seems to have been patronised by the kings of the Redḍi family even after Anna-Vēma for we learn from two copper-plate grants¹ of Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma that this Peddi was the recipient of the village Kalvavāmulu in Śaka 1329 and of Nandamūru in Śaka 1333. In both these records he is described as having mastered the quintessence of Siddhāntas like those of Brahmā and Sūrya. One of them says that he had knowledge of the present, past and future on account of his learning in Jyautisha-śāstra.

Nothing is known from other sources about Bālasarasvatī who composed the record and who calls himself a poet of the court of Anna-Vēma. It may be noted, however, that he was the author of another inscription of the same king at Śrīśailam². Another poet in this king's court, viz., Triśochnāchārya is already known to us. He composed the Vānapalli³ copper-plate inscription of this king.

C

PINAPADU GRANT OF KOMATI-VEMA.

This is the last of a set of copper-plates whose other plates are lost. It measures 12½" in length and 5½" in breadth, and weighs 47 *tolas*. In the middle of its proper right margin there is a hole for passing a ring through. It bears writing only on one side. Though it is a little damaged the writing is in good state of preservation. It was secured in the year 1920 from Mr.

¹ *A. R. on South-Indian Epigraphy* 1919-20, Nos. 13 and 14.

² See *A. R. on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1915, Part II, para. 59.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 60 ff.

Ponukapāṭi Ramayya who discovered it buried underground at Pinapāḍu near Tenāli and has been registered as No. 8 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for that year.

The portion of the inscription preserved on this plate is in **Telugu** characters and contains a description in Telugu of the gift village Pinapāḍu and five verses in **Sanskrit**. The first verse says : " The donor is king **Kōmaṭi-Vēma**, the recipient of the grant is the preceptor **Śaṅkara**, the village granted is **Pinapāḍu**, the composer is the poet **Śrinātha-Bhaṭṭāraka**, the time of the grant is the occasion of the holy **Śivarātri** and the witness the great **Śrīgiri**. Why should not poets extol the gifts under these circumstances ?" The other four verses are imprecations. The inscription ends with the king's signature "**Śrī-Vīraṇārāyapasya**".

From the above verse it is apparent that king **Kōmaṭi-Vēma**, the donee **Śaṅkara** and the poet **Śrinātha** were at **Śrīśaila** on the **Śivarātri** day. According to the *Śivarātri-māhātmya* of this poet, which is dedicated to a scholar named **Sāntayya**, a disciple of **Śānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti**, **Śrinātha** once visited the sacred shrine of **Śrīśaila** during the **Śivarātri** festival and paid his respects to **Śānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti**. While the poet was seated in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple **Śānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti**, the head of the **Vīraśaiva maṭha** on the hill asked him to write a **Saiva** poem and dedicate it to one of his disciples. This **Śānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti** appears to have been a patron of Telugu literature. The Telugu poet **Gaurana** dedicated his *Navanātha-charita* to this pontiff. His successors seem to have been treated with great respect even by the **Vijayanagara** kings. **Siddha-Bhikṣhāvṛitti**, who was the donee of the **Śrīśailam** grant of the **Vijayanagara** emperor **Vīrūpākṣa**, was one of the gurus of the **Vīraśaiva maṭha** on **Śrīparvata**.

The descendants of the donee of the grant under publication, viz., **Śaṅkara**, are found even today in the village **Pinapāḍu**. Though they are **Brāhmana** they officiate as **Āchāryas** to several **Saivas** who are not **Brāhmana**.

A

TEXT.

- 1 Śrī-Tripurāntakēśvara [/*]
- 2 Svasti Śrī [/*] Vijay-ābhyudaya-Śālivāhana-śaka-varshāmbulu 1257 agun-
ēti Yuva-
- 3 nāma saṁvatsara Kārttika-śuddha 12 Guru-vāsara manvādi mahāpunya-
kālamunam-
- 4 du Yaju[ś*]-śākh-ādhyāyan-Āpastamba-sūtra-Kauṇḍinya-gōtr-ōdbhavalumnnu (l u n n u)
śrīmad-yaja-
- 5 n-ādi-śaṭkarma-niratal-agu Kāmēśvara-bhaṭṭarakuni-vāri pautri(tru)lumnnu(lunnu)
Koṇḍu-bhaṭṭarakuni-
- 6 vāri-putri(ru)lunn-agu Chittāṁūrī Timmāna(Timmana)-bhaṭṭu-śāstrulavāriki svasti [/*]
sakala-guṇa-gaṇ-ālah-
- 7 kāra Chāṁchumala-chūrakāra Viśva-viśvaṁbhar-ābharaṇa-vahana-dakṣha-dakṣhaṇa
(kaṣiṇa)-bhujā-damḍa
- 8 Jaganobba-gaṇḍa āniya(anya)-maṇḍalikara-gaṇḍa rāya-chēkōlu-gaṇḍa rāya-
misara-gaṇḍa
- 9 arthi-pratyarthi-Hēmadri-dāna-nirata prajā-paripālana-chaṭura haraṇa-bharaṇa rūpa-
- 10 Nārāyaṇa Vīra-Nārāyaṇa bhuja-bala-Bhīma kōdamḍa-Rāna aparimite-bhū-dāna-
Paraśu-
- 11 rāma anēka-nagar-ōpākāṁṭha-pratiśṭhāpita-bahu-vidh-ārāma saṁggaḍi-rakṣa-pā-
laka jaga-ra-

- 12 kaha-pālaka jagada-Gōpālaka Gujjari-dhaṭṭa-vibhāḷa ghaṇa-bhujā-virāja-
māna-Karavāḷa
- 13 Rāchūri-durga-vibhāḷa jala-durga-jaladhi-baḍabānala sthala-durga-havana-
Halāyu-
- 14 dha anaverata-purōhita-kṛita-sōma-pāna Śrīparvata-Ahōbala-nirmīta-sōpāna
dhīh(dik)[kāṁ]-
- 15 ttā-manōhara kīrti-kusum-ānōda Kumḍiprabhā-Saṁhya(Sahya)jā-Gautamī-
- 16 jala-kṛīḍā-vinōda Kalimga-rāya-māna-mada-marddana mathniya-rāya-mṛiga-
- 17 vēmtakāra Voḍḍiya-rāya-nirdhūma-dhāma Jantur-nāṭa-rāya-halla-kallōḷa a-
- 18 ri-rāya-basava-Saṁkkara virōdhi-nṛipa-dānava-Narasimhva(ha) Pāṁḍya-rāya-gaja-sim-
- 19 hva(ha) prajñā-chatur-vidh-ōpāya kōḷādi-rāya nitya-paripālita-satya Pallv-ādi-
- 20 tya ripu-narapati-gōdhūma-ghaṭṭana-gharaṭṭa Appaya-Gōpaya-diśā-paṭṭana(paṭṭa)
saṁgrā-
- 21 ma-samuddamḍa-chaṁḍḍa-bhuj-āsi-vikhaṁḍḍita-kṛita-kilāla plavamāna-Brahma(ahma)
kum-
- 22 ḍi-Kṛishṇavēṇi-Gōḍāvari-Mahānadi-taṭi-dvayan(ya)-madhya-dēsa-anēk-āgrahā-
- 23 ra aganya-punya-kshētra-satra-bahu-vidh-āhāra Pūrva-samudrādhisvara
- 24 ēka-rāya-sthāpan-āchārya ēka-simhvā(hā)san-ālamkāra śrīma[t*]-Tripurāntakadē-
- 25 va-divya-śrī-pāda-padma-āradhakul-aina śrīmatu-Vemaya-Redḍigāru viśyīmchi yi-
- 26 chohina bhū-dāna-dharma-ēśanath || mad-bhujā-damḍḍa-paripālanam-aina
āśmbrā(mrā)jya-
- 27 m-aṁḍu Śrīśaila-bhūminī Aṁmma(Amma)naṁbrōḷi ēl(ēl)malō Rāmatīrtham sarv-
āgrahāramuth-
- 28 nnu(munnu) Chīmakurti-Bhīmśvara-Pulikomḍḍa-Mallavarath-Komārapuri-grāma-
- 29 mulu ayidimṭṭiyamḍunnu veli-polaṁ-lōnunnu charvula kṛīmḍa mā-
mḍā-
- 30 pi-lōnunnu āku-tōmṭṭalu-cheruku-tōmṭṭala-lōnu bhūmi chathurth-āśāṁ
- 31 sarva-mānyam-gānuṁnnu(nnu) migilina muppātika bhūmini paṁḍina nānā-
phalā-
- 32 dulakumḍunnu(nnu) shōḍāś-āśāṁ mēṛānu suvarṇ-ādāyānaku paṁcham-
āśāṁamunnu
- 33 pedda-chervu nīḷḷānu yī grāmālu gāka yitara grāmāla paṁḍḍina
dhānyānaku dāṣam-āś-
- 34 āmānnu ēl(ēl)mā-mūḷam prati-grāmamulaṁḍumḍunnu(nnu) padahāru-bāṛala
ghaḍānu
- 35 pedda vūr[i*]ki innāru kumṭalunḍunnu(nnu) chinna vūriki nūru
gumṭṭala kaṣṭramu-
- 36 nnu sarva-mānyamulunḍunnu(nnu) yī-lāgu nirpayam chēḷi Rāmatīrtham
modai-aina ā-
- 37 ru grām-ādulayamḍunnu aṣṭa-bhōga-svāmya-svataṁṭramulunnu chaturvi-
- 38 dha-yōgyam-gā sa-hirany-ōḍaka-dāna-dhārī-purvam-gā yippīṁṭimi gēnuka . . .
- 39 . . . tva-pāraṁpariyamunnu aṁḍḍula vaṇchhina phalaṁ ā-cha
- 40 ḍuvāru || dāna-pālanayōr-madhya dānāch-āhṛē

41	achyutam	padani ||	ek-ai[va]	
42	vipra-dattā			

B

TEXT.

First Plate, Second Side.

- 1 श्रीनाथ(य)स्व वराहदिभ्यवपुषो यः पातु दंष्ट्रा चिरं स्मृतोचीत-
- 2 महीतमोपरितटोनिर्व्यातमृणाकुला । यामाखीयजलो-
- 3 दितां शशिकक्रामाशंस्य जातः [च]चं सौहार्दं विजृम्भमाणसलि-
- 4 लारंभो महाभोनिधिः ॥¹[1*॥] तमो हरेतां तव पुण्यवत्तौ राका-
- 5 सु पूर्वापरमेलवा(भा)जौ । रथांगलीलाभिवदम्यंतौ पुरा पुरारैः²
- 6 पृथिवी(खी)रथस्व ॥³[2*॥] पादारविंदादरविंदनाभेर्भोगेव पुण्या च-
- 7 नजीवनचोः । जाताभिजाता यतथा(धा) विभिन्ना जातिस्तुर्यो जगतां
- 8 हिताय ॥⁴[3*॥] तस्यामभूषोऽयवेमनामा श्रीग्रेसोपानविधा-
- 9 नशाली ॥ (1) हेमाद्रिकस्योदितदानदक्षो निस्सीमभूदाननिष्ठकीर्तिः⁵ । वेम-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 10 चितीशो ह्रस्वमेकपादं खंभप्रचारं कलिक्कालदीपात् । दसा-
- 11 यहारहजवेदयत्त्वा पदक्रमैरस्त्वलितं चकार⁶ ॥⁷[4*॥] धर्मात्मजो दा-
- 12 शरधि(धि): पृथुचेत्युदीर्यमाणानि युगांतरेषु । वितर्क्ये वेम-
- 13 नरेश्वरस्य पुण्यानि नामानि पुरातनानि⁸ ॥⁹[5*॥] यत्कीर्तिलोलमनसा-
- 14 मुरगांगनानामालीकितं च सुखरागमर्नगमूलं¹⁰ ।
- 15 श्रोतुं च मोतरचनां युगपन्नक्षो नागाधिपो न सहते नयन-
- 16 श्रुतिर्त्वं¹¹ ॥¹²[6*॥] संधामपार्थस्य शरैर्विभिन्ना यस्वारिचूडामणयो
- 17 विचेलुः । आक्रामतस्त्रयति राजवंशान् प्रतापवज्जेरिव विस्फुलिं-

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 18 गाः ॥¹³[7*॥]तस्याच्च वेमनृपतेरुदयादिवाद्रेर्जाती प्रतापवरकांतिनिधौ
- 19 मारौ । सूर्यो दुतुल्यमहसावनवीतभूपः¹⁴ श्रीयजवेम-

¹ Metre: *Sārdulavikrīḍitam*.² The *vicarga* is written in the next line.³ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.⁴ Metre: *Indravajrā*.⁵ Metre: *Indravajrā*.⁶ Metre: *Indravajrā*.⁷ Metre: *Upāḍī*.⁸ The *anuvāda* is written in the next line.⁹ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.¹⁰ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

- 20 ऋपतिर्जगरक्षपालः ॥¹[8*] वीरश्रीयनवोतभूतलपतेर्गावो(भी)रमेरी-
 21 रवैः । शत्रूणां हृदयेषु संगारमुखे भिक्षेषु पूर्व र-
 22 सं । यद्दीरं निरकासयद्भयरसो वेगात्कुतोप्या-
 23 गतो [1*] युक्तप्राक्तनभंवु निर्गमयति प्रत्ययमत्यूर्जितं²
 24 ॥³[9*] शशास यः श्रीनगपूर्ववा(भा)गादापूर्वरत्नाकरमधुदे-
 25 शं । आमिखलं मेखलभूधरस्य जिताहितश्रीयनवोतभूपः ॥⁴[10*]

Third Plate, First Side.

- 26 तस्यानुजस्तामरसायताक्षः[*]श्रीयन्मवेमः क्षितिपालरत्नं ।
 27 शूराग्रगण्यः क्षुरिकासहायो विवा(भा)ति वीराहवकेलिलोलः ॥⁵[11*] श्रीय-
 28 न्मवेमनृपतिः(तिः) क्षुगि(रि)कासहायो वीरारिवक्षसि विलेखनकेलिदक्षः । सो-
 29 यं करस्त्रुभगतूलिकया विचित्रं कांताकपोलमकरीकरणे स-
 30 कंठः ॥⁶[12*] श्रीयन्मवेमनृपतेर्जयिना करेण प्रत्यर्थिनां युधि
 31 बलादवरोपितानि ॥ (1) आरोपयत्युपगमाक्षरं तदीयं कीटी-
 32 रचामरसितातपवारणानि ॥⁷[13*] सोयं ब्रा(भ्रा)तुरनन्तरं निजमाही-
 33 वा(भा)रं वहन् पैटकं राज्यश्रीरमणीस्त्रयधरपतिः[*] श्रीयन्मवे-

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 34 मप्रभुः [1*] ग्रामान् पूर्वनृपालकैश्च गुरुणा ब्रा(भ्रा)ता च विप्रार्पितान्
 35 सर्वानप्यनुपालयन्नपि दिशन् आगर्ति लोकोत्तरः ॥⁸[14*] अथ प्रतिगृहो-
 36 ष्टवंशावली ॥ आसीदंबुजसंभवान्वयभुवां गण्यो वरेण्यस्य-
 37 तां विख्यातो हरिताड्यो मुनिवरः कर्ता श्रुतेर्वेदवित् । त-
 38 न्नोत्रे परवादिकुंजरघटासिंहो नृसिंहोभवद्यस्यो-
 39 दाहरणं चरित्रमनघं वेदोक्तसत्कर्मणां ॥⁹[15*] तस्यात्मजो या-
 40 गविधानशाली बभूव भीमेश्वरसोमयाजी । यदीयहोमानल-
 41 धूमरेखा दिगंमनापन्नवकर्ण(णं)पूराः ॥¹⁰[16*] पुत्रस्तदीयः किल पोति-
 42 भटो गुणी ततो जायत गुंडयार्थः । तनूभवस्तस्य च पेहिविद्वा[न्]

¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

² The anusvara is written in the next line.

³ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.

⁴ Metre: Upajāti.

⁵ Metre: Upajāti.

⁶ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁸ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.

⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.

¹⁰ Metre: Upendrasajit.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS:

B. PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

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Fourth Plate, First Side.

- 43 देवप्रचूडामणिरथ बा(भा)ति ॥¹[17॥*] शाकाब्दे रसरत्नबा(भा)स्करमिते मासे [नभ]-
 44 स्वे तिथौ राकायां धरणीसुतस्य दिवसे पुष्ये शशांकपदे । प्रादा-
 45 त्पात्रतमाव पेहिविदुषे त्रियम्बवेमाचिपो ग्रामं पञ्चनिताडि
 46 पण्डितमसमाष्टैर्यभोगान्वितं ॥²[18॥*] अथ ग्रामस्य सीमाचिह्नानि ॥
 47 ऊरि ईशान्यं वङ्गकिंकुटनूडि प्रदक्षिणमुगामु अमृतलू-
 48 रि पोलसुसंधुन नाम्नेयदक्षिणं सागि बलुसुंदुल मी-
 49 दं बहुमळिचि दक्षिणमे नलंगुट मोचि चालुपुडल मी-
 50 द नाम्नेयदक्षिणमे तुळुमिडि पोलसु मोचि पडुमळिचि
 51 पेहपुडनूडि दक्षिणमे अमृतलूरि डोळ दांति जम्भिपुड

Fourth Plate, Second Side.

- 52 मीद नेरु(रु)तिपक्षिममे जम्भिपुड मीद दक्षिणमे कोचपुड मीदं बहु-
 53 मळि जम्भिपुड मोचि दक्षिणमे उप्पिपुडल मीद मूलवंपुपुड मोचि
 54 पडुमळि बीरवक उप्पिपुडल मीद नेरु(रु)तिपक्षिममे दक्षिणमिचि पडुमळि सागि
 55 चौकु मोचि पुडल मीदं बहुमळि दक्षिणमिचि तुळुमिडिमोपळिति-
 56 पोलसुसंधु चौडु मोचि आसंदि चालुपुडल मीद नेरु(रु)तिपक्षिममे चौगुं
 57 ट इटिकावसु दक्षिणानंगामु पडुमळि तोकपोलसु तूर्पुग-
 58 हु उत्तरं सुहिन मडुक जम्भिपुड मोचि दक्षिणमे गारकुट तूर्पु³
 59 गड मोचि पडुमळि कंदेपिपोलसु मोचि आसंदितुत्तरमे अमुळिनलंगु-
 60 लु[गु]कु मीद वायव्योत्तरमे कंदेपितेरुपुडल मीद उत्तरपु जं-
 61 मिनंदि ठाति मीद नवुळीपुड पडुमळंगामु कंभंपुड मी-
 62 दं बहुमळिचि उत्तरमे पालकोटि मीद मीतुकूरि चालपाटि सं

Fifth Plate, First Side.

- 63 हु पेह[नंदिकंभं मोचि चालपाटि संधु(धु)नदूर्पे पुड अमुळुगुट [मीद]
 64 दक्षिण[मिचि तूर्पे अमुळु]गुटल मीद गोर्धपुडल मोचि उत्तर[रमिचि
 65 तूर्पे जम्भिपुडल मीद नवुळीपुड मीचि उत्तरमे मूलपुडनूडि तूर्पे जम्भि
 66 मीद मूलपुडनूडि जटलपाटि तूर्पुको उत्तरं सागि जम्भि मीद मू

¹ Metre : Upāśravajrā.² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.³ The answera is written in the next line.

- 67 लपुष्ट मोचि जंमुल मीदंगां दूर्पे दक्षिणमिचि तूर्पसागि नल्लज-
 68 ट तिप्प पेहपुष्टवोहि जन्मि मोचि उत्तरमे मारपुष्टल मीदंगां वुलुवुडु-
 69 वुष्ट मोचि तूर्पे अवुठुगंटल मीदंगां वेदपूडि चालपाटि संदु
 70 चवुटगुंट पडुमट नेडगलगोनपुष्ट मोचि जन्मि मीद दक्षिण सागि जन्मि-
 71 पुष्ट मोचि तूर्पे [ये]दपूडि चालपाटि संदु चौडु मोचि दक्षिणमिचि गोळ-
 72 कुंट तूर्पनमुंडि चालपुष्टल मीदं दूर्प सागि वडुमिगुंट मो-
 73 चेनु ॥ एतेषां मध्यवर्तिष्वेवं ॥ खदत्तादि(हि)मुणं पुण्यं पदत्तानुपा-

Fifth Plate, Second Side.

- 74 लनं परदत्तापहस्विण खदत्तं निष्पन्नं भवेत् १[१*19] खदत्तां परदत्तां
 75 वा यो हरेत वसुध(ध)रां । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टयां
 76 जायते किमिः ॥[20]* एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्व्वमाश्रयि सुसुजां
 77 न बी(भो)म्बा न करपाद्या विप्रदत्ता वसुध(ध)रा १[१*21] अश्वमेधनरे
 78 द्रव्यं विद्वान् बालसरस्वती । अकरोदाकरो वाचा चिन्म[ल]²
 79 धर्मशास्त्रं ॥[22]* मन्मथमहाश्रीः[१*] श्री श्री
 80 श्रीपद्मविरचिते [१*]

C

TEXT.

- 1 इ दांकां बोयि मगुडि उत्तरपुमुखमे ऊडुगुलकर वट्टि वच्चि रेळवडिय
 2 दापुन मूडुळु सुत्तलनुंडि देशमुडोककु वच्चि कुनि पडमटिकि दिगि वंदु-
 3 ठुदापुन मगुडि उत्तरानकु बोयि देशमुकुष्ट तूर्पुन मगुडि तूर्पु-
 4 मुखमे कुनि पञ्चाबलपत्तपु नेल तिरिगि दक्षिणानकु नडचि कुनि तम्माडि-
 5 कण्ड दक्षि-
 6 णान योरसि उत्तराभिमुखमे पोयि कुनि तूर्पुमुखमे नडचि गरुव येकि तूर्पु
 7 नडचि कुनि दक्षिणमुखमे कुनि तूर्पुमुखमे इंदुपडुव नडुसुवट्टि नडचि ग-
 8 रुवुन मगुडि दक्षिणमुखमे वच्चि यथास्थानानं गूडेनु ॥ दाता कोमटिवेम-
 9 नाम नृपतिः पात्रं गुरुः शंकरः स्वानं चेत्यनपाडुरत्नं तु कविः श्रीनाथ-
 10 भट्टारकः ।
 11 काकचेष्टिवरात्रिपुष्पसमयः साक्षी मज्जनं श्रीगिरिः श्रेयः किं न तु वर्ष्यते सुख-
 12 विभिः सुखं तु तच्छासनं १[१*] सर्वमाश्रयतधर्मशास्त्रं पालयंतु भुवि भाविपार्श्वि-
 13 वाः । अथहारपरिचयवाक्ये नास्ति नास्ति हि यशो महीधतां १[१*] खदत्तादि(हि)गुणं

¹ Metre : Anuakubh.

² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.

³ The answer is written in the next line.

⁴ Metre : Rathoddhata.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS:
B. PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

ivb.

52 52
54 54
56 56
58 58
60 60
62 62

va.

64 64
66 66
68 68
70 70
72 72

vb.

74 74
76 76
78 78
80 80

- 12 पुष्पं परदत्तानुपासनं । परदत्तापहरिणं स्वदत्तं निष्कलं भवेत् ॥¹[3॥*] एकैव भ
 13 गिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजा न भोज्यः न करपाद्या विप्रदत्ता वसुधरा ॥¹[4॥*] स्व-
 14 दत्तां परदत्ता वा यो हरेत् वसुधरा । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां¹
 15 जायते किमिः ॥¹[5॥*] एतच्चर्मानुशासनं ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीवीरनारायणस्य ॥*

No. 42.—THE FOURTH SLAB OF THE KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHARĀṆA KUMBHAKARṆA OF MEWAR; VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1517.

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

This inscription found in a Vishṇu temple, originally called Kumbhasvāmī temple but now known as that of Māmādēva at Kumbhalgarh in Mewār territory, is engraved on one of the five big slabs likewise inscribed and placed by the Mahārāṇa Kumbhakarṇa in the said temple. Of these, the first, third, fourth and a small piece of the second slab have been discovered up to now and are now preserved in the Udaipur Museum. All are in a mutilated condition except the fourth, the text of which I edit from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer, who has given a brief notice of it in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year 1925-26.

Each one of the slabs contains the same date, which reads as below :—

“संवत् १५१७ वर्षे शाके १३८२ प्रवर्त्तमाने मार्गशीर्षे वदि ५ सोमि प्रशस्तिः”

i.e., Monday, the 5th day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha of the Samvat year 1517 and Śaka year 1382, which corresponds to 3rd November 1460 A.D.

The present slab contains ninety-one (180-270) verses written in fifty-one lines with a portion of a prose line at the end.

The character is Nāgarī of the 17th century A.D., common in Rājputāna during that period. The letters are on the average about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch and the space covered by the writing is about 3' 9" × 3' 1".

The language is Sanskrit and the composition is excellent with the exception of a few wrong grammatical formations, e.g., *vīvasat* (l. 9), *udavivahad* (l. 43).

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted :—*v* is usually distinguished from *b* except in a few places, e.g., in *vibhēda* (l. 2), *-vabhūva* (l. 10), *-pivat* (l. 11), *Vali-* (l. 16), *vrāhmaṇim* (l. 18), *parābadhi* (l. 33) and *bikhyātāk* (l. 38), etc.; consonants are doubled with a superscript *r* as in *-rddivam* (l. 1), *-varṇanam* (l. 2), *-rddamda* (l. 8), *arṇoddhē-* (l. 22), *durggam* (l. 49), etc.; *sa* is used for *śa* in *sīta* (l. 16). *Anusvāra* is used for nasals, as in *bhujamgō-* (l. 2), *chamcha-* (l. 3), etc.; and at the end of stichs and hemistichs, as in, *-rddivam* (l. 1), *-nābham* (l. 3), *-trishṇām* (l. 10), etc. Visarga is omitted in *sutavaraisṭai*, *śastra-pūtai* (l. 1), while it is redundant in *dhāmāḥ* (l. 42).

The inscription formed a *prastāvi* of the Guhila rulers of Mewār and the present slab continues their account from Lakshmasimha down to the Mahārāṇa Kumbhakarṇa. The ninety verses found on the present slab are distributed as follows :—vv. 180-181 are devoted to Lakshmasimha, vv. 182-184 to Arisimha, vv. 185-190 to Hammīra, vv. 191-203 to Kshētrasimha, vv. 204-215

¹ Met re : *Anushubh*.

* The *anusvāra* is written in the next line.

to Lakshasēna, vv. 216-232 to Mōkala and vv. 233-270 to the *Mahārāṇā* Kumbhakarna. After this is found the date, which is partly effaced on this slab. The contents of these verses may be thus summarised. Verse 180 continues the account of **Lakshmasimha** from the previous slab and states that he died (*in battle*) with his seven sons. He is also said to have won a victory over the Mālwa king **Gōgadēva** (v. 181). The next three verses are devoted to a description of the valour and benevolence of **Arisimha** who was born in Lakshmasimha's family and contains nothing of historical importance. Vv. 185-187 describe in general terms the qualities of **Hammitra**. This king, who belonged to Raghu's race and was known as *Vishamadhāi Pañchānana*, conquered the fort of **Chēlavāṭa** (v. 188). He was a pious, charitable and brave king and died leaving his son **Kshētrasimha** as heir (vv. 189-190). The latter destroyed an army of the Muhammadans near Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) and imprisoned the brave king **Raṇamalla** of Gūjaramaṇḍala, who had humbled the pride of the Śaka (*i.e.*, Muhammadan) king (vv. 191-193). He took **Dēlavāṭa** and **Sōdhyapura** and his enemy fled towards the sea at his approach (vv. 194-195). The next verse says that the valiant **Raṇamalla** who had suppressed **Dafara Khāna**, the lord of Pattana, and had killed many Muhammadans, could not even get a bed to sleep in the prison-house of Kshētrasimha. He drank up the ocean in the form of **Amisāha** (v. 197), conquered the rulers of **Hādāvati**, brought their country under his sway and laid waste **Maṇḍalakara** (v. 198). The next verse says that the kings **Sādala** and others took fright at his approach and fled from their country. He struck terror in the mind of the Muhammadan ruler of Mālava and humbled his pride and also imprisoned the ruler of Gujārāt (vv. 199-201). The next verse repeats how he captured Amisāha. He was succeeded by his son the *Mahārāṇā* **Lakshasēna** (v. 204). This ruler liberated *tristhalī* (*viz.* Gayā, Prayāga and Kāśī) from the Śakas (*i.e.*, Muhammadans) and in addition to various other gifts distributed his weight in gold and built temples at Gayā (vv. 205-211). He conquered the hill **Vardhana**, burnt down his enemies and subjugated the **Mēdas** (Mers) (v. 212). The next two verses inform us that he was a devotee of Śiva and made numerous land-grants. Verse 216 begins with the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Mahārāṇā Mōkala**. He is said to have made Brāhmins to give up husbandry and devote themselves to the study of the Vēdas (v. 217). He also distributed his weight in gold and liberated Gayā (vv. 218-219). He conquered the whole of **Sapādalaksha** and made **Jālandhara** tremble with fear, while having taken **Śakambhari**, he made Delhi a doubtful possession to its sovereign. He also defeated **Pirōja** and **Maharimada** (v. 221). He was devoted to the god Samādhiśvara (Śiva) whose temple at Chitor he repaired and added a gateway to it. He built a reservoir of water with a bridge and two *tirthas* (bathing ghats) called **Riṇamōchana** and **Pāpamōchana**, respectively (v. 223). He set up a lion cast of all metals as a vehicle of Dēvi and presented a gold Garuḍa to Viṣṇu (vv. 224-225). The next seven verses only give a poetic description of the power and majesty of this ruler. With verse 233 begins a description of the reign of his son the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Rāyarāya Rānērāya Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarnadēva**. In verse 235 his mother's name is given as **Saubhāgyadēvi**. He was devoted to the god Ēkaliṅga, restored his ruined temple, adding a gold *danḍa* and *kalāṣa* to it, built a high *tōraṇa* and set up a beautiful flag having the emblem of the sun (vv. 239-241). He was *niḥśaṅka* (fearless) in composing poems and *nirbhaya* (undaunted) in battles, hence he was known as *niḥśaṅka-nirbhaya* (v. 242). He was a jewel of the family of the kings **Guhadatta**, **Khumāna**, **Śālivāhana**, **Ajaya** and others and adorned the throne of Kshētra, Laksha and Mōkala (v. 245). He conquered **Yōginipura**, subdued the ruler of **Sōdhyā** and destroyed his enemies at **Maṇḍōvara** (vv. 247-249). He also captured **Raṇavīra** after ravaging **Hammitrapura**, destroyed **Dhānyanagara**, conquered **Yāgapura** and the mount **Vardhamāna** and humbled the pride of the **Mēdas** (vv. 250-254). According to the next two verses he seems to have resisted the ruler of Mālava. He also built tanks at **Jayavardhana**. He took **Janakāchala**,

distressed **Champavatī**, burnt the city of **Vṛindāvatī** and caused trembling to the hill fort of **Gargarāṭa** through jevalour (vv. 257-259). He burnt **Mallāraṇyapura**, upheld (?) **Sirṅhapurī** by scattering the enemies, desolated **Ratnapura** and imprisoned many kings (v. 260). He conquered **Raṇastambha** in **Sapādalaksha**, devastated **Amradādri**, got the best of his quarrel with **Kōṭarā** and laid waste **Bambāvadō** (vv. 261-262). He took the fort of **Maṇḍalakara**, won with ease **Hādāvatī**, fortified by numerous forts and made its rulers his feudatories and raised pillars of victory. Besides he conquered **Gōpura**, **Shaṭpura**, **Vṛindāvatī** and **Maṇḍaladurga**, desolated **Viśālanagara** and attacked **Giripura** whose ruler **Gaipāla** fled in terror (vv. 263-267). He defeated **Maharṇmada** at **Sāraṅgapura** and brought as captives numerous women of the lord of **Pārasīkas** (vv. 268-269). The last verse states that he drank up the ocean in the form of the army of the **Mālava** king. Then follows the date which is, as already mentioned, partly damaged in this inscription.

As regards the personages mentioned in this inscription, **Lakshmasirṅha** (v. 180) was the ruler of an estate called **Sisōdā** belonging to the **Rāṇā** (junior branch) of the **Guhila** family of **Mewār**. He was killed along with his seven sons¹ while fighting against 'Alāud-dīn **Khaljī** of **Delhi** in the siege of **Chitor** in A.D. 1303, during the reign of **Rāwal Ratnasirṅha** of **Mewār**. His victory over the **Mālava** king **Gōgadēva**² mentioned in v. 181 is also corroborated by the **Rānapura**³ inscription. The battle which he seems to have fought with the **Mālava** king appears to have taken place during the reign of **Ratnasirṅha**'s father **Samarasirṅha**.

Arisirṅha was killed in the battle of **Chitor** as said above. Only the youngest son of **Lakshmasirṅha**, namely **Ajayasirṅha** survived to become the ruler of **Sisōdā**.

Hammīra (v. 185) was the son⁴ of **Arisirṅha** and succeeded to the throne of **Sisōdā** after his uncle **Ajayasirṅha**. He was very brave and gradually made himself master of the throne of **Chitor**.⁵

Kshētrasirṅha (v. 191) was the eldest son of **Hammīra**. The **Muhammadian** army which he destroyed near **Chitor** (v. 192) was that of **Amī Shāh**, as appears from verses 197, 200 and 202.

The brave **Raṇamalla**, who had humbled the **Muhammadian** king and killed many **Muhammadians** (vv. 193 and 196), was the ruler of **Idar** and was the son of **Jaitkaraṇ**, who was defeated by the **Mahārāṇā Hammīra**.⁶ **Dafar Khān**, the ruler of **Pattan** (v. 196), was probably **Zafar Khān** (II), the governor of **Gujarāt**. He was a descendant of a converted **Rājput** and fought twice with **Rāo Raṇamalla** of **Idar**.⁷ He afterwards assumed the name of **Muzaffar Shāh**, after making himself independent of the king of **Delhi**.⁸

Amī Sāha (vv. 197 and 202) was evidently the **Sultān Dilāvar Khān Ghurī** of **Mālwa**,⁹ whose defeat by **Kshētrasirṅha** is mentioned in verses 197, 201 and 202.¹⁰ The ruler **Sādal** and others referred to in v. 199 cannot be identified with certainty. **Sādal**, however, appears to be the ruler **Sātal** of **Tōḍā** in **Jaipur** state.

¹ As appears from v. 180 of this record.

² He is called **Kōkā** and was defeated by 'Alāud-dīn's chieftain in A.D. 1304 (Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 361.)

³ *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, p. 114. Also *Ann. Rep. Arch. Sur. of India*, 1907-08, p. 216.

⁴ [The present inscription does not mention this relationship. It is found only in bardic poems. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 526—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 55, p. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 232-33.

⁸ *Duff's Chronology*, p. 234.

⁹ *Memoirs of Jehangir* by Alexander Rodgers, Vol. I, p. 407, *Elliot's History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 552.

¹⁰ See also *Bhav. Ins.*, p. 119, verse 29, and *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 3.

Mahārāṇā Lakshasēna (v. 204) was the son of Kshētrasimha. He was extremely charitable and liberated Gayā from the taxes of the Muhammadans by paying them off in gold, as is also known from another inscription.¹

Mōkala (v. 216) was a son and successor of the **Mahārāṇā Lakshasimha**. He carried his victorious arms far and wide as appears from verses 221, 231, etc.

Pirōja or **Firoz** (v. 221) was the ruler of Nāgaur and was the son of Shams Khān, brother of the sultān Muzaffar Shāh (originally Zafar Khān referred to in verse 196 of this inscription) of Gujarāt. His defeat by Mōkala is also mentioned in other inscriptions.²

Mahammad (v. 221) cannot be identified definitely. Perhaps he stands for Ahmad (Ahmad Shāh) of Gujarāt, who was the grandson³ of Muzaffar Shāh, I, and was contemporary with the **Mahārāṇā Mōkala**.⁴

Kumbhakarna (v. 233) popularly known as Kumbhā was the eldest son of Mōkala and succeeded his father to the throne of Chitor in V. S. 1490 (A.D. 1433).

Guhadatta, **Śalivāhana**, **Khumāna** and others referred to in v. 245 were the early predecessors of Kumbhakarna. Guhadatta was the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewār. **Ajaya** or **Ajayasimha** evidently belonged to the Sisōdā branch and was the brother of Arisimha referred to in v. 182.

The lord of the Pārasikas referred to v. 268 was Sultān **Mahmūd Khalji I.** of Mālava, who was defeated by the **Mahārāṇā Kumbhā** at Sāraṅpur—a fact also mentioned in the Rānapur inscription. **Mahārāṇā Kumbhā** had to undergo a series of engagements⁵ with the result that he completely broke the power of the Mālwa king, as is evident from v. 270 of this record.

Gayapāla (Gaibā or Gōpāla) of v. 267 was the ruler of Dungarpur State.

As to the places mentioned in the inscription, **Chēlavāṭa** (v. 188) is now called Jilwārā in Mewār. **Dēlavāṭa** (v. 194) from Sans. Dēvakulapāṭaka is the modern town of Dēlvārā about 15 miles from Udaipur. **Hādāvāṭi** (v. 198) is the territory now called Hārauti, which at one time comprised the whole of the present Koṭāh and Būndi States. It is under the Hādās, a branch of the Chauhāns descended from the Chauhāns of Nāḍōl in Mārwar.⁶ **Maṇḍalakara** (v. 198) now called Māṇḍalgarh, is a fort in the Udaipur State. The conquest of this place by Kshētrasimha is also mentioned in the Śrīngi Rishi inscription.⁷ **Vardhana** (v. 212) or **Vardhamāna** is now called Badnor, a town in Mewār.

Jālandhara (v. 221) really a district or town in the Punjāb is probably meant here for Jālor (Jāvalipur) in Mārwar. **Sapādalaksha** (v. 221) was the name of the territory that was under the Chauhāns. It roughly included parts of the modern Jodhpur, Jaipur, Koṭāh, Būndi and Kishanagarh states and the eastern part of Mewār including Māṇḍalgarh. **Śākambharī** (v. 221) once the capital of the early Chauhāns is now called Sāmbhar.

The temple of **Samādhiśvara** (v. 222) is now called Advadji or Mōkalji's temple. It was originally built by the Paramāra king Bhōja of Mālwa when he resided at Chitor and was called **Tribhuvanaṇārāyaṇa**⁸ after his surname 'Tribhuvananārāyaṇa'. It was also known as **Bhōjasvāmīdēvajagatī**.⁹

¹ Bhav. Ins., p. 119, verse 38.

² Bhav. Ins., p. 120, śloka 44.

³ Tod's supposition that he was the grandson of Firoz Tughlak of Delhi is wrong. (Tod's *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 331).

⁴ [Probably the reference here is to Muhammad Tughluq. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 627 ff.—Ed.]

⁵ See Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. IV, pp. 208-24.

⁶ J.A.S.B. (New Series), Vol. XXVII, p. 160.

⁷ Rājputāna Museum Report, 1924-25, p. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Yōginipura (v. 247) is the town of Jāvar in Mewār. **Maṇḍōvara** (v. 249) is the ruined town of Maṇḍōr in Jodhpur State. **Yāgapura** (v. 253) is the town of Jahāzpur in Udaipur State. **Vṛindāvaśī** (v. 264) is now the town of Būndi in Rājputāna. **Gargarāṣa** (v. 259) is the town of Gāgraun in Koṭāh State. **Sirṁhapurī** (v. 260) is the town Sihor in Central India. **Rapastambha** (v. 261) is the fortress of Ranthambhor in Jaipur State. **Amradādri** (v. 262) is Āmber, the old capital of the Jaipur State. **Bambavadō** or Bōmbāōdā (v. 262) lies in the eastern part of Mewār. **Shaṭpura** (v. 264) is the town of Khatakar in Būndi State. **Viśālanagara** (v. 265) is called Visalanagar in Gujarāt. **Girīpura** (v. 266) is the town of Dungarpur in Rājputāna. **Sāraṅgapura** (v. 268) is an ancient town in Central India. **Kōṭarā** is modern Kotrā, now a military station in Mewār. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 180, 186, 192, 193, 197, 201, 205, 209, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 229, 233, 241, 260, 263, 264 and 270, *Śārdūlavikīrṇita* ; vv. 181 and 230, *Śikharim* ; vv. 182, 191, 204, 214 and 234, *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 183 and 244 *Āryā* ; v. 184, *Hariṣī* ; vv. 185, 190, 194, 198, 203, 207, 220, 222, 235, 240, 248, 250, 267, 269, *Upajāti* ; v. 187, *Vamśastha* ; vv. 188 and 243 *Mālini* ; vv. 189, 206 and 213, *Indravajrā* ; vv. 195, 239, 245, 246, 254, 259 and 266, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 196, 199, 200, 228, 231, 237, 238 and 252, *Srāgḍharā* ; vv. 202 and 255, *Bhujāṅgaprayāta* ; v. 208, *Vaitāliya* ; vv. 211 and 215, *Ruchirā* ; vv. 223, 224, 225, 247, 262, *Rathōdāhatā* ; vv. 226 and 227, *Drutavilambitā* ; vv. 210, 236 and 257, *Prithvī* ; vv. 242, 249, 253, 261 and 265, *Ānushṭubh* ; vv. 256 and 258, *Viyōginī* ; vv. 212, 232, 251 and 268, *Śālinī*.]

- 1 अर्चिभिः किमु सप्तभिः परिहृतः सप्तार्चिरचागतः किवा सप्तभिरेव सप्तिभिरि
[हायात्स]सप्तसिद्धिर्ह ॥(1) इत्यं सप्तभिरञ्जितः सुतवरैस्तेः*] गल्लपूतेः*]
सह प्राप्ते बुधिरभूक्षुपर्ववृत्तेः श्रीलक्ष्मसिद्धिं कृपे ॥ १८०[॥*] असिर्यस्यारातेर्भ-
मरतिलखं(कं) श्रीर्धकमले स राष्ट्र [गो]गादेवो-
- 2 पि हि समधिभूर्मालवभुवः ॥(1) विजिग्ये येनाजौ निजभुजभुजंगोर्जंगरलप्रसारात्
सिंहांतः समभवदसौ लक्ष्मकृपतिः ॥ १८१[॥*] इति महाराणाश्रीलख(ख)मसीवर्षनं
॥ ॥ अथ अरिसिंहवर्षनं ॥ अभून्मृसिंहप्रतिभोरिसिंहस्तदन्वये
भव्यपरंपराक्ये ॥(1) वि(वि)भेद यो वैरिगजेंद्रकुंभस्थली-
- 3 मनुनां नखखड्गघातेः ॥ १८२[॥*] पीतवैरिदधिराहिपुलांगादुद्धताद्यदसिक्कभुजंगात् ।(1)
अद्भुतं समभवत्कलाशामंडनं नवयशस्तुहिनाभं ॥ १८३[॥*] अग्निधवलया
कीर्त्त्येतीव प्रतापदिवाकरद्युतिमिलितया मन्त्रे प्रत्याययन्निव भासते ॥(1)
रजतनिचयं दास्ये चंचक्यहारजतं तथा
- 4 त्वजतु विपुलां चित्ते चिंतां वनीपकमंडली ॥ १८४ [॥*] इति अरिसिंह-
वर्षनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराणाश्रीहमीरवर्षनं ॥ हमीरधीरो रणरंगधीरो
वाक्ताधुरीतर्जितकेकिकीरः ॥(1) धराधवालंकरपौकहीरस्तद्वनी भूषितसिंधुतीरः
॥ १८५[॥*] मन्त्रेभूक्षुरगीरगौः समभवत्कल्पद्रुमः कल्प-

- 5 नातोतो रोहणपर्वतोपि सुधियां नो मानसं रोहति ॥(1) चिंताश्मापि जने
जं(ज)डाञ्जडतां धत्तेधिकां भूधवे दानप्रोक्तचारुपाणिकमले कर्णादयः
के पुनः ॥ १८६[॥*] यदपितैरर्धिजनस्तुरंगमैरनर्घ्यहेमागदहारकुंडलैः ॥(1) पलङ्कतः
कल्पतरौ कृताश्रयं सुराधिराजं हसतीव
- 6 वैभवात् ॥ १८७[॥*] कटकतुरगहेषाविश्रुते स्थ(त्य)क्षधैर्यं व्रजति च रघुभूपे
कादिशीके पलाय्ये(य्य) ॥(1) अहह विषमधाटीप्रौढपंचाननोसावरिपुरम
[भिदुर्गं] खेलवाटं विजिग्ये ॥ १८८[॥*] ईश्वराराधने दाने वीरश्रीवरणे
रणे ॥(1) कदाचिन्नैव विश्रांतः करो हस्मीरभूपतेः ॥ १८९[॥*] स क्षेत्रसिंहे
तन-
- 7 ये निधाय तेजः स्वकीयं त्रिदिवं जगाम ॥(1) वज्रौ यथाकर्णस्तमयं हि
भावो महात्मनामत्र निसर्गसिंहः ॥ १९०[॥*] इति महाराणाश्रीहस्मीरवर्णनं ॥
॥ अथ महाराणाश्रीक्षेत्रसिंहवर्णनं ॥ ततोरिभूमीशमहेमसिंहः स्वनादविचा-
सितमत्तसिंहः ॥(1) संभावनामोदितमृत्युसिंहः शशास
- 8 भूमिं किल क्षेत्रसिंहः ॥ १९१[॥*] येनानर्गलमङ्गदीर्घदया श्रीचित्रकूटातिके
तत्तत्सैनिकघोरवीरनिनदप्रध्वस्तधैर्योदया ॥(1) मन्त्रे यावनवाहिनी निजपरि-
चाणस्य हेतोरलं भूनिक्षेपमिक्षेप भीपरवशा पातालमूलं ययौ ॥ १९२[॥*]
संधामाजिरसीणि शौर्यविलसद्दीर्घद्विहो-
- 9 सञ्चापप्रोद्धतबाणवृष्टिशमितारातिप्रतापानलः ॥(1) वीरश्रीरणमङ्गमूर्जितशकच्छापाल-
गर्वातकं स्यू(स्यू)र्जङ्ग(हु)र्जरमंडलेश्वरमसौ कारागृहेवीवसत् ॥ १९३ व्यर्थो
तु नूनं महदुद्यमो यदित्यं वचस्तत्फलं करिष्युः ॥(1) शोधां पुरीमातल-
मूलधारं स्वं देलवाटं पुरमानिनाय ॥ १९४ ॥
- 10 वीरस्य यस्य समरेधि करं कृपाणीमुत्सङ्गुकामरिभटानिलबद्धवृणां ॥(1) दृष्ट्वा
भुजंगयुवतीमिव वैरिदम्भासासात्ममुद्रमपि गोः पदतामनैषुः ॥ १९५[॥*]
मायन्मायन्महेभप्रखरकरहृतिक्षिप्रराजन्मयूथो यं षा(खा)नः पत्तनेशो दफर
इति समासाद्य कुंठीव(ब)भूव ॥ सोयं मङ्गो रणादिः
- 11 शककुलवनितादत्तवैधव्यदीप्तः कारागारे यदीये नृपतिशतयुते संस्तरं नापि
लेभे ॥ १९६[॥*] शश्वत्चलवाजिवीधितरलं सञ्चलतिम्याकुलं मायत्कुंभिसपञ्च-
खेलदचलं सत्पत्तिमोलज्जलं ॥(1) रथाद्याह्वलाचलं स्फुरदमीसाङ्गानुनाथोच्चलं
यो शेषादपिव(ब)त् शकार्ष्ववमग-
- 12 स्थं तं समूहेष्विलं ॥ १९७[॥*] हाडावटीदेशपतीन् स जित्वा तन्मंडलं
चालवशीचकार ॥(1) तदत्र चित्रं खलु यत्करांतं तदेव तेषामिह यो
बभञ्ज ॥ १९८[॥*] याचोत्तुंगतुरंगचंचलसुराचातोच्छि(च्छि)तै रेषुभिः सिंहे

- यस्य न लुप्तस्मिपटलव्याजावतापं रविः ॥(1) तच्चित्रं किमु सादलादि-
कनृपा यत्राकृता*]स्तत्रसु-
- 13 स्वयन्ना स्वानि पुराणि कस्तु बलिनां सूक्ष्मो गुरुर्वा पुरः ॥ १८८ शस्त्राशस्त्रिह-
ताजिलंपटभटव्रातोच्छलच्छोणितच्छन्नप्रोद्वतपांशुपुंजविसरव्यादुर्भवत्कर्दमः ॥(1) वस्तुः
सामि हतो रणे शकपतिर्यस्मात्तथा मालवच्छापोद्यापि यथा भयेन चकितः
स्वप्नेपि तं पश्यति ॥ २०० [11*] वारंवारम-
- 14 नेकवारणघटासंघट्टविश्रान्तानेकस्मापतिवीरमालवशकाधोशैकगर्वांतकः ॥(1) संग्रा-
माजिरसंगतारिनगरीलुंटाकबाहुर्नृपः ॥¹ कारागारनिवासिनो व्यचर(रच)यत् यो
गू(गु)र्ज्जरान् भूमिपान् ॥ २०१ [11*] अमीसाहिरथाहि येनाहिनेच(व) स्फुरद्वेक-
एकांगवीरव्रतेन ॥(1) जगत्त्रा(त्ता)णकृद्यस्य पा
- 15 शौ कृपाणः प्रसिद्धोभवद्गुपतिः धे(खे)तराणः ॥ २०२ [11*] गुरोः प्रसादादधिगम्य
विद्यामष्टांगयोगस्थिरचित्तवृत्तिः ॥(1) ब्रह्मैकतानः परमात्मभूयं जगाम संसार-
निवृत्तवु(वु)द्धिः ॥ २०३ इति महाराणाश्रीचेत्रसिंहवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ
महाराणाश्रीलक्ष्मणवर्णनं ॥ सहस्रनेत्रादिव वैजयंतो म-
- 16 हासमुद्रादिव सी(शी)तरश्मिः ॥(1) मुनेः पुलस्त्यादिव वित्तनाथो बभूव
तस्मादिह लक्ष्मणः ॥ २०४ यक्षेशः किमयं न सोम्यवशगः किं
धर्मसूनानुजः स्कीतः सोयमयं व(व)लिखिपदिकामात्रप्रदः किं न सः ॥(1)
इत्थं तुल्यसुवर्णदानसमये यः पारिशेष्यान्मितो विद्वद्भिः स्वभुजार्जिताधि-
- 17 कधनः श्रीलक्ष्मसिंहो नृपः ॥ २०५ [11*] जंबूद्वयः किं परिलोद्य राज्ञानोतः
सुमेरुर्नु समाहतो वा ॥(1) इत्यूहिरे तुल्यसुवर्णराशिमुच्चैरवेष्टास्य वनीप-
कौघाः ॥ २०६ [11] कीनाशपाशान् सकलानपास्यत् यस्मिंस्थलीमोचनतः शकेभ्यः
॥(1) भु(तु)लादिदानातिभर(रो) व्यतारोक्षच्छाख्यभूपो निहतप्रतीपः ॥ २०७ [11*]
- 18 रविरिव नलिनीं निशातुषारात् विधुरिव यामवतीं महोदधकारा[त्] ॥(1)
पवन इव घनाक्षवार्कभासं यवनकराच्च गयाममोचयद्यः ॥ २०८ [11*] संलोपादिव
विप्रवृत्तिमचलां दास्यादिव ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणीं गां पंकादिव मोचयन् खलु गयां
व(व)धाक्षहीवक्षभः ॥(1) आगोपालकभूमिपालमसङ्गक्षेत्रिलान् याचकान् द-
- 19 त्वा मुक्तिमहावृत्तं पिढगणानन्दयच्चापरं ॥ २०९ [11*] न कांचनतुलामसौ
व(व)हुविधाय मंदादरो न कांचन तुलां परैः सममवामुमैच्छत् क्वचित् ॥(1)
गयामपि विमोक्ष्य तां तुरगयानहेमादिभिश्चकार पृथिवीश्वरः किमु गयां
स्वकीर्तिं पुनः ॥ २१० [11*] अमोचयद्यवनकराक्षयामयं तुला व्यधादमि-

¹ *Dardas unnecessary.*² *च* is written on the margin.

- 20 तपराक्रमोमिताः ॥(1) अपूजयत्कनकभरैर्महीसुरानकारयत्सुरनिलयान्महीमतान् ॥
२११ [॥*] मेदानाराङ्गसादुक्तसत्तरेरीधोरध्वानविध्वस्तधैर्यान् ॥(1) कारंकारं योधही-
दुग्रतेजा दग्धारातिर्वहेनाख्यं गिरीन्द्रं ॥ २१२ [॥*] हर्यश्च(ख)वत्सन्नरेश्वरस्य
वृत्तिः[*]प्रवृत्तिः(त्तिः) स्वभुजार्जितैव ॥(1) ये भुञ्जते ज्ञान्यबलोप-
- 21 पक्षं प्राप्तं शृगाला इव भूमिपालाः ॥ २१३ [॥*] यदर्पितैरर्थिगणो महद्भिर्धामैर-
नतैरभजन्मृपत्व[म्*] ॥(1) तदकितैः शासनपद्मपूगैरनारतं पुस्तकवानिवासीत् ॥
२१४ [॥*] विमोचितान् बहुविधघोरसंसृतेर्विलोकितुं जननिषयानिवागमत् ॥(1)
शिवांतिकं शिवचरित्तः(तः) शिवाधवक्रमांजुजा'चनपरिहीण-
- 22 कल्प(लम्)घः ॥ २१५ [॥*] इति महाराणाश्रीलक्ष्मसेनवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ
महाराजाधिराजमहाराणाश्रीसृगाकमोकलेन्द्रवर्णनं ॥ अण्णेधिरिव पारिजातक-
तरुखंडद्युतेर्दे(ड)भृद्यहत्सर्वसुपर्वणामधिपतेरासीज्जयती यथा ॥(1) ईशस्येव
षडाननो रघुपतेर्यद्वत् कुशो भूपतेरस्यासीदतुलप्रतापतपनः
- 23 श्रीमोकलेन्द्रो गजः ॥ २१६ [॥*] यो विप्राम(न)मितान् हलिं कलयतः कार्श्येन
वृत्तेरलं वेदं सांगमपाठयत् कलिगलप्रस्ते धरिणीतले ॥(1) दैत्यान्मीन
इवापरः श्रुतवतामानंदकादः कलाकौशल्यप्रततीनवीनजलदो भूमंडलाखंडलः ॥
२१७ [॥*] दृष्ट्वैनं रचयंतमङ्गुततुलाहेजः सदा संपतद्यागाण्या-
- 24 इतितर्पितो व्यचरयत्^१ मन्थे तुलोपायनं ॥(1) तत्पूर्व्यं कनकाचलं करमहारज्जु
च चेलोपमौ सूर्याचंद्रमसौ हिमाद्रिमकरोद्दंडं सुरग्रामणीः ॥ २१८ [॥*] एतन्मुक्त-
गयाविमुक्तपिष्टभिः प्रोक्षंश्चमानां हठाहृष्टा संयमिनीं लिखत्यनुशयादित्थं तु
भूमिं यमः ॥(1) किं सामर्थ्यमप्योहितं खलु कलेर्याताः क
- 25 कामादयो युक्तां याति न कीधिकाविरतौ वक्रोधिकां कालतां ॥ २१९ [॥*]
नलः किमैलः किमु मन्मथो वा किमाश्रिनियक्षितयादिहैकः ॥(1) कलंक-
मुक्ताः किमु यामिनीशस्वित्यजनो यच्च वितर्कमेति ॥ २२० [॥*] आलोच्यश्रु
सपादलक्षमखिलं जालंधरान् कंपयन् ठिङ्गीं शंकितनायकां व्यचर(रच)यन्नादाय
शाकाभरीं ॥(1)
- 26 पीरीजं समहं^२महंमदं शरशतैरापात्य यः(*) प्रोक्षन्(त्)कुंतव्रातनिपातदीर्घ-
हृदयांस्तस्यावधीहंतिनः ॥ २२१ [॥*] नृपः समाधीश्वरसिद्धतेजाः समाधिभाजां
परमं रहस्यं ॥(1) आराध्य तस्मालयमुद्धार श्रीचिचकूटे मणितोदकां ॥
२२२ [॥*] तीर्थमत्र कृष्णमोचनं महत्पापमोचनमपि क्षितीश्वरः ॥(1) आह-

^१ Read गुजाचपरिहीण-

^२ Read व्यचरयन्.

^३ These two syllables are redundant.

- 27 कुंडमपि सेतुमंडनं मंडनं त्रिजगतामपि व्यधात् ॥ २२३ ॥* यः सुधांशुमुकुट-
प्रियांगणे वाहनं मृगपतिं मनोरमं ॥(१) निर्मितं सकलधातुभक्तिभिः
पीठरक्षणविधाविव व्यधात् ॥ २२४ ॥* पक्षिराजमपि चक्रपाणये हेमनिर्मित-
मसौ दधौ नृपः ॥(१) येन नीलजलदच्छविर्विभुसंचलायुत इवाधिकां
बभौ ॥ २
- 28 २५ ॥* जगति विश्रुतिमाप स मोकलः प्रतिभट्छितिपैरसमोकलः^१ ॥(१) रविसुरा-
धिपशेषसमोक^२ लः प्रतिनिधिर्भुवनेपि स मोकलः ॥ २२६ ॥* स नृवरो नृवरो-
चितवेषभू[त्][पव*]नभृत्पवनोदितवैभवः ॥(१) अवनतोवनतोपि महत्तरः(२)
सकलमोकलमोकलमोकलः^३ ॥ २२७ ॥* दंडः छत्रेषु भीतोवहितविहति-
- 29 तो बंधनं सारणीषु प्रायः सारीषु हिंसा रतिततिषु कटाक्षांगुलीतर्जनाद्यं ॥(१)
भेदः कोशेषुजानां हृतिरपिमनसश्चारुगेषु नित्यं यस्मिन् शासत्यनर्घभवदिह
वसुधाराजिराजन्वतीत्यं ॥ २२८ ॥* व्यस्तैराजननं दिन(नं) दिनमधिप्रसैर्दधीत्यादि-
भिर्हानैरभिरलंकृतानुक्तिकव्यापारपारंगमैः ॥(१)
- 30 मत्वेतीव निराकृतोद्य वसुधानाथोरुदानक्रमः श्रीमानत्र समस्तदाननिलयं
ब्र(भ)ह्मांडदान(नं) व्यधात् ॥ २२९ ॥* असुभ्रादुद्धूतः सततमनुभूतार्थनिगमः
क्षमः प्रौढक्षोणीपरिवृढदृढोन्मादहृतिषु ॥(१) चरित्रेण स्त्रीयां(या)न्ययर्मा
पवित्रेण कलयन् कलौ धर्म्या(र्मा)धारो गुरुगरिमभूर्मोकलविभुः ॥ २३० ॥* चं-
- 31 गाः संप्राप्तभंगाः श्रुतवनविटपाः कामरूपा विरूपा वंगा गंगैकसंगा गतवि-
रुदमदा जातसादा निषादाः ॥ चीनाः संग्रामदीनाः खलदसिधनुषी
भीतिशुष्कास्तुरकाः(तुरुष्काः) भूमीष्टे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति महिमनि क्षापतेर्मो-
क्षस्य ॥ २३१ ॥* तापं तापं बाहुशौर्याग्निनासौ क्षेपं क्षेपं वैरिरक्षो-
दकौघे ॥(१) नायं नायं दा-
- 32 अमिवं कृपाणी भेदं भेदं भानुविबं विवेश ॥ २३२ ॥* इति महाराजाधिराज-
महाराणाश्रीमृगाकमोकलैद्रवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराजाधिराजरायराया-
राणिरायमहाराणाश्रीकुंभकर्णवर्णनं ॥ मूलं धर्मतरोः फलं श्रुतवतां
पुण्यस्य गेहं श्रियामाधारः सुगुणोत्करस्य जनिभूः सत्यस्य धामौजसः ॥(१)
धैर्यस्या-

^१ "प्रतिभट्छितिपैरसमोकलः" or प्रतिभट्छितिपैः असमः अकलः, that is, नाति कला खखी यस्य
अखख इत्यर्थः ।

^२ "रविसुराधिपशेषसमोकलः" or रविसुराधिपशेषसमः अकलः ; i.e., यः विश्वः तस्य कला यस्मिन् इति
विश्वीरंजावतार इत्यर्थः ।

^३ "सकलमोकलमोकलमोकलः" मीकं मुक्तिं प्राप्तिं अखखतिः, मय उच्यते मरी तयोः कला
अंभी यस्मिन् स बाह्वी मीकव्येति । (मः विश्वः and सः विश्वः)

- 33 पि पराव(व)धिः प्रतिनिधिः कल्पद्रुमस्याखिलां वीरस्तत्तनयः प्रशस्ति जगती(ती)
श्रीकुंभकर्णो नृपः ॥ २३३ ॥*] समस्तदिशं डललव्यवर्णः स्फुरत्पतापाधरिता-
र्कवर्णः ॥(1) स्वदानभूम्ना जितभोजकर्णस्ततो महीं रक्षति कुंभकर्णः ॥
२३४ ॥*] उपास्य जम्बचितय गजारस्य कनीयसो मातरमेकशक्तेः ॥(1) श्रीकुंभ-
कर्णोयम-
- 34 लंभि साध्या सौभाग्यदेव्या तनयस्त्रिशक्तिः ॥ २३५ ॥*] अतः क्षितिभुजां
मणेर्निजकुलस्य चूडामणिः प्रसिद्धगुणसंभ्रमो जगति कुंभनामा नृपः ॥(1)
प्रवीरमदभंजनः प्रमुदितः प्रजारंजनादजायत निजायतेक्ष्णजितेदिरामंदिरः ॥
२३६ ॥*] वेदानुष्ठुत्य पञ्चाङ्गवमपि भुजयोस्तां विभर्त्ति क्षिणोति छुद्रान् वद्वा
- 35 बलिद्विद्वलमहिततरक्षमुच्छाय हत्वा ॥(1) रक्षोरूपारिपूर्वीभरनृपशमनः सुचमी
स्नेच्छघाती जीयात् श्रीकुंभकर्णो दशविधकृतिकृत् श्रीपतिः कोपि नव्यः ॥
२३७ ॥*] लक्ष्मीशानंदकत्वात् त्रिभुवनरमणीचित्तसंमोहकत्वाद्वावस्थावासभूत्वाद्वापुर-
मस्ततया कुंभकर्णो महींद्रः ॥(1) कामं कामोस्तु सोखीकुसुत इह परं
- 36 स्त्रीजनं जेतुकामः संग्रामिनिन साक्षात्क्रियत इति नवं स्त्रीजनोस्त्रीजनोपि ॥
२३८ ॥*] वि(वि)भ्राजते सकलभूवलयेकवीरः श्रीमेदपाटवसुधोदरणैकधीरः ॥(1)
यथैकलिंगनिजसेवक इत्युदारा कीर्त्तिप्रशस्तिरचलां सुरभीकरोति ॥ २३९ ॥*]
एकलिंगनिलयं च खंडितं प्रोक्षतोरणलसम्पणिचक्रं ॥(1) भानुविंब-
- 37 मिलितोच्चपताकं सुंदरं पुनरकारयं नृ(यन्त्र)पः ॥ २४० ॥*] मा भूत्तुभ्यदसुच्छ-
दुग्धजलधिस्रच्छोच्छलद्दीचिह्नतत्र(नः)शक्तपूर्वपूर्वपूरुषयशस्तत्संजुच[द*]वृत्ति-
मत् ॥(1) इत्थं चारु विचार्य कुंभनृपतिस्तानिकलिं व्यधात् रम्यान् मंडपहेमदंड-
कलशांक्षैलोक्यशीभातिगान् ॥ २४१ ॥*] निःशंकः काव्यसंदर्भे रणारंभे च निर्भ-
- 38 यः ॥(1) वि(वि)ख्यातः कुंभकर्णोयमिति निःशंकनिर्भयः ॥ २४२ ॥*] व्रजति
विजययात्रां यत्र विव्रस्तशत्रौ हयसुरध(ख)रघातोत्पन्नातधूलौनिलीने ॥(1)
गगनतलमशेषं वीक्ष(ख)संजातमोहो नयति रविरथाश्वान् सारथिः साहसि-
क्यात् ॥ २४३ ॥ श्रीचिचकूटविभुरयमुन्नततरवारिशतितारातिः ॥(1) गिरिजा-
चरणसरोरुहरो-
- 39 लंबः कुंभनृपतिर्जयति ॥ २४४ ॥*] विख्यात[कीर्त्तिगु*]हृदयसुभाषशालिवाहाजय-
प्रभृतिभपतिवंशरत्नं ॥(1) श्रीचिचलचनृपमोकलभमिपाक्षसिंहासनं सकलस्यत्वव

- कुंभकर्णः ॥२४५॥*] या नारदीयनगरावनिनायकस्य नार्या निरंतरमचोकरद्व-
दास्य ॥(१) तां कुंभकर्णनृपतेरिह कः सहेत बाणावलीमसम-
40 संगरसंचरिणोः ॥ २४६ ॥*] योगिनीपुरमजयमप्यसौ योगिनीचरणकिंकरो नृपः ॥(१)
कुंतलाकलितवैरिसुंदरीविभ्रमैरमितविक्रमोयहीत् ॥२४७॥*] अरिंदमः स्वाङ्घ्रिसरो-
जलग्नं विशोध्य शोष्याधिपतिप्रतीपं ॥(१) अरुंतुदं कंटकमिद्वतेजा भङ्गाच्चि-
पद्ममितलेसशिष्या ॥ २४८ ॥*] येन वैरिकुलं हत्वा
- 41 मंडोवरपुरगृहे ॥(१) अनायि शांति(ति)^१ रोषा[ग्नि]र्नागरीनयनांबुभिः ॥ २४९ ॥*]
विगृह्य हृन्मीरपुरं शरोत्करैर्निगृह्य तस्मिन् रणवीरविक्रमं ॥(१) पर्ययहीदं-
बु(बु)जमंजुलोचना महीमहेन्द्रो नरपालकन्यकाः ॥ २५० ॥*] नानादिभ्यो(भ्यो)
राजकन्याः समेत्य क्षोणीपालं कुंभकर्णं अयते ॥(१) सत्यं रत्नं जायते
सागरादौ
- 42 युक्तं विणोर्वच एवास्य धामः(म) ॥ २५१ ॥*] आत्ताः काश्चिद्वठेन प्रतिनृपति-
भटान् दंडयित्वा च काश्चित् काश्चिद्राज्यवर्षैर्नगजतुरगैः सार्द्धमानीय
दत्ताः ॥(१) अन्याः प्रोद्धाविधाटीबलकृतहरणाः प्रत्यहं राजकन्या नव्या
नव्या महीभृशुविधि परिणयत्येष कामो नवीनः ॥ २५२ ॥*] स ध १
धान्यनग-
- 43 रमामूलादुदमूलयत् ॥(१) पुरारिविक्रमो यागपुरं पुरमिवाजयत् ॥ २५३ ॥*]
ज्वालावलीवलयितां व्यतनोद्यवालीं मन्त्रीरवीरसुदवीवहदे^२ष नीरं ॥(१) यो
वर्द्धमानगिरिमातु(शु) विजित्य तस्मिन्नेदानम(मं)दमदवद्विधीनधाक्षीन्(त्) ॥
२५४ ॥*] जवाली दवालीशिखावच्छिखालीसमालीढभालीकरालीप्रताली ॥(१) ग-
- 44 भीरांधकारं क्षणाद्यस्य संख्येक्षिपत्क्षेत्रमन्यैर्नयद्भूपदीपैः ॥ २५५ ॥*] जनकाचलसुख-
शेष(ख)रं बलवन्मालवनाथमस्तके ॥(१) प्रवरं गिरिदुर्गमुत्ततहरणं वाममिव
न्यधादयं ॥ २५६ ॥*] महीक्षजनकाचले निखिलमालवक्ष्मापतेर्गले पदमिव
न्यधादमितविक्रमो भूपतिः ॥(१) सरांसि जयवर्द्धनेकत पुरेपि यो
- 45 वर्द्धने महामहिमशेखरे विपुलवप्रमुप्रयुतिः ॥ २५७ ॥*] जनकाचलमयहीदलं
महतीं चंपवतीमतीतपत् ॥(१) गिरिसुंदरखोलखंडनावनिवज्जायुध एव भूपतिः
॥ २५८ ॥*] प्रत्यर्थिपार्थिवपराजयजन्महेतुहंदावतीपुरमदीदहदेववीरः ॥(१) तह-
र्मराटगिरिदुर्गमपि क्षणेन संक्षोभमाप यदपारपराक्रमे-

^१ This however spoils the metre;^२ Wrongly used for *śālavahayai* ?

- 46 ण ॥ २५८ [॥*] मङ्गारण्यपुरं द(व)रेख्यमनलज्वालावलीढं व्यधाहीरः सिंहपुरीम-
वीभरदसिप्रध्वस्तवैरिव्रजैः ॥(1) यत्र रत्नपुरप्रभञ्जनविधावाधाय धीमानतो नायं
नायमनेकराजनिकरान् कारागृहेवीवसत्^२ ॥ २६० [॥*] पदातीनां पादलक्षं
सपादलक्षनीहृतं ॥(1) कृत्वा मङ्गारण्यवीरो रणस्तंभं तथाजयत् ॥
- 47 २६१ [॥*] आम्नदाद्रिदलनेन दारुणः कोटडाकलङ्कलिकेसरी ॥(1) कुम्भकर्णनृपति-
र्ब(वं)बावदोधूलनोद्धत(त)भुजो विराजते ॥ २६२ [॥*] नम्नानेकनृपालमौलिनिकर-
प्रत्युमहीराङ्कुरश्रेणीरश्मिमिलन्नखद्युतिभरः शङ्खन् रणप्राङ्गणे ॥(1) दीर्घादोलितबाहुदंड-
विलसत्कोदंडदंडोन्न[स*]हाणास्तान्
- 48 वि[रच]य्य मंडलकरं दुर्गं क्षणेनाजयत् ॥ २६३ [॥*] जित्वा देशमनेकदुर्गविषमं
हाडावटीं हेलया तन्नाथान् करदान्विधाय च जयस्तंभानुदस्तंभयत् ॥(1)
दुर्गं गोपुरमत्र षट्पुरमपि प्रौढां च वृंदावतीं श्रीमन्मंडलदुर्गमुच्चविलसच्छालां
विशालां पुरीं ॥ २६४ [॥*] उत्खातमूलं सलिलैः प्रभञ्जन इव द्रुमं ॥(1)
- 49 विशालनगरं राजा समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २६५ [॥*] तन्नागरीनयन्न(न)नीरतरंगिणी-
नामंगीकृतं किमु समुत्तरणं तुरंगैः ॥(1) श्रीकुम्भकर्णनृपतिः प्रवितीर्षभपै-
रालोडयङ्गिरिपुरं यदमीभिरुग्रः ॥ २६६ [॥*] यदीयगर्जजतूर्यघोषसिंहस्त्रनाक-
र्षननष्टशौर्यः ॥(1) विहाय दुर्गं सहसा पलायाचकार
- 50 मैपालमृगालबालः ॥ २६७ [॥*] त्यक्त्वा दीना दीनदीनाधिनाथा दीना बद्धा येन
सारंगपुर्यां ॥(1) योषाः प्रौढाः पारसीकाभिपानां ताः संख्यातुं नैव शक्नोति
कोपि ॥ २६८ [॥*] महोमदो युक्ततरो न चैषः स्वस्वामिघातेन धनार्जनत्वे ॥(1)
इतीव सारंगपुरं विलोच्य महंमदं त्याजितवान्महंमदं ॥ २६९ [॥*] गज्जम्बो[घ]-
- 51 तिमिंगिलाकुलतरं रंगतुरंगीर्मिमन्मातंगोद्धतनक्षत्रक्रममितं प्राकारवेलाचलं ॥(1)
एतद्गन्धपुराग्निब्राह्मवमसौ यन्मालवाभोनिधिं शीघ्रीयः पिबति स खड्गबुलुक-
स्तस्मादगद्वयः स्फुटं ॥ २७० ॥ संवत् [१५१७ वर्षे शा.....]

^२ Correctly vyabharat.^३ Read grihe-vāsayat.

No. 43.—GOKAK PLATES OF DEJJA-MAHARAJA.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These **copper-plates** were found in the year 1926 in the house of Mr. Govinda Rao Mutalik Desai of Gōkāk in the Belgaum District of the Bombay Presidency and are now in the possession of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar. The inscription which they bear has been edited in the *Karnatak Historical Review*¹ but owing to certain inaccuracies which have crept in the reading of the text as given in the *Review*, in the interpretation of certain passages and in the drawing of inferences in certain cases, I consider it necessary to re-edit the document and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The plates are **three** in number each measuring about 6½" in length and 2½" in breadth. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner face only; the second plate has both the faces engraved. They are all strung together by a circular ring measuring 2½" in diameter and having an oval seal attached to it. Together with the ring and the seal they weigh 42½ *tolas* and are very well preserved.

The **seal** bears in relief the figure of some **horned animal** which looks like an antelope whose head is bent forward and one of the horns is turned towards the back. The animal is in a moving pose with its right forefoot raised. The donor of the grant which these plates record was a Sēndraka and the crest of the Sēndrakas was probably an elephant.² It is, therefore, difficult to account for the horned animal engraved on the seal unless it is supposed that though the crest was an elephant, the device on the banner of the family was some horned animal like the one represented on the seal. It is not a Rāshtrakūṭa symbol either, though the document was issued in the reign of a king of that dynasty; for the emblem of that family was either *Garuḍa* or lion.³ Cannot this horned animal be taken as a cognisance of a Tirthamkara in view of the fact that the document is a Jaina record? Śāntinātha, we know, has an antelope for his *lāñchchhana*.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the invocatory and the imprecatory verses the whole record is in prose. It is written in a Southern script which was in use in the Dekkan during the sixth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era. The record is neatly written and resembles the Bādāmi cave inscription of Kirttivarman I which is dated in the Śaka year 500,⁴ the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa⁵ (602 A. D.), the Koppāram plates⁶ and the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II.⁷ The inscription gives us two forms of long ā. In one the top is closed and in the other it is left open (compare *āchchhētā* in line 20 and *Āryyaṇandyā-chāryya* in l. 10). Initial *u* is found in *unta(kta)ñ=cha* (l. 16) and *ē* in *Ēndāvirut* (l. 13). Among the consonants the letter *k* is always closed when it is not a conjunct *akshara* but when it is in combination with some other letters it is open; *r* is always open. The letters *t* and *n* are not looped; the former, however, has a loop when combined with *n* (e.g., in *paryyantam*, l. 13). The letter *kh* is found in *Jambūkhanda* (l. 9) and *ḷ* in *Jaḷāra* (l. 9). Final *t* is found in line 20 and final *m* in lines 2 and 18. As regards **orthography** it may be noted that consonants are sometimes doubled when preceded by *r* (see *Varddhamāna* in lines 1 and 3) but sometimes not (e.g., see *chatur-vimsati* in line 3). The omission of *s* in *bhūmi tasya* in l. 17 is probably

¹ Vol. I, No. ii, pp. 43 ff.² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 292. The figure of an elephant is found engraved on the inscription of the Sēndraka chief Pogilli (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 143).³ *Ibid.*, p. 386.⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 58.⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, plate facing p. 18.⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 259.⁷ Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 6.

a mistake of the engraver for the correct word should be *bhūmis-tasya*. A noteworthy mistake of spelling is to be seen in *untañ=cha* for *uktañ=cha* in line 16.

The object of the record is to register the grant of fifty *nivartanas* of land in the Jaḷāra-grāma village situated in the Kashmāṇḍi-vishaya to *āchāryya* Āryyaṇandin of the Jambūkhaṇḍa-gana for the worship of the divine Arhat and for other purposes specified in lines 11 and 12. The donor was the *Adhirāja* Indrananda, the son of Vijayānanda-Madhyamarāja of the Sēndraka family. Indrananda is further stated to have been the favourite of the Rāshtrakūta king Dējja-Mahārāja. The grant registered in the charter was made when 845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired. This date is specially noteworthy for we do not know anything of the Āguptāyika kings with whom it is connected. This is the first inscription known to us making mention of these kings. No details about them are, however, recorded in this document except that they belonged to the spiritual lineage of Varddhamaṇa, the 24th Jaina Tirthaṅkara. The name of the era started by these personages namely the Āguptāyikas or the reckoning to which it belonged are questions which can be decided only by future researches. Palaeographically the document may be ascribed to about the 6th or 7th century of the Christian era. No reckoning is known at present which would give for 845 an equivalent in the sixth or seventh century of that era. If, however, we follow the Jaina tradition and place the commencement of the reign of the Maurya emperor Chandragupta in B. C. 312-13¹—for this appears to be the correct date of his accession²—and consider it to be the starting point of the Āguptāyika era we get A. D. 532-33 as the date of our record. But, considering the palaeography of the record this date appears to be somewhat too early; and I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately.

Indrananda, the donor of the grant, figures in this record for the first time. The epithet *adhirāja* applied to him here would indicate that he was a chief of some importance. After the late Dr. Fleet wrote the account of the Sēndrakas³ only four more inscriptions of the family have come to our notice. The Kalwa plates of Jayaśakti⁴ furnish the following pedigree:—

Bhānuśakti
|
Ādityaśakti
|
Nikumbhallaśakti
|
Jayaśakti

carrying the line one generation further than the Bagumrā⁵ grant of Nikumbhallaśakti mentioned by Dr. Fleet. The two others are stone inscriptions found at Bādāmi⁶ in the Bijāpur District and mention the prince Bhīmaśatti(kti) who was, according to one of them, a devotee at the feet of Satyāśraya, i.e., a feudatory of the Chālukyas. Excepting the Bagumrā and the Kalwa plates the records of the Sēndrakas so far known mention different members of the family whose relationship to one another is not known. But the names Vijayānanda and Indrapāṇḍa found in the record under publication bear a striking resemblance to the name Sēnānanda borne by the maternal uncle of Pulakēsin II⁷.

¹ *Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu* edited by Dr. H. Jacobi, p. 7.

² See *J. R. A. S.*, 1932, pp. 273 ff.

³ *Bom. Gas.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 292.

⁴ *Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala* for Saka 1834, pp. 169 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.

⁶ Nos. 125 and 127 of Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1923-29.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. III, p. 51.

[illegible]

ii-a.

6
8
10

6
8
10

ii-b.

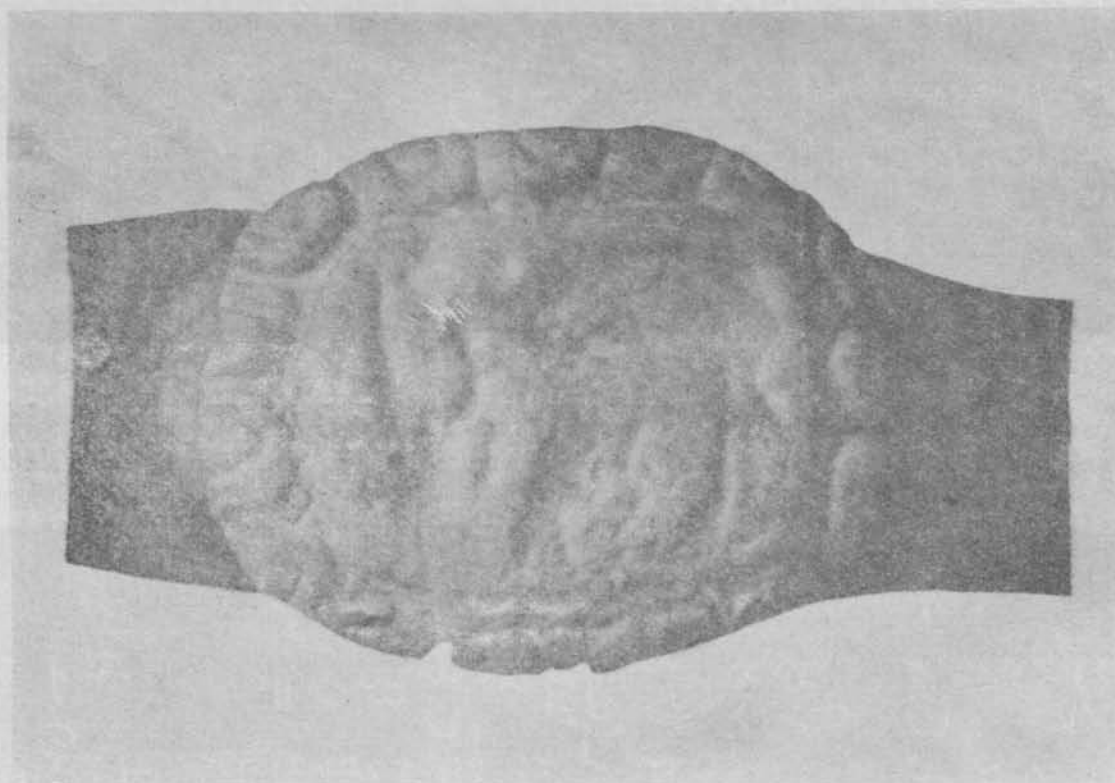
[illegible]

iii-a.

16 16
 18 18
 20 20

16 16
 18 18
 20 20

SEAL OF THE GOKAK PLATES.



From a photograph

SCALE: FOUR TIMES THE ACTUAL SIZE.

Dējja-Mahārāja who was the overlord of Indrapānda is also a hitherto **unknown king of the Rāshtrakūṭa family**. So far, the earliest inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭas found in the Dekkan was the Sāmangad grant of Dantidurga dated Śaka 675.¹ But its genuineness has been questioned by some scholars.² Next come the Poona plates of Kṛishṇarāja of Śaka 680.³ **The present grant is, thus, the earliest Rāshtrakūṭa inscription in the Dekkan.**⁴ We do not know, however, whether Dējja-Mahārāja belonged to the Mālkhēḍ branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas.⁵ Another interesting question that arises is whether Dējja was an independent ruler. He could not have been so after the Chālukyas became masters of the Dekkan in the beginning of the 7th century. But since he is called a *Mahārāja*, the document might have been issued when he was as a ruling king before the rise of the Chālukyas or when they were just beginning to establish their power. If this conjecture should prove correct we shall have to accept as accurate the account of the Kauṭhēm plates⁶ and other inscriptions⁷ of the 10th and 11th centuries that there existed a family of Rāshtrakūṭas in the Dekkan whom the Chālukyas defeated before coming to power, though the truth of this statement has been doubted by some scholars.⁸

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the record I am unable to identify **Kashmāṇḍivishaya**, **Jalāra-grāma** and **Pūrvvīṇa-grāma** which are not known from other inscriptions. **Jambūkhaṇḍa** after which the *Jaina gaṇa* took its name is identical with **Jamkhaṇḍi**⁹, not far away from Gōkāk.

TEXT.

First Plate : Second Side.

- 1  Svasti || Varddhatām Varddhamān-ēndōr=Varddhamāna-gaṇ-ōdadhēḥ śāsanaṁ
nāśita-
2 ripōr=bhāsuraṁ mōha-śāsanaṁ || [1* ||] Ih=āsyām=avasarpīṇyān=Tīrttha-
3 karāṇām chaturvīṁsatitamasya sanmatēḥ śrī-Varddhamānasya varddhamā-
4 nāyām tīrttha-santatāv=Āguptāyikānām rājñām=ashtāsu varsha-śatē-
5 shu pañcha-chatvārīṁśad-agrēshu gatēshu Rāshtrakūṭ-ānvaya-jāta-śrī-Dē-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 6 jja-mahārājasy=ābhimateḥ śrī-Sēndrak-āmala-kul-ānbar-ōdita-dī-
7 pra-divākarō Vijayānanda-Maddhyama¹⁰rāj-ātmajaḥ śrīmān=Indrapānd-ādhi-
8 rājaḥ sva-varṁśyānām=ātmanaś=cha dharmma-vṛiddhayē Kashmāṇḍi-vishayē

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

² See above, Vol. XIV, p. 121 f. n. 5 and Vol. XVIII, p. 238.

³ *Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala*, Vol. VIII, p. 166.

⁴ It is not certain whether Avidhēya of the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli grant (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1929, pp. 197 ff.) was a Rāshtrakūṭa king. The Tiwarkhēḍ plates of Nannarāja (above, Vol. XI, p. 276) and the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu (above, Vol. VIII, p. 163), the one discovered in Central Provinces and the other recording a grant in Central India, belong to about the same period as our grant.

⁵ The name Dējja has been wrongly read as Ojja (Gojja) and Gojja identified with Gōvinda IV in the *Karnatak Historical Review*. The letter *Dē* is clear and palaeography militates against placing the record in the reign of Gōvinda IV, i.e., 10th century A. D.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.

⁷ See, for instance, the Miraj plates of Jayasīṃha II (above, Vol. XII, pp. 303 ff.) and the Nūlgunda plates of Vikramāditya VI. (*ibid.*, pp. 142 ff.).

⁸ See *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 342 and 343.

⁹ See *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 43.

¹⁰ The letter *ma* is inserted below the line.

- 9 parvata-pratyāsanna-Jaḷāra-grāmē Jambūkhanda-gaṇasthāya jūāna-
 10 darśana-tapas-sampannāya Āryyaṇandyāchāryyāya Bhagavad-Arha-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 11 t-pratim-ānavarata-pūj-ārtham śikshaka-glāna-vṛiddhānām cha tapasvinām vai-
 12 yāpṛity-ārtham grāmasy=ōttarataḥ Pūrvvīṇa-grāma-virēya-simakan da¹
 13 kshīṇēna Muñja-jalamārgga-paryyantam aparatō(a)ḥ Ēndāvirut-sa-
 14 hita-valmikan tasmād=uttarataḥ pushkara(i)ṇi tataś=cha yāvat=pūrvva-virēya-
 15 kam rāja-mānēna pañchāśan-nivartana-pramāṇa-kshētran=da-

Third Plate : First Side.

- 16 ttavān=ētaḍ=yō harati sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati || Un(k)tañ=
 cha
 17 Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
 18 [ta](s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam || [2 ||*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā
 yō harēta vasundharām
 19 shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi viśhṭhāyām jāyatē krimiḥ [[3 ||*] Shashṭim
 varsha-sahasrāṇi
 20 svargē nandati bhūmidah āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē
 vasēt ☉ ‡ ||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Hail ! May the bright and delusion-destroying charter of Varddhamāna, who is the moon to the ocean of the Varddhamāna-gaṇa and who has driven away his foes, prosper !

(Lines 2-16). When forty-five after eight hundred of the years of the Āguptāyika kings in (i.e., belonging to) this ever flowing and prosperous spiritual lineage of the wise Varddhamāna, the Twenty-Fourth of the Tīrthāṅkaras, had elapsed, the illustrious *adhirāja* **Indraṇanda**, the son of **Vijayānanda-Maddhyamarāja**, the bright sun who had risen in the firmament of the illustrious and pure **Sēndraka** family and who was the favourite of the illustrious **Dējja-Mahārāja**, born of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** dynasty, gave, in order to increase the merit of his ancestors as well as of himself, land measuring fifty *nivartanas* by the royal measure in the village of **Jaḷāra** situated near the mountain in the division of **Kashmāṇḍī** to **Āryyaṇandyāchāryya**, who belonged to the **Jambūkhanda-gaṇa** and was well versed in sacred knowledge, systems of philosophy and penance, for offering worship incessantly to the idol of the divine Arhat, for the (*maintenance of*) teachers, the sick and the old and for the service of ascetics.

(The boundaries of the land are) :—to the north of the village the boundary is the *virēya* of the **Pūrvvīṇa** village ; to the south, up to the Muñja canal ; to the west, the ant-hill including Ēndāvirut ; to its north, the tank and from there up to the eastern *virēyaka*.

(L. 16). He who takes this away incurs the five great sins. Further it is said :—

(Vv. 2-4). (The usual imprecatory verses).

¹ The letter *da* seems to have been corrected from *de*.

No. 44.—SIX INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM.

BY RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, C.I.E., M.A.

The Central Museum at Lahore possesses a large number of stone inscriptions the bulk of which were collected in the early nineties of the last century by Major H. A. Deane, C.S.I., then Deputy Commissioner of Peshāwar, on the northern borders of the Peshāwar District and in the independent territory beyond it. The majority of these are in an unknown script which have so far remained undeciphered. A few of the others are short Sanskrit epigraphs in Śāradā characters which were also found in the same region and the remainder in the Nāgarī characters. Some of the inscriptions in the unknown script were first dealt with by M. Senart in a paper read by him before the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists in 1894. The whole collection was subsequently exhaustively treated by Dr. (now Sir) Aurel Stein with illustrative plates in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, 1898, pages 1 to 19. M. Senart recognized three distinct types of writing among these documents and these he connected with well defined territorial divisions. The first type which is designated as the *Spankharra* variety has characters consisting of irregular, scrawly lines resembling Sgraffiti or monograms. The second group, associated with *Boner* and the adjoining areas, is characterized by complicated and elaborate signs and these documents are engraved in regular lines on larger stones than those of the first type and have a decidedly monumental look. The third class of documents, known as the *Mahaban* collection, are also engraved on small stones and show a bewildering variety of signs. Sir Aurel was able to distinguish among these inscriptions a fourth variety of writing to which he gave the name of *Nurizai* group. These inscriptions are engraved on longish slabs of slate stone, and unlike the inscriptions of the first three groups, these documents are in most cases surrounded by straight engraved lines. The characters in this variety are formed of curves, angles and other simple strokes differing from the linear arrangement exhibited by the signs in the other three groups.

Nothing definite is known of the origin and date of these puzzling epigraphs. M. Senart and Prof. Bühler had noticed a curious similarity between them and the alphabet of the Turkish inscriptions from the bank of the Orkhon, which are assigned to about the first half of the 8th century A. D., i.e., about the period of Ou-Kong's sojourn in Peshāwar. As far as I can make out no further progress has been made with the examination of these records and the mystery is not likely to be solved until, as hinted by Stein, a bilingual inscription is brought to light.

Six of the Śāradā epigraphs in the Lahore Museum will be found included in a comprehensive list of all the known Śāradā inscriptions appended to Dr. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*.¹ Among the remaining inscriptions the earliest one is written in characters of the 5th or 6th century A. D. Others are in Nāgarī characters. All the inscriptions with the exception of those in the unknown alphabet are incomplete, the extant portions being defaced and in several cases completely obliterated. It is probably for this reason that they have hitherto remained unedited.* In view, however, of the comparatively small number of inscriptions from the Punjab and the North-West Frontier which have survived in good condition and been published, I edit them in this article.

I. Sirsa Inscription of circa 6th century A.D.

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular block of red sandstone similar to that of which the Mathurā sculptures are generally made. The stone was discovered by Sir A. Cunningham and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore. The stone measures 2' 3" in width by 5½" in height

¹ Part I, Appendix I, p. 259.^{*} These have been noticed by me in *P. R. A. S., N. C.*, 1918-19 pp. 18-20 and Appendix C.

and is 8" thick. The inscribed surface is disfigured by two round holes cut near the right end and there is moreover a large piece broken off below these holes. For the rest, the stone is complete. It is, however, obvious that the inscription was engraved on a series of stones fitted together into a wall and that this stone is only one of them. Portions of three lines of the inscription have survived and these contain portions of verses 13, 14, 16 and 17. The first line contains the last seven *aksharas* of the third foot and the whole of the last or fourth foot of verse 13, thus showing that more than 12½ stanzas are missing at the commencement of the inscription.

The characters belong to the northern variety of script of about the 5th or 6th century A. D. The inscription was composed in elegant metrical Sanskrit but unfortunately its value is much marred by its fragmentary nature and neither the name of the ruler of the time nor the purpose of the document can be ascertained.

TEXT.

- 1 ये[नाव]पिच्छस्तां वृक्षाराधममादरेष च वरयो राज-
(ज)ते सर्वदा [॥*] १३¹ [॥*] दायान्यायनिवि¹
- 2 [परां] काष्ठां [गतः] संपदो यस्माच्चान्तिपुताग्ने मयम-
वसायेष दग्धा द्विष[ः*]¹
- 3 [भक्त्या च धीरः] त्रिभुवनमरुचत्सैवन्द्रमुष्यैर्ब्रवीभिः
[॥*] १६² [॥*] कामांवा[ति]मणीच¹

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 13).....who by diligent veneration of those worthy of respect is constantly resplendent.....

(Verse 14).....who had attained the highest limit of prosperity and in the fire of whose anger (*his*) enemies were frequently consumed like moths.....

(Verse 16).....who had covered the three worlds with his fame white like the Moon.....

II. Sirsa Stone Inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva.

According to No. 23 of the list of inscriptions maintained in the Lahore Museum, this inscription was found in a mound near the town of Sirsa in the Hissar District of the Punjab and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore, by the then Deputy Commissioner. The stone is broken irregularly on all sides. The maximum dimensions of the extant portion are—width 2' 7", height 1' 7" and thickness 1' 1". The loss which each line has suffered will be apparent from the subjoined text. Suffice it to say that more than 10 verses are lost at the commencement of the inscription while the last stanza which has survived in part in line 16 is numbered 32. The existing portion of the inscription is in good Sanskrit poetry and few mistakes occur. The characters belong to the 9th century A. D. and the Bhōjadēva whose name is found in the third line, I take to be identical with the Bhōja of Kanauj, inscriptions of whose time are found at Deogarh, Gwalior and Peoha.³ No connected translation of the document is possible and I can only record here such fragmentary information as can be gathered from the portions of the stanzas that have survived.

¹Metre: *Sardālavikriḍita*.

²Metre: *Mālinī*.

³Kielhorn, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 546, etc.; Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 33, 35, 36, 1412.

Verse 11, which is the first existing stanza eulogizes the continence of some one. The next verse indicates that the king at the time was the illustrious Bhōjadēva.

The next verse (V. 13) tells us that there was a leader of the Pāsupata sect named Ratnarāśi, who was intensely devoted (V. 15), had conquered Kāma, was spotless like a multitude of the rays of the Moon, purified by the current of the celestial river (the Ganges) and [resplendent] like Śiva himself. Of verse 16 only the last foot has survived and appears to indicate that this saint did something like the husband of the daughter of the mountain Himālaya, i.e., Śiva. The next verse (V. 17) relates something of the summit of the snowy mountain (Himālaya) and of the mountain Malaya. Verse 18 continues the praise of the saint mentioned above or of one of his successors, who is extolled as the Moon of the earth, who had come down to show the way leading to Śāṅkara, which is free from the dangers of mundane existence and which has destroyed the cause of birth and death. His disciple was another whose name is missing (V. 19), whose mind had been purified by his having acquired the knowledge of all that is worth knowing. This saint had a disciple (V. 20), whose name is also missing. The next two verses (Vv. 21 and 22) state that considering the worldly happiness to be of no use, youth to be worthless and life itself to be unstable like the ripple of the sea, he did something the nature of which cannot be ascertained. His commands were carried out (V. 23) with devotion by the multitude of kings with folded hands. (His disciple) was Nilakaṇṭha (V. 24), who was the lord of the rulers of the earth, an orator among speakers, who, though one, assumed various aspects of Śiva. He made (Vv. 25 and 26) a magnificent temple (*bhavana*) of Yōgīśvara or Śiva with burnt bricks and thick slabs of stone. This temple (V. 29) was as high as the sky and attained the height of the summit of the Kailāsa mountain. Verses 30 and 31 appear to state that this temple was adorned with (images) of Kṛishṇa, the enemy of Mura, united with Lakshmi and with the images of other gods, demons, *gandharvas*, *yakshas*, *kinṇaras*, *siddhas* and thus emulated, as it were, the universal form of the lord of Lakshmi.

TEXT.

- 1
- 2 तुरङ्ग चक्षुत्पत्तिव्रजः
- 3 भुवनं येन । . . परमहेलया । चेतसापि न यच्चक्रे । सङ्गं परम-
हेलया ॥[११॥]^१ श्रीभोजदेवे गुण [॥१२॥]^२
- ४ य सितांशुशुभ्रः कलङ्कमुक्तः परभागभागौ । बभूव नाम्ना
भुवि रत्नराशिस्त[पो]मयः पाशपताग्रणौच ॥^३
- 5 [अ]थैकनिष्ठो जितमन्मथस्तथा शशाङ्कलेखाकरजालनिर्मलः ।
सुरस्वस्तीवहनातिशोभितरस्त्रयं पिनाकीव विरा[जमानः] ॥[१५॥]^४
- 6 हिमशैलसुतापतिवक्षसदा ॥[१६॥]^५ हिमवच्छिखरे मलये च
[नि]रौ कनकाभविशालशिलानिचये । सरसोत्तरसां [॥१७॥]^६

^१ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

^२ Metre: *Indravamsā* [The metre of this verse has been taken as *Indravamsā* but the reading is *Bhōjadēva* which would show that possibly the metre was *Vasantatilaka*.—Ed.]

^३ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

^४ Metre: *Vamśastha*.

^५ Metre: *Tōṭaka*.

- 7 सारमेयाभिधेयं । भवभयपरिमुक्तं सां(शां)तसंसारहेतु-
 कथयितुमिह मार्गं शाङ्करं सोवनीन्दुः ॥१८॥^१ शिष्यस्तस्य स(श)मान्वित

- 8 परिचयो निर्दग्धसर्वाशुभो ज्ञातत्रेयतयातिनिर्गलमना योगै-
 कनिष्ठानिव ॥१९॥^२ तस्यापि शिष्यस्त बभूव शा[न्तो] [॥२०॥*]^३
- 9 विभङ्गलोलं । संसारसौख्यं सकलं विदित्वा । ज्ञात्वा
 तथा यौवनमप्य[सारं] । पयोधि[वीची]चपलं च जीवं ॥२१॥^४ येना . . .
- 10 स्त्रे ॥२२॥ आश्रमकार्पोद्भुवि यस्य भक्त्या । कृताञ्जलि-
 भूपगणस्तमयः । शशाङ्कलेखाकलितो[रुम ?] [॥२३॥*]^५
- 11 श्रीनीलकण्ठस्तथा । ईशान-पृथिवीभुजां समभव-
 द्वागीश्वरो वादिनामित्येकोपि चकार रूपमनिशं शंभोरनेकं नि[जं*] . .
 ॥ [२४॥*]^२
- 12 शान्त्यै योगीश्वरस्य भवनं महतो महीयः ॥२५॥^५
 पक्वोष्टकारचितमेतदुदयमासीत्संश्रु(भ)त्य यद्वनशिलामयमेव यत्तु (?) [१*]
 [सोचीकरश्चरम] [॥२६॥*]^५
- 13 तिततभूमिविशेषरस्यं । स्तुकाश्चने(?) गगनतुङ्गतया
 नितान्तं कैलासशैलशिखरश्च(त्रि)यमादधानं ॥२७॥^५ लक्ष्मीयुतं(त)म्पुररिपो
 [॥२८॥*]^५
- 14 देवदैत्यगन्धर्व्ययक्षगणकिन्नरसिद्धरूपं । लक्ष्मीपतेरिववपु[ष्कृ]-
 तविश्वरूपं भा
- 15 [॥२९॥*]^५ भवनं रमणीयतायां
 निश्लेषशिष्यविभव
- 16 राशिरेव ॥३०॥^५
- 17
- 18

^१ Metre : *Mālini*.^२ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.^३ Metre : *Indravajrā*.^४ Metre : *Upajāti*.^५ Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.

No. 1.



No. 2.



III. Bhatinda Stone Inscription of about the 10th Century A.D.

The stone on which this inscription is engraved was found lying at the tomb of Haji Ratan Baba at Bhatinda and was removed and presented by Sardar Atar Singh, Chief of Bhadaur to the Lahore Museum (No. 8 of the list of inscriptions). It is a fragmentary slab of dark grey colour and was surrounded with an engraved rim ornamented with a pattern of flower petals. The existing portion measures 1' 5½" in width by 1' 6½" in height. The stone is complete on three sides but a portion is broken off on the left side carrying away about 8 to 10 syllables of each line. A small triangular portion is also broken off at the lower left corner. A considerable portion of the writing is also badly defaced in the middle of the slab and in some other parts the letters are quite illegible. The characters are Nāgarī of about the end of the 10th century A. D. and the whole of the extant portion is in Sanskrit verse. The first stanza contains an invocation of Kṛishṇa (Hari), who with his four hands armed with a mace, the spotless *pāñchajanya* conch, (etc.) with ease supports the whole of the three worlds and who is ever-lasting. The second verse praises *Rājā Śatrughna-dēva* who equalled Lakshmaṇa and Bharata, whose feet were bowed to by the whole world and the dust of whose feet..... The third verse informs us that at Tribhāṇḍanapura there was (some one) resplendent with gems of virtues, whose glory was spotless like jewels, who was the ornament of a noble Kshatriya family and who had acquired fame throughout the world by his brilliant..... (His son) (V. 4) was named..... because he was the destroyer of the impurity of the Kali age, who was purified by his devotion to ascetics..... and who by the constant flow of his liberality resembled the current of the Ganges. The next verse (V. 5) contained the name of his wife which appears to have been Indulēkhā. In the remaining portion of the inscription only stray words or syllables can be made out in each line. Line 14 appears to contain the word *mahākavi* and in line 16 there is a portion of a foot of a verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre which means 'devotion to Hari or Viṣṇu dispels'.

I am unable to identify the *Rājā Śatrughnadēva* who was ruling over the region, where the inscription had been found, at the time this epigraph was engraved. 'Tribhāṇḍanapura' mentioned in verse 3 is undoubtedly the original ancient name of Bhatinda where the inscription was discovered. The ruler Śatrughnadēva in whose time the inscription was recorded is, as far as I can make out, not known from another inscription. He must have belonged to a local family of Bhatinda. Raverty, quoted by Smith in his *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p. 382, was wrong in making Bhatinda the capital of Jayapāla of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty.

TEXT.

- 1 — — — — गदामलपाञ्चजन्यलीलाष्टताखिलजगद्विषयैस्तुभिः ।
दोभिः हरिः हर
- 2 — — — — सयं सुचरितानि सनातनोयम् ॥¹ [१॥*]
जयति जगद्वत्तचरणसरणरजः श-
- 3 :[1] लक्ष्मणभरतमतिमो राजा शत्रुघ्नदेवोयम् ॥² [२॥*] चासीन्नि-
भाण्ड[नपुरे]गुण-
- 4 [रत्नशाली*] — — — — विवरत्नमयामलश्रीः [1*] [सुच]चियान्वयविभूषण-
सुज्ज(ज्ज)लेन ख्यातिद्वितः क्षिति-
- 5 [तल*] — — — — ॥¹ [३॥*] [तस्यात्म*]जः कलिलमलचयकारिणामा
[श्रीदाम] इत्यभवद्यतिभक्तिपूतः³ [1*] तापच्छि-

¹ Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.² One syllable seems to be missing in this *pāda*.³ Metre : *Aryā*.

6	— ○ — ○ — ○ — ○ — — गंगाप्रवाह इव सन्ततदान[तीयः] ॥ ¹ श्रुत्यातन्त्रियो जगति [चारु]कनाम आसी
7	 [कल्पक]निज . . . स्त्री . . . न्दुलेखा — — स्य सा सुचरितस
8	 गह्वर वराज सीजन्ययुत
9	 आनक
10	
11	
12	 सतत
13	 तस्य । गोविन्द परम
14	 [महाकवि] [चन्द्रमणि] देव महाराज
15	 सामन्तमित्रप्रति
16	 : ॥ भक्तिर्हरेर्हरति यच्च दि-
17	 सम्पदञ्च स्थिरसूच
18	 पुत्र समुद्र
19	

The remaining inscriptions dealt with in this article are all inscribed in the Śāradā script. The origin, history and development of this script will be found discussed in great detail in Dr. Vogel's monumental work *Antiquities of Chamba State*. Dr. Vogel disagreed with Bühler and Hóernle's view that Śāradā was a direct descendant of the western variety of the Gupta script, on the ground that an intermediate variety assignable to about the beginning of the 8th century A. D. had intervened between the Gupta and the Nāgarī scripts. Śāradā proper continued in use in the Chamba valley and the other hill tracts adjoining the Punjab up to about A. D. 1300. The later variety of Śāradā, which in the Chamba valley is known by the name of Dēvāsēsha continued to be used in that area till about A.D. 1700 and a cognate form of it continues to be used to this day, in certain hill States of the Punjab and particularly in Kashmir where Nāgarī did not come into use until the second quarter of the 19th century A. D. The later variety differs from Śāradā proper in the absence of nail-heads or wedges at the tops of the letters, which are such a prominent feature of the earlier variety. The inscriptions treated of here are all engraved in the earlier variety.

IV. Dewai Stone Inscription of the Shahi King Bhīmadēva.

This inscription is engraved on a small rectangular slab of stone which is badly broken and cracked in two pieces on the front or inscribed face. It was found by Major Deane at Dewai, Gaden territory. The stone is complete on three sides, but broken at the top and consists of four lines in Śāradā characters and in the Sanskrit language. The extant portion of the inscription is well preserved except for the loss of one letter in the middle of the first line.

¹ Metre : *Paśantatilaka*.

No. 3.



No. 4.



No. 5.



No. 6.



TEXT.

- 1 श्रीकल[क] . . लवर्मोद्वव-
- 2 गदाहस्त परमभटार-
- 3 कमहाराजाधिराजपर-
- 4 मेखरसाहित्रीभीमदे[व] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

“ The supreme sovereign, superior king of great kings and supreme lord the Shāhi, the illustrious **Bhīmadēva**, who holds the mace in his hand and is sprung from the illustrious Kala[kama]-lavarman.”

The king **Bhīmadēva** mentioned in this inscription is no doubt the same as the fourth king of the dynasty of the Shāhi kings of Kabul and the Punjab who reigned, according to C. V. Vaidya (*History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, page 201) from A. D. 940 to 960.¹ This **Bhīmadēva** was the grandfather of Diddā, the wife and successor of Kshēmagupta, king of Kashmir, and the daughter of the Lōhara king named Sūha Rāja, king of one of the feudatory States of Kashmir till A. D. 958.

Alberuni describes the Shāhi kings of Kabul and the Punjab as Brāhmaṇas. Sir A. Cunningham held that though the four kings, whose names end in देव, i.e., Vēṇkadēva, Kallar or Spalapatidēva, Sāmantadēva, and **Bhīmadēva** must indeed have been Brāhmaṇas, the last four kings, Jayapāla, Ānandapāla, Trilōchanapāla and **Bhīmapāla** were Rājput Kshatriyas. This view appears to me to be only partially correct. Kshēmagupta to whom the grand-daughter of **Bhīmadēva** was married is believed to have been a Kshatriya and as there could be no matrimonial connection between a Brāhmaṇa and a Kshatriya, it is obvious that **Bhīmadēva** must also have been a Kshatriya. The present inscription provides epigraphical proof of this identification, inasmuch as the name of the father of **Bhīmadēva** ends in *varman*, a definitely Kshatriya title.

V. Ranigat Inscription.

The fragmentary white marble slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered by Major Deane in November, 1894 at a place called Ranigat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 25-A). The inscription consists of four lines in which portions of four Sanskrit verses have survived. The first verse which is in the *Vasantatilaka* metre has lost the last seven syllables of the second foot, the whole of the third foot and the first two syllables of the last foot, i.e., 23 *aksharas* in all. The loss between lines 2 and 3 amounts to as many as 65 syllables, consisting of the last five *aksharas* of the first foot and the whole of the next three feet of a verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and the first three syllables of the next verse which was in the *Vasantatilaka* metre. The loss between lines 3 and 4 again amounts to only 30 syllables, showing that the lines were of very unequal lengths.²

¹ For two very rare coins of **Bhīmadēva**, see Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, plate VII, 17 and 18.

² [It is quite possible that a whole verse has been lost in addition between lines 1 and 2 and another between lines 3 and 4.—Ed.]

The first verse embodies an invocation of a deity, the pair of whose feet was variegated by the lustre of the brilliant jewels in the crowns of the multitude of gods The next verse of which only the last 12 syllables remain, constitutes a eulogy of a king whose name is broken off, but whose prowess was well known like that of Arjuna. [The son¹ of this ruler] was devoted to, and diligent in the carrying out of the commands of, his lord. The rest of the verse is broken off. Of the next verse less than the first half exists and it refers to some one, the hair of whose head, which resembled the sacred cord of *muñja* grass was besmeared with the mass of the pollen of the lotus flowers in the shape of the feet of Śiva The last existing verse, of which less than one half is preserved, tells us that the worldly ties of some one had been burnt in the fire of [true] knowledge.

This inscription at present adds little to our knowledge of the history of the territory in which it has been found. Perhaps it may be found useful at a later stage in filling gaps in future discoveries of such inscriptions.

TEXT.

- 1 [सस्ति] ॥
 गीर्वाणहृन्दमुकुटस्फुटरत्नकान्ति-
 किर्मीरितांवृ(त्रि)युग[ल] ७ ७ — ७ — — [1*]
 — — ७ — ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — —
- 2 — — र्जुनोर्जुन इव प्रथितप्रताप[:*] ॥²
 भक्तो [भर्तृ]मनोनुवृत्तिचतुरो³ तस्या ७ — — ७ —
 — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ — — — ७ — — [1*]
 — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ — — — ७ — — —
 — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ — — — ७ — — — [1*]³
- 3 — — ७ रप्रभृतिधूर्जटिपादपद्म-
 रेणूत्करश्चुरितमूर्धजमंजमा[ल] [1*]
 — — ७ — ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — —
 — — ७ — ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — — [1*]²
- 4 — — र्थाविगमद्वुताशदग्धवन्धः
 स्यातो यः प्रमथ इवेश — ७ — — [1*]
 — — — ७ ७ ७ — ७ — ७ — —
 — — — ७ ७ ७ — ७ — ७ — — [1*]⁴

¹ [The reading seems to be *bhaktā* [*bhartṛi*]-*manō-nuvṛitti-chaturā*. The feminine gender as well as the word *bhartṛi* shows that the reference is to his wife.—Ed.]

² Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.

³ Metre : *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

⁴ Metre : *Prakarehinī*.

VI. Bari Kot Inscription of the Reign of Jayapāladēva.

The original of this inscription is a rectangular slab, 10½" wide by 9" high of dark grey slate stone, which was found on a hill to the north of Bari Kot in Upper Swat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 119). The whole of the inscription is very badly obliterated and the only portions that can be read with certainty are the first two lines of the document. Elsewhere only stray words or syllables can be made out. The inscription begins with *Om svasti* 100, followed by the words meaning "in the reign of the supreme sovereign, the superior king of great kings and the supreme lord, the illustrious Jayapāladēva". We then gather that in the illustrious Vajirasthāna (Waziristan) three individuals, whose names are completely rubbed off, founded something, the nature of which cannot be determined. This inscription is the first epigraphical document which mentions the name of the Shāhi king Jayapāladēva, who was the successor of Bhīmadēva and contemporary of Amīr Sabuktigīn and Maḥmūd of Ghazni. The existing portion contains no date.

TEXT.

1	ॐ स्वस्ति १०० परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपर-
2	मेश्वरश्रीजयपालदेवराल्ये श्रीवजीरस्थाने
3	महपुत्र श्रीपोष्य (?) मित्रदेवकुलप्रभप्रार्थिते
4	
5	. . . एभिस्त्रिभिः
6	 कर्म
7	 प्रभव उद
8	कर्म प्रतिष्ठा
9	तस्य . . . रथ प्रतिष्ठित . . . क — — रापितः
10	एभिस्त्रिभिः
11	 : ॥

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